

THE RACIAL STRUCTURING OF EDUCATIONAL MARGINALITY,
1960 - 1985

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the concept of race in the construction and penetration of educational arrangements for Afro-Caribbean children. Existing research during the 1960s and 1970s on multiculturalism fails to acknowledge the educational mandate offered by the coercive power of race in the construction of Afro-Caribbean children's identity in schools. In this thesis, the concepts of disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation and contested legitimacy provide a theoretical framework for understanding the educational marginalisation of Afro-Caribbean pupils.

Part I establishes the context of marginalisation through competing conceptions of race. The concept of disconnection is applied to review formulations of race which endow it with an all-embracing power so that it neutralises all other ideological forces. Part I provides the framework for examining the scope of race in defining the educational agenda and the mechanisms for disseminating racial forms of education.

Part II and Part III trace the mechanisms which promote the objectification of race in education. It examines the early context of the racial objectification in education policy for children of New Commonwealth origin drawing upon the literature on race and official government reports to assess the impact of the politicization of race in education. The concept of reconstitution is used to analyse the dominant cultural deficit models which serve as an explanation of the position of Afro-Caribbean pupils in the education system. Reconstitution refers to the process by which race is converted into culture and the stigmatisation of culture is used to explain the under achievement of Afro-Caribbean children in school. In Part III the concept of affirmation is also developed in an empirical analysis of LEA policy documents in the early 1980's, which aim to institutionalise particular racial forms of education.

Part IV addresses the nature of the consensus, contestation and legitimisation of racial forms of education. The politics of LEAs are examined in terms of their attempts to structure new modes of consensus through multiculturalism and anti-racism. The debate between multicultural and anti-racist education and the challenge of the New Right are analysed using the concept of contested legitimacy.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis developed out of my experience as a teacher in multicultural schools in London during the mid to late '70s. The issue of multiculturalising the curriculum to reflect the different ethnic and cultural groups was a debate that was growing in tandem with the race relations and immigration literature. This debate was gradually becoming an area of special interest in education. The concerns generated by this debate had begun to influence the thinking of the schools in which I was employed. From the mid seventies and, especially in the early eighties, LEAs with large, medium and small minority populations began to endorse some of the sentiments associated with multiculturalism. I was therefore fortunate to be given the opportunity to examine multicultural and antiracist policy documents, produced by local education authorities (1981-82), during a crucial period in the formation and transition of race relations policy in education. The research greatly benefited from the use of these documents. They assisted the conceptual development of the thesis.

In addition, my training as a teacher coincided with the new directions in sociology of education. The ideas generated by the 'new sociology of education', with its emphasis upon the recognition of the social origin of ideas and the relativization of knowledge (Gorbett 1972:6-7) and Bernstein's reconceptualisation of the curriculum to make more its social nature explicit (Bernstein 1977:80) held out exciting possibilities for innovation in the curriculum around the area of cultural 'racial' difference. Although the new sociology of education did not address directly the issue of racial and cultural oppression in education, it was felt that its intellectual framework provided the rationale for a wider re-negotiation of the curriculum to include a multicultural programme.

My experience of teaching Afro-Caribbean children informed me that their position in the education system could

not be explained easily by reference to the curriculum and an awareness of the social basis of knowledge. Many of the children from this background were hostile to the attempt at multiculturalising the curriculum. They appeared to be appealing to the authenticity of my experience as a person of Afro-Caribbean origin to confirm their own 'racial identity' on the one hand, and on the other hand to deny it. This led me to a reinterpretation of the multicultural project. Recognition that the very project of multiculturalism was underpinned by the idea of race, with its assumptions of fixed immutable explanations about culture, highlighted the potentially coercive nature of multiculturalism. Indeed the Afro-Caribbean children's appeal to me to deny their racial identity, on one level, and on the other level to acknowledge it, represents the double involvement of people who are designated by a process of physical ascription.

I am Afro-Caribbean and aware of the oppressive nature of the over-determination of race. The nature of the over-determination requires all one's activity to be subject to an external qualification underpinned by race. This double bind is expressed by Una Mason, a Jamaican poet:

"I must not laugh too much,
They say black folk can only laugh
I must not weep too much,
They say black folk weep always."
(Una Mason 1945)

It is this double negation which leads Cedric Robinson (1983) to claim that people of African descent in recognising themselves as complex historical figures must deny race. From this perspective, it occurred to me that the rejection of multiculturalism by Afro-Caribbean children was the means by which they were rejecting a much more fundamental process of racial construction that is sustained in the racial forms of education.

Thus the central hypothesis of this thesis is that race is the dominant symbolic sign that constructs Afro-Caribbean children for ideological interpellation. The

apparent ubiquity of racial domination ensures that Afro-Caribbean children only become represented in educational discourse through race. It is this conception of a shared racial experience that sets the conditions of emergence for the conversion of race into an educational device and hence the formation of racial forms of education under the general rubric of multiculturalism and anti-racism. The role of race in the negative construction of the potentiality of people of African descent, makes it difficult to criticize forms of education which contain benign educational and social objectives. This in part explains why dominant research in the area of multiculturalism asserts the validity of promoting racial tolerance but fails to explore the coercive and deterministic assumptions which underlie race when it is converted into essentialized cultural traits.

It is for this reason that research and official education discourse alike have been concerned specifically with the Afro-Caribbean minority in Britain over the last 25 years. They have been pre-occupied with finding an educational arrangement thought appropriate for the management of race.

The main concern of this research is to examine the underlying role of race in providing explanations of the social outcome of education for Afro-Caribbean children between 1960-1985 in England. Far from analysis developing the understanding of that process, research in the field has largely been dominated by policy and problem orientated concerns. This is largely due to the underlying conception of race upon which it is predicated and made operational. These research concerns have been pre-occupied with establishing the extent to which Black culture operates through an almost inbuilt system of cultural deficit, which predisposes it to diverge disorganically from dominant White norms and values. The consequence of this cultural incompatibility between dominant White culture and Black culture, is such that the social system organised around White values and norms cannot operate effectively for Black groups until Black groups make accommodating changes in their culture. Since the long term

goal of assimilation is retarded because of the intractability of skin colour, culture becomes the crucial unit of analysis.

The culturalist preoccupation has meant that research has largely ignored the challenge of developing a site and a framework within which the contextualisation of the meaning and ideological struggle over the education of Black children in Britain take on a real material effect. That material effect is expressed by the racial structuring of educational marginality. This culturalist framework is inadequate because it fails to acknowledge the pedagogic and coercive power of race in the racial structuring of educational marginality. This inadequacy lies in the tendency of the culturalist perspective to look for explanations in the perceived internal cultural weakness of Afro-Caribbean culture rather than the institutionalised conduct and structure of the British education system and the special administrative practices aimed at Afro-Caribbean children. For example, Rex (1970) and Lyon (1972), both influential exponents of the culturalist framework within race relations, pose the problem of different internal cultural strengths between Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups. Essentially, Rex conceives Afro-Caribbean culture as having no authentic empowering features outside that which is confined by a reaction to White pressure. Afro-Caribbean culture is viewed as a pathological derivation of White culture. The assertion of cultural castration of Afro Caribbean people through slavery is powerfully argued by Rex to account for the position of Afro Caribbean children in the education system. Rex claims:

"The Blacks of contemporary Britain are ... the descendants of slaves deprived of a culture, even if they have not experienced the degradation of the ghetto to the same extent as the American Blacks."

(Rex and Tomlinson, 1980:237)

Speculating about the relations between Asians and West Indians, Rex and Tomlinson isolate the cultural authenticity of Asian culture in contrast to the pathology of West Indian culture. The writers argue that although both Asians and West Indians experience disadvantage in terms of education, housing

and employment, the culture of Asians (particularly Sikhism) is more compatible with the demands of industrial society. They argue thus:

"If the West Indian is plagued by self-doubt induced by White education, and seeks a culture which will give him a sense of identity, the Asians have religions and cultures and languages of which they are proud and which may prove surprisingly adaptive and suited to the demands of a modern industrial society." (Ibid:237)

From this perception, Black culture represents a profoundly debilitating internalisation of White stereotypes. We are left therefore with the suggestion that the culture of those who are phenotypically designated have no self awareness, no self direction or identity other than that which is dictated by the idea of race.

The dominance of this culturalist framework fuelled my desire to identify the principles of the cultural articulation of race which has structured racial discourse in education over the last twenty-five years in Britain. I have formulated these principles as follows: (1) disconnection, (2) reconstitution, (3) affirmation, (4) contested legitimacy.

Conceptualisation of the four principles

Disconnection is used to refer to the displacement of the history and culture of people of African descent and their replacement by constructions of European racial designations informed by capitalist slavery, colonialism and imperialism. Slavery is the point of historical origin of Caribbean people of African descent. The point at which they enter history as historical subjects is through a collective characterisation and determination of race. Groups that are racially ascribed are externalised from broad socio-economic and political structures that govern the management of groups defined by class. So relations of class are not seen to be working interconnectively with race but in opposition to it. It is as if all social forces and relations are neutralised by the timeless determination of race.

Reconstitution Involves a movement in the conception of race away from the stigmatisation of the body to a stigmatisation of culture. Culture is reconstituted to represent Black internalisation of White racial norms and assertions of inferiority. There is no attempt to conceptualise Black culture outside the construction of race. Race becomes synonymous with culture. Culture is then ascribed determination in locating class positions and relative relations of power and powerlessness. This conception underlies the predilection of the sociology of race relations to establish degrees of cultural strength between groups traditionally exposed to racism. It is therefore the internal strength of culture that enables different ethnic groups to cope effectively with racism and not allow it to hinder their social mobility, rather than the different ways in which the ideology of race interpellates subjects constructed in racial discourse. Thus the construction of a weak Afro-Caribbean culture and strong Asian culture has become the common-sense orthodoxy in explanations of the position of the two groups in the education system and British society in general.

Affirmation Affirmation refers to the institutionalisation and administrative realisation of the cultural articulation of race. Having constructed Black culture as primarily impelled by internalised racial designations, the programmatic consequence of this is the formulation of specific racial forms of administration. These are witnessed in the specific development of racial forms of education under the generic race and culture labels of multiculturalism and anti-racism. The institutionalisation of these racial forms of education are particularly evident in the policy documents of Local Education Authorities in 1981-2. These specific educational enterprises attempt to isolate separate needs generated and informed by class difference and those informed by racial designations. Racial forms of education produce their own personnel (multicultural advisers, community liaison teachers, multicultural inspectorate, and multicultural teachers), external to mainstream educational agents. It is this externalisation that gives meaning to the structuring of

marginalisation.

Marginalisation is institutionalised through the affirmation of racial forms of education in LEAs with Black and ethnic minority populations.

Externalisation ensures the context in which the education of Black children will be considered. It is a context that can be illustrated by what Rose (1979) describes as moralisation and medicalisation, rather than characteristics of class, the distribution and access of education, and issues of pedagogic delivery. For as Rose maintains, it is when 'explanation retains the traditional links between "dangers" and "threats" to characterise the culture of individuals that those individuals and culture are constructed to remain 'outside the social order.' (Rose, 1979:13).

This cultural ethos retains a residual pathological element even in multiculturalism and anti-racism, both of which are ostensibly opposed to an explicit pathological view of Afro-Caribbean culture. At this point, the underlying notions of fixed cultural traits embraced by race or ethnic origin converge with the position of the New Right in education. The concept of contested legitimacy debates this convergence.

Contested Legitimacy The concept of contested legitimacy was invoked to analyse the nature of the confrontation between multiculturalism and anti-racism in a way that would shed light on their convergence with some of the underlying assumptions of the New Right in education. Indeed, it seemed paradoxical that multiculturalism and anti-racism appear to be radically opposed to each other. They nonetheless, not only utilise similar assumptions and themes, but also those assumptions and themes interplay and overlap with those of the New Right.

The concept of contested legitimacy attempts to answer this apparent paradox by problematising the

undertheorisation of the cultural reconstitution of race evident in the three approaches. This conception then problematises essentialised and monolithic accounts of the culture and educational experience of children of Afro-Caribbean origin and renders them inadequate.

The organisation of the thesis

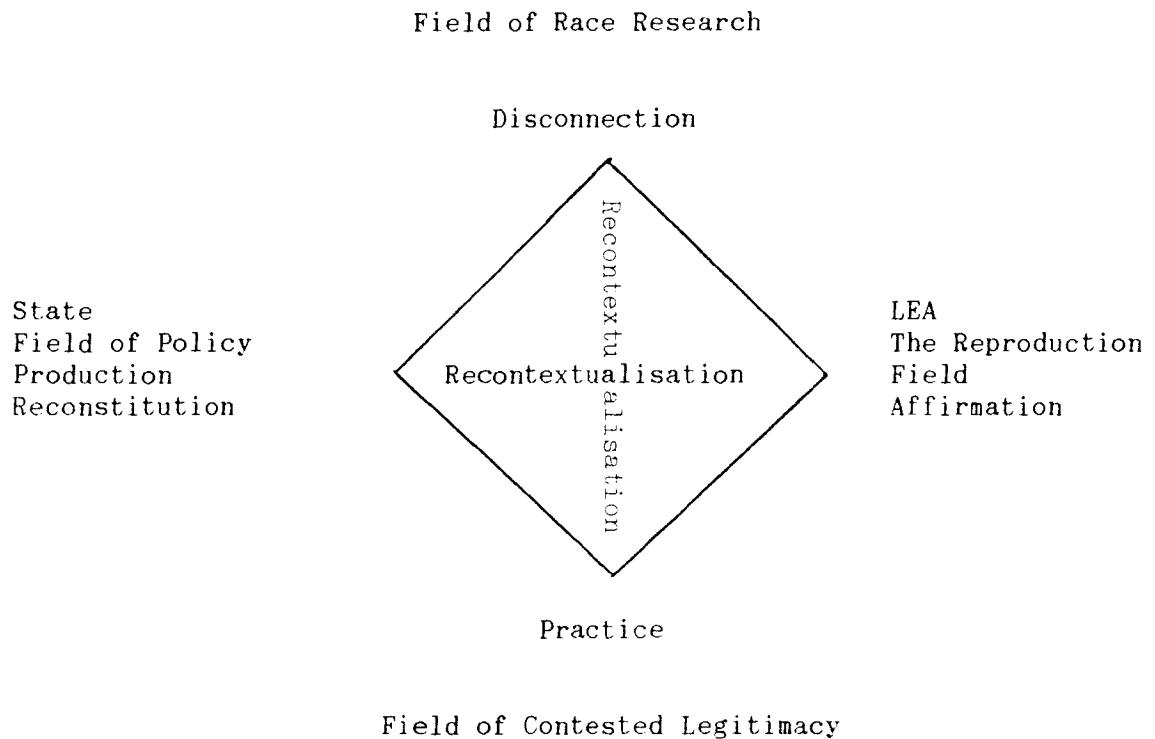
The eight chapters that comprise the thesis are divided into three parts. Part I focuses upon the idea of race as the dominant symbolic sign that is interpreted as representative of the historical and cultural experience of people of African descent. Part II traces the determinate idea of race in the emergence of the educational arrangements for Afro Caribbean children between 1960-85. Part III examines the intense policy activities of LEAs in the production of policy documents to further institutionalise racial forms of education in 1981. Part IV addresses the contestation between the racial forms of education and the intervention of the New Right in the battle for educational and cultural legitimacy.

In order to reveal the process of disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation and contested legitimacy in the management of race and education, it is necessary to identify the relationship between the four principles and their ultimate utilisation in education.

The Relationship between the Four Principles

The principles of disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation and contested legitimacy have an interconnective relationship with each other. Disconnection denotes the field of race relations research. Reconstitution highlights the field of policy production by the state. Affirmation identifies the reproduction field in local education authorities. Contested legitimacy realizes the field of practice. Each field has the capacity to recontextualise the initiatives generated in another.

The following model expresses the relationship thus:



Part I - The Context of Marginalisation

The two chapters in Part I analyse race as the binding thread in the construction of an educational discourse for Afro-Caribbean children. Chapters one and two review the competing conceptions of race using the concept of disconnection. Disconnection serves to identify the coercive nature of race in ascribing all power of determination to itself. The field of race relations research identifies the location of disconnection. Chapter two uses the concept of disconnection to assess the application of autonomy and relative autonomy to race.

Part II - Racial Marginality in Education

Chapter three discusses the impact of the broad politicisation of race in early objectification of race in education and its reconstitution as a set of administrative

procedures. Chapter four examines the ideological basis for the structuring of racial marginality in education. It assesses the over-determination ascribed to a shared racial experience, and its manifestation in constructions of racial subjects in education discourse and practice.

Part III - The Mechanism of Marginalisation

The concepts of reconstitution and affirmation inform the organisation of Part III. Reconstitution is identified in education as the mediation of race through culture. Its specific expression is to be found in the frequency with which official discourse highlights the Afro-Caribbean family as a source of pathology to account for the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system. Reconstitution then is cited as a central mechanism in the production of policy by the state for the educational management of race.

Examination of thirty-six local education authority policy documents on multicultural/anti-racist education provides the empirical rationale for the concept of affirmation in chapters six and seven. These documents were analysed and their content categorised in order to establish the extent to which their production and circulation depended upon the LEA's recognition of having large, medium or small racially and culturally distinct populations. Affirmation is conceived as the reproduction of policy by local education authorities for the regulation of race at the local level.

Part IV - Contested Legitimacy

The concept of contested legitimacy forms the conceptual and organising principle of Part IV. The juxtapositioning of contestation and legitimation highlights the possibility of resistance and control in the same moment. In a more specific sense, the concept suggests that a mode of educational practice can have elements which are both liberatory and coercive. Contested legitimacy locates the field of practice.

Thus the main intention of this thesis is to present an analysis of the development of education discourse aimed at children of Afro-Caribbean background which concentrates upon race as the major determination of Afro-Caribbean identity and educational purpose. The thesis points to the limitations of constructing racial subjects, disconnected or outside the full complexity of social relations in and outside education.

PART I : THE CONTEXT OF MARGINALIZATION: THE FIELD OF RACE
RELATIONS RESEARCH

Part I locates the context for the analysis of the racial structuring of educational marginality in the significance attached to the all inclusive category of race in the sociological literature of race relations. Part I comprises two chapters. The extensive review of the literature around the concept of disconnection in the first part of the thesis, reflects the work needed to deconstruct the pervasivity of race and its underdetermination of the educational arrangements for Afro-Caribbean children.

Chapter one focuses upon what it describes as the triangular tension between three leading conceptions of race. They are identified as liberal sociological, marxist and Black Nationalist. The concept of disconnection, formulated by this thesis, is employed to interrogate the adequacy of ascribing all inclusive determination to race. Chapter two addresses this problem more pointedly in relation to more recent influential re-examinations of concepts of autonomy and relative autonomy and their application to the analysis of race. These reformulations are assessed in terms of their proximity to disconnection.

Part I thus provides the framework from which to mount an analysis of the definitive impact of race in facilitating mechanisms for defining and disseminating racial forms of education. This is the concern of Part II.

PART I: THE CONTEXT OF MARGINALISATION: THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS RESEARCH

CHAPTER 1

RACE PROBLEMATICS AND DISCONNECTION

In the conceptualisation of the four principles for the operation of race, disconnection is considered the primary field in the articulation of race. Its primacy lies in the argument that the production and reproduction of policy and practice always refer back to some doctrinal rationalisation. Disconnection contains intimations of primordial belonging, involving the naturalisation and hence, racialisation of historical processes through the discourse of race.

The length of the review of the race relations literature in this part of the thesis, testifies to the sociological significance attributed to the field of race in defining and explaining people of African descent. Such is the power of its existential modality, that the research takes the view that without an adequate theorisation of the monolithic and totalising notions of race, its identification in the causality and determination of education, would be insufficiently challenged. For it is in the construction of a racial subject, with race determining a mode of life and identity, that the full coercive power of race lies.

The aim of the chapter therefore is to assess the influence of the sociological field of race relations, the marxist response to the field and the black reformulation of both traditions. The chapter is divided into three sections.

SECTION 1

MAKING SENSE OF RACE: DISCONNECTION AND RESEARCH

In the bulk of the literature on race relations, racial practice is not conceived as a process of ideological construction in which the state, politics and economy play a

significant role. Rather its authenticating feature is based upon a biological racial derivation of culture. This offers a framework which dictates that the analysis of racial fractions is based upon determining the degree of racial antipathy by demarcating the extent of cultural dissimilarity between racially subordinate and racially dominant groups. An example of this perspective can be found in the work of Parks (1950), Shils (1968), Smith (1971), Lyon (1972), Cohen (1976), Barton (1977) and Kuper (1980). The thrust of such an interpretation is primordial. It is based upon a fundamentalist notion of causal significance between cultural difference and informed by the subtext of phenotypical difference. In this perspective, the conditioning significance of the structural context within which the parallelism of race and culture is attributed active determining significance is under conceptualised. Economic, political and ideological determinations lose directive force.

The dominance of primordial and culturalist interpretations in the literature, has led some writers to question the very validity of the existence of 'race' as an analytical category and the academic field of study of 'race relations' itself (Hall, et al 1979, Miles, 1982). Miles argues that 'commonsense discourse has come to structure and determine academic discourse. Academic discourse admits to the existence of "races" and "relations between the races" ... the notions of "race" and "race relations" have no descriptive or explanatory utility and should not therefore be carried into academic discourse from the everyday world ... their continued academic utilisation serves to legitimate their continued utilisation in the everyday world." (Miles, 1982:3). Accordingly, Miles claims that the dominant emphasis on race has conceptualised Black people primarily as 'objects of racism and discrimination who only become subjects in their relation' to racism (Miles 1982:4). In so doing, the sociology of race relations fails to attribute any real significance to Black people in class relations. A more detailed account of Miles critique will be developed in chapter 2.

Underlying the process of racial objectification is the ideological method of disconnection. Disconnection, the superimposition of cultural attributes to phenotypical variations and the ideological, political and economic context of its materialisation.

Sociology of Race Relations and the Black Challenge

Until the end of the 1960's most surveys carried out in the area of race relations lacked historical grounding and reflective vision. Social scientists were content to describe forms of racial interaction and exclusion. These types of studies mainly took American race relations as their empirical starting point (i).

The foundation of American race relations was enshrined within the positivistic or naturalistic philosophy of the social science.⁽²⁾ This tradition therefore provided the underlying basis for the orthodox consensus of the 1950's and 1960's in sociology and the social sciences in general. During that time, the positivist philosophy of social science merged with the objectivist methodology of functionalism. The method which emanated from it was both determinist and distinctive. It concentrated upon defining specific problems, which could be satisfactorily verified. 'Abstracted empiricism' Mills noted, became the central verifying tool of more general theoretical propositions in the social sciences and sociology (C Wright Mills 1970).

As well as insinuating itself into the analysis of race relations, this conceptualisation and methodology also reflected a much larger reformulation, which involved the concept of liberal democracy and modernity itself. In short, the methodology of 'abstracted empiricism' (C Wright Mills 1970) sought to advance the more fundamental view that industrial democracies had experienced such rapid economic growth and political stability, they had jettisoned the social political and economic fetters of 19th century capitalism. A new egalitarianism, equality of opportunity and instrumental

rather than ideological class politics was the new social creed (Lipsett 1963, Daniel Bell 1961, Dahrendorf 1972).

In the area of race relations, the impact of this theory was similarly unequivocal. It maintained that the inbuilt evolutionary and modernising tendency in advanced industrial society was making discriminatory practice anachronistic. The race relations cycle of Parks (1950) offered such an evolutionary and naturalistic framework of contact, conflict, accommodation, and finally assimilation.⁽³⁾

Within this framework, Myrdal's study of 'An American Dilemma' (Myrdal 1944) provides a typical example. It was challenged for the way in which it conceptualised as oppositional or contradictory the co-existence between the American creed striving towards fairness and justice and the racial creed expressing discrimination and injustice. Eventually the superiority of the American creed would triumph over the racial creed. Black sociologists argued that far from having a contradictory relationship with the American creed, race has instead had a parallel historical significance (Ellison 1973). Jordan argues that ideas of race and enlightenment have developed in conjunction with each other (Jordan 1968). Myrdal's study was unable to conceptualise the economic and power components of discriminatory racial practice. He subsumed and reconstituted mechanisms of capitalist class and race inequality as exceptional cumulative principles. This conceptualisation later became absorbed into British race relations in the form of a 'Cycle of Disadvantage' (DES 1974).

Another objection to Myrdal's study was its confirmation of the apparent pathology of Black culture. Generally, sociological writing on race relations confers a disabling and pathological conception on Black culture. Blacks are not permitted to exist in their own right as historical figures, it is only their shared racial experience that gives them any authenticity. It is only their pathological response to dominant White pressure that entitles them to a voice. Thus

the only conception of change offered by this perspective is based upon Black people's ability to remain as aspects of the moral conscience of the dominant White group. Black resistance as a source of change is not generally conceptualised.⁽⁴⁾

Taking up the evolutionary theme of Parks and Myrdal, Parsonian functionalism went a step further. It argued from the powerful presuppositions that the issue of integration rather than assimilation did not require the homogenisation of culture implied in the assimilating perspective. Ethnic diversity was permissible in his 'inclusion process' and containable within the pluralistic ethic inbuilt in American society (Parsons, 1966). Like Myrdal before him, Parsons also believed that societies strive towards consensus and the moral conflict that Myrdal noted in 'An American Dilemma' would work towards resolution.

In the context of Britain, the identification of Black interest with industrialism was enshrined in the formation of the Institute of Race Relations (Jenkins 1971). The IRR at that time imported a model of race relations based upon the evolutionary gradualist model of American race relations. The publication of 'Colour and Citizenship' in 1969 was Britain's equivalent of 'An American Dilemma'. Like Myrdal's depiction of racist beliefs and discriminatory practice as a fundamental conflict for the American creed, Deakin noted a British parallel (Deakin 1970). Referring to the discriminatory basis of the 1968 Immigration Act, Deakin described the 'British Dilemma' as based upon the tension between the ethic of fairness embedded in our culture and system of law and the failure to live up to these standards in practice (Deakin 1970:21).

Deakin did not regard this problem as intractable. Indeed he saw it as part of an 'adaptation process' (Deakin 1970:22). He claimed optimistically that 'there are still good grounds for arguing that the present difficulties can be resolved without compromising either the cultural integrity of our society or the values and principles which animate it

(ibid:22). Deakin was unable to come to terms with the constituting material force that racial categorisations have played in shaping political, economic and ideological apparatus in Britain and North America. Deakin assumed that discriminatory racial practice was partly a natural evolutionary process, induced by the 'coloured newcomers strangeness'. The strangeness was sufficient to ensure their rejection' (ibid:27).

The pragmatic liberalism of Deakin, combined with the rather subjectivist and primordial reading of racism in Britain, helped to substantiate American domination of the field during the 1960's (Jenkins 1971). It was steeped in an unreflexive historical paradigm with pragmatic, programmatic orientations. The structures of political power and economic organisations are taken as given and outside the formation of group identity, power relations between groups are seen as unproblematic. Within this framework, primordialism dictated that the interaction between Black and White was regulated by some undefinable sense of 'sameness' (Geertz 1963:109). Shils also describes that as a 'common biological origin that is thought to establish ties of affinity' (Shils, 1968:4). Discriminatory practice based upon phenotypical variation and ethnic difference could be conceived as conflict situations powered by the cognition of physical difference between Black and White. Strangeness and newness and the possession of cultural norms which deviate from those of the dominant White group became leading explanatory paradigms of discrimination.

The solution to this inbuilt discriminatory predisposition was to come to terms with the psychology of prejudice and to support policies which assist in the evolutionary process of integration. Deakin saw this as the final step towards assimilation (ibid p.23). These primordial and culturalist formulations resulted in policies to curb racial discrimination, which were based upon increasing contact, the dissemination of knowledge and information about the cultural practices of different cultural and 'racial' groups and, the promotion of the idea of mutual tolerance and

respect. The voluntarism that was embedded in this approach to policy depended upon a form of moral conversion for its effectiveness. It was both the underlying rhetoric of race relations policy in general, and the hallmark of immigrant education policy of the 1960's. The policy of contact was concretised in the language and the dispersal policy of Local Education Authorities with large numbers of migrant children.

This legacy continues to inform the current racial patterning of education in Britain. The conceptualisation of race as a valid analytical category from which certain cultural predispositions emanate has indeed dictated a kind of racial totalisation of children of Afro-Caribbean origin in British schools.

Although the specificities of American race relations cannot be absorbed into British race relations, there are conceptual inadequacies outlined in American race relations that have also been debated with respect to British race relations. The three conceptual inadequacies are: (1) the historical conception of the role of race in the social formation of North American and British capitalism (2) the weak conceptualisation of the economic component of discriminatory racial practice, and (3) the conception of Black culture. All three have been fiercely debated by Black scholars trained at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies⁽⁵⁾, (CCCS 1982, Gilroy 1980) and what they regard as White sociological perspectives, embraced in the work of John Rex (1973, 1974, 1979). The work of the Centre will be discussed more fully in Chapter 2 but it will be necessary to refer briefly to some of the more general criticisms levelled against the sociology of race relations in Britain in order to illustrate some similarity between the critique mounted by American Blacks and those emerging here.

Discussing the relationship between sociology and the pathological construction of Blacks, Lawrence noted that:

"sociologists have failed to question all but the most obvious common-sense racist assumptions. Indeed in many ways it is precisely these sorts of images and assumptions

which have been theorised" (Lawrence 1982:95).

A significant element in what Lawrence describes as the 'convergence between racist ideologies and the theories of "race/ethnic" relations in sociology, is sociology's conception of 'strong' solid Asian culture and a 'weak' incohesive Afro-Caribbean culture, which is unable to provide an effective frame of reference for their children. He notes how this popular media conception of the different degrees of adjustment of Asian and Afro-Caribbean people to English culture become rationalised and systematically theorised in academic discourse.

The dichotomy that is said to exist between Asian and West Indian culture has its fundamental location in the difference in the categorisation of these two groups. Lynn (1972), for example, distinguishes between a racial category and an ethnic group on the basis of the origin of the categorisation. In his distinction, a racial category is the effect of an externally imposed categorisation by an outside group, while an ethnic group is self selective, self-ascriptive, and based upon a sense of its cultural and ancestral origin.

Associated with the distinction between a racial category and an ethnic group, is the differential propensity or inbuilt predisposition to collective organisation. An ethnic group is said to possess this predisposition while a racial category does not. Within this framework, the self-activity ascribed to Asian groups and the overdetermined and externally defined racial identity conferred to West Indian groups necessarily dictates that the formation of a collective consciousness based upon cultural and ancestral aspirations which characterise an ethnic group cannot become part of the conceptual apparatus of understanding these groups defined as a racial category such as West Indian groups. A racial category therefore cannot call on, or call to collective group consciousness. The external imposition of identity, defined in terms of physical criteria such as skin colour removes the

possibility of self-definition from racially defined groups (Lyon 1972:257-8).

In short, an ethnic group possesses three different distinct advantages over a racial group:

- (1) Reflection on a historic or ancestral culture.
- (2) A specific form of cultural interaction.
- (3) Collective identity around which organisations of common values and beliefs can be pursued.

While Lyon is aware that an ethnic group can also have a racial category imposed upon it, a racial category cannot elect to become an ethnic group (ibid:257-8). This distinction outlined between an ethnic group and a racial category therefore provides the basis upon which West Indian groups in Britain can be allocated to a racial category. Even though Lyon concedes patterns of cultural practice to West Indians, he attributes their origins to slavery and colonialism. Thus he concludes that patterns of culture which have their antecedents in slavery and colonialism cannot express the forces of group self-identification/ cultural autonomy and self activity.

Lyon goes on to argue that the very process by which self-advancement and social mobility could be effected in the West Indies, required the African to negate his own self-identity. The strong correlation in plantation and colonial society between economic and political power and phenotypical variations meant that social advancement involved pursuing forms of miscegenation which required the racial/cultural negation of racial pride. West Indians, according to Lyon, came to Britain with an already formed negative self-image and the experience of racial negation and social exclusion. This left them ill-equipped to form collective organisations to fight their poor economic and political status (ibid:259-62).

The Culturalist Problematic

This absolute distinction between ethnic group and

a racial category also underlines the work of Pryce (1979), Cashmore (1979), Foner (1979), Rex and Tomlinson (1979), Garrison (1980). All these writers in different ways also make slavery the antecedent reference point for 'cultural stripping', 'cultural castration' and the negative self-image which now is said to underlie the failure of children of Afro-Caribbean origin in schools. Also, it is said to have a contributory impact on the weaker family structure of Afro-Caribbean people, which in turn cannot provide direction to Black youth. This generation gap is perceived to be at the heart of the alienation, which is said to predispose Black youth to crime. Although these arguments are juxtaposed with reference to institutional racism as a structural aspect, which conditions and limits Black mobility, there is a sense in which culture is given equal significance to structure. The view that different groups possess different cultural strengths and resources, which prevents them from being debilitated by racism, is mobilised to provide interpretative pre-eminence to culture. In particular, a cultural past is used to explain contemporary social practice. When Rex talks about the Jewish route for Asians and the Irish route for Afro-Caribbeans, he is effectively privileging a culturalist over a structuralist problematic (Lawrence 1982:123).

The culturalist problematic is conceptualised within a framework of the alleged degeneracy of certain groups. Thus, even when a perspective of social disadvantage is called upon, the proposition of social degeneracy still pertains because it is defined as internal to the group in the first instance. The tension between these two perspectives of degeneracy and disadvantage is superficial and therefore the balance has been tipped on the side of the cultural poverty perspective. That perspective informed the Moynihan report (1965) in America and now influences academic and popular conceptions of the Afro-Caribbean family in Britain (Lawrence 1982:177).

Race, Class and Disconnection

In the critique by young Black academics of this

absolutist distinction between an ethnic group and a racial category, special attention is given to the pioneering work of Rex and his more recent collaboration with Tomlinson (1979). Black academics, focus upon their conception of class structure and the stratification system (Lawrence, Gilroy).

The purpose of race relations analysis in Rex's paradigm is to ascertain how differentiation, structured by the stratification system, militates against the assimilation of colonial workers in metropolitan society (Rex 1970:105-8). Rex defines the stratification system of metropolitan societies as based upon 'the subjective picture or model of social relations which comes to men's minds when they think of their society as a whole' (Rex 1970:105). Rex argues that the absorption of the colonial worker in metropolitan society will be influenced by the lack of freedom associated with the reproduction of colonial workers in a colonial context. Thus, in contemplating the inclusion of colonial workers in the stratification system of metropolitan society, indigenous citizens will consider the 'political and economic status of the colonial his stage in cultural evolution and his colour and other physical characteristics' (ibid:106). These criteria according to Rex ensures that the coloured colonial worker remains 'outside the stratified set of positions in the stratification system' (ibid:107).

Rex claims that a familiar feature of Western industrial society is its tendency towards class integration (ibid:88). Minorities in these countries occupy an unenviable position due to the fact that they are unintegrated minorities in a relatively stable and integrated social order (ibid:88). Rex then speculates on the consequence for the social order when a group is likely to remain permanently excluded from the stratification system. He identifies colour as a characteristic which is equated with colonial status (ibid:108). Rex partly answers this question by arguing that the stratification system has been re-arranged, based upon the subjective identification of colour in the minds of indigenous workers. This accounts for the constitution of colonial

workers in metropolitan countries as a new underclass in which they share a similar position with the new poor (1970:108-9) (Rex and Tomlinson 1979:275). Colonial workers find themselves, in Rex's words, firstly confined to the position of replacement workers and residents. Secondly, and most importantly, they cannot expect with confidence that their children or grandchildren will have been accepted into the stratification system of the host society (ibid:109) (Rex 1973).

From these brief illustrations of Rex's analysis of colonial workers in metropolitan societies, it can be seen that colonial workers occupy no objective structural position in the class structure, only that which subjective White designations allow. In the context of the colonial worker, the social relations of production maintain no determining or structural significance. What has to be sought for and understood is the facilities that are available for assimilation into the stratification system. Although Rex, in his identification of social relations that determine a race relations situations, identifies the structural location of colonial workers in a colonial context, this methodology is eclipsed in his analysis of colonial workers in a metropolitan context. This is so because he dichotomizes and disconnects Black labour from the social relations of production and offers to them assimilation as the central interpretative paradigm around which their location in industrial society can be made sense of. In this disconnection, the indigenous worker enters class relations that have been structured by objective criteria, while colonial workers enter a sub-position in the stratification system on the basis of assimilation. Such assimilation is dictated by the pre-specified and pre-determined category of colour whose social designations have been determined by other groups. By abstracting colonial labour from the social relations of production, Rex cannot conceive the colonial worker as a racialised fraction within the specific structural position of migrant labour in European capitalism. He rather relies on ascriptive role allocation to explain a phenomenon that involves the complex restructuring

of labour power and international capitalism, which goes beyond the subjective perception of individuals to involve state regulation of class, politically and ideologically (Manuel Castells 1975, Carchedi 1979).

The culturalist problematic that has dominated sociological analysis of race relations has ensured, its critics argue, that racialised fractions of class continue to be viewed in opposition to class structure and external to relations of capitalist social relations. Relations of class and racialised fractions of class are then conceived as mere descriptive categories for typologising differentiation (Gilroy 1980:49).

Opponents of the Orthodox Consensus: Critical Sociology

Critical sociology opposes the model of the social formation presented by the orthodox consensus. Indeed, the dichotomy between objectivist and subjectivist sociology, between positivist and normative sociology, testifies to some of the controversies which have raised similar questions regarding the relationship between structure and agency and the relationship between autonomy and determination. If critical sociology contains interpretative paradigms within which oppositional critiques can be mounted, why is it still necessary to talk about or imply a distinctive Black perspective as some American and British social scientists do? Writing in the American context, Staples justifies this distinct perspective by arguing that from 1800-1960 sociology:

"as it relates to Black people, has been characterised by an ethnocentric bias, which has easily earned it the title of "white sociology" It furnished much of the ideological ammunition for the status quo level of race relations - White privilege and Black deprivation." (Staples 1976:12).

Further, Staples argues that

"contemporary sociology (post 1960) continues to define Blacks as a source of tension in the social structure whose demands for inclusion into mainstream society represents one of America's greatest social problems." (ibid:2).

One reason for the strength of this mode of conceptualisation in the orthodox consensus of race lies with the rather ambiguous category of race itself. In everyday usage, race is both a biological and social referent (Kuper 1980). Despite the fact that its biological validation has been significantly challenged, race, as a socially constructed discourse, still exists for social scientists. By and large, however, sociologists point out that the issue is not one of physical difference per se, but rather it is the social importance attached to physical difference when it is selected as a criteria for social organisation and the structuring of relationships.

Nonetheless, the biological origins of the conceptualisation of race and the accommodation and assimilation of biologically informed concepts in sociology has meant that the concept of race has been partly imprisoned in a biologicistic framework rather than viewed as an ideological construction. This is exemplified by the confirmed dominance of biologically informed evolutionary conceptions of race relations in functionalist analysis in which the structure of race relations is accounted for in terms of some evolutionary chain of attainment. A typical example of the policy implementation of this kind of thinking was in the utilisation of the D.E.S. 10 years rule in the 1970's. This was the time period allocated to the children of New Commonwealth migrants to acquire English language and to assimilate into British culture. The acquisition of English language during that period was to serve as the basis for the terminal stage of assimilation. The conception of discriminatory racial practice is based on physical dissimilarities. A profound and natural incompatibility between primordial culture, as symbolised by Black groups and modern culture as represented by White groups, was indentified as the underlying cause of tension. It is the dichotomy between two cultures, which has led to a view of assimilation being based upon incorporation into White dominant culture, as the basis for the eradication of conflict between the two racial and culturally distinct groups. As indicated earlier,

this conceptualisation has had a profound and definite impact on the educational response to Afro-Caribbean groups in Britain. It is for this reason that this chapter describes the conception that has informed racial policy and practice in Britain to be primordial and culturalist.

The Black Perspective

Many Black sociologists both in America and Britain found the premise of the primordial and culturalist formulation objectionable (CCCS 1982, Staples 1976).⁽⁵⁾ They objected to the disaccentuation of the imperatives of power and the historical connections between the system of capitalism and its particular forms of institutionalised race and class fractions. The stress which the primordial and culturalist formulation places upon ties of language, colour, religion, and culture assumes that race and forms of culture and ethnic domination are independent of the economy, political changes in the state and ideology. It is their underlying intimacy in questions of economy and politics, rather than their disassociation that is commonly the starting point of Black conception of their socio-cultural and economic reality.

Thus, on the question of race/culture and the social formation, there has emerged two opposing conceptions, one Black and one White. Although the two conceptions have been polarised between a distinct Black perspective and a White perspective, they are not meant to suggest absolute demarcations without overlap in thought and practice. Indeed some of the interpretations that are prevalent in the Black perspective, utilise general categories that are central to Marxist analysis and to traditional sociological paradigms. Nonetheless the conception of a Black perspective has been used to reflect upon a particular period in race relations history and to authenticate what is perhaps the most significant aspect of the difference between the two perspectives, namely the emphasis which the Black perspective attaches to the active and consequential imperative of human

agency or what is commonly described as struggle or resistance. Again it should be stressed that this does not imply that the theorisation of human agency has a constituting force only in Black conceptions of their history (Giddens 1987). Rather, it is to indicate a particular preoccupation with some of the most influential accounts by Black social theories such as Robinson (1983). It is the emphasis upon human agency that makes the Black perspective distinct from the dominant preoccupation with culture in liberal sociology, and economic determinism in Marx.

Cedric Robinson (1983) indicts Western scholarship in general for its massive historical denial of Africans in Africa and Africans in the diaspora. The very designation of the African as 'Negro' is constituted in that process of historical denial. Robinson criticises the construct of Negro or the "no history" claim made by Trevor Roper and asserts that:

"The construct of Negro, unlike the older terms African, Moor or Ethiopie, suggested no situatedness in time, that is history or space, that is ethnico -or political geography. The Negro had no civilisation, no cultures, no religions, no history, no place and finally no humanity which might command consideration. The Negro constituted a marginal group, a collection of things of convenience for use and for eradication. Obviously, no historical political tradition could be associated with such things." (Robinson 1980:30-1)

Robinson responds to what he conceives as the ubiquitous social process of racism in which all facets of Western thought are implicated. In spite of ubiquity of race, its totalising conception of Africans, it could not according to Robinson quell a methodological and epistemological account evident in the Black radical tradition. A tradition that has an essential component, a deconstructive methodology and an epistemology that has constantly reiterated its refusal to accept definitions which deny its own criteria of historical truth (Robinson 1982).

The 1960's gave new momentum to the deconstructive

methodology and the re-definitional epistemology of the Black perspective. Decolonisation, movements of national liberation in former colonial territories in Africa, the Caribbean, Asia, and Latin America, Civil Rights Movements in America and Britain made the challenge to the larger historical contextualisation of race itself more forceful.

On the academic front, it was a period in which Blacks revisited the Marxian problematic and found it wanting. It was a period in which they expressed dissatisfaction with Parsonian functionalism and the tenets of the orthodox consensus. It was a time when White sociologists were celebrating the 'End of Ideology' (for example David Bell (1961)). Black sociologists were proclaiming 'The Death of White Sociology', Staples (1976). It was a time when even the most liberal progressive expression of White scholarship was scrutinised against Black conceptions of its own phenomenology.

A distinctive Black perspective then is not claiming to possess an epistemological or a methodological focus, which has nothing to do with significant intellectual traditions in the social sciences. What, however, is being suggested, is that a distinctive Black perspective has developed with a methodological and epistemological focus, and with a particular kind of representation of itself in opposition to the sociology of race relations. In the Black perspective there is an interactive force, authenticated by the recognition of the conditionality of structure and simultaneously the capacity of human agency to change designations and the social practice to which these designations refer. More concretely, the reproduction of racial categorisation and practice are not conceived as external to the political, ideological and economic practice of capitalist society. Those that are racially fractionalised by the existence of racial designation, constantly struggle to deconstruct the power, which they assert. The methodology adopted to express the Black perspective is not therefore value-neutral. It is rather interventionist, critical,

committed, assertive, and active.

In contrast, the dominant mode of thinking in the White conception of the relationship between race and the social formation, takes the structural facets of social life as given. It argues that attitudes, beliefs and values shape social life and add a dynamic aspect to structures and practice. Beliefs and values are often in opposition to each other, but eventually higher order values triumph. This line of thinking has informed Park's Race Relations Cycle, the American Dilemma of Myrdal, the Parsonian Inclusion Cycle 1961, and the cultural diversity, assimilation, and integration cycle of British race relations detailed by Deakin and also in a different form by Rex (1970, 1979).

The methodological initiatives of the above conceptions are neutral in so far as they project an orthodox idealisation in their interpretation of the social order. They are predicated upon the notion that the social order does not need radical change. Instead, what needs to be changed are attitudes, to allow the incorporation of racially defined groups into the existing orthodox consensus. The issue is not how institutions underfunctioned to maintain a racialised fraction, but how attitudes of dominant groups could be altered and the extent to which the cultural values of the subordinate groups could be enabling or disabling given their different degrees of cultural strength.

The Black perspective continues to transgress the orthodox conventional framework of race relations sociology. The perspective refers to sociology as an avenue in which racialised discourse reproduces pathological conceptions of Black history and cultural life. These are negotiated, legitimated and invested with scientific rationality. In this sense, traditional White sociology is part of the problem, which radical analyses of the process of racial categorisation must confront (Gilroy 1980, 1982; Lawrence, 1982; Miles, 1980, 1982, 1984a, 1984b).

Race relations sociology is caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, it claims to provide objective accounts of racialised social relations, and on the other hand, it reproduces pre-specified, static, conceptual categories of race and cultural behaviour to explain social practices that have their source outside racial images. There is a fundamental sense in which liberal race relations sociology cannot cope with difference, since difference is often conceptualised as a threat to a pre-established consensus. The pathologisation of racial groups in a significant section of British sociology is partly a reflection of the extent to which they are conceived as threatening the consensus of the social order.

Thus the ideological force which keeps sociologists striving for consensus without looking at what constitutes the basis of that consensus, is part of the problematic of Black perspectives in the sociology of racialised forms of social practice. Yet, there is a delicate balance between the association of a racial category with a weak cultural focus and an ethnic group with a strong and determined sense of direction. Indeed, in the case of the ethnic group, cultural distinctiveness is viewed as a threat to an indigenous sense of cultural integrity and constantly runs the risk of undermining consensus (Barker 1981).

The Black perspective has offered its own perspective to explain the interaction between ideological constructions of race and the development of European and North American capitalism. The perspective accepts the economic components of racialised social practice. The ideological construction of race is ascribed an objective position in class and ideological formations irrespective of racialised division within the White working class. It is a construction that does not deny its objective relation to capital. The objection to consensus approaches, when they negate historical and cultural representations and forms of challenge was a central feature of its epistemology. These issues are not mutually exclusive in the Black perspective. They are regarded as acting together

to inform the complex of lived experience. In this way, the rejects the ideological principle of disconnection that underlies consensus approaches.

The dominant liberal assimilationist model of race relations illustrates the concept of disconnection which is expressed at three levels:

- 1 At the level of history, disconnection takes the form of exclusion from or denial of an authentic historical tradition. People of African descent enter history only through the institution of slavery and colonialism.
2. The racially constructed are denied possession of an independent cultural imperative and self-activity except as a response to White racial pressure.
3. At the level of social relations, racially defined groups do not enter social relations by objective criteria such as class but by ascriptive criteria of colour and perception of strangeness.

The work of Cedric Robinson challenges the concept of Disconnection. He describes the ubiquitous social process of racism, involving the externalisation of people of African descent from historical, cultural and social tradition, to be replaced by racial constructs. These constructs are ahistorical, asocial and dehumanising. They limit the full complex of human motivation.

SECTION 2

DISCONNECTION AND AUTONOMOUS CONCEPTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS

This section will consider models of pluralism and internal colonialism highlighting how they account for the force and persistence of racial forms of social organisation. Only brief reference will be made to the model of uneven development and structural dependency. This model was not specifically formulated to account for racial/ethnic domination and persistence, but it has certain features in common with the internal colonialism thesis since they both make capitalism an important contextual starting point. The discussion draws upon these models selectively to try to pinpoint their analytical thrust. Rather than simply review these models, the aim has been to situate them in the context of developments in Marxism to take account of differentiation. The purpose is to make Marxism more sensitive and effective in analysing non class-specific relations. Also, how Marxism has responded to the challenge is debated. Finally, the section examines the impact of Marxian analysis on the Black perspectives.

Race Relations and Marxian Problematics

Sociologists of race relations generally argue for a conception of race that is autonomous of class and not reducible to the level of the economy (Rex 1970, Cohen 1976, Gabriel and Ben Tovim 1978), 1979). In contrast, analyses operating within Marxian problematics maintain the importance of the economic even if only in the last instance. The Black radical perspective on the other hand, in its desire to transgress the consensus implied in both the sociological and Marxian problematics, qualifies its specific historical relationships with forces contained within the two problematics. The sociological problematic authenticates autonomy and agency and the Marxian authenticates the conditionality of structure (Hall 1980).

Thus, in the reformulation of sociological

perspectives to take account of a distinct Black perspective, there is a fundamental recognition of a material base in the origins and reproduction of processes of racialisation. The Black perspective therefore requires recognition of the complex articulation of race and class without allowing its complex and contradictory articulation to be used as a basis from which to abstract racially categorised groups from the social relations of class or to reduce those social relations as simply disguised economic pressure. Traditional sociological accounts of race relations rarely represent this complex duality. Ellison makes an exemplary comment in his critical review of An American Dilemma. He writes,

"In interpreting the results of this five year study, Myrdal found it confirming many of the social and economic assumptions of the left, and throughout the book he felt it necessary to carry on a running battle with Marxism. Especially irritating to him has been the concept of class struggle and the economic motivation of anti Negro prejudice which an increasing number of Negro intellectuals feel correctly analyses their situation." (Ellison 1973:92)

A recent British example comes from Rex and Tomlinson (1979). Their analysis of the structural position of ex-colonial workers in the British class structure relates their position primarily to ascriptive criteria without due regard to the role of migration in contemporary European class formations (Castles 1975).

The desire for consensus in race relations sociology generates such concepts as harmony, adjustment, accommodation, assimilation. Despite the fact that the empirical categories used by liberal sociology often identify conflict, inequality and crisis, it nonetheless fails to recognise that conflict and crisis are endemic to racialised formations. The expression of Black life, according to Ellison, continues to transgress the conception of consensus. That transgression is not only of liberal race relations consensus, but also a transgression of Marxian consensus. For example, Marxian analyses often appear to rationalise racist practice within the White working class when it uses competition over jobs

between the two groups of workers to account for racial behaviour (Miles and Phizacklen, 1980). They fail to recognise that racial behaviour is not simply a manifestation of economic behaviour as the pluralist account of race relations situation suggests.

Pluralism

The distinguishing feature of pluralism rests upon its belief in its own explanation of racial and cultural forms of structural and social organisation in certain societies. Racial and cultural forms of social organisation assume their own dynamic and are autonomous of class relations.

Essentially, plural societies are conceived as divided societies from their inception. Interaction between members only occurs in the market place. Although they share a common territory and live under a common state, there is no organic solidarity in the Durkheimian sense according to Furnival in his study Colonial Policy and Practice (Furnival 1956:304-6).⁽⁶⁾ What binds these societies together is coercion. A culturally distinct group, often a minority, gains control over the territory and institutionalises its power and culture. It monopolises state power to maintain and reproduce its dominance.

More recent pluralist analysis such as Leo Kuper (1971) and M G Smith (1971) have attempted to go beyond both the integrationist, consensus model of functionalist sociology and the subsuming of all contradictions under the rubric of the economy. Pluralism is defined not by consensus, but by coercion and the reconstitution of ethnic relations around a dominant core. Relations between groups, the context and content of their conflict had a specific history, which could not be simply accounted for by reference to economy.

Thus pluralists have reversed the order of determinacy in Marx, and in this particular instance, in Furnival, from the economy to the political structure. The

integrative force in plural societies, M G Smith conceives to be the political structure. Political domination by a cultural minority came before economic determinacy. He writes,

"Economic inequalities ... were based upon antecedent conditions of political and jural domination and presupposed them." (Smith 1971:59)

Similarly Smith and Kuper's conception of pluralism substantiates this position.

"The state proceeds and constitutes society. It is the state that is primary and imposes some measure of ordered relations on otherwise hostile or disassociated groups." (Kuper and Smith 1971:17-18)

Under this characterisation the state is not superstructural, reliant upon changing material relations to determine its effectivity. Rather the state is independent and its varying institutional practice structures class and race relations. In this view, changes at the level of the economy produce no necessary transformative corresponding changes in the state of ethnic or racial domination. Kuper and Smith argue that only political change alters the system of ethnic or race relations (Kuper and Smith 1971b:186-88).

The pluralist account raises a number of issues regarding the nature of change in plural societies. Accounting for change within the pluralist framework would therefore rely upon change taking place within the system of political domination. Without accounting for, or locating the motive force which informs shifts or changes in political organisation its explanatory power is weakened. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish the cause for the political incorporation of a minority that has been differentially incorporated which would in turn lead to the loss of control of the state apparatus by the dominant groups.

This raises the question of how the state in plural societies maintains stability and simultaneously regulates social, political, and economic displacement. Van der Bergh views the combination of political coercion and economic interdependence as the basis of their stability. In Van der

Bergh's view the relationship between stability, persistence and pluralism and tyranny are very closely related m(Van der Bergh, 1970).

Kuper and Smith further note that identification of the relationship between the economy and the political is a pre-requisite for the maintenance of the social formation of plural societies. They observe:

"Substantial continuity of the economic and ecological conditions in which the structure is first stabilised, 'inequalities and differences' must be disseminated to all spheres, namely in the 'religious, familial, educational, occupational, economic and other', while '... superior organisations and resources to which the rulers owe their initial dominance, should be maintained and enhanced." (Kuper and Smith 1971b:54)

Since, as Smith argues, dominance underlies the political order of plural societies, the dominant cultural groups can direct and manage economic resources and the political displacement that is associated with it.

The conclusive assertion of pluralism is that the state plays a very significant, if not determinant, role in managing and reproducing patterns of ethnic and racial domination. The economy does not possess a determination outside that which is allowed by the state.

Internal Colonialism

The conception of internal colonialism rests its claim of specificity and autonomy in its conceptualisation of racial practice on the context and content of the colonial experience. It attaches significance to domination and exploitation between culturally dissimilar groups. Blauner makes a forceful statement which typifies this conception:

"The colonial order in the modern world has been based on the dominance of White Westerners over non-Westerners of colour: racial oppression and the racial conflict to which it gives rise are endemic to it, much as class exploitation and conflict are fundamental to capitalist societies." (Blauner 1972:12-13)

Blauner's view is more historical than theoretical, and is dictated by the impact of 'worldwide patterns of White European hegemony forcefully establishing itself within national borders, creating oppressive and exploitative relations between Whites and Blacks.' As a consequence, non-European people of colour "became ethnic minorities en bloc collectively through conquest, slavery, annexation or racial labour policy." (ibid 1972). This leads Blauner to charge that "racism and racial oppression are ... independent dynamic forces, not ultimately reducible to other casual determinants." (Blauner 1969:393:408).

Similarly, Casanova, considers the different historical circumstances under which colonialism took root to be the distinguishing feature between class and racial practice. Accordingly, he writes:

"The colonial structure and internal colonialism are distinguished from the class structure since colonialism is not only a relation of exploitation of the workers by the owners of raw materials or of production or their collaborators, but also a relation of domination and exploitation of total population (with its distinct classes) by another population which also has distinct classes (proprietors and workers)." (Casanova 1965:30)

Structural Dependency and Metropolitan Satellite Relations

In contrast, this approach is not strictly concerned with the explanation of the persistence of ethnic/racial domination, but with the underlying contextualisation of capitalist development. This approach asserts that capitalist development creates inequalities, uneven development and underdevelopment (Wallerstein 1974). Relations, then, of exploitation and domination are not exceptional, they are indeed internally constituted in the process of capitalist development. Gunder Frank, one of the most influential proponents of the underdevelopment thesis, writes,

"Economic development and underdevelopment ... are the opposite forces of the same coin. They are the product of a single but dialectically contradictory process of capitalism." (Andre Gunder Frank 1967:9)

The ensuing relations between core and periphery sets the basis of what Wallerstein views as a system of worldwide divisions of labour with inbuilt systematic and functional underdevelopment. These issues will be returned to later in the chapter.

All these models have very direct consequences and implications for the formation of class structure. Both pluralism and internal colonialism, with their emphasis on the domination of total populations by different nations, covering distinct geographical areas, between different ethnic groups and peoples of colour, and the substructure of uneven development upon which capitalism functions, suggest that the class formation that emerges out of them is distorted both within developed and underdeveloped countries. Attempts to integrate racial or cultural domination with patterns of economic inequality is the specific historic project of internal colonialism. It attempts to give economic structure more of a determining role than does pluralism. The thesis of uneven development does not contradict too fundamentally some of the central assertions of the thesis of internal colonialism.

In an important respect, Wolpe argues that the relationship between stagnation, marginality at the periphery, and development at the core, is dictated by the specific relations of capitalism. In some societies, Wolpe maintains, capitalist penetration works to dissolve and destroy pre-capitalist labour and social relations, while others work to conserve pre-existing modes of production. He asserts that:

"In certain circumstances capitalism may, within the boundaries of a single state, develop predominantly by

means of its interrelationship with non-capitalist modes of production. When this occurs, the mode of political domination and the content of legitimization methodologies assume racial, ethnic, and cultural forms, and for the same reason as in the case of imperialism. In this case political domination takes on a colonial form, the precise or specific nature of which has to be related to the specific mode of exploitation of the non-capitalist society." (Wolpe 1975:244)

It can be seen that although pluralism, internal colonialism, and uneven development, attempt to position and account for non-class oppression and their consequence for class formation from different perspectives, each nonetheless recognises the principle of historical distinctiveness. They also demonstrate that, in terms of historical and theoretical adequacy, social relations cannot be viewed as an undifferentiated continuum, simply because they contain an economic source. This is a methodological flaw, implied in Marxism to which it has had to respond.

The Marxist Response: The Concept of Modes of Production and Articulation

Marxist scholars in the 1970's, felt the need to structure the methodology, which could combine differentiation of instances and the notion of linkages within a complex social formation characterised by capitalism, to account for non-class social relations and the non-uniform action of capitalism. Critics argue that class no longer possessed the same degree of currency in oppositional practice that Marxists had ascribed to it. Instead, Parkin noted that,

"Racial, ethnic and religious conflict, ... have moved towards the centre of the political stage in many industrial societies." (Parkin 1979a:9)

Further, Parkin argues that the continued dominance of objectivist methodology enabled Marxists to disaccentuate internal fragmentation and internal differences within classes. This continued dominance of objectivist methodology makes Marxist attempts to account for "the renaissance of

ethnic identity and conflict within the very heartland of Western capitalists" unsuccessful (Ibid:32).

Parkin considered that for Marxists to operate within a methodology of difference or differentiated whole was inappropriate, since its very epistemological categories are embodied in objectivism and materialism. Consequently he concludes:

"Notions such as mode of production make their claim to explanatory power precisely on the grounds of their indifference to the nature of the human material whose activities they determine. To introduce questions such as the ethnic composition of the workplace is to clutter up the analysis by laying stress upon the generality of social actions, a conception diametrically opposed to the notion of human agents as larger embodiments of systematic forces." (Parkin 1979b:625)

In response to such criticism, Marxist analyses have had to arbitrate between the relationship of generality and specificity and their determination. This very relationship has become central to the internal re-examination of Marxism. The issue of homogenisation and the failure of differentiation seem obvious, especially in relation to the unparallel action of capitalism in developed and underdeveloped countries. Marxists could openly debate the fact that the social relations upon which their analysis rested has not been successful in understanding non-European countries (Foster Carter 1978, Brewer 1980), and the relationship between ethnic formation and the emergence of class alliance.

Marxist development theory now addresses itself to the contradictory articulation and disarticulation of capitalism in the heartland of Europe and underdevelopment outside Europe. Some of the most influential development writers have characterised this contradictory tendency in a variety of ways. For example, Arrighi and Saul describe this as Growth without Development (Arrighi and Saul 1973@:26); Bettelheim talks of Conservation Dissolution; and Meillassoux of the simultaneous process of the pre-capitalist modes being undermined and perpetuated at the same time. Poulantzas draws

attention to the 'complex forms of dissolution and conservation' and Frank of development and underdevelopment (Foster Carter 1978:51).⁽⁷⁾

In addressing the issue of homogenisation and the failure of differentiation in Marxism, Marxists have revisited the concept of mode of production. Perhaps more than any other concept, mode of production has been invested with the capacity to modify the excess of structural determination in Marxism without weakening its theoretical effectivity (Hall 1980). It has had a central reformulative influence on the work of Althusser and Balibar, 1970, Poulantzas 1974, Laclau 1977, the development writers just mentioned and the anthropological writings of Rey among others (Brewer 1980:8).⁽⁸⁾

A central theoretical assertion of the concept of mode of production rests upon the view that a social formation (Althusser and Balibar 1970), or an economic system (Laclau 1977) can contain more than one mode of production. Its central operational thrust is that there is an articulation, linking or an interaction between different modes of production, but one is always dominant (Althusser and Balibar 1970). These theorists argue for a certain degree of unitary action in capitalism. That is, capitalism can create capitalist structures and relations within a pre-capitalist mode of production without generalising the fully fledged mechanism of growth, development, labour market and social relations associated with capitalism in Europe.

There is then an uneasy tension between what appears as the ultimate parallelism of action of capitalism (Foster Carter 1977) and the profound way in which Third World countries fail to empirically substantiate this notion of parallelism. This can be seen particularly in terms of their underdevelopment. Rey's use of the concept of articulation is able to specify concrete relations and their means of mediation, such as, between slave labour and free labour. However, Rey's argument ultimately ends at the same place as

Gunder Frank who conceptualises capitalism as a hierarchical unity, dichotomised between metropolitan and satellite. For Frank, the penetration of capitalism was total. He refused to accept the concept of capitalism partiality and impervasity. He rejected the dualism between traditional and modern capitalist structures. Rather, capitalism was defined as a single world system in line with the view of Wallerstein.

In response to Frank, Foster Carter noted that Rey and Laclau's analysis of pre-capitalist modes of production, highlighted the problems of applying such a general framework. The concept also demonstrated an analytical divide between Frank's total, all-encompassing capitalism, and Rey's and Laclau's structured and differentiated whole, defining an economic system characterised by capitalism in the last instance.

The problem posed by the tension between differentiation and the mode by which differentiation gets reproduced reasserts itself in the concept of articulation. The problematic, according to Alavi, is not articulation per se, but the force which develops when the colonial mode gets implanted into several modes through conquest and domination. Foster Carter notes that for Alavi, contradiction and disarticulation structures and authenticates this relationship rather than articulation, leading to the parallel action of capitalism (Foster Carter, *ibid*:70-73).

In spite of differences of analytical formulation and emphasis, these concepts have generated such an intense debate that certain issues are placed centrally within the problematic of Marxism itself. Issues of non-class division, such as ethnic and racial divisions, national minorities, religious conflict, gender, development studies in which social formations outside Europe are ascribed their effectivity are now core and not peripheral issues to Marxist analysis.

In short, the view that Marxist analysis represents

a set of uncontested, instrumentalist, economistic and reductionist propositions unable to grapple with some of the complex issues surrounding race/class formations is now untenable. Hall, in a definitive synthesis of theoretical developments within Marxist analysis, notes that Gramsci, Althusser, Poulantzas, Laclau and the economic anthropology of Rey, Meillasoux and Godolier, have all made it possible to reposition and reformulate the theoretical basis upon which the question of, for example, race and class are debated (Hall 1980).

A theoretical reformulation must then have as its prerequisite, a recognition both of historical specificity and differentiation within instances. Some Marxists claim that these reformulations have not gone far enough. In his critique of the literature on modes of production, Foster Carter observed that:

"too little attention has been paid to other instances and "practices" than the economic: notably the political, not to mention those areas (ideology, religion, kinship, ideas), which correspond to peoples' own consciousness of their position." (Foster Carter, *ibid*:77)

He supports Arrighi's claim that:

"the division of the world in national states, ethnic groups, races, etc. with unequal power is not a purely superstructural phenomenon, but is something that strongly influences class interests and must therefore be taken into account in the very process of defining class." (Foster Carter, *ibid*:77)

It is the plurality and contingency implied in this articulation that Black Marxism is attempting to grapple with in its conceptualisation of race.



SECTION 3

BLACK REFORMULATIONS

This section outlines the general impact of Marxist conceptualisation on the analysis of racial practice and looks at the kinds of qualifications that have been applied to their usage. Special reference will be made to the recent critique of Marxism by Cedric Robinson in his Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition.

An area in which the force of Marxist conceptions has been affirmed by leading Black theorists, is that which stipulates the economic in general and the capitalist contextualisation of racial practice in particular. This conception has profoundly influenced the works of Cox 1970, Rodney 1972, Williams 1975, CLR James 1980. It has forced latterday Black radicals to question the economic implications on a Black perspective informed by its own historical tradition outside the framework of European involvement.

Perhaps the most uncompromising expression of the relationship between the economic force of capitalism and modern racial practice has been put forward by Oliver Cromwell Cox (1970). He maintained quite unequivocally:

"that racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism" (1970:332)

Similarly, Eric Williams in Capitalism and Slavery reinforces the economic rationalisation of slavery. He asks the following question:

"What, then, is the origin of Negro slavery? The reason was economic, not racial, it had to do not with the colour of the labourer, but with the cheapness of the labour." (1975:19-20)

Williams comments that the exploitation of African labour contributed to the British industrial revolution:

"The triangular trade ... give a triple stimulus to British industry By 1750 there was hardly a trading manufacturing town in England which was not in some way connected with the triangular or direct colonial trade. The profits obtained provided one of the mainstreams of that accumulation of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution." (Williams 1975:52)

Stuart Hall also noted the contribution made by ex-colonial people to Britain's economic development:

"Britain's rise to mercantile dominance and the process of generating the surplus wealth which set economic development in motion, were founded on the slave trade and the plantation system in the Americas in the 17th century. India provided the basis for the foundation of Britain's Asian Empire in the 18th century; the penetration by trade of Latin America and of the Far East." (Hall 1978:25)

The recognition and affirmation of the material appropriation of African labour is in fact a fundamental and yet minimal recognition. Marxist analysis can explain the historical and material conditions of oppression, whose force is often absent in traditional sociology, but the relationship between the economic and consciousness in Marxist approaches tends to be too deterministic. This criticism is made not only by those opposed to a Marxist paradigm, but also by Black Marxists. This critique led to a significant re-examination of the Marxist paradigm by writers within that tradition such as Althusser, Poulantzas and Laclau. Indeed, their works have stimulated rather exciting reformulations of concepts which orthodox Marxism had historically treated unproblematically.

Central issues, around which that reformulation took place, raised questions such as what degree of determination should be applied to the economic. What degree of proportionality should be granted to class and non-class forms of oppression, and, what degree of autonomy should be ascribed to the political and to ideology. These debates shifted from the abstract to confront real issues concerning the inability of Marxist analysis to account for the persistence of differentiations within the capitalist mode of production,

in spite of the strongly held view that capitalism has the tendency to dissolve other modes of production. The theory of underdevelopment and uneven development contradicted that assertion (Frank 1967). The theoretical reformulations provided the analytical basis to challenge the privileging of class in Marxist analysis. Now, gender and racial oppression are seen to articulate with class in ways that cannot be explained by simple reference to the economic location of class.

For our purposes, the reformulation showed quite clearly that the social relations upon which Marxist analysis has rested has been less successful in furthering our understanding of non-European countries and the formation of class within opposing ideological political formations. It is upon these assertions that Robinson criticises the limitations of Western Marxism. Robinson's analysis hopes to provide the historical, epistemological and ontological reason why it is untenable for Africans in their Diaspora to utilise Marxian analysis to understand what they were, what they are, and what they are becoming. In doing so, he imposes a number of methodological injunctions which challenge some of what he regards as the fundamental conceptual starting points and errors of Marxist analysis in as far as it applies to Black history and Black struggles.

His three main debating points with Marxist analysis concern

(1) The origins of capitalism and its connections with the origins of racism in 18th century capitalism. Against such claims, Robinson argues that racism pre-dates capitalism. He maintains that capitalism simply exaggerated a tendency for differentiation already embedded in European civilisation itself (Robinson (Ch.1). He makes a significant statement to this effect:

"What concerns us is that we understand that racialism and its permutations persisted, rooted not in a particular era but in the civilisation itself. And though our era might seem a particularly fitting one for depositing the origins of racism, that judgment merely reflects how resistant the

idea is to examination and how powerful and natural its specifications have become As an enduring principle of European social order, the effects of racialism were bound to appear in the social expression of every strata of every European society This proved to be true for the rebellious proletariat as well as the radical intelligentsia. It was again, a quite natural occurrence in both instances. But to the latter -the radical intelligentsias - it was an unacceptable one, one subsequently denied." (Ibid:28)

(2) The second challenge to Marxist analysis concerns the progressive role that Marx ascribed to capitalism. Robinson asserts that Marx and Engels could only maintain that progressivist assumption by ignoring the legacy of racism and ethnocentrism in Europe. Its annihilation, brutalization and dehumanisation of historical, economic and social structure of the world outside Europe, he suggests, testify to that claim. The obliteration of the force of racism from their analysis, according to Robinson, only "compelled certain blindness, bemusements which in turn systematically subverted their analytical construction and their revolutionary project." (Ibid:29). In order to substantiate his claim, Robinson cites the subjugation of the political forces of peoples dominated by colonialism and imperialism to the social forces of European capitalism and the proletariat. Marxism is unable to come to terms with the way in which racism and ethnocentrism have compromised the revolutionary and transformative role Marx ascribed to the proletariat. Marx and Engels's treatment of the Irish Question he offers as 'further substantiation of this claim.

(3) Related to the two criticisms made by Robinson above, is his view that, Marx and Engels' conceptions of social forces that are determinant in politics and economics in the European formation meant that they underestimated the power and significance of anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic opposition in social formations outside Europe. Robinson concludes that the Marxian framework of analysis has only marginal relevance to the Third World and by implication these struggles which coalesce around racial ascription, colonialism and imperialism.

Although it is not possible to address the rather detailed and complex position of Robinson's challenge to Marxist analysis for its particular way of conceptualising the world outside Europe, it is necessary to briefly draw attention to Nimtz's (1985) critique of the principal claims of Black Marxism. Nimtz criticises Robinson's conceptualisation of capitalism both in its origins and its progressive features as inadequate (ibid:78). He argues that Robinson fails to distinguish between mercantile capitalism of the 15th Century and generalised commodity production, embodying use and exchange value, which Marx locates as a phenomena of the second half of the 18th Century. This prevents Robinson from grasping the objective force which dictated capitalism penetration of areas outside Europe. Further, Nimtz accuses Robinson of taking Marx's argument out of context and ignoring the qualifications Marx made to the progressive nature of capitalism. He notes that Marx was at pains to emphasise the contradictory nature of capitalist accumulation, which involves pauperization on the one hand and wealth on the other hand (Ibid:80).

With respect to class action, Nimtz notes that it is wrong to assume that Marx was unaware of the obstacles to united class action produced by nationalism. He cites Marx and Engels' pronouncements on the attitude of the English working class to the Irish question (ibid:80). Similarly, the issue raised by Robinson with respect to the colonial question, Nimtz takes the opposite view. He argues that Lenin and Trotsky built on the legacy of Marx and Engels by the particular way they addressed themselves to the national question and the issue of self determination (ibid:84-5).

In challenging this point Robinson writes:

" ... Marx had not realised fully that the cargoes of labourers also contained African cultures, critical mixes and all mixtures of language and thought, of cosmology and metaphysics, of habits, beliefs and morality. These were the actual terms of their humanity. These cargoes, then, did not consist of intellectual isolates or decultured blanks - men, women and children separated from their previous universe. African labour brought the

past with it, a past which had produced and settled on it the first demands on consciousness and comprehension." (Robinson 1982:173)

This, then forms the contextual basis for a methodology of deconstruction and epistemological reformulation on the part of African in their diaspora. A recognition that entails the 'resolution of the inevitable conflict between the actual and the normative' according to Robinson (Robinson, *ibid*:174). Robinson cites Cabral's description of this dichotomy.

" ... imperialist domination, by denying the historical development of the dominated people, necessarily also denies their cultural development. It is ... understood why imperialist domination like all foreign dominations, for its own security, requires cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of the essential elements of the culture of the dominated people ... it is generally within the culture that we find the seed of opposition." (Robinson, *ibid*:174)

Thus, in a complex way Robinson is not saying, as Nimtz suggests, that Black writers such as CLR James and those others that he cites as symbolic of the Black radical tradition, have abandoned Marx. Most significantly he is arguing that their recognition of the force of racism in the social formation of Europe, its infusion in the very methodological and conceptual categories often presented as a source of their liberation, has forced the Black radical tradition to reshape and extend the conceptual models of Marxism to account for the specificity of their historical processes that are inadequately theorised in Eurocentric Marxism.

This epistemological tension, requires coming to terms with the disconnection which European categories of social thought placed at the heart of the Black radical traditions' own conception of its historical enterprise. This dilemma is often profound because in the case of Black Marxism, it means confronting a mode of thought, which because

of its claim to scientific socialism often discounts the material force of ideology. Failure to confront this contradiction would be tantamount to accepting the historical negation which economism confers, according to Robinson. He cites Cabral again in recognition of this position.

" ... national liberation is the phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical processes. In other words, the national liberation of people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people. Its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected." (Robinson:386)

Robinson considers that while Cabral makes this conclusion explicit, CLR James struggles with this tension. Nowhere is this more evident, Robinson demonstrates, than in his analysis of the historical mission of Toussaint. Although Toussaint had succeeded in successfully overcoming Bonaparte in Haiti, his ultimate failure in revolutionary vision of social transformation after the revolution lay in his inability to conceive the totality of the historical mission he had embarked upon. Namely, the recreation of the historical process, which French imperialism along with the ideology of racism had arrested. Toussaint tied his past and revolutionary vision into the radical sentiments of the French revolution, failing to recognise that racism was not absent from its radical sentiment (Robinson 1980).

According to Robinson, Toussaint's error continues to plague 'the revolutionary Black intelligentsia'. It is an error born of a dilemma that is based, even now, upon the continued 'declared identification of a Black revolutionary intelligentsia with the masses' while maintaining their submission to scientific socialism that denies the material force of ideology. Robinson argues, economism suppresses consciousness, it follows, therefore, that it is only in the reclamation of consciousness that the full historical integrity of Africans in their diaspora can be reconstructed. It is then, the privileging of economism and the failure of consciousness in Marxism which informs the paradox of the

Black radical traditions endorsement of. This contradiction is maintained, Robinson argues, because of "the patronising attitudes towards the organic leaders of the masses; and the ambivalent pride of place presumed for the Westernised ideologue." (Ibid:388).

Ultimately, Robinson's position rests with his view that the continued dominance of these two underlying presuppositions, if unchallenged, cripples Black consciousness making it unable to recognise the specificity of its own revolutionary culture. This would then require coming to terms with its own historical process to take it beyond the fetter of European economism, and racial characterisation (Robinson, Ch.7).

In short, it is not that Robinson is arguing that the writers who embody a Black radical tradition have in some simplistic way rejected Marxism. Rather, he asserts that these Black radicals, who have operated within its paradigm, are faced with a dilemma. That dilemma contains two substantive problems:

- (1) Namely, the obliteration of an autonomous conception of Black people as historical figures.
- (2) The substitution or replacement of that autonomous historical process by which a culture is informed and produced for a process of arbitration with another social formation. This ultimately makes the indigenous culture conditional or obligatory to externally imposed pressure and conceptions which are internal to the external social formation.

Herein lies the contested area within which Robinson locates the Black radical traditions' negotiation with Marxism. In order to rescue this tension implied in the negation, the Black radical tradition has had to extend, reformulate, deconstruct and counter Eurocentric Marxism in order to retain theoretical effectivity. This can be illustrated by CLR James in his debate with the Haitian Revolution. James applied the theories of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, to substantiate his material understanding

of the appropriation of slave labour in Haiti.

This, however, did not lead him to conclude that the cultural medium through which the Haitian revolution was articulated, was informed by the same 'source of ideological and cultural developments' as the European proletariat (Robinson, *ibid*:384). He noted that the cultural terms with which the masses conducted the revolution did not show any loyalty to the rationalising ideology of the enlightenment of the French bourgeoisie and could not be subjugated to that ideal. The African cult of Voodoo represented an autonomous expression of their own specific revolutionary culture.

The issue of disloyalty to the European enlightenment tradition was a problem for Toussaint when the leadership of the revolution had been entrusted to the masses. They found nothing in European culture worthy of negotiation. Racism and oppression symbolised every level of it. Coming to terms with the force that racism has left in European formation thus imposes a methodological caution on the utilisation by Black scholars of even the most radical construction of European thought, Marxism. The deconstructivist and reformulative methodology, which is a characteristic feature of the Black radical tradition, dictates that even in its confrontation with the radical epistemology of Marxism, it must retain an autonomous conception of itself and its practice outside the force of European designation. This recognition constitutes a more powerful force than is realised in the writings of those who, according to Robinson, espouse the Marxian tradition.

Thus, although James' work represents a powerful and loyal adherence to Marxism, it does attempt to escape from the tension between the race/class problematic. In James' work the modality of race represents the becoming or, unleashing class contradiction. Hence his debate with the Haitian revolution demonstrates that national oppression articulated through racial oppression contained the source of class conflict. The Revolution itself and Toussaint's error demonstrated the

limits of petit bourgeois European leadership and revealed in a more explicit way, class struggles and class formation that had been kept in abeyance because of national oppression.

Nimtz, unlike Robinson, does not question the relevance of Marxism for Third World struggles. Nor does he agree with Robinson's view of leading Black exponents of the radical tradition, in particular, CLR James. According to Nimtz, CLR James does view Marxism as relevant to the Black experience and continues today to be one of its leading exponents (Martin 1972, Ch.10). The specific detail of Nimtz's critique of Robinson's Black Marxism rests essentially with its interpretation of Marx and Engels' understanding of the incorporation of non-European people into capitalism. Nimtz's review is limited insofar as it does not engage with some of the more fundamental and complex objections of Robinson to materialist methodology. For Robinson, materialist methodology, in ascribing a limited effectivity to consciousness, subordinates the human agent to the capitalist mode of production, which is then activated as the determining and explanatory device for all social processes.

This methodological device, when applied to non-European people, denies and negates their autonomous, historical process. The economistic model, for Robinson, implies two rather serious consequences. Firstly, by conceptualising Black labour as mere units of economic production, the cultural and authentic historical conditions under which Black labour has been reproduced outside the parameters of European engagement could not be accounted for in European analysis. This is a legacy which dominates many contemporary analyses of Black culture. A legacy that dictates that Black cultural products are conceived as either a pathological response to White pressure, or a response informed by the normlessness that cultural stripping produces.

Robinson is correct to identify the force of the race and class contradiction in the Black radical traditions' negotiations with Marxism but, unlike Robinson, CLR James'

work suggests that the tension is not unbridgeable. Contrary to Robinson's critique of James, James work suggests that historical struggles determine the relationship between race and class. That relationship is not static but is constantly re-negotiated and race/class boundaries are being re-drawn in diverse struggles and ideological formations. National liberation, in James's conception, forcefully exposes its own limitations, and unfolds indigenous class struggles that laid dormant.

Although Robinson's objections to Marxist methodology is specifically located within his particular reading of its direct and implicit consequences for the conception and practice of an African historiography, Robinson is not alone in emphasising that Marxist scholarship, both in its inception and practice, has underconceptualised the force and the persistence of racial practice in European social formation. Nonetheless a reconceptualised Marxism stressing differentiation, contradictory unity, may be more able to explore the displacement of its own logic of determination. However, the context of Robinson's problematic is significant. His analysis points to the methodological and epistemological consequence when only material significance is attached to the economic interaction between European and new European social formations. The political and cultural subjugation of oppositional practice to external economic pressure denies a conception of culture motivated by its own logic and sharpened by the recognition. Consciousness and intentionality are the means by which to reclaim control over the definition of one's historical and cultural process.

Conclusion: Disconnection

The presentation in this chapter of the different conceptualisations of race reveals a three-dimensional tension. This is evident in the conflict between White liberal sociology, Marxian theory and the Black perspective. The Black radical perspective is critical of liberal sociology and some Marxian approaches because they operate with the principle of

disconnection. The Black perspective aims to reconcile the dichotomy implied in the way liberal race relations and Marxist theories approach situations structured by race. Marxian theories provide a more useful framework and the analysis of Marxian approaches has been presented in terms of their ability to deal with the question "What degree of autonomy and dependency should be ascribed in racial situations? The above question has dictated the organisation of Marxian theories in this chapter in its aim to formulate an adequate theoretical framework for the analysis of race.

Liberal Sociology and Race

In the sociological approach, race is generally conceived of as a process which means that social relations not immediately referenced by race are not credited with any real explanatory power. Race therefore contains its own active, internal and autonomous dynamic, which neutralises other social relations such as class. White liberal sociology effectively challenged the economic reductionism of early Marxian analysis but was essentially flawed as a theoretical explanation of race because it operated with the principle of disconnection. Disconnection, in this context, places racial practice as external to the forces and social relations of class. Racial practice is not located within the central areas of change within the social formation. Any change in the dynamic of race have ultimately to be related back to its own logic.

Disconnection then legitimates the commonsense recognition of phenotypical variations and the creditation of an essentially naturalistic category with explanatory and analytic powers. In this sense disconnection does not conceive the ideology of racial practice as false, but rather reflects the consciousness of difference at both a physical and cultural level. Hence the power ascribed to assimilation and integration as mechanisms to flatten out differences in order that consensus can be achieved.

The Marxian Approach

In a traditional Marxian approach autonomy is rejected and racial situations are understood as disguised economic class encounters. Although a reformulated Marxism has developed a concept of relative autonomy, that concept does not go far enough in Robinson's view to account for the specifying and the reformulative will of consciousness. Consciousness is still impelled by a determination in the last instance. Disconnection in this context implies a devitalisation of authentic cultural and historical forces and their replacement with European economic and cultural forces.

Going beyond the concept of disconnection expressed through race required coming to terms with the different levels of reality in the operations of racialisation. People who have been the objects of racial predetermination, have had to come to terms with the different levels at which racism has shaped their experience. It has meant profoundly challenging the reification of race while accepting the different articulated instances of racism and its real ideological and material effects.

Thus, a reformulated Marxism can now operate with a dual conception of ideology which accounts for, and reflects, a dimension of reality and also a false representation of reality. There is a sense in which, those who are victims of a dominant ideological representation, such as Africans and people of African descent, must see the racial representation of themselves as false and therefore see racial ideology as false. Even though they may recognise the way in which racism and racial designations are utilised to channel and direct their position in social relations of capitalism they cannot accept the ideological rationale of their inferiority to be the basis of their differential social positioning.

The Black Perspective

The Black perspective, unlike the liberal sociology

and Marxian perspectives, has a pedagogic and historical necessity to grapple with the principle of disconnection. The liberal perspective confers autonomy to racially designated groups which necessitate their externalisation from social relations that did not appear to immediately implicate a racial calculation.

In the Marxian problematic, inclusion entailed the subjection to the social and economic forces of capitalist relations. Definitions of self-activity become reconstituted as racial manifestations of economic pressure.

Delineating the parameters of race consciousness, has been a profound expression in the struggles of Black people against the socially homogenising tendency of race, while simultaneously attempting to understand the social mediations and contradictory articulation of racism. The struggle is not without dangers, for there is a risk in essentialising cultural attributes and consciousness so that they become static or immune to other ideological mediations. Indeed, this is a problem for the racial forms of education to be discussed.

In a rather fundamental sense, Cedric Robinson's recent exploration into the limits of Western Marxism has attempted to demonstrate how Black struggles against 'race' conceptualisations, characterisations and representations of the history of Africans in Africa and in their Diaspora, has profoundly challenged conceptions that substitute race for consciousness.

The methodological injunction of the Black radical tradition, as conceived by Robinson, has had to operate against a background structured by the recognition that the reification of race is a denial of the full complexity of human discourse.

Thus an essential component of the Black radical tradition is, its deconstructionist method. Robinson's

conceptualisation of Black resistance and, indeed, the examples of Black negation of sociological and Marxian representation of racially structured formation presented in this chapter, would testify to this significant and historically informed methodological trend of deconstruction and hence reformulation.

The method of deconstruction and reformulation constitutes a fundamental prerequisite of human agency which Giddens describes as 'capability', the consciousness to act otherwise and knowledgeably which imposes the recognition of the conditionality of structures (Giddens 1982).

It is this dual recognition of capability and knowledgeability which, for Robinson, has been so profoundly neglected in Marxist negotiations with racially structured formations. The deconstructionist and reformulative principles of the Black perspective offer a potential method for the conceptualisation of Black experience and the operationalisation of the paradigm of capability and knowledgeability. These critiques have helped to form a more nuanced conceptualisation for thinking race. They have helped to shape some of the most influential reformulations of race in England. These reformulations are the subject matter of the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. For further discussion of the characterisation of African/American experience in sociology see the collection of articles in Joyce Ladner (ed) (1973) The Death of White Sociology, Random House, New York.
2. See Peter Winch's influential challenge to the orthodox consensus, The Idea of the Social Science, London, Routledge 1958.
3. Park conceives the race relations cycle as a law of historical development. He writes:

"The race relations cycle is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement, may perhaps halt it altogether for a time but cannot change its direction; it cannot at any rate reverse it."

Robert Park, 'Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific', Race and Culture, Vol.1, The Collected Papers of Robert Ezra Park, Everett C. Hughes et al. Glencoe, III. Free Press, 1950.

4. For an interesting discussion of the African in Western thought see Cedric J. Robinson 'Coming to Terms: The Third World and the Dialectic of Imperialism'. Paper presented at the conference on "Race, Class and the State". Brighton Polytechnic, Falmer, Brighton UK 1980.
5. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies has provided an important focus for the reconceptualisation of race within the framework of relative autonomy located within a neo-Marxian framework. See the work of Freedman, C. (1983-84) "Overdeterminations: On Black Marxism in Britain", Social Text, 8, 142-150.
6. Furnival's study of Burma, the Netherlands and India led him to characterise the structure of plural encounters as a 'medley'.

"It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds to its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. Its individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit." (Furnival, J S (1956) Colonial Policy and Practice, New York, New York University Press, p.309.

7. Foster Carter (1978) provides an excellent overview of some leading Marxian debates on underdevelopment and the characterisation of capitalism in that context. These debates are underpinned by the concept of articulation

between different modes of production and marked by different relations of production. (Foster Carter (1978) "The Mode of Production Controversy", New Left Review, No.107, January/February 1978).

8. Anthony Brewer offers a detailed guide to this literature. (Brewer, A. (1980) Marxist Theories of Imperialism, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.)

CHAPTER 2

RACE, CLASS AND THE PROCESS OF RACIALISATION

Introduction

The three dimensional tension that was discussed in the previous chapter between culturalist sociological accounts, Marxian accounts and the Black Nationalist perspective have provoked contemporary Marxian reformulations of race and class. The formulations conceptualise race as an embryonic feature of capitalist relations, structuring social relations and directing its dispositional and strategic power (Nikolinakos 1973, Hall 1977, 1980, Gabriel and Ben-Tovin 1978, Sivanandan 1982, Miles 1982, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982). Further attempts to refine our understanding of social structures and to render them historically specific have drawn upon American and South African experience⁽¹⁾ (Wolpe 1980, Burawoy 1981⁽²⁾, Bonacich 1980, 1981a, 1981b, Marable 1984).

These reformulations have generated competing conceptions of race and class. They are: (1) the autonomous conception of race, (2) the relative autonomy of race, and (3) migrant labour and racialisation. As these concepts represent a wide range of theoretical underpinnings, the works of Gabriel and Ben-Tovin (1978, 1981) have been selected to represent the autonomous model. Stuart Hall (1980) and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1982) identify the relative autonomy principle. The migrant labour and racialisation model draws upon the work of Miles 1982, Phizacklea 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1980. These theoretical formulations of race and class have been selected in order to demonstrate the operations of disconnection.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first two sections consider the concept of autonomy, and relative autonomy respectively. The third section focuses on the labour migrant racialisation model. The final section examines these

concepts in terms of the analytical principle of disconnection and the construction of an education discourse around race.

SECTION 1

THE AUTONOMOUS CONCEPTION OF RACE

The analysis of Gabriel and Ben-Tovim is unlike most Marxist accounts. In most Marxian accounts, race is generally conceptualised with the social relations of capitalism. They conceive racism as primarily an ideological product. They write of race and racism that:

"They could be considered as primarily the product not of economic exigencies ... or purposive human activity ... but of determinate ideological practices, with their own theoretical/ideological conditions of existence or their own irreducible contradictions. Only subsequent to this process of ideological production do specific racial ideologies intervene at the level of political practice and the economy." (Gabriel and Ben-Tovim 1978:139)

Gabriel and Ben-Tovim authoritatively argue for an autonomous conception of race as opposed to one conceived within the framework of relative autonomy.⁽³⁾ They are uneasy with Althusser's theory of relative autonomy, believing it conceals its base in reductionism. Indeed, the relationship between race and class is unequal. Ultimately, the privileging of class is reintroduced through the back door. Hall's view that race is the modality in which class is lived, would constitute the ultimate subordination of race for Ben-Tovim and Gabriel. They would see as the outcome of this, the ultimate subordination of deterministic forms of understanding and political action against racism.

In their analysis, ideology is the dominant structuring principle in racial practice. The economy is not the condition for its production in the first instance. Racial practice is a manifestation of specific historical struggles which are not reducible to the broader forms of economic social relations. This provides the interpretative framework for them to analyse the social construction of race and racial practice through a number of local and national, political and

ideological struggles. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim argue that racial practice is not simply a by product of class or economic relations. Their resolution of the ongoing dichotomy between base and superstructure is to root any analysis of racial practice in specific ideological conditions of existence. Refusing to compromise with reductionism, they argue that:

"Racism has its own autonomous formation, its own contradictory determinations, its own complex mode of theoretical and ideological production, as well as its repercussions for class struggle at the level of the economy and the state." (Gabriel and Ben-Tovim 1978:146)

This interpretative position of autonomy provides, they argue, a more appropriate way of assessing the efficacy and complexity of race politics and anti-racial struggles (Ben-Tovim et al 1981).

Their nonreductionist approach enables them to incorporate a view of the complexity of the state. They therefore see the state as an arena within which struggles are enacted, involving political contestation and administrative compromise. Racial practice constitutes part of that political and ideological milieu. Race research is then necessary to ascertain the administrative gaps and to identify the political space created by political contestation and administrative compromise. This is seen as the contribution of research in anti-racist struggles, in order to remove racial discrimination and disadvantage.

The challenge of Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's analysis lies in its emphasis on the efficacy and institutional site of struggle. Their rejection of the principle of determination in the last instance is based upon its tendency to subordinate practice and effective action until the crucial determining agency moves in the direction of change. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim call into question the approach of other Marxian analysis by their rejection of all forms of determinism in preference for a non reductionist and historically specific analysis of race.

This solution is arrived at the cost of reducing the theoretical and empirical considerations in Marxist analysis which link economic exploitation to racist ideology. Morgan is not convinced by this solution. He argues that conceiving race as an ideological category that subsequently intervenes at the economic level after its formation, is inadequate. Its limitation lies in the fact that it denies the crucial material basis in the form of exploitation between Black and White workers. Utilising the concept of structural location developed by Poulantzas (1975) and refined by Wright (1978, 1980), Morgan identifies the difference between the position of Black and White workers thus:

"This distinction be what is termed structural location (Poulantzas 'class determination' and class position ie., the whole area of conscious social action is of central importance because it is often assumed that the split between Black and White workers is at the level of class position - at the level of structural location, the two share a common place. As a result the problem of race is seen mainly in terms of 'false consciousness'. The argument here is that Black and White workers occupy different structural locations within the working class and that their different positions must be explained from this basis and not solely at the level of class position." (Morgan 1981:23-24)

Morgan then explains the differentiation as structural through the operation of varying degrees of unfree labour. Unfree labour characterises varying forms of labour, such as chattel slavery, indentured labour and European migrant contract labour. He writes:

"The central manner in which the working class becomes fractionalized is through the different ways in which its labour is set up to work in the labour process - in particular, whether the labour is free or unfree. This is the structural location of fractions within the working class, and it is this which lays the basis for the difference between black and white workers." (Morgan, ibid:25)

Morgan is conscious that this is not a simple mechanistic process. In his analysis, the state and ideology play crucial roles in the production and reproduction of free and unfree labour which, he writes, articulates "the distinction between

black and white workers" (Morgan, *ibid*:25). By combining a theoretically and empirically informed analysis of the location of Black workers in Britain, Morgan is able to demonstrate limits of substituting one set of extremes for another.⁽⁴⁾ In this case, economism and essentialism for relativism and subjectivism. The rationale for this approach suggests that the context of action and of ideological discourse are not irrelevant.

Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's analysis, in spite of the critique of reductionism, is not free from all forms of determinism. There is a degree of determinacy in their conception of the state and political practice which determines forms of racial structuration and anti-racist struggles. It is surprising therefore, that the degree of efficacy which they ascribe to the state cannot specify the mediations of racial practice in other instances. Even if one conceptualised race as containing its own irreducible logic, its autonomy is only theoretical. In practice, it is mediated in other apparatuses. The mediation of race through other apparatuses means that race does not neutralise other ideologies it confronts, rather it compounds them.

It would seem, from the above argument that the autonomy principle most illustrates the concept of disconnection. The cocooning of race from the instructional and regulative effects of other instances fails to stipulate the conditions under which ideological struggles around race produce a range of oppositional behaviour or represent repressive moments written in the dominant culture which do not explicitly make reference to. Autonomy is an internalised conception of race, which has plagued sociological accounts. The approach draws upon the contribution of Pluralism discussed earlier. Attempts to make sense of race in terms of its own logic and its own imminence, have been the focus of a critical Black challenge, even among those who, as we discussed earlier, have found the Marxist problematic wanting.

The tendency, to confer autonomy to race has had

profound consequences for education. Far from producing effective anti-racist struggles, the concept of autonomous racial practice, has served to conceptualise racial practice as if it neutralised other ideologies in education. Autonomy of racial practice in education has been unable to comprehend the system of education in its real complexity. Instead it has encouraged a focus on race-specific education discourses. Even though these discourses express broad non race-specific educational issues, these issues are then re-articulated in racialised terms to reinforce the educational marginality of racially designated children.

Autonomy, rather than liberating the concept of race, may further reify it. Without conceptualising race as a social construction, that is, constituted and mediated through apparatuses, we are in danger of reifying race. Such reification constitutes one of the central ideological mechanisms upon which disconnection rests. Reification confers a self-defined autonomous status to race. Reification therefore provides a legitimate, self-sustaining, self-referencing point to substantiate racial practice on the basis of difference. Reification operates both in the benign form of racialisation and in its more malevolent facets (Reeves 1983). It is precisely this analytical tension between autonomy, mediation and determination that informs the theorisation of relative autonomy.

SECTION 2

RELATIVE AUTONOMY

Perhaps the most significant conceptual thrust in the application of Marxist analysis to race/racism has been the tendency to stress their relative autonomy from class. The analysis is predicated upon the conception of a differentiated whole rather than that of hierarchical unity. It emphasises the differentiated nature of capitalist development and hence the different basis upon which class formation, class identity, ethnic and racial identity emerged.

Stuart Hall's influential analysis can be located within a framework of relative autonomy, accounting for the relative autonomy of the racial aspect of society. The materialist premise of Hall's analysis has enabled him to go beyond the conception of race just as ideology. He argues that race has a specific historic reference in apparatus, structuring its practice. The conceptual premise informing his argument is outlined in "Race articulations and Societies Structured in Dominance" (Hall 1980). The discussion represents the first systematic attempt to relate and synthesise some of the most significant conceptual elaborations that have come out of the internal critique within Marxist analysis in the 1970's.

Hall is both critical of reductionist Marxian accounts of race and pluralistic sociological accounts that ignore material relations. Hall outlines the inadequacy of an economistic interpretation of race, which has disfigured Marxist interpretations. Further, he concedes to the criticism of Marxist analyses of race made in sociological accounts eg. John Rex. Rex's work is cited for having made a number of gains in our understanding of race. Gains, which especially have to do with asserting the effectivity of race in shaping patterns of social relations along racial lines. Sociological emphasis on historical specificity, the conditionality of conquest and domination in structuring a racialised/ethnicised class structure has produced a more sensitive account of race.

Indeed, Hall's analysis wants to go beyond the polarity, which has existed between the two orientations - economic - sociological - in order that the gains on both sides can be accommodated. This strategy is not one of simple addition of the sociological account to Marxist analysis. For critics of reductionism and economicism are also to be found within the Marxist camp. Instead, Hall directs our attention to a number of significant analytic and theoretical developments in Marxist analyses of imperialism, development theory, the state, ideology and class, which offers a more

complex approach to our understanding of race without jeopardising or limiting the theoretical effectivity of Marxist analysis (1980:321).

The locating of Marxist theoretical effectivity in the analysis of race starts by erecting a relational significance between social relations and their historical location. Hall then utilises the concept of articulation to analyse the complex linkages between race and historically defined social relations. Accepting the inadequacy of economistic readings of race articulations, he too is still critical of analyses, which separate race from social forces. He makes a qualification thus:

"At the economical level, it is clear that race must be given its distinctive and relatively autonomous effectivity, as a distinctive feature. This does not mean that the economic is sufficient to find an explanation of how these relations concretely function. One needs to know how different racial and ethnic groups were inserted historically, and the relations which have tended to erode and transform or to preserve those distinctions through time - not simply as residues and traces of previous modes, but as active structuring principles of the present organisation of society. Racial categories alone will not provide or explain these." (Hall, 1980:339)

With this perspective in mind, Hall embarks upon specifying the three central questions which inform his analysis. These are,

- (1) The relationship between racism and the structural characteristic of capitalism, the nature of the conditions of existence of racism within capitalism and, how it is produced, reproduced and sustained.
- (2) The delineation of specific institutional sites of racial practice.
- (3) How racism affects and intersects with reformulation of class, and other political and social relations.

Following from these three principles, a reconceptualisation of race within a Marxist framework could now be erected that would take into account its relative

autonomy, but nonetheless structured within a differentiated whole. The concepts of structured and differentiated whole came from the elaboration of mode of production, imposed by the re-reading of Capital. The elaboration of mode of production, not only involved a re-examination of the capitalist mode, but also pre-capitalist modes of production, stressing their interconnections.

This is a shift away from conceptualising modes of production primarily in terms of their opposition, which assumed in the case of the pre-capitalist modes, than automatic dissolution. The new conceptualisation now requires an understanding of modes in terms of their co-existence as well as their contradictory articulation. The concept of articulation of modes of production therefore held up the promise of providing analysis of racially structured formations in which race was also a structuring and structured principle of social relations. For Hall, the theoretical thrust of this approach was moving in the right analytic direction. He writes accordingly:

"This emergent problematic constitutes perhaps the most generative new theoretical development in the field, affecting the analysis of racially structured social formations. The emergent theoretical position is grounded in a certain re-reading of the classical Marxist literature. It is part of that immense theoretical revolution constituted by the sophisticated re-reading of Capital which has had such a formative intellectual impact over the past decade." (Hall 1980:321)

The central positional and relational concept in this new paradigm is a concept of articulation. It is used to refer to the linking or the interconnection of different instances or levels of the social formation. It is also utilised to give expression to the nature of linkage and the nature of the contradiction between the two modes of production. Through the application of the concept of articulation, critiques of reductionism can be negotiated. Articulation attempts to delineate the relationship between the economic base and other instances of the social formation, but also gives expression to the degree of reciprocation or difference between, for

example, the economic, the political and the ideological. The political is not conceived in its subordination to the economic, but rather as also structuring and conditioning the economic.

Hall views the power in this analytical approach thus:

"What we have now, in opposition to the thesis of 'inevitable' transformation of pre-capitalist modes and their dissolution by capitalist relations, is the emergent theoretical problem of an articulation between different modes of production, structured in some relation of dominance. This leads on to the definition of a social formation which, at its economic level, may be compared with several modes of production, structured in dominance." (Hall 1980:321)

In Hall's application of the concept of articulation to racially structured formation, articulation provides three informed methodological and conceptually grounded principles.

1. The premise of historical specificity. A premise which maintains the "assumption of difference, of specificity, rather than of a unitary, transhistorical or universal structure." (1980:336).

This premise is conditioned by his "warning against extrapolating a common universal structure to racism, which remains essentially the same, outside its specific location." (1980:337)

2. The second requirement Hall argues to be necessary in the analysis of racially structured formation is the concept of the relative autonomy of race and its relatively autonomous effectivity. These two principles prevent the attribution of a linear unproblematic determination to the economy in order to explain the relative persistence of racially informed social relations.
3. The third informing principle in Hall's analysis is that of contradictory unity and complexities. This principle demands the moving away from the debilitating division in "the either/or perspectives that have dominated the analysis of race/class' (ibid:340). A perspective of articulation is all the more necessary once it is

recognised that:

"structures through which Black labour is reproduced - structures which may be general to Capital at a certain stage of its development, whatever the racial composition of labour - are not simple "coloured" by race: they work through race." (ibid:340)

This realisation recognises that the relations of capitalism, as they apply to racial formations, cannot simply be taken as given, conditioning without any effectivity. Instead, the cognition of the effectivity of capitalism can, in Hall's view, "be thought of (as) articulating classes in distinct ways at each level of instance of the social formation - economic - political - ideological." (1980:340)

Race is profoundly constituted and constitutive at each level of the social formation. It is not external, but internal to the effects of these instances. Indeed articulation therefore attempts to break away from analysis which externalise race from the instances of the social formation. Externalisation presents race as an overdetermined reified category propelled by the dictates of its own dynamic. Where capitalism might be conceded, it is a condition without effectivity. Put another way, articulation specifies the contradictory relation by which two forces disarticulate to express different manifestations or representations of a social relation. In this way, race and racism can thus be centrally located within the relations which are ascribed to the levels of social formation.

In describing the embodiment of the relation between race and class Hall makes a clarificatory observation:

"The constitution of this fraction as a class, and the class relations which ascribe it, function as race relations. Race is thus, the modality in which class is lived, the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and fought through." (Hall 1980:341)

In many respects the methodological framework elaborated by Hall is embodied in the materialist analysis of

Policing the Crisis (Hall 1978). The account analysed the specific economic, political and ideological context within which race was constructed as a problem in British politics. This facilitated the development of a moral panic particularly concerning Black youth and the street crime of mugging.⁽⁵⁾ The generation of a moral panic around mugging provided the basis for local and national state intervention along authoritarian lines. The form of authoritarian statism that was enforced (particularly in policing and immigration laws) was hardly challenged officially because of its mediation through race.

Hall therefore utilises a broad structural approach to demonstrate that race by itself is not enough to understand situations in which race is constituted and constituting. This approach enables him to accomplish a complex non stereotypical and simplistic mode of theorising the problematic of race and class. These central reformulative principles by which Hall seeks to re-negotiate the relationship between race and class and the role of race within the social formation of capitalism, have had a definitive impact on the CCCS and other works produced there. Perhaps the most well known work from the centre that attempts to work within Hall's framework is The Empire Strikes Back (1982).

In line with Hall, the authors of The Empire Strike Back are concerned to understand and account for the construction and politicisation of race in British politics as a means of managing the organic crisis of British capitalism (CCS 1982). While Hall's work re-affirms the efficacy of reconceptualised Marxist categories for understanding race, authors of The Empire diverge from Hall in three important respects.

Firstly, whereas Hall assessed positively the gains from both sociological and Marxist accounts the authors of The Empire have argued that Marxism and sociology, as fields of study, have done little to enhance an understanding of racially structured formation. In that respect, they also are more critical of traditional sociology. In addition, they do

not share Hall's optimism that a reconceptualised Marxism, conscious of its tendency towards reductionism, will be able to adequately analyse race.

Secondly, The Empire authors are following the substantive critique of Cedric Robinson, as outlined earlier, in which questions of the applicability of Marxism to racially structured formation are posited against the Eurocentric nature of Marxist social theory. Gilroy observed that Marxists have been hesitant to engage with the Black critique of the race/class dichotomy. This has led Gilroy to the following conclusion:

"They (the White left) have remained largely unaffected by over sixty years of Black critical dialogue with Marxism, presented most notably in the work of Garvey, Padmore, James, Wright, Fanon, and Cox." (1982:277)

What motivates the White Left is not Black engagement with their history according to Gilroy but what he regards as the opportunism of the left in its attempt to convert or reconstitute Black struggles as weapons to compensate for White working class racism. He writes:

"Race has become important at last, not because of Black suffering, but because it can be used to demonstrate the distance Marxists have travelled from economism. Unfortunately, the analysts of 'Race' in this influential tendency have expanded popular and democratic qualities of the struggle for Black liberation to the point, where its class character has escaped them." (1982:277)

Thirdly, another important difference between Hall and The Empire authors is the latter's greater emphasis on the role attributed to the state in substantiating the basis for popular racism and the reproduction of it. But in line with Hall, they agree that the thematic content of Crisis through a moral panic about race provided the means through which authoritarian state practice could be negotiated and justified. This form of racial management was extended to other areas of social life such as youth and education policy.

In spite of these differences in emphasis, the substantive base of their argument with respect to the conceptualisation of race and class reflects the model of relative autonomy expanded by Hall. Gilroy's analysis of race/class autonomy works within the framework of Hall's analysis of the articulation of race and class, both structurally and experientially (1982:276). However, the authenticity of Gilroy's position lies within his stress on the 'autonomous effectivity of struggle of racially demarcated class fractions.' (1982:284)

By emphasising struggle, Gilroy is able to conceive Blacks as a racially defined section of the working class with the 'power to constitute themselves as an autonomous social force in politics.' (p.284). More importantly, his conception of struggle presupposes a prior conception of class formation. In Gilroy's conception of class formation, class does not have a unilateral reference back to the economy before struggles are initiated. Rather his understanding of class formations is based upon 'the relentless processes by which classes are constituted, organised, and disorganised in politics as well as the struggle between them once formed (1982:284).

Gilroy rejects the concept of class as a continuous or homogenous subject of history. The contemporary existence of a racially fragmented class structure in Britain gives added justification to Gilroy's conception of difference in the constitution of class. He argues that the relation between White and Black workers more adequately reflects 'discontinuous but related histories' (1982:284). That discontinuity lies in the different positioning of Black workers through conquest, slavery, colonialism, and imperialism. The relational component is expressed through the generalised categories of capital. Given these differences in material history, it is not surprising that Black writers are forced to engage in struggles that are not solely determined by their economic position. Gilroy argues that:

"The class character of Black struggles is not a result of the fact that Blacks are predominantly proletariat,

though that is true. It is established in the fact that their struggles for civil rights, freedom from state harassment, or as waged workers, are instances of the process by which a class is constituted politically, and organised in politics." (Gilroy 1982:302)

In Gilroy's conception, economic class is played down in an attempt to address what has been felt to be an imbalance in Marxist analysis. In the process of disaccentuating the economic basis of class, Gilroy's complex position, based upon the articulation between race and class and their complex relation to the state is compromised. It is misleading to delineate too strictly between the political and the economic. As Hall reminds us, racially structured situations are also articulated through pre-existing categories of capital, political and ideological apparatus. Also in Gilroy's conception of struggle, it is difficult to ascertain where the precise nature of the autonomy resides. It is not quite clear whether the autonomy lies in the instruments through which struggles are voiced or within the situations, the circumstances or the different constitution which authenticates the struggle.

Although there is a conception of the role of the state in the construction and thematisation of race in managing the organic crisis of British capitalism, that conception does not permeate Gilroy's conception of struggle. The strategic role of the state in the political economy of racially structured formation and migrant labour in capitalist society is not the prime determinant of struggle for Gilroy. The Empire authors avoid negotiating their conception of struggle against the background of the restructuring of labour in European capitalism (Lawrence 1982, Solomos et al. 1982). Instead they have concentrated mainly upon the cultural politics of Black youth in crisis. Thus Gilroy's conception of the struggle waged by Black youth acknowledges the role of the state in the construction of Black youth in crisis, the utilisation of race in the formation of authoritarian statism and popular racism. He is, however, much less willing to

concede the economic component of struggle underlying the political economy of migration. This paradox is sustained by Gilroy's separation of class struggle from class structure.

Whereas the analysis of Hall contextualises the cultural politics of Black youth in the decomposition of labour and the restructuring of the reserve army of labour as a structural feature of European capitalism, Gilroy argues that the forces that motivates Black youth to act cannot simply be traced back to an economic source to be understood as disguised class encounters. In comparison with Hall's analysis, Gilroy's concept of race is somewhat relatively more autonomous from class. In Gilroy that autonomy derives more from the political construction of race in struggle (1982:302). The racial structuring of Black youth in and outside employment is therefore given pre-eminence in the analysis of Gilroy and the *Empire* authors. The creative tension between Hall and *The Empire* authors is a tension conditioned by the duality imposed between a struggle theoretical model of race and class and a structure theoretical model of class and race.

Hall's analysis favours the structure theoretical model while Gilroy's analysis is more consistent with the struggle theoretical model. However, the attempt of Gilroy to argue for a concept of complex articulation is weakened by his emphasis on autonomous struggle. His concept of autonomous struggle is uneasy with the economic component of struggle and indeed the degree of determination the economy has on struggle. In Gilroy's analysis, determination is introduced at the political level. This has the effect of upholding a voluntaristic concept of struggle. The oppositional nature of the struggle is taken for granted. That is, it tends to assume that oppositional behaviour by Black youth has automatic radical significance (Young 1983).⁽⁶⁾

Thus, in attempting to situate his position of relative autonomy, Gilroy oscillates between relative autonomy and absolute autonomy via his concept of struggle. In doing

so, the complex articulation of economic, political and ideological relations that situates and mediates racial practice is disconnected in political struggles. Political manifestations are given the decisive role in struggles.

The concept of relative autonomy utilised by Hall suggests that if the complex of economic, political and ideological structure situates the social pertinence of race, struggles in opposition to racial construction must contain these elements which inform them. Oppositional behaviours are generated within contradictory discourses and values. The logic that stimulates a given act of resistance may at one moment be race specific but also reflect more fundamental repressive moments inscribed in dominant structures. Autonomy lies at the heart of fragmentary and disconnected analysis of social relations. The work of Hall and of Miles and Phizacklea supports this view. Miles and Phizacklea reject the concept of autonomy in favour of a framework of the political economy of migrant labour to discuss the process of racialisation.

SECTION 3

RACIALISATION AND LABOUR MIGRANT MODES

In an attempt to locate race/racism within a complex totality, enshrined with economic, political, and ideological relations, Miles and Phizacklea have found it necessary to challenge neo-Marxist reformulations of class ideology and state in their application to racialised social practice. Unlike the two previous approaches, the autonomous instance of race and the relative autonomy of race, the starting point for Miles and Phizacklea is to be found within the framework of the political economy of migrant labour as distinct from the problematic of race relations (Miles 1980-82, Phizacklea and Miles 1980, Phizacklea 1984).

Miles and Phizacklea criticise both Marxist and sociological theories of race. They are critical of neo-Marxist writers who in their attempt to answer and address the problems of reductionism fail to grasp the totality of

Capital's formulation, and instead grasp its apparent fragmentation. For them a first order priority must be to comprehend the totality and secondly the way it appears to be fragmented. Thus, in their discussion of racism, the first priority is analysing and understanding the accumulation process of capitalism. They have consequently found themselves critical of a tendency that has dominated the sociology of race relations and has now infected neo-Marxist accounts of race-racism. Namely, the disconnection of race-racism, from the social relations of production. Instead race is conferred its own internally constructed conditions of existence and therefore its own explanatory power.

As examples of neo-Marxist collusion with the problematic of the sociology of race relations, they cite the authors of *The Empire Strikes Back* and also Sivanandan. This collusion exists in spite of the fact that much of the critical attention of these authors is directed against the sociological problematic of John Rex. The subordination of fundamental Marxist principles in both sociological and neo-Marxist accounts of race and racism, has forced Miles and Phizacklea to reject race as an analytical category. Race for them is an ideological construction, which itself demands explanation (Miles 1982, 1984a, Phizacklea 1984).

Miles and Phizacklea oppose the sociological and Marxist paradigms which confer to race its own internal logic. What is essentially an ideological construction becomes the basis for the explanation of objective social behaviour. As a consequence of this reification, social relations, when involving racially designated groups, are defined in terms of racial determination of other biologically based givens or cultural attributes. These forms of ideological constructions have been the basis of official discourse, policy and practice in the field. For these reasons, Miles and Phizacklea have put forward an alternative basis for the analysis of racially structured formation, namely 'the process of racialisation or racial categorisation' (Miles 1982:153-67, Phizacklea 1984). They do not concede to the category race in their analysis.

Instead, when they use the concept of race, it is qualified in inverted commas.

There are two central organising principles in their analysis of racial formations. Firstly, 'race' cannot be the object of its own analysis, it cannot be comprehended in terms of its own imminence. It is a social construction requiring explanation. Secondly, the purpose of analysis should be based upon the understanding of the process of racialisation or racial categorisation, which are informed and contextualised within specific economic, political and ideological relations.

Critics of Miles and Phizacklea have argued that their work is reductionist in privileging the analysis of class over race and prioritising an economistic version of Marxism as an adequate tool to understand the positioning of Black workers in Britain (Gilroy 1982:281). Gilroy argues that their model cannot come to terms with the unifying aspect of Black struggles, which go beyond class.

These criticisms have been rejected by Miles (1984a). He has attempted to relocate his work and its positional significance and divergence from the work of Gilroy et al and Ben-Tovim and Gabriel. He accentuates the basic defining feature of his and Phizacklea's work to be motivated by the recognition that class relations are authenticated by the complex ensemble of economic, political and ideological processes, which comprise the political economy of capitalism. The position that race occupies in this complex ensemble is delineated by the way in which he defines racialisation to specify discrimination between the economic, political and the ideological. He describes the boundaries of the relationship thus:

" ... race/class dichotomy is a false construction. Alternatively I suggest that the reproduction of class relations involves the determination of internal and external class boundaries by economic, political and ideological processes. One of the central political and ideological processes in contemporary capitalist societies is the process of racialisation ... but this cannot in itself over-ride the effects of the relations of

production. Hence the totality of 'black' people in Britain cannot be adequately analysed as a 'race' outside, or in opposition to, class relations. Rather, the process by which they are racialised, and react to that racialisation (both of which are political and ideological processes), always occurs in a peculiar historical and structural context. The social relations of production provide the necessary initial framework within which racism has its effects. The outcome may be the formation of racialised class fractions." (Miles 1984b:233)

The significance of this reconceptualised position lies in its emphasis on the process of ideological construction in the production, reproduction, and management of race and the role of migrant labour in sustaining the material relations of racism.

Miles' analysis offers a comparative focus. By focusing upon migrant labour, in other European countries, he is able to move away from the narrower culturalist framework of race relations (Phizacklea 1984). Miles and Phizacklea, by stressing the importance of the ideological construction and politicisation of immigration as a means of managing migrant labour, locate the reproduction of racism in economic, political and ideological apparatuses. They go beyond a view of racism and the discrimination that arise from it as based upon the perception of cultural difference.

Miles and Phizacklea develop their Marxist position by analysing the relations of production within which historically specific forms of racialisation take place. This means, therefore, that analysis of Black people's experience must break out of solidified biological categories and be analysed as social relations, economically, politically and ideologically determined. Black people, then, are 'persons whose forms of political struggle can be understood in terms of racialisation within a particular set of production relations.' (Miles 1984:230).

From the approaches outlined, it can be seen that the analytical intention of the relative autonomy model of Hall

and the labour migration model and process of racialisation share certain core assumptions that differ from the autonomy model and the Empire author's version of relative autonomy. The relative autonomy model of Hall and the migrant labour model of Miles and Phizacklea attempt to avoid the conventional dichotomy between race and class in which race is either conceived as autonomous from class or reducible to class. Instead, the complex conceptual construction of articulation demonstrates the relationship of interconnectivity between the economic, political and ideological in conditioning racial construction.

The significance of this form of interconnective analysis is that it provides the basis for empirical analysis of the role of immigrant labour in the structure of European capitalism. Miles follows Castells (1975) in arguing that migrant labour is a structural development in European labour markets, reflecting the internationalisation of labour contexted by uneven development in developed and underdeveloped economies. They note that the legal and political status of migrant labour, their vulnerability has been tied to the anti-cyclical function they perform in advanced economies (Castell 1975).

However the paradoxical position of immigrant labour lies not only in the contribution they make to capital, but also from their vulnerable position in class struggle. Their inferior legal, political status and the way in which this position sectionalises them in relation to indigenous workers. These are important aspects of class reproduction and in particular the racialised fraction of class reproduction. In addition the political and legal status of migrant worker provide the ethical and official basis for justifying their temporary, conditional and instrumental position. Their status also provides the reference point from which popular racism can be enacted and find official framework for its approval.

At this point, it is necessary to qualify the application of the interpretation of the structural position

of migrant workers in European capitalism to the analysis of the British education. Generally speaking, in the British context, the issue over immigrants in Britain involves mainly groups of ex-colonial British subjects. It is since 1971 that Britain began seriously to attempt to restructure its pattern of immigration away from settlement to contract workers and away from the Commonwealth to Europe (Sivanandan 1978, Hall et al 1978, Morgan 1981).

Migrants from the Commonwealth initially entered Britain during a period of full employment in the 1950s and 1960s. They have seen that moment transformed by recession and technological restructuring of the economy with increasingly fewer opportunities for their children to enter waged labour. Britain is no longer experiencing a shortage of labour. The situation is now one of labour surplus in traditional areas where ex-Commonwealth migrants were once absorbed. The result of these structural shifts in the British economy has been to create a growing reserve army of labour comprised of a disproportionate number of young people from ex-Commonwealth backgrounds.

The more explicit pattern of racialisation in Britain, mainly affects the children of Britain's settler migrant community from Britain's ex-colonial territories. Until 1971, colonial subjects born in Britain and born outside, unlike European migrant workers, were not subject to official constraints upon their freedom of association, their right of political association was not conditional upon residential qualifications, and there were no formal restrictions placed upon their labour mobility. The 1971 Immigration Act, has effectively put Britain passport holders or British overseas subjects, wanting to come to Britain on a par with non-EEC immigrants. But while the fight to deracialise immigration rules occupies a significant part of anti-racist struggles in Britain, it is the routine procedures and practice that institutionalises the pattern of racialisation in Britain. It is characterised by the confinement of, particularly Black youth to certain areas of

the job market, to manual, unskilled or semi-skilled work, with little prospect of promotion. This position is structured and reproduced, through the continued inability of the education system to equip Black youth to a level where they could have a broader representation within the occupational structure.

Racialisation, then, of Black Britains, has been informed by the different social-economic, political and ideological context of immigrant settlement. That different socio-economic and political context has also influenced the nature of combative struggles waged by this section of the Black working class. Many commentators have noted that while there has been a significant decrease in the opportunities available for waged labour, there has been a corresponding tendency for young Blacks 'to refuse to do the arduous, low paid jobs associated with their parents' (Cambridge and Gutzmore 1974-5). The refusal to do 'shit work', as it is described in the literature, is conceptualised as if it reflected a view solely mediated by the experience of race.

The arrival of Black youth to that position reflects a more complex political, economic and ideological understanding than that view implies. People of Caribbean origin living in Britain are conscious of the historical balance of power arrived at through the struggles waged by the labour movement, some of which they have been involved in. That movement has been able to define standards involving conditions of work and wages, considered to be satisfactory and acceptable to a labour movement strong enough to secure their position and their continuity.

People of Caribbean origin do not stand outside the lessons of labour struggles and are therefore able to make political and economic calculations regarding the desirability and the remuneration gained in entering arduous, badly paid, and poorly unionised occupations. The notion then of autonomous struggle determined by an autonomous political level supported in Gilroy's analysis can be misleading in this

context. For example, the choice not to work appears to be a voluntaristic political choice. Yet, according to the structural approach of Hall, Miles and the more detailed analysis of the structure of migrant labour of Castells (1975) and Carchedi (1979) it is clear that forms of struggle of migrant workers and those who constitute the permanent sector are conditioned by the broader political management of economic disparity.

Moreover Gilroy's conception of struggle is a conception that is not mediated by contradiction. He does not discuss the extent to which struggles that are linked specifically to Afro Caribbean youth may simultaneously express progressive and reactionary ideologies. Gender relations for example, in Gilroy's conception of struggle is largely referenced through Rastafari culture. The reference is not wholly convincing. He cites the poetry of Judy Mowatf as an expression of feminist Rastafari but fails to relate its specialised message to the lives of ordinary rasta women whose social and domestic organisations are structured to echo the sentiments of rasta men. Failure to extrapolate those processes of materially constructed needs that link people to broader structures of domination run the risk of idealisation.

Although Gilroy subscribed to the relative autonomy model, unlike Hall, his analysis of struggle fails to delineate the interconnection of struggles defined by race with other ideological discourses. The analysis produced by Hall provides the interpretative framework to attribute determinate significance to material and ideological practice that are not explicitly pre-specified by race. An analytical device that is a pre-requisite for exploring disconnection and marginalisation in educational discourse.

Conclusion

The ideas discussed in this chapter have profoundly influenced and structured the conception of disconnection, which underpins the theoretical approach of this thesis.

Disconnection can be seen as dominant in much of the literature and the pursuance of racial policy and practice in education.

A major conceptual concern of this thesis will be the attempt to understand the social construction of race, in such a way that could question the indomitable tendency of race to always appear disconnected from broader social relations in explanations of its lived and social significance. When the conditioning significance of broader social relations are conceded to, they lack effectivity.

The autonomous conception of race is strongly implicated in educational debate involving particularly school pupils of Afro-Caribbean origins. The concept of autonomy in the analysis of race merges the analysis of both right and left. In illustration of this point, Reeve's (1983) analysis of racial discourse demonstrates the extent to which both discriminatory and benign racial discourse anticipate each other by sharing the same base in disconnection.

Disconnection then depends on the concept of autonomy. By disconnecting race from the conditioning significance of social relation, race is conferred its own internal self-regulating and self-sustaining existence. It follows, therefore, that since race generates its own autonomous practice, it can be utilised to justify both exclusionary or inclusionary racial discourse. An example of this in practice can be expressed by the similarity in the language used to justify or oppose multicultural education. Both perspectives are formulated in the discourse of moral panic. Liberal proponents of multicultural education argue for direct intervention into the Afro Caribbean family to arrest cultural practices which are seen as dysfunctional for educational attainment. Opponents of multicultural education regard these cultural practices as undermining British cultural standards. Both approaches take for granted the structural inequalities inherent in education, preferring to concentrate on the culture of the group concerned as

responsible for educational underachievement. Thus Rampton (1981) like Little (1976) and subsequently Rex (1980) often ignore the substantive evidence of the unequal relations between social class and education. The disconnection of Afro-Caribbean children outside class relations ensures that the mitigating evidence of class is not accounted for in interpreting their experience of schooling.

Thus disconnection has had a number of very serious consequences for the way in which racial policy and practice in education has been understood. The first consequence is the racial reconstitution of culture and the racial objectification of Afro-Caribbean children. By externalising them from the broader relations of social class, they are strategically placed for racial interpellation. Afro-Caribbean children are then typecast in racial forms of educational discourse and practice.

The power of the racial interpellation of Afro-Caribbean children is reflected in the official and academic debates around the racial reference of education in Britain during the last 25 years. These debates have in fact given very little attention to the opposition of Afro-Caribbean people to racial forms of education in Britain. The Afro-Caribbean community has since the 1960s, expressed increasing concern about the racialisation of their children education. This has been expressed through the ESN debate, forms of multicultural, multiethnic, anti-racist education, the formation of Afro-Caribbean parents associations, the setting up of Saturday supplementary schools, and more recently, the bid for separate schools.

Official and academic debates fail to recognise the relative autonomy from race implied by the Afro-Caribbean community's contestation over pedagogic practice, curricula structure, forms of control and type of interaction between school and community. This inattention to the existence of alternative discourse and practices taking place in the Afro-Caribbean community ensures simplistic racial reading of these

developments. Disconnection therefore serves the twin purpose of legitimating the objectification of subjects designated by race, and affords to race the very effectivity that race seeks to justify. That is, the homogenisation of the complex of social action through a biologicistic source. Hall asserts that the transhistorical character of race, its apparent immutability in such phenotypical characteristics as 'colour', 'ethnic' origin, geographical position enables "racism to discover what other ideologies have to construct: an apparent 'natural and universal basis in nature itself.'" (1980:342). The naturalistic feature of race underlies disconnection. This is because race is conceptualised as a natural category that it appears to be impervious to other social relations, neutralising their modes of determination. So those who are designated by racial constructs are appropriated by the analytic constructs of race relations. Those who are not, rely on the interpretative constructs of social class. Disconnection is particularly potent in its application to education. Disconnecting Afro-Caribbean children from the social relations of class, has made the racialisation and ethnalisation of education failure specific to Afro-Caribbean children.

The underlying concern which this chapter has pursued in relation to the divergent perspective in the interpretation of the social force of race/racism, is the view that while we need to understand race, in that process we must be careful not to reify race. This view is energetically argued by Miles and Phizacklea. While Hall reminds us that race is one of the ideological discourses through which people, subject to its designations, are constructed. We need to understand the power and force of other discourses if we are to understand the articulating significance of them on the ideology of race.

Recognition of the relative autonomy of race does not, however, prevent Gilroy from fervently arguing the view that people racially designated must acknowledge the implication of nationalism on their struggles. Opposition to racial oppression constitutes a central place in nationalistic

struggles. To illustrate this point Gilroy cites Richard Wright:

"Negro writers must accept the nationalistic implications of their lives, not in order to encourage them, but in order to change and transcend them. They must accept the concept of nationalism because in order to transcend it they must possess and understand it ... it means a nationalism that knows its origins, its limitations; and is aware of the dangers in its position." (Gilroy 1982:282)

It is the dangers in the nationalist position that attracts the attention of CLR James in his debate with the Haitian revolution (discussed earlier in Chapter One). The removal of oppressive forces that rationalised themselves through national oppression, James argues, releases the full complexity of class struggle.

It is the argument of this thesis that the social relations of class and contestation that they produce are being waged and mediated through race in education. The structuring of racial marginalisation in education through the principle of disconnection constrains the full analytical exposure of this process.

The next chapter will examine the ways in which the early encounter of education with children of Afro-Caribbean origin witnessed the accommodation of the racialisation in the wider society into education. Within education the first aspect of racialisation involved the dissemination of ideas often of the exclusivity of English culture and the erosion of those English cultural standards by New Commonwealth Immigrants. More specifically children designated by colour became the objects of fear in the education system. Those fears were mobilised to express concerns about the lowering of the educational standards of White children and the diminution of the homogenous cultural ethos of White schools.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. It is significant that an influential section of the literature on race and class, draws upon studies of race and class in the context of South Africa. The development of South African capitalism seems to represent the materialisation of the rather abstract concepts encountered in the first chapter. Concepts which Foster Carter (1979) described as characterising the unparalleled action of capitalism. The conceptualisation of the economy in terms of a structured and differentiated whole, dissolution and consolidation, the perpetuation and undermining of the pre-capitalist mode of production in the same moment have been applied to the South African social formation to assist explanations of the different positions of racial groups.

In short, the methodological principle is that racism should be conceived as a product of a particular moment in capitalist economy. According to Edna Bonacich this approach moves ethnic and race relations "from an assumption that race and ethnicity are 'primordial' bases of affiliation, rooted in 'human nature'" (Edna Bonacich (1980) 'Class Approaches to Ethnicity and Race', Insurgent Sociologist, Vol.10-2, 9-23).

2. Michael Buraway has noted how the race riots in America in the 1960s compelled sociologists to reformulate their conception of race. According to Buraway sociologists had to dispel with " ... the abstract optimism of race cycle theories and the irrelevant empiricism of prejudice studies. They now turned their attention to the allocation of economic, political, ideological resources among different races, generally conceived of as homogenous groups For to understand the differential access of races to resources requires a theory of a more general allocation of resources, which in turn presupposes a theory of capitalism." (Buraway (1981) 'The Capitalist State in South Africa: Marxist and sociological perspectives of race and class', Political Power and Social Theory, Vol.2, 279-335.)
3. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim acknowledge their debt to critiques of reductionism and economism made by Hindess and Hirst (Mode of Production and Social Formation, Macmillan 1977:20-21) and Laclau's conception of the 'specificity of the political' (Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, London: New Left Books, 1977). These authors give theoretical primacy to the ideological political levels and argue for the irreducibility of their complexity.
4. For an interesting discussion on how the state articulated the interest of capital in the restructuring of British capitalism away from the Commonwealth towards the European Community and the role of immigration legislation, see Sivanandan, A (1978) 'From Immigration Control to Induced Repatriation', Race and Class, XX:1 1978.

5. See Miles (1980) Racism and Migrant Labour, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.176-78, for his discussion of Hall's characterisation and reification of race in the analysis (Policing the Crisis, London: Macmillan Press, 1978).
6. There is no consensus in the literature that the significance that the experience of racism will lead to united political action.

Cambridge, A D and Gutzmore, C (1974-5) 'Industrial Action of the Black Masses and the Class Struggle in Britain', The Black Liberator, Vol.2, No.1.

See Hall et al (1978) Policing the Crisis, London: Macmillan Press.

Rex, J and Tomlinson, (1971) Colonial Immigrants in British Cities: A Class Analysis, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Phizacklea, A and Miles, R (1980) Labour and Racism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Furthermore Troyna, B (1979) 'Differential Commitment to Ethnic Identity by Black Youths in Britain' New Community, Vol.7, No.3, pp.406-14, argues that research suggests that there is no homogenous commitment to ethnic or racial identity. A theme which is vigorously argued by Jock Young when he writes in "Striking Back Against the Empire":

"The problem is therefore not to deny politics in favour of 'mere' cultural habits, but to avoid the reverse: the ossification of subcultural adaptations to injustice into the status of political struggle." (Critical Social Policy, Vol.8, 1983:133).

PART II: RACIAL MARGINALITY IN EDUCATION

Part I involved the application of the concept of disconnection to review the competing conceptions of race in chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 3 details the extent to which the overdetermined force given to a shared racial experience dictated the educational agenda for Afro Caribbean children. As such, Part I provided the basis for more specific analysis of the racial structuring of educational marginality.

The two chapters which constitute Part II are concerned primarily with identifying the mechanism for defining and disseminating the dominant perspectives on the education of Afro-Caribbean children in England. Chapter 3 traces the early context of racial objectification in education policy for children of New Commonwealth immigrants, as they were described in the literature and official reports. The impact of the politicization of race on education, the resultant disposal policy, its conceptual and administrative difficulties are the major concerns of this chapter.

Chapter 4 assesses the ideological mechanism in which racial marginalisation is represented in educational discourse. The consequences of converting the idea of race into an educational device is discussed. Particular attention is given to assessing the extent to which the overdetermination of a shared racial experience provides the conceptual basis for the structuring of racial marginalisation in education.

Thus the main aim of Part II is to attempt a specification of race in the context of educational discourse and practice.

PART II: RACIAL MARGINALITY IN EDUCATION

CHAPTER 3

RACIAL OBJECTIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY: THE EARLY CONTEXT OF RACE AND EDUCATION

Introduction

Education performs a central role in the management of race relations. The significance attached to education is reflected in the number of instances in official reports, when the state reiterated the special role it assigned to education.⁽¹⁾ Education is therefore given a determinate role in limiting and reconstituting the legitimisation crisis⁽²⁾ experienced with managing the politicisation of race (Habermas 1976:73, Burton and Carlen 1977, Donald 1979). In the specific context of race relations education attempts to equilibrate the self-negating strategies of restriction, coercion, through the use of anti-discriminatory and integrationist strategies of race relations management (Katznelson, 1973, McDonald, 1971).

The assimilationist and integrationist strategy pursued through racial policy and practice in education holds a certain paradox. For while the process of racialisation has increased outside education particularly in immigration laws (1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, naturalisation law 1981 and policing)⁽³⁾, education has appeared to maintain itself as an ideal and ethical category outside the process of racialisation in the wider society (Gilroy 1980, Sivanandan 1976, Hall 1978, 1979). The idealisation of education means that research often misinterprets the significance of the racial objectification of children in racial forms of educational discourse.⁽⁴⁾ Racial objectification is the consequence of disconnection, an autonomous and unmediated conception of race. Disconnection as it is being used in the context of this work refers to the ideological practice by

which the structural factors of a racial class structure becomes rationalised through the interpretative significance attached to race (phenotypical differences). This tendency pinpoints the relationship between race/class as fundamentally antagonistic, placing groups which are defined by ethno-racial cultural characteristics outside the framework of change and hegemony governing class-based groups. Class being defined by the socio-economic order and the political superstructure of the social order. Groups racially designated are alternatively defined by cultural and ascriptive perceptions.

The aim of the Chapter is therefore to outline the early educational context of the politicisation of race in British politics during the 1960s and to examine the extent to which that context frames education policy. The organisation of the Chapter is in three parts. Part one focuses upon the racial context of the evolution of racial policy and practice in education during the 1960s; Part two looks at the recontextualisation of the politicisation of race in education and its influence on the formulation of policy for children designated by race; Part three discusses the conceptual and administrative difficulties that arose in managing the specific racial policy of dispersal. The chapter concludes by discussing the influence of a racial conception in delineating a framework within which to structure policy, practice and the educational experience of children designated by colour.

SECTION 1

THE EARLY RACIAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL MARGINALITY

The initial response of government policy to the presence of children of New Commonwealth origin undergoing schooling in English schools was structured by intense debates concerning Black immigration to Britain and its potential disruptive consequence for British society (Katznelson, 1973).⁽⁵⁾ Policy on race and education did not emerge from

an education orientation, but out of the political imperatives of managing race relations. At the beginning of 1960, British society was locked in what Katznelson describes as a 'fundamental debate' over New Commonwealth immigration (Katznelson, 1973:125).⁽⁶⁾ Out of this debate came the re-arrangement of immigration and the restructuring of race relations, away from what Sivanandan calls *laissez-faire* principles to a more planned approach (Sivanandan 1976).

The transition from an 'open door' policy towards Commonwealth immigration to one of restriction was a drastic restructuring of the relationship that had hitherto existed between British colonial subjects and Commonwealth citizens enshrined in the 1948 Nationality Act.⁽⁷⁾ This nationality arrangement was considered to be the epitome of the Commonwealth ideal. The final triumphant episode in the civilising mission of the British Empire. Harold Macmillan saw the embodiment of the Commonwealth ideal in "the development of nations in the world to which we already stand in the relationship of parents." He described the decolonization process as "the logical result - indeed the triumph - of Britain's Imperial policies."⁽⁸⁾ This Imperial legacy informed the sentiment behind the passage of the Act. It guaranteed the right of colonial passport holders and those possessing passports granted by independent Commonwealth countries to enter Britain, settle and find work with full political rights. This right was not extended to alien citizens of countries which had no direct past imperial connection with Britain. The radical change in the restructuring of the status of New Commonwealth immigrants has been conveniently divided into three overlapping stages by Katznelson (1973): (1) Pre-political consensus (1948-61); fundamental debate (1958-65); political consensus (1965 to present date) (Katznelson 1973:125). This periodisation provides a useful background against which to identify changes in the ethos of race relations and its subsequent conditioning of the educational orientation adopted toward children of New Commonwealth immigrants. The political pertinence of race is a crucial

factor in determining the quality of state response to Black immigration.

Parliamentary debates between 1957-1958 on immigration from the Commonwealth typified these two views. It is, however, important to recognise that during the 1950's these publicly articulated views represented the concerns of back benchers and not those of ministers and opposition front spokespersons. It is a period, Katznelson observes, in stark contrast to the 1960's symbolising the time in which both government and opposition resisted any suggestion that New Commonwealth immigration ought to be controlled (Deaken, 1965).

Hall characterises the period as one in which imperial paternalism could afford to express 'goodwill' and 'kindness' to Commonwealth friends. It was, in the words of Hall, 'a period of muted optimism about the hope and dream of long-term black and white assimilation' (Hall 1978:25). Hall explains how the 'mental repression' which had temporarily superseded the 'historical connection' between race and Empire was soon to disintegrate and to be revitalised by the "Nottinghill Riots" in 1958 (Hall, 1978:25). According to Katznelson (1973) the riots had fractured the pre-political consensus. Katznelson claims the riots changed what was regarded as the insignificant disquiet of a few back benchers on the subject of 'coloured' settlement to a concern of generalised significance infecting government and opposition front benches alike (Holmes 1975).

Leading spokespersons in the Conservative and Labour Parties condemned the manifestation of violence of the Notting Hill riots in 1958. Although this did not prevent many Parliamentarians from sympathising with the concerns behind the manifestation of violence unrestricted New Commonwealth immigration was thought to be the cause of the eruption of violence. Cyril Osborne, a Conservative member of Parliament, seized the opportunity that the situation presented. In 1958,

he presented a private members motion before Parliament, which:

"urged Her Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to restrict the immigration of all persons irrespective of race and colour or creed, who are unfit, idle or criminal; and to repatriate all immigrants who are found guilty of a serious criminal offence in the United Kingdom' (Hansard 1958, Vol.596).⁽⁹⁾

Although his motion spoke of all immigrants irrespective of race, colour or creed, it was clear that it was Black immigration, which was uppermost in his mind. A view readily admitted by Martin Lindsey, who seconded the motion. Speaking emphatically he noted: "We all know perfectly well that the whole core of the problem of immigration is coloured immigration. We would do better to face that fact and to discuss it realistically in that context." Maintaining that restricting immigration was the only way to maintain good race relations, Osborne warned the House. "We have a duty to look after our own people." (Ibid).¹⁰ A position which was further confirmed in Osborne's presentation. As the debate went on, it became clear that Osborne was concerned with the racial composition of Britain. "We must ask ourselves", he urged, "to what extent we want Great Britain to become a multiracial community ... It is not illiberal ... for people to be concerned with preserving their own national character and continuity." (Ibid).¹¹ These sentiments left the Conservative government nervous about what action to take to depoliticise the situation, while Labour responded by accepting the Brockway anti-discrimination Bill.

The cautious contemplation and outward calm, which accompanied Home Secretary Butler's condemnation of racial discrimination and reassurance 'that everything possible is being done and that every effort will continue to be made in areas where there is a large coloured population to encourage their effective integration into the community' (Hansard 1959)⁽¹²⁾, was not supported by the contingency planning of the Civil Service to control Commonwealth immigration discussed

by an editorial in The Economist, 27 November 1958:

" ... It is no secret that some departments are looking ahead at the way the situation may develop, ... considering how reciprocity might be introduced in the treatment of migrants from the Commonwealth countries - especially after the Colonies, and notable the West Indies - become independent ... They think that the liberal line - uncontrolled immigration - can only be held for a few more years, but not indefinitely. Far from thinking that the British people will get used to colour as they are reconciled to Poles, Irish or Middle Europeans, this school of opinion in Whitehall and beyond feels that when the tide of colour rises to a certain, as yet unspecified point, the mass of the British voters will demand some check be imposed."

The review was uncompromising in its pessimistic expectation of what the future held in store for Commonwealth settlement in Britain. The review fatalistically anticipated the future thus:

"The parents will probably still mostly be living in Harlemed districts in the big towns and new arrivals will continue to import the types of behaviour and attitudes that disgust and annoy whites."

The report went on to predict social problems developing with Black youth, warning that in the 'not so distant future coloured teenagers problems could then loom and it might be alarming'.

As Governments entered the period of legislative action on race relations and immigration, it became increasingly apparent that new calculations were now permissible in debates concerning race relations and immigration. The intense debate over Black immigration to Britain post 1958, saw the re-emergence of active Fascist groups who had been dormant since the 1940's. Groups such as The Union Movement and the League of Empire Loyalists campaigned against New Commonwealth settlements. What was of additional significance in their re-appearance, was the way in which the views of the control lobby legitimated the concerns of racist-fascist elements outside Parliament (Holmes

1975; Miles 1984).

The control lobby in Parliament was, Deakin writes, influential in orchestrating and shaping public opinion and 'became siren voices offering a solution where Government could only proclaim with diminishing conviction the indivisibility of British citizenship.' (Deakin 1965:45). It is not surprising therefore that public opinion polls between 1960-61 of both Labour and Conservative voters showed them to be overwhelmingly in favour of restrictions (McKenzie and Silver 1968).

In 1962, the Conservative Government embarked upon restricting immigration from the New Commonwealth by limiting entry to those who had employment vouchers. Home Secretary Butler expressed regret at having to introduce the Commonwealth Immigration Bill. He maintained that:

"It is only after long and anxious consideration and considerable reluctance that the government have decided to ask Parliament for power to control immigration from the Commonwealth."

Butler identified "intensified social problems" to be the reason for the introduction of controls (Hansard, 1961: Vol.649).⁽¹³⁾

Labour's initial response to the bill was one of passionate opposition. Gordon Walker, for example, attacked the Home Secretary for introducing such a bill to Parliament. A bill he advocated:

"Which contains bare-faced, open race discrimination. He advocates a bill into which race discrimination is now written, not only in spirit and in its practice, but in its very letter." (Hansard 1961, Vol.649).⁽¹⁴⁾

Labour maintained this liberal position until after it won the General Election in 1964. The 1964 General Election

was significant for the explicit use of race by the conservative candidate Peter Griffiths at Smethwick to mobilise support with the slogan "if you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour."

Patrick Gordon Walker's loss of his seat to Peter Griffiths and the defeat of Fenner Brockaway at Slough, forced Labour's realignment on race. This involved adopting a more realistic line on race and a determination not to be 'soft'⁽¹⁵⁾ on race. Labour's new commitment was demonstrated in extending immigration controls in the 1965 Immigration Act. This was after the 1964 Act had further reduced the number of vouchers imposed by the 1962 Immigrant Act annually to 85,000.⁽¹⁶⁾ This was in spite of having accepted the 1959 Brockway Anti-discrimination Bill and its opposition to restricting integration during the Second Reading of the 1962 Immigration Bill.

By 1965, both Parties were in substantial agreement on the subject of controlling New Commonwealth immigration. The Labour Home Secretary, Sostice, in his first statement to Parliament on immigration confirmed this position: "The Government", he declared, "are firmly convinced that an effective control is indispensable." (Hansard 1965).⁽¹⁷⁾ Similarly, Roy Hattersley reinforced this new mood of the Labour Party stating:

"We are in favour of some sort of limitation. We are wholeheartedly opposed to any sort of discrimination. We are wholeheartedly agreed that there should be assimilation or adjustment, whichever word one prefers to use." (Hansard 1965, Vol.709).

In addition to this enthusiasm for control, he went on to welcome the new consensus between the two major parties on control and expressed regret at not having supported controls earlier.

"I am prepared to say today that, looking back on the original Act, which limited the entry of Commonwealth citizens into this country, I feel the Labour Party of

that time should have supported it ... I make that point with no great joy for I was myself a passionate opponent of the Act." (Hansard 1965).

The constant equation and association between the control of Black immigration and the achievement and maintenance of harmonious race relations emerged from forging a new consensus on race relations and immigration between Conservative and Labour. Hattersley continued with the mood of appeasement when he praised the "overall agreement which now exist across party frontiers.". He expressed the desire that this new mood of agreement should form the basis for concentrating on "objective study and remedies of immigration problems than avoid issues." The kind of studies he proposed were those that would ascertain which groups of immigrants "are more likely to be assimilated into our national life." Speculation led him to conclude that Pakistanis "willingness and ability to be integrated is a good deal less than those of West-Indians who were speaking English from birth" ... "they create in our major towns problems a good deal more serious than West-Indians."⁽¹⁸⁾

Since the passage of the first Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, immigration control has become a main focus for 'institutionalised racism' (Allan 1973) keeping alive in the public mind the link between Blackness and undesirable immigration. 'State racism' in the view of Edgar has been responsible for defining the framework and basis for political action in the area (Edgar, 1975). 'The principles were', according to Moore and Wallace, 'that Black people were in themselves a problem and the fewer we had of them the better.' (Moore and Wallace 1975:2). The premise of ideological and administrative discussions on race in Britain is the assumption that good race relations could only be practised alongside a colour bar (Moore and Wallace 1975:3).

The institutionalised consensus which came with Labour's White Paper on immigration and the passage of the first Race Relations Act (1965) was the result of a negotiated

depoliticised settlement between the advocates of immigration control and advocates of integration measures. The contradictory nature of this settlement was at the heart of the attempts to racialise the premise upon which the compromise was based. The integrationist assumptions implied that colour was an irrelevant calculation, while colour was at the core of immigration control. Ian MacDonald, discussing the inconsistency of the dual perspective, writes:

"Unfortunately, the effect which the Race Relations Act could have on racial tensions in Great Britain today is being continuously subverted by the propaganda needed to sustain the other pieces of the legislation ... (in) the Commonwealth Immigration Acts. All propaganda from whatever source in favour of immigration control is made with reference to the coloured minority already here rather than those who are yet to come. The assumption of the Commonwealth Immigration Acts are that those who are already here are here on sufferance, that they are not an integral part of the community and if things get bad they should go. Thus the assumptions of the Commonwealth Immigration Acts are a direct contradiction to those of the Race Relations Acts." (MacDonald 1969:3)

The politicisation of race has taken the ideological issue of race to the plateau of the political agenda (Katznelson 1973). Race, according to Dummett 'has for nearly two decades been our major preoccupation ... the one issue of which the whole electorate has heard.' (Dummett 1978:1). Similarly, Hall argues that race has become the 'binding thread' in the establishment of an authoritarian consensus (Hall 1978, Hall et al 1978).

How had this situation come about? This is a question posed by Rex and Tomlinson (1979). How could the Conservatives in 1962, reconcile immigration controls of Commonwealth citizens when it maintained an almost mystical and reverential ideal for the Commonwealth? Furthermore, how could the Labour Party justify its own intensification of controls in 1964, when it subscribed to socialist-internationalism. Evidence from within the Labour Party suggests that both parties found this compromise uncomfortable.

Richard Crossman writes about this discomfort in the following terms:

"This has been one of the most difficult and unpleasant jobs the government has had to do. We have become illiberal and lowered the quotas at a time when we have acute shortage of labour. No wonder the week-end liberal papers have been bitterly attacking us. Nevertheless I am convinced that if we hadn't done all this we would have been faced with certain electoral defeat in the West Midlands and the South East. Politically, fear of immigration is the most powerful undertow today We felt we had to out-trump the Tories by doing what they have done and so transforming their policy into a bi-partisan policy. On the other hand I can't overestimate the shock to the party. This will confirm the feeling that ours is not a socialist government, that it is surrendering to pressure If we had a Home Secretary who could have done this as a matter of principle and done it strongly and early." (Crossman, 1975, Vol I:299)

Both parties were aiming to depoliticise the issue of immigration. They wanted it to appear as a normal area of policy that was in the national interest for the indigenous population and immigrants already here. It could not be seen as a matter of politics. Neither party wanted to risk the probable electoral impact of that, or its consequence for law and order. Crossman writes accordingly:

"We had the courage to publish the Immigration White Paper in 1965, which was bitterly attacked at every level. But it had worked - it had taken the poison out of politics so that in the 1966 election immigration was no longer a political issue - we were getting the social problem in the Midlands under control by severely limiting the incoming stream of immigrants and taking trouble in the schools."

(Crossman, 1975, Vol.2:689)

The aim of this institutionalised consensus was to take the initiative out of the hands of those extra-parliamentary forces who might take extra-legal means to make their views on the subject felt. On the point of racial incitement, Roy Hattersley expressed such a concern: "The law will help to create the right kind of climate in this country ... the opinion of this house still counts for something." Both parties celebrated this new unanimity.

Crossman's reference to shaking out the troubles in the school indicates that the official consensus in the management of Race Relations in the mid 60's had coincided with the wave of optimism in education research and policy regarding the efficacy of education to bring about desired social change. Describing the educational climate of the period, Bernbaum makes the following observation:

"What is remarkable about this sum of optimism is, first, the confidence with which they describe the present and future nature of advanced industrial societies, and, second, the interpenetration of sociological theory, educational research, and educational and political policy." (Bernbaum 1977:25).

This educational optimism had been an essential ingredient in the recontextualisation of race relations objectives in the management of race in British politics. Hattersley argued that this re-orientation was an educational one. It was, in his view, the task of headmasters and teachers "to produce a race of children who in fifteen or twenty years time still remembered that we are all basically the same, and that we should and can live together in harmony and tranquility." (Hansard, March 1965).⁽¹⁹⁾

As we shall see in the next section, the normalisation of race relations depended upon controlling the visibility of the Black presence.

SECTION TWO

THE RACIAL ROAD FOR EDUCATION

Introduction

This part of the chapter examines the way in which the politicisation of race conditioned the educational response to children of New Commonwealth origin. The integrative symbols enshrined in the ideals of the Commonwealth and

expressed through British citizenship were dismantled. Integration had now to be conditioned and influenced by the process of racialisation witnessed by the changing context of decolonisation and the settlement of colonial subjects and their children in Britain. The contradictory imperative imposed by race relations management necessitated the promotion of new integrative symbols in the regulation of race relations. Education was thus charged to produce these new integrative symbols in race relations. Education was to provide the hegemonic consensus, the middle ground in the management of control and integration. Education was destined to be the neutralising force in the contradiction of these two articulating forces.

In order to reformulate these integrative symbols, education policy had first to accept the broader framework of race relations management. Education policy had to legitimize the view that effective educational arrangements for children of New Commonwealth origin had to be based upon restricting their numbers and concentration in schools. Numbers and concentration were the first major themes that policy makers attempted to normalise.

Managing Numbers and Concentration

The legitimization of the association between successful assimilation and integration and the restriction upon the numbers and concentration of immigrants allowed in any one school, required the removal of any discriminatory

intent from the policy of promoting good race relations. Rather, the policy of linking assimilation and integration to the numbers of immigrants allowed in school was considered beneficial in the promotion of good race relations.

The policy of assimilation and integration had therefore to be predicated upon the numbers theory of race relations. The theory assumed an inevitability in the nature and the expression of racial prejudice on the part of the majority community. The corollary of this view was that ethnic minorities are in themselves a problem because of their phenotypical and cultural difference. During the 1960s, this view formed the basis of institutional intervention and was legitimated in official racial discourse in education. The necessity of limiting the numbers and concentration of Commonwealth immigrants was justified in order to reduce their visibility in schools. The dispersal policy, as it became known, was the most radical expression of that thinking.⁽²⁰⁾

Dispersal Policy and the Management of Prejudice

In Education, White parents were instrumental in translating the wider social fears concerning the settlement of New Commonwealth immigrants in Britain into concrete educational concerns. Public apprehension that the numbers of New Commonwealth immigrants entering Britain went beyond absorption capacity was thought to be clearly evidenced by the 'problem', which large numbers of immigrant children were said to be creating in urban schools. Southall was identified as

the most typical example. The demonstration of White parents in Southall (1963) against the numbers of non-English speaking children entering schools in the borough was viewed by the Conservative Government as an explicit manifestation of the problem and a natural expression of concern by White parents. They feared that their own children were retarded by the large numbers of non-English speaking children, who were felt to be consuming a disproportionate amount of teachers' time and attention. White parents demanded that their children be educated in separate educational premises to those of immigrant children.

Ealing was among the first local authorities to disperse immigrant children from Southall. The policy, as we have seen was adopted by both Conservative and Labour governments. Although the immigrant community (mainly Sikhs from the Indian sub-continent) in Southall only constituted one-fifth of the population, the issue raised by the dispersal policy gave the impression that the proportion of immigrants living in the borough was a lot higher. Indeed the attention which was focused upon the Beaconsfield Road Primary School in 1963, which had a 60 percent immigrant attendance rate gave added weight that Southall was being taken over by immigrants. The demonstration of white parents against this racial invasion, as it was described, brought to national attention what was felt to be plight of local people living in 'immigrant areas'. This one event was sufficient to decide and launch a national policy on the future educational arrangement for immigrant children.

Government intervention was directed to depoliticising and deracialising the situation. The explicit racial overtones of the demand made it incumbent upon the government to alleviate the fears of these parents and the society as a whole. In a House of Commons debate, November 1963, Sir Edward Boyle, the then Minister of State for Education, described his meeting with Southall parents and used the opportunity to announce the forthcoming publication of the Ministry of Education pamphlet English for Immigrants.⁽²¹⁾ It was the first official document to be released concerning itself specifically with the education of immigrants.

However, the real significance of Boyle's Parliamentary address is that it laid the foundation upon which a teleological causality would be erected around the discourse of numbers concentrations, poor race relations and low levels of educational attainment. High levels of concentration of immigrants in an area was said to breed intolerance and prejudice. The removal or diminution of prejudice could only be achieved with lower levels of concentration. Boyle's address based the attainment of integration upon the reduction in the visibility of immigrant children in schools. Furthermore, the theme of numbers and concentration provided the basis upon which the racial appropriation of the education of immigrant children would be reinforced and self-confirming in official documentation during the 1960s.

Schools and Racial Integration (1963)

The debate Schools and Racial Integration in Hansard in 1963 is memorable for the way the attainment of integration was coupled with numbers and speculation about standards. The debate started by referring to the ways in which the concentration of immigrant children dictated the potential mobility of schools to cope with the 'problem' they posed. It was in this spirit that J P W Mallalieu made the following warning:

"First, whatever we do, we must not allow the education of the English children to be retarded. There was a feeling -I don't know how justified it was - that this was happening in Southall, and the Minister himself had some experience of it. Whether it happened there or not, it should not happen, and in no way should the education of the English be retarded." (Hansard 1963, Vol.685:Cols 433-444)

Accepting the assumptions about concentration and standards, Sir Edward Boyle, reasserted his commitment to the house that he did not want to see:

"Laissez faire acceptance ... of de facto segregation between immigrant schools and native schools. This is wrong because it was not in the interest of the general policy of racial integration Secondly, it is desirable on education grounds that no school should have more than 30 percent of immigrants." (ibid)

Boyle does not tell us his evidence for stating definitely:

"I am sure that the educational problem that one gets above the level of 30 percent immigrant children become infinitely harder and perhaps impossible to tackle." (ibid)

The next statement made by Boyle indentified the political difficulty in getting white parents to have their

children educated alongside immigrant children. His statement demonstrated that as far as white parents are concerned the line between integration and invasion is very thin. Boyle speculated on the consequence for integration in immigrant neighbourhoods if numbers were not kept low:

"In neighbourhoods taken over by immigrant families ... schools will cease to have a sufficient supply of native children, and it is both politically and legally more or less impossible to compel native parents to send their children to a school in an immigrant area if there are places for them in other schools. Even when native parents continue to live alongside immigrants, they will seek to transfer their children to more distant non-immigrant schools if their local school has more than about 30 percent of immigrant children." (ibid)

Thus we see from these statements that Sir Edward Boyle forcefully supported the idea of dispersing immigrant children before it was officially written into the Circular 7165. In 1963 he had already committed his support for dispersal to education authorities.

"I certainly will support any authority, which tries to spread immigrant children by introducing zoning schemes. This must be a matter of co-operation rather than compulsion, but I can promise any authority which attempts to spread immigrant children my strongest support insofar as it lies with me." (Hansard Vol.685:442)

The most important consideration in the policy to prevent the concentration of immigrant children in certain schools was the desire to contain the disaffection of White parents. Boyle was sympathetic with the fear of White parents. He used the issue of language to deracialise and normalise their fears:

"One must recognise the reasonable fear of many parents that their children will get less than a fair share of the teacher attention when a great deal of it must of necessity be given both to language teaching and to the social training of immigrant children." (Ibid. 440)

The association between the linguistic difficulties of immigrant children and increased teaching time was designed to remove the racial sting out of the attack of White parents. The only way, he argued, to prevent the drainage of White children from their local community schools, was to prevent local schools from absorbing more than 30% of immigrant children. He had told the House that regrettably, one school must be regarded now one school as irretrievably an immigrant school. "The important thing to do is to prevent this happening elsewhere." (Ibid, 441).

Cultural and Phenotypical Difference: the basis of prejudice

The fear of having more than 30% of immigrant children in anyone school became the central dynamic of policy. In February 1964 the Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council accepted departmental policy on the distribution of immigrant children in local education authorities. Although the report was released three months after Boyle's Parliamentary address, it nonetheless constituted essential elements of his speech. Like Boyle's speech the report took for granted the extent to which numbers in themselves would generate problems. Assimilation was taken to be based upon the number of immigrants arriving and the nature of the immigration. It is not surprising therefore, that the convenient starting point for the report should have been the issue of numbers and the type of immigrants now entering Britain. The report began by talking about the numbers of Commonwealth immigrants:

"Upwards of half a million men, women, and children from other parts of the Commonwealth are living in Britain."
(Para 1).

and then goes on to talk about their concentration in certain areas:

"An influx of this size and type and with this degree of concentration, could hardly have failed to produce some problems, and these problems are acute in certain fairly

The report then speculated on why European immigrants in the past had been accepted. This question was answered by referring to the difference in size of the respective immigrant groups and the difference in social customs.

Cultural and phenotypical difference are cited as a specific reason for the difficulties. Compared to European immigrants, the culture of new Commonwealth immigrants was seen to be a problem.

"... these immigrants are visibly distinguishable by the colour of their skins and many come from societies whose habits and customs are very different from those in Britain." (Para 5).

and

"... The education of children of unfamiliar backgrounds and customs present real difficulties at a time when classes are already overcrowded. These are problems arising from different customs, habits and attitudes to learning and to life, which many children bring to school." (Para 9).

With respect to the organisation of education for new Commonwealth children, the report emphasized the importance of reducing their visibility by not allowing their concentration to be over 30% in any one school. This was seen as the only means by which they could be readily immersed into English culture and social habits.

The twin objective was all the more significant, if as according to the report, the tensions caused by immigrant children are to be contained and the prejudice which they engender in the host community to be controlled. Only by recognising the legitimate sources of the host community's disaffection can the assimilation of immigrants already here be achieved. The report asserted confidently the source of the problem and how it was to be solved:

"We are satisfied from evidence we have received that educational problems are created by a rapid influx of a large number of immigrant children into particular schools."

"The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the progress of the whole class." (25)

And moreover:

"The evidence we have received strongly suggests that if a school has more than a certain percentage of immigrant children among its pupils, the whole character and ethos of the school is altered." (26)

In this context, the report stated categorically the assimilationist aims of immigrant education:

"This is that a national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties which are the same as other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture or another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of different immigrant groups." (10)

The other aim identified to be crucial:

"... must be to help children learn about other people and about the community in which they are growing up. This is particularly important for the immigrant child, who until he attends school, may well never have mixed with English children, and who has a great deal to learn about the country to which he has come." (11)

What was important about Boyle's Parliamentary address and the Second Report of the Immigrants Advisory Council was the way in which their assumptions legitimated the existing power relations between White parents and immigrant parents. They also normalised the view that the state was neutral, functioning to adjudicate between the reasonable claims of White parents while facilitating awareness and conditions through which immigrants could become fully acquainted with English customs and habits. The role of education in the resocialisation of immigrant children and their families was not at this time viewed to be a relationship of reciprocity between the education system and immigrant communities as the multiculturalism of the 70's suggests (Second Report Para 16). Rather English culture was

an heuristic whole in which immigrant groups had to be socialised. The conditions for tolerating them among the indigenous population was to be created and legitimated in education.

By reconceptualising racism as a natural expression of prejudice, whose origin lay in the strangeness, cultural dissimilarity and ultimately the deficiency of immigrant culture in its interaction with the host culture, provided the basis for policy makers to eliminate their role in the construction and legitimation of racism could be created. The role of the state could then be conceived as one of managing short term administrative difficulties and arbitrating between the host culture and the unfamiliar culture of the immigrant group. The above analysis of prejudice is illustrated by the policy of dispersal. This culturalist and depoliticised conception of the interaction between race, indigenous culture and the culture of immigrant groups defined by colour, became part of the normalised accent of immigrant education policy. The policy conditioned the experience of immigrant children undergoing schooling. The natural view of prejudice became part and parcel of the popular basis from which characterisation and stigmatisation of those children could be enacted. The natural conception of prejudice was officiated and orchestrated by state representatives, who have access to the public, status, authority, power and could rouse strong identification with indigenous groups at the expense of marginalising immigrant groups. Milner makes a useful characterisation of the Dispersal policy:

"Policies like dispersal institutionalises the recognition of the disparity between the races. They allow that white people's wishes to remove immigrants from their neighbourhood schools is a permissible sentiment by actually implementing this desire they confirm the immigrants' second-class status and officially endorse prejudice." (Milner, 1975:202-3)

SECTION 3

CONCEPTUAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES IN RACE RELATIONS POLICY IN EDUCATION

The racial division being created between indigenous children and children of New Commonwealth origin provided the framework to manage a policy within which it would be possible to guide and incite reaction to the education of immigrant children where necessary. It further facilitated the next two important policy documents concerning the educational arrangement for immigrant children from the Labour Government. The new Government came to power in 1964, having fought a general election in which race and immigration had been central issues. The Labour Party having emerged from this polarised campaign with a small majority decided that it was electorally imperative to be realistic on matters of race and immigration. That is, it would take as an essential prerequisite to the achievement of assimilation, the need to control immigration. That stated as a matter of fact, the two documents released by the Labour Administration on education attempted to de-emphasise the racial motivation of Labour policy by concentrating on the procedural and amplifying the integrationist aspect of the policy. The two documents are significant in exemplifying the consensus reached by the parties on race and immigration matters.

Both Education for Immigrants (June 1965 - Circular 7/65) and the White Paper (August 1965) replicated the essential themes and concerns of immigrant education policy and therefore should be read jointly. While the circular will be remembered in the history of race and education in Britain as formalising recommendations for the institutionalisation of the dispersal of immigrant children enshrined in the section of the document 'Spreading the Children', the White Paper will be remembered for stating the conditions for its achievement.

Firstly the Circular (7/65) viewed as 'inevitable

that as the proportion of immigrant children in a school or a class increases, the problems will become more difficult to solve, and the chance of assimilation more remote'. The process of absorption would be facilitated if numbers remained at one third. 'Serious strains' could thus be avoided. In the process of rearranging catchment areas to avoid 'undue concentration of immigrant children, advice must be given to parents and particularly White parents'. The Circular paid special attention to this aim, since it was from White parents that it most feared disaffection.

The significance attached to this advice is represented by the following statement from the circular in which the whole paragraph is stressed in Italics:

"It will be helpful if the parents can see that practical measures have been taken to deal with the problems in schools, and that the progress of their own children is not being restricted by the undue preoccupation of the teaching staff with the linguistic and other difficulties of immigrant children." (Para 8)

Confronting numbers by dispersing immigrant children to suburban schools in order that their numbers should not exceed the one-third limit was the administrative attempt by the government to take the political heat out of the management of race and education.

The dispersal policy as this practice became known, required legitimation. Integration was to be the basis of the legitimation. This was enunciated in the White Paper 1965. In the White Paper Immigration from the Commonwealth (1965), Part III was dedicated to integration through racial management in education. The Paper made repetitive reference to the need for integration, while simultaneously correlating that desire with reference to the 'serious strains' imposed by the 'substantial influx of immigrants' (Paragraph 5). Part III of the White Paper was an expression of the contradiction imposed by the parallel aims to balance the

forces of instrumentalism, liberalism, and benign racism. The following statement demonstrates the tension generated by the approach itself:

"The United Kingdom is already a multi-racial society and Commonwealth immigrants make a most valuable contribution to our economy. Most of them will stay and bring up their families here and there can be no question of allowing any of them to be regarded as second class citizens. At the same time it must be recognised that the presence in this country of nearly one million immigrants from the Commonwealth with different social and cultural backgrounds raises a number of problems and creates various social tensions in those areas where they are concentrated. If we are to avoid the evil of racial strife and if harmonious relations between the different races who now form our community are to develop, these problems/tensions must be resolved and removed so that individual members of any racial group mingle freely with all other citizens at school, at work and during their leisure time without any form of discrimination being exercised against them." (DES 1965 Para 39-42)

The form of institutionalised intervention that developed out of the three forces of instrumentalism, liberalism and the benign practice of racialisation were difficult to reconcile.

The dispersal policy that evolved out of the desire to 'spread the children' and to avoid 'serious strains', was riddled not only with administrative difficulties that traversed essential principles entailed in the management and organisation of education, its conceptualisation was itself problematic. Since the authorship of the policy was dictated by the moral panic caused by the race and immigration debate, all other social objectives of policy had to be subordinated to the containment, normalisation, and the depoliticisation of the oppressive mode of racialisation. The problem associated with the conceptualisation of the policy became realised in the administration of the dispersal policy.

Administrative Difficulties

Although there was a general bipartisan endorsement of the 'quota system', that, in itself, did not offer any

guidelines for those LEAs left with the task of implementing the dispersal policy. Apart from the physical movement of children, authorities were left in doubt as to what procedure they should follow in deciding which group of immigrant children should be dispersed (Patterson 1969: 259).

So in spite of the emphasis in the Parliamentary addresses - 1963-1966 and the publication of the period, (the First, Second, Third and Fourth Report of the Commonwealth Immigrant Advisory Service between 1963-1965, the release of the Department of Education and Science Circular 7/65 Education for Immigrants June 1965, the White Paper, Immigrants from the Commonwealth August 1965 directing that immigrant education should aim at breaking down their concentration in certain schools), the institutionalisation of the dispersal policy was not universal throughout LEAs. LEAs such as Wolverhampton, Coventry, Bristol, Nottingham, Leicester, the ILEA, and Birmingham⁽²²⁾ initially, did not adopt the dispersal policy. In other areas such as Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield, other measures of teaching immigrant children had already been practiced, such as withdrawal classes, languages centres, and the use of peripatetic teachers (Patterson 1969:259).

In the recent history of education practice for immigrants, Southall and Bradford have been identified as the leading proponents of dispersal. Both authorities, going against the practice in most LEAs, endorsed the sentiment of official immigrant education policy. Their pursuance of dispersal was given further official backing with the passage of the 1968 - and later in 1976 - Race Relations Acts. In both Acts, room had been allowed for the existence of some tenuous notion of positive discrimination. It was argued that dispersal had as one of its objectives, the desegregation of schools in immigrant areas, providing for better racial integration and offering better education facilities to immigrant children. A proposition upheld by Lord Denning in *Cumings v Birkenhead* (Kogan 1975:25-26).

The integration of the principle of positive discrimination said to be contained in the practice of dispersal was not so clearcut for the Race Relations Board.

It seemed undecided as to whether the practice was discriminatory in the negative or discriminatory in the benign sense. The two investigations it had set up, one under Professor Hawkins to investigate the practice of dispersal in Blackburn and the other under Professor Kogan to investigate the practice in Bradford both produced different conclusions. In the case of Hawkins it was ruled that the practice was not discriminatory in the negative. The linguistic needs of immigrant children was felt to justify the policy (Kirp 1979:93, 96). In contrast the case of Kogan concluded that the practice was not discriminatory in educational intent, but was discriminatory insofar as it was determined by race. These two reports, having contradicted each other, left the Board and the Community Relations Commission without clear direction as to how to deal with the issues raised by the dispersal policy.

What became clear was the Commission's unwillingness to pursue the matter further for fear of amplifying the political and racial issues that were at the centre of the dispersal policy. To do so would have disrupted the attempts of the integrationist concerns of national policy to somehow make neutral and invisible the Black presence, while taking for granted the coercive basis of its own racial form of identification.

These difficulties as well as other administrative measures, contributed to the policy being abandoned as a national policy. At the national level, other strategies were being developed to manage race relations and integration. The 1968 Race Relations Act and the 1971 Immigration Act had further tightened the controls on new Commonwealth citizens eligible to come to Britain and hence the number of children requiring places in schools. The 1968 and 1973 Select Committee Reports began expressing growing concern about the

efficiency of dispersal to achieve the aims that were set for it in the 1963-1965 period. In addition the DES publication, The Continuing Needs of Immigrants, 1971', began to look more at Reception Centres, full-time language centres and withdrawal classes to transmit language and cultural competence than the dispersal policy. However, perhaps the most significant factor contributing to the failure of the policy, was the difficulty in organising a quota that would be satisfactory or acceptable to suburban schools without them feeling that the 'immigrant problem' was being transferred to them. In spite of attempts to deracialise the policy, the media, parliamentarians and educationists never lost sight of its racial conception.

Racial Conception

The administrative difficulty that the dispersal policy encountered was very much tied up with its racial conception. Since the progress of racialisation was the active agent structuring and informing the policy of immigrant education, the policy itself became trapped in its own presupposition. Far from being directed towards the achievement of integration it reinforced its own prejudice and provided the justification for the continuation of the view that the impact that immigrant children would have on schools could only be disruptive. Bhatnagar, for example, cites in the Times Educational Supplement, a series of articles, 'Reactions to Immigrants' based on interviews with parents, teachers, and headteachers about the attitude of their local community to the impact of immigration on education. These examples demonstrate how people's racial fears were being expressed through education by one of the headmasters. When interviewed, he had this to say about the consequence of large numbers of immigrant children in the school:

"The first one who comes can be a cause of much interest, curiosity, even good humour. With just a few there is little difficulty with speech or behaviour. They soon conform, but with increased numbers the need to conform is lessened and an enclave is formed which has little or

nothing to do with the main stream of the school."
(Bhatnagar 1970:46)

Again, the BBC publication Colour in Britain is cited by Bhatnagar to illustrate the reaction to dispersing immigrant children in suburban schools. A letter on the strains caused by immigrant children is described:

"The chief cause of racial tension is not housing, personal habits or fear of cheap labour, but the nagging fear that children will be held back at school by immigrant children whose standards of literacy and intelligence are much lower." (Bhatnagar, *ibid*)

The Guardian was politically more explicit in its declaration when it warned of the 'hoisting of political storm signals around the Circular'. It went on to add, "The impact of bus loads of immigrant children arriving in suburban schools hitherto untouched by colour problems need little elaboration." The Editorial pointed out the significance in the fact that 'busing white children into coloured areas' was not suggested. It quoted an Ealing Councillor, who, when asked why only immigrant children were dispersed, replied unequivocally 'the white children were here first.' (Guardian 12 June 1965). The political force behind this nativist sentiment was the motive behind the dispersal policy. Indigenous sentiment dictated that immigrant children could not be treated the same.

This view was reinforced in answer to a Parliamentary question put by Reg Freeson (MP) to the Secretary of State for Education. Freeson asked:

"Upon what statistical or other evidence based upon social and educational studies he concludes that there is a need for organised dispersal of immigrant children by local education authorities, as would be requested by the implementation of Circular 7/65." (Hansard, 1965, Vol.721: 323-325)⁽²³⁾

Dennis Howell, answering for the Secretary of State replied

that the Secretary of State and the Education Department were in constant touch with local education authorities, education inspectors, and professionals among those 'closely associated with the problem.' Freeson pressed home the point that 'when it came down to it' there had been 'no properly designed social surveys and studies made as a basis for the Circular.' Howell's response was to reiterate, 'the overwhelming evidence of professionals involved.'. Without specifying what the evidence was, he reverted to the inconvertibility of the experiential basis of his 'own practical experience' of sending his 'own children to such a school.' (ibid).

By so doing, the Secretary of State was able to arouse strong personal identification with those who held the view that there were automatic and intrinsic problems associated with the presence of immigrant children in schools. Even after the policy lost its attractiveness in authorities that had practised the policy and those that did not, the conception still persisted that cultural and phenotypical differences in themselves created problems for white schools.⁽²⁴⁾

The school, being conceived as an institution for preserving the claims and rights of indigenous White children, conferred automatic advantages to white children. Protectionist patterns of control had therefore to be formulated to ensure the continuation of their rights in the face of influx from outside. This conception enabled a policy to be embarked upon and an ideology to be perpetuated, which violated an emerging principle of British primary school education, that is, that primary education should be community based (Plowden 1967).

Conclusion

The process of the racialisation in general and the specific context of education, has served to structure the position of Black children marginally and conditionally in relation to conceptions of educational policy and practice.

Institutional intervention had first to be conceived by the demands of the management of race relations rather than principles pertinent to educational practice. Racialisation dictated the issues in the education of immigrant children to its own logic. The Second Report of the Immigrant Advisory Council enshrined the pre-eminence of assimilation, when it revealed the prime objective of the education of immigrants defined by colour. It characterised the aims and objectives of immigrant education as requiring 'something more than academic progress', if they are to get as good an introduction to British life as possible (Cmnd 226b, Bowker 1968).

Education, as it was to be applied to children designated by colour, was to be primarily a cultural instrument to resocialise and assimilate them into English culture and values. This conception marginalised the broader educational aspirations of children designated by colour. Instead idealistic and utopian goals replaced structural approaches to education. The dispersal policy grew out of the 'serious strains that immigrant children were felt to impose on the education system. Educational arrangements created for their benefit would henceforth be directed towards removing these strains. Official policy was united in this view.

Thus, ameliorative policies are not implemented primarily because of the discrimination experienced by racially designated groups, rather they represent an index against which British tolerance and goodwill can be measured. Children of New Commonwealth origin, like the community from which they come, are viewed as a problem for British society and here on sufferance. Policy involving them has to have as a key element the appeasement of white reaction. This identification of Black people as a problem has trapped official educational initiatives created on their behalf. As a result there is a subordination of the broader educational aspirations of Afro-Caribbean children for idealistic and therapeutic ones. These ideals are replicated in an influential section of literature on racial policy and

practice in education.

Thus we have seen that the politicisation of race in entailed conditions of crisis management. This situation ensured that certain avoidance imperatives could be structured and legitimated into the management of race relations in general and at the site of education. A critical feature of the avoidance imperatives entailed not only attempts to physically regulate Black children, but perhaps more importantly, the creation of the conditions under which a 'moral panic' about race could be activated and thereby contain the racial marginalisation of Black children.

At this point, Hall makes a useful definition of 'moral panic':

"The important features of the moral panic, as an ideological process are these: it represents a way of dealing with what are diffuse and often unrecognised social fears and anxieties, not by addressing the real problems and conditions which underlie them, but by projecting and displacing them on identified social groups. That is to say, the moral crystallises popular fear and anxieties which have a real basis and by providing them with a simple, concrete, identifiable, simple, social object, seeks to resolve them. Around these stigmatised groups or events, a powerful and popular groundswell of opinion can be mustered. It is a groundswell which calls, in popular accents, on the 'authorities' to take controlling action. 'Moral panics', therefore, frequently serve as ways of pioneering practices by the state which in the end increases effective social control." (Hall 1978:33)

A sense of 'moral panic' has indeed punctuated major official responses to the education of children of colour. These themes will be further elaborated in the forthcoming chapter.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. The Policy response to children of immigrant backgrounds cover a long span of official activity, reflecting shifts in the development of race relations and immigration and their subsequent impact on education. Rex Tomlinson (1979) Colonial Immigrants in British Cities - A Class Analysis, London, provides a useful chronology of the main developments in race relations and education policy.
2. Habermas, J. (1976) in Legitimation Crisis, Heineman, London, regards legitimation crisis as a steering problem involving strains at the centre for advanced capitalism. The condition for legitimation in advanced capitalist countries is the efficient management and co-ordination of economic growth. Success in stabilising economic fluctuations, becomes the basis for technocratic legitimation. However, technocratic legitimation has not yet found a secure moral commitment outside itself.

The concept of legitimation crisis has been modified in its application to the management of race relations. The suggestion here is that the acceptance of Black Labour in Britain was not simple provisional on continued economic boom. Since the institutionalisation of restriction on the entry of Black labour was carried out during a period of labour shortage. The legitimation crisis was largely located in the political sphere. Sivanandan's persuasive analysis (1976 Race, Class and the State Race and Class XVII, Spring 1976) qualifies a political reading of the politicisation of race. He suggests that the eruption of racial hostility among the white working class reflects the nature of what Offe (1978) ('Political Authority and Class Structure' in Connerton, P. (ed), Critical Sociology, Penguin) describes as 'politically structured inequality'. In securing the conditions for the reproduction of capital, the working class is called upon to bear the burden. Sivanandan's analysis would suggest that infrastructural decline in the inner cities means that it is the white working class who are more readily exposed to making common-sense links between their material deprivation and the competition with minority groups for social services. Legitimation crisis erupts when the state legitimates racial sentiments while simultaneously making attempts to develop policies for eradication.

3. There are a number of interesting studies which captivate the ethos and moral panic generated by race and culminating in the passage of the Commonwealth Immigration Act:

Peach, C. (1965) West Indian Migrants to Britain: The Economic Factors, Race Vol.II, No.1.

Foot, P. (1965) Immigration and Race in British Politics, London, Penguin.

Deakin, N. (1965) Colour and the British Electorate, Pall Mall Press.

Deakin, N. (1969) The British Nationality Act 1948: a brief study in the political mythology of race relations. Race, July 1969.

Patterson, S. (1969) Immigration and Race Relations in Britain 1960-1969, Oxford University Press.

Moore, P. and Wallace, T. (1975) Slamming the Door: The administration of immigration control, London, Martin Robinson.

Katznelson, I. (1973) Black Men White Cities, Oxford University Press.

4. The early debate on immigrant education took the structure and organisation of the education system for granted. The approach adopted, emphasised the consensual aspect of British society, conditioned by economic growth. The natural ability of the education system to promote social justice and equality of opportunity just needed to be explicated in terms of race relations. The problem these groups faced was not located in the education system, but inherent in the culture and evolutionary problems associated with getting used to a new environment.

5. For a general description of the initial response of the government to the education of immigrant children see:

Power, J. (1967) Immigrants in School - a Survey of Administrative Practices. Councils and Education Press.

Rose, E.J.B. et al (1969) Colour and Citizenship, O.U.P.

Patterson, S. (1969) Immigration and Race Relations in Britain 1960-1969, O.U.P.

Bhatnagar, J. (1970) Immigrants at School. Cornnar Press.

6. The political consensus between the Labour and Conservative party survives today.
7. For a general discussion of some of the main provisions of the 1948 Nationality Act, see: Runnymede Trust and the Radical Statistics Group (1980) British Black Population, London, Heineman; Brown, C. (1984) Black and White in Britain, The Third PSI Survey. Policy Studies Institute, Heineman.
8. An indepth analysis of the paternalism and idealism entailed in the Commonwealth ideal is offered by Horowitz, D. (1970) 'The British Conservatives' in the Racial Issues

in the Debate on Decolonisation, Race Vol.XII, October 1970.

9. Hansard, House of Commons, 5th December 1958, Vol.596 Column 1552 and 1554.
10. Ibid Columns 1562 and 1559.
11. Ibid Columns 1563 and 1564.
12. Hansard, House of Commons, 4th June 1959, Vol.606, Columns 368-700.

In the debate on Racial Discrimination Bultar, in his condemnation of violence to the House stated:

"Racial discrimination has no place in our law and order and responsible opinion everywhere will unhesitatingly condemn anyone attempting to foment it." (369).

13. Hansard, House of Commons, 16th November 1961, Vol.649, Columns 687-694.
14. Ibid, Column 706. Gordon Walker substantiated his accusation of racism on the government because of the failure of the provisions in 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act to include the Irish from the Republic of Ireland.
15. Ibid, Column 303.
16. Hansard, House of Commons, 23rd March 1965, Vol.709, Column 334.

- (1) Category A, those who had specific jobs to come to;
- (2) Category B, applicants who possessed recognised skills and qualifications which were in limited supply in Britain;
- (3) Category C was reserved for semi-skilled and unskilled applicants. Priority treatment was given to those in this category who had served in the armed forces during the Second World War. After that vouchers were given on a first come first served basis.

The overall number of vouchers issued was decided by the Council of Ministers, based on the consideration of six determining factors.

- (1) The labour demand index.
- (2) The housing situation.
- (3) Health checks and hazards.
- (4) Pressure on the education system.
- (5) The outbreak of racial tension as a result of Black immigration.
- (6) The response of Commonwealth governments to the progress of the Act.

Category 'C' voucher holders were among the first category to be affected by government re-thinking. In the first six months of controls. After September 1964, no more category 'C' vouchers were issued, the process of discontinuation was formalised in August 1965 in the Labour Government White Paper on Commonwealth Immigration. In addition, the number of vouchers issued annually was reduced to 8,500 of which 1,000 was reserved for Malta.

Categories 'A' and 'B' vouchers became more relied upon to produce, in the words of Patterson, "a flow of satisfactory immigrants for the British economy and British society." (Patterson 1969:22-25). Among those who paid tribute to the professional and skilled categories of immigrants from the Commonwealth was Lord Stonham, who told the House of Lords in 1965 that 40 percent of all junior hospital medical staff came from the new Commonwealth countries, and almost 15 percent of all student nurses. He went on to admit that without their help some hospitals would have to close. Similarly, London Transport would have been seriously affected without the labour of Commonwealth immigrants. (The Lords, Hansard, 10 March 1965, Vol.264, Column 96).

17. Ibid. Labour conversion to the Conservative position on immigration should be seen with the more general ideological realignment in the Party. Having been defeated in the 1959 General Election over what Gartskeil felt to be the ideological symbolism of the party, unilateralism and nationalisation, he appealed to the party to abandon Clause 4.

Ralph Milliband describes as a central problem of democratic socialism the dilemma between pragmatism and principle (Milliband, R. 1964 "Parliamentary Socialism", London).

18. Ibid. Column 378-381. It is interesting to note that Hattersley conceived of ways to vet Black immigrants in terms of their assimilability and came to the conclusion that West-Indians were more pre-disposed to British culture. This view has changed. Today, race relations discourse regards, particularly Afro Caribbean youth, as a bundle of pathologies.
19. Ibid. Column 384.
20. Op.cit. Note 5. In addition, see Killian, L. (1979) "School Bussing in Britain: Policies and Perceptions", Harvard Educational Review, 49, 2:185-206.
21. The debate "Schools and Racial Integration" (Hansard, Vol.685 Columns 433-444 November 27th 1963) is worth reading in full for the way in which it demonstrates the pathological assumptions and speculations that encompassed the pragmatic acceptance of the racial basis of dispersal.

22. Birmingham pursued a policy of non-dispersal until 1967. The education authority pursued the policy on the basis that dispersal was discriminatory. But by 1966, the Labour run authority was coming under increased pressure to do something about the concentration of immigrant children in schools located in the inner ring areas of the city. The structural distribution of schools in Birmingham, in addition to the settlement of new Commonwealth immigrants in the inner city areas, encouraged the pattern of concentration of immigrant children in certain schools. For example, one-third of primary school places in the city were in schools controlled by religious denominations. This religious distribution of schools excluded a large percentage of West Indians and almost totally Asian children.

Under growing pressure, Birmingham reversed its non dispersal policy in February 1967 by a substantial majority. Among those who exerted pressure on the authority to adopt a policy of dispersal, were the local branch of the National Union of Teachers, the local branch of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Roy Hattersley, Labour MP for Sparkbrook. As well as those official pressure groups, the Birmingham authority was threatened by white parents removing their children from predominantly immigrant schools. Some of the primary schools in the area were reported to be over 80 percent immigrant.

23. Questions sent to the Ministry of Education and Science by the Brent Friendship Council are important for the weakness they highlight in the Circular.

- 1) How many schools in the country have more than the recommended number of immigrant children?
- 2) How many non-English speaking children are there in the schools?
- 3) How many children, classified as immigrants, are there in the total school population?
- 4) How many children, classified as immigrants, are there in the country or born overseas?
- 5) What is the age distribution of immigrant children at school?
- 6) What objective studies have been made of the "serious strains" referred to in paragraph 6 of the Circular?
- 7) What demographic evidence is there concerning the concentration of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods?

24. Hawkes, N. (1966) Immigrant Children in British Schools, Pall Mall Press, is a useful reference for a review of local education authority's immigrant education policy.

CHAPTER 4

THE STRUCTURING OF RACIAL MARGINALITY IN EDUCATION

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the educational and ideological consequences of converting race into an educational device. The racial forms of education, generally described as multi-culturalism and anti-racism, respond to children racially and culturally designated. These racial forms of education have particularly targeted children of Afro-Caribbean origin because of the perception of the ubiquity of racial domination and in consequence their cultural erosion. It is the perception of the ubiquity of racial domination and its conversion into a mode of educational discourse and practice characterised by what Reeves describes as benign forms of racialisation that constructs Afro-Caribbean children for ideological interpellation as racial subjects (Reeves 1983).

Thus, focusing upon the definitive impact of race, the aim is to identify the educational process of the reconstitution of race in the benign racial forms of education and their structuring of racial marginality in education in the same moment.

A major problem identified in this thesis is the dominant tendency of research to confer an autonomous status to race. This is a crucial feature of disconnection. In conferring an independent status upon race, the existing race relations literature is confined to the identification of shifts in policy to accommodate changing perceptions of minority cultures and their relationship with the dominant culture. The main aim of the race relations literature is to forge a new pluralistic consensus. This thesis focuses instead upon a race relations complex at the institutional site of education. Here, the race relations complex refers to the growth of organisation, education departments, the

formation of a body of race relations education experts to whom representation can be made on matters of 'truth' in race and educational issues. Emanating from that 'complex' is the production of a theory and knowledge about race upon which other social practices are based, such as law and order agents (Scarman, 1981).

The corpus of knowledge provided by the race relations complex, is located in the principle of disconnection which upholds a total view of a shared racial experience. Its designations provide the only authorship to historical eligibility. The institution of slavery is the enunciator and therefore it can testify to no ancestral heritage from which people of Afro-Caribbean backgrounds can refer to with pride and dignity. Cultural stripping, is its permanent socio-psychological force, manifested in theories of cultural deprivation, poor self-image, ambivalent identity, weak family structures, often headed by females, providing little source of strength for young people undergoing racialisation in White Metropolitan countries. In its benign form cultural deprivation is seen as impeding educational attainment. Furthermore, this conception provides the basis for the right-wing backlash against multiculturalism because deprived backgrounds are regarded as a valid educational resource for education transmission.

This 'knowledge' provided the political sub-text for the benign racial dispersal policy and the utilisation of the more coercive category of educational sub-normality to structure the educational experience of a large percentage of Afro-Caribbean children. Explanations of cultural disadvantage and the need to mobilise a compensatory education package are now frequently rehearsed to explain the high proportion of Afro-Caribbean children in off-site or withdrawal units, and are also frequently called upon to offer explanations of contemporary educational under-attainment of children from this background.

It is not only that this complex depends upon the

revitalisation, the reactivation of historical conceptions informed by a notion of the homogenising impact of a shared racial experience, it also has its dependency on other educational discourse located in categories of social and cultural degeneracy. These are utilised to address issues of indigenous White working class education. Racialisation is mediated through these categories. They have their own history of differentiation, hierarchy and determination.

Concepts such as cultural deprivation, language deprivation, compensatory education are all deeply embedded in the ideology of educational expansion of the 1960s and 1970s (Newsom 1963, Plowden 1967). They contained presuppositions to account for failure, which would minimise reference to racial class formation except at a rhetorical level. However, exploring the attachment of non-race specific education has not been, with the exception of the rather formative incursion of Carby (1979-1980), of great concern to researchers, a view endorsed by Tomlinson (1977) and Whitty (1985).

The processes of racialisation and marginalisation have failed to make any significant impact on perspectives offered by the substantive re-appraisal of the sociology of education. Whitty made the perceptive observation 'that the dominant concern of British sociologists of education, including those associated with the so-called "new directions of the 1970s, has been with the relationship between education and social class .." (ibid 52). The new sociology of education paid little attention to the question of racial oppression, nor did the various neo-Marxist perspectives that succeeded it. Thus, issues of race were largely left to those, who operated from the perspective of race relations to ponder. Rather, the tendency was to uncritically appropriate the benign objectives of race relations in education in terms of their own immediate and stated objectives. This strategy contributed to the reproduction of racial marginality through the principle of disconnection. Disconnection has taken a dominant form of

representation in racial policy and practice in education. It has relied upon dissociation from the broader political context of education. As a consequence multiculturalism, with its avowed aim of the diminution of prejudice and intolerance, was initially not scrutinised in terms of the conditions of its production. Instead, research continued to eschew the relationship between the conditions out of which knowledge from racialised practice in education is formed, and the dispositional and pedagogic effects its power exercises over groups constructed in racialised discourse. Without this approach, the mobilisation of technologies of surveillance internal to education intersect racial discourse in education with their power unrecognised. Dependence upon explicit manifestations of racial forms of discourse and practice rather than analysis of their reconstitution and affirmation in categories that do not necessarily rely upon explicit racial reference, sets limits upon the understanding of the structuring of racial marginality and thus fails to interrogate the underlying coercive power involved in the reconstitution of race.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one looks at the concept of a shared racial experience which underlies education discourse and practice for Afro-Caribbean children. Section two assesses the ideological construction of the debate of underachievement which was a framework of cultural pathology as a means of marginalising Afro-Caribbean children within the education system. Section 3 explores the development of an educational agenda for Afro-Caribbean pupils. The contemporary racial forms of education are multiculturalism and antiracism and this section addresses the double involvement of race in these discourses. Section 4 examines the forms of affirmation of racial policy and practice by LEAs claiming to have a policy on race and the contested legitimacy of racial forms of education.

SECTION 1

RESEARCH, RACE AND MARGINALISATION

The bulk of literature detailing the evolution of racial policy and practice in education over the last 25 years has been dominated by a liberal race relations problematic. The adaptation of this perspective has generated mainly descriptive, ahistorical and programmatic policy issues. It has produced a set of race-specific questions posed for education in the organisation and management of race. In this liberal race relations problematic what has to be ascertained by research and managed by the state, is the problems Black people are perceived to pose for the state and, particularly, those institutions with which they come into most contact. This pathological perspective has been crucial in conditioning a significant focus of research.

The general preoccupation with atheoretical, pragmatic, and policy oriented research stems from the overrepresentation in leading research in race and education with the unproblematised acceptance of the state's definition of the nature of the interaction between state, race, education, and society. This has led to an overconcentration on describing the manifestation and the social designation of racial and cultural difference and the ways in which they hinder assimilation. Thus the fundamental constituting relationship which the state has for education is denied a central role in shaping the outcome and unintended consequences of racial policy and practice in education.

The problem posed for this brief review of the major concerns of the literature is the impact on analysis when the literature takes for granted the reflection and appearance of the self definition or the stated intention of racial policy and practice in education. The literature's general failure to problematise the analytical categories at its disposal will be discussed. This discussion then seeks

to examine the consequences of explanations of underachievement among Afro-Caribbean children when these explanations are steeped in deficit models of culture and family background. By externalising Afro-Caribbean underachievement from class relations in education and the wider division of labour, the chapter focuses on the benign representation of race relations objectives in education. It looks at how these benign representations simultaneously co-exist with the racial structuring of educational marginality and work to construct a particularly coercive and marginal racial identity even when its stated objective is the contrary.

The assimilationist and problem oriented framework of official discourse has therefore had a significant influence on the delineation of research interest. It has reinforced the set of specific race-cultural issues, popularly identified in the organisation of education and the broader management of race relations in society. So, for example, the view that good race relations could only come about if the number of immigrants entering Britain was restricted also structures the politics of race and education during the 1960s. Thus the first need that was reflected in official policy and taken up in the literature, was the need to 'grasp the extent of the problem' we have taken on (Little 1976). In policy terms that meant recognising the extent to which the numbers and concentrations of Black immigrants posed special problems for the schools and the LEAs in which they had settled. The problem that had to be prevented 'at all cost' was allowing too many immigrant children into one school (HMSO 1963). Too many of them would alter the ethos of the school and make their resocialisation and assimilation into English cultural standard and habits difficult to accomplish (Boyle 1963-1970, DES 1965 and 1967, Power 1967, ILEA 1967, Bowker 1968, HMSO 1969, Patterson 1969, Rose et al 1969, Deakin 1970, Townsend 1971, Taylor 1974, 1981). The issue of numbers and concentrations was organically connected with the politicisation of race in British politics. More

specifically, its administrative consequence for education institutionalised the dispersal policy and the popular representation of the problem not only within English society, but also English schools.

In the case of Afro-Caribbean children it meant ascertaining their cultural and learning difficulties. Once identified, these children could be removed either to schools for the educationally subnormal or to the lower streams and non academic tracks of mainstream schools. Explanations of their location in the education system, generally cohered around themes of family destabilisation and cultural pathology. In taking on the state's problematic of promoting good race relations by creating a depoliticised consensus based upon the intersubjective nature of prejudice and converting that into an educational device, the literature has largely failed to problematise the racialised imperatives imposed upon education. The inability of the literature to demarcate its concerns over and above those of official policy, has tended to reinforce the educational marginality of Afro-Caribbeans in racial forms of educational discourse and practice. This is evidenced by the racialisation of a general institutional feature of the education system. Thus knowledge of the different attainment levels of different social classes is not applied to Afro-Caribbean children, for whom the problem of underachievement is assumed to be universal.

The management of the problems black children allegedly pose for the education system, made necessary the imposition of a race relations objective as a feature of the ideological management of educational change. This aspect of educational change has largely been absent from mainstream debates within the sociology of education. Instead it forms a part of race relations. Indeed, its very location illuminates its marginalisation.

Racial Marginalisation and Disconnection

Salter and Tapper describe three interrelated

dimensions underlying the force of educational change in the following terms:

"The first is the redefinition of the social ends of education and the restructuring of the experiences of schooling designed to achieve them. The second is the allocation of resources which will flow in the direction of those schooling experiences which apparently achieve these goals defined as necessary, and away from these schooling experiences deemed to be either redundant or at least not meriting support. The third is the struggle between institutions for educational power." (Salter and Tapper, 1981:45)

By identifying the interrelated forces behind educational change, Tapper and Salter help to periodize the ethos underlying redefinitions of the social ends of education.

For example, in the 1950s and 1960s educational research and government reports were united in their view that a precondition of economic growth depended upon widening the social base of education.⁽¹⁾ Reports such as the Early Leaving Report (DES 1954), The Crowther Report (DES 1959), The Newson Report (1963), The Robbins Report (1963), and later Education (DES 1972) championed the case, as the title of the Education Report suggested, for creating a Framework for Educational Expansion.⁽²⁾

In contrast, in the economic recession of the late 1970s and 1980s there was a policy of retrenchment of spending. As a consequence, there is a more aggressive political assertion of the necessity to rationalise education in order to prioritise administrative, technological and scientific knowledge. Running concurrently with these dominant educational themes over the last 25 years is the mobilisation of the subsidiary discourse of race relations within education. Race relations is conferred with the task of recontextualising the relations between different racial and cultural groups in society. Noticing the significance of redefining the social ends of education to include race, Cohen argues that 'education is placed at

the front line of the battle against racial ideas.' (Cohen 1987:1).

The public pronouncements of governments in the early 1960's began to chart the steps towards assimilating immigrant children into a national system of education. This involved promoting the moral sentiments and practice of racial and cultural harmony which education must inculcate in children. In 1963, English for Immigrants nervously debated how to balance cultural difference and contain problems posed by differentiation and fragmentation of the indigenous host culture:

" ... it is certainly true that the presence of ... immigrant children can give an added immediacy and meaning to many of our geography and history lessons, their contribution from the arts of their own country can add interest and variety to many school occasions, their differing religions, customs, dress and food can provide most useful and immediate material for the inculcation of at least some measure of international understanding. The presence of our visitors from overseas can cause problems, especially if they come with little English and more especially if they come to any one school in very large numbers." (HMSO 1963)

The theme of cultural enrichment was flamboyantly enshrined in Roy Jenkins' conception of integration when he defined integration "not as a flattening process of assimilation, equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of cultural tolerance" (Patterson 1969:113).

Roy Jenkins' integrationist ideals informed the race relations and educational ideals of the DES:

"Never in the history of our society has there been greater need for tolerance, refusal to engage in discriminatory and prejudiced action. These attitudes must prevail in a multi-racial society and their seeds have to be sown not least in the schools and colleges At the same time we need to respect and permit the expression of differences of attitudes, custom, belief, language and culture - not only because for the newcomers their own backgrounds have value and significance for them - but because they may eventually enrich the mainstream of our own cultural and social tradition." (DES 1971:13)

As early as 1972-3, the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, contemplated the wider issues of a multiracial society and the uncertain nature of creating a cultural consensus. The committee noted that the education service, like society as a whole, would need to renegotiate the nature of consensus. Again it echoed the question whether renegotiation should be based upon "unity in diversity" or "uniformity". There was a degree of fatalism in the Committee's observation when it noted:

"There is indeed no consensus about the future nature of the multiracial society. We see the first task for schools as equipping their pupils with awareness of an increasingly diverse society, of presenting the world as it is now and not where some of the older history books in circulation have left it. On these foundations the young develop their won attitudes to a plural society. It is not to the schools or the DES in offering guidance, to present a blueprint of what society should be." (HMSO, 1972:25)

In response to the Committee, the White Paper (1974) Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrant Children explained the contribution of education to a multicultural society thus:

"... the educational system has important contributions to make both to the well-being of immigrant communities in this country and the promotion of harmony between the different ethnic groups of which our society is now composed." (DES 1974:1)

In 1977, The Green Paper, Education in Schools: a Consultative Document made a forceful redefinitional statement regarding the new ethnically inclusive social ends of education:

"The education appropriate to our imperial past cannot meet the requirements of modern Britain" (1.11)

"The curriculum of the schools must also reflect the needs of this new Britain." (1.12)

"Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society ... We also live in a complex, interdependent

world and many of our problems in Britain require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know about and understand other countries." (10.11)

During the 1980s both Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) continued to endorse the notion of cultural diversity and the validity of its promotion in the education system. Swann argued that the education system should help to lay the foundation of a pluralist multiracial society (Swann 1985:8). In the battle against racial ideas Swann endorsed a rationalist strategy:

"The role of education in relation to prejudice is ... to equip a pupil with knowledge and understanding in place of ignorance and to develop his or her ability to formulate views and attitudes and to assess and judge situations on the basis of this knowledge. In thus encouraging a child to think critically and to make increasingly rational judgements, education should seek to counter any mistaken impressions or inaccurate, hearsay evidence which he or she may have acquired within the family, peer groups or, more broadly, from local community or the media." (Swann, 1985:13)

These statements from major official policy documents from the 1960s to 1980s demonstrate the significance attached to education in the recreation of a race relations consensus and what Cohen describes as the 'fight against racial ideas'. However, it is the argument here that a more fundamental process is at work that cannot be gleaned from the immediacy of the conciliatory tone of these pronouncements. The immediacy of these statements conceal the underlying ideological process of reconstitution in which nuances of distinction and differentiation serve to particularize cultural and racial characteristics and construct them in such a way that they become major problems in themselves and a source of explanation of educational and social processes. Most research in race relations has followed government policy in its aim of promoting good race relations by creating a depoliticised consensus based upon the intersubjective nature of prejudice and converting that

into an educational device. Research has largely failed to problematise the racialised imperatives imposed upon education. Instead research has been preoccupied with the promotion and legitimation of race relations objectives rather than analysing their limits, contradictions, and idealism. The prescriptive and normative approach of race relations to the education of Afro-Caribbean children who are designated by ethnicity and colour means that analysis to recover the racial structuring of education marginality is often mystified by the rhetorical and idealised prescriptions of multiculturalism. Underlying that mystification is the disaccentuation of class for some essentialist notion of primordial difference (Bonachich 1980).

Marginalisation and Social Class

Educational marginalisation is taken to mean the exteriorisation of the forces of racialisation from the social relations of education. Marginality works through disconnection. Disconnection is articulated through the conceptual break between social relations of race relations and the social relations of class. These relational forces of class and race are concretised in the historical and contemporary ensemble of the social relations of production. In contemporary educational terms, disconnection has meant the operation of homogenised conceptions of Black pupils, separated from mainstream issues in education. They become objects of study within their own sub-curricula discourse (multiculturalism/antiracism), generating sub-administrative categories (multicultural centres, multi-ethnic inspectorate), and personnel groups (multi-ethnic or race advisers). The tendency is for their liberal education policy to adopt an ethical moral approach to the education of children designated by race. This leads to the development of a split curriculum, containing different pedagogical objectives.

The compartmentalisation of race in its application

to education denies the articulating mechanism of non race ideologies as crucial structuring forces in the interpellation of Black pupils in the education process. The concept of race that informs the application of a race relations problematic to education is one that displaces complex social relations and substitutes them for a congealed united view of a shared racial experience.⁽³⁾ Race then has a strong coercive power and symbolic meaning in constructing the identity and understanding of Afro-Caribbeans pupils in the education system. The homogenisation of a shared racial experience assumes a determination and significance over and above the ideological political and economic contextualisation of the management of these experiences. In consequence, this context educational policy and practices develop that are overdetermined by race. The ideological construction of race assumes a cultural articulation. That is in the form of the cultural deficit brought on by cultural castration and the internalization of the ubiquity of racial domination by the Afro-Caribbean community.

Disconnection therefore takes place between educational critiques that interrogate the nature of the relationship between schooling and society and the reproduction of class structure, and those cultural analyses of race, which treat race as a single cohesive category anterior to the social formation of which it is a part. The extent to which this culturally overdetermined analysis of race ignores the intersectional significance that race has with other ideologies, will dictate the degree to which a repressive interiorisation of the cultural articulation of race will be given social force in explanations of the position that Afro-Caribbean children occupy in the education system. The dominance of the idea of race in the construction of educational policy and practice has prevented an interactional perspective from emerging. The consequence has been to constrain the analysis of the cultural articulation of race within the framework of the social relations of education.

There is a crucial disjunction in the conceptualisation of the role of education in the social division of labour when applied to groups racially designated. By underemphasising the internal differentiation in education and the different instructional and pedagogic expression of that differentiation, the process of education, as it is applied to Afro-Caribbean children takes on an idealistic and moralistic fervour. By stressing the affective and therapeutic idea of education, education as it is conceived for Afro-Caribbean children is separated from the broader class relations in the education system. For example, differences identified in performance between Black and White children are not, in many studies, related to class position, but to race or ethnicity.

Marginalisation of race from fundamental constituting relations of class within and outside education, has therefore left Afro-Caribbean pupils with particular racial forms of education with normative and prescriptive goals. The concept of race that directs this approach constitutes race as a real category and not an ideological construction and therefore underestimates the power of groups racially designated to resist the dehumanising cultural insinuations that accompany racial ideology. Race and the social designations, which derive from it, become synonymous with culture. This then dictates a form of analysis, which is pre-occupied with establishing the degrees of cultural resilience possessed by groups exposed to racism, which makes them better able to cope with it than others. This argument implies that the source of oppression experienced by racially designated groups is not primarily to be found in institutionalised racism, but in the dysfunctional cultural arrangements of these groups. A culturalist conceptualisation of race can persist largely because the social relations of race are not conceptualised as a constitutive part of the management of ideological and political structural disparity in social relations, but are conceived as external irritants for the social system.

Disconnection and the Dominance of a Shared Racial Experience

This conception of race enacted through the principle of disconnection involves the reconstitution of race through a cultural articulation. This articulation requires the historical and material sub-structure of race to be substituted and subordinated to generic, cultural differentiation. Thus, what comes to be defined as the cultural object of race takes on a general significance over and above explanations which concentrate on the forces determining its ideological object. Cultural objects are then given a determination, which seeks to disarticulate the production and reproduction of culture from the ensemble of material relations of which it is a part. Culture is then relocated as an apparently unified experience of race (Hall et al. 1975, Hall 1980).

Robert Miles describes this process as racialisation. A process within which configurations of political, economic, and ideological force intersect heterogeneous groups and reconstitute them as a single biological entity. Robert Miles defines racialisation as

"The process by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or imagined phenotypical characteristics in such a way as suggest that the population can only be understood as a supposed biological unit." (Miles, 1984:223)

This biologicistic outcome of coherence, Miles notes, is regulated by a group of agents among whom politicians, the media, and the police are identified as crucial ideological functionaries in producing and reproducing racialisation. Education as a critical member of the regulating mechanism of the State in reproducing racialisation. Nowhere is the reproduction of racialisation more evident than in the construction of Afro Caribbean underachievement (Williams 1986). The construction of Afro Caribbean underachievement not only symbolises their educational marginalisation, but also their conceptual externalisation from the mitigating

objective circumstance of class analyses. Cultural pathology is the framework within which the underachievement literature largely expresses this negation.⁽⁴⁾

SECTION 2

BAFFLEMENT, EMBARRASSMENT AND DESPAIR: AFRO-CARIBBEAN CHILDREN IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The 'culture of failure' is the dominant signifier of the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system. This conception of Afro-Caribbean children has been evident since 1960s. Henry noted from the major review of race relations in 1968 by Rose et al. in Colour and Citizenship, the perception of Afro-Caribbean children held by the education system:

"Children of West-Indian parents, the largest of all immigrant groups, have been a source of bafflement, embarrassment and despair in the educational system."
(Henry 1979:135)

The bafflement, embarrassment and despair are thematic in the explanations of underachievement in the literature. They are coded in explanations which present low self-esteem, family disorganisation and social disadvantage to account for underachievement.

The work of Pryce (1979), Cashmore (1979), Rex and Tomlinson (1979), Rex (1982), Cashmore and Troyna (1982), exemplifies various modes of this analysis. These writers have reasserted and made central to their analysis the connection between the educational failure of West Indian children and their location in a weak ancestral culture impregnated by slavery. An important focus of attention in Rex and Tomlinson's analysis is their identification of the intergenerational conflict (Rex and Tomlinson 1978:12) between the old and young. They cite intergenerational conflict as a factor in the breakdown of consent between the old and young, causing a degree of disorder which was, in the main, absent among the older generation. Having

conceived West Indians' identity to be formed in slavery, the assumption is that they are not culturally equipped to take advantage of British society. It is from the perspective of slavery and deculturation that Rex compares the coherent culture of Asians and the weaker less coherent culture of Afro-Caribbeans. Rex states unequivocally:

"The key to the understanding of these differences lies in the heritage of slavery. Whereas the Asian minorities come from a complex empire within a larger empire and a longer term diaspora within that empire, the West-Indians are drawn from a deliberately created colonial society in which the core institution was the slave plantation ...; and there is the terrible fact that these people have been deprived of their ancestral culture and forced to live and to think in the cultural idiom and language of their masters." (Rex 1979:237)

Assessing the educational implications of this upon children, Rex argues no less stridently:

"... the West-Indian faces unique difficulties. He has no other culture to turn to at home, as does, say, the Punjab-speaking Sikh child, and the culture of his home and school alike are cultures which implicitly and explicitly devalue black people and their achievement starting with this low self-image he faces selective processes which present him with a further sense of inadequacy." (ibid:68)

According to this view then, the source of oppression that the Afro-Caribbean community experiences and that affects their children, is deeper than racial discrimination. Although racial class structure has been conceded to, in Rex's analysis, conception of the formation of West-Indian identity directly links contemporary social, economic and educational problems experienced by Afro-Caribbean children with internal cultural deterioration brought on by slavery. It would seem that what there is to know about race in Britain today is not primarily to be located in the contemporary production of racial class structure in Britain, but the different degrees to which the cultural resource of different racial and cultural groups predispose them to different levels of cultural resource to withstand racism. Implied in this mode of analysis is the view that

the social disadvantage suffered by the Afro-Caribbean community is somehow self-inflicted. Stone makes a perceptive observation thus:

"The research and literature on black self-concept both in America and in Britain reflects this view of black people as marginal without culture, obsessed with being something other than themselves ... pathologically accepting other peoples negative views of themselves ..." (Stone 1981:73)

The extent to which the Afro Caribbean group is perceived to be steeped in a tangle of cultural pathology, is related to the perception of family disorganisation. Family disorganisation contributes another dimension in the account of underachievement.

Certain practices within the Caribbean family are identified as negative indicators of scholastic attainment. They are said to be the child-rearing practices of Afro-Caribbean mothers. Mothers are perceived to possess insufficient, if any, knowledge of the importance of toys, play in general and the developmental significance of purposive communication. With respect to child caring, Delabo describes what she regards to be the detached and unloving relationship between Afro-Caribbean mothers and their children. She writes with certainty that:

"The curiously and unmotherly relationship between many West-Indian mothers and their children has been noticed by observers ... There is no culturally based single mother figure in West-Indian child rearing. The child is looked after by nannies, aunties, minder, who vary from day to day. The child is not cuddled and fussed over by the mother. There is a distinct lack of warm, intimate, continuous relationship between children and their mothers from which both would get satisfaction and enjoyment. There is no tradition of the West-Indian mother playing with her young child as a toddler and pre-school child and giving him her undivided attention for regular periods of time." (Delabo, 1978:36)

Rutter and Mittler, 1972, Rutter et al 1975, also highlight the tendency for Afro-Caribbean mothers not to communicate with their children.

Studies further point to the prevalence of female headed households and the absence of the biological father. Non-permanent common law unions are said to be the frequent form of the child's experience of male-female interaction. Their impermanence is therefore felt to be destabilising for children. This evidence is endorsed by official reports from the Select Committee Report 1968, DES 1971 to the Rampton Report 1981.

This characterisation of the Caribbean family is upheld in studies of Black youth. Pryce (1979) emphasised the inability of the Caribbean parents to offer a positive predisposition to education. West-Indian parents:

"... want their children to be educationally successful, and expect them to 'have brains', despite their own ignorance as parents and the fact that they themselves may not have been anywhere near their children for the greater part of their lives and can't even now, owing to pressure of circumstances, afford to provide the right environmental conditions and the understanding and patience which are so essential if children are to make progress academically." (Price 1979:121-122)

Ernest Cashmore (1979) continues to blame parents for not offering a positive sense of selfhood:

"Familiar fragmentation after migration to England with one and sometimes both parents having to work long shifts and inconvenient hours, the influence of the family on the young West Indians become depressed."

"... for young Blacks in England, their parents provide only models of degradation and deprivation which are hardly likely to engender any sense of value and selfhood." (Cashmore 1979:84, 85)

The full pathological force of this view culminated in "Black Youth in Crisis" (Cashmore and Troyna 1982).

"Black youths became objects of consternation, accounts of fecklessness, improvidence, violence, laziness and dishonesty were not uncommon and they were indications that West Indians did not bring up their children in a completely satisfactory manner with dire consequence for subsequent achievement in school." (ibid, 15)

This characterisation of the Afro-Caribbean family, sees it as unable to provide the basis for children to develop positive self-esteem. Slavery and the construction of a shared racial experience are the "objective conditions" by which Cashmore and Troyna attempt to harmonise diverse conceptions of the underlying pathology of Afro Caribbean culture (ibid 32).⁽⁶⁾

The general orientation in the literature, then is to view Afro-Caribbean culture as a deficit that must be remedied before educational institutions can function effectively on their behalf. This view underpins Little's explanation of the failure of Afro-Caribbeans in the education system and the relative success of Asians. Little conceptualises Afro-Caribbean culture as a contrivance and pathological construction of white British culture. This diseased beginning still determines Caribbean conception of self. He writes:

"West Indians, whose cultural background is essentially a variant of the dominant culture which to no small extent disparages and even rejects his colour." (Little 1978:16-17)

In contrast, Asian culture is perceived to be solid and striving:

"In contradistinction to Afro-Caribbean children, Asian children come from stable cultural backgrounds with their own languages, religions, cultures and values which prizes learning for its own sake and encourages striving for self improvement. This gives the child a clear sense of its own ethnic identity and personal worth quite independent of the dominant culture's reaction to it." (Little ibid).

This is a further restatement of the cultural pathology view in influential sociological accounts. The account locates the causes of underachievement among West Indian children with the cultural and social relations of slavery. Continuity of aspects of those cultural and social relations are said to be part of the present cultural reproduction of the Afro-Caribbean community in England.

Underachievement studies conducted by Little during the 1970s, Tomlinson suggests, "probably had the most impact on policies practices and beliefs" (Tomlinson 1985:183).

Even when social disadvantage is conceded to culture still reasserts itself as a major determination of education disadvantage. The framework of disadvantage contained in the academic literature is acknowledged in the White Paper on Racial Discrimination (1975):

"The possibility has to be faced that there is at work in this country, as elsewhere in the world, the familiar cycle of disadvantage by which relatively low paid or low-status jobs for the first generation of immigrants go hand in hand with poor overcrowded living conditions and depressed environment. If, for example, job opportunities, educational facilities, housing and environmental conditions are all poor, the next generation will grow up less well-equipped to deal with the difficulties facing them. The wheel then comes full circle, as the second generation find themselves trapped in poor jobs and poor housing. If, at each stage of this process, an element of racial discrimination enters in, then an entire group of people are launched on a vicious down spiral of deprivation." (HMSO 1975:3)

The Policy Studies Institute Survey (Brown 1984) and the Employment Gazette (1983-1984) have produced evidence to demonstrate that a higher proportion of Afro-Caribbean households contain more children on average 4-5; more families live in overcrowded conditions, involving the absence of basic amenities; Afro-Caribbean fathers are more likely to work in manual rather than non-manual occupations; they have lower incomes and work longer hours; they have more frequent and longer periods of unemployment compared to their white counterparts. Proportionately, more males are absent in Caribbean families than indigenous white families. This coupled with the fact that a higher proportion of Caribbean mothers work is said to compound the social and racial disadvantage already suffered by such children. Swan summed up its impact in the following terms:

"Families whose parents have to work long or unsocial hours and have to be out when children are at home, with

the best will in the world cannot readily provide as much adult talk, or as much interest and encouragement in schooling as, say, a more affluent home."

Even after Swan's review of these studies acknowledged indices of social and racial disadvantage, he still asserts causal adequacy to what he perceives to be the positive cultural peculiarity of Asians and the negative culture of Caribbeans. In discussing the different attainment levels of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans, Swan claims that Afro-Caribbeans "are given to protest, and a "high profile"; while Asians are more interested in "keeping their heads down and adopting "a low profile" (DES 1985:86). This observation leads Swan to conclude that:

"The reason for the very different school performance of Asians and West-Indians seem to lie deep within their respective cultures." (DES 1985:87)

Still the apparent homogeneity of Afro-Caribbean and Asians as groups disconnected from class, leads the underachievement literature into an interpretative difficulty. This is how to explain the underachievement of Bangladeshi children. The group characterised by the Swann Committee to be "the one Asian sub-group whose school achievement was very low indeed" (Swann 1985:87). Failure to acknowledge the social significance of class according to Figueroa (1984), ensures the disconnection of underachievement from its basis in social inequality to a basis in individual racial and particular ethnic pathology.

Through this statement, Swan is able to reconstitute social and racial disadvantages so that their effectivity becomes accounted for in the perceived difference in the cultural strength of Asians and Caribbeans. Through this reconstitution, it is possible to deny the social pertinence of institutional racism. This reconstitution then, makes the ethnicisation or racialisation of educational underachievement within a pathological mode of cultural

degeneration more complete. Educationists such as Jeffcoate have used the evidence pointing to the different attainment of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans to deny the efficacy of the operation of institutional racism in education (Jeffcoate 1984:173). The denial of institutional racism also questions the validity of locating the concept of racism in the educational category of teacher expectation.

Teacher Expectation

The denial of the efficiency of teachers' low expectations of Afro Caribbean children being a site for the reproduction of racism thus questions Elain Brittain's pioneering report on the large scale stereotyping of West-Indian pupils as low ability and creating disciplinary problems (1976). However the questions that her report raised, made issues regarding the quality of pedagogic interaction an important variable in explanations of underachievement.

Although the expectation factor has grown in importance, there is no clear consensus as to the nature of its influence on levels of attainment. Taylor in her review suggests that the evidence of teacher expectation is far from conclusive, arguing that these studies are only crude measures of teacher attitudes (Taylor 1981:206). However, the point of the expectation argument is not to see it as a single event, but residing in a particular arrangement of relationships (Green 1985). Relationships which are often characterised by what Sayer describes as deterministic and atomistic assumptions. Determination involves assumptions about the inevitability of causal processes. Sayer notes the frequent linkages made between cultural deprivation and underachievement by schools of research. Where ethnic as well as class cultures are condemned as inadequate, atomistic thinking takes the broader structure of society and formal education as steadfastly given. They are assumed to be either neutral or even vainly progressive forces, working against unfavourable odds set by the home (Sayer

1981:93). Sayer argues that deterministic and atomistic assumptions pervade the education system. While they are not essentially racist, they nonetheless are compatible with racism because they direct our thinking in certain ways. The research of Rex and Tomlinson (1979) substantiates the observations and analyses of Sayer.

Tomlinson and Rex (1979) note that teachers operate with a framework of social disadvantage to account for the underachievement of Caribbean pupils. Teachers are more willing to stress poor housing, unskilled parents and low self-esteem than their own expectations of Caribbean pupils to account for their position. The operation of this framework, argue Rex and Tomlinson, is to confer a sense of inevitability to the position these pupils occupy in the education system. More significantly, Stone observes that the location of Afro-Caribbean children in a framework of social disadvantage, reconstitutes the pedagogic space into a social/ pastoral context rather than an academic-oriented space (Stone 1981). Stone goes on to urge teachers to abandon their child-centred therapeutic pedagogy with Caribbean children in favour of a more formal pedagogy. She appeals to teachers to reinstate their socially recognised functions and transmit necessary empowering, procedural knowledge and skills. Her appeal leads her to assert that "only by mastering the traditional curricula will more West-Indian children have the basis of choice which many middle class parents take for granted." (Stone 1981:251-2).

The differences in the conceptualisation of what teachers expect and what minority parents require of the education system, leads, according to Tomlinson, to "a mismatch of expectations and basic value differences between what minority parents expect of education and what schools and teachers think they can offer." A factor, she goes on to add that "makes good home and school relations more difficult to achieve." (Tomlinson 1984:153)

The mismatch of expectations, identified "does not",

Tomlinson claims, "necessarily lie in any deliberate obtuseness of teachers". Rather responsibility for this mismatch "rests ultimately on the existing structures and functions of the education system and its cultural content." Tomlinson speculates:

"it may not be in the interests of school to explain to any group of parents what structural limitations there are on access to equal opportunities." (ibid:153)

Tomlinson does not identify these limitations nor explain how teachers are implicated in their reproduction. What is evident, is the framework of disadvantage in teachers assessment of Caribbean pupils which she identifies along with Rex, as conferring a degree of inevitability of underachievement. This is also reproduced in her own analysis and Tomlinson and Rex (1979). The structural difficulties facing teachers are explained by Tomlinson in the following terms:

"... the ending of the tripartite system and moves to comprehensivization have not increased the possibility of equal opportunity for most children. The chances of children of manual working class parentage being selected and prepared for an academically-orientated education which allows access to higher education have not improved and most inner-city schools - the ones attended by most minority pupils - are not geared to high level academic work or a technical curriculum." (Tomlinson 1984:153-4)

The slippage from cultural immutability in the reproduction of underachievement, to structural immutability in producing the same effect, leave those who are their victims without a framework for negotiating change.

What is paradoxical in the literature confirming the racialisation of educational underachievement and the marginalisation of Afro Caribbean children, is the way in which the conceptual dispersion between concepts of cultural deficit and social disadvantage are made to harmonise. The mode in which this harmonisation takes place is through the disaccentuation of social class in interpreting evidence. What is accentuated, according to Bhikhu Parekh, is the

'fallacy of the single factor' (Parekh 1983:113).

The comparison made between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians is based upon their perceived homogeneity as a group. Their apparent homogeneity is derived from both belonging to ethnic minority groups. This factor is assumed to be more significant than social class. The consequence of adapting the interpretative paradigm of race and ethnicity denies the structural effectivity of class. The fact that Afro-Caribbean children are, in the main, from families that are undoubtedly working class (Brown 1984), if acknowledged, should curtail some of the interpretative excess of the ethnicity paradigm (Reeves Chevannes 1981).⁽⁹⁾ Blauner (1971) has identified what can be regarded as a critical feature of disconnection, namely the conversion of people into ethnic or radical minorities. Historical dislocation and displacement involves disconnection in what Cedric Robinson identifies as situations in which:

"wrenching history and historical consciousness from Black people, was the dominant ideological rationalisation of racial oppression ..." (Robinson 1983:99)

It is from the conception of a shared racial experience, over and above experience of broader structural inequality, that the racialisation of educational underachievement among Afro-Caribbeans takes its symbolic and discursive appeal. It is the overdetermined nature of a shared racial experience that dictated the development of the particular educational agenda for Afro Caribbean pupils.

SECTION 3

MULTICULTURALISM AND ANTIRACISM: THE DOUBLE INVOLVEMENT OF RACE

The contemporary racial forms of education are multiculturalism and anti-racism. In the formation of racial policy and practice for the education of children of Afro-Caribbean origin, the functional condition for their

discursive production is the management of race. Attempts have been made to silence or transcend multiculturalism from its cultural racial origin by infecting the radical structuralist argument of institutionalised racism. The recognition of institutionalised racism has formed the basis of the practice of anti-racism (Green 1982, Hatcher and Shallice 1983, Mullard 1984, Troyna 1986).

The analytical category of race is still the substantive force behind the production and reproduction of multiculturalism and anti-racism in constructing Black pupils for ideological interpellation. A characterisation of the mechanism of ideological interpellation is offered by Reeves in his analysis of British racial discourse. The concealment of racial ideology in discursive practice is a feature of racialisation that most interest Frank Reeves in his study of 'British Racial Discourse' (1983). Reeves is concerned to establish "how discourse, which at face value, makes no use of racist or racial categories, can be used with racial effect or to disguise racial intent" (Reeves 1983:4).

In Reeves's definition racialisation is divided between discursive deracialisation and discursive racialisation. Reeves describes discursive deracialisation to as a process whereby racial markers are being addressed without direct reference to the racial groups. Instead, non-racial markers are identified which signify and function as instruments of communication and meaning of a racially selective order. The Immigration Laws of 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1971 are perhaps the most unsuccessful examples of attempts to deracialise discourse outside education. Discursive deracialisation reflects parallel developments in education. The position is best illustrated by the ways in which the early encounter of the education system with children designated by culture and ethnicity attempted to deracialise the politicisation of race in education. Preexisting educational categories, such as language, culture standards, overcrowding and resources often

reflected racial subtext.

The other feature of racial discourse that Reeves identifies is discursive racialisation. Reeves argues that racialisation can take malevolent or benign forms. In its malevolent form racialisation can be mobilised explicitly to promote racial differentiation and segregation. A mode that is reflected in the language and thinking of scientific racism and fascism. In its benign form, racialisation calls upon the experience of racial discrimination and injustice and become themes in policies of positive discrimination to remove racial inequalities. This is explicit in the affirmation of racial policy and practice in the formulation of multiculturalism and anti-racist education in Local Education Authorities during 1981. Different forms of ideological interpellation are made possible not only because of the concept of racialisation which informs education practice, but also because of dual ideological articulation within the social function of education. One stressing the ameliorative and egalitarian aspect of education while the other emphasises the selective and differentiating social function of education.

Education is conceived as both a site where social disadvantage can be consolidated and a site within which cultural dominance and inequality are perpetuated. Education is also the site where the promise of the displacement of class, race, and gender inequality can be realised through the mobilisation of liberal egalitarian democratic reforms. Additionally, education can promote alternative hegemonic practice, channelled through the introduction of radical pedagogical, evaluative, and transformative practices. The practice of multiculturalism and antiracism are perilously situated in these symbolic representations.

Given the habitual tendency of race relations to make the social location of racially designated groups over-subjective, it is not surprising therefore that the educational response to children so designated should stress

ways of exploring personal identity to be a prime aspect of their educational experience. For example, it is for this reason that the support of multiculturalism is often based on a number of unproven assumptions to do with the relationship between cultural competence and educational attainment and equality of opportunity.

The research is not denying the validity in the enterprise of constructing alternative educational potential and practice, or challenging a monolithic view of multiculturalism. Rather it is attempting to argue that claims of counter-hegemonic practice must be posited against the conditions of the emergence of multiculturalism and anti-racism and the means by which dominant patterns of racial forms of education are reproduced and come to represent arguments for change or oppositional practice. Katznelson has noted that the sociological optimism that characterises race relations scholarship assumed "that by revealing the nature of racial myths and prejudice they could administer therapy to the racist societies." (Katznelson 1973:3). Throughout the 1970s, multiculturalism became the major policy instrument against which the construction and the effectiveness of the education of children of Afro-Caribbean origin could be judged. During the 1980s, it became a contested terrain in its confrontation with anti-racism (Dodgson and Stewart 1981, Mullard 1984, Sivanandan 1985, Brandt 1986). Advocates of anti-racism argue for the dismantling of multiculturalism. The strength of their argument lies in the emphasis they attach to institutional racism. In this approach it is not Black culture that is the problem, but White racism (Mullard 1984). It is not Black educability that is in question but class structure (Stone 1981) and the denial of its force in shaping the interpretative account of educational outcome of groups racially designated.

The emphasis on normative goals ensures that multiculturalism adopts a declamatory rather than explanatory stance. This has the effect of minimising the

social relations in education. The credentialising function of education with its power to distribute different classes of children to different positions in the division of labour with their ultimate materialisation in different power relations is under-emphasised in multiculturalism. This view is strongly expressed by Dhondy, when he writes:

"The Black youth's performance and behaviour in schools is not something produced merely by the content of text books or the alienated language of instruction or the prejudice of teachers. These are factors, but factors which have operated on white youth for a hundred years, if we recognise that standard English is not in fact the mode of expression of the working class." (Dhondy 1974)

He points out that it is the mode of interaction between community, school and the division of labour that structures the context within which expectations and performance are realised. He goes on to argue that the 'rejection of work' by Black youth,

"is a rejection of the level to which schools have skilled them as labour power, and when the community feeds the rejection back into the school system, it becomes a rejection of the function of schooling." (Dhondy, *ibid*)

Dhondy's intervention focuses upon the minimisation in liberal race and education analysis of the fundamental constituting role that education has for the state in the broader structuring and management of racial class formation in Britain.

In contrast, radical proponents of multiculturalism attack the view that links multiculturalism too intimately with constructed state racial discourse. They argue that such a view is too 'mechanistic' (Green 1982, Naguib 1985). They would rather see multiculturalism as constructed out of a series of contradictory demands, generated by Black parents, radical and liberal teachers, LEAs, and Black pupils themselves. They stress that even if multiculturalism could be conceived as a concession by the state for broader social purposes of control, that in itself would not limit

the form of appropriation open to it by different agents. This view is forcefully argued by Andy Green, who conceives multiculturalism as a contradictory site capable of structuring and disseminating oppositional practice. A view he shares with Hatcher and Shallice (1983). Carby (1979, 1980) argues that multiculturalism is perhaps the only space left open for progressive teachers which may indeed account for the refusal of radical teachers, persuaded by the argument of Green and Carby, to advocate the total dismantling of multiculturalism. Stating the issue thus dramatises the tension and dilemma facing those who seek the elimination of racial injustice and by so doing, necessarily apportion priority and autonomy to race. In so doing they are in danger of viewing it as real rather than as an ideological construction (Miles 1984). In rendering priority to race, a category that homogenises or congeals complex historical and contemporary social relations into a single heuristic category, even when it is being mobilised for egalitarian objects, there is still a difficulty in reproducing the category as if it neutralises other wider institutional and hegemonic forces it confronts. For example, the affirmation of benign anti-racist practice in LEAs means that structures and practices often emerge, which further institutionalises the compartmentalisation and marginalisation of issues that are defined as race issues from issues of class relations. This therefore lessens the chances of forming alliances with other structures and practices.

The concern of this thesis is to go beyond the benign representation of race relations objectives in education in order to understand how these benign representations simultaneously co-exist with the racial structuring of educational marginality and construct a particularly coercive racial identity even when its stated objective is to the contrary. The analytical category of race is still the substantive force behind the production and reproduction of racial forms of education in constructing Black pupils for ideological interpellation.

The shifts in policy from immigration education (1960s) to multiculturalism (1970s) and anti-racism (1980s) have all been referenced explicitly or covertly through racialised conceptions (Mullard 1979, 1981, 1984). Even the more radical challenge of anti-racist practice, which attempts to be more oppositional in its structural conception than the culturalist or therapeutic concerns of multiculturalism, appears to be oppositional only in its conception.

These concepts of discursive racialisation and discursive deracialisation have been instrumental in substantiating the central analytic thrust conferred by the concept of reconstitution in this thesis. They have assisted in expanding the double articulation of the culturalist reconstitution of race. Namely that in their appropriation, race can be utilised as a category to explain the lived experience of particular groups structured in dominance (Hall et al 1979). Race is also a category that limits the full complexity of the social life of people so designated. Herein lies the dilemma of any analysis that promotes race as an autonomous or subordinate category.

The extent to which racialisation in education is covert or overt is an aspect of the forms of affirmation of racial forms of education being contested in the racial policy and practice of some LEAs. The political heat generated by the contestation should not however disguise the marginalisation of racial forms of education in the LEAs". This view will be assessed through the survey of LEA policy conducted by this research.

SECTION 4

AFFIRMATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The extent to which this reconstitution of culture, influences local education authority policy and practice will depend upon the mode of affirmation in the policy and practice of LEAs. Affirmation is a concept generated by this thesis to reflect the institutionalisation of a mode of

conception, administrative arrangements and the regularisation of certain forms of practice which associates particular racial forms of education with the presence of children racially and culturally designated. The modes of affirmation depend upon the underlying discursive racialisation and discursive deracialisation.

Discursive racialisation of an explicit coercive mode found affirmation in the dispersal policy and provided the premise for general assimilationist objectives of the time. Discursive deracialisation achieved its affirmation in language and underachievement. Both reflect inherited practice and criteria of selection and differentiation and affirmation became a major policy instrument to measure degrees of assimilation. In the case of Afro-Caribbeans, while it is generally regarded that their substandard English is an important barrier (Scarman 1981) to their full and effective incorporation into the education system, it is the weakness of their culture that largely determines their underachievement in schools and consequently the mode of policy affirmation in education. Hence this conception of weak ancestral cultures, finds affirmation in the application of LEA's policy and practice to Afro-Caribbean children. This view is substantiated by the fact that language provision, the main form of affirmation for Asian children was not generally extended to Afro-Caribbean children (Townsend 1971, Little 1978, Willey 1981).

This mode of affirmation is susceptible to coercive deracialisation. Coercive deracialisation utilises language as the ideological means to control Asians while underachievement signifies the ideological control of Afro-Caribbean children. The affirmation of policy and provision involving deracialisation of a benign mode is expressed through liberal multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is conferred with emancipatory pluralistic interests. Multiculturalism is thus imbued with universalistic appeal based upon broadening the cultural base of the curriculum (Parekhe 1986) to incorporate diverse cultures. The target

of multiculturalism would not be ethnic minorities alone but all pupils.

Affirmation involving discursive racialisation of a benign mode is also institutionalised in the anti-racist education policies of the 1980s. The Anti-racist mode of affirmation seeks to make explicit racial class structure as a component of racial disadvantage. Policy and provision therefore advocate a resource based on positive discrimination to adjust imbalances. A central category of anti-racism is the concept of institutional racism. The difficulty with the concept of institutional racism is that it embraces a broad range of inequalities that are not solely dependent upon racial groups for their operation. This has led observers to point to the 'lack of analytical clarity' in the utilisation of the concept (Williams 1985:331, Mason 1982). The consequence of this is that institutional racism becomes, according to Solomos, a 'catch all phase' for all situations in which racism is implicated (Solomos 1983:3). In educational terms the impact of this is the externalisation of general education ideology from markers identified with racial groups. These different modes of affirmation reflect the contested legitimisation of racial forms of education.

Contested Legitimation

The externalisation of education ideology from issues associated with race is a crucial feature of the contested legitimisation of racial forms of education. The objectification of racial groups in education, so that class-based education ideology appears to operate outside them can mean that certain processes fundamental to educational transmission are not problematised when applied to them.

The controversy generated by Maureen Stone's critique of multiculturalism via the pedagogical practice associated with it, exemplifies the unwillingness to subject

racialisation in education to ideological practices within education. Stones' analysis is significant, because it attempts to do just that. The comparison she makes between the performance of Afro-Caribbean children attending supplementary schools and those in mainstream schools, identifies some crucial feature of pedagogical practice in supplementary schools the unambiguous statement about educational goals and objectives, the authoritative presence and expectation of the teacher and a definite belief and commitment to the children who attend. This, she claims, is in contrast with the informal, loose and undeclared pedagogical objectives of mainstream state schools. As well as lowering their expectations of Afro-Caribbean children, mainstream teachers reconstitute lowered expectations under the guise of progressive multicultural pedagogy. The pedagogy that informs multiculturalism in Stone's conception is too closely identified with deficit models of Black culture and with the state's framework of racialisation and discursive deracialisation. The ideology of multiculturalism is aimed at concealing class relations in education, substituting them for a depoliticised celebration of ethnicity (Stone 1981). Stone is suggesting that the dual disposition contained in the management of marginality contains contradictory pedagogic meanings. They represent attempts, not only of transformations, but also of containment, inversions, and concealments.

Conclusion

Race, then, is a complex that informs, shapes, and defines the parameters within which issues and practice can demarcate and proscribe action in racial forms of education. Within the context of benign affirmation, the parameter for action comes from the moral articulation of the integrationist and anti-discriminatory objective of racial policy and practice in education and the wider society. In the coercive mode of affirmation phenotypical and cultural differences are linked to automatic social instability.

The concern here has been to go beyond benign representation of racial forms of education and focus upon the structuring of racial marginality in education. The main purpose has been to identify the ideological context and processes within which racial marginality in education is reproduced and co-exists with anti-discriminatory and coercive practices. Thus, how race, materialised in the conception of disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation and its contested legitimisation realises the most deterministic cultural assumptions embedded in racial forms of education will be further explored in the next chapter dealing with the early politicisation of race in British politics and its objectification in education.

The containment of opposing contradictory social forces in the discourse and affirmative practice of racial policy and practice in education provides the means by which consensus and balance can be pursued. The force of integration, anti-discrimination, and the force of restriction, coercion, and control possess actual and symbolic communicative power. Each force, or tendency in policy and practice, can be mobilised to balance what might be considered the excesses in each dimension of racial policy and practice in education at any given moment in time. More recently, it has been utilised by the educational right to identify these aspects of contemporary educational practice that de-emphasise traditional subject boundaries - or what Bernstein describes as the basis of strong classification and framing of education knowledge (Bernstein 1971). Multiculturalism and anti-racism therefore symbolised the crisis in education and provide part of the reason why centralised direction in education was seen to be necessary (Palmer 1986).

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The authors listed below dominated the social democratic paradigm of the period. The focus of the research was on the structure of inequality in education. It advocated the role of a reformed education system to promote equality of opportunity. There was then a correlation made between this goal and economic expansion.

Floud, J., Halsey, A. and Martin, F. (1956) Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London: Heineman; Halsey, A., Floud, J., Anderson, C. (1961) Education, Economy and Society, New York: Free Press of Glencoe; Douglas, J. (1964) The Home and the School, London: Macgibbon and Kee; Halsey, A., Heath, A., Ridge, J. (1971) Origins and Destination: Family, Class and Education in Modern Britain, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

2. A number of analyses have been presented to explain the relationship between sociological research and education policy during this period.

Bernbaum, G. (1976) Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of Education, London: Macmillan; Karabel, J. and Halsey, A. (1977), New York: Oxford University Press; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981) Unpopular Education: Schooling and Social Democracy in England since 1944, London: Hutchinson.

3. An example of the impact of this approach can be found in the split between the concept of a vocational and academic curriculum, represented by Booker T Washington and W E B Dubois respectively. About academic humanistic curricula see Ballard, A (1974) The Education of Black Folk: The Afro-American Struggle for Knowledge in White America, New York: Harper and Row.

4. Comprehensive reviews of the evidence of underachievement covering mid 1960s, 1983 to be found in Taylor, F (1974) Race, Schools and Community: A Study of Research and Literature, Slough NFER; Taylor, M. (1981) Caught Between: A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of West Indian Origin, Windsor, NFER; Tomlinson, S (1980) "The educational performance of ethnic minority children", New Community, 83, Winter, pp.213-14; Tomlinson, S (1986) "Ethnicity and educational achievement" in Modgil et al (1986) Multicultural Education: The Interminable Debate, London: Falmer Press.

More critical accounts that engage with the construction of Afro-Caribbean underachievement have been put forward by: Reeves, F and Chevannes, M (1981) "The ideological construction of black underachievement", Multi-Racial Education, 12, 1, pp.22-41; Figueroa, P (1984) "Minority pupil progress" in Craft, M (ed.) Education and Cultural Pluralism, London: Falmer Press; Roberts, M., Noble, M. and Duggan, J. (1983) "Young, black and out of work" in

Troyna, B and Smith, D (eds.) Racism, School and the Labour Market, Leicester, National Youth Bureau; Williams, J (1986) "Education and race: the racialisation of class inequalities", British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.7, No.2.

5. In the period covering 1960-79, Tomlinson (1986) concluded that a consensus had already been established concerning the underachievement of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system.
6. See Lawrence, E (1981), "White sociology, black struggle", Multiracial Education, Vol.9, No.3, Summer 1981, a critique of the cultural pathology model of race relations. This critique is expanded in "Sociology and black pathology" (1982) in Empire Strikes Back, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, London: Heineman.
7. Discussing the transfer of children to special schools, Tomlinson, S (1982) A Sociology of Special Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, concludes from her study of special school placement that misplacement of Afro-Caribbeans occurred and was often because of stereotyping. She noted that headteachers' perception of Afro-Caribbeans coincided with their perception of ESN. Heads held naturalistic explanations of the ability of Afro-Caribbean children. While they did have stereotypical views of Asian children, their stereotyping did not have the same implications for their education. Language was often identified to account for lower academic performance among Asians, for Caribbeans their "slowness" was pre-supposed and considered inevitable (Tomlinson, *ibid*:164). Tomlinson makes a convenient clarificatory point:

"... the actual referral and assessment procedures based as they are on cultural and racial beliefs of professionals, would certainly seem to work against children of West-Indian origin." (*ibid*:167)

Critics of the underachievement consensus cite stereotyping of Caribbean children as playing an important part in such misassessment, misplacement and channelling (Figueroa 1984:136). "Minority pupil progress" in Craft, M (ed.) Education and Cultural Pluralism, London: Falmer Press. Stone (1981), The Education of the Black Children in Britain, London: Fontana, argues that the stereotyping of Afro-Caribbean pupils leads to them being directed away from academic subjects and legitimates the rationalisation of a 'watered down' curriculum. Elaine Brittain (1976) in a national study of 510 teachers found extensive stereotyping and denial of actual and potential academic ability of Caribbean pupils.

8. Rex's analysis of race relations often oscillates between indeterminate functionalist common-sense, neo-Weberian subjectivism and the use of descriptive Marxian

categories. See critiques by Bourne, J (1980) "Cheerleaders and Ombudsman, the sociology of race relations", Race and Class, Vol.XXI, No.4; Gilroy, P (1980) "Managing the underclass: a further note on the sociology of race relations in Britain", in Race and Class, Vol.XXI, No.1, London 1980.

9. Studies attempting to break the dominant interpretative mould on underachievement recognise and demonstrate the significance of social class. In this mode, Ken Roberts and associate researchers (1983), arrive at a potentially redirective conclusion that could form the basis of further studies on the standard of teaching in schools attended by Afro-Caribbeans. Their study concludes that Afro-Caribbean underachievement could be "attributable entirely to the fact that they reside in districts and attend schools where the attainment of all pupils are below average.

From their evidence they noted that black youth were not achieving below white working class children. They write:

"Within our areas black youth (especially the girls) were leaving school better qualified than whites."
(Roberts et al 1983:19).

10. Bolton, E (1979) "Education in a multiracial society" in Trends in Education, No.4, 3-7. For a general overview of the policy shifts in multicultural education from assimilation, integration to cultural pluralism.
11. Hatcher and Shallice note that even though the ILEA policy documents constituted the most developed attempts to address the issue of race and sex inequality, they still did not fully recognise the nature of the conflict between education and the capitalist state. The contradictions inherent in the relationship has been addressed by Dale, R The State and Education Policy, Milton Keynes: Open University.

PART III : THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF MARGINALISATION

Part II entailed an examination of the mechanism for constructing Afro-Caribbean children as racial subjects in education. Part III explores the tension in the construction and management of that process in education.

Chapter 5 establishes the concept of reconstitution to explain the way in which coercive assumptions implied in race are transmitted through categories of culture and the general conceptual apparatus of disadvantage.

Chapters 6 and 7 employ the concept of affirmation to mount an empirical investigation of Local Education Authorities policy documents on multicultural and anti-racist initiatives. The investigation seeks to explore the connection between the production of policy documents and the perception of the problem Black pupils are seen to generate. The framing, timing and the national context of policy production are considered as important features of the affirmation of racial forms of education in LEAs.

Chapter 7 also addresses the conceptions and strategies used by LEAs to formulate new modes of consensus in their affirmation of racial forms of education. It further evaluates the problems faced by LEAs in trying to make multiculturalism and anti-racist practice mainstream.

Thus the main aim of Part III is to identify the mechanism and administrative practice of marginalisation.

CHAPTER 5

RECONSTITUTION: STATE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE MANAGEMENT OF RACE AND EDUCATION

Introduction

Reconstitution is conceived as a general feature of ideology.¹ In the context of this chapter, it is discussed as a specific feature of the mediation of race through the reiterative categories of culture and family to account for racial marginalisation in education.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section One examines the cultural reconstitution of race expressed through the major reiterative categories of the family and culture in official discourse on the education of Afro-Caribbean children. It further considers the impact of those reiterative categories in underpinning policy for racially designated groups. Section Two addresses the racial underpinning of policy in defining the educational agenda for Afro-Caribbean children, particularly in the area of language dispersal, statistics, disadvantage and funding. Section Three of the chapter looks at the role of the Rampton Report. Its attempt to modify the dominant mode of thinking that accounts for the location of Afro-Caribbean children in schools through the negotiated intervention of racism. The extent to which the report opens up the possibility of another reading of the experience of Afro-Caribbean children in schools is discussed. Finally, section Four evaluates the impact of the cultural reconstitution of race on the externalisation of Afro-Caribbean children from broad areas of change. This is discussed in relation to the centralisation thrust of the DES and the all-inclusive policy of social disadvantage.

The Sphere of Denotation and the Sphere of Connotation

The dominant research interest in racial policy and practice in education in the 1960s and 1970s took for granted

what Barthes (1980) describes as the sphere of denotation in ideology, while ignoring the hidden level - the sphere of connotation. In Barthes' conception of ideology, ideology contains two different levels or spheres of meaning. The sphere of denotation contains the explicit meaning or purpose of a statement, while the level of connotation conceals the latent meaning. Analysis must therefore decodify, deconstruct the denotive sphere and the reiterative categories employed by that sphere in order that the coherence of the ideological construct can be realised. Reiterative categories are categories which recur and are replicated across discourses as dominant explanatory devices in the delineation of the social positioning of groups in the education system. For the purpose of this analysis the racial structuring of educational marginality can be seen as the hidden level, the sphere of connotation, where the process of racialisation is reconstituted and denotated within the taken for granted reiterative categories of the sociology of education of culture and family.⁽²⁾ The dominant research interest in the field takes for granted the definition of the situation provided by the official discourse ranging from Reports, Committees and Commissions of Inquiries. Instead, analysis should aim to recover the reconstitutive elements of racialisation entailed in the structuring of racial marginalisation in education.

SECTION 1

REITERATIVE CATEGORIES: CULTURE AND FAMILY

One of the main assumptions of official discourse and some educational research is the repetitive and recurring characterisation of the Afro-Caribbean family as a source of dysfunctional cultural practices. This assumption is implicit and explicit in the policy and institutional response of the education system. It serves as a constraint upon the conditions within which the education system can measure its own efficacy. The education system, according to this view, has no independent determination. It can only be determined by what the cultural conditions in families predispose the

school to realise. Different cultures therefore contain persistent cultural practices, which are not conducive to the ethos of educational opportunities. The transformative potential ascribed to education performs different social roles for the White indigenous working class and Afro-Caribbean children.

The articulation between culture and education entertained a different problematic for the indigenous working class and Afro-Caribbean children. For the White indigenous working class, the aims of education policy was to synthesise the school to the needs of industry while creating the conditions for social mobility. For Afro-Caribbean pupils, education was being imbued with the ethos of cultural assimilation. Mainstream official education reports of the 1960s were mostly concerned with the White working class and preoccupied with the underdevelopment of their educational potential. Children of White manual workers were the main focus of this policy attempt. The Crowther (1959), Robbins (1963), Newsom (1963), Plowden (1967), DES (1972) Reports particularly identified with the social and educational concerns of the period (CCCs 1981, 117). Although mainstream official reports were formulated with the white working class in mind, the explanatory categories they used were reproduced in race relations and education reports. Even though the inspiration of the latter reports came from the desire to create the conditions to manage the politicisation of race.⁽³⁾

The early official reports dealing with the education of Afro-Caribbean children did not address the issue of educational or social mobility directly. Rather, they speculated over the consequence for schooling when an alien culture is imposed upon an otherwise homogeneous school culture. Before the education system could become effective for such children, they would have to undergo resocialisation. Bowker in his Education of Coloured Immigrants was quite uncompromising in his expression of this view:

"One question on which there does appear to be almost universal agreement is on the importance of immigrant children learning English as quickly as possible.

'Linguistic integration', it is accepted, is a necessary precondition of social integration. Certainly a child's inability to speak English presents any school with a major obstacle, not only to the transmission of culture, but to resocialisation as well." (Bowker 1968:82)

This was the dominant concern of official reports up until the mid 1970s, when ideas of cultural co-existence and pluralism fractured the dominance of the assimilationist model for race relations. In the move towards cultural pluralism, language still continued to occupy a privileged pedagogical, instructional and interpretative space for outlining policy and explaining outcomes for racial groups in the education system. Indeed, language is a crucial element in the repertoire of the reiterative categories that are used to juxtapose opportunities provided in education and the inability of working class/racial groups to take advantage of them. Although it can be sustained that the ends of education are conceived as containing different social objectives for groups defined by class and those by race/ethnicity, there is nonetheless a replication of the reiterative categories used to explain the position of both groups in the education system (C.C.C.S. 1981, Carby 1982).

Among the reiterative categories employed to explain social positioning in education, the family is given the most hegemonic status. The cultural predisposition of the family, patterns and practices of socialisation are cited to illuminate the disjuncture between sets of practices that work toward educational success and those that deviate from it. These deviant practices are conceived as self-selected insofar as their actualisation reflect autonomous cultural choice. Middle class cultural life is seen to be heuristic and positive, while working class and ethnic minority cultures are conceived negatively and are subject to the civilising compensatory enrichment programmes to remove cultural deficit.⁽⁴⁾

More specifically, the employment of negative formulations about Afro-Caribbean culture is replicated in a body of ideas about the Afro-Caribbean family contained in the early DES Reports of the 1970s. These reports reproduced the view that the Caribbean family culture was weak and, as such, inadequate in generating the correct cultural predisposition for educational success. This view led the DES to make the following summation of the intelligence, attainment, and development potential of children from this background:

"Different cultural environments will tend to fashion different mental tools and indeed some will give rise to only rudimentary ones." (DES, 1971:6)

White working class children were seen to be part of a rich cultural heritage that provided them with a sophisticated intellectual environment. While their cultural capital as a class was inferior to the middle class, their heritage nonetheless gave them the rites de passage. Afro-Caribbean children had no such inheritance. So while the DES entertained hope for working class mobility provided by the attempts to expand and restructure secondary education in the 1970s, it was content to contemplate the extent to which the numbers and concentration of immigrants could be assimilated into the British social structure to bring them up to English cultural standard.

The Education Survey 13, 1971, started its discussion of the Afro-Caribbean group of immigrants by questioning the pace at which the English education system and society in general could be expected to respond to their needs. Posing the difference between the successful absorption of other waves of immigrants prior to New Commonwealth immigration during the 1950s and 1960s, the Report observed that immigrants from the New Commonwealth represented a wide variety of cultures, belonging to a large number of ethnic and linguistic groups with different backgrounds and educational needs. The Report went on to discuss and anticipate the 'serious educational difficulties of the numbers and

concentration of immigrant children in certain schools, their cultural difference, their family patterns, their unfamiliarity with British culture'. These were the circumstances, the Report noted, that conditioned and limited the response and the extent to which the education system could act efficiently. The efficiency of the education system had then to be judged against the 'culture shock', the 'cultural ignorance', 'culture clash', and identity search which these immigrant children were experiencing. This was the context within which the wider education system would have to perform and its performance evaluated (DES, 1971b:8-6).

Having constructed a 'problem' context, the Report tried to balance or soften this approach by warning against the danger of seeing immigrant children as 'synonymous' with 'problem'. It went on to add that the 'education backwardness which exists among immigrant children' should not be viewed as 'inherent or generic racial inferiority' (ibid, p.4), but should be seen as part of a temporary 'bewilderment' of adjusting to a new environment. As well as cultural adjustment, the survey considered the impact on immigrant families when they had to live in 'socially and culturally deprived areas ... lacking social and cultural amenities and recreational amenities, attending school with frequent staff changes' (ibid, pp.5-6). It went on to note that these environmental difficulties were not experienced by immigrant children alone, but were also experienced by indigenous children. According to the Report, these hardships sharpened the difficulty immigrant children 'must meet', caused by the 'shock of immersion in an entirely different culture'. The Report made a further qualification. In the eyes of the Report as 'different immigrant groups' stood 'bewildered between two cultures' with different habits values, different groups will experience varying degrees of cultural disorientation depending upon the internal cultural strength they possess. The Report identified the West-Indian community as possessing the least cultural resources to deal positively with their new encounter. As well as the shock of coming to terms with a new environment, West Indians came from unstable families with common-law marriages. The socialisation offered by West-

Indian parents did not offer much stimulation to children. The pattern of socialisation was found to be repressive and restricted (ibid, pp.5-6). Of further concern to the DES was the clash posed to the education system by the different expectations of immigrant parents and the school. The area of difficulty was thought to be the different authority structure assumed by the school and that which, according to the DES, immigrant parents expected the school to possess. The Report observed that immigrant parents 'tend to transfer their parental authority to the school', expecting 'the teachers to be authoritarian and to make their children learn, preferably by rote as they themselves were taught'.

This lack of consensus between the expectation of the school and the expectation of parents led the Report to see it as a source of disciplinary tension for the school. Without consensus in expectation between parents and schools, immigrant children, would 'waver between accepting or rejecting what the school had to offer.' Schools were not encouraged to reinforce the high expectations that Afro-Caribbean parents had of them. It was expressed in the Report that these parents had 'aspirations for their children often in excess of their capabilities' (ibid, p.7). These unrealistic aspirations and high expectation of 'attainment', hope, determination, and motivation of immigrant parents were nonetheless to be admired and contrasted with the depressed educational aspirations of the indigenous working class according to the report (ibid, p.5).

It is significant to note that while motivation, ambition and high educational aspirations are conceptualised to be the *raison d'être* of middle class educational success, for children of Afro-Caribbean origin, those aspirations were given no such positive definitive direction when utilised by Afro-Caribbean parents. Instead, they were reconstituted as 'unrealistic' and burdensome to the already overburdened education system⁽⁵⁾ (ibid, 7). This was the collective view of DES documents such as The Education of Immigrants (1971); The Continuing Needs of Immigrant Children (1971) and the Select Committee Reports, The Problems of Coloured School

Leavers (1968-69).

The racialisation of the reiterative categories of family and culture had conferred this ideological impact on the education of Afro-Caribbean children. The reiterative categories had assumed an almost absolutist autonomy to Afro-Caribbean culture. They had given culture a determinacy that was so expansive that issues of the structural organisation of education, patterns of education and equality could only partially be conceived as serviceable in providing explanations of the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system. Given the centrality of culture in structuring the capability of groups to deal effectively with the structure of education, weak cultures cannot provide this training (DES 1971). From this, that assimilation into English culture would enable those groups acting outside it to become more acquainted with the opportunities provided by the social structure. One heuristic cultural explanation was then substituted for another. Accordingly, the degenerative force in one cultural group could be corrected by the alleviatory power of another group culture. However the assimilation of Afro-Caribbean children into British culture was problematic.⁽⁶⁾ For the DES, having conceived West-Indian culture as a deficient deviant variant of dominant White British culture, was not quite clear what mechanism of assimilation should be applied to West-Indian children and how recognition of their needs would come about. Issues of language policy, dispersal, statistics, disadvantage and funding and how they would be applied to children of West-Indian origin demonstrated this uncertainty. Thus the articulation of race with the reiterative categories of culture and the family, not only constantly relocate meaning when applied to racial groups, but also underpin policy. It is the racial underpinning of educational policy of Afro-Caribbean children that the next section of the chapter addresses.

SECTION TWO

THE RACIAL UNDERPINNING OF POLICY

The laissez-faire approach to policy forms the most sustained critique of policy aimed at ethnic minorities. Assessment of policy has largely focused on what appears to be a lack of central direction and planning, particularly on the part of the DES. The way the DES seems to have marginalised the issues concerned with the educational needs of ethnic minorities is the main concern for Dorn and Troyna (1982).

Tomlinson questions their claim of marginalisation. Tomlinson (1981) has noted that there has been extensive policy activity regarding the education of ethnic minorities, as they are euphemistically described in official discourse and research. To demonstrate the extent of policy activity, Tomlinson (1981) conveniently lists 7 official reports published during the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, which made a total of 228 recommendations they made to improve the education of ethnic minorities (Tomlinson 1981:149/50).

The Swan Report is added to this list with its 76 policy recommendations, the total recommendations of all these reports rises to 304.

Given the extent of policy activity it seems paradoxical therefore to describe this area of policy, as Dorn and Troyna do as "the politics of non decision", characterised by

"the exercise of power in education through the neutralisation and marginalisation of potentially contentious issues." (Dorn and Troyna 1982:175).

However, the statement loses its paradoxical quality when it is realised that the criticism is largely levelled at the DES and not at broader policy recommendations of the official reports noted above. Indeed, this criticism of the DES is sustained in the official reports identified in Tomlinson's review of policy. For example in an early review

of the policy of immigrant education, Power (1967) concluded that the DES and the government's general policy on the education of ethnic minority was largely reactive and predicated upon the politics of immigration. In 1969, the publication of Colour and Citizenship (Rose 1969) endorsed that view. Rex and Tomlinson (1979) further characterised policy as a strategy of crisis management. They note that 'problems' associated with immigrant children were addressed on an ad hoc basis, "decisions were often taken in panic, and the very way the debate was structured ... fostered racism" (Rex and Tomlinson 1979:163). Mullard (1980) also argues that the racial assumptions embedded in the management of race produced an educational response based on "a series of political interpretations made about the threat Blacks posed to the stability of liberal democratic capitalist society" (Mullard 1980:15).

All these interpretations then emphasise the determining impact of race, its historical legacy in shaping the racial formation that accompanied the post 1940s settlement⁽⁷⁾ of people from the New Commonwealth into Britain. Hall describes this legacy as a "reservoir" underlying the articulation of its "indigenous" contemporary manifestation (Hall 1978:26). It is interesting to note that while the interpretative critiques of policy argue that indigenous racism shaped British official racial discourse and DES action concerning children of New Commonwealth origin, race was not, according to Kirp the "explicit" mode of education policy. With the exception of the dispersal policy, the DES pursued a "racially inexplicit policy" rather than a "racially explicit" policy in dealing with children of colour. This view appears to justify Hall's general characterisation of the emergence of indigenous racism as:

"a loss of historical memory". For Hall "the native home grown variety of racism begins with an attempt to wipe out and efface every trace of the colonial and imperial past." (Hall 1978:25)

Ironically, the denial of the connection, drawn by Hall, between the emergence of indigenous racism and the

failure to acknowledge race, was for Kirp the necessary precondition for the establishment of benign educational policy for children of colour. According to Kirp a depoliticised "racially inexplicit policy had the advantage of taking antagonism out of educational policy". Kirp maintains that the depoliticised racially inexplicit position adopted by the DES was the correct one. He argues:

"Thus the DES has not kept track of the number of non-white students, opposes suggestions that a categorical aid program be created to address their particular needs, and expresses concern over curricula efforts that stress the salience of race and ethnicity and the Race Relations Board and its successor, the Commission for Racial Equality, seek to abolish dispersal of non-whites on the grounds that the practice draws distinction along impermissible racial lines." (Kirp 1979:105)

The rather optimistic claims of Kirp are challenged by Tomlinson (1981). She questions whether 'doing good by stealth conferred educational advantages to racially and culturally designated children. Tomlinson makes the contrary assertion:

"It is contended here that the policies that the DES did develop were quite explicit ways of dealing with the education of non-white children. Although the words race and colour were seldom mentioned, and although the use of law was not involved until the 1976 Race Relations Act, there is no reason to describe the policies as inexplicit. Central government has enormous power not to make policy decision, and non decisions are in fact a part of policy making. The decision by central government not to take a lead in producing national policy or resources was therefore a quite explicit policy decision and should be treated as such." (Tomlinson 1981:153)

It is this position that leads Tomlinson to the further claim that inexplicitness was disadvantageous to ethnic minorities. Her position is that inexplicitness adversely affected ethnic minority children in four main areas of policy dispersal, disadvantage, the issue concerning the collection of statistics and funding. Although Tomlinson does not include language in the four categories of decision taken by DES, language will be included here because much of the rationale for the dispersal policy was achieved through language.

Limiting Language Application

Language teaching was the main official educational response to the management of immigrant education policy. Non-English speaking Asian children and dialect speakers from the Caribbean attracted the most prolonged policy attention. The focus on language offered a number of legitimate interpretations of the social and educational needs of immigrant children. Teaching English provided teachers with concrete pedagogical objectives that could be readily subject to evaluative and assessment categories. The transmission of English was the medium within which school life was conducted and therefore influenced the effective continuation of learning and participation in the wider society. The centrality of English language to the entire process of education dictated that it would be given a determining role in explanations of poor educational attainment in schools. It would also be utilised to explore the level of assimilation or integration into the wider society. It appears surprising therefore, that the organisation of English language training was not systematically applied to children of Afro-Caribbean origin as compared to Asian children.

In the period 1971-1972, as well as the three DES publications mentioned earlier, and the Select Committee Report 1973 The Education of Immigrants, the National Foundation for Educational Research sponsored a research project released in two volumes. The first was entitled Immigrant Pupils in England and Wales: The LEAs Response, concerned with investigating the provisions provided by LEAs to accommodate immigrant children. The second volume Organisation in Multiracial Schools, looked at how schools were catering for immigrant children. Both reports are important for the light they shed upon the different treatment of West-Indian and Asian children by LEAs and schools.

The report Immigrant Pupils in England showed that although LEAs considered English teaching important enough to organise special provision for immigrant children, such provisions were not often extended to children of West-Indian

origin. Over half the LEAs with over 500 immigrant children did not include language provisions for West-Indian pupils. In a large number of authorities, West-Indian children were often withdrawn from normal lessons because of language difficulties but they were withdrawn with white children who were considered slow learners. In another case, Townsend noted that 21 of 71 LEAs studied, claimed that they added an extra ten points to the scores of intelligence tests taken by immigrant children except West-Indians. These same authorities offered to Asian children a period of observation by education psychologists and teachers before making educational assessment. Such considerations were not extended to West-Indian children. They were tested along the same lines as non-immigrant children (Townsend, 1971:49, 50).

Selection to secondary school also confirmed the downward spiral, which was emerging in terms of the position of West-Indian children in the education system. Fewer West-Indian children went to grammar school in relation to other immigrants and non-immigrant groups (Ibid, 56-58). But the issue that generated the most concern and resentment in the West-Indian community was the high percentage of West-Indian children in schools for the educationally subnormal (ESN) (Ibid, 53-54).

The picture presented by Townsend in Immigrant Pupils in England, was further endorsed in the Townsend and Brittain study, Organisation in Multiracial Schools. They demonstrated that external examination results nationally confirmed the picture that was emerging concerning the limited effectiveness of multiracial schools for immigrant children. A higher percentage of immigrant children were taking CSE exams with West-Indian children being the largest group (Townsend and Brittain, 1972). Townsend and Brittain also observed that the different performance rate of the three main immigrant groups matched the perception of headteachers of the different groups, whether or not they had experience of large groups of children from these backgrounds. One teacher is quoted to have said:

"Often the Indian and Pakistani children have a real flair for mathematics, even when their English is non-existent. Many of the West-Indian children are excellent at PE, dancing, handwriting, and have good muscular control." (Ibid, 44)

Now the Townsend, and Townsend and Brittain studies are landmarks in the early history of LEA administrative arrangements for New Commonwealth immigrant children. They are important in actually specifying and identifying the different allocation of resources and outcome that corresponded to the prevailing conceptions of different immigrant groups. Instead of focusing their attention upon the educational consequence of disparity in the provision provided for different immigrant groups, they focused upon relations in the Caribbean family which were considered not to have the cultural resource for educational attainment. Indeed, the Report failed to problematise a model of education structure that was indeterminate in terms of the specification of what and how certain subjects in the curriculum of immigrant education should be transmitted and distributed among the various immigrant groups, while simultaneously exerting a high degree of pressure on the same assessment at the end of education.

This failure was a feature of the reports that were to follow the Townsend and Brittain studies. These reports openly referred to the unequal availability of education resources for the different immigrant groups. Their referencing of unequal resources was descriptive and largely without real analytical determining force on the interpretation and explanation that were to follow. Instead, the explanation continued to reinforce the view that it is group culture that dictates how effective a group can make social institutions act for it. So while real material disparity is identified, it is the cultural facets of groups, which are conceived to determine, whether or not they are able to deal effectively with disadvantage.

Perhaps the most significant concern of the Report was its critique of the role of the DES. The Report found that as an initiator of policy in the field of immigrant education,

the DES was found wanting. The DES offered no direction or leadership in the area, which the Report noted, made the imposition of the principle of accountability of LEAs for multiracial education very difficult to negotiate.

In 1973 the Select Committee Report, published soon after Townsend's studies, endorsed the general concern with the poor performance of West-Indian children in the education system and the high percentage, who ended up in schools for the educationally subnormal. It followed Townsend and Brittain in criticising the haphazard implementation of policy by LEAs. More importantly, it was critical of the lack of direction and guidance given by the DES. The decentralised approach denied the necessity for LEAs to be accountable.

In evidence to the Committee, the DES declared that it had no responsibility for immigrant education policies, except for its concern with the admission of qualified teachers, a rule that was generally applied. Nonetheless, the DES stated that it had a general concern with the area of language and identified its recommendation to LEAs to adopt the dispersal policy to facilitate language acquisition. The assumptions behind dispersal was social and linguistic assimilation, yet it was ironic, according to the National Federation of Education Research, that extension of language provision did not largely apply to West Indian children. The federation offered the following explanation to the Committee:

" .. because the West-Indian was regarded as English speaking, he was regarded as having no special need, and the success in the teaching of English to the West-Indian has been very limited indeed."

It went on to explain,

"This accounts for what came out time and time again ... that in streaming, that in examination success, and so on the West-Indian is at the bottom." (HMSO, 1972-73:1131)

This explanation was further used to account for the placement of large numbers of West Indian children in ESN schools. The DES was not very well informed of the number of

children being so designated. The Committee expressed regret that in an issue as important as the designation of a child as educationally subnormal, that the DES was not more informed and did not appear to be taking steps to prevent children with language difficulties being wrongly designated ESN. Over the issue of the number of West-Indian children in ESN schools, the DES admitted to the Committee that it had no 'reliable evidence' or information on the subject. However, it went on to speculate that "it was probably the special relationship between West-Indian parents and their children was a factor in ESN assessment." (Ibid, 38). This speculation of the DES must be judged against the background of the observation made by the Committee when it made the following protestation:

"Our most persistent difficulty throughout this enquiry has been to get a reasonably accurate assessment of how many children we are dealing with and how many need extra help." (HMSO, 1973:44)

Though the preoccupation with the reiterative category of the family and culture, it can be seen that West-Indian children were perceived as a racialised and cultural enigma. They were seen to inhabit two cultural spaces. One which seemed to embody key markers of English culture, such as having English vocabulary, and another which deviated from English cultural 'norms' particularly in cultural mores. This contradictory location inhibited the application of, for example, Language policy to West-Indian children. It was left to policies that had a focus upon resocialization to fill the gap. Dispersal was a policy with an all embracing ethos.

Dispersal

In her review of the dispersal policy, Tomlinson restates the definitive impact that the politicisation of race had in shaping the dispersal policy. She uses the evidence of the period convincingly to argue that dispersal was never intended to really benefit children of colour, but rather to contain white hostility. The desire then to satisfy white parents in Southall to "get the immigrants out" and the

endorsement of DES circular 7/65 to demonstrate that their fears were justified lies behind the institutionalization of dispersal. This view is confirmed by Milner in citation of the motive to disperse West-Indian children:

"... immigrant children were dispersed, irrespective of whether they were immigrant or not, irrespective of whether they had language difficulties or not, including among them some West-Indian children, who, in contrast to what we now know, were then thought not to have language difficulties of the same order as Asians." (Milner 1975:201)

Rose (1969) in highlighting the inadequacy of the evidence upon which the dispersal policy was based, further substantiates Tomlinson's reading of the impact of dispersal. The dispersal policy is described by Rose (1969), as a 'multi-purpose policy', aimed at integrating immigrant children, preventing a fall in standards in schools, and also to provide assistance in the organisation of special English courses for immigrant children. Rose evaluates the aims of policy against the background of limited evidence accordingly:

"But this multi-purpose policy had, in 1965, no statistical basis. How many children of immigrants were there in schools, how many of them had inadequate English, how many schools contained more than 30%; these questions could not be answered." (Rose 1969:174)

It was criticism like this that forced the DES to collect statistics. The DES made the decision to collect statistics between the period 1966-1973. The collection of statistics however failed to give the DES and LEAs adequate information on which to target resources and policy (HMSO 1972-73:45). This failure was in part due to the definition of immigrants upon which the statistics were to be collected.

The collection of statistics operated the following definition of immigrant children.

- (a) those born outside the British Isles who came to this country with, or to join parents and guardians whose countries of origin were abroad; and
- (b) those born in the UK to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the UK on or after 1 January,

ten years before the collection of the information.

(Kohler 1976:16)

This definition proved to be imprecise and was subject to a number of criticisms. Again, Rose argues that essentially the collection of statistics was concerned with 'overall numbers' and failed to make a delineation between those with specific language needs and those without. The absence of any official specification of what constituted language difficulties was significant since language was the *raison d'être* of policy.

In support of this interpretation, the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1972-3) commented on the tendency for schools to return higher levels of concentration than the DES formula anticipated. According to the DES ten year rule formula, the number of children and immigrant families would gradually be excluded from the ten year rule. This did not happen. Indeed the committee listed a number of schools and LEAs in which those classified as immigrants began to increase rather than decline in number. While the committee presented no clear reason why the difference existed between the projection of the DES and those of schools and LEAs, a possible explanation for the differences in projection is that schools and LEAs tended to numerate their composition of immigrant children on the basis of direct observer perception of phenotypical and cultural difference, irrespective of whether those children had lived in the UK for more than ten years or were indeed born in the UK. Although the Committee was troubled by these anomalies, its deeper concern appeared to be informed by an underlying reluctance by the DES to systematise the management of the issues posed by minority education. This concern was exemplified in the committee's citation of the Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher's confession of the marginal importance of the statistics collected:

"My Department makes no use of (the statistics) whatsoever, except to publish them. They do not form the basis of any grant from the department." (HMSO 1973:46)

On the basis of evidence collected, the committee recommended

"the collection of statistics under the present DES formula should cease forthwith." (HMSO 1973:)

It is interesting to note that no local education authority continued to collect statistics even under a new formula, although they continued to make extrapolations from form 7(1) returns when need arose (Porter 1979). This fact reflects the sensitive nature of collecting statistics when the issue of race is socially significant. This fact encouraged the adoption by the DES of a policy of general disadvantage.

Disadvantage

The significance attached to race made it incumbent on the DES to depoliticise the association between race and educational policy. The DES was indeed looking for a policy that neutralised race as a specific feature of policy. This meant pursuing a policy in which race could be subsumed under a wide non race-specific label. Disadvantage provided the solution. Disadvantage was the concept which dominated the thinking on ethnic minority education during the 1970s. The theme of disadvantage had a specific bearing on children of Afro Caribbean origin. Much of the debate attempted to decide whether the educational difficulties compounding minority children was the same or qualitatively different from those facing white indigenous children. As early as 1971, the DES had raised this issue:

"Some argue that where there are immigrant educational difficulties these differ in no way from those encountered in educating native-born children living in socially and culturally deprived areas. It is in such areas that very many immigrant children live in the ugly, bare, built-up twilight areas - badly housed, lacking social, cultural and recreational amenities, attending schools with frequent staff changes, in poor buildings. They share all the same difficulties of environmental deprivation known to native-born children living in these same areas. They frequently appear to suffer the same emotional disturbance, the same inarticulateness and difficulty with language, the same insecure approach to school and school work, the same unsatisfactory attitudes in social

relationships - all of which affect their life and general progress in school." (DES, 1971:4-5)

The remedial approach to the education of ethnic minorities was embedded in the aim of long term assimilation. The attainment of assimilation was frustrated by what was increasingly regarded as entrenched disadvantage.

The policy of disadvantage was a response to growing official recognition that assimilation was not working and the worsening position of West-Indian children in the education system. Subsequent reports from the 1973 Select Committee to the 1976-77 Select Committee continue to be perplexed by what was regarded as the deterioration and poor integration of children of West-Indian origin into the school. Underattainment was highlighted as of particular concern to the West-Indian community itself. The 1975 White Paper on Racial Discrimination contemplated the 'cycle of cumulative disadvantage' launched on to a 'vicious downward spiral of deprivation' (HMSO, 1975:3). The spiral of deprivation was intensified by the dimension of inner city decay which was added to the notions of racial disadvantage. The White paper expressed a note of despair when it contemplated the difficulty of solving the problem of the plight of the inner cities and racial disadvantage.

" ... the problems of racial disadvantage can be seen to occur typically in the context of an urban problem whose nature is only imperfectly understood. There is no modern industrial society which has experienced a similar difficulty. None has so far succeeded in resolving it." (HMSO, 1975:4)

The tendency to see the educational arrangements appropriate for ethnic minorities, particularly arrangements for children of Afro Caribbean origin, in terms of general disadvantage persisted, despite the recommendations of the Select Committee Report 1972-73. The Select Committee reported that the development of an appropriate education arrangement directed towards the integration of immigrant children had not worked. The report recommended the setting up a special fund to which LEAs could apply to meet the special needs of immigrant

children. As a condition of using the resources and services of the DES, LEAs would have to be more accountable to the DES on matters concerning the educational conditions of immigrant children in their areas, along with specification of the ameliorative actions they had created to remove special disadvantage. In line with the inclusive approach of disadvantage, the Department offered an alternative model of the educational and social problems experienced by minorities. The model offered a non-specific, non-targeted model of disadvantage, and presented its argument for a more general conception of disadvantage. In the Report Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants (DES, 1974:5-14) the conception of disadvantage was expressed in the following terms:

" ... an ever-increasing proportion of the children of immigrant descent entering the school will have been born in this country, many of them to parents settled here for many years or indeed themselves born here. It is true that some of these children may have been reared in the language and customs of the country of origin and may need the same sort of help as the newly arrived immigrant child. But, where immigrants and their descendants live in the older urban industrial areas, the majority of their children are likely to share with the indigenous children of these areas the educational disadvantage associated with an impoverished environment. The Government believes that immigrant pupils will accordingly benefit increasingly from the special help given to all those suffering from educational disadvantage." (DES, 1974:102)

The conception of general disadvantage held by the DES prevented it from developing a targeted or more focused policy. Preferring to believe that disadvantage experienced by minority groups was more to do with the entrenchment of primordial customs and cultural practice and rather than due to the failure of the education system or other British institutions. This view then further led it to reject the creation of a central fund to meet minority needs on the grounds that Section II and the urban aid programmes were already aimed at ethnic minorities. The DES justified this action in terms that it would neither undermine local autonomy nor 'reduce the scope of local responsibility'. (DES, 1974:14).

Again, contrary to recommendations of the 1972-73 Select Committees, the DES responded by setting up a Centre for Educational Disadvantage and an Assessment of Performance Unit. The terms of reference of the Assessment of Performance Unit was set out in the White Paper, were:

"To promote the development of methods of assessing and monitoring the achievement at school, and to see to identify the incidence of under-achievement." (DES, 1974:16)

When the Select Committee 1976-77 debated the problems of the West-Indian Community, the framework of disadvantage had already been accelerated. The Select Committee continued to propose that the DES take more direct action and responsibility for the area of minority needs and the establishment of a special fund for children of immigrants. These recommendations did not fit into the perception the DES had of Afro Caribbean disadvantage. In observation to the Committee, the DES claimed, that unlike other immigrants, Afro-Caribbeans did not require discreet services, but more adequate opportunities to take advantage of provisions in the educational service which should also be open to the indigenous people in the same way.

Thus the theme of disadvantage continued into 1980s with the Home Affairs Committee on Racial Discrimination (1980-1), the Rampton Report (1981) and the Swan Report (1985). All these reports noted that Britain's ethnic minority population shared with the rest of the community a varying degree of disadvantage. Disadvantage associated with bad housing, unemployment, educational underachievement, a deprived physical environment and social tension. Racial discrimination was seen to shape those features of general disadvantage in areas such as discrimination in employment recruitment (HMSO 1980-1:xlv). Other factors identified in the model of disadvantage promoted by official discourse included features of personal adaptation. Differences in cultural values, language, shifting and insecure personal identity were emphasized in the taxonomy of disadvantage (HMSO 1980-1:x-xiv).

The all-inclusive category of disadvantage made it potentially difficult to delineate between disadvantage caused by racial discrimination and general social disadvantage. The concept of educational disadvantage popularised by the DES suggested that, particularly Afro Caribbean children, could be congealed together and undifferentiated from the indigenous working class. The relative autonomy of racism from the generalised concept of disadvantage was not considered. The problems and tensions inherent in managing an all-embracing policy of disadvantage while simultaneously accounting for social disadvantages engaged the Home Affairs Committee (1980-1) in an attempt to depoliticise the focus on racial groups through the use of the concept of special needs. It warned that:

"while measures to combat racial disadvantage may be counter productive if they foster resentment in the section of the community ... service provision must be attuned to special needs." (ibid:xvi-34)

Funding policy attempted to target special needs without drawing too much attention to racial groups.

Funding

It is through funding that the distinct focus and targeting of special needs would be provided. The distinct focus that has been acknowledged by 'successive governments' is

"that the presence of large immigrant populations places a burden on local authority services" (HMSO 1974:13)

Section II of the Local Government Act (1966) was the first attempt of a Labour government to recognise racial disadvantage. The White Paper Immigration from the Commonwealth (1965) provided the legislative and social rationale for the specific approach to funding and race relations. The White Paper had outlined the double-sided nature of the burden to manage race relations imposed on the government by the arrival of New Commonwealth immigrants. The

White Paper outlined the dualistic direction of the Policy:

"This policy has two aspects: one relating to control on the entry of immigrants so that it does not outrun Britain's capacity to absorb them; the other relating to positive measures designed to secure for the immigrants and their children their rightful place in our society, and to assist local authorities ... in areas of high immigration in dealing with certain problems." (Home Office, 1965:2)

The control and immigration couplet was elevated to the status of general truth by Roy Hattersley's epigrammatical phrasing, when he declared

"without integration limitation is inexcusable, without limitation integration is impossible." (Cited in Rex Tomlinson 1979:53)

Recognition of the existence of racial disadvantage imposed upon the integration side of policy the institutionalisation of measures to curb racial disadvantage. Along with the provision of targeted funding for special needs, the Race Relations Acts (1965, 1968, and 1976) provided the context within which the educational issues of ethnic minorities would be given its distinctive focus. Much of that distinctive focus with respect to funding for special needs was directed towards language teaching.

Section II of the Local Government Act 1966 empowered the Home Secretary to make expenditure grants to local authorities to meet the additional burden of large numbers of ethnic minorities in their area. Under the Urban Aid Programme, introduced in 1969, LEAs could gain 75% of the cost incurred in meeting the needs of ethnic minorities. Authorities with an ethnic minority population of over 2 percent of the school population were eligible to apply for funding.⁽⁸⁾

Ethnic minorities targeted by Section II were those of New Commonwealth origin, children or adults who had been in England for less than ten years. The ten year rule, was the terminal point by which the DES assumed integration to have taken place. It was assumed that disadvantage occurred

because of the difference in culture, language and customs. Section II, allowed funding to be submitted on the basis of special provision. The Act, however, omitted to mention what special provision should represent. Local Authorities also had a great deal of autonomy regarding the selection of staff funded under the Act, and work it defined as attributable to differences in language and culture (Hibbert, 1982).

Much of the general criticisms of the scope and administration of Section II funding, such as the limitation of its definition of immigrant, its restricted use, the unidentifiability of post and the tendency for some education authorities to subsidise mainstream provision with Section II monies, have been endorsed by the Home Affairs Committee 1981. The Home Affairs Committee (1981) commented on the 'misconception' inherent in the definition of immigrants. Noting the limitation of this definition, the Committee spoke of the lasting effects of racial disadvantage and cited Liverpool as an example of the lasting effects of racial discrimination associated with decades rather than years (ibid:xxvi:55). In this framework the Committee remarked on the difficulty of ascertaining need when there is no unified system of collecting information on the number of people classified as immigrants. The use of Section II money was another area identified by the Committee for special reference. It examined with concern the fact that while 85% of Section II money was used for education, the majority of schemes funded were for non-specialist appointments. The Committee went on to recommend more accountability and scrutiny of Section II spending (ibid xxvii:60). Some LEAs, such as Liverpool used the fund to improve basic facilities (HMSO 1980-1:xxx 66). Since LEAs had provided 25% of the grant, it was often felt to be politically sensitive to be appearing to privilege one sector of the community.

Some of these criticisms have been met in Circular 97/1982 and 94 1983. Among them, the termination of the ten year rule along with an extension of the definition of New Commonwealth immigrant to include those born in Pakistan before it left the Commonwealth in 1972 and young people aged

twenty or less. With the abolition of the 2 percent criteria grant aid, local authorities were given direction to set up consultation procedures with local minority communities and to review practices to monitor Section II. The criteria for acquiring Section II funding required applications to target the needs of Commonwealth immigrants whose language and culture differ from the larger community.

While these changes are positive in their attempt to respond to the limitations of the practice of Section II, they have been criticised for perpetuating the assimilationist paradigm. The continuation of the criteria of special provision and special needs, determined by linguistic and cultural differences, reproduced the 'misconception' that racial disadvantage is a product of linguistic and cultural difference. Also the extended definition of New Commonwealth immigrant still retained the assumption that racial disadvantage is a phenomenon that would disappear within a specified time period. Contrary to this view, research continues to demonstrate that the longevity of racial disadvantage is not simply dependent upon linguistic and cultural differences. For example, the continued social discrimination experienced by Liverpudlian Blacks, highlighted by the Home Affairs Committee, testifies to the limitation of the assimilationist framework. The observation of the report led it to the following conclusion:

"Racial disadvantage in Liverpool is in a sense the most disturbing case of racial disadvantage in the United Kingdom, because there can be no question of cultural problems of newness of language, and it offers a grim warning to all of British cities that racial disadvantage cannot be expected to disappear by natural causes. The Liverpool Black organisations warned the Sub-Committee 'What we see in Liverpool is a sign of things to come. We echo the warning.'" (HMSO, 1981 xiviii)

From this brief descriptive outline of the approach to racial policy and practice in education reviewed by Tomlinson, it can be seen that Tomlinson distances herself from the assertions of inexplicitness made by Kirp. She also questions the claims made by Dorn and Troyna in their

application of the politics of non-decision-making to conceptualise the role of the DES in the area of race and education. In so doing, Tomlinson imposes a view of intentionality on DES action in four main areas, namely, dispersal, statistics, disadvantage and funding. Assimilation was the deliberate policy goal. While this analysis by Tomlinson is constructive, it nonetheless fails to follow through its implications. Having demonstrated that the DES made "explicit policy decisions not to evolve national policies which particularly benefit the children of non-white minorities, she then takes for granted the pluralistic conversion of the DES evoked by the 1977 Consultative Document. Tomlinson's conclusion leads her to uncritically accept the declarative and sometimes interrogative claims of cultural pluralism embodied in the Green Paper (1977) rather than the movement towards centralisation and its implications for a policy of cultural pluralism. Tomlinson takes a too literal reading of the internal critique of the DES by official reports and thus fails to interrogate the concept of cultural pluralism on offer.

Donald reminds us that official discourse exercises and imposes its power, in part, through the production of "truth" and "knowledge" about education. Official discourses on immigration and education, have sought to persuade us of the need for change in schools along the lines of assimilation and cultural pluralism. In doing so, culture is the source through which an evolutionary process of cultural adaptation can be promoted (Donald, 1979). Indeed, the all-inclusive policy of disadvantage is enshrined in this assimilationist ethos. Disadvantage, not only became the central explanatory concept accounting for the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system, it was also the central interrogative concept by which policy and practice could claim to play between particularity and universalism.

In educational terms, the incorporation of disadvantage was a feature of the thematic content of the

reiterative categories of family and culture. As early as 1968 the Plowden Report, written in the context of the White indigenous working class, provided the case for the most intimate intervention into the working class child's environment. Nearly thirteen years later, Rampton extended this very conception to West-Indian children, when it encouraged West-Indian mothers to talk to their children (Rampton 1981:43). It identified the failure of mothers to talk to their children as a contributory factor in their underachievement. Citing other studies to substantiate this view it alleged:

"West-Indian parents, ... may not fully appreciate the need to spend time talking and listening to their children to develop their linguistic skills." (ibid:43)

This was a contributory factor in the underachievement of West-Indian children, so parents like their children must be resocialised in mainstream values and must be taught to recognise the part education can play in supplying beneficial social opportunities.

The concentration on family-school relations to the relative neglect of the effect of differentiated provision has been the crucial feature of dominant explanations of the social relations in education. This then leaves culture, and particularly the socialisation practice, to account for disadvantage. Reeves and Chevannes sum up the effects of the application of this perspective to the education of racial minorities thus:

" ... the concept of disadvantage when applied to the education of racial minorities still focused heavily on the ethnic characteristic of the minority family, and saw inequality of educational opportunity arising from the inappropriateness of Anglo-centric curriculum material. More profound considerations, as well as the dimension of racial discrimination, remained virtually unexplored." (Reeves and Chevannes 1983:34).

Thus, utilisation of the category disadvantage, is expansive and interchangeable. Disadvantage is used to account for a range of social conditions. For example, patterns of family organisation, single parent household, low income families, inadequate housing, limited educational opportunities, or disadvantage attributed to the distribution of social resources available to different communities. With this generic use of the term, disadvantage is also employed to refer to cultural or racial disadvantage. In this case disadvantage represents a particular social practice namely racial discrimination. Disadvantage is also economically located. So while the concept disadvantage attempts to retain a structural component, nonetheless a significant dimension of its explanatory power is rooted in reiterative categories of family, cultural deprivation and social degeneracy. For example, the conditions which are said to qualify the Afro-Caribbean child for the category disadvantage include; linguistic weakness, family structure, child-rearing practices, the historical legacy of slavery, inter-generational conflict, weak ancestral culture, poor self-image, racial discrimination. Yet their source is rooted in a number of diverse structures, whose historical connections are not the same. The concept of disadvantage treats them as if they were. However what makes their diversity combine to form the aggregate effect of disadvantage is culture.

Culture is assumed to provide the resource, the imperatives that can guard against the unexpected working of the social structure. Some groups do not possess the cultural skills to protect themselves from structural disadvantage. It is through reconstitution of culture that disadvantage is given a socially degenerative quality ensuring that those who are explained by it assume culturally deficit profiles. It is this reconstitution of culture through the reiterative categories of the family and Afro-Caribbean culture that confers a paradoxical quality when utilized in the context of Afro-Caribbean children, who are generally referred to in official discourse to represent cultural malfunction and inadequacy. This is why special needs, special provision are always justified in terms of minority cultural needs. The

policies discussed were generally limited to providing personal services within minority communities themselves. The concentration on personal services, marginalises minorities within their own communities and makes illegitimate the exercise of broader policies of positive discrimination to correct long standing politically structured inequalities.

SECTION 3

NEGOTIATING RACISM: THE RAMPTON REPORT

The interplay of assertions between disadvantage and cultural pluralism expressed in official reports on children of New Commonwealth immigrants ensure that an underlying assimilationist view prevails. This made the exercise of positive pluralist policies in education contradictory. The release of the Interim Report of the Rampton Committee (1981) attempted to manage the contradiction between advocacy of cultural pluralism and the cultural deficit models implied in the policy of disadvantage through the intervention of the concept of racism. How the discourse of Rampton managed that intervention is the concern of this section.

Against the background of the reassertion of DES power in education and the rationalisation of certain key concerns, the Green Paper (1977) and the Rampton Report (1981) addressed the structural shifts in the composition and issues confronting children of Afro-Caribbean backgrounds. Although the central thrust of the Green Paper was with the advocacy for the reorganisation of schooling so that it more adequately reflect the needs of industry, it nonetheless acknowledged the culturally diverse nature of British society and its implications for education. Realisation that the internal organisation of schools had to be shifted from eurocentric cultural ideas to include broader concerns, norms, and values representative of ethnic minorities living in England was expressed by the Green Paper.

The recognition of broader, international values in education was also introduced by the structural change in Britain's imperial hegemony. This, the Green Paper expressed

when it declared,

"The education appropriate to our imperial past cannot meet the requirements of Modern Britain. The curriculum of schools must also reflect this new Britain." (DES, 1977:1.11, 1.12)

It further went on to elaborate that,

"Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society. We also live in a complex interdependent world and many of our problems require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know about and understand other countries." (DES, 1977:10.11)

While substantiating the general demographic changes in British society, the Rampton Report, since it was aimed directly at ethnic minority children went further than the Green Paper, specifying the ways in which the internal organisation of school would have to be altered to positively reflect the presence of ethnic minorities. The changes envisaged by the Report included the expansion of the school curriculum 'to reflect the fact that Britain is ... a society, which is both multiracial and culturally diverse.' (DES 1981:3). The Report promoted a more informed and intellectual understanding of Caribbean dialects and their influence on the acquisition of standard English. It also advocated more co-ordination of links between school and community. The need for the extension of pre-school provision was recognised along with the checking of books and materials for bias. It advised the formalisation by the DES of the legal position relating to disruptive unites. On the question of examinations, the Report advocated changes in examination boards and syllabi to reflect diversity, and wanted more research to explain the higher representation of West Indian pupils in CSE streams rather than O level streams (ibid:3-4).

The Report went on to discuss some general factors in schools and society, which worked against the changes it envisaged happening and how they in turn affected the attainment of Afro-Caribbean children. Among these general

factors, it is significant that the most publicised and discussed concern in the Report was the view, that Black parents and their children were distancing themselves from the school, because of their growing experience of racism in school and society. The insertion of racism in the debate therefore represented an important turning point in the history of the debate on ethnic minority education. Rampton had succeeded in changing the tenor and the terms of the debate. Incorporating the variable of racism into the legitimate framework of an official report on race relations and education, the report seemed, to have validated the experience and interpretative account of the Afro-Caribbean community.

But this validation was conditional. The insertion of racism would have posed too sharp and too uncompromising a critique of racialisation in education. It would have undermined the social democratic and ameliorative function imposed upon education in the facilitation of harmonious race relations and equality of opportunity. Accordingly, the Report could not have allowed the unchecked intervention of racism to suggest that the education system reproduced racism without sustaining a serious crisis of credibility.⁽⁹⁾ The intervention of racism was therefore conditionally effected through a textual mechanism of an interplay of suggestions and multiple possibilities. A strategy, according to Burton and Carlen which is a characteristic feature of official discourse in their attempt to recoup legitimisation objectives (Burton and Carlen, 1977). The textual mechanism employed in Rampton relied upon institutionalising, modifying, and disciplining the interpretative account of the West Indian community. This was achieved by reconstituting and recontextualising the claim of racism through reciprocal suggestions and the counterbalancing of issues. Instead of the analysis revealing the nature of racism, the result is an indecisive, indeterminant empiricist normative description of prejudice, family and cultural disadvantage. The real expression of the reconstitution laid in the Report's ability to differentiate between its own dispersed views of the cause of underattainment of Afro-Caribbean pupils in schools and the

views of the Afro-Caribbean community. Through the division between its views and those of the Afro-Caribbean community, the Report discussed the 'alleged cause of underachievement'. It was therefore able to distance itself from the views of the Afro-Caribbean community and rather present itself in the role of a neutral narrator and arbitrator.

Noting that racism in schools and society 'was most forcefully and frequently put forward by West Indians themselves.' (ibid:11), the Report distanced its position thus:

" ... we have identified no single cause for the underachievement of West Indian children but rather a network of widely differing attitudes and expectations on the part of teachers and the education system as a whole, and on the part of West Indian parents, which lead the West Indian child to have particular difficulties and face particularly hurdles in achieving his or her full potential." (ibid:72)

Among the factors discussed by the Report to negatively influence attainment were the socio-economic condition of the West Indian family; the high proportion of working mothers in the West Indian community, patterns of socialisation and culture, such as the inadequate understanding of the developmental role of toys among West Indian mothers, the different linguistic traditions of the home and the school; a eurocentric curriculum; low expectation of teachers of the ability of Afro-Caribbean children; and intentional or unintentional racism.

This general methodological device of linking materiality and ideality has a number of interpretative and pedagogic effects upon the themes through which the discussion in Rampton has pursued and upon the conception of new practices. For example, while Rampton attempted to utilise racism as a variable in the paradigm of underachievement, racism was not given central determinacy. Racism is given parallel effectivity with the other conditions that the Report addressed. The consequences of the application of this methodological form of multiple suggestions in the analysis of racism in schools, is to convert the practice of racism

into an inscrutable arbitrary social practice, where one form of conception and the ameliorative action associated with it is as good as any other. The textual mechanism then of counterbalancing and juxtapositioning rendered the conception of the practice of racism to be confusing and indeterminate.

Although the Report used an empiricist narrative to contemplate the practice in schools, its existence was normatively conceived rather than materially substantiated. Its normative structure involved three levels of reconstitution:

- (1) transference of racism to prejudice
- (2) the formation of the category unintentional racism
- (3) the cultural relocation of racism

These categories will be examined in more detail.

(1) The transference of racism to prejudice

Conceptualising prejudice as just one of a number of discriminatory attitudes, led the Report to arrive at the following evaluation:

"Very few people can be said to be entirely without prejudice of one kind or another in this country, due in part at least to the influence of history, these prejudices may be directed against West Indian and other non White ethnic minority groups;" (ibid:12)

These prejudiced attitudes, according to the Report, will necessarily filter down to teachers who are members of this society:

"Since a profession of nearly half a million people must to a great extent reflect the attitudes of society at large there must inevitably be some teachers who hold explicitly racist views." (ibid:12)

The institutional consequence of these racial attitudes on teachers' practice may take the form according to the Report of 'low expectations of academic ability of West Indian pupils' or viewing West Indian pupils as 'inevitably causing difficulties'. (p.13.7)

2. The formation of the category unintentional racism

The Report's conception of prejudice is crucially located in its conception of unintentional racism. Unintentional racism conceived racism as essentially contingent, incidental, and not really constituting or constituted in the social structure, but rather evolving out of pre-existing social attitudes and practice. Describing the relationship between racial attitudes and the system of education, the Report made an exemplary point:

"Alongside these attitudes and their effects are a number of broader questions relating to the extent to which the actual institutions and procedures operating within an educational system as a whole provide equality of opportunity for ethnic minority groups. Traditional educational practices originally established to cater for the needs of a generally homogenous population, can in fact operate in discriminatory ways when applied to today's society." (Ibid 14)

As well as depoliticising and dehistoricising the social practices of racism, the Report also encouraged the readers to entertain the view that the contestation, the re-negotiation over curriculum and pedagogy started with the entry of children from immigrant backgrounds into British schools. More explicitly, the subtext of this view is that immigrant children are imposing demands and disunity on an otherwise homogenous educational system and society.

3. Cultural relocation of racism

A further feature of the structure of reconstitution in Rampton, lay in its cultural relocation of racism. In Rampton the proximity in which statements are related, connected, and interpreted was further affected by the reciprocal interplay between notions of racial practice in education, on the one hand, and on the other hand, how the Report's conceptualisation of the cultural conditions of the West Indian family. This enabled the report to weaken the relative autonomous condition for the operation of racism in educational practice. This it achieved by posing the regulation of racism through parental inadequacy in a

framework of cultural deprivation, shadowed by socio-economic difficulties. The Report observed the expression of socio-economic difficulties associated with West Indian mothers working:

"A disproportionate number of West Indian women are forced to go out to work because of economic circumstances. The 1971 census showed that 60% of West Indian married women went to work compared with the national average of 42%. The percentage of West Indian men employed on night shifts is almost double that of white males and the incidence of one parent families is higher for West Indians than it is for Whites. West Indian parents may therefore face particular pressures affecting their children in the vital pre-school formative years. In an ideal world West Indians would work the kind of hours for the level of pay which would allow them to spend more time with their children. It is vital for young children to have adult time available; to have stories told and read to him, to be helped to learn nursery rhymes so that his language and ability to listen can be developed, and so that parents can answer the inevitable questions that children always pose ..." (ibid:15)

These powerful developmental associations drawn between the socio-economic position of the West Indian community, the economic role that women play, the cultural and socialisation pattern of West Indians are authoritatively reinforced by their intersection with psychological studies in the field. This further renders the attempt to look for specificity in the practice of racism even more inscrutable. Hence Rampton's observation:

"Many writers have suggested that although West Indian parents are concerned about their children's development they often seem to lack understanding of the developmental importance of play, toys, communication, and parent child interaction in the early years ... For example, Bushell (1973) suggested that the West Indian parent does not seem to regard the importance of stimulation by conversation or use of toys as part of the function of the baby minder as she does not appreciate their significance herself." (ibid:43)

The Report also cited studies by Rutter and Mittler, which came to a similar conclusion:

"... Rutter and Mittler (1972) discovered less conversation taking place between the parent and her child. Rutter et al (1975) noted that there were fewer interactions in general between parents and children in West Indian families." (ibid:43)

Making the operations of racism contingent upon culturally weak socialisation patterns, conferred a degree of authorship and inevitability to culture in positioning groups in hierarchised positions in the labour market, and therefore linking deeply rooted structural inequality to what Habermas describes as the 'achievement ideology of the education system' (Habermas, 1976:37). It is apt that this ideological tendency should advocate the resolution of structural inequality by further intervention into what is considered to be childrearing patterns of West Indian parents. In this vein the Report made authoritative appeals to local education authorities to 'distribute information leaflets to all parents giving ideas and advice on constructive play and preparation for school.' (ibid:16)

The force of this normative conception of race is to essentially minimise the recognition of racialisation in the pedagogic expectation and practice among White teachers. In the report, this is an acknowledgement that is continually counterbalanced and shadowed by the reciprocal suggestions of cultural weakness and the concept of disadvantage, which is itself culturally located. The promise of Rampton to provide explanations of the position of Afro-Caribbean children in schools which referred to the internal organisation or schooling and society, was reduced by the culturalist anchorage of the Report.

The Report, by ignoring the structural location of education, failed to problematise the logic of its own position, namely that the social division of labour outside the classroom conditions the possibility of providing for equality of outcome within education. The Report therefore conceals the articulation between hierarchies in education, social class and the division of labour. The report's failure lies in its inability to make internal differentiation along the lines of the long established relationship between social class and educational outcome. The refusal to differentiate between Afro Caribbeans in terms of social class enabled the Report to reproduce the view that in the hierarchy of attainment West Indian children performed less well than Asian

children because of the different cultural strengths of the two groups. This is precisely the impact of the cultural relocation of racism. Prejudice, even if unintentional, might exist, but its effects are only debilitating when groups have a weak cultural index. Hence in the hierarchy of attainment Asian children perform better than West Indian children even though both groups are subjected to racism in schools and society (Reeves and Chevannes 1981, 1983).

Circulation and Consumption

Given all that has been said about the internal mechanisms by which Rampton manages the intervention of racism, how should Rampton be utilised? What role can it play in furthering oppositional intervention or normalising dominant conceptions in education?

The textual mechanism highlighted by which the Report achieves a neutralised conception of racism, not only confers interpretative totality to the culture of West Indians in explaining underachievement, but, it also provides credibility to an interpretative process outside education. Presenting the position thus, makes it possible to argue that the relationship within the report and what it represents outside are crucial in conferring to the report a degree of openness. The main source of intelligibility does not therefore only lie in the internal mechanism or structure of the report itself, but also in how it is received. The reception of the report was not a uniform reception. Differences always arise in deciphering and appropriating its central message. Different classes or groups will appropriate the peculiarities of the report in relation to how it represents or compromises the interpretation of their respective positions. The DES and the Afro-Caribbean community evaluated the charge of racism differently. The DES was more ready to accept the neutralised framework provided by Rampton, namely the reconstitution of racism in the form of prejudice and cultural dislocation. Indeed the DES refused to accept any rational basis for an anti-racist policy. The removal of Rampton from the Committee and his replacement by Lord Swann has been referred to suggest

that for the DES, even this conditional intervention of racism was too much (Doveke 1985:1). In contrast the Afro-Caribbean community have been willing to circumvent the circumstantial case provided in the Report for the endorsement of the existence of racism. They regard the limited concession to the existence of racism in schools as being better than no concession at all. Even the tentative way in which Rampton employs the conception of racism, locating it in the unintentional pedagogic expectation and practice of teachers, is accepted. Rampton states:

"Although there are inevitably some teachers who hold explicitly racist views, they are very much in the minority. We did however find evidence of ... unintentional racism in the behaviour and attitudes of other teachers towards West Indian children, which when combined with negative views of their ability and potential may prove a self-fulfilling prophecy whilst we cannot accept that racism, intentional or unintentional, alone accounts for the underachievement of West Indian children in our schools, we believe that when taken together with, for example negative teacher attitudes and an inappropriate curriculum, racism does play a major part in their underachievement." (Ibid p.70)

Although unintentional, it nonetheless is allowed to have some effects on the performance of Afro-Caribbean children.

In this sense, Rampton's utilisation of racism goes a step further than any other official report in attempting to specify the operation of racism in a crucial structure of the internal organisation of schools, namely pedagogy. The practice itself is said to be limited, but is seen by West Indian parents as validating the most significant factor in the educational experience of their children. So while the conceptualisation of racism has been analytically inadequate and contradictory for the reasons outlined, for a large number in the Afro-Caribbean community it has provided a valuable and legitimate reference point to reinforce their concerns.

In this sense Rampton represents a very important intervention offering an initial starting point in directing and refocussing research. It can provide the substantive basis for sharpening the focus of multicultural/anti-racist

education as a form of pedagogic intervention, rather than its present conception as a content bound area. Rampton, by homing in on teacher expectation, as a crucial component in structuring performance in the classroom, unwittingly asserts the necessity to correct the imbalance that has dominated multicultural/anti-racist education. That imbalance has been based upon privileging a content imperative in multicultural/anti-racist practice and underemphasising a pedagogic imperative. This is not to belittle the contestation and the battles that have been won and continue to be waged in the redefining of areas of knowledge and the need for necessary inclusion in the curriculum. Rather it is to suggest that part of the dissatisfaction of Afro-Caribbean parents with the inability of teachers to develop and implement multicultural/anti-racist education has been partly caused by failure to debate what might constitute an appropriate pedagogic intervention in the field.

Rampton therefore occupies a contradictory location in the history of racial policy and practice in education in Britain. Even while appropriating the negative or reiterative categories in the dominant explanatory paradigm of the family/culture school relation, the Report still sustained a possibility of opening up new meaning with its incorporation of racism. However this achievement has to be balanced against the externalisation of Afro-Caribbean children, from class related inequality in education by the racialisation of inequality. The process of externalisation and racialisation disconnects unequal structural relations, neutralises them and denies them any real decisive role. Unequal relations are then reconstituted to become expressions of the different appropriation capacity of different cultural groups. Appropriation in this context being determined by the idiosyncratic cultural predispositions internal to different groups. Hence the culturalist substantiation of the ranking of attainment between Afro-Caribbean and Asian children. The specific articulation between externalisation of class and racialisation in sustaining the marginalisation of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system, denies the constitution of class forces as a major factor in determining

the position of Afro-Caribbean children and their community in the social structure. Instead the repetitive and recurring characterisation of the Afro-Caribbean family as a source of disfunction, provides the measure for policy and practice. It is this externalisation which enabled Rampton to discuss educational arrangement for Afro-Caribbeans outside the framework of the centralising thrust of the DES.

SECTION 4

CENTRALISATION AND THE LIMITS OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

All the reports on race relations and education have indicated a deepening disaffection, a failure of direction, a lack of accountability, inadequate provision and the need for a reappraisal of educational policy in multicultural education, albeit in the framework of disadvantage. They nonetheless retained the same evolutionary dehistoricised and narrowly ethnicised race relations paradigm for education policy and practice for children from West-Indian backgrounds. They continued to pose a form of educational change and innovation, which disconnect the issues confronting the education of West-Indian children, essentially placing them outside the broad span of the history and politics of education and change in its contemporary setting.

The 1976 Select Committee Report, along with the Rampton Report, like all the reports that went before then, continued to concentrate on language as a pivotal factor in the promotion of multiracial/multicultural education programmes. The utilisation of the curriculum as a form of moral crusade, was accompanied by the depoliticised negotiation over the introduction and the expansion of different areas of knowledge, to rationalise the new ethnic dimension. The aim was to identify and detail those cultural features which might encourage social assimilation and integration while opposing those cultural facets which might reduce it.

With the exception of some of the critical and innovative analysis in the area of race itself, (Hall 1978,

CCCS 1982, Miles 1982, 1984a, 1984b)) academic researchers in the area of education have largely taken their cue from official discourse in race relations and education. That is, they have reproduced the problematic of official discourse in their own work. That problematic has been content to focus on a specific part of the education system such as the curriculum, teachers, LEA policy, parental attitudes and underachievement. These structural, cultural and organisational impediments are reduced to the incorporation of multiculturalism in schools. By neglecting the way changes in all parts of the education system have affected the education of West-Indian children, research has largely been unable to ascertain how racialisation in education constructs the discourse of the education of West-Indian children as somehow outside the broader areas of change. It is as if these broader changes in education were nothing to do with them. For example, Dorn and Troyna (1982) discussed the growing issue of centralisation of educational power in the DES but failed to problematise the principle of centralisation in general. They preferred to contrast the centralising thrust over main stream education with the failure of the DES to extend central direction in the area of multicultural education. This parochial view of centralisation, implied that it would give automatic guarantees to the positive institutionalisation of multiculturalism. The assumption that authoritative guidance from the DES would subsequently ensure good practice in LEAS and ultimately in schools has not been substantiated.

The broader implication of centralisation was not recognised by Dorn and Troyna. Indeed, they failed to follow the logic of their own conception of power. Namely, that in the redefinition of DES power and the centralisation of that power, power is also exercised in the ability of the DES to define what constitutes the content and substance of schooling. The terms in which that content is presented and negotiated to realise the redefined goals in education, have been used to modify, to limit and to take the sting out of multicultural education entailed in an anti-racist perspective. Centralisation was used to reassert the more

culturalist notion of diversity. This realisation was absent from their anticipated assumptions of what centralisation could achieve for ethnic minorities. Dorn and Troyna's critique of the politics of non-decision in the area of multiracial/multicultural education policy, though insightful, is nonetheless a direct expression of analysis, which disconnects and externalise racial minorities outside the central area of institutional change. Dorn and Troyna's study not only exaggerates the contribution of the centralisation of DES power for the advancement of multiculturalism, but fails to debate centralisation in terms of the broader restructuring of educational power.

Centralisation, as an expression of the restructuring of schooling, does not mean that racial minorities are excluded from that process because no direct reference is made to them or to the specific area of the curriculum that multiculturalism and racialisation actually and symbolically force them to occupy. Centralisation dictated the redefinition of educational objectives in a rapidly changing technologically based society. This clearly has profound implications for the fight of the Afro-Caribbean working class for access, for skills, and credentials, and for cultural recognition, as it has indeed for the working class in general.

In the reshaping of education, the DES must consider the different sites of educational power, namely the LEAs, the teacher unions, and the parents. In the reformulation of its relationships with the three groups, it must bear in mind the economic, political, and social need that education must serve (CCCS 1980, Salter and Tapper 1981, Dale 1982).⁽¹⁰⁾ The crucial ideological strategy that must be maintained in the shaping of the renewed objectives of education, is that while the credentialising functions of education were being reprioritised around maths, science, language, market forces and accountability, the ideology that accompanied the redefinition had to emphasise the rationalisation of educational objectives along these lines.

The ideology of centralisation was destined to interrogate all normative concerns in education that could not appear readily allied to the market goal that was now being explicitly offered in education. The priority for the centralising drive of the DES is stated thus:

"It is vital to Britain's economic recovery and standards of living that the performance of manufacturing industry is improved and that the whole range of government policies, including education, contribute as much as possible to improving industrial performance and thereby increasing the national wealth." (DES 1977:6)

The promotion of centralisation in opposition to issues identified with race provided the ideological rationale by which the DES could argue for the need to take power out of the hands of teachers and LEAs.

Far from the centralisation of multicultural initiatives in the DES producing a more effective multicultural education policy as Dorn and Troyna have suggested, centralisation has been used to reveal what the DES regarded as the intimate connectiveness between localism and the pursuit of too narrow and poor educational standards accompanied by the decline in basic skills. The Green Paper expressed its concern accordingly:

"In some schools the curriculum has been overloaded, so that the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, the building blocks of education, have been neglected." (Cited in Donald 1979:32)

The central objective placed on the reorganisation of education in the mid 1970s and the 1980s, was to include the homogenisation and standardisation of education objectives along the lines of a core curriculum of basic skills, centred around a more or less agreed body of knowledge. The aim was to regularise and monitor the use of resources to ensure a national standard in performance through the Assessment Performance Unit. The interests of a national inspectorate were to be harmonized with that of the DES. There was constant emphasis on the need to get British education to be

more responsive to the needs of industry. These concerns were symbolised by the Great Debate in 1976. In the 1980s, the combination of bureaucratic, technological control, embedded in the apparatus of education - the curriculum, assessment of the managerial control of teachers, made it difficult for teachers to exercise their traditional autonomy. Given the ideological context within which the DES mounted its bid to shift control in education, any defence of autonomy made that defence look like a defence of inertia, lack of responsiveness and accountability.

The amplification of these reprioritised objectives in education had to be done by posing them as explicit alternatives to the oppositional politics of education that defined the politics of education in terms of its differentiated rather than in terms of its homogeneous practice. The politics of centralisation had to remain external to those specific constellations of class/race relations while retaining their social and administrative significance. The promotion of centralisation by the DES did not deny the manifestation of disparity in education, which could be attributed to differences in social class, racial disadvantage and gender. Rather these differences were not conceived as fundamental problems of the capitalist state, but the outcome of habitual or primordial cultural practice and administrative difficulties (Dale 1982). In the case of certain schools and LEAs, poor education results were conceived to be the result of misdirection in the aims of education, mismanagement and poor misguided teachers. A return to basic skills would be more appropriate in getting all children to realise their full potential in order for Britain to realise her full potential as a major industrial power.

The reprioritised basis upon which the DES sought to gain consensus in education, dictated that it made attempts to appeal to all parents, rather than amplify the specific concerns of a section. The Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, was entitled West-Indian Children in Our Schools (1981) becomes Education for All in 1985. In the Swan Report

Education for All, Swan uses the concept of cultural pluralism in expressive realist terms, rather than racism. The report wants to discourage the idea of racism because it is divisive. The report seeks to establish an accord between different ethnic groups. The report defines the consensus to be negotiated in the framework of pluralism:

"We would thus regard a democratic pluralist society as seeking to achieve balance between, on the one hand, the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyle of all ethnic groups within it, and, on the other, the acceptance by all groups of a set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole. This then is our view of a genuinely pluralist society, as both socially cohesive and culturally diverse." (DES, 1985:6)

Swan's position on the constitutive element of a national identity and the coexistence of different ethnicities in the nation state, is based upon harmonisation, adaptation and reconciliation. These are, however, achieved at the expense of the subordination of structural inequality and a reconstitution of racism as an aspect of individual prejudice. Even though the report concedes to institutional racism, it is a concession that still retains an attitudinal base. The report defines institutional racism as a

"... range of long established systems, practices and procedures, both within education and the wider society, which were originally conceived and devised to meet the needs and aspirations of a relatively homogeneous society, can now be seen not only to fail to take account of the multiracial nature of Britain today, but may also ignore or even actively work against the interest of ethnic minority communities." (DES, 1985:28)

Yet the report does not specify what these 'practices' and procedures are in the education system that might be examples of institutional racism. Procedures and practices, some of which are identified in Rampton, such as streaming, placement in disruptive units and educational subnormality are not discussed in Education for All (DES, 1981:38-39). Significantly, even though Rampton placed particular stress on teachers stereotyped attitudes having a

possible important bearing on the attainment levels of Afro Caribbean children, the concept of institutional racism in the Swan Report is not applied to the debate on underachievement. By failing to specify the mechanism for the transmission of institutional racism Swan negates its effectivity, reinforcing instead, the ability of schools to cope with a multiracial environment.

There is nonetheless, areas of legitimate criticism by Swan. Swan is concerned with the nature of DES activity in the area of race and education. The Committee wanted a more strident racially specific and coherent policy for the promotion and co-ordination of multiculturalism. What is interesting is that these criticism did not entail any specification of the role it envisaged the DES to play in directing change in this area (DES, 1985:220).

What is more surprising, these criticism of the DES failure to establish more clear guidance for the development and practice of multiculturalism, takes place without reference to the move towards centralisation of managerial control of teachers, curriculum and assessment. The very category of disadvantage utilised by the DES, was the very category the DES used to legitimate and strengthen its thrust towards centralisation in the formation of the Assessment of Performance Unit. Yet this has no impact on the report. Furthermore, the challenge to the traditional autonomy of teachers, was firmly established on the policy agenda of mainstream education by the mid 1980s. Some of the concerns raised by Rampton, particularly concern about option choice and examination access, had been incorporated in national policy debate. There is no clear direction in the report on how to balance mainstream approach to education with the needs of minorities. On the issue of language, the Committee equivocates between positive endorsement of multilingualism and the limited role of the school in promoting community languages (DES, 1985:7). Under centralism, the move and achievement of a core curriculum, it is English language that is prioritised.

Swan was unable to make the link between the specific underachievement of Afro Caribbean children and general debate on low standards in basic skills that was thematic in the debate on the need to centralise educational power. Support for centralisation was promoted by appealing to parents by arguing that a return to basic skills and common uncontested values in education would enhance the performance of all children. The DES was able to legitimate its own concerns by fusing them with the individual concerns of parents for their children's education. These sentiments were not alien to Black parents themselves. All the reports cited earlier indicated the extent to which Black children were underachieving in schools and parents' demands for accountability on the part of teachers, schools and LEAs. In addition, there was no consensus among Black parents that the multiculturalism on offering was indeed credentialising their children. Indeed, there are those in the Black community who argued that the pursuance of culture and identity was indeed the task of the community. The school should therefore reprioritise and transmit those things it knows best, such as basic skills and leave identity management to the community (Stone 1981, Mullard 1981).

Thus centralisation, in promoting basic skills, could also secure the support of a section of Black parents. The extent to which the pursuit of basic skills meant working in pre-existing structures in education that were conceived to be racist, or in dismantling them, were issues that Dorn and Troyna expected centralisation to address. Rather, the DES participation and facilitation of an anti-racist multiculturalism was not part of its re-contextualised field of education, which the DES had embarked upon. Instead the DES would define and select its own criteria for multiculturalism. This redefinition would have to fit with its own priorities. Therefore English language teaching was stressed since it was part of the core, along with the attitudinal ethos and encouragement that all children should respect cultural diversity. By not discussing Afro-Caribbean children as part of the broader redefining priorities of the DES, Dorn and Troyna (1982) produce an analysis of the DES role in policy

making in multicultural matters that unwittingly disconnects Afro-Caribbean children from the central areas of change in the education system and reconstitute them as idiosyncratic cultural object.

Recognition of the location of children designated by colour in social relations of education that are not specially articulated through race, enables a broader reading of their educational and social location. A reading which is not limited to the symbolic representation of racialisation. This recognition also provides a vision of state intervention in education which sees the state as operating through different apparatuses, different priorities and different voices. For example, Dale (1982) argues that the problems associated with the management of education, involves core problems inherent in the regulation of the capitalist state. These include, the support of the capitalist accumulation process, guaranteeing the conditions of its continued expansion, and legitimating the capitalist mode of production and the state's role in it. A feature of the political management of education, involves the state in identifying problems with the structure, content, distribution and outcome of education. However, identifying these problems does not specify the harmonisation of the different measures required for their solution. Dorn and Troyna, by limiting the application of state structuring of centralisation to the promotion of multiculturalism, restrict the education of children of Afro Caribbean origin to the imperatives of a framework that they have already identified to be guided by the visibility of race.

Conclusion

It has been argued that the cultural reconstitution of race and its expression through the reiterative categories of the family and culture have been the main ideological device through which official discourse on Afro-Caribbean children are circulated and consumed. Barthes' concepts of denotation and connotation have been instrumental in providing a conceptual insight into the working of reconstitution. In

their application here, reconstitution is the means by which the connotative - the hidden level is translated into the denotative sphere, the explicit meaning. In the critique of policy, the reconstitution of race to culture underdetermines policy. Given the imperatives ascribed to the cultural reconstitution of race, inscribed in the reiterative categories of the family and culture, analyses of official policy have tended to accept the rhetorical and denotative as given. By so doing, most analyses have largely failed to reveal the hidden level. For example, the policy of cultural pluralism is taken as given (denotative) when the all inclusive policy of disadvantage push towards centralisation of educational power in the DES which more readily points to a reconstituted (connotative) policy of assimilation. Similarly, the inscription of deficit characterisation in Afro-Caribbean culture means that assimilation is more compatible with centralisation than cultural pluralism. What centralisation ultimately does is to secure ideological hegemony over central technologies of educational transmission and to leave the pursuit of cultural pluralism in the margins of educational debate.

This ideological relationship can be summarised in the following table accordingly.

Intentionality and State Policy

Period Explicit Meaning	Denotative	Strategy	Connotative Reconstitution of Hidden Meaning
English for Immigrants 1961 Second report of the Immigrant Advisory Committee 1964 Circular 7/65 1965 White Paper on Commonwealth immigrants	Early Phase of Policy 1960s Culture shock problem of cultural adaptation to an unfamiliar culture	Assimilation	The normalisation of the ideological conditions under which race is re- constituted as culture. This is replicated over time, viewed as a natural problem and utilised for social control in the management of race.
1972-73 Report of the Select Committee on Immigrant Educa- tion 1976 Select Committee on Immigrant Educa- tion 1977 Green Paper	Second Phase of Policy 1970s Weak social integration caused by cultural deprivation and multi levels of disadvantage	Social disadvantage	Racialisation and ethnicalisation of class inequality normalisation of differentiated educational provisions
1981 Interim Report of the Rampton Committee 1985 Swan Report Education for All	Third Phase of Policy 1980s Racial prejudice	Cultural Pluralism	Centralisation Assimilation Containment of disaffection Higher order control over the technologies of educational transmission

In the analysis of official reports and policy presented in the discussion, this model suggests that the externalisation of Afro-Caribbean children from the broad areas of change enabled the process of reconstitution to stay concealed. The negotiated intervention of racism via the interplay of the reiterative categories and social disadvantage, carried its own risk. That risk involved either making the concept of racism a nebulous concept synonymous with individual prejudice, or a framework for the construction of anti-racist policy and practice. How LEAs responded to this challenge will be the subject of the next two chapters.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. I have found the Althusserian idea of ideology as concealment, obscuring more than it reveals, to have been useful in the attempt to explore the ideological representation of race in education. In Althusser, ideology is not constructed as simple falsehoods, but as endorsements of material relations. So for example, race represents a condition of existence or experience of people of African descent. By itself racial ideology cannot fully explain the conditions by which people of Africa descent are constituted by race. What race omits is its own construction of signifying education practice. It has therefore been useful to look at the emergence of different racial discourse in education in terms of how they signify race, even though race does not always use the specific terms in which racial ideas are delivered. (Althusser, L. (1976) Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, tr. Ben Breuster, London Macmillan, Gerar (1978) Althusser's Theory of Ideology, in On Ideology, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. London, Hutchinson.
2. Barthes, Mythologies (1972) reminds us of the way in which ideology is naturalised in discourse. It is the naturalisation of the different ways of signifying race and belong in the construction of an appropriate educational arrangement for children of colour that has been a passive feature of the consumption of research interest in the field.
3. An interesting feature of the double capacity of ideology, is its ability to speak in one voice and convert meaning in another. A characteristic feature of official race relations discourse in education is the way in which it has reconstituted colonial racism to speak of culture shock, structural and class inequality to speak cultural deprivation and disadvantage and the use of the concept of ethnic pluralism to reassert the basis of dominant cultural hegemony in education.
4. The dominant sociological paradigm in the 1960s involved analysis of home-school relations. It is paradoxical that while the ubiquitous range of evidence confirms the persistence of inequality in education, interpretative accounts largely flounder on home school relations to explain patterns of inequality in education. This is the framework in which accounts of the position of Afro Caribbean children take their focus. Superimposed on these accounts is the imperative of race relations.
5. Talking about the 'mismatch' in expectations between the home, school and community (1984) Tomlinson describes how white working models of disadvantage have been transferred to ethnic minority children.

"The stereotyped dichotomy of the good middle class home and the ineffective working class home may have led many teachers to underestimate the ambitions of

working class parents to see their children succeed in education, and may also have affected their views of minority pupils. It is unfortunate, in many ways, that the children of ethnic minority parents were entering British Schools at a time when models of disadvantage and deprivation were so popular." (Tomlinson, 1984:145)

6. See Banks, J. (1981) Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice, Allyn and Bacon, for a debate on ideological and curricula tensions between the assimilation and cultural pluralism.
7. The controversial analysis of CCCS (1980) "Unpopular Education", characterises the history of education policy during the post-war period (1944-1980) as a series of crisis settlements. They define settlement in the following terms:

"Settlements are highly unstable and deeply contradictory arrangements which easily pass into crisis." (32)

Commentators on race and education have identified the periods of settlement for race relations and education in the following terms: 1960s assimilation, 1970s integration and the 1980s cultural pluralism and antiracism. See Mullard (1981). The social context and meaning of Multicultural Education, Bolton (1979, Education in a Multicultural Society).

8. Application for Section II funding had to be calculated on the basis of a local authority having 2 percent or more of its entire school population being of New Commonwealth origin. Often calculations were made on headteachers counting. See Hibbet (1982) Finding inexplicitness.
9. Donald (1979) "Green Paper Noise of Crisis" regards official discourse as a legitimisation seeking exercise through which the state is able to sustain the ideological condition of a political settlement.
10. Salter and Tapper (1981) Educational Power and the State notes that in the mid 1970s attempts to bureaucratised education power in the DES was taking place in decentralised educational system. They cite Kogan's reflection on the increasing shift from a decentralised to a centralised system.

"For a long while after the 1944 Act, the Department considered itself not as an educational planning department, or as leaders on policy, but primarily as a mediator between the agents of educational government - the local education authorities, the teachers and the denominations and the government-wide network of control and economic policy led by the Treasury."

The DES demonstrated "a persistent reluctance" to fully accept its role as a promoter of educational policy (32).

CHAPTER 6

MODALITIES OF AFFIRMATION IN THE PRODUCTION OF LEA POLICY

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify the local management of race in education through the multicultural themes and features of policy documents produced by LEAs on the subject of multicultural education.⁽¹⁾ The chapter will consider the relationship between the national context of policy production in race relations and LEA's reproductive initiatives in the intense period of formation of multicultural policy documents and antiracist guidelines in 1982. The fortunate opportunity given to the researcher to examine these documents provided worthwhile empirical support for the development of the concept of affirmation. The concept of affirmation will be used to examine the educational recognition of the presence of pupils of Afro Caribbean origin. The concept of affirmation not only illuminates the educational arrangement thought appropriate for children designated by colour and ethnicity, it also highlights the importance of the constitution of race in the arrangement of consensus. The management of disaffection is of particular importance for LEAs after the 1981 riots. The riots also provided a focus for the Rampton Report in 1981.⁽²⁾

The recontextualisation of racism in Rampton provided the official rationale for LEAs to initiate policy. LEAs were encouraged to rethink their strategy and practice and to reinforce existing practices where they existed in the field. The official recognition of racism in the explanatory account of the position of Afro Caribbean children in the education system disrupted and recontextualised the dominant culturalist presuppositions that governed multicultural education. It is this context that informs the production of policy in LEAs which is the concern of this chapter. The analysis is based upon the evidence of a survey carried out in 1982 of the 125 LEAs in the United Kingdom to ascertain whether they had

developed multicultural/multi-ethnic/anti-racist policies. Of the 125 contacted, 36 described themselves as having policy documents and indeed supplied their policy documents to substantiate their claim.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In Section I, the research design and the concept of affirmation are discussed. In Section II the impact of the national context of race relations on the formulation of Local Education Authorities multicultural policy documents is addressed. Section III identifies the social basis for racial framing of multiculturalism and assesses the presence of Black pupils as the agency through which racial affirmation is legitimised in LEAs.

The decision to locate the concept of affirmation in the reproduction initiatives of LEA's, had certain advantages. The approach justified the mode of conceptualisation that is developed in this thesis, to account for the operation of race in education. The mode of conceptualisation aimed to demonstrate the interconnection between racial discourse, policy production, policy reproduction and practice. The possible limitation in situating the concept of affirmation in LEA's, might lie in the suggestion that LEA's are the only source of affirmation. This is not the claim here. The focus of the research is on policy rather than the implementation of policy. One of the central claims made by the policy documents themselves, concerned the ways in which the social basis of policy either predisposed schools to endorse or reject the racial forms of education in varying degrees. This has been a consistent claim of the research literature from the early days of immigrant education policy of 1960s, to the multiculturalism and antiracism of 1970s and 1980s. For these reasons this research does not directly address the issues of implementation in schools.

SECTION 1

RESEARCH AIMS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The research into the local management of race in education had three broad aims.

1. To establish how many local education authorities had produced policy statements in the area of multicultural education.
2. To delineate the LEAs position on multicultural education.
3. To obtain copies of their policy documents on multicultural education to compare and contrast developments in their thinking and practice.

In order to realise these aims, the research initially conducted a letter survey of the 125 LEAs in the UK in 1982. The letter survey proved to be an effective and economical way of making contact with local education authorities covering a wide geographical area.

The Letter Survey: Presence and Absence of Policy

The first letter was sent to LEAs on 10th May 1982. A second reminder letter was sent on 6th July 1982. In these letters the aims of the research were outlined, along with an invitation to the LEA to participate in the research. Participation involved LEAs informing the research whether or not they had produced any policy documents on multicultural education. They were then asked to send their documents to the research. Participants were divided into the three groupings of London, Metropolitan Districts and Non-Metropolitan Districts. (This listing conforms with that of the Education Directory Annual 1981).⁽³⁾

The response rate in terms of these groupings is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1 - Response by UK LEAs to the letter survey

	No. of LEAs	No. of Responses	% Response Rate	Response to 1st letter	Response to 2nd letter
London	21	18	85.7	12	6
Metropolitan	36	33	91.7	24	9
Non-Metro politan Districts	68	59	86.8	41	18
Totals	125	110	Av. 88	77	33

Whilst the response rate was generally very high, a more detailed examination of the response of LEAs in terms of the production of policy documents proved to be superficial. A further classification of LEAs based upon the presence, intention and absence of policy became necessary. Six classification were constructed out of this method of categorisation. LEAs were classified according to whether (I) they defined themselves as having a policy; (II) presenting multicultural practices without supportive policy documents; (III) LEAs in which the development of a multicultural education policy was under consideration; (IV) LEAs without a policy but were willing to participate in recognition of the changing nature of British society; (V) LEAs who did not intend to develop a specific multicultural policy in the future; (VI) LEAs who did not wish to participate in the research. The six classifications are summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2 - Classification of the Presence, Intention
and Absence of Multicultural Policy

Groups	No.	%	Groups combined	Yes/No Policy	%
I LEAs with policy documents	36	32.7	I + II	Yes 5	49.1
II LEAs pursuing multi- cultural practice without supportive policy documents	18	16.4			
III LEAs in which policy and practice are under consideration	10	9.1	III + IV + V	No 5	42.7
IV LEAs without policy and practice but recognised the multi- cultural nature of British society	14	12.7			
V LEAs without policy documents but no future developments planned	23	20.9			
VI LEAs that declined to participate in the research	9	8.2	VI	9	8.2
TOTALS	110	100		110	100

The classification of LEAs in terms of the presence, intention and absence of policy demonstrated the distinction between the policy and practice of education authorities. The six classifications were not arbitrary. They emerged out of the letter responses and represent definitions given by LEAs themselves of the stage which their policy or thinking had reached. The use of the term 'policy' was respondent-led and consistent with how LEAs defined their policy in multicultural education. Thus the term 'policy', refers to documents internally produced by different groups within the LEA, approved by the chief education officer and sent to the research for examination.

The six different types of responses by LEAs in Table 2, illuminates the position of the 36 LEAs with policy documents. The six classifications proved important for isolating subtle differences in the response of LEAs. However, the aggregate response indicated that the majority of LEAs did not possess a policy or practices in multicultural education. For example, the total survey population showed that the 36 LEAs which comprised those with policy and practice in the field was only 28% of the total survey population and 32.7% of all respondents. Further breakdown of LEAs in terms of their administrative groupings amplifies the regional distribution of policy documents between LEAs in London, Metropolitan Districts and Non-Metropolitan Districts. The 21 LEAs in the London area accounted for 7 policy documents. Of the 36 LEAs in the Metropolitan Districts, 16 had policy documents. While in the Non-Metropolitan Districts, only 13 out of 68 LEAs had multicultural policy documents.

From this overview, it can be seen that the letter survey did not classify content or issues. Further analysis of content and issues would be necessary. An analysis of thematic content of policy documents is necessary to provide critical indicators of the context, content, social basis of multiculturalism's pedagogic message in the management of race. This is not to suggest that the preliminary overview of the responses was unimportant. On the contrary, the letter survey signified the position of the 36 LEAs with policy documents. Furthermore, it identified the unwillingness of LEAs to commit themselves to developing multicultural education initiatives if they did not perceive themselves as having a 'racial' or 'ethnic' problem in their area. This was determined by the presence of children of 'immigrant stocks'. The identification of this perception in the letter survey also informed the underlying motivation to develop policy.

It is this prevalent motivational theme that provides the rationale, in this analysis, for focusing on the documents in detail rather than the letter survey. It is through the analysis of policy documents that the concept of affirmation

will be substantiated. The documents were read and their content categorised on the basis of the modalities of affirmation. The two modalities involve the endorsement of the national context of policy and the management of generalised disaffection. These modalities of affirmation are regulated by the implicit and explicit conception of presence and absence of racially and culturally distinct minorities in LEAs.

The Concept of Affirmation

Affirmation involves the systematic institutionalisation of a mode of conception, administrative arrangements and regularisation of certain educational policies and practice which addresses pupils racially and ethnically categorised. Affirmation appears to be a positive educational response to what are defined as the problems and needs of children from racial and ethnic minorities. The modalities of affirmation that are exhibited in the policy documents of LEAs reflect four dominant concerns.

1. Endorsement of National Policy

This chapter will distinguish four modes of appropriation of the national publications by LEAs to provide the basis of their policy. In the first mode, the provision of information is central. In the second mode, official documents are used to legitimate LEA practice. In the third mode, existing practices are rendered problematic. Finally in the fourth mode, official publications provide the justification for restructuring LEA policy.

2. The second modality of affirmation is concerned with the containment of generalised disaffection. This involves recognition of the problems posed by immigrants of colour and the response of indigenous white groups. The level of policy activity deemed necessary by LEAs was based upon the density of ethnic/racial minority concentration. Thus, the issues raised by the type of immigration, their numbers and concentration informs the national context of policy.

SECTION 2

THE NATIONAL CONTEXT OF POLICY

Introduction

The large number of documents produced by the thirty-six LEAs form the basis of this overview, and cover a broad legislative span of other official activity. Against this legislative background LEAs utilise the issues raised by the local and national concerns of racial policy and practice. The influence exerted by the national context of race relations, is represented in the timing of local policy, the number of policy documents produced and in the specific modes of appropriation of national publications.

The national publications were appropriated by LEAs to justify their particular approach to multiculturalism. The national phase of policy production in the 1960s was optimistic about the future of long term assimilation. Once the culture shock and the general problems of adjusting to a new environment could be overcome, English language teaching was the main policy instrument to deal with the 'problem' of coloured immigrant children. This was the ethos of national policy which structured the engagement of LEAs with large numbers of immigrants in their areas. These will be discussed in turn.

The national context of race relations can be said to have evolved two dominant representations of young coloured immigrants particularly those of Afro-Caribbean origin. The first representation is of them as a socially disruptive force. The second is that of a group, in the words of the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1968-69), suffering from a 'complex of disabilities'. These range from 'culture shock', associated with adjustment to a new environment, racial prejudice, social deprivation and problems internally generated by the community itself. These are problems associated with weak family structures and weak ancestral culture.

The Report on the problem of coloured school leavers endorsed the position held by the Community Relations Commission when it stated that a:

"complex of disabilities to which social deprivation, deficiencies in education, psychological stress, racial prejudice all contribute ... it is the impact of this complex of disabilities as a whole which puts the young coloured person in general at a disadvantage compared with other school leavers when they face making a start in their careers and adult life." (HMSO, 1969:15)

These two representations of young coloureds as a socially disruptive force and a group suffering a complex of disabilities are fused in an overall concept of social disadvantage. This homogenising concept of disadvantage has been the central directing principle in official reports, which emphasised the need for policy to arrest alienation, disillusionment and disaffection among young people of West Indian origin (CRE, 1976:11). The eruption of riots in 1980s precipitated LEA educational policies and programmes to address the issue of disadvantage in order to integrate young people of Afro-Caribbean origin into mainstream society.

LEAs Response to the National Context

The different ways in which LEAs responded to legislation and official reports on race and education and the orientation of their multicultural education which followed, have been influenced by the changing ethos and organisational features of race relations and conceptual shifts in their educational arrangement. References to other official reports by LEAs highlight two phases in LEA policy formulation and practice. The early phase - Immigrant - multiracial phase, and the second phase, the multicultural/anti-racist phase will be discussed below. These two phases reflected the most active periods of policy formulation.

In the early phase of policy, in the larger education authorities (i.e. ILEA, Bradford, Manchester and Avon), the terms immigrants and newcomers were used permissively in the

explanation of educational cause and effect or in describing outcomes. In an early ILEA document entitled The Education of Immigrants in Primary Schools (1967) produced by members of the School Psychological Service, both these terms (immigrants and newcomers) were used liberally. They conferred concepts of cultural and racial externality to English culture. Referring to the number of Afro-Caribbean children in ILEA schools, the document warned against the 'temptation in considering figures such as these to speak of the immigrant "problem"'.⁽⁴⁾ It went on to justify the nature of the Black "problem" by asserting that:

"It is natural that many teachers and social workers should see it as such, but excessive use of this would in this context conceal the qualifications to which it must always be subject." (5)

These problems had to do with culture shock and newness which would disappear with length of stay. Despite these problems, there were, the document noted, some positive advantages to be gained from a multiracial school, 'it can be in itself an education to all its pupils in racial toleration and in the diversity of human cultures ...'⁽⁶⁾ This qualification aside, the paper went on to argue that:

"It would be foolish, however, if the warm sympathy felt for the newcomers in our midst led to a denial that many of them have problems and, for this reason are problems to the schools that often welcome them so generously in their growing numbers." (7)

In 1977 (the date designated by the ILEA as representing the decisive development and re-orientation of its policy), the production of Multi-Ethnic Education, an attempt was being made to depoliticise the conflict inherent in the term 'immigrant'. The term 'immigrant' was replaced by 'ethnic minority'. Its use reflected the desire to neutralise the politicisation of the 'immigrant and numbers debate' and normalise cultural and racial difference. The emerging multiethnic code to which the document gave rise concentrated on removing the explicit problem perspective from

the management of race relations via education. The second sentence of the document stated its case for the shift:

"Throughout our history, London, like other great cities, has been inhabited by people of many different ethnic origins and has benefitted economically and culturally from this." (8)

The document however admitted to the difficulty of prolonged colour assimilation. In the earlier document, the factors which were thought to hamper assimilation were purely naturalistic; factors which would disappear with time once adequate measures had been implemented. These factors included: the newness of English education and culture; lack of, or insufficient and inadequate English; and emotional instability caused by 'culture shock'.⁽⁹⁾ All these symptoms, it was thought, would naturally disappear when immigrant children became fully assimilated into the English way of life and culture.

In contrast to the earlier work, the framework for discussion in Multi-Ethnic Education (1977) was less evolutionary and assimilation was not taken for granted. The background for the discussion was now based on the potential eruption of social disquiet among ethnic minorities. The document warned against 'low expectations and aspirations, and lack of confidence in the education system which itself appears not fully to take advantage of the vitality and richness to be derived from a multicultural society.'⁽¹⁰⁾ Integration was not automatic, but had to be legislated for within the framework of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act. In the 'Progress Report' (1979), which attempted to evaluate the performance of the 1977 document, the term 'discrimination' had been replaced with the consideration of the need to provide 'positive teaching against racism'.⁽¹¹⁾

Further attempts to rethink and re-examine its multi-ethnic policy, led ILEA to formulate the Draft Document Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools (ILEA 2248, 1982). In this, racism was the background against which educational strategies had

to be assessed:

"Whereas other immigrant groups had, within a generation or two, the choice of whether to be assimilated or remain culturally distinct, Black people had no such choice; they remained culturally identifiable. Their children - the Black British school pupils - remain so." (12)

This awareness forced authorities like ILEA to restructure new forms of social interaction between different racial cultural groups. As a consequence there was a shift from an implicit racial frame to an explicit multicultural frame and the recognition that part of the responsibility and prevention of social disorder laid in the realisation that racism is a socially pertinent force in maintaining social disadvantage.

Explicit multiculturalism stressed the contribution to English culture and economic structure made by ethnic minority groups. This objective was formulated by Manchester as follows:

"... the recognition of the contribution to the life of the city of incoming groups of people. Throughout its history, Manchester had been strengthened economically, socially, culturally by the settlement of groups of migrants ... It is important that all our children grow up recognising this fact." (13)

In order to popularise this conception, some LEAs had to manufacture a changed conception of the educational requirements and arrangement for Black pupils. The educational ideology of multi-ethnicism and multiculturalism had to articulate more than E2L training, and the assimilation of a homogenised British culture; it had to be more than integration down a one-way street to Englishness. Hence in a large proportion of the documents, the emerging conception of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicism addressed the issue of cultural diversity, social justice and equality of opportunity. Cultural diversity was to be the valid educational objective. Indeed, these documents represented a struggle over the definition and meaning of multi-culturalism

and multi-ethnicism, and the meaning of schooling for Britain's Afro-Caribbean pupils. Pragmatism was located in the positive endorsement of the Black presence and the need to create policies that would manage, not only black disaffection, but also white intolerance.

Manchester's advocacy of a model of cultural diversity based on 'the recognition of the contribution made to the life of the city of incoming groups of people was aimed at also containing white intolerance. Children should grow up recognising this fact. The ethos of cultural diversity in the education service was felt to be imperative in Manchester because of the growing National Front activity in the area. As early as 1978, the authority acknowledged how the tensions generated by the national context of race relations made it difficult for the authority to promote the acceptance of cultural diversity. In the statement 'Multicultural Education in Schools', the authority recalled the growing political debate on immigration and its role in undermining the authority's attempt to normalise multicultural education. The report expressed difficulty thus:

"It has to be acknowledged that the nature of parts of the current national debate and events beyond the scope of the education service are not at present helping schools to evolve good multicultural teaching." (Multicultural Education in Schools, March 1978)

LEAs acknowledgement of the impact of the national climate of race relations, made them also susceptible to formulating a policy that roughly coincided with the climate generated by race relations.

Thus the pragmatic confirmation of national policy gained additional impetus after the riots in 1981. A larger number of LEAs than hitherto, were forced to produce multicultural educational initiative for the first time, or to sharpen existing conceptions and redirect practice in the field. Multiculturalism became the condition of action through which LEAs would restate their efforts to stem generalised disaffection. Different strategies were adopted in reaction

to the national context.

The Timing and Referencing of Policy in LEAs

The national publications cited by LEAs demonstrated the extent to which national state sponsored discourse not only contextualised the thinking of LEAs, but also affected the timing of policy formulation at the local level. While LEAs covering large conurbations had produced policy documents during the 1970s (ILEA, Liverpool, Bradford, Manchester, and Birmingham), the research disclosed that the beginning of the 1980s was the most significant time in terms of the date when the majority of documents were produced. Of the thirty-six LEAs under consideration, nine had produced documents during the mid or late 1970s, compared with the remaining 27, produced during the early 1980s. (See Appendix 1).

The content analysis of LEAs policy documents further revealed that LEAs cited national publications that covered the assimilationist period of the 1960s and the explicit multiculturalist and antiracist period of the mid 1970s to the early 1980s. For example, Bradford⁽¹⁴⁾ in a historical review of the development of its policy and practice cited the DES Circular 7/65,⁽¹⁵⁾ to have significantly shaped, enhanced, and legitimated its dispersal policy, the policy par excellence of the assimilationist period. The ILEA⁽¹⁶⁾ made reference to the three Select Committee Reports in 1969, 1973, and 1977 on the Education of the West Indian Community.⁽¹⁷⁾ In Liverpool⁽¹⁸⁾ the Select Committee Report (1968) detailing 'The Problems of Coloured School Leavers'⁽¹⁹⁾ stated that the report had a contributory impact on the conditioning of its multiracial educational concerns. Walsall⁽²⁰⁾, although it had produced an elaborate policy statement in 1982, stated that it had produced policy documents in 1974 that were influenced by the two DES Reports in 1971 and 1972.⁽²¹⁾

All these reports collectively vacillated between constructing Afro Caribbean culture and home as sites of pathology and the need to equalize of social opportunities

through the racial affirmation of education. They maintained this duality by containing both benign expectations of long term assimilation with the need for stability and order in the face of the growing moral panic about race. The launching of Powellism, with its characterisation of the "enemies within" to symbolise the Black presence in 1968 ensured an underlying ambivalence in these reports.

It was the need to secure stability and order that forced official acknowledgement of the discontinuities between the ambitions of assimilation and the volatile nature of race relations. These official reports of the mid 1970s and the early 1980s began increasingly to focus on anti-discriminatory and equal opportunities principles and strategies. The redirection of policy along the lines of antidiscrimination and equal opportunities, influenced the development of policy in the same LEAs. The main reports that influenced LEAs during this period included the Race Relations Act⁽²²⁾, The Bullock Report⁽²³⁾, The Rampton Report⁽²⁴⁾, The Scarman Inquiry⁽²⁵⁾, The Select Committee Reports and the DES Circular No.6/81.⁽²⁶⁾

Among those LEAs that had produced documents in the late 1970s, the Race Relations Act or the CRE Document on the Educational Implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act were identified as forming part of the contextualisation of their policy. Among the sixteen LEAs which had responded to the Act, four had produced policy statements soon after its appearance on the Statute Book (Haringey⁽²⁷⁾, ILEA⁽²⁸⁾, Trafford⁽²⁹⁾, and Manchester⁽³⁰⁾). The remaining twelve still referred to its influence when they produced their statements during the early 1980s. The Race Relations Act and the Rampton Report stood out as the two most frequently mentioned in official reports by LEAs.

The Rampton Report was cited most frequently as the race relations and educational report to have precipitated a review of curricula practice in education authorities. As a consequence of the report, circulars were sent to headteachers

requiring them to submit to their education department the curricular aims of their school and to take issue with Rampton's observation on issues, such as teacher expectation, mono-ethnic curricula and underachievement. This response was characteristic of Birmingham LEA⁽³¹⁾ which circulated the recommendations of Rampton and asked schools to compare their policy and practice against it.

Other LEAs engaged with Rampton at the level of its conception of racism - 'intentional' and 'unintentional' - in British schools and society - conditioning and containing the school performance of West Indian pupils (Nottinghamshire⁽³²⁾, Birmingham⁽³³⁾, Waltham Forest⁽³⁴⁾, and Walsall⁽³⁵⁾). According to the sixteen LEAs that referred to it, the Report had sharpened the direction of their policy. In this context it was used to justify the extension of their multicultural education package.

Another official government report that formed part of the contextualisation of official LEA thinking on racial policy and practice was the Scarman Report. The report was mentioned as a source of legitimation through which LEAs judged, justified, and measured their appraisal of the racial and social issues in Britain.⁽³⁶⁾ Scarman was mentioned specifically by four LEAs. Although other LEAs did not mention Scarman specifically, they nonetheless referred to the events which gave rise to it. In both cases the report was used to confer explanatory and evaluative significance of the LEAs' understanding of the problems, issues, needs, and solutions to which Scarman gave rise. It is therefore against the background of the increased politicisation of race at the beginning of the 1980s and the spread of disaffection among Black youth, that a number of LEAs produced multicultural/anti-racist guidelines for the first time. Other LEAs with existing policy documents used the opportunity to restate commitment and to sharpen and redirect practice.

A few London and Metropolitan education authorities produced documents over the whole period (mid 1970s, early

1980s). Non-metropolitan education authorities, with the exception of Strathclyde and the Western Isles, produced their documents during the early 1980s. (Appendix A). It would appear, as suggested earlier, that the education authorities that produced documents in the 1980s were responding to a number of national developments, including the 1980/81 'riots', and the growing national debate on multicultural education to which the Rampton Report had given renewed urgency.

The profile of production that emerged, placed the London and Metropolitan education authorities at the forefront of developing policy and practice in the field of multicultural education with the Non-Metropolitan authorities at the tail end of the initiative. In contrast, some of the Non-Metropolitan education authorities, who may have had policy and practice provisions, particularly in relation to E2L, entered the debate in the Eighties where many London and Metropolitan education authorities left it in the late 1970s. Others entered the debate through a concentration on one particular issue such as mother-tongue teaching, an issue of increasing significance among Northern authorities with large Asian populations. In a climate of political uncertainty over race relations, LEAs began to either increase their output of policy statement or to seize the opportunity and develop policy statements for the first time. The number of documents produced reflect this reassessment of racial policy and practice in education.

As well as reports reflecting the general state of race relations, four other reports specially designed to discuss issues that surround the school curriculum and aspects of its multiculturalisation have also figured prominently in the policy statements. They are the Bullock Report (1975), the DES's The School Curriculum (1981), and the resultant circular 6/81, the EEC Directive on mother-tongue teaching⁽³⁷⁾, and the Rampton Report (1981).

Six LEAs made reference to the Bullock Report, eight

cited the EEC Directive, seven addressed themselves to the DES Circular (6/81) and sixteen to the Rampton Report. However, these figures should not be read as constituting the total number of LEAs that expressed concern with the issues raised in these officially sponsored production. Table 3 below illustrates the number of LEAs making specific reference to these publications. (See Appendix B)

Table 3
Influence of National Reports on the Formulation of Local Policy Documents

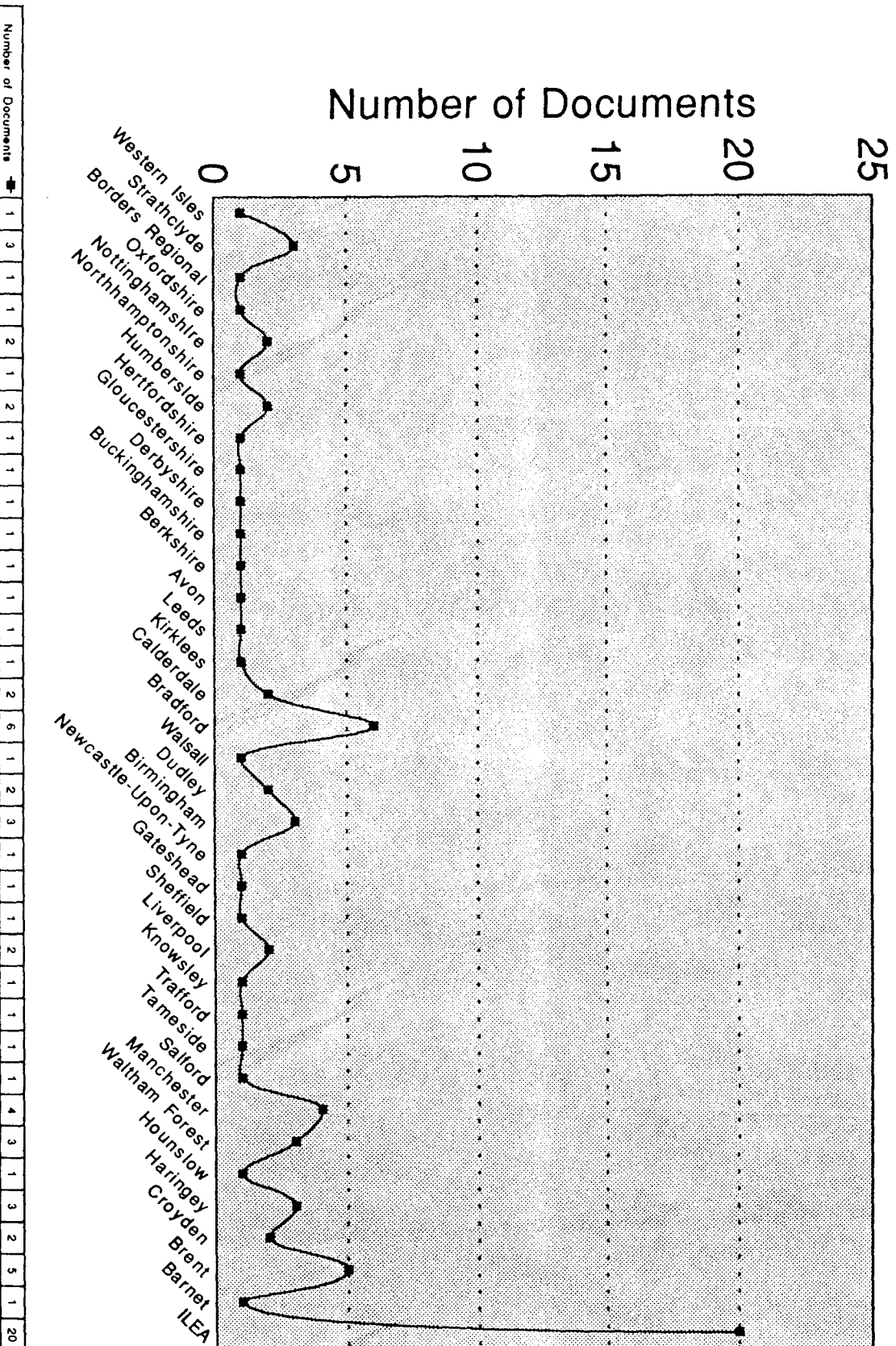
	Participating authorities	Bullock Report 1975	Race Relations Act 1976	Scarman Report 1981	Rampton Report 1982	DES Circular 6/81	EEC Directive 7/77
London	18	1	5	2	4	2	1
Metropolitan	16	3	8	1	6	4	3
Non-Metropolitan	13	2	3	1	6	1	4
TOTAL	36	6	16	4	16	7	8

3. The number of documents produced

The relationship that has been established between the early creation of policy and responsiveness to new trends in multicultural education can be generally compared to the number of documents produced by different education authorities. In 1982, the thirty-six LEAs participating in the Research, together produced 81 policy and review papers reflecting different aspects of their thinking and practice. (Appendix C). From this overall total of 81 documents, ILEA produced at least twenty documents. Bradford featured second with six documents, and Brent third with five. The examination of the documents in terms of numbers produced, demonstrates that London and Metropolitan authorities had formulated more policy and review statements than Non-Metropolitan authorities. The picture that emerged from the attempt to quantify the documents suggests that London and Metropolitan education authorities produced a large number of documents covering a longer period of time. The quantity of documents produced, appeared to relate to the emergence of new issues and changes in direction of policy. This was less typical of those Non-metropolitan authorities who had mainly embarked on policy production in the late 1970s and early 1980s. years. They usually had only produced one main document reflecting persistent and orthodox themes such as E2L, cultural disadvantage, and cultural tolerance. Others produced leading documents that were linked directly to an issue of specific cultural relevance to one minority group - such as mother-tongue teaching. The multicultural focus then of a large number of Non-Metropolitan authorities was generally less broad than that of the London and Metropolitan education authorities.

The number of documents produced are summarised in Table 4 below.

Number Of Documents Produced By LEA's



Conclusion

The section focused upon the formation and development of racial policy and practice in the 36 LEAs which produced policy and practice to account for the presence of racial and ethnic minorities in their schools. This analysis showed that local racial policy and practice initiatives were reactive responses to the national context of race relations with its emphasis on the problems that children of colour present for the education system. This representation was present in both the immigrant multiracial phase of policy and the multicultural antiracist phase of policy. The representation of pathology and the maintenance of stability are seen as providing the motivation for the modalities affirmation of racial forms of education. The institutional focus for the national context of race relations was expressed through the timing of policy formulation in LEAs, the number of documents produced and the endorsement of national race and education publications.

In section 3, attempts will be made to show how different modes of appropriation of national publications are selected by LEAs. The section will also examine the extent to which the character and density of Black pupils affects LEAs modes of appropriation and their sense of dealing with generalised disaffection.

SECTION 3

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF MULTICULTURALISM AND GENERALISED DISAFFECTION

It is argued in this section that state sponsored discourse in race and education is strategically placed to communicate its central message. The way in which the affirmation of the pedagogic message of race is transmitted in LEAs is through their appropriation of national publications in race and education. The mode of appropriation is shaped by the character and density of Black pupils and their perceived disaffection from the education system. Thus,

the presence and density of a Black school population are incorporated into the conceptual and organizational features of the framing of the pedagogic message to be disseminated in multiculturalism. The first part of this section distinguishes four modes of appropriation. The second part of this section addresses the implicit and explicit role of race in the framing of the pedagogic practice of multiculturalism and its role in containing disaffection.

Forms of appropriation

In spite of the very general way in which LEAs appropriated official reports, the following four classificatory categories characterise the modes of appropriation by LEAs:

- (i) Information
- (ii) Legitimation
- (iii) Problematisation
- (iv) Restructuring

(i) Information

This category consists of those LEAs (see Appendix D) that had conceptualised their responsibility in relation to the Race Relations Act (1971) to be that of instructor on issues of race and education. Some authorities in this category were cautious not to impinge upon what they described as the autonomy of the school. The overriding reason for this 'calculation' appeared to be that if they took too strident and forceful a position in relation to race and education, many schools and teachers would react unsympathetically to the policy. In response to the Act, some education authorities sent out circulars containing the relevant sections of the Act. The reason given by these LEAs for issuing such a circular was based on their desire to keep within the law and to inform all those working in their education service how the Act might affect the educational provision for ethnic minorities. The circulars of Trafford and Knowsley typify this form of appropriation. Trafford gave an entirely procedural account of the Act to all principals, headteachers,

and teachers in the education service. It offered no guidance as to how educational practice should be changed, or a critical assessment of their policy and practice or lack of it in relation to the Act. Indeed from reading the circular, there was no indication of what actually constituted the policy and practice of Trafford. So the circular took on the form of alerting schools to the existence of the Act rather than advising schools on how they could use the Act. Its presentation was such that it remained separated from the subject matter of what is traditionally regarded as representing active policy and practice in the field.

Knowsley's policy document exhibited a tendency towards giving information but, unlike the passive response of Trafford, required some action after the release of its circular. Following its education committee's discussion of the Implications of Section 71, a directive was sent to governing bodies informing them of the recommendation that LEAs should institutionalise multicultural education and their obligations under the Act. The directive requested them to suggest proposals for the implementation of multicultural education. Often these circulars did not contain any critical or evaluative reflection of how LEAs' existing policy and practice functioned before the Act, or how past policy and practice might be altered as a consequence of the Act. The possibility of the Act correcting any ill-conceived or racially ambivalent practices in their education service and their conception of multiculturalism was not part of their appropriation of the Act. It would appear that LEAs in this information category were more preoccupied by the state of race relations, hence their concentration on a report that deals more with the broader context of race relations than with education.

In this category only one LEA, Croydon, made reference to an educational report. The EEC Directive was referred to particularly in relation to mother-tongue teaching. The LEA was less willing to offer suggestions with regard to the implementation of mother-tongue teaching in its

schools. Attention instead was drawn to the existence of the Act and the limited support for mother-tongue teaching provided by Croydon.

(ii) Legitimation

In this mode of appropriation, LEAs described the relationship between the official response and their endorsement of it to be more a matter of correspondence. In this category, LEAs suggest that national official policy eventually caught up with pre-existing local practice. In this sense they were happy to legitimate the national context. This was largely the view of London and the Metropolitan authorities (see Appendix D).

The ILEA utilised the Race Relation Act in an all-embracing way. It provided the official framework within which ILEA legitimated the anti-discriminatory ideals enshrined in its Multi-Ethnic Education Document in 1977, which was further elaborated in its Progress Report of 1979. Both Manchester⁽³⁸⁾ and Leeds⁽³⁹⁾ addressed the significance of the Act in making LEAs evaluate and examine their policy and practice for their possible discriminatory consequences. The majority of LEAs in this category, felt that their policy had always been devoted to anti-discriminatory objectives. In Derbyshire⁽⁴⁰⁾, a non-Metropolitan authority, the Race Relations Act was mentioned as part of the background relating to ethnic minorities, against which the report attempted to substantiate its own production of a policy statement. The Act was used to endorse the Authority's knowledge of the arguments involved in the Act.

These four examples demonstrate the ability of LEAs to avoid identifying practices which the Act would negate in their own authority. Discussion of the Act remained at the level of exhortations and did not extend to the content of institutional practice. Thus the Act, according to the ILEA, had 'given legislative backing to the long standing general duty of all authorities to meet the needs of the entire population', and had given the education authority the

opportunity to give examples of its attempt to 'achieve equality of educational opportunity'.⁽⁴¹⁾ Manchester also made similar observations. It gave official endorsement to the CRE's document, Educational Implementation of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act, and the Act itself for giving 'statutory force to the promotion of good race relations'⁽⁴²⁾, which, it claimed, the authority had always promoted.

In general then, the Act and CRE document were seen as re-affirming existing practice rather than a critical engagement with it. It is again interesting to note that the reports specifically on education occupied less time in LEAs policy documents than the reports that were concerned with the broad context of race relations. The reports on education which LEAs in this category refer to were the EEC Directive and the Bullock Report. They signify the interventions LEAs were making in relation to mother-tongue provision. These reports also provided the rationale for further developments (Nottinghamshire⁽⁴³⁾ and Derbyshire⁽⁴⁴⁾). The DES document, 'The School Curriculum', produced a similar response. The report was simply endorsed to legitimate LEA's accent on promoting cultural diversity. (Croydon⁽⁴⁵⁾, Newcastle-upon-Tyne⁽⁴⁶⁾, and Birmingham⁽⁴⁷⁾).

(iii) Problematisation

In this group some education authorities were more willing to use official articulations to structure provision for the first time and to question existing conception and practice. Authorities in this group attempted to be more developmental in their approach. They appeared conscious of the opportunity open to them to establish multicultural programmes where none existed, set standards by developing an adequate conception and practice in the field of multicultural education.

These LEAs utilised the Act and CRE document to provide the rationale for creating certain provisions. For example Calderdale⁽⁴⁸⁾, as a consequence of the Act, established a resource centre for multicultural education.

Such a centre, it was argued, complied with the CRE's suggestion that:

"Aims for the curriculum should include the preparation of young people for life in a multiracial society and promotion of good race relations. The responsibilities of local authorities ... could best be exercised in terms of support for existing initiatives, the dissemination of good practice and the stimulation of new ideas. In practical terms, this will involve the development of in-service teacher courses, the appointment of specialist staff, and the provision of adequate resources." (49)

Again, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne⁽⁵⁰⁾ a working party was set up to discuss recommendations around the school curriculum and the promotion of racial harmony as a result of the CRE document.

In contrast, Borders Regional Council used the CRE discussion to heighten the more contentious ideological problem concerning the racial specificity of multiculturalism. Referring to the CRE booklet, the Religious Education Adviser had this to say:

"Doubtless the reaction of many within the Borders Region to this booklet would be that it can have no relevance for our Region since the multicultural element in the Borders is virtually nil."

The statement went on to contradict this assumption:

"Children in the Borders are not being educated merely for life in the Borders, but for life in society, in Britain, which, in our time, is a multi-racial/multi-cultural society; this fact is brought to the notice of our children through television, through their reading of the newspapers and in many cases through travel ..." (51)

For authorities, such as Borders Regional Council which had recently entered the debate on multiculturalism, there was an eagerness to avoid some of the limitations and tension in multiculturalism that authorities with a longer history of multicultural practice were wrestling with.

(iv) Restructuring

In this category all LEAs in London, Metropolitan and non-Metropolitan focused their concern on the threat to public

order that gave occasion to the Scarman Report. Against this background some reassessment of policy took place. The problem of social and economic disadvantage provided renewed motivation to extend services that had already been developed for ethnic minorities. Multiculturalism in this category was given a social preventive role. Kirklees, for example, consciously introduced its discussion of multicultural education against the background of the escalation of protest by ethnic minority groups in 1981.

"The Bristol St. Paul's incident was the major instance of protest by the ethnic minority communities. The Working Party has since concluded its discussions under the shadow of sporadic outbursts of violence in Brixton, Toxteth and elsewhere, even on a relatively minor scale in Huddersfield." (52)

The statement claimed that 'it would be prudent to take positive steps to eliminate potential sources of dissent.'⁽⁵³⁾ Kirklees' policy statement was conditioned by preventive considerations.

Similarly, Leeds addressed itself to what it described as 'a major concern at national level', sharpened by the events of 1981.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Against this background, it argued for a multicultural intervention throughout the authority's education service. In Haringey⁽⁵⁵⁾ and Croydon⁽⁵⁶⁾, the Race Relations Act provided the rationale for the formulation of anti-racist guidelines for schools, which was aimed at counteracting racist activities by certain groups in schools. These authorities focused on the clause which made illegal the incitement to racial hatred, by publication and distribution of written matter, threatening, abusive and insulting behaviour likely to stir up racial hatred against a particular group. Haringey justified use of the Act in this way, by claiming⁽⁵⁷⁾ that its existence further ratified 'the declared policy of the Borough Council to represent all people regardless of their racial origin, colour or religion.'⁽⁵⁸⁾ Of the four LEAs that mentioned the Scarman Report by name in their text (Sheffield, ILEA, Hounslow, and Gloucestershire) only the ILEA⁽⁵⁹⁾ referred to it in terms of the special

recommendation it made to education.

In identifying the different modes of appropriation of national publications by LEAs, certain inferences can be made regarding the multicultural focus which corresponds to the different modes of appropriation. The four forms of appropriation of official reports gives rise to a pedagogic focus. The pedagogic focus influenced the multicultural strategy that followed from the information group of LEAs and was directed towards the attempted suppression and the neutralisation of difference. The over-riding educational concern of this group was on the transmission of English language training and English culture. The educational focus of LEAs in this group was assimilationist.

The legitimisation group of LEAs adopted a strategy based on the endorsement and legitimisation of official reports. The educational focus of this group centred around the issue of underachievement and the social and cultural factors attributable to it such as poor self-image. The mild form of multiculturalism that resulted from this group concentrated on injecting examples of the cultural artifacts from the dominant minority groups in the school and the curriculum. In this approach, E2L is central.

LEAs that used official reports to problematise race and educational issues reviewed old conceptions and practices and institutionalised new strategies. LEAs in this category were moving towards a model of conflict which emphasised its origins in social disadvantage rather than its cultural difference. They mounted arguments for making multicultural education and the practices associated with it, part of mainstream education, instead of its marginal confinement to minority group pupils. LEAs that came under this category developed anti-racist education and a more extensive resource-based multicultural curriculum.

The recognition that social order was at stake provided added impetus for LEAs in the restructuring category

to make recommendations for the extension and refinement of existing policy. In addition, the expression of racial disorder led those LEAs to articulate a connective relationship between social disadvantage and the corrective intervention of a multicultural education policy, like LEAs in the legitimisation category. In this context multiculturalism was necessary in order to formulate a higher order of consensus between Black and White in which militant Black resistance would have no part. This would involve heightening Black cultural representations in the school curriculum as a basis on which equality of opportunity could be constructed. Thus the different forms of appropriation emerged with varying degrees of effectivity in the affirmation of the racialised milieu in which conception and practice operate.

The underdetermination of race in the conception and practice of multiculturalism was such that even the small number of LEAs who were developing policy and practice that would work towards dismantling the racial marginalisation of multicultural education, admitted, alongside other LEAs that its racial affirmation was responsible for the uneven development of multicultural education (mainly confined to schools with minority pupils). These LEAs were caught up in this dominant contextualisation which formed the social basis for framing the pedagogic practice of multiculturalism.

The Racial Framing of Pedagogic Practice

The settlement of different cultural and racial minorities in LEAs provided the social basis for the racial framing of pedagogic practice in multicultural education. Education authorities have different conceptions of how the presence of Black pupils should shape the organisation of the school. These different conceptions gave rise to two divergent orientations to the racial framing of policy. These two orientations are defined as implicit racial framing of policy and explicit multicultural framing of policy. The aim here is to focus on the ways in which the themes of numbers and concentration are communicated in these two diverging racial

frames of the pedagogic practice of multiculturalism.

1. Implicit racial frame

In this framework there is a transposition of the concept of multiculturalism. It does not involve an analysis of the school environment with the objective of changing it to reflect other cultures. Instead, cultural and racial presence are viewed as divisive and can characterise fears of social dysfunction. Viewed in this way multiculturalism was directed to the transmission and assimilation of the English language and English values. In essence it is not a multicultural orientation but rather an extension of an aspect of the school's traditional function aimed at the groups concerned.

In its statement to the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Tameside Metropolitan Borough⁽⁶⁰⁾ justified the underlying and limited basis of its racial policy and practice in education in terms of the 'relatively small percentage of children from ethnic minority groups receiving full-time education in its schools.'⁽⁶¹⁾ Given this 'relatively small percentage, the Authority's policy has been to support specific schools with ethnic minority populations directly.' Thus:

"the Authority's policy has been consistently to provide a strong and effective support service to schools commensurate with the special needs dictated by the presence of children of ethnic minority groups in its schools ... In certain schools, the percentage of ethnic minority children is relatively high and the particular problems of these schools are met by the employment of additional teachers at the schools concerned." (62)

The statement went on to express the view that:

"the education of children of ethnic minority groups is bedeviled by a complex range of value judgements and social and economic factors, not all of which are relevant to the needs of children themselves."

and for that reason, 'discussion of many of the issues surrounding the needs of ethnic minority groups has

deliberately been avoided.' Simply, the Authority's 'philosophy' was directed by what it considered to be a number of essentially pragmatic and practical considerations. These had to do with the needs of qualified personnel servicing the minority communities, knowledge of the service they provided, and the ways in which these services can act within 'the limits imposed by prevailing economic circumstances.'⁽⁶³⁾ The small percentage of ethnic minority groups and their attendance at few Tameside schools provided the rationale for the continuation of the education authority's conceptually and administratively separate multicultural education ideology. Racial particularity and local conditions dictated the recruitment of an 'Ethnic Minorities Officer' designated to 'Visit libraries at schools known to have children in ethnic minority groups.'⁽⁶⁴⁾

Similarly, the discussion of 'numbers' and concentrations formed the operative variable in Buckinghamshire's conception and formulation of multicultural education practice.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the Interim Report of its Ethnic Minorities Working Group the emphasis was on the Afro-Caribbean and Asian groups.⁽⁶⁶⁾ These two groups posed the most problems for the education authority. The framework for discussion was 'the "formidable" linguistic difficulties encountered by schools with ethnic minority groups, particularly Asians.'⁽⁶⁷⁾ In spite of the 'communication problems which arise, particularly with Asian parents', integration was still the Authority's fundamental objective, even though it was operating in the face of 'resistance of some Asian families to the British way of life, particularly in relation to their wives and daughters.'⁽⁶⁸⁾

Another example of the spasmodic approach came from Knowsley Education Authority.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Education Authority stated its position accordingly:

"When multicultural problems arise they are dealt with at the time, rather than specific issues introduced as a regular part of the curriculum. The point is also made quite frequently that the number of pupils in Knowsley schools from ethnic minorities is very small and therefore

there is not thought to be a real problem." (70)

In Hertfordshire⁽⁷¹⁾ linguistic problems generated by the 'influx of new immigrants' precipitated the Authority's limited incursion into multiculturalism. For the Authority, linguistic difficulties impeded integration. Levels of integration, it noted, varied 'considerably', depending on whether or not children 'were born in this country to parents whose command of English is good and who have integrated well into English society.'⁽⁷²⁾ These children, the statement said, could be 'expected to settle at school without any particular problem.' While the statement argued that the 'needs of a school with a substantial ethnic contingent is apparent', the focus of the Education Authority's policy was to sift out schools and support them in dealing with 'immigrant contingents'.

The racial frame unambiguously links the formulation of multicultural policy and practice with the presence of Black groups and the problems they are expected to generate. This had the effect of creating separate administrative structures in which the evaluative criteria of their performance also becomes marginalised and judged in terms of the ethnic features of those groups concerned. Neither the methodology nor the techniques of language transition were questioned in any of the policy documents. Instead, attention was directed to what was described as the cultural features of the group, which constrained the integration process.

2. Explicit multicultural frame

The development and extension of multicultural activities in 1980s was in part a recognition of the social dysfunctions of racial prejudice enshrined in the 1976 Race Relations Act and the need to depoliticise racial identification of policy. Instead of polarising racial and cultural difference, some education authorities began to look for an educational framework in which cultural and racial difference could be contained and depoliticised. For some LEAs

this required more than idealistic assertions on the theme of cultural tolerance. Multiculturalism, they argued, had to have a material basis, it had to be worked for. This was best achieved by restructuring the curriculum and absorbing new definitions of knowledge. Multiculturalism in the curriculum was to be given a new visibility. The view that British society was now multiracial and schools should reflect cultural pluralism was to become the new common sense.

LEAs that had moved to the category of explicit multiculturalism had produced policy statements or re-interpreted previous policy in order to re-examine and institutionalise a new basis for group relationships based upon cultural diversity. This has been justified on the basis of (i) racial/cultural equity; (ii) the prevention of cultural/racial discrimination; (iii) the prevention of alienation and the social disorder to which it gives rise; (iv) to enable Black pupils to acquire the cultural and academic standard of indigenous White pupils; and to make schools aware of the cultural basis of knowledge and therefore its role in the ultimate acquisition of cognitive skills.

Authorities such as the ILEA, Brent, Haringey, Manchester and Berkshire were moving towards differentiating ethnic minorities in terms of social class rather than simply seeing them as homogeneous cultural entities. They had come to recognise that assimilation was inadequate and perhaps more importantly schools had failed to achieve it. These LEAs began to talk more about equality of opportunity, cultural pluralism and social justice. In a sense these authorities were rediscovering the John Robinson of the Newsom Report, whom according to Sir Alec Clegg:

"had found to be both physically and socially deprived, and ... John Robinson was now black ... what we have done is build up ... a group that are conspicuous because they are a minority that has been passed over. We should not wonder if this minority sometimes shows signs of disturbance and delinquency." (DES 1975:21)

The emerging concepts of 'multiple disadvantage', or cycle of disadvantage in national reports were particularly endorsed by some LEAs with large Black populations. Their endorsement of disadvantage was not without contradictions. The very plurality of the concept made it difficult for LEAs to delineate the boundaries between general disadvantage and racially specific disadvantage.

Recognition of disadvantage thus vacillated between targeting the problem as internal to the Afro-Caribbean community, or holding the broader society partially or wholly responsible. Disadvantage reflected a number of contradictions and tensions for LEAs formulating multicultural educational policy for the first time and also for these LEAs attempting to expand and cohere their multiracial initiatives. The ambivalence was communicated in the two types of racial framing of multiculturalism. In the implicit racial frame the problems of cultural difference was conceived as a brief interlude in the process of assimilation into a universalistic culture based on the best of Western civilisation. The aim of the school in this context was to rapidly promote that assimilation.

For these LEAs this necessarily required making appropriate arrangements to meet the specific needs cultural differences generated. Thus, priority was given to (i) the transmission of linguistic skills; (ii) the support of schools with ethnic minority pupils, particularly in relation to the provision of English language teachers; and (iii) the creation of a framework to transmit cultural and social competence to ethnic minority groups in order to better assimilate them into the cultural norms of British society. Minimisation and manipulation of cultural difference along with assimilation of a dominant culture were thought to confer choice and flexibility to minority pupils, enabling them to operate effectively in the dominant culture. This formulation entailed a recognition of the power relation between cultures. Some of these LEAs upheld this as an objective recognition and not one of normative value judgement.

LEAs adopting an explicit multicultural frame, communicated their concept of disadvantage by identifying the experience of alienation and disaffection among Black youth after 1981. The explicit multicultural frame focused on the developing of and the institutionalisation of an education policy in which cultural reciprocation between different groups could be the basis of a new equity. LEAs in this frame energetically stressed the intrinsically democratic role of education and the need to extend the liberal democratic concept of education to Black groups who were increasingly the majority occupants of large numbers of inner city schools. Instead of assimilation into an homogeneous national culture, this group of LEAs were marshalling the concept of diversity as the basis for social cohesion and pluralism.

Disadvantage then was a central concept through which to communicate the presence of Black groups and to justify policy and practice. Education authorities with small or average size Black populations tended to adopt an implicit racial framing of policy in which the amelioration of disadvantage was based upon the attainment of assimilation. In contrast, education authorities with a large Black population, developed an explicit multicultural framing of policy in which the amelioration of disadvantage was focused upon legitimising diversity.

Both frames possess an assumptive base, which were authenticated by a model of actual or possible social degeneracy of the social order, generated by the Black presence. Multiculturalism failed to find a source of legitimation outside the model of social pathology associated with the Black presence. In this way, the two types of racial framing, are best seen as tendencies rather than as mutually exclusive frames. Since the affirmation of multiculturalism is linked to the Black presence, it was difficult for LEAs moving towards an explicit multicultural frame, to make multiculturalism acceptable to all white schools. The pedagogic concerns of multiculturalism also affirmed the social basis of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism thus

becomes seen as symbolic of the cultural needs of groups that are not organically British. It is this aspect of affirmation that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The concept of affirmation is important in identifying the interconnection between the national context of race relations and the production of multicultural policies at the local level. From the application of the concept of affirmation, a structure of policy and practice emerged which linked the formation of LEA policy and practice with the national context of race relations. This context generated different modalities of affirmation in response to the national context of race relations in LEAs which gave rise to difficult modes of appropriation.

The modes of appropriation were linked by the differing weight ascribed to the presence of ethnic and racial minorities in LEAs and the perceived or actual disaffection that their presence endanger. This conditioned the implicit and the explicit formulation and representation of the pedagogic practices associated with multiculturalism.

LEAs viewed the pedagogic affirmation of multiculturalism as a progressive response to the needs of racial minorities. The analysis of the policy documents by this research supports an alternative conception of affirmation. This alternative formulation views affirmation as a core feature in the ideological management of race where race is reconstituted as a source of culture. Race then becomes an educational device structuring conception and practice. The concept of racial management was revealing for it was able to show how LEAs act as institutions of policy legitimation through their appropriation of the national context of race relations. Education authorities as local state institutions, have the ability to cultivate legitimacy and are well positioned to target groups.

The capacity to cultivate legitimacy and target groups does not occur uniformly as the different modes of appropriation of the national context suggest. Affirmation of multiculturalism with the Black presence dictated that LEAs legitimated the modalities of affirmation that they perceived to be capable of containing Black disaffection and hostile white reaction by maintaining social order.

The legitimation of the national context and the power to target racially designated groups, also involved the capacity to define the parameters of educational discourse in race. Modalities of affirmation structured the parameters within which the theme of race was realised in education. This analysis identified the complex determinations of the different modalities of affirmation of race in education. In this way, it could be argued that it was the uncertain effect of the national context that generated the different local educational strategies for containing generalised disaffection. Redefining and maintaining consensus and disseminating the appropriate ideology to manage the changed racial composition of schools could not be rendered unproblematic by an appeal to cultural diversity. The contradictions and tensions in redefining educational goals to manage race and maintain consensus is the concern of the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. The chapter is based on research carried out in the Race Relations Policy and Practice Unit of the Sociological Research Unit between 1982-1985. The conceptual thrust of modalities of affirmation around which the chapter is organised, comes from my own analysis. I thankfully acknowledge the opportunity provided by Professor Chris Mullard for me to gain access to the data which informs the development of the concept of affirmation.
2. Sally Tomlinson indicated the extent of the concern generated by the riots by highlighting the number of recommendations for improving re-education of ethnic minorities put forward by the Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minorities. These numbered 81. See: "Inexplicit Policies in Race and Education in Education Policy Bulletin", Vol.9, No.2, Autumn 1981.
3. The Education Authorities Directory Annual. The School Publishing Company United, Redhill, 1981.
4. This document is useful in demonstrating the scope of change in LEA's thinking from assimilation in the 1960s to cultural pluralism (1970s) and antiracism (1980s).

ILEA (1967) The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary Schools. Report of the Working Party of Members of the Inspectorate and School Psychological Service. ILEA 959, 1967 (and July 1973) paragraph 2.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. ILEA (1977) Multi-Ethnic Education, Joint Report of the Schools Sub-Committee and the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee.
9. Ibid, p.1, para.3.
10. Ibid, p.1, para.1.
11. ILEA (1979) Multi-Ethnic Education - Progress Report. Joint Report of the Schools Sub-Committee, the Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee and the staff and General Sub-Committee, p.1, para 2.
12. ILEA (1982) Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools, RS 839/82, p.1 para 2.
Ibid, p.4.

13. Manchester, Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Continuing Education Sub-Committee (5.11.81) Continuing Education in a Multicultural Society.
14. Education in a Multi-Racial City (1976) The Report of the Joint Working Party on Education of Immigrants and their children.
15. DES Circular 7/65 The Education of Immigrants. HMSO, London.
16. ILEA (1982) Draft Document, Multi-Ethnic Education in Schools, RS 839/82.
17. a) Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1969) 168-69, The Problems of Coloured School Leavers, Vols.1-4, HMSO, London, and the Government Observations on the Report (1970).
 b) Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration 1972-3 (1973) Education, Vols 1-3, HMSO, London and Government Observations on the Report (1974).
 c) Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1977), The West Indian Community, Vols.1-3 HMSO, London and Government Observation on the Report (1978).
18. Liverpool Education Committee (1975) Meeting their Needs (1) Report and Recommendations (2) Working Papers.
19. Op.cit. for 19(a).
20. Walsall, Education in a Multi-Cultural Society (1982).
21. a) DES, The Education of Immigrants, Education Survey 13, 1971, HMSO, London.
 b) DES, The Continuing Needs of Immigrants. Education Survey 14 (1972), HMSO, London.
22. Race Relations Act 1976, HMSO, London.
23. DES, A Language for Life, Report of the Committee of Inquiry (1975), HMSO, London.
24. West Indian Children in Our Schools (1981): Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, HMSO, London.
25. The Scarman Report ; The Brixton Disorder. A Report of an Inquiry by Lord Scarman 1981. HMSO, London.
26. DES Circular No.6/81 The School Curriculum.

27. Haringey
 - a) Community Languages and Supplementary Schools. Discussion Paper 1981.
 - b) Multicultural Curriculum Support Group. First Report 1979-1981.
28. ILEA, Multi Ethnic Education (1977).
29. Trafford, Policy Circular No.77/79 Race Relations Act 1976.
30. Manchester, Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Policy and Estimates Sub-Committee, Multi-Cultural Education in Schools (1978) March.
31. Birmingham, The Special Language of Children of West Indian Background. September 1981.
32. Nottinghamshire. Report of the Director of Education, Some Educational Problems of Ethnic Minority Pupils, 1982.
33. Op.cit. See Note 31.
34. Waltham Forest (1982) Committee for Education and the Arts, minutes on West Indian Children in Our Schools.
35. Op.cit. (Note 20).
36. In general LEAs did not use official reports as platforms to mount published critiques of their policy. Instead they used them to legitimate redirections in their policy if they were trying to institutionalise new ways of thinking about race and education.
37. Directive on the Education of Migrant Workers. Its Implications for the Education of Ethnic Minority Children in the UK, 1977 77/486/EEC.
38. Op.cit. fn 30.
39. Leeds (1982), Providing for the Educational Needs of a Multicultural Society.
40. Derbyshire (1982), Multicultural Education and the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups.
41. Op.cit. fn 28 pp.1-2.
42. Op.cit. fn 30.
43. Nottinghamshire
 - a) Report of the Director of Education, Some Educational Problems of Ethnic Minority Pupils, 1982.
 - b) Mother Tongue and Minority Community Languages in Schools and Colleges in Nottinghamshire, 1982.

44. Op.cit. fn 40.
45. London Borough of Croydon Multicultural Education (1982), Policy document drafted by the Multi-Cultural Education Curriculum Working Party.
46. Newcastle-upon-Tyne Education Committee, Racial Harmony in Newcastle Schools, 1982.
47. Birmingham, Education for a Multicultural Society (1981) A Policy/Progress statement.
48. Calderdale, Immigration Education Working Party, Appreciation of Cultural Differences. Multicultural Education in Calderdale Schools. Analysis of Governing Body Reports 1981.
49. CRE, Local Authorities and the Education Implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 (1981), para 3.22, cited by Calderdale in its job description for a Multicultural Education Co-ordinator.
50. Op.cit fn 46.
51. Borders Regional Council, Bulletin to Schools, Local Authorities and the Education Implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976, p.4.
52. Kirklees Metropolitan Council, Report of the Inter-Directorate Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Kirklees, 1981.
53. Ibid. Preface.
54. Leeds, Providing for the Educational Needs of a Multicultural Society, 1982.
55. Op.cit. fn 276.
56. Op.cit. fn 45.
57. Haringey, RACialist Activities in Schools. (July 1978), para 1, p.1.
58. Haringey does not specify the nature and extent of racist activities in Haringey schools. The statement does not indicate whether the policy was corrective or preventive.
59. These recommendations included the extension of pre-school provision, adequate training in English language and the effective preparation of young people by the education system in a climate of growing unemployment.
60. Tameside, Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (1982).
61. Ibid, para 2.
62. Ibid.

- 63. Ibid, p.2,4.
- 64. Ibid, para 3.
- 65. Buckinghamshire, Interim Report of the Ethnic Minorities Working Group (1981).
- 66. Ibid, para 1.
- 67. Knowsley, Local Authorities and the Implications of Section 71 of the Race RElations Act 1976 (1982).
- 70. Knowsley, Letter from Borough Education Officer August 3 1982. Ref. 6/SS VE.
- 71. Hertfordshire, Ethnic Minority Children in Hertfordshire.
- 72. Ibid, para 7.2.

CHAPTER 7

AFFIRMATION: THE MANAGEMENT OF CONSENSUS

Introduction

The last chapter identified policies in terms of two modalities of affirmation. The first, entailed the endorsement of the national context, the second, the containment of generalised disaffection. The concern of this chapter will be with the modalities of affirmation prompted by the management of consensus and the dissemination of multiculturalism. The management of consensus is not a homogeneous field. Different policies give rise to different approaches to the management of consensus. Four modes of consensus management will be distinguished in this chapter. They are identified in the chapter as culturally exclusive, racially insertive, socially ameliorative and culturally inclusive.

It will be argued that positions which legitimate the management of consensus stand in complementary and oppositional relationship. Thus it will be shown that the exclusive mode of management and the culturally insertive mode stand in complementary relation to each other, as do also the inclusive and ameliorative modes. However the ameliorative and the inclusive stand in opposition to the exclusive and insertive modes.

The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, there is a discussion of the modes of management of consensus and the LEAs who subscribe to them. In section two, the modality of affirmation dealing with the dissemination and themes of multiculturalism is addressed. The chapter concludes by assessing the intervention of antiracism in the dissemination of racial policy. The creation of conditions for consensus management refers to the different instruments for maintaining social cohesion. Education authorities held different positions on how best to secure

social cohesion in the face of an absence of normative consensus regarding race and ethnicity. The research has identified four approaches to consensus management and the LEAs who subscribe to them.

SECTION I

STRUCTURING NEW FORMS OF CONSENSUS

The formulation and extension of racial forms of education in either the form of multiculturalism or anti-racism confronts LEAs with the task of providing new integrative symbols to manage potential conflicts between racially and ethnically categorised groups and the indigenous white population. Different authorities have different conceptions of how to incorporate ethnic and racial categories in their educational services, in order to contain potential or actual disaffection of both black and white groups.

The culturally Exclusive Approach

In the culturally exclusive approach, the representation and transmission of cultural and racial difference were denied autonomous access to the curriculum. Cultural and racial differences were felt to be divisive, were weakening and fragmenting the dominant 'host' culture. It is the paramount duty of the school to transmit the host culture. According to this argument, schools in a multicultural/multi-ethnic environment must ensure that different ethnic groups acquire and internalise the dominant common culture rapidly. The denial of multiculturalism was conceived as the best way to ensure speedy incorporation into the dominant culture. This approach is comparable to those LEAs who appropriated national publications in terms of providing information. The structuring of new modes of consensus takes on an assimilationist ethos.

Calderdale, for example, conceptualised multiculturalism as the mechanism through which a diminution of English culture would be realised. Governors, in response,

sought to promote a culturally exclusive conception of multiculturalism. The education authority in Calderdale expressed its recommendations on multicultural development within the limits proposed by the governors. The qualification made by the governors to the accommodation of limited issues which might be considered multicultural was that they should always be subordinate to English culture. Multiculturalism, they argued, should not be allowed to diminish British culture, which has been 'established over time and has been tested within the Christian ethic and tradition.'⁽¹⁾ Assimilation, they went on to argue, could best be achieved by Westernising ethnic minorities gradually. 'Social pluralism' resulted in 'separate clubs', 'social gathering', and 'political groups'. Multiculturalism should be directed towards the customs and traditions of the host community. 'Tolerance and respect should be a two-way process'.⁽²⁾ Some governors were adamant that 'prescriptive solutions' to intolerance should not be pre-empted by the school - 'children should be encouraged to develop their own critical and decision-making skills.'⁽³⁾ This vigorous culturally exclusive stance was incompatible with the explicit oppositional curriculum practice, such as Black studies. And in the words of a governor, 'any form of Black Studies type course should be discouraged.'⁽⁴⁾

Although the culturally exclusive framework denied what multiculturalism was striving towards in a number of authorities, it nonetheless made timid and ambivalent incursions into aspects of the curriculum which might be altered. In spite of the strenuous qualifications to which the culturally exclusive category subjected multicultural incursions, it was accepted that the creative subjects such as art, music, craft, religious education, humanities, and geography could be areas in which cultural tolerance could be taught without threatening the dominant basis of English culture. This was necessary, the report noted, because intolerance to difference exhibited in the schools made it necessary to marshall the creative energies of the school to eradicate it. The report made its observation accordingly:

"Signs of parental intolerance to anything 'foreign' are often detected in pupils and gentle efforts are needed to counteract them. At times certain undercurrents of feeling come to the surface, particularly with older pupils, and they manifest themselves mainly as verbal abuse. Episodes of racially/culturally-inspired physical violence in school premises are rare. Generally, it is ignorance which leads to intolerant bigotry and so it is vital that an understanding of ethnic customs and beliefs be developed." (5)

The report went on to conclude that, 'The major resource in developing multicultural education is a body of caring understanding teachers.'⁽⁶⁾ Teachers were then seen as major transmitters of cultural understanding. The insertion of themes to promote understanding and tolerance were the concern of the racially insertive approach.

The Racially Insertive Approach

The racially insertive approach justified multiculturalism by concentrating on the history of one or more ethnic groups depending on their visibility and vocality. The racially insertive approach corresponded to LEAs who appropriated official publications for the purpose of legitimation. Consensus formulation is reactive, neither extensive nor innovatory. Pragmatic and instrumental considerations played a significant part in the articulations of LEAs in the racially insertive category. Social and political expediency dictated the cultural insertions into the curriculum. Through these insertions minority groups would come to realise that their voice was being heard. Although all-White schools may not treat the multicultural initiative seriously, this should not alter its influence in schools with large or average minority populations. White schools would eventually, it was hoped, come to terms with multiculturalism as long as oppositional and explicitly political representations of Black culture, such as Black Studies, were not allowed to feature in the curriculum.

Making multiculturalism dependent on the presence of ethnic minorities foreshadowed the broad view of

multiculturalism conceived by Manchester. The education authority's preferred approach was universalistic. In reality, multiculturalism was ethnically bound to Black groups. Consultation between the education authority and interested parties on the question of differing aspects of a multicultural society again reproduced the fact that issues of multicultural education were seen to be of relevance to Black groups only. The report noted that 'a substantial number of the schools with small numbers of non-White children in them said quite bluntly that the whole matter was irrelevant as far as they were concerned.'⁽⁷⁾ A view which was ascertained by a questionnaire formulated by the education authority and sent to schools and other interested parties.

The education authority regretted this general denial of relevance. The ad hoc racial insertions into the curriculum was symptomatic of the marginalisation of multiculturalism. Its marginalisation provided the particular racial affirmation in the authority. The framing of the question from the education authority itself circumscribed the universalistic claims in the education authority's definition of multiculturalism. The questions did not deal with multiculturalism as a central issue in the transmission of school knowledge, rather they concentrated on West Indian underachievement. In this context, West Indian underachievement was made an exception in the life of the school rather than the rule for the majority of children. In this way multiculturalism oscillated from universal conceptual claims to the particular focus on one group in practice. Educational dysfunction was translated to mean West Indian dysfunction. The issue of racism was not addressed in the questionnaire. Questions about the multicultural curriculum were conceived to be issues of relevance to ethnic minorities, in this case West Indians. The education authority inarventently reproduced the dominant view and affirmation of multicultural education that it was an optional policy for schools, who did not have such pupils. The framing of the questions themselves negated the broader permeating principle of multiculturalism which the education authority claimed it

favoured. The proposal for correcting the problem implied in the questions encouraged teachers to be judgemental about Black pupils. Teachers practice was not subject to the critical evaluation of the LEA. The effectiveness of the LEA policy was not scrutinised. In short, the questions were able to link up with the pre-existing deficit frameworks in which debate about the education of Black pupils has been traditionally constructed.

In contrast, the response of Black groups incorporated in the report came to a different conclusion than that of the teachers. For example, West Indian parents confronted the issue of West Indian performance via the structural organisation of schooling and the divergence of interest in pupil/teacher expectation. While teachers saw the alleviation of discontent among West Indians in terms of assimilation, multicultural topics, and other additives, Black parents wanted more resources injected into schools and the creation of mechanisms by which the community could systematically measure the effectiveness of the school system.⁽⁸⁾

In spite of the different conception of multiculturalism identified in the Manchester statement, the authority still maintained its support for the principle of universalism. It pointed to the development of the multicultural support service, specialising in language training for Asian mothers. In addition to the language concerns, staffing, in-service training, course content and community links were all cited as areas that were being multiculturalised through the principle of cultural diversity and pluralism (Manchester, 1981).

Another authority, Leeds⁽⁹⁾, like Manchester, stated the ideal that all schools should be concerned with multiculturalism, but demonstrated that in reality 'progress is uneven'. Leeds suggested that the reason for this was that 'many schools still' did not 'regard' this as a 'priority issue'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Even the attendance of in-service courses for

teachers, the report noted, had been influenced by whether teachers taught in racially or culturally mixed schools. A number of in-service courses on aspects of multicultural education have been held, but the take-up of places by teachers in mono ethnic areas was generally low.'⁽¹¹⁾

Kirklees offered a further explanation of why predominantly White schools were reluctant to address the issue of multiculturalism. For Kirklees⁽¹²⁾, the answer laid in a fundamental political tension regarding the legitimacy of the Black presence in British society. The report of the Inter-Directorate Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Kirklees was produced against the background of the CRE's The Fire Next Time', the Bristol St. Paul's incident, and the events in Brixton and Toxteth.⁽¹³⁾ The statement echoed the CRE's discussion on the deeply institutionalised nature of racism in British society as the factor constraining effective development of multicultural policy in education. Against this background, the statement made an important declaration: 'There is little hope of achieving by piecemeal methods of equality of opportunity, tolerance and respect for cultural diversity if these are not recognised as being desired by the nation as a whole.'⁽¹⁴⁾ The introduction of the report went on to advocate the need for a 'national strategy for better policy and resources.'

The statement further called for positive teaching to promote good race relations, but warned against an oppositional and explicit representation of insertions such as Black Studies in the curriculum. About Black Studies it made the following observation:

"If we are to do anything to improve race relations through educational work in schools, it cannot be achieved by the insertion of additions such as "Black Studies" into an established curriculum but by giving the pupils, across the curriculum, enough varied material to understand the complexities of a given society, to contemplate its cultural and historical achievements and to understand its contemporary problems." (15)

It was felt that Black Studies was overtly political and its

oppositional stance would be less containable than a soft multicultural approach. The education authority was keen to promote multiculturalism, since it was seen to be a safer option than the more explicit formulations contained in Black Studies.

Like Kirklees, Gloucestershire⁽¹⁶⁾ equated the marginality of multiculturalism in schools to the general marginality of Black groups in the society as a whole. The report argued that the development of multicultural education was arrested because it was weighed down by institutional racism. The report described the kind of racial antipathy common among some teachers:

"... certain racist views and attitudes do exist among teachers and pupils. This may show in sweeping generalisations made about pupils from different groups; in ignoring differences when they should be recognised; in lack of awareness that bias may exist in school text books; in the insidious, reckless or negligent use of language that can provoke anger; in the lack of recognition that response to the same stimulus can depend on cultural difference." (17)

While the education authority was eager to promote a racially insensitive conception of multicultural education, it was conscious that its desired approach was being undermined in schools.

Racial insertions were dictated by the perception of racial problems. Knowsley⁽¹⁸⁾, in its outline of the discussion of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities presented to governing bodies in Knowsley, observed the racial marginality of multiculturalism thus:

"Members of the public, teaching, advisory, and administrative staff who are now convinced that a genuine multicultural curriculum is essential are still in the minority ... It must be recognised that in spite of protestation to the contrary the majority of teachers, lecturers, and advisers, even when sympathetic, and knowledgeable about other cultures, have a deep-rooted conviction, inculcated from childhood that the British way of life is the best and the "comers in" should conform." (19)

The consequence of this racially circumscribed conception was, according to policy statements from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that without 'manifest racial problems within their own school ... schools with no pupils from minority ethnic groups may be tempted to conclude that multi-cultural education is not applicable to them.'⁽²⁰⁾ This then forces multiculturalism to be reactive in its attempt to promote the management of racial harmony.

Socially Ameliorative

The socially ameliorative approach, projected multiculturalism also in realist direction. Authorities in this category concentrated on the development of a framework of multiculturalism in which a reciprocal interchange of knowledge and culture could co-exist. This, they argued, to be the only equitable way to achieve not only social justice in a multicultural society, but also ensure the maintenance of social cohesion. The mode of consensus formation in the socially ameliorative approach was based upon creating a sense of parity of cultural prestige between ethnic groups. It therefore attempted to problematise the existing unequal relations between the indigenous majority and minority ethnic groups. The framework offered for the structuring of new modes of consensus required fundamental institutional and educational changes to bring about social justice and cultural pluralism. This orientation to multiculturalism maintains a relational significance to the restructure approach used by some LEAs in their appropriation of official reports.

Haringey⁽²¹⁾, adopted a position on multicultural education characteristic of the socially ameliorative framework. Its object was directed more towards social cohesion. Haringey attached considerable importance to the multicultural curriculum and the means by which it should be generalised throughout the school. It accepted the resource implication of a multicultural programme with the creation of a multicultural support services. The multicultural support services produced and distributed multicultural resources to

schools and also had specially designed library facilities. Haringey's resource centre and library facilities were integral to its multicultural conception. Indeed, they were to be the material expression of it. The aim of the library was:

"To collect books which help to increase our appreciation of the varied and creative arts of humanity, and more especially, of the rich literature in English which derives from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Mediterranean, as well as samples of stories and scripts of Community Languages which relate directly to the children in our classrooms." (22)

In a similar way, Brent addressed the need to produce its own resources which were intended to connect up with its mainstream approach to multiculturalism. On the subject of resources it had this to say:

"Lack of availability of good pupil materials can be a major limitation to the development of a committed multicultural approach to education. Commercial publishers have not yet recognised the need to provide materials which reflect the normality of the multicultural society.

In Brent there are a substantial number of teachers who are aware of, and committed to a multicultural/multi-ethnic society and the Council recognises the ability and perspectives of these teachers ought to be harnessed and used to the benefit of pupils in schools." (23)

In general, then, Haringey argued, like Brent, for the need to centralise resource production and to academicise that production beyond the protective basis of race relations management. The authority's aim was to deracialise multicultural education and its affirmation on that basis. Henceforth its substantiation would be educational. The limitations of an imposed racial framework would be argued in terms of the conflict framework in the sociology of education. A framework whose thematic content in the 1960s-70s was focused on the issues of the underachievement of working class children and the role of bias in the curriculum in limiting working class attainment. This position was applied to children racially designated. These ideas formed part of the milieu in which education authorities like

Haringey sought to change their multicultural/multi-ethnic education programme. This was the rationale for their policies of legitimisation and support.

These themes contributed to the understanding of and the salient structural issues in multicultural education. For this reason the two popular conceptions of multicultural education, which were rejected by Haringey, were those which subjugated and conceptualised it as a 'new body of knowledge which schools can append to the curriculum' or as an issue 'concerned solely with the education of minority group pupils.'⁽²⁴⁾

The Authority accepted a universalistic concept of multicultural education and defined it as follows:

" ... one which is appropriate in the education of all pupils, whatever their background, by reference to a diversity of cultures. The variety of social and cultural groups should be evident in the visual images, stories, and information disseminated within the school. However, this selection should not be made in such a way as to reinforce stereotyping life styles, occupation, status, human characteristics, or one particular culture." (25)

For Black children, the educational implications are 'serious' according to the report, affecting 'motivation and hence achievements'; they are 'particularly affected because they are most obviously recognised as different.'⁽²⁶⁾ The consequence of denying children open access to their culture, it argued, would lead to alienation and resentment as well as feeling of insecurity 'about their rights to be part of society in this island.'⁽²⁷⁾ Social equality and social cohesion was influential in Haringey's conception and practice. The note of foreboding underlying what it regarded as the educational work of multiculturalism contextualised for Haringey and other education authorities the social necessity for multiculturalism to succeed.

The Culturally Inclusive Approach

In this approach, multiculturalism was dependent upon

the presence of a particular ethnic minority. On one level its justification was dependent on the internal coherence of multiculturalism and its relational significance to the question of what constitutes knowledge itself. LEAs operating in a culturally inclusive framework, argued that a monocentric and Eurocentric conception of knowledge raises fundamental epistemological questions. A Eurocentric conception of knowledge was felt to be illegitimate since it provided the intellectual basis for the reproduction of racial categorisation. This perspective of cultural inclusivity has more in common with problematisation category of the content of official reports noted in the previous chapter.

Consensus formulation is to be based upon the rational, ethical and epistemological basis of the multicultural project itself. Justification of multiculturalism should, therefore go beyond a mere pragmatic or reactive confirmation of potential social disruption generated by the presence of an indentifiable social group. In other words multiculturalism can only fulfil the role ascribed to it - the structuring of new modes of consensus - if its rationale is embodied in reason rather than merely a mechanism to prevent the outbreak of social conflict. This approach to the structuring of new modes of consensus is not typical. For this reason more detail of this is necessary.

Brent offers an example of an authority striving for a culturally inclusive approach to the conception and practice of multicultural education. Its argument in supporting a multicultural curriculum focused on the conceptual and definitional problems thrown up by its racial overdetermination and the limitation that this racial conception imposed on practice. The policy statement of Brent identified the problematic dichotomy between multicultural education on the one hand, and general education on the other hand. It argued that the dominant practice of multicultural education was conceptually divided into a set of practices transmitted to ethnic minorities to compensate for cognitive, cultural, and psychological deficiencies. The assumption

followed that once the transmission of the form of multiculturalism was successful, then general education could take place. Multiculturalism had a rehabilitative function conceived as the means through which ethnic minorities could gain access to the general curriculum.

Brent appeared to be less dependent on this problem perspective than authenticated official formulation of the issues. Unlike, for example, ILEA, Manchester, Liverpool, and Kirklees, Brent was more influenced by an emerging academic debate on the curriculum as systems of knowledge, through which meanings are transmitted. Thus, unlike a large number of LEAs, underachievement, mother-tongue, and poor self-image were not the overriding factors in the pursuance of the multicultural education objective in Brent. These emphases, in the view of one of its reports, ignored the 'deficiencies in the school structure.'⁽²⁵⁾

The report argued that the operative assumption behind the affirmation of multicultural education which was prescribed for Black groups and conceived was being 'over and above the normal curriculum and in a sense optional.'⁽²⁹⁾ Since the multicultural curriculum was conceived in this marginal, optional way, the practice of multiculturalism was itself limited by the framework of its conception. The statement made a number of critical observations of how multicultural education was practised in schools and how the complex interaction of a racialised conception and emergence of that conception in practice constrained its future development. More importantly, not only were these developments constrained, but they were reproduced along racial lines. The report outlined the nature of the affirmation accordingly:

"Multicultural education is mainly a form of compensatory education for children from ethnic minority groups ... a few teachers expressed the concern that White children would suffer if there was too much multicultural education. Schools have judged that the degree of how much multicultural education is needed is decided by the proportion of ethnic minority pupils in the school."
(30)

This mode of practice was generally characterised by the 'adding on approach' - authenticated by representations of the cultural artifacts from the culture of the group concerned. Although some schools, the report mentioned, had gone beyond just multiculturalising the obvious by bringing in subjects and themes not often thought of as multicultural, this, the report added, was the exception to the rule. 'Adding on'⁽³¹⁾ was in fact the 'norm'. In spite of this frank portrayal of multicultural practice in Brent, the report summed up the dominant attitude to multiculturalism in Brent as being mainly assimilationist, but striving for cultural pluralism.⁽³²⁾ Since multicultural education had been conceived to be a practice contextualised by the presence of ethnic minorities, it had led to the creation of provisions of 'special resources'. This had, in the view of the report, 'inadvertently created a diminution of effectiveness in facilitating multicultural education by the way in which these resources are used.'⁽³³⁾

Inefficient use of resources and the overemphasis of resources on different aspects of achievement/under-achievement had not provided the context for teachers to 'develop a concept of cultural or ethnic equality.'⁽³⁴⁾ The racial specificity of affirmation entailed a double marginalisation. This double marginalisation was experienced at the level of popular conception and practice, and on the application of the multicultural principle in the education service. The impact of this double marginalisation had a particular effect on the operation of the multicultural education advisers employed by the education authority to promote and facilitate the development and advancement of multiculturalism. Describing the experience of advisors, the report noted:

" ... some advisers being unable to influence the work of their colleagues ... have been forced into a Catch 22 position of working on aspects outside the main purpose of education, and then being criticised for creating a separate industry. The multicultural education adviser has to work within the general established framework, so that (the framework) develops on the basis of a multicultural perspective." (35)

From this critical position the document argued for a mainstream conception of multicultural education. Perhaps more importantly, it advocated a concept of education which was multicultural rather than multicultural education. For the latter concept encourages the affirmation of an abstract conception of multiculturalism that is disconnected from general education and targeted Black groups. In conjunction with this stance, the view was expressed that 'worthwhile knowledge has no national boundaries' and it was on this basis that its legitimation must rest rather than because Brent is multicultural, multi-ethnic or multiracial.⁽³⁶⁾

The Director of Education in Brent later endorsed the ethos and the argument presented in the report re-asserting the view that the legitimation of the multicultural curriculum must be more than an opportunistic protective anti-discrimination strategy. He claimed that prevention of discrimination had to be informed by multicultural policy. The position of the authority was stated accordingly:

"While the Council considers its responsibilities to extend beyond respect of the 1976 Race Relations Act and to be greater than the mere avoidance of racial discrimination, our first aim must be to ensure that discrimination and racialism do not hinder our children; secondly to define and combat racism and the discriminatory practices for which it gives rise." (37)

The authority went on to declare its commitment:

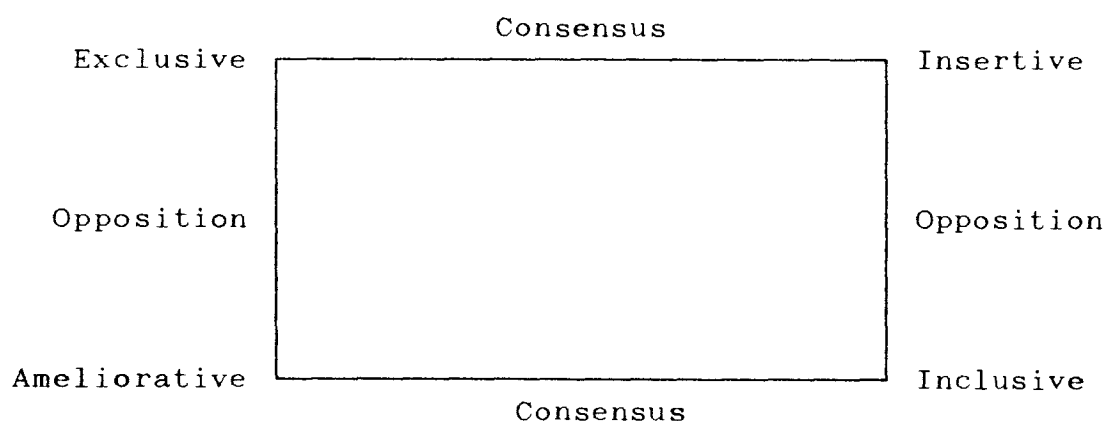
"to a fundamental and significant change to a multicultural education based on a concept of cultural pluralism. The recognition that all people and cultures are inherently equal must be a constant from which all educational practice will be developed." (38)

The authority was aware of the intrusion of the contextual circumstance of race relations but, nonetheless, attempted to reconcile the context with modes of conceptualisation that could inform new conduct. In this way, Brent's culturally inclusive conception for structuring new modes of consensus re-oriented the multicultural agenda in different ways from the other conceptions.

The critique mounted by Brent substantiated the limitations in the conception and practice of multiculturalism. A common theme in a large number of documents recognised that the affirmation of multicultural education on the basis of the presence of ethnic minorities undermined the universalistic appeal of multiculturalism projected by the culturally inclusive approach. The current educational concerns of multicultural education continued to limit its applicability to pupils of colour. This meant that the claim that multiculturalism is also relevant to all White schools was not a view held by all authorities and the majority of schools according to the documents. The fact that multiculturalism was seen as something to be transmitted to Black groups, was the reason given by LEAs for producing and reproducing the marginal status of multiculturalism. Although many education authorities put themselves outside this particular view, the provision of services by LEAs also reinforced the dominant institutional affirmation which produce and reproduce multiculturalism as a Black preserve.

From this outline it can be seen that the two conceptions of cultural inclusion and social amelioration were striving to go beyond the focus of racial insertivity and cultural exclusivity. Thus the four modes of consensus management exist in complementary and oppositional relation to each other. the relationship is summarised by the following figure.

The Management of Consensus



The lines of consensus are represented by the two horizontal lines. The lines of opposition are represented by the two vertical axis. The interaction between the four approaches to consensus management point to the different orientations towards regulating the pedagogic practices of multiculturalism.

SECTION II

MULTICULTURALISM AS A PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

The Discrimination of Multiculturalism

In this section the modality of affirmation concerned with the dissemination of multiculturalism as a pedagogic practice will be discussed. Pedagogic practices associated with the affirmation of racial forms of education were confirmed in the traditional educational concerns of LEAs. While some forms of multiculturalism were attempting to dismantle their racial affirmation, their practice defined race as their focus. Thus, the underlying objectification of racial groups that legitimated multiculturalism, posed a dilemma for those LEAs attempting to break the connection between multicultural education and the scale of the black presence. This dilemma was reflected in the difference between the universalistic appeal of multicultural policy and the racial particularity of its multicultural programme and practice.

In spite of attempts to broaden the appeal of multiculturalism to all groups irrespective of culture and race, a thematic analysis of the provisions debated and practised in LEA, also demonstrated that multiculturalism targeted people of colour. Furthermore, the incorporation of anti-racism to radicalise multicultural issues, reinforced the connection between race and multiculturalism. The interpretation made in this work is substantiated by the analysis of the thematic content of the provision normally regarded as multicultural. The provisions to include language,

mother tongue provision, pre-school provision, home-school liaison, West-Indian underachievement and anti-racism.

2.3 Language

The significance of language training in multicultural education policy and practice explicitly demonstrated the extent to which its preoccupation constituted what is regarded as the central issue in some LEAs. For example, the most common element in the 36 documents analysed was that of language training, and the language provision of education authorities in multicultural areas. Indeed, language provision, both initial and second phase, still accounted for the largest part of LEA's multicultural budgets. There was broad agreement in most education authorities that this provision needed to be greatly extended. The extension of language (E2L) necessitated both first and second phase language needs. Both were essential and there was still demand for them. Many authorities with a large Asian population pointed out that many children of Asian origin, although born in Britain, arrive at school with little or no English. Avon⁽³⁹⁾ noted that although there has been a structural change in the pattern of immigration this had not altered the importance of English language training. The authority believed that following the restrictions placed on New Commonwealth immigration to Britain, the demands placed on initial language needs would diminish. This turned out not to be the case:

"... whilst 'immigrant' numbers had decreased since 1973 a new pattern has been emerging since the beginning of 1977. We are now beginning to see an increasing number of nursery school children and five-year-old school entrants who do not speak English although born in this country to parents from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan." (40)

For this reason English language training underpinned the authority's multicultural initiative. It substantiated the emphasis placed on language in the Bullock Report and saw effective language teaching as essential in the fight against

underachievement. It stated its position thus:

"In order to help eliminate under-achievement by ethnic minority pupils it is still the primary responsibility of the Multicultural Education Centre to provide specialist teaching of English as a second language to pupils of all ages, nationalities, and ethnic groups."(41)

Therefore, using funds provided under Section 11, Avon created a Multicultural Education Centre with a staff of 58 teachers, many of whom were said to be specialists in E2L teaching.

Another example which illustrates the extent to which language has determined the role of policy formulation on 'immigrant education' and how it now anchors its more recent venture into multiculturalism, can be drawn from the experience of the Bradford education authority. In fact, it is worth discussing Bradford in some detail because of the long history of its concern with language and more significantly the important contributory role it has played in the shaping and legitimising national direction of the dispersal policy.

As early as 1961, Bradford⁽⁴²⁾ had created a 'special class for coloured children' to provide intensive language tuition. As a result of protest the name was changed from 'coloured' to 'non-English' speakers. Towards the end of 1963, additional facilities were created because of what was described as the 'sudden influx' of 'immigrants which made it necessary to take urgent action'. This 'urgent action' was in the form of two more special language classes and a centre for training teachers (1963), who would be working with ethnic minorities.⁽⁴³⁾ Language courses and special classes were to occupy a pivotal position in Bradford's immigrant education policy.

By 1964, special educational measures were institutionalised, which were to constitute the core of Bradford's policy today: All new immigrant entrants were required to enrol in special English classes. After completing these classes, they were dispersed to schools with large White

indigenous populations. An upper limit of 25% was placed on the number of immigrant children attending any one school. A limit of 30% was placed on the proportion taught in any one class, and the percentage was reduced to 15% if the entire class was non-English speaking. Extra teachers were also sent to schools with 'appreciable numbers of immigrants'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ By 1965 a central record system had been established through which all immigrant children attending school could be referred. Information on new arrivals was received from ports of entry; health visitors provided information on new births and medical examinations; and language assessments and tests were conducted by specially designated teachers.⁽⁴⁵⁾

While the existence of language centres and special classes segregated from the ordinary school, detracted from the assimilationist concerns of the time, 'dispersal' was thought to be necessary. Its desirable social objective was thought to outweigh its disadvantages. The assumption was that it was necessary 'to segregate in order to integrate more quickly'.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The first and second phase language training in language centres were said to provide a 'head start' for immigrant children, by the time they were transferred to the normal school - a view which further supported the rationale for the maintenance of dispersal. Dispersal was seen as essential if the gains a child made in centres were to be maintained and built upon. Dispersal formed an 'integral part of the total policy for the education of children of immigrants'.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The association between language competence and dispersal did not exist in isolation from the social factors behind the motivation of dispersal. The need to avoid the 'development of predominantly immigrant schools' and to 'provide conditions in which harmony in the multiracial/multicultural city of the future might be encouraged'⁽⁴⁸⁾ were considerations designed to minimise racial conflict and to educate against it.

The pivotal position that language played in the

shaping of the dispersal policy can only be judged against the centrality which dispersal came to have for Bradford. So much so that when the DES said in its statement to the 1973 Select Committee Report that the need for the dispersal policy was gradually being eroded, and the recommendation of the Committee itself that dispersal should be gradually phased out, Bradford took a contrary position. Instead, it supported the White Paper's (Educational Disadvantage 1974) qualified support of dispersal. The White Paper stated that the ultimate decision whether to introduce dispersal or not, should be decided in accordance with the needs of the LEA concerned. Bradford therefore was able to justify the maintenance of dispersal on the basis of the 'exceptionally high number and proportion of children of Asian parents whose main language was not English.'⁽⁴⁹⁾

In 1978 a Multicultural Review Committee was created to provide guidance and advice on Bradford's multicultural education policy to date. The review directed its criticism on the concentration of the authority's budget on E2L because 'it reflects implicitly the robustly simple ideas of "assimilation" that continue to underpin much of the thinking of immigrant education.'⁽⁵⁰⁾ The review endorsed bilingualism and mother-tongue teaching matters of curricula and textbook bias and the necessity to make multiculturalism main stream. It appealed for a more systematic approach in the education authority's policy. This involved giving more consideration to racial its own right. The review also advised the council to develop a less reactive policy and a more innovative one.

These recommendations and criticisms of Bradford's policy's concentration on E2L reflected attempts to redirect multiculturalism. The focus was to be ... the school system as a whole and not just that small part of it occupied by ethnic minority children ...'⁽⁵¹⁾ This approach has to go beyond 'a vague and increasingly fanciful notion of "integration" more appropriate to the simplistic ideas of 20 years ago than to the pluralistic complexity of today.'⁽⁵²⁾

The interpretative significance of English language training offered by Bradford was not unusual. That it would bring about the assimilation and integration of 'immigrants' was an assumption that went unchallenged until only recently. Debate around such as the social organisation of school and racism were absent from the concerns of 20 years ago. So it should be pointed out that Bradford was not the only authority preoccupied with language. For example, the ILEA (1965)⁽⁵³⁾ could talk about language as '... an ordering of experience' and where it was lacking 'concepts cannot so readily be labelled.'⁽⁵⁴⁾ In this view cognitive skills that were not expressed in English meant that cultural competencies could not be engendered. Today, in the larger LEAs as opposed to those with small or average ethnic minority population, a less explicit value judgement is being made about English language. This does not mean that it is regarded as less significant than previously. Not only are large centres and reception classes still a crucial feature of policy in areas such as Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Kirklees, and Waltham Forest, other centres have been established with a more developmental aim towards language training and the curriculum. In the ILEA, agencies such as the Centre for Urban Educational Studies and the Unified Language Teaching Service have developed language skills through a multicultural content. The aim is to legitimate the cultural competence that non-European children bring to the school. While in authorities with a small or average Black population as in Tameside, Gateshead, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, unfamiliarity, cultural ignorance through lack of English were still being seen as the major cause or hindrance to the integration of 'immigrant groups'.

It is significant, therefore, that only Waltham Forest and Walsall⁽⁵⁵⁾ confirmed the observation of Rampton that what was now at issue was not the 'provision of special needs, such as E2L teaching, but the much more fundamental concept of a multicultural curriculum.'⁽⁵⁶⁾ Nonetheless, the effectiveness of language was to be further addressed in the debate on mother-tongue teaching and pre-school provision.

Mother-tongue Teaching

Some 20 out of 36 LEAs referred to the mother-tongue debate in their documents. Either LEAs welcomed it as a legitimate extension of the modern languages curriculum or opposed it as a subversion of the English language. With regard to the Afro-Caribbean groups, Birmingham, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire posed the question of whether Creole was to be defined as a language or not. Underachievement was the framework in which it was discussed. Advice to schools from LEAs varied from treating Creole positively by encouraging teachers to become acquainted with its structure (ILEA) and recommending that it should be viewed as a language in its own right (Birmingham). In the case of the Asian languages the debate centred on legitimising their entrance into the modern language curriculum and the financial implications of doing so.

In Derbyshire⁽⁵⁹⁾, the position adopted on mother-tongue teaching was not as decisive as its position on E2L. Its document, entitled Multicultural Education and the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups cited the Home Affairs Committee unwillingness to give full support to mother-tongue teaching.

The Home Affairs Committee noted:

"We are not convinced either that a local education authority is under any obligation to provide mother-tongue teaching or that it is necessarily in the general interest that they should do." (60)

The authority took a more general multicultural approach, but expressed along with the Home Affairs Committee that there was a possibility that Asian languages could be incorporated into the modern languages curriculum.

Those authorities who supported mother-tongue teaching, were keen to argue that it did not threaten English language training.

Dudley⁽⁶¹⁾ and Nottinghamshire justified their approach to mother-tongue teaching in this way. The report of Dudley started out by outlining the undesirable consequences that would follow if mother-tongue teaching was ignored. It illustrated its concern accordingly:

"There are dangers in keeping two halves of the bilingual child's experience apart. He may be forced into passivity and scepticism, leading to low academic achievement, and hence worse social opportunities ... The child may experience a conflict of loyalties ... and this is potentially disturbing for the psychological and social development of the individual ... bilingual education must be paired with bicultural awareness." (62)

The statement went on to give reassurance to those who may be worried about E2L training in the following terms:

"The overwhelming importance of the learning of English is not in dispute ... the desire for integration is shared by all." (63)

The report made the appeal that 'mother-tongue teaching should not be divorced from the mainstream of school activity.'⁽⁶⁴⁾

Mother-tongue teaching and mother culture maintenance led to similar recommendations from some of the 20 LEAs that referred to it in their documents as a positive and legitimate innovation into the school curriculum. Their recommendations included: the free use of education premises for mother-tongue teaching; the provision of facilities for public exams in mother-tongue teaching; the payment of fees and accommodation; the provision of grants from LEAs; the assistance of teachers and education inspectors; grants from LEAs in the employment of mother-tongue teachers along with recommendations for other assistance in the form of libraries and other resources.

In spite of these recommendations, the status of mother-tongue teaching was, like that of curriculum development in multicultural education, patchy and uneven. In the majority of cases, it did not exist in the mainstream school curriculum at primary or secondary level. It was mostly

a service provided by self-help by minority community projects through donations (Northamptonshire). Alternatively it could be provided by the minority community with financial assistance by the LEA, in the form of providing accommodation for teaching (Dudley, Gateshead, Salford, Leeds, Derbyshire, Humberside, and Strathclyde).

In other LEAs, the provision existed for teaching mother-tongue in Asian languages at O or A level. In this case the minority community would provide the teachers who were paid by the LEA (ILEA, Haringey, Bradford, and Kirklees). In Bradford teachers have been appointed to teach Urdu in given upper schools. A growth bid for 1982-83 has been put forward for mother-tongue teaching at nursery and post-16 levels. Similar developments have emerged in Manchester and Birmingham.

In other LEAs reference to mother-tongue teaching has been made in respect to the Bullock appeal to schools to treat positively a child's bilingualism (Liverpool).⁽⁶⁵⁾ Other authorities referred to the debate as a positive one, and one which has been tabled for investigation by working parties (Brent and Hounslow).

Pre-school Provision

Some LEAs were prepared to supplement their emphasis on E2L training with recommendations for development of pre-school provision specifically aimed at children of Afro-Caribbean and Asian decent. In the light of the Rampton Report, 14 education authorities out of 36, gave additional emphasis to the importance of incorporating a dynamic linguistic dimension into nursery training. The stated aim was to give as many minority children as possible a way out of the linguistic and educational retardation later experienced in their school life. In such education authorities the injection of an 'ethnic dimension' to nursery education was effected by introducing mothers and toddlers groups with an ethnic focus. The appointment of specialist

language teachers under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 to specialise in language development for pre-school children also took place. Additional appointment of educational visitors to visit nurseries and the home of such children to inform parents of the contribution they can make to their children's linguistic development are just a few examples of the inroads made by some LEAs (Leeds), Waltham Forest, Kirklees, and the ILEA. For some LEAs further reinforcement of the provision with home-school liaison was established.

Home-school Liaison

Home-school liaison would be the basis for assisting families from the minority communities to reach a better understanding of the education service. Through assisting minority families, LEA officers would be more aware of the views of the minority community. The 20 LEAs making reference to home-school liaison maintained that it was gaining popularity as a special resource in multicultural areas. Of these 20 LEAs some had more detailed home-school liaison provision than others. Some LEAs had appointed designated staff, while in other LEAs an appointment was said to be imminent and in others the subject was under discussion. From the evidence provided in the documents, ILEA and Brent can be described as having detailed provisions.

In 1975, ILEA⁽⁶⁶⁾ created three designated posts with a two-fold objective. Multicultural liaison officers had the task of informing minority communities of the role of the education service, while simultaneously allowing the authority to familiarise itself with the concerns and aspirations of the minority communities. In 1979 as an indication of the education authority's attempts to be aware of minority cultures ILEA gave instructions to the kitchen service on food preparation which conformed with Hindu and Muslim customs. As well as these designated appointments and specific instructions, the education authority has stressed the importance of minority parents registering their views with

the education authority through the usual channels. Ethnic minority parents were invited to consult officers and members of the education authority through school governing bodies, divisional consultative committees, and the links established through support of Saturday schools.

Like ILEA, Brent⁽⁶⁷⁾ had detailed provisions. It appointed seven cultural liaison officers including a co-ordinator of the service. Their brief involved (i) the promotion of good home-community links and the facilitation of mutual support and contact between teachers, parents, and community groups; and (ii) informing of headteachers in primary and secondary schools of the wealth of cultural resources in the community and their aid in curricula development.

From the information presented in the documents some LEAs appeared to have more medium range provision, with some proposing an extension of their existing provisions. In Derbyshire⁽⁶⁸⁾, for example, two home-liaison officers were attached to primary schools in the inner city areas of Derbyshire and the equivalent of two staff to secondary schools. They have recommended the recruitment of additional welfare officers, the establishment of parent centres where parents and young children can meet with teachers. The education authority has also sought to promote the entry of ethnic minority parents to school governing bodies.

In Birmingham⁽⁶⁹⁾, a limited number of what has been described as 'outreach workers' were appointed to schools with large numbers of ethnic minorities. The objective of the policy was to bridge the gap between the school and the community. Other LEAs stressed the importance of this resource. They stated that provision existed for home-school liaison officers, but did not give details as to what these provisions were. They still made recommendations for extended provisions (Walsall, Humberside, Liverpool, Croydon, and Leeds). In other LEAs the subject was under review and proposals were made for appointments (Strathclyde,

Buckinghamshire, and Nottingham). Although many LEAs regarded home school liaison as an important channel through which they could increase the scope of their influence in minority communities, it was the curriculum that represented the main forum for the dissemination of multiculturalism.

Curriculum

The majority of LEAs accepted that the curriculum should be altered to reflect the existence and cultures of pupils of New Commonwealth origin. Some LEAs advocated an indepth examination of the curriculum in schools in an attempt to discover areas in which tolerance and the understanding of other cultures could be fostered. This should be incorporated, according to Barnet⁽⁷⁰⁾, in the promotion of awareness of the origins of explicit and implicit racist assumptions and prejudices. Subject areas such as history, religious education, geography, literature, music, and drama were put forward as areas for multiculturalising.

The content of the curriculum according to this view should concentrate on ensuring that particular provisions exist in which the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural experience can be tolerated. Teachers, it was argued, should ensure that they did not through a process of selection and omission legitimate one form of cultural experience and denigrate another. This thinking encouraged some LEAs such as Barnet, Waltham Forest, and Berkshire to juxtapose these changes with the development of a non-racist curriculum and anti-racist teaching. The content of the curriculum, books, and teaching materials were to be examined for racism. Some education authorities supported the centralisation of the production of multicultural education material at school and authority level. Brent and Haringey have developed multicultural support groups with a view to developing their own multicultural resources.

ILEA has also contributed to pioneering work in this respect. It created a multi-ethnic inspectorate aimed at

assisting teachers to build on the cultural diversity that exists among their pupils. In primary schools it has developed 'The Reading through Understanding' scheme which draws on the folklore and history of the Caribbean. The main objective of the scheme was to instill positive attitudes towards Caribbean dialects which it was hoped would stimulate and enhance reading development. The World History Project has produced history material, television programmes, and in-service training courses on themes of African, Indian, Caribbean, and Chinese history. In addition it has produced guidelines for schools on home economics and social studies. ILEA has also encouraged writing workshops for pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds. More generally the Lambeth Whole School Project and the Inspectorate Aide Memoire focused on broader concerns, such as teaching techniques and methods by which multiculturalism could be comprehensively related to all aspects of school life.

Although promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tolerance was the underlying objective of the multicultural initiative of LEAs, it should be noted that many LEAs limited this assertion to supporting existing initiatives in schools. Smaller LEAs neither possessed the organisation for developing the initiatives of the ILEA. They concentrated their attention on elaborating the subject areas in which multicultural practices would be acceptable. Humanities and religious education syllabi were thought to provide LEA advisers with a unique opportunity for guidance and support of multicultural initiatives (Leeds, Sheffield, Nottinghamshire, and Buckinghamshire).

In spite of the qualifications and limitations of multiculturalism expressed by LEAs, they generally agreed that the curriculum should reflect the multi-ethnic nature of contemporary British society. They stressed the importance of greater awareness and understanding of pluralism and tolerance. To accomplish this, some LEAs presented the case for a reorientation and extension of multiculturalism. This involved making it a part of mainstream education rather than

limiting its application to Black pupils. This was the position of Haringey.

For some LEAs multiculturalism would be called upon to address West-Indian underachievement. The curriculum in Haringey's multicultural package was also given special attention. Its significance was generalised to include the needs of all pupils, Black and White:

"The multicultural curriculum is one which is appropriate in the education of all pupils, whatever their background, by reference to a diversity of cultures. The variety of social and cultural groups should be evident in the visual images, stories and information disseminated within the school." (71)

This situation was not realised in the present curriculum. Instead in the existing curriculum the cultural capital of one group was valued, while another was seen to be invalid. The report noted the relationship drawn by educationists between an elitist curriculum for the middle class and higher levels of attainment. It blamed this type of curriculum for the alienation of the working class and for the disproportionate underachievement. This framework was applied to ethnic and racial groups:

"A monocultural and insular curriculum, pre-occupied with the island of Britain ... has had inevitable consequences that are no longer justifiable ... pupils excluded by an insular curriculum from showing an identity with their peers can become alienated and resentful, as well as feel insecure about their rights to be a part of society in this island. This has serious implications for the motivation and achievement of these pupils. Black pupils can be particularly affected because they are the most obviously recognised as different." (72)

The pragmatic issue of West Indian underachievement returned multicultural education to its racial specificity.

2.8 West Indian Children and Underachievement

Underachievement of children of West Indian origin

was an important consideration in the conception and operation of multicultural education in LEAs. Three different types of explanations were presented to account for underachievement.

- (i) In some LEAs underachievement had been connected with the Creolisation of West Indian speech patterns. This was a commonly held assumption. For example, in an early ILEA document (December 1965)⁽⁷³⁾ poor educational performance was directly related to differences in the linguistic structures in which West Indian and indigenous children operate; LEAs formulated language policy around this view. In Waltham Forest⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ a specific West Indian supplementary service had been set up in 1969 with language development as its main focus. By 1982 there was growing uncertainty about the extent to which children of West Indian origin could be said to have special language needs. Kirklees⁽⁷⁵⁾ regarded as 'urgent' the need to clarify the extent to which children of West Indian origin are said to have 'special language needs', in order that guidance and support could be provided for teachers. Nottingham⁽⁷⁶⁾ expressed similar uncertainty about the extent to which 'Creole interference' could be related to poor educational performance among West Indian pupils.

Birmingham endorsed the view that for the majority of British children of Afro-Caribbean decent, linguistic difficulties played no significant role in underachievement. Birmingham⁽⁷⁷⁾ went on to point out that the morphological and the phonological roots of varieties of Caribbean Creole or the grammatical structures and pronunciation required Creole to be regarded as a distinct language. It urged West Indian parents and schools to start regarding Creole as a specific language. Failure to recognise this by educationists and parents was, the report maintained, contradictory. While both parents and teachers agreed that West Indian children had no linguistic difficulties, when communication problems broke down, certain negative consequences followed: The child, the report added, was then regarded as 'stupid or educational subnormal.'⁽⁷⁸⁾ The report regarded the

position of Asian children as different because they have languages which do not share a common vocabulary with English, and therefore are in an advantageous position compared to the children of West Indian origin. This being the case, special consideration was given to Asian children which was denied to West Indian children. To solve this difficulty the report recommended the development of suitable materials to teach English as a second language to Creole speakers, secondly, information should be given to the West Indian community to enable them to realise that they do not speak proper English and thirdly to developing projects to extend use and respect for Creole in the community.

- (ii) The second explanation of West Indian underachievement centred on incipient racism and educational marginalisation.

In the light of the recent Rampton Report, Waltham Forest⁽⁷⁹⁾ questioned the continued efficacy of using linguistic difficulties among children of West Indian background since the majority of such children are second/third generation. The report went on to add that the continued use of language deficit 'masked more complex underlying factors.' The report stated, that the 'attitudes towards West indian children's language held by some teachers, especially when combined with other attitudes towards the expectations of these children, may have an important bearing on their motivation and achievement.'⁽⁸⁰⁾ The report questioned the organisation of multiculturalism itself in its own education authority. It argued that insofar as the education authority created specific structure outside 'mainstream education', a dominant conception of West Indian needs outside mainstream education was allowed to perpetuate a situation in which 'teachers where they so wish were able to absolve themselves of responsibility.'⁽⁸¹⁾ The education authority in an attempt to combat the incipient racial organisation of multiculturalism proposed to collapse its West Indian Support Structure and E2L service and develop further

mainstream multicultural resources.

The third explanation of West Indian underachievement was said to be the condition of the West Indian family. Nottingham⁽⁸²⁾ focused its attention on the socio-economic and social conditions of West Indian families related to poor housing, and working parents. It regarded Rampton's citation of racism as an important factor in West Indian underachievement to be only one contingent factor in the explanation. Nottingham felt the culture of the family to be much more important. The report argued that the factors governing underachievement were constituted in the changing social structure and context of the West Indian family. Among the factors which had a negative bearing on achievement, the report noted, were unsatisfactory housing, single parent families, long hours of work in physically demanding jobs, and the demise of the extended family network in Britain. The report recommended research into the 'family circumstances of West Indians in Nottingham.'⁽⁸³⁾ Recommendations were made to West Indian parents to allow their children to use nurseries. In the view of the report 'West Indian children are apt to be disadvantaged even before they reach the age for nursery education and are then further disadvantaged because too many parents cannot make use of nursery classes.'⁽⁸⁴⁾

West Indian children remained an unresolved problem in the education system. It was more difficult for authorities to offer solutions to the problems they identified. Underachievement reflected persistent class inequalities in education. The unresolved problem of Afro-Caribbean underachievement in the education system fuelled the convergence of explanations around anti-racism.

Forms of Anti-racism

At the forefront of the anti-racist initiative was the ILEA with its five interrelated policy statements on race, sex and class. The ILEA Anti-racist Statement and Guidelines,

represented an attempt to develop a concept of racism as systematic institutional practice rather than simply an expression of individual prejudice. It also linked inequality of race to inequality of class and gender. In doing so, the authority was at the forefront of policy development in this area.

The Race, Sex and Class policy statements produced by ILEA in 1982 were designed to achieve equality of opportunity by minimising racial, class, and gender inequality in education. The Anti-Racist statement required changes in assimilationist multiculturalism that mainly stressed cultural diversity. The authority's preferred perspective was equality if, as it argued, 'the central pervasive influence of racism is to be removed' (86). The perspectives of pluralism and diversity must, the authority maintained, be anchored by the issues of racism.

The authority identified six broad categories underlying the conditions of existence of racism.

- i. The first is the structural dimension of racism which the authority defined as 'the economic and power relations in society'. Power being essentially concentrated in the hands of White and wielded against Black groups.
- ii. The political dimension highlights the racial distribution of power. The example of the racial distribution of power is identified in the various nationality and immigration laws, conferring different degrees of citizenship rights to Black and White groups.
- iii. The ideological dimension involved the characterisation of Black peoples and their culture as inferior.
- iv. The historical dimension - the colonial and neo-colonial relationships are identified as crucial in positioning and defining the power relations between Black and White.
- v. The cultural dimension was seen as essential in highlighting the 'all pervasive nature of racism', affecting interpretations of human behaviour and activity as literature, art and philosophy.

- vi. The organisation of knowledge - the curriculum has been a sanctuary for the sedimentation and dissemination of distorted images of Black people.

Since ILEA did not dispute the existence of racism, it embarked on an ambitious anti-racist programme of action. The authority utilised the 1976 Race Relations Act and a number of PEP Reports to legitimate its recognition of the existence of racism. In recognising the existence of racism, the authority had developed an extensive anti-racist strategy designed to affect the internal working of the authority itself and its schools and colleges. The policy attempted to cover the reorganisation of the content and organisation of the school curriculum, knowledge and awareness of teachers of other cultures, recruitment to the education service, the setting up of consultative machinery with ethnic minorities in order that the education service and its policy can be kept constantly under review, in-service training, monitoring the dissemination of policy, a recognition and validation of the number of different languages that exist in ILEA schools and hence the legitimisation for mother-tongue teaching.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In conjunction with furthering the anti-racist initiative the authority has attempted to strengthen the inspectorate with special responsibility for multicultural education and its anti-racist initiative. The retraining of all the education authority's staff to understand the nature of racism and how to combat it was proposed. A code of practice for both teaching and non-teaching staff was identified as part of the combative approach to outlaw racist practice among ILEA staff. The recruitment and promotion of Black staff to senior levels in the education service would be encouraged. The monitoring of the effectiveness of these policies would be necessary. The dissemination of this radical anti-racist strategy involved the LEA in an extensive education campaign. The campaign targeted white people,, black people and school pupils. The authority recognised that such a direct anti-racist approach would be resented by some White people, but it pledged to debate fully and explain the

policies. These policies should not, according to the statement be 'de-emphasised, for fear of a backlash'.⁸⁸

The authority predicated the attainment of its equality policy on full consultation with those people who are the victims of racism. It therefore argued that the Black perspective must constantly inform its policy. With regard to school pupils, the authority appealed for an extension in their moral and civic education to include more knowledge about government, the media, law, social justice, as well as training to identify and combat racism. ILEA's elaboration of the concept of institutional racism is unique and is only partially matched by Berkshire.

Berkshire

Berkshire, in its document 'Education for Equality' (1982), adopted an anti-racist perspective that stressed equality. In the document, racism is defined as comprising: "the interaction between three components: of an uneven distribution of power of influence, discriminatory practices, procedures and customs and the prejudiced beliefs and attitudes of individuals, both conscious and unconscious."⁸⁹ Berkshire believed that this perspective was not antithetical to those that emphasised diversity. The authority's validation of cultural diversity entailed valuing Black children's cultural identity, their bilingual competence, and promoting mutual respect between different cultures'. The perspective of plurality and diversity advocated the recognition of the pervasive structural inequality that exists in a society structured by race. Claiming that inequality perverts 'basic principles of social justice', the report warned that racism "damages and dehumanises White people as well as Black people, giving them distorted views of their identity, society and history, and in this way it is against their long term interests."

The acknowledgment that Britain 'is a racist society' dictated the further recognition that racism is also reproduced in schools. The recognition committed the

authority's anti-racist policy to removing discrimination in education, to the legitimisation of the Black perspective in education; to the development strategies to remove racism in training and recruitment of all staff; and the institutionalisation of continuous monitoring of policies and provisions. The appointment of multicultural advisers was designed to forward these new initiatives. The theoretical elaboration developed in the definition of ILEA and Berkshire is absent from the policy of Brent. The meaning and determination of racism in Brent's policy statement is assumed.

Brent

Brent identified the attainment of equality with 'the positive acceptance of cultural pluralism'.⁹⁰ Only the recognition of the pluralistic nature of British society can lead to fundamental changes in attitudes, it is argued. The emphasis on cultural pluralism and attitude change leads Brent to stress the re-organisation of the curriculum based upon the re-examination of systems of knowledge to re-educate all those affected by Eurocentric and mono-cultural curriculum. That re-orientation includes Black and White pupils and their teachers.

The strengthening of multiculturalism envisaged by Brent involved the re-organisation of the curriculum and a radical conceptualisation of multicultural education along traditionally progressive lines. The report placed multicultural education as central to the learning process. It did not regard it as an optional extra. It is not about "adding on" multicultural aspects to an inherently ethnocentric curriculum. It regarded fundamental development to be based upon genuine attempts to eliminate inadvertent discrimination in accordance with Section 71 of the Race Relations Act (1976). 'An ethnocentric curriculum is discriminatory and perpetuates racism. An explicit shift in the concept is necessary.'⁹¹

In the specification of Brent's policy, the

curriculum is central. Provision for the development of multiculturalism was therefore directed towards the curriculum. For example, the authority created a Development Curriculum Support Unit, the aim of which was to 'provide vital support necessary for fundamental change.'⁹² The Centre was to provide essential teaching and learning materials and in-service training. In addition Cultural Liaison teachers were appointed to facilitate contacts between parents and schools and to be a resource for teachers. Brent's focus on curricula development, staff training and liaison provided the basis for its pluralistic model. Making anti-racism implicit in pluralism was also the model adopted by Haringey.

Haringey

Like Brent, the broad pluralistic view of racism supported diversity from which Haringey redefined the moral education that must be the basis of a multicultural society:

"Cultural diversity has enriched, not weakened British society. In implementing the policy of the Council it is the responsibility of headteachers and staff to ensure that all children have the right to be educated towards an understanding of and commitment to a multicultural/multiracial society." (93)

The Haringey anti-racist guidelines was not as reconstructive as that of ILEA or Berkshire. It was aimed at directing conduct, particularly to combat explicit racist activity by racist groups. The concern of the authority was to curtail the drive by racist groups to recruit among school pupils. In response, Haringey called upon schools 'to teach every individual pupil self-respect, respect for others, and respect for the truth.'⁹⁴ The Anti-racist Guidelines emphasised the procedure and conduct that schools should adopt when faced with direct racism.

This specific focus on countering explicitly racist activity was added to the authority's more general multicultural approach. That general approach covered issues such as linguistic diversity, to which the authority expressed

a declared commitment. Maintaining and developing the linguistic skills of bilingual and biliterate pupils was for the authority a positive step in assisting communities to maintain languages important to their cultural identity. In furtherance of these aims the authority had set up a multicultural support group, which was to develop resources and materials to assist teachers and the library service in developing multicultural practice in the authority's education service.

From the examples given, it can be suggested that the official intrusion of anti-racism forced some LEAs to acknowledge the contradiction between the exclusionary immigration discourse and the integrative discourse of multiculturalism. Anti-racism highlighted the incompatibilities of the two strains of policy entailed in the modalities of affirmation. The official recognition of racism in the national report produced by the Rampton Committee (1981) interrupted the normalisation of traditional multicultural issues. Traditional multiculturalism placed emphasis on cultural diversity, the virtues of tolerance and moral repugnance of racial prejudice. Antiracism criticised the utilisation of cultural artifacts of the targeted group to transmit these ideals by its focus on power, structural inequality, social and racial justice. This is not to say that those LEAs that embraced anti-racist policy lost sight of the dominant educational symbols of multiculturalism. Symbols such as language (E2L and mother-tongue teaching) teacher attitudes and the inculcation of tolerance in White pupils. Instead these representations of multiculturalism were used to question existing practice.

Conclusion

The argument presented by LEAs indicates the real difficulties they encountered in getting multicultural and antiracist issues on the educational agenda. The intervention of Anti-racism in the multicultural discourse to sharpen the debate around race and education also heralds its own dangers.

The creation of structures that are marginal, administratively separate and outside the main arena of power within LEAs, embodies the conditions for their own demise. The fear regarding the racial and cultural insularity of multiculturalism was largely justified by the fact that the thematic content of multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s took place against the background of a vigorous drive towards the centralisation of education by the DES. It seems all the more alarming therefore that the policy documents made no reference to this fundamental reconceptualisation of the curriculum and structural shift in education to contextualise the multicultural project. Anti-racist education initiatives continued this silence. The omission of this context in the themes of multiculturalism and Anti-racism lent them a false sense of security, sharpening the disconnection of racial forms of education from broader reproductive relations within the social relations of education.

In a sense, the discourse of multiculturalism and the intervention of anti-racism foregrounds the tension between ideality and the material relations of education. Their collision sets the basis for a discourse that is nuanced by the broad social relations of education and the articulation between race and class. The policy documents of some LEAs, such as Haringey, Brent and ILEA attempted to reconceptualise race and class in areas of the local state that had been hitherto omitted from explicit analysis. This has been a positive development.

Multiculturalism acknowledged education as a pivotal institution in normalising the educational regularisation of cultural and racial difference. To this end, the different conceptual orientation of multiculturalism entailed an attempt to reconcile race and cultural difference without the dominant culture losing the upper hand. This gave rise to the different modalities of affirmation.

LEAs with a culturally exclusive orientation to multiculturalism sought to formulate a principle of consensus

by reaffirming assimilation and reinforcing the dominant race/cultural identity while simultaneously articulating the moral rejection of racial intolerance. In the racially insertive orientation, LEAs attempted to promote consensus by accepting insertion in the curriculum of the cultural artifacts of the racial/cultural minority. The aim was to facilitate racial and cultural pride and tolerance. Consensus formation in the culturally inclusive orientation relied upon shifting the composition of school knowledge to normalise difference. The socially ameliorative orientation aimed to democratise class structure in its mode of consensus formulation.

The formulation and management of consensus also involved LEAs in the dissemination of multiculturalism and anti-racist policies. Being a member of the local State, LEAs have conferred to them, what Salter and Tapper describe as the 'capacity for legitimation' (Salter and Tapper, 1981:126). This power enabled LEAs to translate national parameters of race relations discourse into local educational concerns. This gave LEAs significant interpretative powers that went hand in hand with their powers of legitimate persuasion.

However, as we have seen, the ability to disseminate the positive promotion of cultural diversity and what LEAs see as the moral imperative of tolerance did not prevent LEAs from admitting to the equivocation of schools to allow the development of multiculturalism if they did not have racial minorities in their schools. Thus LEA powers of persuasion were limited by the social context of race relations, the attitude of recipient schools, teachers and these racially designated groups constituted by its discourse. This made the capacity of LEAs to promote cultural diversity and tolerance uncertain. Furthermore the doubt cast over the ability of LEA to ensure equality of educational outcome, in the face of growing concern over the underachievement of Afro Caribbean pupils, meant that multiculturalism and anti-racism as education devices, are contested by those for whom it hopes to deliver social justice.

Hence, the management of race is a site for contested legitimacy, multiculturalism and anti-racism are contested terrains. The next chapter will turn its attention to the contested location of multiculturalism/anti-racism within the radical critique of the field and the way both discourses open themselves to the challenge of the new right in education.

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85. ILEA was at the forefront of producing policy initiatives that have attempted to articulate a relationship of determination between race, sex and class. It produced five policy statements.
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 - 1) Achievement in Schools (1983)
 - b) ILEA Race, Sex and Class.
 - 2) Multiethnic Education in Schools (1983).
 - c) Race, Sex and Class
 - 3) A Policy for Equality: Race (1983)
 - d) Race, Sex and Class
 - 4) Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines (1983)
 - f) Race, Sex and Class
 - 5) Multi-Ethnic Education in Further, Higher and Community Education, 1983.
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87. Ibid, 2 p.16.
88. Ibid, 3 p.7.

89. Berkshire Education for Equality. A paper for Discussion, Advisory Committee for Multicultural Education, 1982.
90. Brent, Multicultural Education in Brent, 1981.
91. Ibid, p.2.
92. Ibid, p.4.
93. Haringey, Racialist Activities in Schools, 1978.
94. Ibid.
95. HMSO (1981) West Indian Children in our Schools: Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups.

PART IV : CONTESTED LEGITIMACY

Part III used the concept of reconstitution to explore the cultural articulation of race. Reconstitution was identified as the ideological mechanism that located the production of policy in the state. The concept of affirmation was employed to debate the reproduction of the racial forms of education in local education authorities.

In Part IV, contested legitimacy is used to explore the competing field of practice entailed in the support and rejection of the racial forms of education.

PART IV : CONTESTED LEGITIMACY

CHAPTER 8THE COMPETING CLAIMS OF MULTICULTURALISM, ANTIRACISM
AND THE NEW RIGHTIntroduction

This chapter addresses the confrontation and fragmentation between multicultural education (MCE) and anti-racist education (ARE) and the way they intersect with the new right through the concept of culture and ethnicity. Contested legitimacy⁽¹⁾ is a concept internally generated by this research to express these contradictory links. The contestation between multicultural education and anti-racist education concerns the nature of education and the efficacy of particular racial forms of educational discourse and practice in bringing about desired educational and social changes. Both multicultural and anti-racist education cover a wide and often complementary spectrum of educational and social concerns. In spite of the overlap in content there is a conceptual confrontation between the two areas. Multicultural and anti-racist education have evolved antagonistic perspectives, multicultural education stressing culture as an explanatory paradigm for the reproduction of inequality in education, and anti-racist education emphasising structure in reproducing inequality.

Both MCE and ARE criticise each other's perspective and yet, they speak through the language of culture and identity. When they are utilised in the name of minorities designated by colour and non-European cultures, these concepts are called upon to acknowledge intrinsic and exclusive ethnicities. The themes of culture, identity and the legitimacy of different ways of life became the grounds for the inclusion of ethnic minorities in a culturally and structurally plural reformulation of British identity.

These same themes are utilised by the New Right to demand the exclusion of ethnic minority cultures from central British Institutions.⁽²⁾

The appropriation by the New Right of the themes of culture, identity and way of life become the principle form of articulation for the New Right's reconstitution of race to express an inherent, exclusive white British culture. In the name of this inherently exclusive British culture, identity and way of life, the New Right rejects MCE and ARE. The undertheorisation of the cultural reconstitution of race and the language in which it is articulated results in both MCE and ARE intersecting with the analysis of the New Right. Indeed this convergence of underlying assumptions has enabled the New Right to capitalise upon popular racism and contest the legitimacy of MCE and ARE.

The chapter utilises Cohen's (1988) analysis of the racialisation of culture and ethnicity to examine the contradictory intersection of MCE, ARE and the New Right. Cohen's analysis is important for its refusal to essentialise the cultural basis of ethnicity in order to resist reifications. Cohen makes an illuminating statement thus:

"Of course, ethnicity, by definition, involves certain exclusive repertoires of meanings. How else would a sense of historical individuality be expressed? Every language and culture in so far as it is able privileges its own practices, using them to define its own origins and defend its own boundaries. Every form of ethnicity, if it has the means, is ethnocentric, the key word is if." (Cohen 1988:25)

Cohen's analysis has been used in this chapter to make sense of the forms of cultural appropriation presented by multiculturalist, antiracist and New Right perspectives. MCE, ARE, and the New Right contain three key features of culture. MCE represents culture as lived experience. ARE expresses culture as structurally negotiated meanings. For the New Right, culture represents the conservation of existing hegemonic power.

Hall and Jefferson's (1976) definition of culture is instructive:

"Culture is the distinctive shapes in which the material and social organization of life expresses itself. A culture includes the "maps of meanings" which makes things intelligible to its members. These maps of meaning are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectified in the patterns of social organizations and relationships through which the individual becomes a social individual. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also the way these shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted." (Hall, Jefferson, 1976:10)

This chapter focuses upon these forms of contestation over MCE, ARE and the New Right.

The chapter is divided into three sections: Section one discusses the concept of contested legitimacy and its interpretative application to forms of racialised discourse in education. Section two highlights the forms of contestation between multicultural education and anti-racist education. Section three addresses the contested legitimacy between race education and the New Right.

SECTION 1

CONTESTED LEGITIMACY

In the introduction to The Structure of Social Theory, Johnson et al (1984) argue that sociology, over the last ten years, has experienced what they describe as a "crisis of fragmentation". This has two central dimensions: fragmentation through specialisation and fragmentation through theoretical confrontation. The proliferation in specialism in sociology has led to the growth of subdivisions and differentiations within subject areas in sociology. For example, sociology of education now encompasses the sociology of the curriculum, the sociology of language, the sociology of race and education, and the

sociology of gender and education. A feature of these specialisms, according to Johnson et al, is their ability to generate area specific knowledge with their own internal theory and with a growing propensity for theoretical confrontation. Theoretical confrontation is not only a feature of competing schools of thought, but also a feature within schools (Johnson et al 1984, p.1-2). The impact of this fragmentation and theoretical confrontation they describe thus,

"Once combined, these two sources of fragmentation - specialisation and theoretical division - have proved capable of producing a reinforcing trend, in which areas of specialised study become the preserves of different schools of theory, so creating further problems of communication and replication." (Ibid, p.3)

The themes of proliferation in specialism and theoretical confrontation are useful in conceptualising the relationship between MCE and ARE. Both claim to provide area specific knowledge and diverging theoretical approaches with respect to groups who are pejoratively designated culturally and racially. In this way, the contestation between MCE and ARE can be located within the dominant conceptual trends in sociology rather than limited to race relations.⁽³⁾

Confrontation and fragmentation can limit the formation of alliances both in terms of conceptualisation and practice. This can result in the marginalisation of specific group interests. For example, racialisation in education expressed through the ethnicisation of race, attributes cultural practices to race. A process described in this thesis as the cultural reconstitution of race. Afro-Caribbean children are the main target of this ideological construction. By conflating race with culture, Afro Caribbean children are constructed as racial subjects and marginalised for ideological interpellation. Their marginalisation positions them as subjects eligible to a voice only when addressed through race. To illustrate this

point, Cohen draws attention to the complex interpenetration and interaction between race and ethnicity as a feature of the ideological construction of race. He writes:

" ... where ethnicity is conflated with race, it tends to be reified into a set of essential defining traits - Jewishness, Irishness, Blackness, for example - so that they cease to be part of a concrete historical process and become instead the abstract expression of an eternal trans-historical identity. While such notions of an 'inherent ethnicity' may be successfully mobilised in anti racist work (for example, in giving images of Blackness a positive rather than negative charge) this is only achieved by appealing to deterministic beliefs about self and society which ultimately rest on biological arguments. Moreover, it is precisely in this reified form that ethnicity has been exploited to define and even further marginalise that 'Other England' which is neither Anglo-Saxon nor middle class ..." (Cohen 1988:24).

It is through this ideological fusion of race and ethnicity that the New Right rejects MCE and ARE. (In this sense, the themes of fragmentation and confrontation suggest that the opening up of sociological discourse does not guarantee legitimation or its form of appropriation.) Cohen's discussion of the 'racist appropriation of ethnicity' in contemporary British cultural politics testifies to that. This appropriation creates a dilemma for the contestation between MCE-ARE and the language of culture, identity and way of life that they speaks through. The concept of contested legitimacy attempts to describe this dilemma in the next section.

Concept and Application of Contested Legitimacy

In the racial structuring of educational marginality the quest for legitimacy is articulated through racialisation.⁽⁴⁾ As a concept, racialisation aims to provide an explanatory framework of the economic, political, cultural and ideological processes through which Black minority groups are transformed and reproduced over

generations as racial subjects, (Miles 1982). Miles describes the process of racialisation as follows:

"The process of racialisation is locked into and has its own effects upon the reproduction of material inequality and disadvantage within the working class. The process is simultaneously the reproduction of inequality per se and the allocation of persons to different positions in the structure of inequality, with ideological and political significance coming to be attached to phenotypical difference." (Miles, 1982:173).

The process of racialisation is the course of contested legitimacy in the state quest for legitimation.

The legitimation of different aspects of racialisation so that it becomes a reflex of common sense has been the concern of a number of writers. Sivanandan describes immigration control as a major instrument of legitimation, covering its laissez-faire phase to control restriction to expulsion (Sivanandan 1978). Hall (1979) focuses on the racialisation of policing, law and order and their implications for the construction of an authoritarian state.⁽⁵⁾ Reeves (1983) looks at the role of racialisation in the construction of political discourse. Barker (1981) addresses the construction of a British citizenship, where race is reconstituted as culture to form the basis for inclusion and exclusion. In a rich and synthesizing analysis, Cohen (1988) examines the racialisation of ethnicity. Similarly Gilroy (1987) considers the formation of a racially essentialized construction of culture and identity in the New Right's politics of nation. This construction serves as a mechanism for excluding people whose identity lies outside white patrimony. Furthermore, Gilroy identifies the internalisation and convergence of the underlying assumption of a fixed culture and identity between white and Black in anti-racist policies and struggles. Lawrence (1982) considers this to be the most powerful racial proposition in the racial common sense that links academic discourse of race and popular racism.

In education, Mullard (1984) delineates the different racial forms of education and their containment

of the education of Black children. Reeves and Chevannes (1963) and Williams (1986) remark on the impact of the racialisation of educational underachievement. They note that since the 1970s, there has been a specific racialisation of underachievement embodied in Afro-Caribbean children. In the process of racialisation of underachievement, class is subsumed by ethnicity and race. Inter-ethnic comparison of educational attainment between Asians, Afro-Caribbeans, and Whites is used to deny the efficacy of racism. Analyses of race are marginalised because of a failure to address how racism intersects with class. The tendency is to treat race as an undifferentiated category. There is also a failure to specify the different ways in which manifestations of different forms of racism intersect with different ethnic groups. The promotion and legitimisation of these different strategies of racialisation require an ethical basis, thereby ensuring the internalisation of its racial code in those groups who submit to its authority. This requires the normalisation of two contradictory imperatives in its construction and management of race relations. The first imperative for the New Right is to maintain ideological and cultural forces that institutionalise a racialised consensus. This involves representing Black groups as 'social problems', the alien wedge, the enemy within an otherwise culturally homogeneous society and as a threat to the oneness, the solidity of the British nation and culture. The first imperative relies upon always keeping alive in the public mind the inherent dangers of Black settlement and the accompanying social, political, economic and cultural threat Black people allegedly pose. The second imperative made necessary by the first, the creation of an anti-discriminatory legislation ethic based upon tolerance. This ethic is enshrined in political and educational discourses of consensus and integration. However, the need to sustain the momentum of impending threats of lawlessness in the inner city and the legitimisation of firmer and tougher forms of control, meant acquiescing to forces that made it difficult to sustain the ethic of tolerance.

The conjunction of these two contradictory imperatives strikes at the heart of the educational discourse which is designed to legitimate, integrate, and normalise the presence of Black children in the education system. The contradictory imperatives not only anticipated the forms of educational response but also questioned the right of minorities, and those who advocated change on their behalf, to expect a national system of education to change for their benefit. Against the background of Powellism in the latter part of the 1960s, the view of an intrinsic British culture that excludes people of colour has increased in popularity since the ascendancy of the Conservative political party in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Indeed, the New Right movement challenged the basis of liberal cultural pluralism enshrined in the multiculturalism of the 1970s. The view aggressively questioned the feasibility and validity of assimilation which has been the avowed aim of the education system since the dispersal policy of 1960s and is still endorsed in the 1980s by a large number of LEAs. In the 1980s, the language of British cultural dominance became increasingly voiced through education by the New Right. British cultural predominance overrode multiculturalism and antiracism. These forms of education were viewed as extraneous to the oneness of the British nation. The New Right promoted the view that, insofar as the position of Afro-Caribbean children is concerned, their culture is at fault rather than the education system. This explanation of the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system is also a recurrent theme in liberal accounts. In the official race relations reports of the 1970s and 1980s Afro-Caribbean children are viewed as the main problem facing the education system. Models of cultural deprivation and compensatory education have been recycled to account for the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system. Carby reminds us that models of class pathology have been transferred to models of multicultural education (Carby, 1979). Williams (1986) points to the similarity in the interpretative categories used and

solutions offered to account for working class underachievement in education in the 1960s and 1970s. However, in the 1980s, it is the powerful presupposition of cultural deficit that frames the debate on Afro-Caribbean children's educational destiny. It is a debate that ignores the operation of racism in education. In justifying this view, commentators have argued that the higher attainment levels of Asians compared to Afro-Caribbean children negates the explanatory force of racial prejudice. New Right critics argue that cultural practices of Afro-Caribbeans must change and not those of the school.

The New Right's appropriation of a theme that has long been established in the liberal support of multiculturalism, compromises the basis of the multiculturalist argument for changes in the organisation of schools to introduce a multicultural curriculum. This dilemma is evident in the Swan Report which promoted multiculturalism but also claimed that the different attainment of Asian and Afro Caribbean children can be explained by their respective cultures. Thus multiculturalism, the educational strategy for legitimating consent has had to wrestle with the tensions inherent in the critical initiatives of antiracism, the attack of the New Right and its own contradictory racial and cultural imperative. Multiculturalism represents an imported educational ideology, whose typification and characterisations have largely been assembled outside the school by the consensus strategy of race relations. MCE has been promoted as a conciliator, attempting to realise new forms of educational experience, and attainment. It serves as a mediator between the affirmation of models of deficit and pathology and the liberal view of the school as an objective place, a neutral allocator of rewards, insensitive to class, and race.

Education must be able to retain its legitimacy, even when there are moments when its efficacy and power to coalesce divergent forces and create consensus is

challenged. Education must also be able to retain legitimacy in its account for inequality, the maintenance of hierarchy, the differential allocation of rewards and attainment. This must be done while maintaining that all these contradictory forces are generated outside education but are within its capacity to solve. It is for these reasons that education plays such a critical role in promoting and legitimating racialisation in education while simultaneously claiming the basis for its solution. This aspect of legitimation asserts the underdetermination of education by broader economic, political, ideological and cultural forces. Bowles and Gintis describe the ideological role of the education system thus:

"The education system, perhaps more than any other contemporary social institution, has become the laboratory in which competing solutions to the problems of personal liberation and social equality are tested and the arena in which social struggles are fought out. The school system is a monument to the capacity of advanced corporate economy to accommodate and deflect thrusts away from its fundamentals. Yet at the same time, the education system mirrors the growing contradictions of the larger society most dramatically in the disappointing results of reform efforts." (Bowles and Gintis, 1976:5)

The disappointment expressed by Bowles and Gintis was endorsed by Halsey et al (1980) in their recognition of the persistent pattern of class inequality in attainment over the last forty years. Now that inequalities in educational attainment are more sharply reflected in the class structure of minority groups, structural impediments that give rise to inequality are deflected in the thematic content of multiculturalism with its appeal for assimilation, integration and harmony. The thematic content of multiculturalism involves making a contradictory imperative in the management of race relations. A management propelled by an authoritarian consensus around the inherent dangers of Black settlement while appealing for conciliation. The tension generated by this dual management, as we have seen, was felt by LEAs to be the

main reason for limiting the wholesale legitimization of multiculturalism as a valid educational objective. The ideological proximity between a coercive race relations, which relies upon institutions within the Repressive State Apparatus for its maintenance, and the need to create an ethnical basis for the rationale of its race relations policy through the education apparatus (Ideological State Apparatuses), provides the context around which contestation is generated or managed (Althusser 1971:261).

The tension in the management of the coercive aspects of race relations is implied in Mullard's analysis of the contestation between multiculturalism and anti-racism (Mullard, 1984). Mullard claims that multiculturalism was introduced as a direct source of legitimization by the state. The notion of multiculturalism as a state constructed and state sanctioned racial discourse forms the basis of Mullard's critique of MCE. Naguib (1985) rejects the view that the origin and hence the source of legitimization of multicultural education comes from the state. For him the origins and sources of legitimization of MCE are multifarious. The sources of legitimization come from teachers, the Black community concerned with the underachievement of their children, LEAs who are faced with large numbers of Black children for whom they must pragmatically cater, educationists and lastly, the state. To see the State as having directly sponsored "racial forms of education " as Mullard describes them (Mullard 1984:14) bears the hallmarks of a grand conspiracy, according to Naguib (Naguib 1985:9). Mullard is insistent that ideological and policy perspectives from assimilation, integration and cultural pluralism have been expressed through the specific racial forms of education, from immigrant education (1960s), to multiracial/multicultural education (1970s). They have all been sponsored and endorsed by the state (Mullard 1984:14). This sponsorship enabled the state, according to Mullard "to secure ... a stable and harmonious socio-educational order" (ibid:22). For Mullard, it is antiracism, with the

support of radical white groups, which speaks for oppositional Black definitions of their cultural and educational experience.

There are a number of inherent difficulties in adopting a monolithic interpretation of the generation of what Mullard describes as racial forms of education. It can be argued that the interpretative power of these racially affirmed educational initiatives lies in the way in which they appear to connect with, and speak through, a number of different voices. For example, multiculturalism can connect with some of the themes of the cultural nationalism of Black protest. Multiculturalism, also identifies with the liberal concerns of the state's aim to maintain social order. In addition, the multiculturalism of the 1970s, could indeed be incorporated in the appeal for the relativization of the school curriculum by the new sociology of education.

A monolithic position is too simplistic and does not give sufficient weight to the variety of reasons for the emergence of racial ideologies in education." (ibid:9). Naguib rightly asserts that there are many Black professionals in education working for the promotion and legitimation of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is often regarded as correcting cultural ethnocentrism and re-establishing the cultural integrity of minority groups by acknowledging their own cultural contribution. Furthermore, a large number of Black professionals in education and related services owe their positions to the expansion of MCE/ARE policy statements in LEAs after the 1981 riots and the Scarman Report (1981). Naguib's analysis (Naguib 1985:13) is valuable in identifying the different sources of support for MCE. However their potential for legitimation and contestation should not ignore the ideological element in multiculturalism. Naguib's analysis misses an important ideological aspect of MCE. By appearing to be a conduit for uniting different values implied in the promotion and legitimation of an integrationist consensus

based upon inter-cultural and inter-racial understanding, MCE conceals its marginal position in mainstream education discourse. Its moralist zeal tends to disregard the structuring mechanism of cultural reproduction in education.⁽⁶⁾

The liberal assimilationist policy (1950s), the integrationist policy (1970s), and the cultural pluralism implied in MCE of the 1980s all entertained a form of state sponsorship, in the sense that they actively encouraged a climate of policy in which certain ideas of inter-cultural and inter-racial tolerance and understanding were allowed to flourish.⁽⁷⁾ However, the state could not maintain full control over its assimilationist, integrationist and pluralist sponsorship of multiculturalism. The rise of oppositional anti-racist education, forced the recognition of the structural basis of racial inequality in education. ARE reasserted the need for a realistic assessment of the possibilities and difficulties associated with constructing wholesale change through a celebration of cultural diversity in education. Thus, the confrontation between MCE and ARE has indeed made it incumbent upon theorists concerned with education in inter-cultural and inter-racial situations, to recognise that progress in MCE and ARE on their own will not fundamentally change existing relations of power including the symbolic power of the dominant culture. Pre-existing structuring devices in education have their reconstitutive power to digest and accommodate changes that are often conceived as oppositional to the existing structure.

Hatcher and Shallice's (1983) perceptive review of the 'Politics of Anti-racist Education' demonstrates the extent to which there has been an 'official endorsement' of anti-racist education policy from the local state following the Rampton (1981) and Scarman reports (1981). Although there has been this official sanctioning of anti-racism by some LEAs, Hatcher and Shallice (1983) remind us that the state's mode of affirmation will be through the existing

mechanism of the school, which can entail the deflection of anti-racism at the same time. They illustrate their argument thus:

"We can recognise the success that the Tories can have in mobilising parents against progressive education, and how effectively the media can be used. Within the school, the demands of examination syllabuses, the hostility of heads, inspectors, governors, and other teachers, the simple pressure of time, and the unsympathetic response of the pupils themselves can all militate powerfully against progressive innovation. All these combine to create a climate of self-censorship, which is the strongest guarantor of state policy." (Hatcher and Shallice, 1983:14)

The reflection of Hatcher and Shallice powerfully endorse an aspect of reproduction in education associated with the work of Basil Bernstein (1971). Power relations, Bernstein reminds us, are inscribed in the internal organisation of the school. The classification and framing of education itself works towards demarcating boundaries between the content and categories of knowledge and the pedagogic practice through which they are transmitted. Boundary maintenance and strength are the principal ideological device in legitimating the existing division of labour. The power of these positional devices suggests that even when there is a redefinition of the cultural field, and concessions from the dominant culture are conceded to, a re-affirmation of traditional values as a reaction to the opposing ideology, can be set in motion. Among multicultural critics and supporters there is contestation over which education code should be in operation. The critics of MCE call to the positional strength of the collection code (Bernstein 1971) in education, the framing of its pedagogical relationship and the power invested in them. The integration code of MCE, with its emphasis on more integrated subjects and less directed student/teacher relationships are seen as the main source of weakness of multiculturalism. The fact that the attack on MCE and ARE made by the New Right came at the time of the restructuring

of secondary education with the re-affirmation of core subjects and testing, powerfully illustrates Bernstein's analysis of this tendency. Traditional boundaries in education are constantly being reasserted and re-negotiated in the face of innovation. The assertion of the different positions inherent in MCE and ARE and the response of the New Right is the theme of the next section.

SECTION 2

THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN MULTICULTURAL AND ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

This research identifies three types of expression of confrontation and fragmentation between multicultural and anti-racist education. They are defined as (1) the liberal perspective, (2) the radical perspective, (3) the anti-racist perspective. Since the range of writings on multicultural and anti-racist education is immense, this Section summarises and analyses some of their major assumptions.

Multicultural and anti-racist education encompass a wide variety of perspectives. At first, Frazier notes the adjectival positioning of multicultural and anti-racist education suggests a unified body of knowledge relating to orientation and application (Frazier, 1977). Upon closer examination, it is apparent that both multicultural and anti-racist education have no agreed definition of their meaning, scope, or indeed their desirability. This absence of an agreed definition, according to Modgil et al (1986) creates a rather ad hoc implementation and practice of multicultural and anti-racist education which:

"depends largely upon the standpoints of individuals, whether they take an assimilationist, culturalist or anti-racist approach." (Modgil et al 1986:5)

Meanwhile Parekh (1986) in his interrogation of multicultural education argues that the 'currency' of

multicultural education over the last ten years has taken place in an atmosphere of 'acute controversy' (ibid). Speaking specifically of multicultural education, Parekh declares:

"For the Conservative critics, it represents an attempt to politicise education in order to pander to minority demands, whereas for some radicals it is the familiar ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities." (Parekh, 1986:19)

Another writer attempting to step outside the controversy and clarify multicultural education describes it as 'a comprehensive term for a variety of education of a diverse kind' (Williams, 1979:127, Gundara 1981:114). To illustrate this diversity Phillips-Bell (1981) identifies the breadth of educational concerns that makes it difficult to simply define multicultural education. Instead, she satisfies herself by describing multicultural education in the following terms:

"... multicultural education tends to be an umbrella term to cover a variety of approved or demanded practices in educational establishments, e.g. mother-tongue teaching, the provision of ethnic school dinners, the elimination of ethnocentricity in history and other curriculum subjects and the racial bias in school books, the inclusion of non-Christian religions in RE and school assembly, etc." (Phillips-Bell 1981:21)

Troyna and Williams, evaluating and delineating the impact of anti-racist education initiatives in LEAs, describe those initiatives as 'old wine in new bottles', (old multicultural issues and concerns in the new frame of anti-racist education) (Troyna and Williams, 1986:79). For them, the difference between multicultural and anti-racist education is a conceptual one. In practice, they note, multicultural education generally replicates the same concerns as anti-racist education. Their analysis of LEA Anti-Racist Policy statements concluded that antiracism is

one strategy for achieving multicultural goals." (ibid:91). Furthermore they write "the key concepts of antiracist education policies such as stability, harmony, justice, equality and truth", do not constitute a radical break from earlier educational concerns. They have been the staple diet of educational policies for at least the last three decades (ibid:91). Yet in a later text, Troyna (1987) agrees with Mullard (1984), that multicultural and anti-racist education are competing, oppositional and antagonistic racial forms of education. This theme will be developed later in the chapter. In spite of the absence of definitional consensus, it can be argued that both multicultural and anti-racist education have been ascribed the task of absorbing all those practices in education that have been identified as appropriately reflecting the needs of ethnic minorities. However, the absence of consensus on what those needs are, and, how they might best be secured, their specificity to ethnic minorities and the extent to which they reflect broader relations within and outside of education, can be said to heighten the degree of fragmentation and confrontation between multicultural and anti-racist education.

The fragmentation and confrontation have nonetheless tended to express themselves in four types of orientation, (1) the liberal orientation, (2) the anti-racist orientation, (3) the radical orientation, and (4) the conservative orientation of the new right.

Liberal Orientation to Multicultural Education

The liberal orientation to multicultural education relies upon marshalling the culturalist forces and the explicit value objectives in the liberal ideology of education. Perhaps the most eloquent exponent of this view is Bhikhu Parekh. Multicultural education, according to Parekh (1986), is necessary to eliminate the 'deep mono-cultural orientation' in the English education system. The elimination of a mono-cultural curriculum is made all the

more urgent as it contradicts the liberal objectives in education (ibid:20). This assumption leads Parekh to define the consequence of mono-cultural education as follows:

"It damages and impoverishes all children, black or white. So far as white children are concerned, it restricts the growth of imagination, curiosity, and critical self-reflection, and encourages narcissism, moral insensitivity, and arrogance ... to the black ... they suffer from a sense of worthlessness, self-pity, confusion of identity, self-alienation, a self-divided and schizophrenic consciousness and a haunting fear of losing their roots." (ibid)

His definition of the aims of multicultural education is in terms of their social emancipatory power and the liberatory interests of individuals:

"It is essentially an attempt to release a child from the confines of the ethno-centric straightjacket and to awaken him to the existence of other cultures, societies, and ways of life and thought. It is intended to de-condition the child as much as possible in order that he can go out into the world as free from biases and prejudice as possible ... Multicultural education is therefore an education in freedom."

He concludes that:

"Multicultural education is therefore not a departure from, nor incompatible with, but a further refinement of the liberal idea of education." (ibid:26-27)

Parekh universalises the concept of multicultural education by moving away from its association with Black groups. A desire he shares with a small, but vociferous minority of LEAs in London and Metropolitan authorities with visible Black population. Educationists who want to dissociate multiculturalism from the Black presence and see it as an extension of valued knowledge also share this liberal appeal (Davis, 1981, 1984, 1986, James, 1982, Jeffcoate, 1979).

However, the dominant characterisation of multicultural education is viewed as developing 'programme and practice' that focus on 'cultural groups' experiencing prejudice and discrimination (James, 1982, Banks, 1981). A

typical representation of this view is offered by Mary Worrell, who defines multiculturalism in the following terms:

"A multicultural society is one that is plural and diverse, and educating children to enjoy and accept its potential implies educating them to respect customs and values of cultural groups that are different from their own." (Worrell 1981:178)

She notes that it is the Afro-Caribbean group that suffer most severely from 'cultural devaluation'. This cultural devaluation, she argues, appears to be a 'factor behind the underachievement of Black British children' (Ibid:182). The attainment and underachievement perspective are strong components in the rationalisation and critique of multicultural education. They represent a central focus for a number of influential exponents of multicultural education such as Tomlinson (1981), Rex and Tomlinson, (1978) Little (1975, 1978a, 1978b), Little and Whalley (1981). They are also evident in official reports such as those of Select Committee Reports on Race Relations and Immigration 1973 - 1976 - 1981 - 1985, the CRE (1976). In the Black community, the Redbridge Report (1978) Charlton Duncan (1985), Ranjit Arora (1986), Derek Dyson (1986) and Stone (1981) in their critique of multiculturalism cite underachievement in their discussion of multiculturalism.

Bullivant (1981) summarises the liberal concern of multiculturalism to be preoccupied with three interlocking assumptions. These assumptions are as follows:

1. that ancestral knowledge i.e., knowledge about one's ethnic past, will enhance educational attainment,
2. the corresponding claim that curricula transmission of the culture of the subordinate groups will promote equality of opportunity,
3. knowledge of cultural diversity will undermine prejudice and discrimination in children and promote tolerance in the wider society.

These three assumptions underlie the policy and

practice of multiculturalism. They have provided the rhetorical meanings and connotative attachment to multiculturalism in official formulations such as the DES Green Paper (1977), and the Multi-ethnic Statement of the ILEA (1977) and, as we have seen, in other LEAs in the 1980s. The Interim Report of the Rampton Committee (1981) gave a new and more radical lease of life to their meanings with the intervention of racism as a social variable in the calculus of disadvantage. Teachers unions such as the NUT (1961) and AMMA (1987) and professional associations such as NAME (1980) use this form of multiculturalism to express their commitment to a multicultural society. Leading educators in the field such as Little, Little and Willey, Lawrence Stenhouse (1979), Verma Bagley (1975, 1979, 1984), Taylor (1981), Banks (1981), Parekh (1986), Jeffcoates (1979), Milner (1985) have lent their support to multiculturalism. In turn, these assumptions inform the production of learning materials and further development of resource banks (Klein, 1986). Initiatives such as the Lambeth Whole School Project, the East London Whole Schools Project, the Caribbean Education Resource Project, and the Reading Through Understanding Scheme set up by the Centre for Urban Educational Studies are a few examples of attempts to provide information for the majority of minority history and cultural background as a means to promote understanding and integration. The proliferation of background courses, visits of teachers to India and the Caribbean are a few examples of the steps taken by educational establishments and LEAs to foster attitude training in cultural diversity.

The liberal approach to multiculturalism reaffirms its commitment the ameliorative power of the school. The power to enhance opportunities and personal autonomy is stressed by Parekh when he describes the ability of MCE to question "inherited biases" and to "promote a willingness to explore the rich diversity of human culture" (Parekh, 1986:26). Other sympathisers with MCE highlighted the problem of managing consensus, continuity and social change

when diversity is represented by the presence of different racial groups. It is the challenge that inspire Croft's assessment of the difficulties in attaining cultural pluralism:

"Here in Britain, educationalists have to address themselves to both tasks: the celebrating of this enriching new diversity, and the conveying of a core of common beliefs and sentiments (Durkheim's collective conscience). This represents a substantial challenge. For educationists have to decide at what point the acculturation necessary for full participation in society becomes a repressive assimilation; and at what point the celebration of diversity ceases to enrich and becomes potentially divisive." (Croft 1984:23)

This scope of multicultural education is also represented in the work of Jeffcoate (1979, 1981). The challenge for the school and the child in a multicultural society depends, according to Jeffcoate, on their ability to manage the tensions associated with biculturalism (Jeffcoate 1981:14). Cultural diversity poses problems for the school, particular in its role as social critic and cultural synthetiser (ibid:12). Conflict and tensions over different cultural values makes the execution of this role hazardous. Again, Jeffcoate exemplifies this difficulty by highlighting differences in the cultural inheritance of a white middle class child and a black working class child. This inherited cultural difference, according to Jeffcoate, will force the school to adopt different objectives and relationships in its response to the different cultural baggage of the two groups of children. The presumption of Jeffcoate is that of different cultural strengths and critical facility which the two respective cultural inheritances gives rise. Jeffcoate argues the position thus:

"A White middle class child ... with the confidence in his cultural inheritance will clearly not have the same sort of needs as a black working child with unsure or ambiguous feelings about his identity and ancestry." (ibid:12)

On the basis of this assumption, Jeffcoate claims that:

"it is reasonable for the school to impose the multicultural objective of respect for others and the ability to evaluate one's culture objectively on the white child. On the black child, unsure of its identity, lacking 'positive' image the objective is that of enhancing self-respect." (ibid:12)

The objective of evaluating one's culture objectively, is not an objective. Jeffcoate assumes that will be easily digested by minority groups. The 'transformist' function of the school is in contradiction with the 'transmissionist' culture of certain minority groups.

On the basis of this contradiction, the role of the school in a multicultural society is according to Jeffcoate to open up the 'cultural heritage' for 'critical revaluation' and enable pupils to become 'autonomous rational beings' (Op.cit.:11). In doing so the school can build upon the middle class child's prior knowledge of the cultural, 'the accomplishments' of his society and the 'confidence' in his identity that this knowledge confers. So while the role of multiculturalism for the middle class child involves the teaching of tolerance and understanding so that he/she does not demonstrate "contempt or condescension towards cultures that are different and especially towards those which are not European", for the black child, the aim is to instil self respect (ibid:13).

The dichotomy in the objectives of multiculturalism for the black and white child is continued in the position adopted by James (1982). He locates this dichotomy in the very origin of the idea of multicultural education when he writes:

"The development of the idea of multicultural education has been motivated by the concern both for the educational well being of ethnic minority children (especially by the belief that the self concepts of such children are in need of special treatment in order to achieve positive educational results) and the anxieties about the ways in which attitudes of all children towards people markedly different from themselves are developed." (James 1982:226)

These two contrasting objectives are underpinned by James' rationalistic educational ideal. Thus the type of education that he wishes multiculturalism to engage with is that which is aimed at the "fostering of independent, rational judgement, and with the openness of the diversity of human thought and behaviour ..." (ibid:227). Like Parekh, James expresses the idea of 'liberal education' with 'a common core' to be the right of all children and not 'reserved for the privileged elite' (ibid:229). Yet, like Croft, James acknowledges the danger of not sustaining a degree of balance between a pluralistic approach which recognises the validity of difference and a common core that is sufficiently egalitarian to accommodate all common elements necessary to survive in a modern democratic state. The nagging difficulty in James mind is resolving this tension in what he regards as the conservationist tendencies in minority cultures that threaten openness. He writes:

" ... there is the thorny point that the cultural traditions of some ethnic minorities are not amenable to the kind of open society, with respect for the free exchange of ideas, and rights of individuals (especially of young people as they grow up) to choose their own modes of thinking and behaving, that the advocates of multicultural education evidently favour." (James, 1982:229)

The liberal approach to multicultural education, aims not only to enhance respect for minority cultures within the host community, and to improve self respect among minorities for their own culture, it also hopes to modernise minority cultures. In other words, it wants minority cultures to move towards the progressive ascendancy of Western cultures. So even though the dominant liberal perspective tries to establish a balance between cultures by its reiteration of tolerance, the hegemony of Western culture always manages to retain its upper hand against the backwardness of minority cultures.

This underlying positional superiority of Western culture is a feature in Cole's attack on liberal multicultural education.

"The belief that teachers are morally equipped to enhance black self concept means that dangerous assumptions have been made about white middle class teachers to 'do good' to young blacks. Such an approach is patronising and allows the teacher to avoid examining his/her own racism. It encourages an aura of cultural superiority." (Cole, 1986:22)

Critics of the liberal approach argue that this model pays very little attention to the overall structure of education, preferring to endorse ad-lib incorporation of cultural artefacts. This process is characterised by a mere mentalism, often espoused in abstraction from the way in which inequality of opportunity is reproduced in education. This is the general attack mounted by anti-racist critics of multicultural education.

Anti-racist Education

Multicultural education is attacked by supporters of anti-racist education for its tendency to atrophy structural considerations. Multicultural education is said by Troyna to substitute structural considerations, such as 'the determining impact of racism on the school and post-school experience and opportunities of Black students', 'with the presentation of life style' (Troyna, 1987). In contrast, anti-racist education Troyna continues, is able to go beyond the celebration of diverse life-style and ethnicism 'to probe the manner in which racism rationalises and helps perpetuate injustice and the differential power accorded to groups in society' (Ibid:311).

The focus of attack of antiracist education developed by Mullard is based upon his rejection of the assumptive base of all racial forms of education. Mullard (1984) contends that racial forms of education from

immigrant education of the 1960s), multiracial education (1970s)⁽⁷⁾ and even the more liberal multicultural education initiatives of 1980s, did not fundamentally challenge the assimilationist intent of policy. For Mullard, the attendant practice of multiculturalism was still largely promoted by White middle class professionals who profess to know the interest and needs of the Black community and their children. They still largely endorse a culturalist paradigm that see cultural differences in terms of cultural deficits of Blacks. These cultural deficits are then assumed to be responsible for diminishing the effectiveness of the educational system.

Mullard describes anti-racist education as 'periscopic' and multicultural education as 'microscopic'. The breadth of anti-racist education is such, according to Mullard, that it is able to make 'a connection between institutional discrimination and inequalities of race, class and gender' (Mullard 1984:37). More fundamentally, anti-racist education deconstructs the ideology of ethnicism, which Mullard describes as the cultural mode of racism:

"As a cultural representation of the ideological form of racism, ethnicism then constitutes a set of representations of ethnic differences, peculiarities, cultural biographies, histories and practice, which are used to justify specific courses of action that possess the effect of institutionalising ethnic/cultural differences. In doing so ethnicist policies and practices also tend to obfuscate the common experiences, histories and socio-political conditions of Black (and ethnic) minority groups and hence the degree of the communality of experience that might exist between these and certain White groups in society (1984:11).

The anti-racism which Mullard seeks to establish attempts to dereify racism as a mental aberration and institute it as a structural feature of the social order with class and gender. Given the structural orientation of anti-racist education and the cultural preoccupation of multicultural education, both Mullard and Troyna argue that

the two discourses are fundamentally incompatible and oppositional. Anti-racist education, therefore, is not satisfied with the mere incorporation of representation of the cultural artefact of different ethnic minority groups. In fact, its appeal is for the overall examination of the educational apparatus, procedures, and practice for the way in which exclusionary power operates to exclude and restrict full and decisive participation of Black groups. The delineation between racism as an objective phenomenon, residing in and expressed through pre-existing patterns of hierarchy and domination, and racism as a subjective endorsement of prejudices, is a basic distinction in the anti-racist paradigm for education. Thus the anti-racist model of education privileges the structure of social institutions and power, rather than individual idiosyncracies, in determining life chances of groups racially designated.

Blauner, a pioneer of this concept of institutional racism has had an influential impact on exponents of anti-racist education. He states the determining position of institutionalised relations in defining the social pertinence of racism thus:

"The contingencies of social position or institutional role are more significant than individual attitude or personality in determining these actions and decisions that make a difference with respect to racial realities." (Blauner 1972:188)

The assertion that institutional patterns and procedures of behaviour are decisive in reproducing racism dictates a corresponding assertion by anti-racist educators. Multicultural education can function without an anti-racist perspective, but anti-racist education cannot exist without a multicultural dimension (Ashrif 1985:14).

Antiracist education is avowedly political education. It is its political nature which makes Troyna claim that multicultural and antiracist education are 'irreconcilable' perspectives (Troyna, 1987:311). In

delineating the boundaries between MCE and ARE Troyna suggests that MCE privileges 'individual conversion' while ARE 'prioritises collective action and conceives strategies for change in explicitly political terms which lead to challenges of existing power relations." (ibid:312).

It is evident from the outline of the position of Jeffcoate and James that this view of MCE is not endorsed by them. They uphold a liberal, rationalistic and objectivist view of education. They regard any explicit, radical, and campaigning anti-racism as avowedly political and doctrinaire, in danger of compromising the integrity of the child and progressive child-centred pedagogy. Unlike the position held by Jeffcoates and James, anti-racist critics emphasise that the instructional and explicit goals of the school do not exist in a vacuum. Anti-racist exponents are therefore generally critical of multicultural education for its refusal to acknowledge the historical, political, and ideological forces of class and power that shape education. Multicultural education takes for granted the school's definition of itself as a site of excellence, or as Jeffcoates suggests, a site for the promotion of 'critical intelligence' (Jeffcoates 1979:2). The line of attack for anti-racist education is not just the inclusion of the cultural symbols of minority groups, it goes to the heart of the structures and practices of the education system, their criteria of selection, differential performance, their reinforcement of gender, class, and race identities through curricula organisation. Anti-racist education then commits educational change to resource based structural change that will alter fundamentally the present class, gender, and race distribution in education.

The broadness of the attack of anti-racist education has led multicultural education advocates, who are sympathetic to aspects of critique of multicultural education to question the ability of anti-racist education to delineate a clear basis for school-based action. James Banks⁽⁸⁾ mounts this type of critique of anti-racist

education. He argues that, since the parameters for the attack of anti-racist education is capitalist society itself, the parameters are too wide and too all-inclusive, making the strategies adopted by anti-racist education vague when it comes to school reform. He makes an illustrative comment:

"If you follow the radical critique to its ultimate conclusion, you must abandon the school as a vehicle to help bring about equality. If the school merely reflects the social structure (which the critics claim is both racist and class stratified) then it is futile to try to promote change within it." Banks 1986:224)

Radical multiculturalists are therefore attempting to develop a concept of multicultural education that mediates a conception of structure with the relative autonomy of the education system and the restraining impact of human agency.

The Radical View of Multicultural Education

In response to the characterisation of multicultural education offered by anti-racist education, some advocates of multicultural education have refined its parameters by acknowledging some of the criticism. Bullivant, an advocate of what he describes as 'radical multiculturalism' gives as the precondition of its attainment, the invoking of a distinction between idealism, utopianism, and realism (Bullivant 1986:33). This, in part, involves the recognition of the critique of multicultural education mounted by anti-racist education and a recognition of institutional racism. His assertion led him to challenge fundamentally the central propositions upon which multicultural education rests. As such it is worth quoting his retraction in full:

"... selection for the curriculum that encourage children from ethnic backgrounds to learn about their cultural heritage, languages, histories, customs, and other aspects of their life styles have little bearing on their equality of educational opportunity and life chances. These are influenced more by structural, social

class, economic, political, and racist factors operating in the wider pluralistic society, and by the control exercised by its dominant groups over access to social rewards and economic resources. Thus to claim, as many romantic utopian multicultural advocates do, that teaching an ethnic child about his or her cultural heritage will lead to greater ethnic self esteem and therefore better educational attainments and ultimately better job is simplistic in the extreme." (Ibid:42)

Bullivant advocates an 'instrumentalist' view of culture, whereby culture can be conceived as a 'survival device'. Such a definition, he argues, will make possible the delineation of the mechanism by which the majority ethnic group in a plurally diverse society 'controls the life chances' of minority groups. This is expressed through their ability to determine: 'access to economic resources, power and social rewards through different forms of exclusionary and inclusionary tactics that are regulated through ethnicity, cultural or phenotypical and gender differences' (Ibid:44). Bullivant proposes a more 'radical multiculturalism - one that is more 'politicised and more power sensitive' (Ibid:45). The rationale behind this approach is based upon Bullivant's assessment that 'it is through the curriculum and schooling that children from ethno-cultural backgrounds are being deprived of their much needed share of survival knowledge if the selection process only stresses a fossilized culture.' (Ibid:45). The compromise effected between simple multicultural education and radical multicultural education represents an attempt to balance what he describes as the distinction between 'utopian wish dreams and the critical cynicism that extremes of realism can produce.' (Ibid:45) It is the extreme dichotomising approach between multicultural and anti-racist education that Andy Green attacks in his defence of anti-racist teaching.

Radical Multicultural Critique of ARE

Green (1982) mounts his defence of anti-racist teaching by energetically criticising absolutist and monolithic critics of multicultural education. These he

identifies as Farrukh Dhondy (1978), Hazel Carby (1979), Chris Mullard (1979) and Maureen Stone (1981), . These critics are, according to Green, united in their view that multicultural education is about control and containment. For Dhondy it is the means by which teachers arrive at a negotiated settlement in the classroom. From the point of view of the state multicultural education is according to Dhondy, a state response to the political challenge of Black youth 'without tipping the balance of forces' (Green 1982, Dhondy 1978). According to Dhondy, the demand by Black students for Black Studies was reconstituted as multicultural education. The 'co-optation' of this impulse and demand killed the interest these Black youths had taken in the subject (Dhondy, 1978). Mullard comes to a similar conclusion when he states that multicultural education is none other than a more sophisticated form of social control with the effect of containing Black resistance (Mullard, 1979).

Green does not deny that this can be one side of the authorship of multicultural education. However, he stresses the need for a more complex theorisation of the contradictory nature of the relationship between multicultural education and the state. This would involve a recognition of the degree of relative autonomy that some aspects of multicultural education and schooling might enjoy. He argues this position convincingly with the following assertion:

"There is a serious argument here, but one that is marred, ... by certain crucial over simplifications in the way the theoretical argument is set up. There is the assumption that the phenomenon of multiculturalism is uncontradictory, that it is a single entity, with a single motivating force and a single trajectory. There is an analysis which comprises intentions with outcomes and pressures that aims at state policy, whether embodied in select committee proposals or DES directives, will necessarily be realised in practice. Most of all, there is no sense of schools as sites of struggle, as institutions invested with statutory roles and functions, but functions that do not go uncontested and are not achieved automatically." (Green 1982:21-22)

Critics of multicultural education are right to emphasise the view that multicultural education does not exist in a vacuum. Multiculturalism is part of an education discourse that has to retain its legitimacy in a broader educational context that is structured by inequality, differentiation, and segmentation along the lines of class, gender, and race, and the distinction between mental and manual labour.

All these functions, Green reminds us, do not go uncontested. In line with the conceptual assertion of Johnson (1979), he argues that social relations outside the school do not constitute the only form of determination, but there are also forces within schools that set limits to the expectancy of what Johnson describes as 'continuously achieved outcomes' (Johnson 1979:229-30). In support of Green's contention, Tapper and Salter (1981) have demonstrated how differences between different sections of the state can constrain hegemonic practice. Green therefore warns that 'analysis of function without contradiction and policy without struggle, ultimately prevents an adequate understanding of a complex issue like multiculturalism' (Ibid:22).

The existence of struggle is, according to Green, expressed by the fact that Black youth and their parents do not accept passively and internalise racially ascribed status, which takes for granted inadequate education, low status and limited reward in the job market. Education, it could be argued, has retained its passion for the Afro-Caribbean community. Many still believe in the transcendental ethos of liberal education. For this reason, Green rejects the view that multicultural education contains or dissipates Black resistance. He is more willing to argue that:

"Even in the most innocuous apolitical form, the multicultural curriculum is more likely to open up contradictions, to deepen the struggle than it is to contain or smother it." (Ibid:25)

Green, therefore, sees multiculturalism as the means by which the state confronts inequality and legitimates multicultural education in the same moment. Multicultural education can offer cultural deficit and pathological explanations of why Black children underachieve and simultaneously be constituted as a legitimate component of the state drive for equality of opportunity. A valid aspect of 'compensatory education'. In a broad sense, multiculturalism can be seen as an attempt to recoup what Habermas (1976) describes as the legitimisation deficit in the management of political and economic disparity. Concession by the state in its call for more Black teachers, extensive in-service training, changes in the curriculum, should not simply be read as conspiratorial devices for the promotion of higher forms of control, says Green. They also meet some progressive requirements for change. Concessions for change are, in part, a recognition of struggles waged by the Black community.

Failure to recognise this point, forces Green to isolate the work of Maureen Stone (1981) for specific critique. Stone's rejection of multicultural education is based upon the pedagogic orientations of multicultural education and the consequences of these orientations for the education of Afro-Caribbean children. Stone states her objection thus:

"I want to suggest that multiracial education is conceptually unsound, that its theoretical and practical implications have not been worked out and that it represents a developing feature of urban education aimed at "watering down the curriculum" and "cooling out" Black inner city children, while at the same time creating for teachers, both radical and liberal, the illusion that they are doing something special for a particular disadvantaged group." (Cited Green:25)

The force of Stone's challenge to the efficacy of multicultural education lies in her attack on its reliance upon the apparent low self-esteem of children of Afro-Caribbean origin to account for their underachievement. The mobilisation of the reiterative categories of cultural

deficit and family instability to account for the position Afro-Caribbean children occupy in the education system, is responsible for the minimisation of the transmission of technical instruction and the maximisation of therapeutic encounters according to Stones. The emphasis on 'relating to' one another exercises a form of moralistic control in the multicultural classroom. Stones advocates for a more authoritative pedagogical direction and discipline in the multicultural class:

"Teaching methods associated with the mastery of basic skills and knowledge and the development of abilities should not be substituted for affective-type goals, which are vague and give teachers access to aspects of the pupils' personality, which should be private ..."
(Cited in Green:26)

Green rejects Stone's critique of multicultural education and her "back-to-basics" ideals as an inadequate solution to the educational experience of Afro-Caribbean children. The efficacy, which she ascribes to the traditional curriculum and pedagogy, he argues, is based upon an exaggeration of the possibilities they ascribe to themselves. This suggests that Stone's work is fundamentally flawed in so far as it is trapped in a traditional liberal democratic problematic assuming that change can occur in an education system, whose content remains essentially unchallenged and unchanged.

Green concludes by warning that those assumptions that are so firmly embedded in Stone's work should be challenged 'before they become taken up by the educational right-wing as the basis for a new reactionary monocultural orthodoxy.' (Ibid:26). He argues that 'we must fight for a multicultural curriculum, because not to do so is to accept a monocultural curriculum and that is a racist curriculum.' (Ibid:31). The shortcomings of purist and monolithic critiques of multicultural education according to Green would inadvertently reproduce the very mechanisms of domination they seek to reject. It is of interest that the New Right wing in education positively endorses, although

against its spirit, the critique of Stone. It is the rejection of MCE and ARE by the New Right that the chapter now turns to.

The Challenge of the New Right

The cultural reconstitution of race provides the mode of articulation for the rejection of MCE and ARE by the New Right. This mode of reconstitution is described as the new racism in the literature (Barker 1981, Levitas 1985, Gordon and Klug 1985, Deakin 1986 and Gilroy 1987). The new racism is distinguished from traditional racism by the way in which it denies adherence to the biological claims of racial inferiority and superiority (Gordon and Klug, 1985). Rather, racial meanings are insinuated by reference to culture by those who are entitled to national identity. National identity presupposes a common or shared way of life, a common culture, language, customs, values and beliefs of the indigenous population which is an organic part of the nation state. It is in the context of the sedimentation of race in culture that the theorisation of national belonging is able to identify and differentiate those who instinctively "belong" and those who are "alien". This notion of belonging is crucial in so far as it legitimates social entitlement. It is, therefore, the sense in which belonging confers social entitlement that New Right challenges the legitimacy of and, ultimately, rejects educational policies which institutionalise MC and ARE education. It is the challenge from the New Right that is the concern of this section.

The Naturalisation of Identity

Conservative critics of MC and AR education in the 1980s are described (in the literature) as the New Right. Deakin describes the New Right as representing a 'diversity of perspectives' (Deakin 1986:6). Gordon and Klug (1985) suggests that, while the New Right does not constitute a political party with a manifesto, they nonetheless

represent "a realignment of different forces on the right of the political spectrum which have set themselves the project of redrawing the political map both inside and outside the conservative party" (Gordon and Klug 1985:1).

In spite of the wide spectrum of philosophical, political and social positions of the new right, Deakin identifies three distinctive areas which define the position of the New Right as follows:

"A laissez-faire economic stand; a moralistic position on social policy and a strong commitment to naturalism and the authority of the nation state." (Deakin 1981:7)

It is the sedimentation of race in notions of the nation state, the moralistic commitment, loyalty to the view of homogenous culture and their application to education that is examined here. The application of the new racism to education should be assessed in the context of some of its main assumptions which structure the New Right's rejection of MC and AR education.

A significant feature of the new racism is its reliance upon the naturalisation of identity. From this perspective the liberals, Polytechnic sociologists and the race relations industry are singled out for special attack. They are criticised for only giving residual status to what the New Right regard as the non-rational beliefs of ordinary people. It is through non rational beliefs that the undesirability felt by ordinary English people of large scale new Commonwealth immigration is legitimately expressed. Indeed, an important legacy of Powellism from the 1960's is his claim to speak for "ordinary English people" who feel that their way of life has been disrupted and their culture eroded. According to this view, the rejection of large scale immigration is based upon the people's antipathy to difference which, allegedly, lies in human nature. Furthermore, the New Right applies this subjectivism to confer a fundamental recognition of how the nation should be understood. Alfred Shermann argued that it

was the release of the concept of the nation that was the crucial "missing dimension in the debate about immigration. The "missing dimension" represents the "national home and birthright of its indigenous people", reflecting "a partnership between those who are living and those who are dead and those who are yet to be born." (Daily Telegraph 8.9.76, Gordon and Klug, 1985).

This primordial and genealogical entitlement provided the existential mechanism for excluding people who have no claim to an ancestry based upon a shared history, law, customs and kinship (Cohen 1988). For the New Right, belonging to the nation entailed deeply internalised dichotomy between "Englishness" and the legal conferment of citizenship and residential status. In 1968 Enoch Powell described the dichotomy thus:

"The West-Indian or Asian does not by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth, in fact he is a West-Indian or Asian still." (Foot 1969:137)

The link between origin and entitlement constitutes the basis for the New Right's denial of any connection between their views and racism. Instead, they argue that it is natural for kith and kin to stick together. Human nature dictates that people gravitate towards their own kind. Peregrine Worsthorne reflected upon the power of this sentiment when he expressed it at the outbreak of the Brixton riots and the Falklands War in 1981. The instinctual basis of identity, according to Worsthorne made it easier for white people to identify with "those of the same stock 8,000 miles in the South Atlantic" than with their Asian and West-Indian neighbours. Concern for one's own also "applies in reverse". The "black and brown minorities" felt more attachment with their "kith and kin thousand of miles away on the Indian sub-continent or in the West-Indies" than they do with their white neighbours in Brixton or Bradford. "Birds who are not of the same feather do not flock together at all easily." (Klug and Gordon 1985:18).

It is then the disruption of these apparent primordial sentiments that made the government respond to the threat. This view authenticated the framework to structure and manage immigration introduced by Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the Conservative Party in 1978:

"People are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture ... if there is any fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in. So, if you want good race relations, you have got to allay people's fears on numbers." (The Times 1.2.78)

The application of these ideas to education has crystallized around an "entitlement" curriculum conferred by national belonging. As a result education has become a politicised arena for the New Right to contest the legitimacy of multicultural and anti-racist education.

Demarcating Cultural Boundaries in Education

Education⁽⁹⁾ is seen by the New Right as the critical institution to normalise ideas of entitlement conferred by birth right to the indigenous people. The reconstitution of race through culture thus reasserts the value of the school in transmitting what Williams describes as an "inherited selection of interests." (Williams 1965:171-72). For the New Right, 'the inherited selection of interests should derive, quintessentially' from British culture therefore making the demand for cultural pluralism redundant. MCE and ARE are identified as external to British cultural endowment. It is paradoxical that, while MCE and ARE appeal to the language of culture and identity, although from differing perspectives, the New Right utilise them to assert the hegemony of birth right. The educational articulation of these ideas will be considered next.

Birthright and Entitlement

The main features of the argument between contenders for multicultural education or anti-racist

education must not give the impression that the contestation has remained within the narrow confines of education. The New Right identifies multicultural/anti-racist education with Black minority groups and their culture. As a consequence conservative critics object to these forms of racial education which weaken the role of the school as initiating children in the traditional unified public culture. It is anticipated that this process could lead to the demise of White children in inner city schools. Discomfort with the apparent dilution of English traditions is the explicit concern of the articles in defence of Ray Honeyford published by the Centre for Policy Studies. This is the question the Foreword raises in defence of Ray Honeyford, headteacher of a multicultural school in Bradford, and a critic of multicultural education:

"Should the taxpayers of the host country be obliged to pay for alien education out of the public purse."
(Brown, 1985:5)

The foreword acknowledged that West Indian and Asian children "are English citizens" and "we have a peculiar responsibility to the children of our Imperial past." Nonetheless that responsibility was qualified:

"... if schooled at the nation's expense, should they be allowed to demand observance of their own culture? Or accept England's? And what is and should be England's?"
(Ibid:5)

According to Brown the "questions of race" raised by the Honeyford attack on MC and AR education, "are of scant relevance". "What matters are the differences of culture, religion, language, diet habits, dress." (Ibid:6).

According to Honeyford, teachers believe that cultural reciprocation between minority groups and English institutions should be removed from public service and where it exists, it should be confined to the private

realm. He makes this explicit comment:

" ... some teachers (who) regard the whole notion of multicultural education with scepticism and even resentment. They would argue that the responsibility for the adaptation and adjustments involved in settling in a new country lies entirely with those who have come here to settle and raise families of their own free will. Their commitment to an English education was implicit in their decision to become British citizens. Maintenance and transmission of the mother culture has nothing to do with the English secular school. If they want their children to absorb the culture of Pakistan, India, or the Caribbean, then this is an entirely private decision, to be implemented by the immigrant family and community, not of school." (Centre for Policy Studies, Ibid:24)

Honeyford warns that:

"This is pragmatism, not prejudice, and is based on equality. There should be a welcome for the strangers in our midst, but no attempt by the education service to confer a privileged position on this subculture or that." (Ibid:24)

Honeyford demands the return of the homogeneous system of education and laments its demise. He argues that increasing numbers of children from different cultures have a detrimental effect on White children of the inner cities. This argument echoes fundamentally the assimilationist dispersal policy of the 1960s. In championing the cause of 'lower working class' children in the inner city, Honeyford reactivates all the reiterative categories through which racialisation is reconstituted and articulated. These are, cultural incompatibility, the differences between the culture of the school and family values, numbers, underachievement, and standards. The general orientation of Honeyford's attack on multicultural education is forcefully expressed in the language of social, cultural, and educational deficit. Mobilised through these general categories the conservative attack on multicultural education reconstitutes the 'hidden racial dimension'. This powerfully substantiates the common sense association between social disadvantage and poverty, with the disproportionate acquisition of social resources by groups

designated as culturally and racially different. This conjunction is made by Honeyford thus:

"The plight of the white children who constitute the "ethnic minority" in a growing number of inner city schools (is never mentioned by multiculturalists). Yet their educational "disadvantage" is confirmed. It is no more than common sense that if a school contains a disproportionate number of children for whom English is a second language (true of all Asian children even those born here), or children from homes where educational ambitions and values to support it are conspicuously absent (i.e. the vast majority of West-Indian homes, a disproportionate number of which are fatherless), then academic standards are bound to suffer. The institution is supported by the findings of the DES Assessment Performance Unit on Primary School English, and there is suggestive evidence in the National Council for Educational Standards' report "Standards in English Schools". The absence of concern for the rights of this group of parents is due to three factors: they are overwhelmingly lower working class with little ability to articulate their social and educational anxieties; they have, so far, failed to produce a pressure group generating appropriate propaganda; and - unlike non-white children - they have no government quango to plead their cause." (Ibid:30)

The interlocking of culture, social disadvantage, and poverty with the presence of groups designated as culturally and racially different acts as a powerful regulator of racialisation. It has become a conventional strategy for disconnecting and externalising such groups, so that they are perceived as essentially outsiders. Race and culture are given parallel meanings in the same discourse even though race is denied. It asserts a racism based upon prior entitlement dictated by birth right by mobilising the language of social disadvantage. Cohen suggests that the new right operates a racism based upon a rationale of relative deprivation. This involves proprietorial themes, such as they are taking our 'jobs' our schools, "bettering themselves at our expense." (Cohen, 1988:35).

The Rejection of Race

From the above discussion of Honeyford it can be seen that the reiterative categories of the family and

culture are used to deny the racial appropriation of culture. Publication of "Anti-racism: An Assault on Educational Value" (Palmer 1986) foregrounds culture in its denial of the existence of racial intent. The cultural reconstitution of race frames the New Right attack on MC/AR education.

The construction of culture to invoke a racial image has been achieved through the reiterative categories of culture and family. So much so that one advocate for a new direction in educational research is appealing for further cultural differentiation as a means to understand educational performance. Anthony Flew makes the strident appeal "that we badly need research focusing on cultural differences rather than racial similarities". Flew argues that if this appeal is successful, it could be added to the existing focus of research which concentrates upon delineating the different educational performance between Asian and Afro Caribbean children and finding a cultural explanation for the difference. The aim of future research is to demonstrate "differences in performance between those coming from different parts of the Caribbean (Flew 1985:20). By making culture proportional in accounting for educational differences, Flew is able to simplify different complex social and historical processes. Culture is viewed in naturalistic and fixed terms, unaltered by differing processes of social, economic and political incorporation. It is not these processes that matter in Flew's terms but the cultural credential which some groups are said to lack. In discussing the educational position of Afro Caribbean children in school, it is not the school or the interaction between school and society that should be the main focus of attention, but the cultural situation of the group. For example, he comments:

"... we should now look for most of the explanation of underachievement in any underachieving immigrant group: not in white, or even in non-white racism; but in cultural differences, in the broadest sense, between those groups and others." (Ibid:20)

Flew cites the high proportion of single parent families in the Afro Caribbean community as a "fact alone (which) might be sufficient to explain most of the present scholastic underachievement of our British Afro Caribbeans." (Ibid:20) This has become the direction of research which is not only advocated by the New Right, but also coincides with the research orientation of liberal supporters of MC/AR education. Indeed, the Swann Committee (1985) proposed to commission research under the directorship of Mortimer to investigate the family background of successful Afro Caribbean children. This proposal was rejected by the Afro Caribbean members of the committee. It was feared that the implications of the research would endorse a framework whose connotative impact would reinforce an already pathological construction of Afro Caribbean families. The ideological device of coupling family background, particularly the one parent family, with the inevitability of underachievement of Afro Caribbean children would deny the efficacy of racism as a structural feature of class differentiation. This further marginalises Afro Caribbean parents claims for social justice within schools and society. Group culture provides the explanation for the New Right endorsing the cultural deficit assumptions of liberal policy of multiculturalism. It follows that it is not essentially British institutions that are dysfunctional. Swan, when attempting to isolate the cause of Afro Caribbean underachievement and Asian achievement, argued that the cause "seem likely to lie deep within their respective cultures." (Swan 1986:87). Given this claim, the New Right can argue, as it does, that there is no need for schools or other English institutions to change. The cultural assertion of racism can then be denied.

It is interesting that this denial is made against claims that it is natural to be prejudiced. Honeyford, for example, defines prejudice as "no more than a preference for one's own kind". Although feelings of prejudice fluctuated over time, being more intense with newly arrived immigrants and "dissipates with experience of interacting

with immigrant groups", the onus of acceptance is placed upon the immigrant group. Honeyford explains this accordingly:

"... the rate at which this harmonising occurs varies with the willingness of newcomers to respect and adapt to those existing values and customs of the country of which they are now citizens." (Honeyford 1986:53)

The thrust of Honeyford's preferential claim refers us back to the desire for what Jenkins warned against in 1968 as the flattening process of assimilation, rather than the option of cultural diversity within a framework of mutual tolerance and equality of opportunity. Honeyford unequivocally dismisses racism and those in the education service who promote its prevention as the "multiethnic brigade" and the explicit law or policy of anti-racism as "inverted McCarthyism". Furthermore, the cultural hegemony of English culture should not be negotiated with minority culture in the schools. He states firmly:

"The natural organic location of a minority culture is outside the school, within the minority group itself - in the family and neighbourhood." (Salisbury Review 1983)

Honeyford's position demonstrates the proprietorial, fixed, and essentialist sense in which culture is utilised by the New Right to defend and promote the exclusive and the non-negotiability of English culture. Definitions utilised by the New Right of identity, nationhood, national belonging and birthright confers social entitlement that has a colour coded. It is restricted to those who can claim its patrimony. The school becomes a central site for the promotion of the oneness of English culture rather than cultural diversity. This is the cultural struggle to be waged in the name of those whom, Cohen describes as "apprenticeship to this kind of inheritance" (Cohen 1988:33) and for whom Honeyford labels the silent minority. It is the name of the indigenous majority that the fight against the fragmentating of nation state should be conducted.

Fragmenting the Nation State

It can be suggested that the most important aspect of the New Right's assault on MC/AR education is the fear that racially affirmed educational discourse will fragment the oneness of the nation state. This fear underpins Simon Pearce's attack on the Swann Report for its attempt at 'reshaping the nation' (Pearce 1986:138). What makes the report fundamentally objectionable to Pearce is that Swan suggests changes that go beyond the simple promotion of tolerance for different cultures and their presentation in the curriculum. Swann is unacceptable because, according to Pearce, he is recommending "a dramatic break in the continuity of our national life." (Ibid:139). By advocating a multiculturalism that would 'permeate every aspect of the school's work, Swann is demanding what for Pearce is untenable. That is subjecting British history, political institutions, religion to a reappraisal which would see British culture as an "archipelago of ethnic cultures maintained by a policy of state." (Ibid:139). The attempted repositioning of British culture would involve, Pearce claims, "a loss of identity for the native British" (Ibid:140). In spite of this 'element in the creation of pluralist society', Pearce notes that "our nation has maintained an obstinate continuity." (Ibid:139-140). Essentially Pearce rejects a multiculturalism that challenges the 'predominance' of indigenous culture in "our schools and national life" (Ibid:140). When Pearce speaks in the name of the native British, he is excluding all those who are not connected by the patrimony conferred by Anglo Saxon 'blood'. A view confirmed by the patriality clause of the 1971 Immigrant Act. There is a permanence and a predominance about this racial ancestry that goes beyond class and which new ethnic/racial incorporation cannot dislodge. Pearce is adamant when he writes thus:

"Our regional and class difference, the presence of ethnic minorities and the heterogeneous origins of the English nation do not add up to our already being a multicultural society."

In fact, Pearce argues that this cultural predominance is reflected in "commonalities of language, religion, geography and all the unity that has evolved out of a common government, common foes and common economic interests (Ibid:140).

Thus it is this racial-cultural continuity which Pearce describes as 'predominance that multiculturalism and anti-racism must not be allowed to disturb'. This is why it is viewed as treachery when the local and national state appear to collude in the promotion of an educational policy which would undermine this predominance and therefore blur the boundaries between entitlement conferred by birthright and the lesser entitlement conferred by citizenship. Legal right should, Pearce argues, not be confused with cultural rights. So while there is acceptance that minorities have a right to preserve their cultural heritage, the state should have no role in "fostering foreign cultures and place them on an equal footing in public policy with that of the nation." (Ibid:141). It is British culture which has the right to claim a privileged position in the school. Pearce denies the liberal multicultural assertion that all cultures should be equally represented in the school. He makes the following claim to predominance:

"The native British have a right which predominates in our schools. The ethnic minorities' right to cultural preservation is already guaranteed. Any attempt by the state to promote it in education will, however, entail a downgrading of the rights of the indigenous population, since their heritage must move over to allow room for multi-culturalism." (Palmer 1985:141)

The position advanced here illuminates the cultural boundaries between the indigenous and the ethnic minorities. In proposing the argument for cultural predominance of the indigenous culture, the school is seen as a site within which indigenous pupils are concretised, as 'apprentices to a kind of inheritance' according to Cohen. An inheritance which presupposes an unchanging

cultural social identity fixed in hierarchy, space and time. The way in which this view is presented is usefully illustrated by Cohen's critical analysis of the New Right linking of race, nation and the formation of an exclusive white Anglo Saxon identity. Cohen writes:

"Race is used as a genealogical principle linking nation and people in such a way as to exclude anyone who is not Anglo Saxon born and bred from its privileged patrimony of freedom." (Cohen, 1988:3)0

It is this concept of privileged patrimony a 'special call' (Cohen) that can be identified in the concept of British education put forward by Frank Palmer (1985) in his rejection of multiculturalism. Palmer conceives education as 'an invitation to share in a "transaction between generations" analogous to "the nature of a sacrament" (Palmer 1985:162). Since ethnic minorities are outside the patrimony of indigenous culture, they cannot be called in this special way to engage in this mystical transaction. Palmer is concerned to stress the exclusive nature of the calling thus:

"It is the medium through which the generations of the dead can speak to the living, and through which we enact a duty to the yet unborn. If, on the other hand, we fail to value it in this spirit we will not object to its decline into a form of social engineering." (Palmer 1985:162)

The authority of biology and human nature then is the language in which the New Right's rejection of multiculturalism finds its legitimacy. Biology and human nature authenticates and rationalises the cultural educational politics of entitlement. It is this biologized definition of belonging and entitlement which gives the concept of assimilation its specific contradictory meaning in terms of the educational agenda of the New Right. It is contradictory in so far as it asserts the view that the responsibility of acceptance lies with the newcomers (Honeyford:ibid). It is they who must be willing to respect, accept and adapt to the existing customs and

values of their country of adoption. Yet adoption of the cultural values and the British way of life does not guarantee inclusion in the almost mystical conception of British culture and identity. The view that black and white cultures occupying different and impenetrable cultural space, ruptures the liberal/radical view of multiculturalism in which the school becomes the vehicle to transmit the concept of a parity of prestige between cultures. The anti racist structural perspective which attempts to locate culture in a framework of hierarchy of power and domination is considered illegitimate by the New Right. The anti-racist relativization of British culture in which its predominance is challenged is impermissible. The naturalisation of British culture within the New Right's perspective on education thus ensures the rejection of the view of the school as a site to interrogate and renegotiate cultural meaning and structural position. That rejection is all the more absolute when it involves the cultural baggage of those who are not heirs to a particularly racial/cultural enlightenment and entitlement. Hence, race as culture is essentialized, defining boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In the New Right perspective, the school is to be reasserted as the arena where the superiority of British values and culture goes unchallenged and in which children from ethnic minorities are assimilated into that sense of British cultural predominance even though they can never be fully assimilated in the sense in which cultural entitlement speaks. This is where reconstitution and the idea of a New Racism exerts its analytical power.

Reconstitution and the New Racism

In the process of reconstitution it is being claimed that there has been a transference from the stigmatisation of the body (scientific racism) to the stigmatisation of culture. That phenomenon has been described by Barker as the 'New Racism' (1983). The New Racism is based upon establishing principles of hierarchy - prohibitions and exclusion. In the New Racism the strategy

is to designate a set of apparently non-racial exemplars such as overcrowding (numbers concentration), inadequate resources, and hence a strain on provision, difference of cultural habits so that they become markers of hierarchy, exclusion and prohibition. Race need not be mentioned directly. Instead it signals cultural markers to identify certain groups as heirs to particular superior or weaker cultures and thereby implicating other subjects as indeterminately outsiders.

Barker has observed that a crucial component of the cultural reconstitution of race identified by the New Racism involves appealing to sentiments such as 'defending our way of life'. In that defence, parliamentarians are eager to substantiate the 'genuine fears' of their White constituents when they feel that their way of life is under threat. Ordinary Englishmen and women desire nothing more than the perseverance of their national unity and homogeneous culture. Barker argues convincingly that concepts, such as 'genuine fears', 'homogeneous way of life' are bridging or conjunctive concepts between an 'apparently innocent description and a theory of race' (Barker 1983, p.16).

This is the terrain upon which the anti-immigration lobby mounted its campaign. Accordingly, the basis of this view argued that the alienness of outsiders interrupts the oneness of those inside. It was only 'natural', 'human nature' to want to protect one's group from outsiders. The view of Alfred Sherman, Director of the Institute of Policy Studies, cited by Barker, typifies this argument:

"It is from a recognition of racial differences that a desire develops in most groups to be among their own kind and this leads to distrust and hostility when newcomers come in." (Barker 1983:20)

Barker therefore is keen to establish that this form of racialisation does not have to reactivate specific

mention of scientific racism in order to justify racial evaluation. Instead it justifies forms of evaluation that can be racial in intent and consequences and relates them to naturalistic visible categories of difference. It argues that those recognitions of difference are themselves based upon human nature. The discourse of racialisation establishes its truths through reference to natural common-sense that is not based upon rational or causal principles.

The concept of commonsense is fundamental here because it is a critical vehicle for the transmission of the new racism and the form in which ideology in general is delivered (Hall et al 1979). A commonsense view of the world presents knowledge as derived from practical experience. It expresses a timeless wisdom. Commonsense presents itself as representing a kind of collective realism in which obviousness and essential truths are rendered unproblematic. Being rooted in everyday life experience, commonsense draws its views from divergent discourse. Hall et al remark on this feature of commonsense:

"The important point is not only that commonsense thought is contradictory, but that it is fragmentary and inconsistent precisely because what is 'common' about it is that it is not subject to tests of internal coherence and logical consistency." (Hall et al. 1979:155)

In spite of its contradictory and fragmentary nature, commonsense is itself ideological and discursively constructed. Hall et al. cites the observation of Nowell-Smith on the ways in which dominant ideas are sedimented in commonsense.

"The key to commonsense is that the ideas it embodies are not so much incorrect as uncorrected and taken for granted. Commonsense consists of all these ideas which can be tagged on to existing knowledge without challenging it. It offers no criterion for determining how things are in capitalist society, but only a criterion of how things fit with the ways of looking at the world that the present phase of class society has inherited from a preceding one." (Hall et al. 1979:154)

It is this feature of commonsense enshrined in what Barker describes as the new racism in which culture is the form of its reconstitution.

Barker then defines the New Racism with its feature of commonsense as a 'pseudo-biological culturalism':

" ... Nations are not built out of politics and economics, but out of human nature. It is our biology, our instincts, to defend our way of life, traditions and customs against outsiders, not because they are inferior, but because they are part of a different culture." (Barker 1983:23-24)

Thus the new racism conveyed through commonsense, isolates culture. It essentialises shared culture and treats it as fixed and unchanging. It is culture that decides who belongs to the English nation while it differentiates those who do not belong. The ideology of race is inscribed in the ideology of nation, though suppressed through its cultural reconstitution. Thus the condition of existence of the commonsense inscribed in the cultural articulation of race is unquestioned, taken for granted, comprising those very assumptions of what differentiates and constitutes cultural authenticity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, Johnson et al.'s analysis in terms of the confrontation and fragmentation in sociology has been applied to the contestation between MCE and ARE. Contestation implies relations that can be coercive and liberatory, where both forces can be integrated in the same moment. The juxtapositioning of contestation and legitimation raises the imperatives of disaffection, resistance and control. These imperatives have been confirmed in the general management of race relations through education.

The analysis developed in this chapter suggests

that the method of dichotomy, putting one approach against the other, leads to an idealisation of one's favoured approach and a tendency to misrecognise its repressive moments. Furthermore, the dichotomous approach reduces the complex articulation of both MCE and ARE. The repressive articulation of MCE lies in the underlying attribution of a shared racial experience to a deficit cultural manifestation. For example, one of the criticisms of liberal multiculturalism is the correlation it makes between poor racial self-concept and poor educational performance. This has been a powerful rationalisation of official racial forms of education policy. The internalisation of prejudice by the victims of racial designation is a problem for liberal and official supporters of MCE who link cultural and familial practices as socially deficit. These practices are objectified by the New Right in defence of existing educational practices and consequently they reject both MCE and ARE. This framework of analysis leads both liberal supporters of MCE and the New Right to suggest that the cause of Afro-Caribbean underachievement lies deep in their culture (Swano 1985). Yet multiculturalism also speaks to the enabling practice of the sociology of education of the 1970s. Green refers to this aspect of multiculturalism when he addresses its potential to relativise knowledge and inform transformative practices. Indeed, the strength of Green's analysis lies in his multi-dimensional conceptualisation of MCE, instead of the monolithic view often put forward by anti-racist critics. Maureen Stone's position on multicultural education is identified by Green to be monolithic.

In this chapter, monolithic critics of multicultural education have been rejected with the exception of Stone's analysis. The view held by this analysis is that Stone's critique and rejection of multiculturalism has been based on a more complex reading of multicultural education. It represents the first critique of multicultural education to address its

pedagogic assumptions and practices. Stone focuses on the organisation and transmission of MCE as a crucial feature of its internal weakness. Her analysis can therefore be distinguished from more influential and controversial anti-racist critics, such as Mullard and Dhondy, whose analyses often present reductionist accounts of education. Mullard fails to explain why the structural forces that contain white working class resistance in education should not operate to produce similar ideological effects on black resistance, even when organised along anti-racist lines. Essentially, in Mullard's analysis, there is no real attempt to address the internal process of schooling or to ascribe it with real effective structuring power of both contestation and containment. Thus Mullard, while he ascribes determining power to the dominant capitalist reproductive relations, fails to acknowledge the changing structure of education except when it speaks directly through race. This is a central weakness in the analytical framework of anti-racist critics. For while they stress continuously achieved outcomes in mainstream education structure, they simultaneously undermine this potential in oppositional anti-racist action.

Stone's analysis represents a welcome departure from an externalised view of multicultural education. Her pedagogic critique of multicultural education finds influential allies in the traditional dichotomy between progressive and traditional theories of education (Simon 1976). Her criticism of multiculturalism follows a line of analysis which identifies the pursuit of covert control through educational liberalism. Stone criticises the use of "therapeutic and other psychological methods in schools to 'solve' problems which minority and other children present." (Stone 1981:103). Stone's evaluation of the application of psychological methods to racism draws upon Bernstein's analysis of invisible pedagogy (Bernstein 1977, Vol.III). She suggests that it is in the multicultural classroom of inner city secondary schools that visible pedagogy has been replaced by an invisible pedagogy of

multiculturalism.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the shift from visible to invisible pedagogy in the multicultural classroom, Stone believes that academic instruction has replaced knowledge and skills essential to life in this society (Stone 1981:102). She criticises this substitution in the following terms:

"It effectively reduces choice and creates dependence on experts and professionals which undermines the individuals own capacity to cope.

Matters of individual personality and group culture should not be primarily the concern of schools but of the family and the community." (ibid:102)

Stone opposes MCE when it has the effect of reducing the level of instruction and procedural skills in the traditional curriculum. Furthermore, the pedagogic emphasis on 'relationships' rather than cognitive skills related to attainment can lead to withdrawal of critical judgement, or loss of direction and indulgence on the part of the teacher to the detriment of instrumental skills (ibid:106). In short, Stone applies Bernstein's concept of invisible pedagogy in a multicultural context. She argues that multiculturalism attaches greater significance to relationships than instruction and decries a traditional didactic teacher-directed style. It facilitates covertly coercive pedagogic practices.

Stone suggests that in the multicultural classroom "individual and family factors" are held to be responsible for the failure of certain groups (Stone ibid:102). In this situation the teacher acquires more power to construct a view of the child that is total. Issues of teacher/school accountability are replaced by explanations that are internal to the child. Stone's view of multicultural education is informed by Bernstein's analysis of mechanisms of social control that are integral to the internal structure of schools. This approach acknowledges that initiatives developed with emancipatory interests as their aim can also entail coercive moments.

This conclusion claims that the over-racialisation of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system has led to a theory and practice of race and anti-racist education which privileges a constructed racial experience. Historically, people whose phenotypical variations align them to groups identified as culturally and intellectually inferior have fought to regain the full complexity of their historical identity. Education has been and continues to be a major site of struggle for people of African descent in their diaspora. In education they have sought to challenge forms of education that have been disfigured by predetermined notions of inherent racial capacity and destiny.

The fear that education could legitimate the inferior position of black children in schools is one of the issues that the Afro-Caribbean Supplementary/Saturday School Movement in England has confronted for the past thirty years (Chevannes and Reeves 1987). These schools strive for the disciplined and systematic pursuit of excellence in those areas of knowledge that can present a multifaceted view of the world. Excellence and political awareness and activity are not viewed as incompatible. They warn of the dangers inherent in forms of education that celebrate the internalisation of experience rather than a critical and analytic evaluation of it. The complex issues generated by the contestation between MCE/anti-racist education have been informed by the historical knowledge that conditions black experience of educational structures as both enabling and disabling. This research guards against racial forms of education, anti-racist or multicultural, that construct Afro-Caribbean children as mere repositories of social class positions or bearers of pre-specified cultural or racial designations. Afro-Caribbean children and their communities can resist these regulative practices and attendant discourses that deny them the capacity to act in ways that challenge racial constructions.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. The concept contested legitimacy was adopted in order to make a conceptual distinction between the hegemonic quest for legitimization by the state, and its mode of internalisation by groups, where formation and struggles are conditioned by it. To conflate the hegemonic quest for legitimization and the forms of its internalisation suggest an uncontested acceptance of the relations of domination in the social order.
2. Weber, who wrote extensively on the submission to authority, presupposes its basis in legitimacy:

"All ruling powers, profane or religious, political and apolitical ... are constructed by searching for a basis in legitimacy which the ruling powers claim." (Gerth and Mills from Max Weber, p.295).
3. Conceiving MCE and ARE in terms of broad theoretical trends in sociology allows for a certain creative tension. On the positive side the decline in the dominance of structural functionalism has enabled the opening up of other concerns. So for example, the incorporation of analysis of race and gender and cultural analysis in education has meant that schools cannot simply be conceived as instructional sites. Instead schools can be seen as cultural sites in which contestation occurs between groups with different relations to power in society.
4. Williams makes a valuable assessment of crisis in legitimacy surrounding MCE and ARE (Williams, J. 1986). Education and Race: the racialisation of class inequalities - British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.7, No.2, 1986.
5. See Hall et al 1978 on the policing of an authoritarian consensus borne out of a crisis of capitalist state and the extent to which that crisis management is articulated through the Black population.
6. See Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J C (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London Sage Publications.
Also Althusser's (1971) analysis of education as the dominant ideological state apparatus in contemporary advanced capitalist societies in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, London, New Left Books.
7. For further elaboration of the shifts in policy see Street Porter, R (1978) Race, Children and Cities, Unit E361, Open University, Milton Keynes; Mullard, C (1982) 'Multicultural Education in Britain: from assimilation to cultural pluralism' in J Tierney (ed) Race, Migration and Schooling, London: Holt Rinehart and Winston, pp.120-33; Bolton, E (1979) 'Education in a Multiracial Society', Trends, No.4, 1979.

8. From the mid 1980s, liberal multiculturalists have been reworking multiculturalism to include an antiracist perspective, by incorporating the notion of institutional racism. Lynch (1986) Multicultural Education and Banks and Lynch (1986) Multicultural Education in Western Societies represent two influential exponents. In this adoption, it is the cultural basis of institutional racism which is primary.
9. The attack on MCE and ARE is also framed within the general attack on educational standards by the New Right (Scruton, R et al (1985) Education and Indoctrination.
10. Briefly, a visible pedagogy according to Bernstein is a practice where the hierarchical rules, sequencing rules, pacing rules and criterial rules, are explicit. This creates a context where the student is made aware of the rules and regulations he/she is expected to follow or take over. The invisible pedagogy is a practice where hierarchical rules, sequencing rules, pacing rules and criterial rules are implicit. Here it is as if the student constructs his/her non pedagogic context, facilitated by the teacher's classification and framing which are likely to be strong in the case of visible pedagogy, or considerably weakened in the case of invisible pedagogy. Invisible pedagogies are more likely to be found in the lower realm of the primary school and as a practice for children defined as "difficult" and as non-academic.

CONCLUSION

The central hypothesis of this research is that race provided the space within which thought and practice regarding the education of children of Afro-Caribbean origin is framed. This hypothesis launched the primary critique of this research. The critique rejected the idea that a singular ideological construct - race - can have overriding determination and characterisation over those who are designated by it.

The problem with operating in a paradigm of race, is its determination to objectify, to limit and to imprison those who are its objects into freezing social relations in terms of the legacy of race. The objectification of race as a real category rather than an ideological construction, has the tendency to conflate social process. So instead of analysing the particularity of different exclusionary practices and outcomes, achieved by different social relations, race is conceptualised as the elemental force in the construction of social relations dealing with groups defined in terms of race. Race has the ability to silence social relations that are not defined as matters of race relations. When people, designated by race or ethnicity, are allowed to enter non-race relations situations, they enter as an indistinctive mass, racial blocks of West-Indians or Asian blocks.

The entrapment of race was identified in the conflicts and competing assumptions about the kinds of educational arrangements most appropriate for children designated by colour. Race was the prime force in the institutionalisation of racial forms of education. Race enunciated the conditions by which the four principles were formulated in this thesis. Those four principles structured the cultural articulation of race and the realisation of racial marginality in education. The four principles were identified as disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation

and contested legitimacy.

Disconnection

At the beginning of the thesis, I situated my interest in the cultural and identity issues of the racial forms of education in the paradox of schools wanting to affirm race, while Afro-Caribbean pupils wanted to deny its institutionalisation. What appeared to be a paradox then, is now, at the end of the thesis, conceived as pupils who live the experience of race, attempting to find new ways of rearticulating the different ways in which race interpellate them. A rearticulation which does not simply reproduce their disconnection and marginalisation from social processes.

While the concept of disconnection was formulated to express the externalisation of people designated by colour from historical identity, it also served another purpose. The concept impelled the recognition of the real complex ways in which identity is historically shaped, negotiated and learned. It provided the opportunity to account for the double articulation of race in the construction of Black identity. Indeed the racial forms of education designated as antiracism and multiculturalism, highlighted the complexity of identification and the shifting terrains from which they sought authenticity. Both forms of education articulated complex moments of resistive antiracist struggles. They entered and appropriated moments of historical recovery, moments when those who have been at the margins of history come to the foreground. In a real sense then, antiracism and multiculturalism are historically anchored by the complex and contradictory reconstructive cultural politics of the civil rights, the decolonisation movements of the 1960s and the liberal attempts to recoup legitimisation. These movements represented the coming into recognition by those, who through disconnection had been denied the characterisation of their own historical identity by the imposition of the

idea of race. In the re-appropriation of the primary symbolic sign of difference, namely the colour Black people of African ancestry began to represent themselves as a distinctive collectivity. The political construction of the category 'Black' became the vehicle for the mobilisation of oppositional political change and social containment. It is important not to minimise the transgressive process of cultural recovery and social gains made by this cultural and political movement. The racial forms of education were complexly and contradictorily positioned, speaking from a number of different cultural spaces. Some, for example, were attempting to construct a counter politics, others were celebrating the exotic, while others sought the containment of disaffection. What we are now faced with in maintaining the challenge against marginalisation, is the ability to acknowledge the legitimate desire to recoup histories that have been made invisible, without imprisoning identity into some fixed essentialised racial traits which in turn signal a predetermined and unalterable mode of cultural life. The predisposition of race to think in terms of the comprehensible legacy of race in shaping cultural characteristics, gave rise to the second concept in the thesis - reconstitution.

Reconstitution

The concept of reconstitution attempted to register a movement from scientific racism, which involved the stigmatisation of the body, to be replaced by a stigmatisation of culture. Under reconstitution, the phenotypically signified is replaced by the culturally signified. The analytical power of reconstitution and its utility for the thesis laid in its ability to recover and illuminate race through denotative cultural themes. In doing so reconstitution highlighted the way in which cultural themes interpellate those who are ascribed by the designation race. So while race tried not to answer when addressed by its name, in the formulation and dissemination

of the racial forms of education, it was those who are recognised by its racial designations that were affirmed by the culturalist themes of race.

The connotative significance of these cultural themes, laid in the apparent ineluctable legacy of race in shaping cultural patterns. Under reconstitution culture provided the conjunctive for race. Reconstitution represented the ideological mechanism through which official discourse attempted to blot out the connection between race and racism. Blotting out that articulations did not remove the contradictions that the management of race wished to remove. For the very utilisation of culture to explore the position of Afro-Caribbean children in the education system, paradoxically reinforced the difference that assimilation policies were attempting to suppress. This paradoxical impulsion of race, gave rise to the third concept of affirmation.

Affirmation

The concept of affirmation was developed to explore the mode of institutionalisation of racial forms of education, and its specific targeting of children designated by race and ethnicity. As a concept, it was grounded in the racial policy and practice of local education authorities. The idea of affirmation grew out of a documentary analysis of the multicultural antiracist policy statements produced by 36 LEAs after the moral panics generated by the 'race' riots of 1981. The institutionalisation of racially and culturally specific educational arrangement, was officially viewed as a positive educational response to the educational needs of children racially and ethnically categorised. Going beyond this official representation, the concept of affirmation interrogated the constitutive role that moral panics about race played in the motivation, production and institutionalisation of multicultural/antiracist initiatives. By so doing, the concept of affirmation was able to problematise

the conversion of race into an educational device and the institutionalisation of a racial subject at the heart of the racial forms of education. Affirmation entailed the dissemination of a dual message. The first was a particularistic pedagogic one which confirmed the social basis of the racial forms of education. The second, involved a pedagogic message to universalise notions of plurality and diversity. By identifying the dual pedagogic messages communicated through the racial forms of education, affirmation was able to uncover the modes of contestation inherent in the different modalities of institutionalisation of the racial forms of education. Affirmation then served the purpose of identifying those moments when LEAs and national race relations policy, recognised that the management of race could not go further without acknowledging and incorporating ideas about plurality and diversity. There were moments when official race relations policy desired to recoup the legitimisation deficit generated by the moral panics about race. The tensions generated by the contradictory articulations of the racial forms of education gave rise to the fourth conceptual principle in the thesis - contested legitimacy.

Contested Legitimacy

The contestation between multicultural and anti-racist education and the appropriation of the debate by the New Right, highlighted the dilemma in failing to delineate the boundaries between naturalistic proposition about race, culture and identity and essentialising their determination in the structuring of social relations in education. Through the concept of contested legitimacy, the thesis explored the different ideological positioning of the MCE and ARE and the New Right's rejection of both. Underlying the representation of ideological contestation, the thesis identified a conceptual convergence between race and the New Right. The nationalistic articulation of race, culture and identity effected the convergence.

The concept of contested legitimacy explored the curious paradox produced by this convergence. A paradox involving conflicting appeals for legitimation based upon notions of ethno-cultural essentialism of different subject positions. This was exemplified through the inadequate theorisation of antiracism which seemed inadvertently to provide some of the conditions for the appropriation by the New Right of the educational agenda during the 1980s. By focusing on the battle to attain racial and cultural predominance, the concept of contested legitimacy exposed the collusion of the racial forms of education in the maintenance of the idea of an essentialist racial identity and ultimately collusion in their own marginalisation. The concept demonstrated how the racial forms of education failed to see that the legacy of race involved the cultural reconstitution of race. It highlighted the ways in which the racial forms of education misrecognised the cultural significance of the changing structure of mainstream education and its implications for the pursuit of pluralistic and antiracist objectives in education.

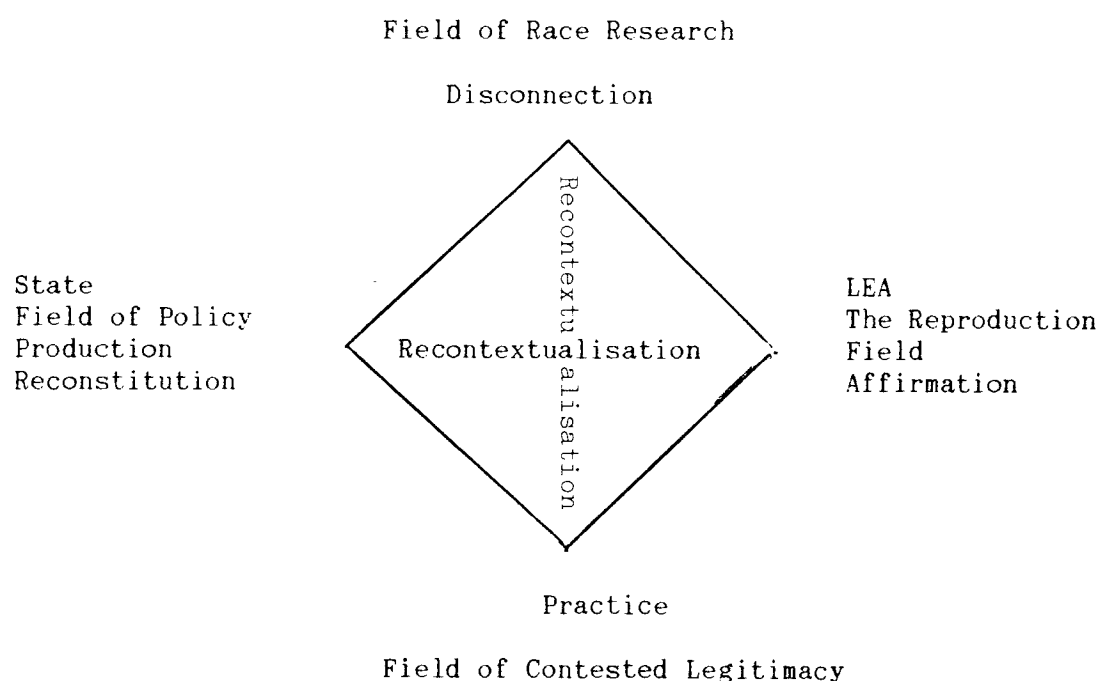
This misrecognition meant that when the New Right incorporated multiculturalism and antiracism in its attack on political indoctrination in education, poor standards, the necessity for teacher accountability, the appeal for more formalised pedagogy and a general anti-progressive stance, the racial forms of education misconceived the fundamental basis of its attack. The attack entailed a reformulation of the cultural basis of the nation state itself. It incorporated the cultural reconstitution of race to displace race as simply a biological referent replacing it with a cultural connotation of national belonging, indigenous identity and ethnicity. Culture was to dictate the entitlement to nationhood and institutional representation. Perhaps the most dramatic testament of the New Right ascendancy in education and the simultaneous marginalisation of the racial forms of education, is embodied in the fact of the redefining of the educational agenda; culminating in the 1988 Education Reform Act, which

failed to acknowledge 25 years of multicultural and antiracist discourse in education.

Thus contested legitimacy was instrumental in demonstrating how the shifting terrain of culture became the basis for the trading in reciprocal cultural exclusivities. By so doing the racial forms of education prepared the ground for their own intellectual marginalisation. Representative proponents of antiracism and liberal multiculturalism, outlined their preferred positions without reference to the ideological and political shifts in education. Thus the conclusive position adopted by the four concepts is that racial forms of education that refuse to speak through, and acknowledge the major problems of the wider society, consecrates their own marginality.

The Relationship Between the Four Principles

Around the principles of disconnection, reconstitution, affirmation and contested legitimacy, the conceptual model of the thesis was erected. Their interconnection with each other is represented by the following model.



The specification of the relationship between the four principles confers primacy to disconnection. It is not a primacy that assumes a mechanistic or linear determination over the other principles. Disconnection is contingent. It is affected by the other positions. Certain positions in the field of race relations get weakened or strengthened depending on what is happening in the fields of production, reproduction and practice. The other principles have power to re-contextualise policy and practice in the fields that they operate. Disconnection is considered primary because it is where racial discourse is generated. Its referential relationship with the other principles is based upon the assumption that the production, reproduction of policy and practice always refer back to some doctrinal rationalization. In the field of race research, race is the authorial reference point from which issues of identity, social location, experience, belonging, entitlement and otherness find their legitimacy.

The model is a dynamic model. The concept of reconstitution expresses its dynamic nature. Reconstitution reshapes and rearticulates past conceptions of race. Through reconstitution, culture becomes a powerful enunciator of race. Reconstitution translates themes of belonging, otherness and entitlement into policy.

The cultural articulation of race provides the discursive basis for the new racism in which the biological signifier is displaced by the cultural signifier. Importantly, the cultural articulation of race, does not simply represent discourse but links the concept with structural shifts in socio-economic, political and cultural relations. It articulates decolonization and the inversion of population movements from the old colonial empires to metropolitan countries. Indeed the politicisation of immigration remains the backdrop of policy production by the State. The category 'immigrant' is evocative of the otherness of the racial subject, even though race need not be acknowledged. Under reconstitution, culture is the

conduit of race.

So when LEAs were mobilised to respond to the reversal of population in schools, their educational response was contextualised by the rearticulation of race. Their affirmation of that context is expressed in the racial forms of education. Policy documents produced by LEAs during 1980-1981 demonstrate a link between theorisation in the race research, state policy production, the reproduction of policy in LEAs and practice. These links are not automatic. They reflect ambiguities and contradictions in the different orientations which are communicated in practice.

The ambiguities and contradictions generated by the inversion of population movements and the affirmation of racial forms of education, powerfully reflected the different trajectories of the cultural articulation of race. The concept of contested legitimacy connected the different cultural articulations of race to the educational practice thought appropriate to manage the reversal of population in schools. For example, the concept of 'contested legitimacy' demonstrated how the use of the language of culture and identity by different perspectives on racial forms of education have contradictory outcomes. The utilisation of that language by the new right shifted the emphasis and priorities of liberal multiculturalism and anti-racism. Indeed the new right used the language of culture and identity to assert the incompatibility and impracticality of different cultural groups trying to co-exist. Prejudice and intolerance were warning signs of the inherent dangers of cultural difference.

Thus the operation of the model, helped to illustrate how the normalisation and rationalisation of racial conduct exist as a feature of the naturalisation of race. The model expressed the continuity of that naturalisation process in education through the production of policy by the state, the reproduction of policy in LEAs

and practice. Indeed, it is that power of normalisation which makes it necessary to go beyond the naturalisation of social process. The use by different social groups of naturalised notions of cultural exclusivity, as a basis of policy, suggests that even with benign aims in mind, groups cannot be immune from its dangers. This conclusion points to some possible application of the model.

Applicability of the Model

Although the model was developed to focus on the power of a shared racial experience to account for the position of Afro-Caribbean children in education, the model might have a general application to groups who are defined as 'culturally different'. The way in which a group becomes the object of social concern, will influence the specificity of the discourse generated about the form their disconnection will take.

The position adopted in this research that race is the dominant ideological sign by which people of African ancestry are given identity and culture, dictated that the research attempted to understand the nature of the operation of race. The volume of work involved in carrying out this task, prevented discussing the experience of Asians more directly. However, the way in which the concept of reconstitution unfolded to express the biological displacement of race in favour of cultural articulation of race suggest that the model could usefully assess aspects of the incorporation of the Asian experience in the education system. Themes of cultural difference, differences in life style, and the incompatibility of different religious universe, communicate the logic of the naturalisation of the social. The contestation over the legitimacy of state funded Muslim schools, testifies to the elaboration varying immutable culturalist positions.

Indeed the problem facing those who wish to conduct research which challenge essentialist identities, is how to

respond to the displacement of the anti-racist position. Further research will need to develop strategies to examine how structural conditions force groups to mobilise around collective undifferentiated identities, such as Asians and Blacks. Research will also have to ensure that these conditions are not treated as synonymous with identity and culture. The dilemma inherent in this position dictates the basis for a reconceptualisation of race, culture and identity.

Towards Reconceptualisation

Reconceptualising the relationship between race, culture, identity and education, must take into consideration what Pierre Charles describes as the 'ideological trap' set by race (Charles, 1980:80). The underlying concern of this research has been the way in which race sets the conditions for its own explanatory predominance. With its tendency for reductionism and homogenisation of complex areas of institutional life, race tends to congeal the analysis of racist and antiracist positions on education alike. The conversion of race into an education device, negated the necessity to develop sensitive and differentiating forms of analysis of the conditions and educational aspirations of the Afro-Caribbean community. The construction of Afro-Caribbean educational aspirations in terms of a reactive dynamic to white pressure, became the unifying basis of all ethical thinking. The ascendancy of the New Right from the mid-1980s fractured this ethical liberal consensus. This ascendancy signalled the battle between multiculturalism, antiracism and the New Right for the appropriation of the cultural space in education. The contestation fundamentally demonstrated the limits and the theoretical advances that still needed to be made in terms of an adequate conceptualisation of race and its increasing articulation through culture.

In many ways, this period since the mid Eighties

provided vindication of the use of the four central concepts in this research. The concepts of disconnection and reconstitution primarily illuminated the different trajectories of the idea of race. Although disconnection has noted race as a biological signifier of historical identity, it was reconstitution that now identified the new cultural forms of disseminating and sustaining racial discourse. Through reconstitution the analytical opportunity was provided for linking race with the notion of national identity, nationhood and Englishness. It is now possible to see how racial positions can be legitimated in terms of the irreconcilability of different cultures rather than biological inferiority. References to customs, habits, family values can become enunciators of a more profound cultural absolutism. The thematic content of contested legitimacy, highlighted the coercive moment inscribed in using essentialist positions of race and culture to gain dominance for one's position.

The identification of this coercive element in this research, prefigured some of the central issues in post 1985 critiques of multiculturalism and antiracism (Gilroy 1987, Miles 1989, Hall 1991, Cohen 1988). Issues of antiessentialism, the retheorisation of race, culture and identity have been definitive in attempts to deconstruct long standing certainties about race, culture and identity. Recognition of this coercive element dictated the urgency in the reconceptualisation of race, culture and identity.

Race

It is now evident that it is necessary to reconceptualise race. The position of this research is in sympathy with the mode of reconceptualisation put forward by Robert Miles (1989). In this formulation race is viewed as an ideological construction with the ability to racialise social relations. The focus of analysis would then be on the strategies of racialisation. Racialisation thus has an institutional dimension. This conceptualisation

would weaken the tendency to conflate social relations with race relations. Such a strategy would make it possible to develop discriminatory analysis over the complex area of economic political and cultural life. We have seen in this research how the inability to differentiate between mechanisms of racialisation and race as intrinsic entity, cohering social positions, has tended to exteriorise groups defined by race from the theoretical modifications of class and gender. The realisation that race does not exhaust forces of modernity itself, forces us to deconstruct the proximity of race to culture.

Culture

The idea of culture as somehow intrinsically determined once and for all by race must be challenged. The approach that is being argued for, is that which sees culture in an anti-essentialist way. That is a conception which sees culture as extrinsically generated processes through institutions, knowledge and discourse. So for example the social narratives of modernity and post modernity become definers of culture. In relation to the construction of the racial forms of education as a promotion and a quintessential reflection of black culture, black identity, the onus becomes one of identifying the ways in which these forms of education attempt to construct and reproduce essentialist conceptions of a racial subject. By this token, the construct of a fixed black identity becomes groundless.

Identity

The idea that culture is externally generated through social institutions, knowledge and discourse, forces us to recognise that identity, like culture, is not static. Identity is learnt, negotiated, contested and mediated in complex political, economic and social relations. In a powerfully provocative deconstructivist debate, Hall (1991) imaginatively discusses the

historically contingent logic of the idea identity.

"There is something guaranteed about the logic or discourse of identity. It gives us a sense of depth, out there, and in here. It is spatially organised. Much of our discourse of the inside and the outside, of the self and other, of the individual and society, of the subject and the object, are grounded in that particular logic of identity. And it helps us I would say to sleep well at night.

... Because what they tell us is that there is a kind of stable, only very slowly-changing ground inside the hectic upsets, discontinuities and ruptures of history. Around us history is constantly breaking in unpredictable ways but we, somehow go on being the same." (Hall, 1991:43)

This metaphysical positioning of identity, perhaps, helps to explain why antiracists have vigorously fought the claim that people of African ancestry have no identity. For to deny identity is as Hall says, to deny social authenticity and metaphysical depth.

The other dimension of Hall's theoretical exploration into the idea of identity, is the recognition that nothing remains the same. For this reason, it has become increasingly untenable to construct the education of children of Afro-Caribbean origin in terms of some reductionist and determinist assumptions about an intrinsic racial identity. Even when we acknowledge, as Hall does, the three broad categories in which a black identity has been constructed, we have to recognise that they do not remain loyal to their origin. Hall reminds us that, for example, Afro-Caribbean children, born in England, have an identity that has been constructed by the discourse of blackness, an identity informed by the Afro-Caribbean ancestry and an English identity. In Hall's words identity is 'constructed through ambivalence.' (ibid:47).

This type of analysis, then, decentres the notion of a singular identity. It forces us to recognise the plurality of social identities. These plural identities are

being constructed in a world where the forces of the internationalisation and globalisation of production and migration makes it difficult to sustain absolute boundaries between cultures and identities.

In a technical sense, we have seen in the last ten years a growing recognition by the state of the need to create an education system that can respond effectively to the rapidity of technological advances in global production (DES 1985, DES 1987). This recognition has profoundly transformed the climate for the operation of antiracism. Some commentators described these changes as effecting a 'conservative revolution' in education (Dale, 1989, Jones 1989, Chitty 1989, Johnson 1989). From the mid 1980s, we have witnessed a radical reorganisation of the relationship between central government, local education authorities and teachers. Changes have ranged from the creation of local management of schools, the opportunity for schools to 'opt out' of local authority control, the establishment of a centralised curriculum around maths, science and English, the formation of city technical colleges, the setting of pre-specified attainment targets and methods of assessment and the publication of examination results at secondary and primary levels. These changes were accompanied by themes of parental choice, accountability, the national needs of industry and Britain's competitive competence in world markets. The aim according to the DES was to ensure that "the education of the pupils serves their own and the country's needs and provides a fair return to those who pay for it." (DES 1985b:4).

It is paradoxical therefore that the cultural ethos of the national curriculum 1988 wants to distance itself from the decentring cultural ethos of globalisation. The national curriculum wants to strive for an instrumentalist and rationalistic curriculum, whilst maintaining a closed and absolutist sense of an English identity. Richard Johnson, for example, describes the national curriculum as

"the nearest thing to the Government's own curriculum ... with its encorsement of traditional subject boundaries, its neglect of interdisciplinarity, its insistence on "objective" forms of testing, and its closure on experimentation." (Johnson 1989:117-18)

The complexity, contradiction and non linearity of these social forces must be taken into consideration by those who seek to challenge structural forms of marginalisation in education and forms of social life.

Antiracism in education must strive to match that complexity in its analysis. It must start by not inadvertently accommodating its own marginalisation. It must not argue for an educational arrangement that fails to recognise new structuring discourses in education. Hall cautiously reminds us that while we have to recognise the conditionality of historical circumstances in shaping identity, that recognition does not confer an automatic guarantee of desired political outcome. He writes:

"We cannot conduct this kind of cultural politics without returning to the past but it is never a return of a direct and literal kind. The past is not waiting for us back there to recoup our identities against. It is always retold, rediscovered, reinvented. It has to be narrativised. We go to our own past through history, through memory, through desire, not as a literal fact." (ibid:58)

Thus the focus of this reconceptualisation is to argue for an antiracism that does not silence or essentialise difference. It is a desire for an antiracism that is insightful and inventive in how it analyses the changes and the differences in constructing an approach to education that gives full complexity to the heterogeneity of social life in which people designated by colour are contingently positioned.

In many respects this thesis has travelled an intellectual journey. A journey that Hall significantly describes as reflecting the "great decentering" discourse

of modern thought (ibid:43). In these decentering discourses, openness, the unconformable nature of social life is stressed and the fluid nature of social identity becomes visible. Underlying this notion of discontinuity is, I believe, an attempt to properly situate human agency in a framework which asserts the conditionality of structures and social relations on human agency. In the writings of African American women, this relationship is being richly developed. Maya Angelou's poem Caged Bird, expresses the nature of the indeterminate relationship between structure and agency thus:

"But a caged bird stands on the grave of dreams
his shadow shouts on a nightmare scream
his wings are clipped and his feet are tired
so he opens his throat to sing."

(Angelou, 1987:73)

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APPENDIX AThe Date of Initial Documentation on Multicultural Educationby LEASLONDON

ILEA 1967 (but ILEA claim their first
official policy document came
out in 1977)

Barnet 1981
Brent 1981
Croydon 1982
Haringey 1978
Hounslow 1982
Waltham Forest 1982

METROPOLITAN

Manchester 1978
Salford 1982
Tameside 1982
Trafford 1977
Knowsley 1982
Liverpool 1976
Sheffield 1982
Gateshead 1982
Newcastle upon Tyne 1982
Birmingham 1981 (the Authority refers to
a major document having been
considered in November 1978 by
the Education Committee)

Dudley 1981
Walsall 1982
Bradford 1976
Calderdale 1981
Kirklees 1981
Leeds 1982

NON-METROPOLITAN

Avon 1982
Berkshire - special case study 1982
Buckinghamshire 1981
Derbyshire 1982
Gloucestershire 1982
Hertfordshire 1982
Humberside 1982
Northamptonshire 1980
Nottinghamshire 1982
Oxfordshire 1982
Borders Regional Council 1982
Strathclyde 1979
Western Isles 1976

APPENDIX B

Official Reports Used in the Formulation of Policy Documents(i) Bullock Report

LONDON	ILEA
METROPOLITAN	Liverpool
	Bradford
	Dudley
NON-METROPOLITAN	Avon
	Northamptonshire

(ii) Race Relations Act 1976

LONDON	ILEA
	Brent
	Croydon
	Haringey
	Hounslow
METROPOLITAN	Bradford
	Manchester
	Trafford
	Knowsley
	Newcastle upon Tyne
	Calderdale
	Kirklees
	Leeds
NON-METROPOLITAN	Derbyshire
	Berkshire
	Borders Regional Council

(iii) Scarman Report

LONDON	ILEA
	Hounslow
METROPOLITAN	Sheffield
NON-METROPOLITAN	Gloucestershire

(iv) Rampton Report

LONDON	ILEA
	Brent
	Croydon
	Waltham Forest

	METROPOLITAN	Manchester
		Knowsley
		Birmingham
		Walsall
		Kirklees
		Sheffield
	NON-METROPOLITAN	Derbyshire
		Berkshire
		Gloucestershire
		Humberside
		Nottinghamshire
		Hertfordshire
(v)	<u>D.E.S. Circular 6/81</u>	
	LONDON	ILEA
		Croydon
	METROPOLITAN	Manchester
		Newcastle upon Tyne
		Birmingham
		Dudley
	NON-METROPOLITAN	Humberside
(vi)	<u>E.E.C. Directive 7/77</u>	
	LONDON	Croydon
	METROPOLITAN	Birmingham
		Dudley
		Leeds
	NON-METROPOLITAN	Derbyshire
		Hertfordshire
		Northamptonshire
		Strathclyde

APPENDIX C

LIST OF LEA DOCUMENTS

LONDON

1. The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary Schools. Report of a working party of members of the Inspectorate and School Psychological Service, ILEA 959, November 1967 and July 1973.
2. Multi-ethnic Education, Joint Report of the Schools Sub-committee and the Further and Higher Education Sub-committee presented to the Education Committee on 8 November 1977.
3. Multi-ethnic Education - Progress Report, Joint Report of the Schools Sub-committee, the Further and Higher Education Sub-committee and the Staff and General Sub-committee presented to the Education Committee, on 12 June 1979.
4. Education in a Multi-ethnic Society. An Aide-Memoire for the Inspectorate. Published by ILEA Learning Materials Service, 1981.
5. Multi-ethnic Education in Schools (Draft Document), ILEA 2248, Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 2.6.82, by the Education Officer.
6. Evidence on the Background to the Brixton Disturbances, July 1981.
7. Anti-Racist Curriculum and Resource Development, ILEA 2002, Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee and Further and Higher Education Sub-committee Report, 8.1.82, by the Education Officer.
8. Multi-ethnic Education in Schools - the next stage, ILEA, 2249, Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 7.6.82, by the Education Officer.
9. Report of the One Day Conference: Education in a Multi-ethnic Society, ILEA 2249(a), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 3.6.82, by the Education Officer.
10. Education and Racial Discrimination - the Authority's Commitment (a draft statement), ILEA 2249(b), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 3.6.82, by the Education Officer.
11. Guidelines for Schools and Colleges: Racism, ILEA 2249(c) Education Committee - Staff and General Sub-Committee and Schools Sub-committee Report, June 1982, by the Education Officer.

12. Anti-Racist Strategies, ILEA 2249(d), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 7.6.82, by the Education Officer.
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14. Rampton - Follow Up Project, ILEA 2249(f), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 7.6.82, by the Education Officer.
15. Education Liaison Officers, ILEA 2249(g), Education Committee - Staff and General Sub-committee, Further and Higher Education Sub-committee and Schools Sub-committee Report, 7.6.82, by the Education Officer.
16. The Educational Implications of the 1981 Language Census, ILEA 2249(h), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 7.8.82, by the Education Officer.
17. Catalogue of Language spoken by ILEA Schools Pupils, ILEA 2249(i), Schools Sub-committee Report, 3.6.82, by the Education Officer.
18. The Afro-Caribbean Education Resource Project, ILEA 2249(j), Education Committee - Further and Higher Education Sub-committee, Staff and General Sub-committee and Schools Sub-committee Report, 3.6.82, by the Education Officer.
19. Anti-Racist Curriculum and Resources Development, ILEA 2249(k), Education Committee - Schools Sub-committee Report, 3.6.82, by the Education Officer.
20. Multi-ethnic Education: Support for Schools, In-Service Work and Resources, ILEA 2249(l), Education Committee - Schools Sub-Committee Report, 7.6.82, by the Education Officer.

BARNET

1. The Multicultural Curriculum in Barnet - Introduction, 1982. An informal working party which included a representative group of teachers.

BRENT

1. Multicultural Education in Brent, report of the Director of Education, including appendices, 1961.
2. Multicultural Education in Brent - Report No.44/82 of the Director of Education, 22.3.82, including appendices.

3. Report No.46/82 of the Director of Education, Governors' Responses to Report 23/81 on Multi-cultural Education in Brent, including appendices, 22.3.82.
4. Black Ethnic Minorities Joint Consultative Committee, Report No.51/82 of the Director of Education, 1.4.82.
5. Details of Curriculum Development Support Unit, Director of Education, 6.5.82.

CROYDON

1. Draft Guidelines on Racial Abuse, Director of Education, 28.4.82.
2. Multicultural Education, including appendices, Multicultural Education Curriculum Working Party (5th Draft), 5.5.82.

HARINGEY

1. Racialist Activities in Schools, produced by the Council at the request of the recognised teachers' associations of the Borough. Approved by both panels of the joint consultative council at their meeting on 4.7.78.
2. Community Languages and Supplementary Schools (discussion paper, 1981).
3. Multi-cultural Curriculum Support Group - First Report 1979-1981, July 1981.

HOUNSLOW

1. Ethnic Minorities and the Council - Report of the Ethnic Minorities Strategy Group, April 1982.

WALTHAM FOREST

1. Committee for Education and the Arts - minute, 22.3.82, West Indian Children in our Schools, including appendices.
2. Extract from minutes of Education and the Arts Committee meeting, 14.6.82, Education for a Multicultural Society.
3. Report on Education for a Multicultural Society by the Adviser for Multi-cultural Education, 1982.

METROPOLITAN

MANCHESTER

1. Multi-cultural Education in Schools, report on the Chief Education Officer to the Policy and Estimates Subcommittee, 8.3.78.

2. Education for a Multi-cultural Society, report of the Chief Education Officer to the Policy and Estimates Sub-committee, 9.6.80.
3. Multi-cultural Education, report of the Chief Education Officer to the Schools Sub-committee, 5.10.81.
4. Continuing Education in a Multi-cultural Society, report of the Chief Education Officer to the Continuing Education Sub-committee, 5.11.81.

SALFORD

1. Letter of 8.7.82 to the Race Relations Unit giving policy statement.

TAMESIDE

1. Copy of letter of 4.1.82 to the Secretary to The Committee of Inquiry into the Education from Ethnic Minority Groups, combining the observations of the Director of Education and the Chief Librarian and Arts Officer, both of which had received the approval of the respective Committee.

TRAFFORD

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KNOWSLEY

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LIVERPOOL

1. Meeting their Needs, Working Party examining the educational needs of and provision for the children and Liverpool born descendants of immigrants, (1) Report and Recommendations, 1976.
2. Meeting their Needs, Working examining the educational needs of and provision for the children and Liverpool born descendants of immigrants, (2) Working Papers, 1976.

SHEFFIELD

1. Education in Schools in Multi-cultural Sheffield, a Discussion Paper prepared by an LEA multi-cultural group, August 1982.

GATESHEAD

1. Gateshead LEA Response to Ethnic Minorities and our Multi-cultural Society, 8.6.82.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

1. City of Newcastle Upon Tyne Education Committee Racial Harmony in Newcastle, Education Committee, 5.1.82.

BIRMINGHAM

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2. The Special Language Needs of Children of West Indian Backgrounds, 30.9.81.
3. Multicultural Education, a Progress Report, by the Chief Education Officer to the Education (Schools Sub-) committee, 30.6.81.

DUDLEY

1. Mother Tongue Teaching - a Further Report, Agenda Item 7, September, 1981.
2. Multi-cultural Education: Draft Policy Statement, 17.5.82.

WALSALL

1. Education in a Multi-cultural Society (i) West Indian Children in Our Schools - The Rampton Report - Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, (ii) Curricular Implications, 26.1.82.

BRADFORD

1. Education in a Multi-racial City: The Report of the Joint Working Party on the Education of Immigrants and their Children, 1976.
2. Race Relations in Bradford - policy statement, 1981.
3. Community Language Teaching, Directorate of Education Services, 1982.
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5. Race Relations: A Positive Statement, Directorate of Educational Services, August 1982.
6. Education for a Multi-cultural Society: Provision for Pupils of Ethnic Minority Communities, 10.11.82.

CALDERDALE

1. Immigrant Education Working Party, Appreciation of Cultural Differences, Multi-cultural Education in

Calderdale Schools, Analysis of Governing Body Reports, 13.11.81.

2. Letter of 16.4.81 to Chairman and Headteachers of Primary and Secondary Schools.

KIRKLEES

1. Report of the Inter-Directorare Working Party on Multi-Ethnic Kirklees, 1981.

LEEDS

1. Providing for the Educational Needs of a Multi-cultural Society, 1982.

NON-METROPOLITAN

AVON

1. Educational Commitment within a Multi-Ethnic Society, The Multi-cultural Education Centre, 1982.

BERKSHIRE

1. Education for Equality - A Paper for Discussion, Advisory Committee for Multicultural Education, Summer 1982.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

1. Interim Report of the Ethnic Minorities Working Group submitted to Education Committee, 1981.

DERBYSHIRE

1. Multi-cultural Education and the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, 25.5.82.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1. Multi-cultural Education, Gloucestershire Education Committee, Schools Sub-committee, 4.5.82.

HERTFORDSHIRE

1. Ethnic Minority Children in Hertfordshire, 1982.

HUMBERSIDE

1. Draft Submission of Evidence by Humberside LEA to the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, Schools and Special Services Sub-committee, 19.1.82.
2. Multi-cultural Education - a statement, Circular HQ/SC26/82, 21.4.82.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1. Report of LEA/NAME Working Party on Mother Tongue Teaching and Mother Culture Maintenance in Northamptonshire, March 1980.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

1. Mother Tongue and Minority Community Languages in Schools and Colleges in Nottinghamshire, 10.2.82.
2. Some Educational Problems of Ethnic Minority Pupils, report of the Director of Education, 22.4.82.

OXFORDSHIRE

1. Suggested points on Multi-cultural Education, 1982.

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1. Local Authorities and the Education Implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976, 1982.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. Urban Aid Submission - Additional Provision for the Education of Immigrants, 1979.
2. Teaching of English as a Second Language, September, 1979.
3. Mother Tongue Teaching - EEC Directive, report by the Director, 18.8.81.

WESTERN ISLES

1. Letter/telephone conversation outlining the Authority's Gaelic Language Policy - developed in 1976.