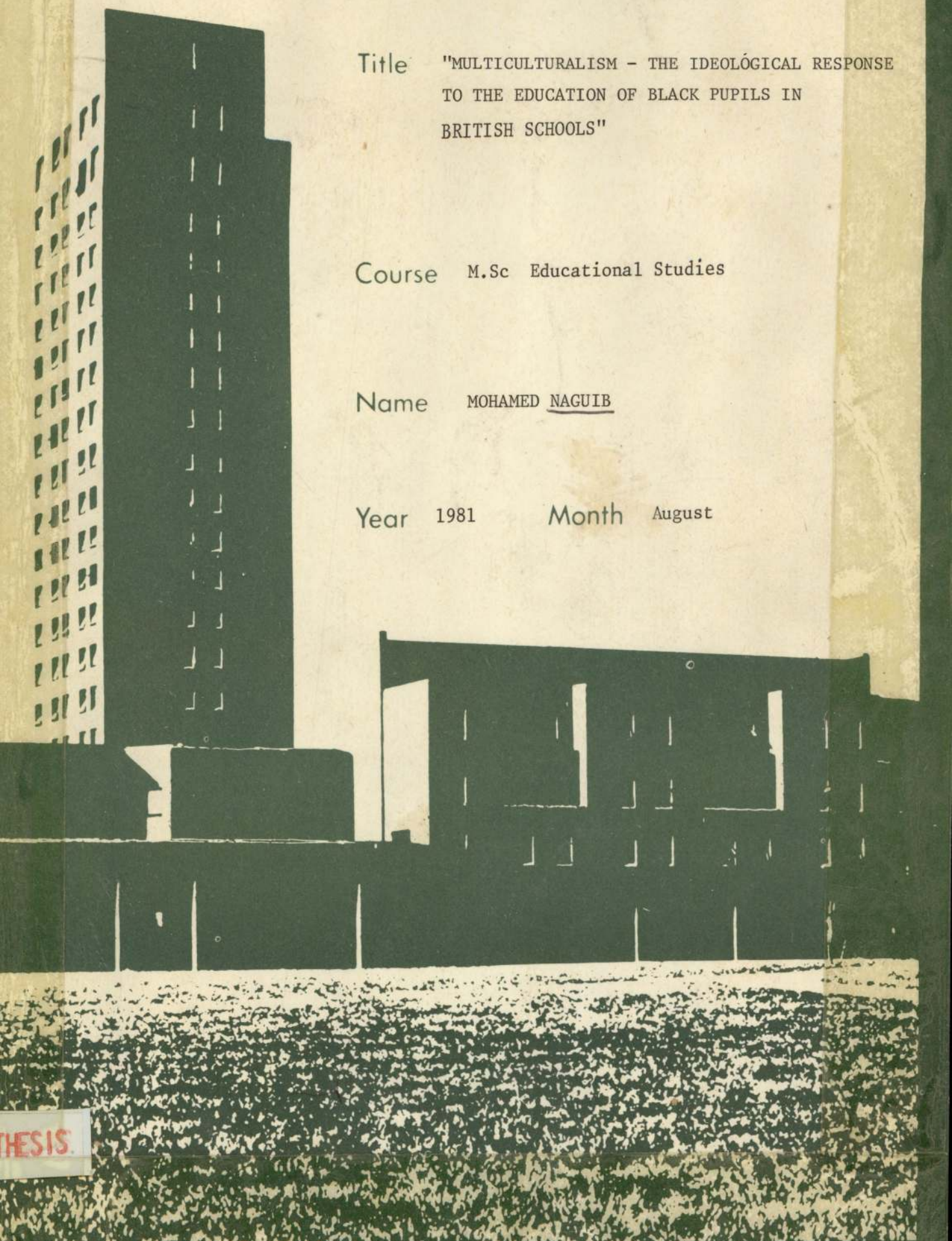
THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM



Title "MULTICULTURALISM - THE IDEOLÓGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS IN BRITISH SCHOOLS"

Course M.Sc Educational Studies

Name MOHAMED NAGUIB

Year 1981 Month August

"MULTICULTURALISM - THE IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS IN BRITISH SCHOOLS"

M.Sc DISSERTATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ENQUIRY,

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON

IN BIRMINGHAM

AUGUST 1981

MOHAMED NAGUIB

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Henry Miller for his assistance in the supervision of this dissertation.

To Rose Goodwin, my most sincere thanks for the many hours she spent at the typewriter and the good humour with which she tackled this tiresome task.

To Professor John Rex, my thanks, too, for allowing me the time to complete this work.

To my wife Julie, my hearty appreciation of her constant patience, interest, encouragement and support throughout the course of my work.

And, finally, to all those who have helped me in any way in the completion of this work, my sincere thanks.

FOREWORD

My interest in the field of 'Race and Education' stems partly from my education both in Kenya and in Britain and my experiences in Britain related to my racial background but largely as a result of my teaching experiences in a large comprehensive school in rural Cambridgeshire and my work as a Home-School Liaison Officer (for Ethnic Minorities) with the Education Department in Sandwell. When I entered this field, 'multiracial', 'multicultural' and 'multiethnic' education were increasingly being pronounced as the most effective ways of providing 'relevant education' and 'equal opportunity' for black pupils within the educational system. As a result of my professional experiences, however, the values of 'multicultural education' for black pupils became increasingly dubious to my mind. The facts of, on the one hand, black educational failure, a disproportionately high rate of black youth unemployment and their increasing despair, frustration and alienation and, on the other, an increasing adoption of multicultural policies in education as witnessed through the rapid growth of a whole industry concerned with 'multicultural education' made me begin to question the benefits of such policies and practices for the black pupil, whom the educational concept of 'multicultural education' purported to serve.

The institution of the 'Education and Ethnicity' programme at the Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, University of Aston, under the directorship of Professor John Rex (and of which I am a member) thus provided me with a specific opportunity - to research into the educational policies of L.E.A.s relating to the education of black pupils in schools. This dissertation then should not be seen as a complete work, but in terms of a means of generating ideas in the context of on-going research into the educational policies and practices of L.E.A.s in the field of 'Race and Education' - more specifically, into the processes of educational policy formulation at the local authority level, and their implementation at the educational management and school levels.

In terms of tracing the historical development of educational policies towards black minorities and through a discussion of the consequences of the adoption of multicultural policies and practices in education, I trust that I have been able to contribute in some way to the ongoing debate about the education of black pupils in British schools.

CONTENTS

		Page
Acknowledgements		i
Foreword		ii
INTRODUCTION		
Notes & References		1
Chapter 1 -	CULTURAL DEPRIVATION & COMPENSATORY EDUCATION	7
	The Sociology of Education and Working Class Educational Failure	
	Compensatory Education	
	Notes & References	
Chapter 2 -	THE EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE OF BLACK PUPILS	22
	Research Findings	
	A Typology for the Classification of Explanations for Underachievement of Black Pupils	
	Notes & References	
Chapter 3 -	THE IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS	
	Part 1 - From Assimilation to Integration	50
	Assimilation	
	Integration	
	Notes & References	
Chapter 4 -	THE IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS	
	Part 2 - Cultural Pluralism & Multicultural Education	75
	The Concept of Multicultural Education	
	Cultural Pluralism & Multicultural Education	
	Notes & References	
CONCLUSION		107

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1950s, and throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the increased migration to Britain of a variety of racial and ethnic groups from former British colonies in the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and East Africa and the subsequent presence in British schools of pupils from such backgrounds has posed an unprecedented dilemma for educationalists and decision-makers. The earliest ideological response to the presence of a racial factor of any significance in British education was characterised by its assimilationist goals and translated through 'ad hoc' policy responses into compensatory educational programmes. Meeting the language needs of the 'immigrant' pupils and dispersing them from inner-city areas to suburban schools in an attempt to foster their 'integration' were the orders of the day. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, 'integration' (by which was meant "not a flattening process of assimilation" but "equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance")[1] was being predicated as the goal of education, thus superceding the assimilationist perspective. The dilemma that was posed for educationalists, then, was one of educational failure of black pupils in British schools. The educational ideology which governed such a conceptualisation was one of 'disadvantagement'. Black pupils were failing in schools, it was argued, largely because of their 'deprivation' and 'disadvantagement'. The policy responses that characterised the integrationist approach were programmes which promoted 'unity through diversity' by meeting the 'special needs' of racial minorities through a multiracial approach to education. In schools, subjects such as 'Black Studies' were suffered, although reluctantly, on the grounds that they would enhance the self-esteem of black pupils and thereby promote a 'positive identity' and hence higher educational performance amongst them. A negative self-image, it was argued, was directly and causally related to the academic underachievement of the black pupil. Fears of

cultural autonomy and separatism, symbolised by an increasing adherence to the notion of supplementary education by many sections of the black community however prompted in the late 1970s the adoption of the more sophisticated cultural pluralist philosophy. The educational ideology of multicularal, multi-ethnic education, based on a pluralist conception of contemporary British society has thus come to be adopted as the working paradigm for the education of black pupils in British schools.

This, then, forms the essential background to which I wish to address my thesis.

The 1960s, and early 1970s was an era of educational expansion and curriculum innovation. The late 1970s and early 1980s have, however, clearly witnessed a period of retrenchment and severe educational cuts and economies. Despite this general mood of defensiveness, multiculturalism is one educational field which is, and undoubtedly has been, a growth area. Associated with this move to develop a 'multicultural education', justified in terms of its suitability to the 'needs of a multicultural society', has been an unprecendented growth of a whole industry of 'experts' claiming to promote the concept of multiculturalism in all its variety of forms and purporting to serve the 'needs of ethnic minorities' within a broad multicultural framework.

The dilemma posed for educationalists has centred on the knowledge that while educational solutions concerning black children are made and judged within a socio-political context of racial inequality, prejudice and discrimination, education is persistently regarded as a vehicle for social change and a panacea for social stress.[2] Research on race and education, produced primarily with a problem-solving action orientation clearly reflects the ways in which educationalists and policy-makers have conceptualised the 'race problem' posed by black pupils for an education system dominated by a white, middle-class, elitist ethos. This is reflective

of the persistent unease between liberal educational ideologies and a conflict perspective which recognises race and education as a source of possible disharmony.(3) The unthinking and uncritical adoption and celebration of multicultural educational policies, has, I want to suggest, far-reaching implications for the position of the racial minorities in Britain.

My main purpose in this thesis, then, is to join the debate of making problematic the notion of multicultural education. By tracing the historical development of the concept, through a discussion of the earlier ideological responses characterised by the assimilationist and integrationist perspectives, I want to assert that multicultural education as an ideology, based on a pluralist conception of society, with its claims for 'social justice' and 'relevant education' for minority group pupils has developed as a direct response to the problems that black pupils create for the educational system: that the notion of multicultural education is inextricably linked with the apparent concern for the underachievement of black pupils and although is a direct response to the perceived needs of such pupils, is effectively a means of social control; that multicultural education has neither, in effect, contributed to the educational advancement of black pupils, nor the social position of the racial minorities, the very groups that the notion purports to serve; that is has, instead, by perceiving the 'race problem' from the viewpoint of white middle-class educationalists and decision-makers provided a peripheral career-orientated structure for many such individuals as a means of chanelling their vocational aspirations into a growing race-related industry, and is thereby contributing to the reproduction of the racial relations in which the subordinate position of black minorities is not only maintained but perpetuated.

The way in which I propose to address these issues will be as follows:-

In Chapter 1, I wish to consider the relationship between the sociology of education in the late 1950s and early 1960s and the ways in which educators conceptualised the 'problems' of working-class children. The explanations put forward for the educational failure of working-class children, I will suggest, located the causes of such failure within the class-cultural backgrounds of the pupils, not within the educational system or the wider society. Explanations thus emphasised the cultural deficiencies of the working-classes whilst the educational system and the wider society were less critically viewed. The educational responses to such a conceptualisation translated themselves, then, into an ideology of compensation. Compensatory educational programmes were thus offered as a means of providing the working-class child with 'equality of opportunity'. I propose, then, to consider briefly the failure of such approaches and the subsequent emergence of the 'new directions' approach to the sociology of education. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to trace the link between the explanations offered for the educational failure of working-class children and those suggested for the underachievement of black pupils since their earliest arrival into British schools.

In Chapter 2 we discuss the educational performance of black pupils in British schools and consider the evidence for their low performance by cataloguing the different pieces of research on the educational performance of black pupils since the early 1960s and the explanations offered by researchers for their underachievement. In an attempt to locate the general research findings into an overall framework of the types of explanations suggested, a typology for the classification of such explanations is then offered. It is suggested that explanations based on a pathological conception of the class-cultural deficiencies of the black family are prominent amongst researchers, whilst explanations which locate the causes of underachievement within the educational system and other

institutional structures of society are distinctly ignored or avoided.

Chapter 3 considers within its historical and social contexts, the ideological bases of the policy responses to the education of black pupils in British schools. In the first part of the chapter we trace the development of early policy responses, of the DES and LEAs in particular, to 'immigrant education', which were characterised by the underpinnings of an assimilationist philosophy, whilst the second part considers the reasons for the shift of emphasis to an integrationist perspective in the mid-1960s and discusses the educational policy responses and the underlying philosophy of the integrationist approach.

In Chapter 4, finally, we discuss critically the concept of 'multicultural education', based, as it is on a third model - the cultural pluralist perspective of society. The reasons for the emergence of the 'multicultural' approach and its uncritical adoption in the late 1970s as an educational concept in response to the education of black pupils in British schools is considered together with the rationale, justifications for and characteristics of the 'multicultural' approach. We examine, too, the notion of 'cultural pluralism' within its historical context and discuss the suitability of its application as a theory of social organisation for contemporary British society. The implications of the adoption of the multicultural approach for the schooling of black pupils and the position of black minorities in society is finally examined within a broader discussion of the role of the school as an institutional mechanism for the 'transmission' of 'culture'.

INTRODUCTION - NOTES

1. Jenkins, R. (1966) Speech made on 23 May 1966 to a meeting of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, quoted in "Essays and Speeches by Roy Jenkins", Collins, 1967, p.267.

2. Tomlinson, S. (1977) "Race and Education in Britian, 1960-77" in SAGE Race Relations Abstracts, 2,4, Nov. 1977;

3. Ibid.

Chapter 1*

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION & COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

The Sociology of Education and Working Class Educational Failure

In the late 1950s and early 1970s sociologists explained the failure of working class children to achieve educational succes in terms of deprivation. Various aspects of educational research in psychology, sociology and economics allowed this thesis to be used by the dominant hegemonic ideology.(1) A tripartite system of education, it was believed, did not offer equality of opportunity for the working class child. Emphasis therefore shifted to the desire to transform the educational system, instigated by certain politicians associated with the Labour party in an attempt to abolish the eleven plus. By the 1960s, however, the focus of attention had shifted to notions of cultural deprivation which were popularised in attempts to explain the educational failure of working class children. Some theories (those of Bernstein, for example) examining the relationship of different language codes to social class, although controversial and contested amongst the academics were never the less popularised and used to explain the failure of working class children in schools. The concepts of educators were not questioned nor was the contribution that the curriculum and teaching methods/strategies made to such failure. The sociologists of education were drawing the attention of decision makers to the patterns of inequality that persisted within the English educational system. Their main concerns were with the concepts of 'equality and 'equality of opportunity' and how these could be translated into educational terms. The work of men such as J.W.B. Douglas(2) and A.H. Halsey(3) revealed the persistence of inequality in education despite much ambitious legislation to remove it - inequality "so deeply entrenched that to remove it would require a massive switch of resources from the rich to the poor and a fundamental change in social attitudes to education".(4)

---

* For explanatory notes and references, see pp. 20-21

The basic demand of such men was that educational policies should be grounded in knowledge of the social facts of unequal provision and inequality where these were dictated by a desire for social democratic change to a more equal society.

The focus of educational research was, therefore, on the relationship between social class and educational opportunity, including aspects such as streaming in schools, secondary school ro-organisation policies, the effects of different kinds of schooling on the occupational aspirations of children and studies of the special problems of the 'deprived' areas. The main theoretical framework within which such concepts were developed was one of functionalism, the concern at the macro-level with the relationship of the educational system with other societal institutions. Educators had taken for granted the problems that were imposed. Their primary concern was with the 'input - output' model of the 'black box', the school. They did not question the concept of 'good education'. Failure, they presumed, stemmed from the home background of working class children, without questioning the processes of the school which may contribute to this failure.

Within the normative tradition of the sociology of education, homes and schools rather than society as a whole was seen as the sights of problems and pathologies and this was reflected both in the direction of research and the objects of policy-making. Policy focussed on "a deepening regulation of family life and upon the reform of the schools".(5) The problems in the first instance were parents, especially mothers, because they were incapable of fully enriching the lives and minds of their children and of encouraging them to do well at school. Teachers too, to some extent, were considered as 'problems' because of the tendencies to typify, label, grade and select their pupils "so creating or confirming they very patterns of ability which they sought, for technical pedagogic reasons to

define".[6] The wider society, however, was much less critically viewed. Educational performance, as the authros of 'Unpopular Education' have commented, was seen as "intrinsic to the primary definition of social classes; it was an aspect of 'class-ness' itself".[7] It was such a conception which inevitably led to the tautological argument: working class people are those who do badly at school; people who do badly at school are working class. In response to this conception and underlying assumption that the causes of working class educational failure could be located within the class cultural backgrounds of the working classes that changes within the educational system to allow greater mobility and 'equality' were proposed. The main direction of social change, based upon a social democratic philosophy, was to erode class differences which could be achieved to some degree through an expanded and reformed educational system. The failure of the traditional sociologists of eeucation to make the educational system more equal through attempts at educational reform was, however, a political failure on the part of democratic reformism itself.[8]

In their conceptualisation of the educational failure of working class children, however, 'deprivation' and 'deviancy' were two basic models which informed the work of the old sociologist of education. As the authors of 'Unpopular Education' have pointed out,

> On the one hand, within a framework of environmentalist explanation, educational working class opinion was treated in terms of deprivation. On the other hand, in a construction very like the moralism of much nineteenth century social comment, working class attitudes were understood in terms of deviancy from some rational norm. In either case, ... working class responses were seen as exceptional, as departures from adequate parentdom, as, at best, the product of 'failure'. This tendency was reinforced by the reception and residual persistence of cultural theories drawn from structural-functionalist sociology, in which popular attitudes were judged against 'core' social values. Any discrepancy provided the explanatory ground for failure in terms of either psychic or cultural deficiencies or rationalisations for such deficiencies. (9)

It was primarily the failure of the traditional sociology of education then with its macro-sociological analysis within a structural-functionalist framework and its concerns with the provision of 'equality of opportunity' and the resultant dissatisfaction and suspicion of such approaches among some sociologists of education that led to the emergence of the 'new' school, and its preoccupation with the narrower concerns of educators' concepts, the curriculum and teacher-pupil interaction.(10) Yet to view the educational system as some kind of an autonomous institution without considering the contextual framework of socially and economically stratified society can only result in a blinkered view which provides deceptive answers for teachers in their day to day concerns with teaching. The powerlessness and futility of the methods of the traditional sociologist of education to affect educational change as a way of enhancing equality has resulted in the sociology of education becoming shelved in such narrow concerns and taking comfort in the belief that the 'new' approach which concerns itself with the curriculum is much more relevant to the needs and concerns of both the teacher and the pupil. The proponents of 'multicultural education' have inevitably been influenced by this general drive of the 'new' sociologists to affect educational and thus social change through their preoccupation with the curriculum. As we will discuss later the advocates of 'multicultural education' propose to bring about 'equality of opportunity' for the black child through their calls for a reappraisal of the curriculum. Attempts to achieve equality through such narrower concerns whilst neglecting the structural social and economic inequalities in societies can only be described as idealistic and futile. Nevertheless the 'new' sociology of education is useful in making problematic the concepts that educators use to determine policies which influence the practice of teachers in the education of working class and black children in schools.

One such concept, the 'cycle of deprivation' hypothesis, as suggested earlier, has been used by educational administrators to not only justify and rationalise the educational failure of working class children but also to legitimise the underachievement of black pupils and the position of racial minorities in society as a whole. Low academic achievement of black pupils, it is argued, stems from a socio-economic and cultural deprivation of the minority families. Attention is drawn to inadequate child-rearing practices, single-parent families and family structure and organisation, over-crowding and depressing living conditions and the poverty that such families find themselves in:

> ... relatively low paid and low status jobs for first generation immigrants go hand in hand with poor over-crowded 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. (11)

The 1981 Interim Report of the Rampton Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority groups, 'West Indian Children in our Schools', reiterated the belief that West Indian families are "caught up in a cycle of cumulative disadvantage".

> A disproportionate number of West Indian women are forced to go out to work because of their economic circumstances ... the percentage of West Indian men employed in nightshifts 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 their vital pre-school formative years....While it is now generally accepted that young children need to form a stable and consistent relationship with only a limited number of adults we are faced with a situation where West Indian parents are stretched in ways which make steady, relaxed care of their children hard to achieve. (12)

The 'cycle of deprivation' hypothesis, as should be becoming obvious, is used then not only to explain and rationalise the educational failure of working class children but also that of black pupils. With such an under-

lying political conceptualisation, the educational responses to the 'deprivation' of these groups translate themselves into a compensatory educational ideology.

I wish now to turn to the historical context in which the compensatory educational ideology evolved as initially a response to working class educational failure, but later was rationalised in terms of meeting the 'needs' of black pupils in British schools. I propose then to discuss the major characteristics of the response based on the compensatory model in the context of the situation of black pupils in British schools.

Compensatory Education

The Coleman Report of 1966, assessing the lack of equality of educational opportunity amongst racial and other groups in the USA, explained working class and black failure in schools in terms of poor motivation resulting from bad family background and poor self-concept, since, Coleman argued, parental influence and pupils self concept enabled the student to win through and succeed against all odds.(13) The Coleman Report was therefore pointing the way towards social psychological factors to explain working class and black underachievement in schools in the USA. It was as a result of the Coleman Report that Project Head Start was initiated in America in an attempt to compensate working class and black families through social and educational prescriptions. In Britain, Douglas in a study of 'The Home and the School' had made reference to the fact that it was bad families, uncaring parents and deprived environments which contributed to working class educational failure.(14) The Plowden Report (1967) echoed this by pointing out that the most important factors influencing achievement in school were the attitudes of parents and the home circumstances of the child -that it was families, parental influence and expectations which ultimately exerted the most influence on whether or not children succeeded in schools.(15) Those children who lacked parental support and encouragement were deprived. Their parents too were deprived since

they lived in slums and their cultural environment was not such as to encourage them to take an interest in their children's education. The schools with their old buildings and high rates of staff turnover, it was claimed, also contributed to the 'deprivation' of these children, thereby increasing their 'disadvantage'. The social policy response, therefore, was to designate Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) and to intervene with a variety of strategies aimed at countering the negative environmental factors.

> The many teachers who do so well in face of adversity cannot manage without cost to themselves. They carry the burdens of parents, probation officers and welfare officers on top of their classroom duties. It is time the nation came to their aid. The principle, already accepted, that special need calls for special help, should be given a new cutting edge. We ask for 'positive discrimination' in favour of such schools and the children in them, going well beyond an attempt to equalise resources. Schools in deprived areas should be given priority in many respects. The first step must be to raise the schools with low standards to the national average; the second, quite deliberately to make them better. The justification is that the homes and neighbourhoods from which many of their children come provide little support and stimulus for learning. The schools must supply a compensating environment. The attempts so far made within the educational system to do this have not been sufficiently generous or sustained, because the handicaps imposed by the environment have not been explicitly and sufficiently allowed for. They should be. (16)

In 1963, the Newsom Report had put forward many of the same proposals later echoed by Plowden, including special salary inducements for teachers, additional staff with special responsibilities for home visiting and counselling.[17] It was in no doubt about "the need for a good deal of social work in connection with the pupils" in, what it called, "schools in slum areas".

The Plowden and Newsom Reports were to establish a trend in the direction of social, as opposed to educational, goals in schools for working class 'slum' children whose potentiality they saw as marked by "inadequate powers

of speech and poor home backgrounds". The significant feature of both these reports is their stress on changing the attitudes of working class pupils (Newsom), and those of parents (Plowden). One criterion of 'disadvantage' suggested by Plowden and reproduced in the criteria for selection of EPAs, it should be noted, was a 'high concentration of immigrants".

The notion of compensatory education involves, therefore, the idea of the 'lack' of something which has to be compensated for, and it invariably involves the idea of 'need'. Watson has defined compensatory educational strategies as follows:

> compensatory education strategies involve an attempt to provide, in a school or formally arranged quasi-school situation, an 'enriched' social and cultural environment for children whereby the children can redress the alleged deficits in their perceptual skills, cognitive skills, linguistic and other interactional competencies which are an alleged corollary of living one's early formative years in such backgrounds. (18)

Watson argues that compensatory educational strategies developed within the 'interactionist' theoretical framework which emphasises the environmental impact and achievement. The term 'cultural deprivation' which is often used in a discussion of compensatory education is derived from the so-called 'cycle of deprivation' and 'culture of poverty' theses.(19) A characteristic of arguments associated with the idea of a 'culture of poverty' is the persistent stress on culture (shared norms, values, meanings, etc.) rather than on material and economic conditions of poverty and the problems of the poor. The popular ideology is that the poor are poor because they are lazy, apathetic, stupid, etc. The 'culture of poverty' thesis is the academic equivalent of that popular ideology and ignores or denegrates the structural aspects of poverty and its economic and material conditions.(20)

In the discussion of compensatory education, problems are often set up

then in terms of 'cultural deprivation' and the supposed 'culture of poverty'.

Nell Keddie takes up the notion of cultural deprivation in her book "Tinker Tailor ... the Myth of Cultural Deprivation" and suggests that the term becomes a euphemism for saying that working class and ethnic groups have cultures which are at least dissonent with, if not inferior to, the 'mainstream' culture of the society at large.(21) Culturally deprived children, according to this thesis, come from homes where mainstream values do not prevail and are therefore less 'educable' than other children. The school's function, it is argued, is to transmit the mainstream values of the society, and the failure of children to acquire these values thus lies in their lack of 'educability'. The educational failure of these children is therefore located in the home, in the pre-school environment and not within the nature and social organisation of the school which 'processes' the children into achievement rates.

Keddie's concern is with the institutionalisation of the concept that "has increasingly put these children at a disadvantage in terms of what is expected from them from the day they enter school".(22) Thus, she suggests, it is not the concept of cultural deprivation that is to be investigated but the consequences of its institutionalisation. Keddie's critique, however, is not directed at the concept of cultural deprivation but at teachers and teacher's culture. Teachers are urged by Keddie to regard the cultures of working class and ethnic groups as not less valid than the 'mainstream culture' that they as teachers supposedly represent. "The perception of these cultures as deficient seems to arise from the ignorance of those who belong to what they perceive as the dominant cultural tradition".(23)

Bernstein's work has had considerable influence in the provision of

compensatory educational programmes.[24] His work has been used to account for social class differentials in educational achievement in terms of differences in 'educability'. Working class children have been considered to by linguistically and/or culturally deprived and as such, in comparison with middle class children, less 'educable'. Bernstein, however, has resisted such interpretations of his work as 'misinterpretations'. Nevertheless the consequences of his work for educational policy and for pedagogic practice should not be underestimated.

In his paper "Education Cannot Compensate for Society", in response to the alleged misrepresentation of his work, Bernstein attacks the concept of 'compensatory' education.[25] He is against the concept of compensatory education; against the idea that any provision of an adequate educational environment, where none had been provided before, could be considered as 'compensatory' whether it had formed part of the compensatory programme or not. He rejects as a misrepresentation the equating of his concept of 'restricted code' with the notion of linguistic or cultural deprivation. He argues that the notion of the teaching of the 'elaborated code' has become part of the concept of the provision for compensatory education but that contrary to such a notion the teaching of children to use the 'elaborated code' is <u>not</u> compensatory education; it <u>is</u> education. Bernstein is at pains to displace the notion of compensatory education and the related concepts of cultural deprivation, linguistic deprivation and social disadvantage because, as he says, "... the work I have been doing had inadvertently contributed towards their formulation. It might be, and has been said, that my research through focussing upon the sub-cultures and forms of familial socialisation has also distracted attention from the conditions and contexts of learning in schools".[26] Thus, Bernstein does not regard linguistic and cultural differences as the <u>cause</u> of social and educational inequalities. He insists that it is the social inequality and the lack of provision of an adequate educational environment for certain

groups of children which is largely responsible for their lack of educational achievement and the subsequent social class differentials. Nevertheless implicit in Bernstein's arguments is the conception of the working class child as a deficit system, deprived of something (the elaborated code) that middle class children are alleged to have as a result of their socialisation.

What I have attempted to do in this chapter is to discuss the way in which the compensatory educational ideology evolved out of the concerns of the old sociologists of education for working class educational failure, the underlying assumptions of which were that the causes of such failure could be located within the class-cultural backgrounds of the working classes. Such an ideology, therefore, made problematic the class-cultural backgrounds of the working classes - not the schools, the educational system or the wider society. Through compensation for the 'deprivation', attempts were therefore made to achieve 'equality' for these groups through a provision of 'equality of opportunity' in schools. But the failure of such approaches became obvious by the late 1960s, and this failure symbolised a failure of democratic reformism itself. In this context, the 'new' sociology of education emerged in the early 1970s largely focussing its attention on the narrow and microcosmic concerns of the curriculum, teacher-pupil interaction and educators' concepts.(27) Although the approach of the 'new' sociologists may well have contributed to a greater understanding of educational processes within the educational system, such as classroom interaction, educators' concepts, the organisation of schools and the sociology of the curriculum, it has not enhanced our knowledge of the functions of education, of the influence of power and ideology and their relationships with other institutional structures of society. Its failure to address problems related to the reality of social and economic equality suggests that its defence of the poor and minority groups, which it purports to undertake, is, as one commentator has suggested, 'sentimental

egalitarianism'.[28]

We have suggested then that underpinning the ideology of the dominant ruling group in society are notions of class cultural deprivation and deviancy of both the working classes and the racial minorities. Such an ideology, through its primary concern for the protection of the social order, translates itself into a social policy of compensation and more specifically an educational policy of compensatory education, in an attempt to diffuse the latent and inherent conflict of an unequal socio-economic order. More of this will be said later however.[29]

In discussing the theories of cultural deprivation and the response to these in the form of compensatory educational programmes, in this chapter, we have only considered one explanation for the educational failure of working class and black pupils. In focussing on the 'disadvantages' of these social groups, such theories explain educational failure in terms that lie outside the social strucutre. So far, then, we have discussed the ways in which educators have conceptualised the problems of working class children and explained working class educational failure in terms of class cultural deficiency. In our discussion we have not made a clear distinction between the situation of working class and black children and clearly this may render us to a justifiably criticism of subsuming the issue of race within that of disadvantage based on class. In an attempt to remedy the situation, then, I propose in the following chapter to focus our attention on the situation of black pupils, since this forms the major part of our thesis, and consider some of the different types of explanation that have been offered for the underachievement of these pupils in British schools. It will become clear that the types of explanations offered by researchers and the policy responses to such explanations reflect not only the thinking and ideology of decision makers to the questions of 'educability' of black pupils but also their perception of the status and role of racial minority

groups within a white metropolitan British society.

CHAPTER 1 - NOTES

1. Miller, H.D.R. & Smith, L.(1981) "Ideology in Education : The Case of Preparation for Parenthood" : Unpublished paper - Dept. of Educational Enquiry, University of Aston.

2. See, for example,
Douglas, J.W.B.(1964) "The Home and the School" - MacGibbon and Kee : and Douglas, J.W.B., Ross, J.M., and Simpson, H.R. (1968) "All Our Future", Peter Davies.

3. See, for example, Halsey, A.H.(1972) "Educational Priority : EPA Problems and Policies", H.M.S.O., London: and Halsey, A.H.(1975) "Sociology and the Equality Debate" in 'Oxford Review of Education', Vol. 1, No. 1, pp 9-23.

4. Williamson, Bill (1974) "Continuities and Discontinuities in the Sociology of Education" in (eds.) M. Flude and J. Ahier "Educability, Schools and Ideology" Croom Helm.

5. Baron et al (1981) "Unpopular Education : Schooling and Social democracy in England since 1944" - Hutchinson - Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, p.136.

6. Ibid., p.136.

7. Ibid., p.137, original emphasis.

8. Williamson, Bill, (1974) op.cit.

9. Baron et al (1981), op.cit., p.141.

10. For a general critique and assessment of the 'Old' and 'New' Sociology of Education see, especially, the Introduction "Educational Research : A Review and an Interpretation" in (eds.) Karabel, J. and Halsey,A.H. (1979) "Power and Ideology in Education", Oxford University Press, and Williamson, Bill (1974) op.cit.
For a consideration of the position of the 'New' Sociology of Education, see, for example, (ed.) M.F.D. Young "Knowledge and Control" (1971), Macmillan; (ed.) Brown, R (1973) "Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change", Tavistock; (eds.) Whitty, G. and Young, M.F.D. (1976) "Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge"; Nafferton; (eds.) Young, M.F.D. and Whitty, G. (1977) "Society, State and Schooling", Fulmer Press.

11. Government White Paper (1975) "Racial Discrimination", HMSO, Cmnd 6234, September 1975.

12. Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (1981) "West Indian Children in Our Streets", Chairman: A. Rampton, HMSO Cmnd 8273, June 1981, p.15.

13. Coleman, James S. et al (1966) "Equality of Educational Opportunity", Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: see also Coleman, J. "What is meant by an 'equal educational opportunity'?" in 'Oxford Review of Education', Vol , pp.

14. Douglas, J.W.B. (1964) op.cit.

15. Plowden, B. et al. (1967) "Children and Their Primary Schools", a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, Vol. 1, HMSO, London.

16. Demaine, J. "Compensatory Education and Social Policy" in (eds.) Craft, M., Raynor, J. and Cohen, L. (1980) "Linking Home and School: a New Review", 3rd edition, Harper and Row., pp.107-8.

17. Newsom, J. et al.(1963) "Half Our Future", a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), HMSO, London.

18. Watson, D. (1975) "Sociological Theories and the Analysis of Strategies of Educational Redress", International Review of Education, 22, quoted in Stone, M. (1981) "The Education of the Black Child in Britain", Fontana, p.23.

19. See, for example, Valentine, C.A. (1968) "Culture and Poverty", University of Chicago Press, p.5, in which he argues that "the environmental resources available to any people and the human events stemming from other groups of men profoundly condition, stimulate and limit the development of culture".

20. Demaine, J. op.cit., p.110.

21. Keddie, N. (1973) "Tinker, Tailor .... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation", Harmondsworth, Penguin, p.8. For her account of the 'deficit theory', see p.11.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., p.13.

24. See, for example, Bernstein, B. "Social Class and Linguistic Development : A Theory of Social Learning" in (ed.) Halsey, A.H. et al.(1961) "Education, Economy and Society", New York : Free Press: Bernstein, B. "Class, Codes and Control", Volume 1 (1973), London, Paladin : Volume 2 (1973), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Volume 3 (1975), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

25. Bernstein, B.(1970) "Education Cannot Compensate for Society" in (eds.) Rubinstein, D. and Stoneman, C. "Education for Democracy" (1970), Harmondsworth, Penguin.

26. Ibid, p.144.

27. (ed.) Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (1977) op.cit.

28. Ibid.

29. See chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 2*

THE EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE OF BLACK PUPILS

The debate about the performance and attainment of black pupils in schools, particularly those of Afro-Caribbean origin, has been the most sensitive issue in the 'race and education' debate over the last twenty years. It is a politically sensitive issue since the consensus of research so far suggests that black children are performing at a lower level in comparison with their white peers. Various research projects have inevitably been undertaken in an attempt to explain this low level of attainment. To some extent, theories of scientific racism with their suggestions of genetic or cultural inferiority of the black race have been resurrected,(1) whilst the conservative impulse to defend the educational system has prevented explanations for underachievement being sought within the educational system. A pathological conception of the black family has thus located the causes of underachievement within the family, not the educational institution of the schools or the teachers, as we have already suggested. Even the most liberal educationalists have not encouraged research into how teachers actually teach black children, how the teaching affects the children and whether a change in teachers or schools could alter the level of attainment of these pupils.(2) In research on the performance and achievement of black pupils, the variables of race and social class are most consistently interrelated. The sociological research of the 1950s and 1960s, documenting the disadvantage of children from lower socio-economic groups within the educational system and the debate over 'equality of opportunity', subsumed the issue of disadvantage by race and colour. Many researchers took some pains to stress that they were concerned with disadvantage generally even when their research was in fact concerned with race.(3) Haynes, (1971), for example, whilst documenting the results of a four year study into methods of assessing the ability of non-English

---

* For explanatory notes and references, see pp. 43-49.

speaking children introduced the research by writing of "the need for research with children who are disadvantaged, whether by virtue of race or social class".(4) It is not my purpose at this stage, however, to launch into a discussion of the usefulness and/or relevance of the research projects undertaken in this field, but merely to locate and discuss the explanations put forward by researchers within a broader typology of the forms of explanations for underachievement that have been so far offered. Although no overall systematic study of the educational performance of minority children has, as yet been undertaken, there are nevertheless, a variety of localised studies which have been carried out ever since the emergence of black pupils in British schools. Sally Tomlinson has suggested that the results of many of these studies have become confused with comment and opinion about the findings and have occasionally been used more to fuel political and ideological argument than to initiate debate on ways of improving education for minority group children.(5) Nevertheless, the assumptions underlying many of the studies is that the experiences of the different groups of children in the British educational system are more or less similar and that comparison is therefore possible. What is more important, before we can draw conclusions about the performance of once group or another, is, as John Rex has commented, that we "understand on a meaningful level the type of relationship which the minority groups have to the society".(6) Only then can any proper comparative analysis be undertaken. However, before we locate the different types of explanations put forward by educational researchers within a broader typology of the forms of explanations, it would serve our purpose at this stage to merely catalogue and present the findings of the various research projects without much critical comment.

Research Findings

In a comparative study of English boys from rural South East England and West Indian boys in Jamaica carried out in the early 1960s, Vernon found the latter group to be consistently scoring lower than the English boys.(7)

He explained the West Indian boys' "moderate degree of retardation" by handicaps created by the socio-economic, cultural and linguistic environment, family instability and poor education facilities, all factors which have subsequently been used to explain the low academic performance of West Indian origin in Britain. Alleyn's (1962) explanations for the low I.Q. scores and school attainment of Trinidadian children in a comparative study with pupils from London and Wales centred round test bias and bilingual problems,[8] whilst Saint (1963) explained the low mean I.Q. scores of secondary school Punjabi boys in Smethwick in comparison with native British children in terms of the irrelevance of the previous educational experiences of the Punjabi boys, since their scores improved with the length of schooling in Britain.[9] It is worth noting that none of the Punjabi boys studied had received primary education in this country and, furthermore, the social class backgrounds of the boys were not matched.[10]

Houghton (1966) after a study of English and Jamaican infant school children explained the depressed scores of the latter group, although not significant, in terms of "deprivation" in social, linguistic, environmental, maternal and paternal terms.[11] Arguably the most influential study on policy making in this context was the one undertaken by the Research and Statistics Group of I.L.E.A. between 1966 and 1975 under the directorship of Professor Allan Little.[12] It was found that there was a marked improvement in the performance of immigrant children with increasing length of schooling in England, but even with full English primary education, the performance of immigrant pupils was below that of the non-immigrants. Poor immigrant performance was attributed by the researchers to language, cultural and family factors, patterns of immigration and poor home school contacts. Later studies by the Research and Statistics Group led Professor Little to conclude that "it is the child from the West Indian background whose needs in terms of basic skill performance, should be given highest priority".[13] Explanations for the comparatively lower performance

of all the children in these London schools were sought in the concentration of immigrant children in the schools, in "multiple deprivation", as measured by an index of social deprivation devised by the ILEA and in the social and ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods.

The findings of the E.P.A. Action Research Project, directed by Professor Halsey (1972) which had its origins in the recommendations of the Plowden Report (1967), drew further attention to the low performance of immigrant children, particularly those of West Indian origin.(14) The larger family size of immigrants, the use of Creole by West Indian children and the recent arrival in England of many of the Asian children were the major factors, according to the report, causing the low level of attainment amongst immigrant pupils.

In a study primarily concerned with psychiatric disorder amongst children of West Indian origin by Graham and Meadows, published in 1967, the poorer performance of West Indian children compared with that of a white control group was explained in terms of the traumatic separation of children from their parents and the difficulties of rejoining families.(15) What caused the poor performance of West Indian girls, according to the authors, was their greater domestic and child minding responsibilities, although 'colour prejudice' was also noted as an explanation and the occupational social class of West Indian parents was shown to be lower than that of the whites. In 1970, a study by McFie and Thompson which provided further evidence for the low performance of pupils of West Indian origin drew attention to the inevitable handicaps that such children would face within a 'European culture',(16) whilst Ashby, Morrison and Butcher, as a result of a study of Asian children in Scottish schools, concluded that when families had been longer in Scotland and had become more involved with the 'host culture' the children appeared to do better.(17) Explanations for the comparative low performance of Asian children were thus sought in terms of

'acculturation'. A study of West Indian and Cypriot children in a London secondary modern school by Bhatnagar (1970) which found both groups performing at a lower level than their English counterparts led the author to conclude that schools were "failing in their duty to the immigrant children".(18)

By the early 1970s, however, researchers began to draw attention to the lower socio-economic status of black families and explanations were now sought by some researchers in these terms. After a partial replication of Houghton's 1966 study and a further piece of research undertaken in 1975 Bagley concluded that social class factors rather than race were important in explaining underachievement.(19) Rutter (1970) in a study of ten year old children in London found that "children from immigrant families score well below children from non-immigrant or the indigenous families".(20) West Indian children born in Britain,however, achieved higher scores than those born in the West Indies, which led Rutter to explain this in terms of school experiences, expressing concern that children of West Indian origin were more likely to attend schools with characteristics associated with poor attainment generally. The "adverse social circumstances" of West Indian families and the early life experiences of children of West Indian origin were also highlighted as factors contributing to low performance. Research conducted under the auspices of the NFER by McEwan, Gipps and Sumner (1975) to test the English language proficiency of immigrant children, found that the performance of the English children was significantly better than those of 'immigrants', although children born in Britain performed better - even those who had not had special language help.(21) West Indian children only performed slightly better than Asian children and this was explained by the authors in terms of the use of dialect by West Indian children. Asian children who spoke English at home did better than those in whose homes the mother tongue was the only medium of communication. Pre-school education did not appear to increase the language proficiency of

'immigrant' children and English children in schools with high proportions of immigrant pupils, it was found, performed as well as those with few immigrant pupils. The use of dialect by West Indian pupils was also referred to by Edwards (1976), who found the reading comprehension scores of West Indian children were significantly lower than those of whites.(22) Edwards explained this in terms of "dialect interference". Reference here should also be made to a later study by Edwards (1978-9) on language in which he draws attention to the stereotypes of West Indian children held by teachers, which may partially stem from negative feelings about their speech and language.(23)

In a study of 1978 conducted jointly by the Redbridge Black People's Progressive Association and the Redbridge Community Relations Commission which found the significantly low performance on the part of West Indian pupils at all levels of schooling in the London borough of Redbridge, the working party concluded that "self identity and the effects of a hostile society" were "the core of the problem of underachievement".(24) Teacher attitudes and expectations, criticism of dialect speech and cultural factors were also considered important, whilst social class and deprivation were felt to play a small part in the low performance of West Indian pupils. In 1979, Bagley, Bart and Wong carried out a study of 150 black children aged ten to eleven years in four London schools in working class catchment areas, and concluded that parental authoritarianism, shared housing, lack of home ownership, use of Creole at home and the poor levels of schooling of parents were factors associated with the underachievement of black children.(25) West Indian parents who were highly critical of English culture and the English educational system, who were bilingual (speaking both 'standard' English and Creole), better educated and adequate material circumstances, they found, were more likely to have children with above average achievement in school, a positive attitude to school and a positive self image.

In a recent study of primary school aged Asian children, Robinson, (1980) found that the performance of Asian children was lower than that of the recently arrived Irish children.[26] This led the author to explain it in terms of poor language acquisition - "limited opportunities for interaction brought about by living in a voluntarily segregated colony inevitably restrict the natural and casual learning of English". "Asian under-achievement", the author went on to conclude "is restricted to ...the low status section of the community, characterised by Asians with little education, restricted aspirations and poorly paid employment". The results of the National Child Development Study concerning the school performance of immigrant children reported by Essen and Ghodsian (1979) which found that 'second generation' immigrant children performed better than their 'first generation' counterparts led the authors to explain the lower performance of first generation immigrants in terms of language and 'culture shock'.[27] It is worth noting, however, that Bagley's detailed analysis of data on ethnic minorities in the National Children's Bureau Survey (1980) which although showing on the majority of tests on educational performance and in teachers judgements that West Indian children were under-achieving and were over represented in ESN (M) schools also finds three times as many West Indian children in the 'gifted' group as English children in the Draw-A-Man test - a test selected by the NCB to identify 'gifted' children![28]

The first evidence on a national scale for the under representation of minority children in selective schools was provided by Townsend (1971), commenting that the cultural bias of selection tests and language problems might account for this.[29] The 1976 study of Handsworth by Rex and Tomlinson confirmed this under representation of West Indian and Asian children in Birmingham's grammar schools.[30]

As regards school leaving qualifications, Allen and Smith's study (1972)

of school leavers in Bradford and Sheffield pointed to the lower performance of Asian and West Indian school leavers in examinations.[31] The authors note the school explanations for this poorer performance - linguistic problems, family background, lack of parental interest and pupil application - and offer an alternative explanation that the lack of educational success may legitimate the use of 'immigrant' children as unskilled labour. These findings, however, are not corroborated by those of Brooks and Singh (1978) in their studies of Asian school leavers in Walsall (by Brooks) and Leicester (by Singh).[32] The results of the Walsall study led the author to conclude that "it is the similarities between white and Asian educational performance which are impressive, rather than any differences". The Asians belief in the importance of formal qualifications, and their high unemployment, the authors suggest, makes it more likely that they would seek further education, but that "the courses which they are on are often of dubious value to potential employers".

One piece of research which has attracted a great deal of publicity and subsequent controversy was that undertaken by Geoffrey Driver and published in 'New Society' which suggested that West Indian girls and boys achieved results that were better than those obtained by English boys and girls and that Asian pupils got higher average results than their class-mates of other ethnic affiliations.[33] Driver explains his findings in terms of deterioration in the performance of English children in inner city schools, whilst the better performance of West Indian girls is attributed to family organisations allotting "power, property and decision making" to women. Driver's research, it should be pointed out, has been heavily criticised by, amongst others, the Interim Report (1981) of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups.[34] After a detailed consideration of the full report of Driver's findings, the committee concluded that "the findings in the over simplified presentation in New Society ... were not substantiated". An NFER review commissioned by

the Committee of Inquiry went on to suggest that

> ... generalisations on a national scale could not be made as a result of this study because the pupils involved were not a representative sample since relevant records were often not available, either from a larger number of LEAs which had initially been approached, or from within the schools themselves. In addition it was admitted that it was not possible to compare one school with another on progressive measures of attainment or even one pupil - generation in the same school with another... Although, it is true, he (Dr. Driver) acknowledges the limitations of the study ... it is also fair to point out that he does draw educational conclusions on the basis of statistical evidence which in many cases is found wanting in statistical terms.(35)

The over representation of West Indian children in ESN (Educationally Sub-Normal) schools, too, caused the West Indian community considerable concern particularly during the late 1960s and 1970s, since the issue appeared to reflect the general underachievement of their children in the school system, which the community attributed to racism and discrimination. Two ILEA reports (1966 and 1967), official DES statistics, Townsend's study of LEAs and Bernard Coard's book formed the basis of the evidence on over representation of West Indian children in ESN (M) schools.(36) Townsend explained the high proportion of West Indian children in ESN (M) schools in terms of the problems of assessment and lack of 'culture-fair' tests, whilst Coard drew attention not only to unsuitable tests but also to low teacher expectations, teacher stereo-typing, cultural bias and a low self-esteem and self-concept of black children in a hostile society.

A Typology for the Classification of Explanations for Underachievement of Black Pupils

The consensus of research clearly suggests therefore that black pupils as a group are underachieving in British schools. How then can we locate these general findings into an overall framework of the forms of explanations provided for underachievement?

I wish to construct a typology for the classification of explanations for the underachievement of black pupils.The classification of the types of explanation into the six broad areas that will be suggested should not however be taken to suggest the distinctiveness of each category with the mutual exclusion of the others. Categories are undoubtedly interrelated and there is inevitably some overlap. Nevertheless, such a framework of categorisation helps us to illustrate the variety of explanations that have been put forward but is essentially of limited value.(37)
The six broad categories, then, are as follows:-

Firstly, theories which focus on the characteristics of minority groups and explain the underperformance of black pupils in terms of the inherent deficiencies of the groups, drawing attention to their genetic and cultural characteristics. - 'Minority Characteristics'.
Secondly, theories which emphasise the role that the personal and/or social characteristics of members of the majority group such as teachers play in causing the underachievement of black pupils in schools.- 'Majority Characteristic
Thirdly, theories which focus on the network of social relations amongst minority groups and link the low performance of black pupils directly to the geographical environment in which their families live.- 'Social Network'.
Fourthly, theories which seek to find explanations within the dominant cultural and historical traditions, values, norms and ideology of the 'host' society.- 'Dominant ideology'.
Fifthly, 'vicious circle' explanations which lay emphasis upon the effects of the historical pattern of immigration and settlement upon the minority groups. - 'Vicious Circle'.
Sixthly, neo-Marxist and structural explanations which locate the causes of underachievement in the institutional structures of society and the inter-relationship of these to the educational system. - 'Structural'.

Let us consider now some of these explanations in more detail.

Unquestionably, the one broad category in which are located the majority of explanations for the educational behaviour and underachievement of black pupils is that which emphasises the genetic and cultural deficiencies of the minority groups. The psychologically-orientated explanations draw attention to the genetic and biological differences between blacks and whites, stressing the overriding importance of heredity and intelligence in determining life chances.(38)

> It may seem paradoxical that selection should ever favour the less intelligent and consequently it may be difficult to reconcile the theories presented above with the possibility of any given racial group having lower genetic potential than others. Yet it is easy to consider such possibilities. If, for instance, the brighter members of the West African tribes which suffered the deprivations of the slaves had managed to use their higher intelligence to escape, so that it was mostly the duller ones that got caught, then the gene pool of the slaves brought to America would have been depleted of many high IQ genes. (39)

Such theories have inevitably crept into the thinking and ideology of many educationalists and are inherent in many of the 'common sense' views which explain underachievement of black pupils in terms of their low IQ scores and hence inferior intelligence. Race has always been a central part of the debate on educational failure of working class children in the USA - since, even within the working class, black children lagged behind in IQ scores and tests of ability and attainment in schools.(40) Although it has clearly been shown how the racial and political views of psychologists who developed early IQ tests in America significantly influenced their use,(41) race as a separate factor has only recently entered the IQ debate in Britain, and is connected with the arrival of black immigrants from the Caribbean.(42)

Theories which focus on the personality of the individuals from minority groups can also be included within this first broad category. Black pupils are believed to be more physically active and aggressive as a result of their quicker physical maturation and early sexual development. Their extroverted personalities, it is argued, cause behavioural disorders and

disturbances[43] which results in disruptive behaviour in schools, a lack of interest in academic work and hostility to white teachers. Many of the characteristics involved in such stereotyping of West Indian pupils is adequately symbolised in the following remarks:

> West Indian children are both unusually demanding of teachers attention and, at the same time, indifferent to the good opinion of their teachers. They are arrogant and yet have a good opinion of themselves. They have natural 'rhythm' and exceptional physical co-ordination and yet they are clumsy. At school they exhibit a lack of enthusiasm, while managing to be exceptionally exuberent and keen. They are silent, inarticulate and yet they talk too much. Their parents impose too severe a discipline on them, are over indulgent and are completely indifferent. It is impossible to get their parents involved in affairs of school, yet they interfere too much. A strong simple Christian faith apparently dominates households where children are never shown any standards. (44)

Many of the explanations resulting from research into the educational performance of black pupils which were catalogued earlier provide a clear indication of the emphasis that has been put on the negative self-image and low self-concept of the black child as a major contributive factor in explaining his poor academic performance. (Redbridge/Coard, for example). In Britain, the work of David Milner has been perhaps most influential in the adherence to this type of explanation.[45] On the basis of such assumptions about negative self-image and low self-esteem of black pupils many initiatives in multicultural education under the guise of subjects such as Black Studies were introduced into the curriculum of schools with large numbers of black pupils. The thinking that determined such responses on the part of 'progressive' teachers was that an enhancement of the identity of black pupils would lead to better educational performance.[46] It must be stressed however that theories which have assimilated the results of tests have rarely taken into account the cultural bias of such tests, as Townsend and Coard have pointed out, and the validity of cross-cultural comparisons when considering black pupils.[47] In many

respects such theories reflect the earlier racial ideological profiles of blacks found in the southern states of the USA.

Other than the psychologically-orientated explanations for the under-achievement of black pupils, another type of explanation found within this first broad category is one which is more sociologically-orientated and locates the causes of underachievement within the ethnic and class-cultures of the minority groups.(48) A quick perusal of the various types of explanations offered by researchers and catalogued earlier is clearly indicative of this. Amongst such explanations, assumptions about the linguistic deprivation of minority groups are paramount. Various researchers have drawn attention to the problems of Creole as important contributory factors to the underachievement of West Indian pupils - Halsey (1972), McEwan, Gipps and Sumner (1975), Edwards (1976) Redbridge (1978), Bagley, Bart and Wong (1979),whilst the'problems' associated with the bilingual background of Asian children from homes where the first language is not English have also been put forward as factors contributing to their low academic performance - Alleyne (1962), McEwan Gibson Sumner, (1975), Robinson, (1980), Essen and Ghodsian (1979).
Parental illiteracy and lack of parental interest in the education of their children, it is suggested, are also important factors in the underachievement of these children - Bagley Bart and Wong (1979), Robinson (1980), Allen and Smith (1977).

Theories focussing on the cultural backgrounds of the minority groups inevitably give rise to a pathological conception of the black family. Explanations are therefore sought in terms of family instability (Vernon 1960), maternal and paternal deprivation (Houghton 1966), family structure, organisation and size (Halsey 1972) (Graham and Meadows 1967), (Allen and Smith 1977), (Rutter 1976), parental authoritarianism (Bagley Bart and Wong 1979) and a variety of other related factors. Policy responses to these

'inadequacies' have translated themselves into compensatory type programmes geared to meeting the 'special needs' of not only minority children in schools, in terms of language programmes, home-school liaison teachers, but also for parents, through programmes geared to the teaching of English to mothers.(49)

Cultural explanations other than those directly focussing on the family which have been suggested as contributing to the low performance of black pupils relate to the maintenance of certain religious and cultural practices, such as 'arranged marriages', the adherence to 'cults' such as Rastafarianism, the temporary nature of settlement due to a preoccupation with a desire to return 'home', and the relatively short period of settlement in Britain allowing 'immigrant' groups insufficient time for a readjustment.(50)

Within this first broad category can also be located the class-cultural explanations which equate the social position of the minority groups with that of the working classes - socially disadvantaged and 'deprived', and retaining all the characteristics associated with such a social position. It is clearly the adherence to such a philosophy which has resulted in a lack of distinction in educational prescriptions and policies between the 'needs' of the disadvantaged and the 'needs' of the 'ethnic minorities'.(51)

Finally, it should be emphasised that in seeking explanations for the underachievement of black pupils outside the educational system, the most frequently and commonly cited explanations locate the causes of underachievement within the personality, cultural and class complexes of the racial minorities. Compensatory measures, both educationally and socially, through an adoption of policies of 'positive discrimination' are then the response to such a conceptualisation of the 'race problem'.

Theories which locate the causes of underachievement in the personal and/or social characteristics of prejudiced persons from the 'majority' group

form the basis of the second broad category of explanations, and are markedly unpopular amongst teachers since they lay the emphasis for pupil underachievement upon teacher deficiencies. The ethnocentrism and racist attitudes, the authoritarian role and personality of teachers, it is suggested, are the major contributors to the low academic performance of black pupils. Negative stereo-typing of black pupils and low teacher expectations are emphasised: Giles (1977)[52], Redbridge (1978), Coard (1970), and the Interim Report of the Rampton Committee of Inquiry (1981). Within this category, also, can be located the more sociologically-orientated theories which view teachers, not as innocent pedagogues, but as agents of social control and preservers of the cultural traditions of a racist society. Any such suggestions of teachers projecting racist attitudes are undoubtedly unpopular amongst the teaching profession.[53] It is significant that the charges of racism and racist attitudes of teachers are underplayed by most researchers despite the common and popular view held by most members of the racial minorities that it is this factor above all others that contributes to the underachievement of their children.[54] The ethnocentrism of white pupils, too, which,it is argued, affects the "inter ethnic attitudes and behaviour" of children in schools is drawn attention to by some researchers, the underlying assumptions of their work being that such attitudes will be factors which affect the performance of black pupils in schools.[55] On the basis of the existence of such attitudes, it is argued, the ethnocentric bias of the curriculum should be removed and the curriculum should be reappraised in order to promote 'intercultural understanding'. More will be said about the attempts at such reforms of the curriculum in a later chapter.

The third category of explanations which I wish to highlight is one within which we can locate theories focussing on the networks of social relations between the different racial groups and the context of the geographical location of racial minorities in towns and cities. The argument here is

that the roots of racism are to be found in the network of segregated social relations that keep equal-status contacts between members of different racial, cultural and ethnic groups to a minimum. Such theories emphasise the high degree of self imposed or voluntary segregation of racial minorities (in housing, for example, in depressed and slum type inner city areas, (Robinson 1980) which prevents an equal status contact between racial groups and thereby hinders interracial and intercultural awareness and tolerance. Adherents of such theories propose, therefore, policies of de-segregation, dispersal, and greater community involvement in order to avoid ghetto-type segregation which, amongst other things, it is argued, affects the educational performance of black pupils in schools.

In the fourth type of explanation can be located theories which attribute the causes of underachievement to the traditional cultural and historical values and ideology of a dominant WASP culture. Such an explanation lays emphasis on the ethnocentric nature of the curriculum in schools, which it is suggested, helps to maintain and generate the 'status quo' through its transmission of the dominant cultural norms and values, ideas about the historical legacy of the Empire playing an important part in determining the nature of such an ideology. It is argued, then, that the prominence of a racist, imperialist ideology through the curriculum of the school, the failure of the school to incorporate aspects of minority cultures into the curriculum, and a lack of recognition of the black contribution to society are underlying factors which result in the low self-image of the black pupil and thus contribute to his underachievement. An eradication of the ethnocentric and culturally imperialist bias of the curriculum through an adoption of the multicultural approach, would, it is suggested, provide the black child with 'equal educational opportunity'. It is the failure of schools to respond to such changes that has resulted in the increased prominence and establishment of supplementary education for minority groups, since the concept of supplementary schools reflects not only an alternative

approach but an alternative ideology resulting from a lack of faith and rejection of the dominant tradition of the educational establishment.(56)

Within the fifth category of classifications can be located explanations which focus their attention and arguments about the 'vicious circle' in which minority groups find themselves. The structural arguments emphasise the related cycle in which education is a means of achieving good jobs, jobs which through their economic rewards provide individuals with life chances and a healthy environment in which to develop their families. A good family background then provides adequate and healthy socialisation of children which, it is argued, is a necessary prerequisite for a successful education. The converse of this argument is that poor jobs result in poor housing and inadequate socialisation of children which inevitably produces poor education of these pupils in schools. Equal treatment of all in such a situation is considered discriminatory since equality of treatment neglects the fact that people are not equal to begin with. Positivistic measures in the form of inner-city social policies directed at an improvement of the social and economic conditions, and compensatory educational programmes, are hence proposed in an attempt to break the vicious circle.(57)

The attitudinal arguments suggest that stereotyping of blacks results in selective perceptions and self-fulfilling prophesies,(58) in that the low teacher expectations of black pupils results in an assimilation and internalisation of teacher perceptions and expectations on the part of black pupils. As Bagley points out,

> Children react negatively to negative labels, but poor achievement and poor behaviour are seen by the teachers as a confirmation of the original negative expectations.(59)

Finally, the sixth category of classification that I wish to consider is one which locates the causes of underachievement within the institutional structures of society. Within the broad category can be located a whole

range and variety of structural explanations with differing focusses of attention. Some arguments point to the school mirroring a competitive system in which some must fail, that the process at work within the school is one of differentiation and polarisation.(60) Schools are seen as institutions perpetuating class structures of society, whilst the educational system, with its differential allocation of resources, it is argued, also helps to generate such social and economic inequalities. The work of Bowles and Gintis is well recognised in highlighting such a situation in America.(61) In their presentation of the interface between school and the economic system, they argue :

> The educational system does not add or subtract from the overall degree of inequality and repressive personal development. Rather it is best understood as one institution which serves to perpetuate the social relationships of economic life through which these patterns are set, by facilitating the smooth integration of youth into the labour force.

This function is performed, they suggest, in a variety of different ways.

> Schools foster legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupation hierarchy. They create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate 'properly' to their external standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process. Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere, and finally, schools create surpluses of skilled labour sufficiently extensive to render effective the prime weapon of the employer in disciplining labour - the power to hire and fire. (62)

The educational system, it is argued then, has a life of its own. It is an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure of society. Nevertheless, Bowles and Gintis emphasise,

> The experience of work and the nature of the class structure are the basis upon which educational values are formed, social justice assessed, the realm of the possible delineated in people's consciousness and the social relations of the educational encounter historically transformed. (63)

How this can be translated to the situation of black pupils, then, is that

they are concentrated in schools whose repressive, arbitrary, general chaotic internal order, corrosive authority structures and minimal possibilities for advancement mirror the characteristics of inferior job situations. The black pupils' realisation and awareness of the futility of competing in a race for academic qualifications in which they, as a group, are bound to be losers results in the development of a 'counter culture'[64] as a form of resistance to such structural impositions.

The neo-Marxist structural explanations emphasise the Althuserian view of schools as 'ideological state apparatuses' which reproduce capitalist relations of production.[65] Bowles and Gintis have argued that schools replicate in their social relations the conditions and mentalities of capitalist labour[66] whilst Bourdieu suggests that the process of schooling is a form of 'symbolic violence' re-enforcing the unequal distribution of cultural resources and securing the existing relations of power.[67] Bernstein, similarly, has argued that schools reproduce inequalities by institutionalising the cultural criteria of sections of the dominant class.[68] The role of the school as an agent of cultural transmission and its implications for the education of the black pupil in the context of the multicultural approach to education will be considered in a later chapter.

What I have attempted so far in this chapter is to firstly, catalogue the various explanations put forward by researchers for the underachievement of black pupils, and then to locate these within a broader framework of the types of explanations which have been put forward. By offering a typology for the classification of these explanations I have drawn attention to the prominence of explanations amongst researchers which are based on a pathological conception of the class-cultural deficiencies of the black family, and a distinct absence of any explanations which locate the causes of underachievement within the educational system and other institutional structures of society. The intention of this chapter has been to show how

such research findings which have located the factors causing under-achievement within the racial minorities have been influential in the formulation of policies of a compensatory nature whilst ignoring and failing to respond in any way to any suggestions that the causes of under-achievement may be found within the educational system - schools and the teachers-and the wider society as a whole. In respect of the social characteristics of research in the field of race and education, one commentator has echoed C. Wright Mills contention that nearly all research, vis a vis, race relations, has been conducted by white middle class researchers who have tended to reflect their own interests and definitions of what they have perceived to have been the 'race problem'.(69) The research on race and education which we have considered so far gives more weight to this contention. Mullard has suggested that the social bases (white, middle class relations, interests, perceptions of 'race problem'), the social direction (upwards), and the social focus ('immigrants'/'coloured minority groups'/'ethnic minorities') of nearly all research on race and education over the last two and a half decades have remained more or less constant. The tendency of white middle class researchers perceiving the 'race problem' in their own way to research black groups (downwards) for the benefit of largely white groups (upwards in the social structure) has thus tended to reproduce the racial structure of existing power relations within which blacks find themselves in the subordinate position of an 'underclass'. The theoretical focus of largely policy orientated research in this field, as another commentator has pointed out, is therefore "integration, conflict resolution, social control, etc".(70) The tendency of such a focus, then, is

> To create and increase the inequitable distribution of knowledge, to make the power elite relatively more powerful and knowledgeable and therefore make the subject (black) population relatively more impotent and ignorant. (71)

With the nature of research problem-orientated and based on a pathological

conception of the 'black problem', such a focus discounts altogether black definitions and interpretations of the problem as they perceive or experience it. Such a tendency is structured in a set of dominant interpretations made about the role and position of blacks in society as reflected in a general educational ideology of compensation and as manifested in a specific racial form of 'immigrant education'.

In the following chapters, therefore, I wish to consider within the social and historical contexts the ideological basis of the policy response to the education of black pupils in British schools, by discussing the three conceptual models which have dominated the thinking of educationalists in their concern for the education of black pupils since their earliest arrival into British schools - the assimilationist, the integrationist and the cultural pluralist models.

CHAPTER 2 - NOTES

1. The theories of Burt, Jensen, Eysenck and Herrnstein,for example. See especially, Burt, C. (1961) "Intelligence and Social Mobility" in 'British Journal of Stat. Psychology', 14,11. : Jensen, A.R. (1969) "How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement?" in 'Harvard Educational Review', 39. : Eysenck,H. (1971) "Race, Intelligence and Education", London, Temple Smith : Herrnstein, R. (1971) "I.Q." in 'Atlantic Monthly", Sept. 1971.

2. Tomlinsin, S. (1977) "Race and Education in Britain 1960-77" in 'SAGE Race Relations Abstracts', 2,4, Nov. 1977.

3. Ibid.

4. Haynes, J. (1971) "Educational Assessment of Immigrant Pupils", N.F.E.R.

5. Tomlinson, S. (1977) op.cit.

6. Rex, J.(1972) "Nature versus Nurture : the Significance of the Revived Debate" in (eds.) Richardson, K. and Spears, D. (1972) "Race, Culture and Intelligence", Penguin.

7. Vernon, P.E. (1965) "Environmental Handicaps and Intellectual Development" in 'British Journal of Educational Psychology', 35, Pts. 1 and 2 - quoted in Tomlinson, S. (1980) "The educational performance of ethnic minority children", 'New Community', 8,3, Winter 1980.

8. Alleyne, M.H. (1962) "The Teaching of Bi-Lingual Children : Intelligence and Attainment of Children in London, Wales and Trinidad whose Mother-Tongue is not English", Unpub. M.A. thesis, University of London.

9. Saint, C.K. (1963) "Scholastic and Sociological Adjustment Problems of Punjabi-speaking children in Smethwick", Unpub. M.Ed. thesis, University of Birmingham.

10. Ghuman, Paul A.S. (1975) "The Cultural Context of Thinking : a comparative study of Punjabi and English boys", N.F.E.R.

11. Houghton, V.P. (1966) "A Report on the Scores of W. Indian Immigrant Children and English children on an individually administered test" in 'Race', 8,1, Institute of Race Relations.

12. Details of the research findings can be gleamed from Little, A. Mabey, C. and Whittacker, G. (1968) "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools" in 'Race', 9,4, IRR: Little, A.(1975 (a) "Performance of Children from Ethnic Minority Backgrounds in Primary Schools" in Oxford Review of Education, 1,2, : Little, A. (b) "The Educational Achievement of Ethnic Minority Children in London Schools" in (eds.) Verma, G.K. and Bagley, C. "Race and Education across Cultures", Heinemann.

13. Little, A. (1975) (a), op.cit.

14. Halsey, A.H. (1972) "Educational Priority : E.P.A. Problems and Policies", H.M.S.O. London.

15. Graham, P.J. and Meadows, C.E. (1967) "Psychiatric Disorders in the Children of W. Indian Immigrants" in 'Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry', 8.

16. McFie, J. and Thompson, J. (1970) "The Intellectual Abilities of Immigrant Children" in 'British Journal of Educational Psychology', 40.

17. Ashby, B., Morrison, A. and Butcher, H. (1970) "The Abilities and Attainments of Immigrant Children", 'Research in Education', 4.

18. Bhatnagar, J. (1970) "Immigrants at School", Cornmarket Press.

19. Bagley, C.(1971) "Social Environment and Intelligence in W. Indian Children in London", 'Social and economic Studies, 20: Bagley, C. (1975) "On the Intellectual Equality of the Races" in (eds.) Verma, G.K. and Bagley, C. "Race and Education across Cultures", Heinemann.

20. Yule, W., Berger, M., Rutter, M. and Yule, B. (1975) "Children of W. Indian Immigrants: Intellectual Performance and Reading Attainment", Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 16.

21. McEwan, E.C., Gipps, C.V. and Sumner, R. (1975)"Language Proficiency in the Multi-Racial Junior School", N.F.E.R.

22. Edwards, V.K. (1976) "Effects of Dialect on the Comprehension of W. Indian children", 'Educational Research', 18, 2.

23. Edwards, V.K.(1978) "Language Attitudes and Under-performance in W. Indian children", 'Educational Review', 30, 1.
Edwards, V.K. (1979) "The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools", RKP.

24. Black People's Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council (1978) "Cause for Concern - West Indian Pupils in Redbridge".

25. Bagley, C., Bart, M. and Wong, J. (1979) "Antecedents of Scholastic Success in W. Indian Ten-Year-Olds in London" in (eds.) Verma,G.K. and Bagley, C., op.cit.

26. Robinson, V. (1980) "The Achievement of Asian Children", 'Educational Research', 22, 2.

27. Essen, J. and Ghodsian, M. (1979) "The Children of Immigrants: School Performance", 'New Community', 7, 3.

28. Bagley, C. (1980) "Behaviour and Achievement in Ethnic Minority Children in a National, Longitudinal Survey" in (eds.) Verma, G.K. and Bagley, C. "Self-Esteem, Achievement and Multi-cultural Education", Macmillan.

29. Townsend, H.E.R. (1971) "Immigrant Pupils in England - the L.E.A. Response", N.F.E.R.

30. Rex, J. and Tomlinson, S. (1979) "Colonial Immigrants in a British city", RKP.

31. Allen, S. and Smith, C. (1975) "Minority Group Experience of the Transition from Education to Work" in (ed.) Brannen, P. 'Entering the World of Work, HMSO.

32. Brooks, D. and Singh, K.(1978) "Aspirations Versus Opportunities - Asian and White School-leavers in the Midlands", Walsall CRC, Leicester C.R.C.

33. Driver, G. (1980) "How West Indians do better at School (especially the girls)", 'New Society',17 January 1980. For more extensive details of the research project and findings see Driver, G.(1980) "Beyond Underachievement", Commission for Racial Equality.

34. Interim Report of the (Rampton) Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, "West Indian children in our schools" (1981), Cmnd 8273, HMSO, June 1981.

35. Ibid, p.9-10.

36. Coard, B. (1970) "How the W. Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System", New Beacon Books.

37. For the next section of this chapter, I am deeply indebted to Frank Reeves who provided me with the initial framework for the development of my ideas, which have culminated in the typology for the classification of explanations for the educational performance of black pupils in British schools which is offered.

38. See note 1.

39. Eysenck, H. (1971) op.cit., p.46.

40. See, for example, Coleman, James S. et al (1966) "Equality of Educational Opportunity", Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office.

41. Kamin, L. (1977) "The Science and Politics of I.Q.", Penguin.

42. Stone, M. (1981) "The Education of the Black Child in Britain", Fontana, p.23-4.

43. Wight & Norris (1969)

44. Quoted in Schools' Council Working Paper No. 29, p.22.

45. See, for example, Milner, D. (1975) "Children and Race", Penguin: Milner, D. (1972) "Identity conflict in immigrant children", 'Therapeutic Education', Spring 1972: Milner, D.'1971) "Prejudice and the Immigrant Child", 'New Society, 23 Sept. 1971: Milner, D. (1971) "Attitudes", 'Race Today', November 1971.

46. For a good account of the development of early 'Black Studies' courses and the principles guiding their objectives, see Taylor F. (1974)"Race, School and Community", NFER, and Giles, R.(1975) "Black Studies Programmes in Public Schools", Praeger.

47. See Townsend, H.E.R. (1970) "Report on preliminary results on NFER survey on procedures in schools for the education of immigrant pupils", 'Education, 136, 23 and Coard, B., op.cit.

48. For a discussion of how the images, concepts and premises which provide the framework for the work of a number of 'race relations' sociologists (including E. Cashmore, C. Ballard, B. Troyna, K. Pryce and J. Rex and S. Tomlinson) are grounded in racist commonsense

thinking, see Lawrence, E. (1981) "White Sociology, Black Struggle" in 'Multiracial Education', 9, 3, Summer 1981, pp.3-17. See also Gilroy, P. (1980) "Managing the 'Underclass': a further note on the Sociology of Race Relations in Britain", in 'Race and Class', 21, 1, London, 1980, and Bourne, J. (1980) "Cheerleaders and Ombudsmen, The Sociology of Race Relations", in 'Race and Class', 21,4, London, 1980.
For an extremely lucid critique of the pathological conception of the Asian family, making 'culture' problematic, see Parmar,P.(1981) "Young Asian Women : a critique of the Pathological Approach", in 'Multiracial Education', 9,3, Summer 1981, pp. 19-29.

49. For a discussion and prescription of educational policies for racial minorities which reflect the approach of the traditional sociologists of education, see Little, A.N. (1978), Goldsmiths' College Inaugural Lecture, 1978, "Educational policies for multi-racial areas", University of London, Goldsmiths' College: see also Rex, J.(1981) "The Integration of Britain's Black Citizens", University of Aston Inaugural Lecture, 18 June 1981, Unpublished Paper, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

50. See, for example, "Community Relations Commission (1971)"Between Two Cultures : A study of relationships between generations in the Asian Community in Britain": Ballard, C. "Conflict and Change : Second Generation Asians" in (ed.) Khan, V.S. (1979) "Minority Families in Britain : Support and Stress", Macmillan : Khan, V. "Migration and Social Stress : Mirpuris in Bradford" in (ed.) Khan, V.S. (1979) op.cit.: Anwar, M. ( ) "The Myth of Return", Community Relations Commission: Cashmore, E. (1979) "Rastaman", Allen and Unwin; Pryce, K. (1979) "Endless Pressure", Penguin.

51. The Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1973) "Education", Vol.1, London, HMSO, for example, made several recommendations to the Government to address the 'needs' of racial minorities, the establishemt, for instance, of a central fund to which L.E.A.s could apply for resources to meet the 'special educational needs of immigrants'. The Government, however, rejected the proposal, and opted instead to develop a service to provide help to all those suffering educational disadvantage, stating that

> "Any arrangements to meet the needs of disadvantaged minorities, while allowing for any distinct educational needs of different ethnic groups should have this broader concern".

The 'needs' of the indigenous disadvantaged and those of the ethnic minorities were thus placed in a single category.

52. Giles, R. (1977) "The West Indian experience in British schools", Methuen.

53. It is worthy of note that the final report of the Schools' Council "Education for a Multiracial Society" Project (1972-6) has only recently (July 1981) been published but in a much ammended and vetted form, after a great deal of controversy surrounding its publication since 1978. (The authors of the original report have dissociated themselves from the final, censored publication). The N.U.T. were the main force behind the blocking of the original report ("Multi-racial Education : curriculum and content, five to thirteen"), which was censored primarily because of its findings that schools were

53 contd. failing children from ethnic minority groups (see 'New Society', 9 February 1978, 'Race, truth and school', Vol.43, No.801, p.298). See also letters in T.E.S. 10.2.78, 24.2.78 and 10.3.78. The major reasons attributed to this failure, according to the report, were the racist assumptions of teachers, the inadequacy and reluctance of teachers to face up to racial questions, the failure, in brief, of the school "to afford significance to either the everyday reality of the minority group child's existence, or the effects of society on the attitudes of the majority group child". (extract from the (draft) first chapter 'Assumptions and Contradictions of the Schools Council report "Multiracial Education : Curriculum and content, five to thirteen" reprinted in 'New Society', 16 February 1978, Vol.43, No.802, pp. 366-368).

54. See, for example, the Interim Report of the (Rampton) Committee of Inquiry, op.cit., p.11.

55. See, for example, Jelinck, M.M. and Brittan, E.M. (1975)"Multi-racial Education 1: Inter-ethnic Friendship patterns", 'Educational Research', Nov. 1975; Brittan, E.(1976) "Multiracial Education - 2: Teacher Opinions on Aspects of School Life. Pt.2 : Pupils and Teachers", 'Educational Research, 18,3, June 1976; Jelinck, M.M. ( ) "Multiracial Education - 3: Pupils' Attitudes to the Multiracial School", 'Educational Research, 19,2; (eds.) Verma, G.K. and Bagley, C. (1979) "Race, Education and Identity", London, MacMillan.

56. For a discussion of supplementary schooling see Stone, M.(1981) "The Education of the Black Child in Britain", Fontana.
See also Press Release (2 December 1980) "A Sikh School in Southall" by the Organising Committee for the establishment of a Sikh School in Southall (President - M.S. Grewal) which provides some indications as to the reasons for the increase in supplementary schools and the culmination of such developments in demands for separate schooling.

The statement draws attention to the total failure of educationalists and policy-makers to implement the recommendations of the House of Commons Select Committee's report 'Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants' and to meet the educational needs of 'our children', and expresses a loss of faith and confidence in the educational system to whom "we gave our children 'in trust'". The statement refers to the "corrosive" and "belittling" effect of the English educational system which does not offer the children an "education to enable them to cope with the demands of society, (and) most significantly their undeniable right to their mother tongue", thus "gradually destroying their individual and collective identity", and "throwing up innumerable social and domestic problems". In conclusion, it points out: "We have waited in vain for our schools and our local authority to respond to our needs. Time is running out, and we must act before it is too late".

It should be noted however that support for not only a separate Sikh school but also the related demands for institutional provision of mother-tongue teaching, for instance, have come primarily from the more orthodox and traditional 'leaders' and parents of the Asian community (who have been supported in the case of demands for the provision of mother-tongue teaching, for instance, by 'progressive' white, middle-class teachers) emphasising the psychological and socio-cultural reasons for teaching of the mother-tongue in schools. The dangers of perpetuating the social and economic inequalities, and thus generating the subordinate position of minority groups

56 contd.

through their apparent uncritical adoption of such strategies, however, do not appear to inform and illuminate the thinking of proponents of cultural autonomy. An emphasis on culture and a desire for cultural autonomy which does not take into account the unequal social and economic relations between 'majority' and 'minority' racial, social and cultural groups can only generate an unequal system of social and racial relations.

For further discussion of this point, see chapters 3 and 4.

57. Policies based on the concept of 'positive discrimination', in employment, for example, are provided for through legislation such as Section 11 of the Local Government (Grants and Needs) Act, 1966 and the Inner Urban Areas Act, 1977. For a discussion of central and local government policy responses to 'urban deprivation' see Cross, C. (1978) "Ethnic Minorities in the Inner City", C.R.E., London, August 1978.

58. Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. (1968) "Pygmalion in the Classroom", New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

59. Bagley, C. (1977).

60. Lacey, C. (1970) "Hightown Grammar", Manchester University Press. See also Hargreaves, D.(1967) "Social Relations in a Secondary School", London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, for an account of the 'academic' and 'delinquescent' cultures of pupils in a secondary modern school.

61. See, for example, Bowles, S. and Gintis, H.(1976) "Schooling in Capitalist America : Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life", Routledge and Kegan Paul : Bowles, S. and Gintis,H. "I.Q. in the U.S. Class Structure" in (eds.) Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (1977) "Power and Ideology in Education".

62. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H.(1976) op.cit., p.11.

63. Ibid. p.125-6.

64. Willis, P.(1978) "Learning to Labour", Saxon House.

65. Althuser, L. "Ideology and Ideological State apparatuses" in 'Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays', 1971, New Left Books.

66. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) op.cit.

67. Bourdieu, P. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproductions" in (eds.) Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (1977) op.cit.

68. Bernstein, B. "Social Class, Language and Socialisation" in (eds.) Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (1977) op.cit.

69. Mullard, C.(1981) "The Social Context and Meaning of Multicultural Education", 'Educational Analyses', 3,1, 1981.

70. Jenkins, R.(1971) "The Production of Knowledge at the Institute of Race Relations", London, Independent Labour Party, quoted in Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

71. Nicolaus, N. (1969) "Remarks at the 1968 Convention of the American Sociological Association", Unpublished paper, quoted in Jenkins, R. (1971), op.cit.

Chapter 3 *

THE IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS

PART 1 - FROM ASSIMILATION TO INTEGRATION

> ... a national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in a society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties which are the same as other citizens. 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 immigrant groups. (1)

> Integration is perhaps a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman...
> I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. (2)

The above two quotations encapsulate the conceptions of firstly, the assimilationist and secondly, the integrationist approaches which dominated the concerns for the education of black children since their earliest arrival into British schools until the late 60s and early 1970s. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to consider the social scientific features of these two ideologies and the social and historical contexts within which they emerged. My focus will be to discuss the bases on which assimilation was predicated as the goal of education for black children in the 1950s and early 1960s and how and why the integrationist framework came to be adopted as the working paradigm for educational policy and decision-makers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although for the purposes of our discussion, these two approaches are treated as distinct, and incorporating distinct frameworks, it should be pointed out at the outset that the conceptual models should not be seen as being mutually exclusive.

---

* For explanatory notes and references see pp. 68-74

Both models share certain common characteristics, as we shall go on to see later. There is no chronological progression from one developmental stage to the other, either, since there may well be anomalies and discrepancies between the conceptual framework adopted by decision makers and that used in the implementation of policies.(3) Finally, before we launch into our discussion, one other point should be made with regard to the usage of the terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' - and it is this - although the term 'integration' as used by many, is often synonymous with the word 'assimilation', in that the underlying philosophy and goal of integration in such instances is predominantly assimilationist, the two terms symbolise distinct ideologies and should not, therefore, be interchangeable.(4)

ASSIMILATION(5)

A study of the early policies and practices followed by the DES and LEAs in response to the arrival of many black immigrant pupils into British schools clearly indicates that there was no adequate planning for the provision of their 'special needs' within the educational system. The debate at this stage centred around the controversy of collection of statistics, and the pursuit of the policy of 'dispersal' by many LEAs. The black pupils were seen by policy makers, educational administrators and schools in problematic terms, and the question that concerned most people was the question of how these pupils could be assimilated within the school system and therefore within the overall British society. Education was therefore considered to be the principal mechanism for assisting in the process of assimilation. The DES in its Circular 7/65 defined the task of education as "the successful assimilation of immigrant children", a process dependent upon "a realistic understanding of the adjustments they have to make".(6) It is significant however that the DES did not concede the need for any corresponding 'adjustments' in the educational system.(7)

The concerns of educationalists were, therefore, manifested in their concerns for the inadequacies of the black pupils in English and the 'culture shock' that they experienced as a result of their disorientation. The 'ad hoc' responses translated themselves, therefore, in the provision of teaching English as a Second Language and additional support to the children during the initial period of 'culture shock', since the underlying philosophy of this approach was that "if immigrant children who could not speak English could quickly be taught it, they would equally quickly assimilate into the British educational system and ultimately into British society as a whole".(8)

The other issue that was foremost in the minds of decision-makers was that of numbers, since any unacceptable concentrations of black pupils in schools was considered detrimental not only to 'standards' but also a hindrance to the process of assimilation. The policy response to this was 'dispersal'. It is these twin issues of 'language' and 'numbers' that I wish to consider briefly since they both exemplify the underlying philosophy of assimilation that dictated such policy responses.

Language

In the early 1960s the most immediate problem perceived by policy makers and administrators concerned with the education of 'immigrant'children was the provision and organisation of special language classes. For administrators and politicians, concentration on language was perhaps, a way of diffusing the issues, of not talking about race relations, nor about intractable problems of poverty. The language problem, as Julia McNeal wrote, was, above all a soluble one, and moreover,one which fitted easily into the framework of skills of those in the education profession.(9) The complexities of organisation and provision of such classes on a national scale was highlighted, given the diffused and decentralised structure of education in England and Wales. The problem here was one of resources. Therefore, even after the DES had identified a problem, in terms of

language proficiency numerically in its first census in 1966, there was no corresponding shift of effort in resources to deal with it. The decentralised structure meant that discussions about the use of training and financial resources and in the case of teacher training and curricula were taken by LEAs, Colleges and Institutes of Education. The teacher shortage in some areas with many immigrant pupils was nominally approved by more generous allocations under the DES teacher quota system. But this could not increase the supply of specialised ESL teachers. Specialised training, therefore, was essential but in this field the Institutes of Education remained almost completely passive. The financial contribution for LEAs to make special provisions came in 1967, when the Home Office began to provide a 50 per cent rate support grant under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act, towards staffing services affected by the presence of the immigrants in a local authority area. A survey of administrative policies by Power in 1967, however, showed that the DES had tended to underestimate the scale of language teaching required[10] primarily because of the inappropriate use of the term 'immigrant' for the collection of statistics of black children,[11] and because until then, it was Asian children primarily who were considered to require specialist language help. No consideration had yet been given to the linguistic needs of children of Afro-Caribbean origin.

A variety of administrative arrangements for the provision of language teaching were made, including the establishment of separate reception centres used on a full-time basis for new arrivals or part-time for children already placed in their local school, peripatetic language teaching teams, giving part-time instruction in 'withdrawal' groups and language instruction in local schools by school staff which in some cases would include someone trained and specialising in the teaching of English as a Second Language.[12] Despite these measures, however, the major problem of assessment and evaluation was not tackled. Teachers, as John Power argues, were being

asked to make a diagnosis as to which children should be given special language tuition whilst having to make administrative decisions in the context of scarce resource.(13) The mere fact that some provisions existed to enable non English speaking children to cope with English schools in terms of language does not mean, as Rex and Tomlinson have pointed out, that they have 'equality of opportunity'.(14) Language as a common medium of communication used as a tool for the whole of the formal learning process to be effective has to have a degree of fluency to enable the learner to attain his highest possible level of performance. If this does not take place, the result is a "filtering process" whereby most first generation immigrants at least are able to do no more than obtain minimum educational qualifications.(15) However, as Alan James has suggested, "a does of systematic language teaching would act as a lubricant" for the immigrant pupil to be fed into the educational machine ... without causing it to seize up.(16)

Other than the provision for language teaching, therefore, it was clear that neither the DES nor the individual LEAs felt compelled to prescribe any further modifications to the curriculum to ensure "the successfull assimilation of immigrant children".(17) The notion of assimilation was therefore predominant in the minds of decision makers, who did not address themselves to the question of "how to overcome the manifest disadvantage of the children of immigrants by providing them with linguistic and other skills necessary for them to compete equally at school".(18) Instead, as one commentator has pointed out, the problems mentioned arose 'ad hoc', decisions were often taken in panic and the very way the debate was structured fostered racism. A highly selective system of education could thus be a powerful means of reinforcing an exaggerating social differentiation.(19)

Statistics & Dispersal

The other main area around which debate about the education of black children centred was that of the collection of statistics. This has been a continued source of debate between those who considered keeping statistics based on colour as discriminatory in itself, administrators who need statistics for management and planning purposes and the advocates of immigration control who manipulate collection of statistics to generate further hostility to the presence of black immigrants in Britain. In the early 1960s, the problem was defined in terms of "visibility" - 'too many' Asian or West Indian children in one school was considered detrimental to the education of the indigenous white pupils.(20) The second report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council, for example, claimed, amongst other things, that concentrations of immigrant pupils retarded the progress of the indigenous white pupils because of interuption of normal school routine.(21) The drafting of this report coincided with a protest in Southall in 1963, organised by local white parents who threatened to withdraw their children from two primary schools because of their fears that the concentration of black pupils in these schools would have an adverse effect on the progress of their own children.(22) Some of the parents, were in fact, calling for a separate education for 'immigrant' children. It was this fear of a 'white backlash' which prompted the government to take action. As a result of his intervention in the Southall affair, Sir Edward Boyle then Minister of Education, in a speech in Parliament stated:

> I must regretfully tell the House that one school must be regarded now as irretrievably an immigrant school. The important thing is to prevent this from happening elsewhere. (23)

The obsession, it was clear, was to prevent schools becoming 'irretrievably immigrant' schools, and this was justified by the belief that 'dispersal' would help 'integration'. The DES circular 7/65, issued eighteen months later by Boyle's successor, Anthony Crossland, spoke of the need to "spread the children".(24) The DES was, therefore, giving its official sanction to

the policy of 'dispersal', noting that

> as the proportion of immigrant children in a school or class increases, the problems will become more difficult to solve, and the chances of assimilation more remote. (25)

The DES had maintained that if the proportion of immigrant children rose above one-third either in the school as a whole or the class "serious strains arise". Clearly underlying this assumption was a reinforcement of the popular view that standards would fall in schools with large numbers of immigrant pupils, although no research had indicated that this in fact was the case. It is significant that the only italicized paragraph of the DES circular focussed on the concerns of white parents, in an attempt to alleviate their fears and anxieties of falling standards.

> It will be helpful if the parents of non-immigrant children can see that practical measures have been taken to deal with the problems in the schools and that the progress of their own children is not being restricted by the undue preoccupation of the teaching staff with the linguistic and other difficulties of immigrant children. (26)

The DES had gone out of its way to suggest that the only grounds for dispersal were educational need, although practice suggested otherwise since it was mainly black children who were dispersed. As David Milner has pointed out

> ...'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. In other words, the children were dispersed solely on the basis of colour.... (27)

It is worth noting that the whole statistics debate had been confused by terminology primarily because decision makers had refused to concede that they were, in fact, referring to colour. A large scale policy of dispersal would have involved an almost ritual declaration that black children were the cause of educational problems and that dispersal would break up or, at

least, weaken community support which was essential to the children's sense of identity and motivation to succeed.[28] The Government White Paper of August 1965 "Immigration from the Commonwealth", reiterated the philosophy underlining Circular 7/65.[29] It was presented as a multi-purpose policy as an aid to 'integrating' immigrant children as a way to prevent falling school standards and as a help to the organisation of special English classes.

There were very mixed reactions to the official policy of 'dispersal', although many authorities implemented this policy (Ealing, Bradford, West Bromwich, Huddersfield, Halifax and Hounslow). Others, such as ILEA and Birmingham, rejected it on the basis that it violated the principle of the 'neighbourhood' school. Yet others rejected it because it was seen by 'immigrant' parents to be discriminatory and many commentators of government policy were concerned about a policy which considered selection of children for dispersal on the grounds of ethnic origin rather than on educational criteria. It was not these considerations, however, which led to a rejection of the dispersal policy by some LEAs. There was a practical difficulty of moving immigrant children, or swapping,[30] and the resistance of many suburban schools who did not want an intake of immigrants.

Underlining the whole policy of dispersal were a number of assumptions.[31] It was assumed, for example, that assimilation was the ultimate goal of policy, that 'immigrant' children were problems, that they caused a drop in standards which led some white parents to withdraw their children from neighbourhood schools and that the resulting concentrations and separation were considered as obstacles to 'integration' for a number of reasons.[32] Immigrant children would not learn English, they would not learn the British way of life, and, perhaps most significantly, there was the fear of the development of foreign enclaves within British culture and society. The policy of dispersal exemplified, therefore, in the crudest terms, the

assumptions underpinning central government's assimilationist approach to race-related issues during this period. 'Dispersal', nevertheless remains the only centrally endorsed race - specific educational policy.(33) Policies relating to the education of black children had until now tended to proceed along racially inexplicit lines.(34) Hence the departure of central government from the conventional and politically expectant course of "doing good by stealth" is particularly significant.(35) The temporal context of the Labour Party's election victory of 1964 is particularly important, since the party decided to abandon its 'laissez-faire' approach to race and immigration.(36) It would appear the the decision was designed to appease the anti-immigration view of the electorate, and clearly views on race and immigration were inextricably linked:(37)

> Ever since the Smethwick election, it has been quite clear that immigration can be the greatest potential vote loser for the labour party if we are seen to be permitting a flood of immigration to come in and blight the central areas in our cities. (38)

The underlying strategy of Labour was to transform its policy into a bi-partisan one in order to out-trump the Tories. Political expediency, therefore, was the reason for this volte-face,(39) ie. a departure from its established policy approach to the education of black pupils in an attempt to actively promote a policy which on the one hand underlined its commitment to assimilation, and on the other, reaffirm to the electorate its decision to adopt a tougher line on the issue of race.

The sociological perspective that underpinned and informed the whole assimilationist approach was functionalist, a perspective which views society as an integrated class, stratified, monocultural system of institutions and agencies, and whose value system is unitary.(40) The social objective of the assimilationist approach was a protection of the social order through assimilationist policies and practices, and to be achieved by means of the social process of acculturation. The focus of research, conducted by white middle class researchers tending to reflect their own

interests and definitions of what they have perceived to have been the 'race problem', has been the 'immigrants'. This focus has therefore symbolised and actualised a pathological conception of the 'race problem' - one that defines blacks as the problem, the presence of black groups as being responsible for the problem and thus the need for blacks to change their behaviour if an acceptable solution to the problem is to be found.(41) As one commentator has concluded, nearly all research conceived and carried within the framework of the assimilationist approach has displayed a tendency towards the maintenance and legitimation of implicitly racist principles, practices and structure which have been an integral part of British society.(42) The relationship between ' race' and education, therefore, has been one in which a broadly based educational ideology of compensation has been coupled and transformed into a specific race - education ideology in the form of 'immigrant education'. Research in this way, therefore, discounts altogether black definitions for interpretations of either the 'problem' as black groups perceive and experience it, or the social condition and position in which they find themselves in society. It is important, however, to view the social scientist features of the assimilationist approach in its economic, political and historical contexts.

Historically, the assimilationist approach arose at a time of tremendous post-war expansion of capital and within the international and racial setting of decolonisation when the demand for manual, unskilled and service labour in particular was fulfilled by black migration from the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent. 'Laissez-faire' policy which encouraged and invited black immigration (particularly in the case of transport, health and the textile industries)was itself 'a racially conceived act'.(43) The theoretical context which shaped and determined the structure and form of educational provision for black pupils was itself then governed by these contexts and has therefore to be viewed in this light.

The main purpose of the next section is to discuss not only the characteristics of the 'integrationist' approach, but to outline the features which distinguished it from the assimilationist perspective. In discussing the characteristics of the integrationist model we will draw attention to the reasons why it superceded the assimilationist perspective and came to be adopted at the predominant ideological framework for the education of black pupils in the 1970s.

INTEGRATION (44)

The shift of emphasis from the assimilationist perspective to one of integration within educational circles was a result of the realisation by educationalists that factors other than the teaching of English and 'culture shock' had to be taken into account in the education of black pupils.(45) At the rhetorical level, at any rate, the notion of assimilation began to lose favour. Converting immigrant children into good Europeans was no longer seen to be a major objective of the educational system.(46) Instead of acculturation, the integrationists emphasised the social process of 'accommodation' to be achieved through a much more planned and detailed educational and social programme to enable the racial minorities to be 'integrated' into the majority culture and society.

The onus of adaptation and change of attitudes or practices however was still on the minorities themselves since the social goal of the integrationist perspective was an accommodation of the racial minorities within a diversified value system which nevertheless retained its core unitary structure.(47) The concept which became fashionable, therefore, was that of "unity through diversity",(48) which unlike the assimilationist perspective did not overtly disregard the educational needs of black pupils through a total suppression of their cultural differences. In other words, educationalists, it was suggested, should not discourage the retention and

celebration of minority cultures in the classroom so long as this was neither devisive nor threatening to the established aims and ethos of the educational system. This view assumed that pride in one's cultural heritage fostered a sense of personal identity and thereby encouraged the development of 'well adjusted individuals' within the educational establishment and the wider society.(49)

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, therefore, the integrationist approach superceded the assimilationist perspective and came to be adopted as the working paradigm for educational policy affecting black pupils. The impetus for such an approach had been provided by the oft-quoted Roy Jenkins speech.(50) Throughout the 1970s, however, the DES failed to provide an effective lead in this direction, and LEAs and individual schools were therefore left to their own devices to formulate and implement policies concerned with the education of black pupils in an attempt to translate the integrationist ideal into practice. Indeed, after the publication of Circular 7/65 the DES had remained inactive on this subject until 1971 when, in its Education Survey 10, it advised on methods of assessing the intelligence and academic attainment of 'immigrant' pupils.(51) Despite its pronouncement to LEAs in 1971 that it intended to "shape a coherent and practical policy" on this issue no such policy had been forthcoming.(52) The only indication of the DES's acceptance of the integrationist philosophy was the modification of its views on 'dispersal'.(53) The primary objects of the DES's policy now were to create an environment in schools in which colour and race were not divisive, to advise teachers, and to help build projects and teacher quotas in areas with large concentrations of 'immigrants'. Concern about the lowering of standards due to the presence of large numbers of 'immigrant' pupils in certain schools which they wished to safeguard against, was once again expressed. In its Education Survey 14 of the following year, the DES criticised schools for a lack of positive thinking and

constructive action in matters relating to the linguistic, intellectual and social needs of "second phase immigrant pupils".(54) No section of the education service, it was clear, was willing to take the responsibility for the production of an overall strategy and plan of action for the education of black pupils. Perhaps the continual use of the term 'immigrant' by the DES until 1974 was also more indicative of its underlying philosophy and educational objective which pertained more to the assimilationist goal than to the integrationist perspective.

As part and parcel of the integrationist approach, therefore, there was a proliferation of courses and conferences on linguistic cultural and religious backgrounds of minority groups in the 1970s since, it was argued, that to enable integration to take place the majority society, in particular classroom teachers, needed to be more aware of the historical and cultural factors affecting the different minorities. Knowledge and awareness it was felt would enable the majority society to make allowances for differences in life styles, culture and religion that might make it difficult for some immigrant groups to integrate into British society.(55) A number of specialist advisory posts were created to deal with the 'problem' of 'immigrant education', posts which were almost in every instance filled by language specialists given a wider brief to promote 'multiracial education'. This period saw too an increasing demand for such appendages on the school curriculum as Black Studies, whilst there was a proliferation too in schools of steel bands, celebration of Asian festivals and the tasting of ethnic foods.(56) There was no real commitment, it was clear, to a reappraisal of the curriculum. As the initial survey report of the Schools Council "Education for a Multiracial Society" project found, an attitude of 'benign neglect' continued to prevail in LEAs. Curriculum innovation was found to be atheoretical fragmented, ad hoc and often ephemeral, frequently taking the form of an immediate response to an urgent classroom need.(57) The response moreover had often been limited to consideration of life in the 'homelands': where

included, life in multiracial Britain, the report found, had usually been 'problem orientated'.

Minimum recognition of cultural differences was, however, one thing whereas the more basic alteration of the character and ethos of the educational institution quite another. Whilst the presence of black pupils from culturally diverse backgrounds to some extent "tested the schools commitment to a particular British conformity", it did not penetrate deeply into the life of the school.(58) In terms of the avowed aims of integration, a superficial recognition of cultural differences which some curriculum tinkering which merely scratched the surface clearly indicated that "local practice had changed less than national rhetoric".(59) Some head teachers, it was clear, still viewed the role of the school to be that of assimilation of black pupils:

> I do not consider it the responsibility of an English state school to cater for the development of cultures and customs of a foreign nature. I believe our duty is to prepare children for citizenship in a free, democratic society according to British standards and customs. (60)

What was probably meant by 'British standards and customs' was "putting over a certain set of values (Christian), a code of behaviour (middle class) and a set of academic and job aspirations in which white collar jobs have higher prestige than manual, clean jobs rather than dirty".(61)

The first national survey of policies concerned with the education of black pupils had therefore indicated that a shift to an integrationist approach was much more in line with the analysis of Kirp in that the integrationist approach was far more in evidence at the level of national rhetoric than in the policies and practices of LEAs and schools. Townsend had reported a wide range of differing, and often contradictory practices taking place at both the LEA and school level. It would not be erroneous to suggest that the failure of the DES during this period to formulate a concrete policy to

provide LEAs and school with the necessary guidance to translate the integrationist philosophy into practice was an important factor contributing to this confused state of affairs. Despite its pronouncement in 1971 in Education Survey 13 that :

> Schools can demonstrate how people from different ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds can live together happily and successfully, and can help to create the kind of cohesive, multicultural society on which the future of this country - and probably the world - depends, (62)

the failure of the DES to provide any policy or advice on the matter was clearly symbolic of its attitude.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Commission for Racial Equality and its forerunner, the Community Relations Commission, had consistently criticised the education system for its "inability ... to modify its practices to meet the needs of new types of pupils".(63) The DES has, however, equally consistently attempted to subsume the special educational needs of black pupils under general problems of disadvantage. Reluctance of the DES to develop race specific policies in any form is exemplified by its resolute determination not to implement a recommendation of the House of Commons Select Committee's report on education, requiring the Department to set up a separate fund for "the special educational needs of immigrant children".(64) Instead, the DES responded by once again equating the needs of black pupils with the problems of disadvantage. Whilst recognising that

> many of those born here, of all ethnic minority groups, will experience continuing difficulties which must receive special attention from the education service, (65)

it decided that no new programme was needed to ensure this special attention. Black pupils, the DES felt, would "benefit increasingly from special help given to all those suffering from educational disadvantage". The arguments of administrators that the educational needs of black pupils can be dealt with entirely under measures designed to deal with educational disadvantage as a whole stem from an assumption that to set up separate programmes or

take special measures for black pupils specifically in the form of positive discriminatory policies is wrong and divisive. The institutional response of the DES therefore was the establishment of the ill-fated Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage in Manchester, which subsumed the educational needs of black children under the blanket term 'disadvantage'.(66) The DES, as one commentator has put it, consistently preferred almost any identifying label - 'non-English speaking', 'culturally deprived', 'educationally disadvantaged' - to the racial one.(67)

In summary, therefore, I have suggested that the adoption of the integrationist approach did not entail any significant departure from the underlying assumptions of the assimilationist perspective. Both rested on an Anglocentric conception of the position of black minorities in society. Although the assimilationist perspective had emphasised a unitary value system the integrationist promoted "unity through diversity", but diversity within a core unitary structure. Assimilationists argued that the values and characteristics of the majority culture could only be maintained if minority cultural differences were suppressed, whilst integrationists believed that this end could be achieved through a minimal and superficial recognition of these differences. The homogeneity of society was nevertheless emphasised by both approaches although the assimilationists sought to achieve this through acculturation whilst the integrationists emphasised accommodation. Nevertheless an explicit acceptance of and almost complete absence of any questioning orientation towards the dominant political, ideological and economic order is characteristic of both approaches.(68)

Mullard has suggested that the integrationist approach constitutes the embodying paradigm for the whole development of the race and education field in that it incorporates the assimilationist and pre-empts and premediates the construction of the multicultural approach.(69) The nature of the link between the integrationist perspective which is anchored into the

assimilationist and multicultural approaches he suggests is not only theoretical but also ideological, political and economic. As suggested earlier both the assimilationist and integrationist approaches symbolise an explicit acceptance of and almost complete absence of any questioning orientation to the dominant political,ideological and economic order. The sociological perspective which underpins and informs the integrationist framework is both functionalist and interractionist, a perspective which views society in terms of an integrated two-tier multiracial system of class and status,and racial groups. The social objective of this perspective is never the less a protection of the social order whereby racial/coloured minority groups are to be accommodated within a diversified value system which never the less retains its core unitary structure. The social basis of research still reflect the white middle class relations, interests and perceptions of the 'race problem', but within a multiracial system. Multiracial education is as we have seen the guiding educational ideology of the integrationist approach within the overall educational framework of disadvantagement. A representation of the historical and economic context within which the integrationist perspective evolved is necessary for a clear understanding of the characteristics of the ideology of integration.It is this that I now wish to consider briefly.

The late 1960s was a period of contraction of capital epitomised in an increased rate of unemployment, together with various company mergers and liquidation within an international/racial setting of neo-colonialism. This period also saw an increased adherence to the notions of providing substantial overseas aid and development programmes to assist Third World countries in an attempt to protect and reconstruct the capital of the metropolitan Western nations.(70) There was no longer the demand for cheap unskilled and service labour which had characterised the immigration of the 1950s and early 1960s. Instead the needs of the economy could now be only met through a supply of high skilled and professional labour force, a

situation which necessitated

> the political and legal restriction in the form of racial immigration control legislation, of the migration of unskilled black workers and through a skills related employment voucher system, the migration and recruitment of mainly professional black workers. (71)

It was, according to Mullard, the emergence of a "racially articulate if not conscious black middle class" which necessitated an ideological shift (from mono culturalism to multiracialism) and which had not only to take account of the voice of the new black middle class but protect the economic, political and social order from collapse as well.(72) An adoption of the integrationist perspective, then, was necessary for the protection of the social order. The integrationist ideology had through emphasising and hence incorporating the racial distinctiveness of groups in society thus sought to 'de-racialise racism'.(73)

How and why, then, did the concept of 'cultural pluralism' come to be adopted in the late 1970s as the conceptual model within which multiculturalism and more specifically 'multicultural education' were offered in direct response to the perceived needs of black pupils thus superceding the integrationist perspective? It is the notion of 'cultural pluralism' upon which the concept of 'multicultural education' is based that I wish to consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3 - NOTES

1. 'Second Report by the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council', (1964), Cmnd. 2266, London, HMSO, p.7.(my emphasis).

2. Jenkins, R. (1966) - Speech made on 23 May 1966 to a meeting of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants : quoted in "Essays and Speeches by Roy Jenkins" (1967), Collins, p.267.(my emphasis).

3. Troyna, B.(1981) "Variations on a Theme : The Educational Response to Black Pupils in British Schools", Unpub. paper, SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, University of Aston in Birmingham.

4. For example, Partiger, George (former MP for Southall) Stated in 1964 :

> "I feel that Sikh parents should encourage their children to give up their turbans, their religion and their dietary laws. If they refuse to integrate then we must be tough. They must be told that they would be the first to go if there was unemployment and it should be a condition of being given National Assistance that the Immigrants go to English classes". (my emphasis);

quoted in Bagley, C. (1973) "The Education of Immigrant Children : A Review of Problems and Policies in Education", 'Journal of Social Policy, 2,4, pp.303-14.
This symbolises the way in which many people have used the terms 'integrate' and 'assimilate', interchangeably, thus often causing some confusion as to the underlying philosophy of whose who employ such terminology. For a more detailed explanation of the meaning of these terms, see notes 5 and 44.

5. The term 'assimilation' suggests the absorbtion of a minority group into the dominant 'majority' culture through the adoption by the 'minority' group of the language, customs, ways of thought and modes of behaviour, values and attitudes of the dominant culture, on the basis that the 'minority' group give up their 'strange practices' such as those associated with religion, dress, music, food, language and other cultural values and customs distinctive to the 'minority' group. 'Assimilation' also implies the accommodation and acceptance of the 'minority' group by the 'majority' group on an equal basis on the condition that the 'minority' group adopts the 'majority' norms, values and patterns of behaviour. It suggests, therefore, the adaptation, reformation and adjustment on the part of the 'minority' group in order to be accommodated into and accepted by the 'majority' group, and implies too, the equality and parity of relationships between the groups. Through an implicit acceptance of a communality of interests, the assimilationist philosophy emphasises the uniformity, homogeneity and stability of society. 'Harmony' and 'concord' are common in the vocabulary and discourse of assimilationists. Through its overemphasis and preoccupation with 'culture', and concern more for the individual rather than the group, the assimilationist philosophy avoids and neglects racial, class or gender differentiation in society.
See also Note 44 on 'Integration'.

6. D.E.S. (1965) "The Education of Immigrants", Circular 7/65, London. HMSO.

7. Troyna, B.(1981), op.cit.

8. Street-Porter, R. (1978) "Race, Children and Cities", Open University Unit E361, OU, Milton Keynes, p.76.

9. McNeal, J. (1971) "Education" in (ed.) Abbott, S, (1971) "The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain", London, OUP, p.135.

10. Power, J.(1967) "Immigrants in Schools : A Survey of Administrative Practices", London, Councils and Educational Press.

11. In Form V11(i) (1966) the D.E.S. defined 'immigrant pupils' as
(i) children from outside the British Isles who have come to this country with or to join, parents or guardians whose countries of origin were abroad, and
(ii) children born in the U.K. to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the U.K. on or after 1st January 19 .

The returns did not include
(a) children from N. Ireland or Eire, or
(b) children of mixed 'immigrant' and non-immigrant parentage.

The year quoted in Clause (ii) was, in each instance, ten years earlier than the date of collection of the statistics - hence the 'ten-year rule'.

12. For a fuller discussion of the 'language' issue, see especially, McNeal, J.(1971) op.cit. and Rose, E.J.B. et al (1969) "Colour and Citizenship", London, IRR.

13. Power, J. (1967) op.cit.

14. Rex, J. and Tomlinson, S. (1979) "Colonial Immigrants in a British City, Routledge Kegan Paul, p.165.

15. Ibid.

16. James, A. (1977) "Why Language Matters" in 'Multiracial School', 5,3, pp.2-9, has suggested that "a dose of systematic language teaching would act as a lubricant" before the 'immigrant' pupil is "fed into the educational machine .... without causing it to seize up".

17. One of the greatest difficulties facing teachers of 'immigrant' pupils, whether in ordinary classes or special language classes, was the absence of suitable written and other teaching materials, and of information about the backgrounds of the 'immigrant' pupils. The initiative to provide such materials came not from the top but from the base, from the Association of Teachers of Pupils from Overseas (ATEPO), first formed in London in 1965 and later becoming the National Association of Multiracial Education. It is also worthy of note that the majority of the 'advisory' posts and position of responsibility in education, in a drive to promote multiracial, multicultural education in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, have been taken up by individuals who have primarily been language specialists.
For a general survey of the research and literature on 'language' see Taylor, F.(1974) "Race, School and Community", NFER.

18. Rex, J. and Tomlinson, S. (1979) op.cit., pp. 162-3.

19. Ibid.

20. Boyle, E. (1963) Speech in House of Commons on 27 November 1963, Hansard, Vol.685, Cols.433-444.

21. "Second Report by the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council" (1964). op.cit.

22. For a discussion of the events leading to the protest and the subsequent debate, see Kirp, D.(1980) "Doing Good by Doing Little", University of California Press, London, pp.85-92: and Rose, E.J.B. (1969) op.cit.

23. Boyle, E.(1963) op.cit.

24. Department of Education and Science (1965) "The Education of Immigrants". Circular 7/65, London, June 1965, p.4, para 8.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid. p.5, para 8.

27. Milner, D. '1975) "Children and Race", Penguin, Harmondsworth, p.201

28. Rex, J. and Tomlinson, S.(1979) op.cit., p.165.

29. Home Office (1965) "Immigration From the Commonwealth", Cmnd.2739, HMSO, London, August 1965.

30. Rose, E.J.B. (1969) op.cit., p.272.

31. See "Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council" (1964) op.cit., especially paragraphs 25 and 26.

The idea of limiting the proportion of 'immigrant' children in a school goes back to this report of the C.I.A.C., a volunatry Committee set up by the Conservative government to advise the Home Secretary on matters relating to the 'welfare and integration' of immigrants. Paragraphs 25 and 26 of the report exemplify the underlying assumptions of and the arguments advanced in favour of a quota 'dispersal' policy by the decision-makers'. Such assumptions were held even by those who did not advocate a policy of 'dispersal'. The report says that:

> "The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the work of the whole class, especially where the immigrants do not speak or write English fluently. This is clearly in itself undesirable and unfair to all the children in the class. There is a further danger that educational backwardness which, in fact, is due to environment, language or a different culture may increasingly be supposed to arise from some inherent or genetic inferiority".
>
> "But something more than academic progress is involved. Schools want to give their immigrant pupils as good an introduction to life in Britain as possible. The evidence we have received strongly suggests that if a school has more than a certain

31. contd.

> percentage of immigrant children among its pupils the whole character and ethos of the school is altered. Immigrant pupils in such a school will not get as good an introduction to British life as they would get in a normal school, and we think that their education in the widest sense must suffer as a result.... We were concerned by the evidence we received that there were schools in certain parts of the country containing an extremely high proportion of immigrant children, moreover the evidence from one or two areas showed something a good deal more disturbing than a rise in the proportion of immigrant children in certain schools, it showed a tendency towards the creation of predominantly immigrant children in certain neighbourhoods, but also partly because some parents tend to take native-born children away from school when the proportion of immigrant pupils exceeds a level which suggests to them that the school is becoming an immigrant school". (my emphasis).

32. The assumptions that underlay such practices were that in schools where there were large concentrations of 'immigrant' pupils, they tended to "stay in their own groups and speak their own language. This, it was believed, "retards integration and should as far as possible, be avoided".

33. Kirp, D. (1981) op.cit.

34. Ibid., p.2.

35. Ibid.

36. Troyna, B. (1981) op.cit.

37. Butler, D. and Stokes, D. (1971) "Political Change in Britain", Pelican, p.350.

38. Crossman, R. (1975) "Diaries of a Cabinet Minister", Hamish Hamilton and Jonathan Cape, London, pp.149-150; quoted in Troyna, B. (1981) op.cit.

39. Troyna, B. (1981) op.cit.

40. Mullard, C. (1981) "The Social Context and Meaning of Multicultural Education", 'Educational Analyses',3,1, pp.97-120.

41. Ibid., p.106.

42. Ibid. p.106.

43. Sivanandan, A. (1978) "From Immigration Control to Induced Repatriation", 'Race and Class', 20,1, IRR.

44. See also Note 5 on 'Assimilation'.
'Integration', on the other hand, suggests that although individuals should be expected to speak English at work and in public places,

44.
contd. they should be allowed to retain their cultural values and traditions of dress, music, food, religion and marriage customs, for example, within the home and their community. This view assumes that having pride in one's cultural heritage fosters a sense of personal and group identity and, in both the short and the long term, encourages the development of 'well-adjusted' individuals within the larger society.

Integrationist theory assumes eventual assimilation of 'minority' groups and 'cultures' into the dominant culture and society, but maintains that the separate identity and subordinate position of minority groups are preserved through the operation of an oppressive economic system. This particular aspect, however, does not appear to inform the ideology and underlying assumptions of many integrationists, since an emphasis on cultural integration neglects the role and position of 'minority' groups within the wider social and economic system of racial relations and of the historical context in which these have emerged.

45. Bolton, E. (1979) "Education in a Multiracial Society" in 'Trends in Education', No.4, Winter 1979, pp.3-7.

46. N.U.T.(1973) "Evidence to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigrants' Education", Vol.2.

47. Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

48. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1973), Report on "Education", Vol.1., HMSO, London, p.28, para 101-4.

49. Bagley, C. (1973) "Immigrant children : a review of problems and policies in education" in 'Journal of Social Policy', 2,4, pp.303-315.

50. Jenkins, R. (1966) op.cit.

51. Department of Education and Science (1971) "Potential and Progress in a Second Culture", Education Survey 10, HMSO, London.

52. Department of Education and Science (1971) "The Education of Immigrants", Education Survey 13, HMSO, London.

53. Ibid.

54. Department of Education and Science (1972) "The Continuing Needs of Immigrants", Education Survey 14, HMSO, London.

55. Bolton, E. (1979) op.cit. p.5.

56. For an overview of the literature on the development of courses in 'Black Studies', see especially, Taylor, F. (1974) "Race, School and Community", NFER, pp. 144-5; see also, Giles, R. (1976) "Black Power and Black Studies", 'Community Relations Journal', 4,6; Hamilton, C.V. ( ) "The Challenge of Black Studies", 'Social Policy
The House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1973), op.cit., p.28, para 103, also makes reference to the demand for courses in 'Black Studies', stating quite categorically, however, that they do not view the development of such courses as

56. contd. salient to better race relations. Their primary fear was that this would lead to some kind of educational apartheid in Britain.

> "The demand for Black Studies has arisen because the content of education in Britain is seen as Anglo-centric, and biased against black people. We can understand this. But we doubt whether Black Studies in the narrow sense would make a contribution to wider education and better race relations and we are not attracted by the idea of black teachers teaching pupils in separate classes or establishemts. But the history, geography and cultures of the large minorities which now form part of British society are worthy of study and appreciation, not least by indigenous children".

57. Townsend, H.E.R. and Brittan, E.M. (1973) "Multiracial Education: Need and Innovation", Schools Council Working Paper 50.

58. Kirp, D. (1981) op.cit., p.47.

59. Ibid.

60. A headteacher quoted in Townsend, H.E.R. and Brittan, E.M. (1973) op.cit., p.13.

61. Williams, J. (1967) "The Younger Generation" in Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967) 'Race, Community and Conflict', Oxford University Press for I.R.R., p.237.

62. Department of Education and Science (1971), op.cit., p.119.

63. Community Relations Commission (1974) "Educational Needs of Children from Minority Groups", Ref. Series 1, CRC.

The CRC pamphlet is critical, for example, of educational policies which show "a lack of interest in the teaching of the mother-tongue, the leaving of transmission of minority cultural values to the parents and minority communities, the reservations about appointing ethnic staff and the lack of investment in in-service education", since it argues "in a society where racial discrimination is widespread", a strategy which attempts "to achieve racial equality in education through encouraging minorities to integrate into the way of life of the majority population" will have "limited application". In other words, it argues that in a society where racial hostility and discrimination exist, minority children will have "educational needs which go beyond being given the tools to integrate". It suggests, therefore, that racial and cultural differences should be given more prominence in schools on the principle of 'different but equal', since such an approach would encourage "tolerance of cultural differences", whilst giving minority children an opportunity to "retain the links with their cultural origins, which", it argues "is so necessary for their confidence and identity".

64. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1973) op.cit. The D.E.S. argued that:

> "The public provision of education is for the most part, the responsibility of the local education

64. contd.

> authorities. It is financed like any other local authority service largely through the rates and Rate Support Grant. It is the job of the local authority to decide how best to use its resources of staff and money to meet the needs of its area. If specific grants for particular aspects of education in which the local authorities have previously enjoyed discretion were to be introduced, the effect might be to reduce the scope of local responsibility".

Department of Education and Science (1974), op.cit., pp. 13-14, quoted in Troyna, B. (1981) op.cit.

65. Ibid.

66. The Centre, which was set up in 1975, was mainly concerned with "giving advice on curriculum, teaching methods and good practice relevant to the education of the disadvantaged". A good deal of controversy over its workings eventually led to the closure of the Centre in August 1980.

~~66.~~67 Kirp, D.(1980), op.cit. p.51.

68. Mullard, C. (1981), op.cit.

~~68.~~ ~~Ibid.~~

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

Immigration control, it should be noted, was expounded by politicians as a necessary pre-condition of successful 'integration'. Roy Hattersley, the Labour M.P. had declared, for instance, that "without integration, limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible". 'quoted in Deakin, N. (1970) "Colour, Citizenship and British Society", London, Panther, p.106).

Roy Jenkins said much the same:

> "Immigration should not be so high as to create a widespread resistance to effective integration policies (nor) so unreasonably low as to create an embittered sense of grievance in the immigrant community itself".

(quoted in Deakin, N. (1970), op.cit., p.337).

72. Mullard, C. (1981), op.cit.

73. Ibid.

Chapter 4 *

THE IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PUPILS - PART 2

CULTURAL PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Although the notion of multicultural education which was adopted in the late 1970s as a working paradigm in favour of both the assimilationist and integrationist perspectives is perceived by many people in different ways, it arose essentially as an educational response to the problems of educability of the black pupil. The concept is therefore inextricably linked with the concern for the academic underachievement of the black pupil, which, it was argued, has a direct causal relationship with his negative self-image. This in turn, it was believed, stemmed from the ethnocentric bias of the English school curriculum. The multicultural approach, with the curriculum reflecting minority cultures, would therefore help to instil a 'positive self-image' in the black pupil, encourage a greater awareness and understanding of minority cultures on the part of the white pupil and thereby have a 'humanising' function by promoting mutual tolerance and more harmonious race relations. A recognition of the 'problems' of the minority pupils and of the failure of the schools to meet their 'needs' has therefore culminated in greater demands for amongst other things a reappraisal of the school curriculum in an attempt to promote 'multicultural education' based on a notion of cultural pluralism. In this chapter, therefore, I propose to discuss critically the concept of multicultural education which is the specific educational ideology of the cultural pluralist perspective of society. My intention is to discuss the main reasons for the emergence of this educational concept, the rationale and justifications put forward for its adoption by its proponents, and to consider critically the major features and characteristics of the multi-

* For explanatory notes and references, see pp. 102-06

cultural approach. I then wish to examine the notion of cultural pluralism, which necessarily provides theoretical underpinnings for the multicultural educational approach, within its historical context, and to discuss the suitability of its adoption as an adequate theory of social organisation for contemporary British society. Finally, the role of the school as an institutional mechanism for the transmission of culture and its implications for the schooling of minority children in British schools will then be examined briefly.

Why, then, did the cultural pluralist model supercede the assimilationist and integrationist perspectives in education, and what was the rationale put forward for its adoption by its advocates?

Eric Bolton, an HMI has argued that the emergence of a second generation of black pupils in British schools has symbolised the weakness of both the assimilationist and integrationist ideas which were considered patronising and at worst offensively dismissive towards other cultures and life styles.(1) Linked to this notion, he suggests, has been the desire by the minorities to preserve and maintain their culture. Thus the assertion on the part of the minorities is an assertion of a minority culture and the determination to maintain cultural continuity, a notion which he suggests is as applicable to the second generation as to the first. In response to such a situation, therefore, cultural pluralism has evolved "as a system which accepts that people's values and life styles are different and operates in such a way as to allow equal opportunity for all to play a full part in society".(2) The emphasis in Bolton's analysis is clearly on culture and this is lacking, since he does not, for example, suggest reasons why second generation of blacks may wish to adhere to cultural values of their parents. The everyday effects of personalised and institutionalised forms of racism and discrimination experienced by these youngsters which re-enforce their subordinate position in society clearly does not play a part in Bolton's

analysis, although he does make a passing reference to it. Rather than be critical of his analysis at this stage, however, it would be more appropriate to incorporate these criticisms into our later discussion when we consider the very notion of cultural pluralism, since his analysis rests on an uncritical adoption and acceptance of this notion.

Not only did the multicultural approach evolve as a result of the concern for underachievement and the related 'problems' of identity and low self-esteem of black pupils as perceived by educationalists; its evolution was clearly linked with the establishment of supplementary schools by sections of the black community in response to the increasing number of black children to be found in ESN schools (Coard 1971)[3], and more recently, in disruptive units or 'sin bins' (Francis 1979: St. John Brooks 1981)[4], and the whole problem of 'educability'. Schools were failing these children and the West Indian community's lack of faith in the maintained school system, frustration and despair in attempts to change the current thinking of such schools, led to retaliatory actions through the establishment of supplementary schools which would provide not only basic academic skills for its pupils but also have the effect of adjusting the imbalance of 'white bias' in English education.[5] The failure of courses in 'Black Studies' and other such appendages on the school curriculum which had been instituted primarily to serve the psychological function of enhancing a more positive identity on the part of black pupils at the expense of providing them with the necessary skills and tools to compete in the wider society also helped to crystallise the inadequacies of the integrationist framework and prompted the development of the multicultural approach, with its emphasis on the concept of 'permeation' of all aspects of the curriculum. Black Studies were also being rejected by some 'progressive' teachers who saw such courses as being divisive and separatist.[6] This danger of separatism, with society almost totally divided into different groups across public as well as private life and resulting in 'ethnic ghettos' had,

therefore, to be overcome since such trends, it was felt, could only lead to "permanent and dangerous divisions in our society".(7) The fear of separatism was, then, a propelling force in bringing about changes in the content of the school curriculum. This was one way of appeasing and pacifying the separatist tendencies of some black groups.

The school curriculum was criticised for not being relevant or appropriate to not only the needs of the black pupils but also for the education of all pupils in a multicultural society. What was proposed, therefore, was a broadening of the content of the curriculum, in which teaching about different religions and cultures, and about race and race relations for all pupils would be undertaken, as well as meeting specific educational needs of minority pupils, including the teaching of ESL and provision of the mother tongue for bilingual pupils.

> For the curriculum to have meaning and relevance for all pupils now in our schools, its content, emphasis and the values and assumptions contained must reflect the wide range of cultures, histories and life styles in our multiracial society. (8)

The curriculum was failing its pupils and needed therefore to be reappraised. A motivating force behind this need for change was the desire to educate for a more democratic society,(9) based on a recognition that the present curricula of schools do not provide minority children with 'equality of opportunity'. This view is clearly encapsulated in the ILEA document which has been a major driving force in the move towards multicultural, multi-ethnic education amongst LEAs. It states,

> Unequivocally the commitment is to all. Just as there must be no second class citizens, so there must be no second class educational opportunities. (10)

The need for multicultural education, as Hazel Carby points out, is not merely regarded as an ideal but seen as practically necessary in constructing the society of the future.(11) Again this view is enshrined in official documentation:

> Ours is now a multiracial and multicultural country, and one in which traditional social patterns are breaking down...
> Our educational system is adapting to these changes. The comprehensive school reflects the need to educate our people for a different sort of society, in which the talents and abilities of our people in all spheres need to be developed and respected: the education appropriate to our imperial past cannot meet the requirements of modern Britain. (12)

This reference back to 'our imperial past', as Carby points out, although hints at the basis of inter-racial conflict in the social relations of exploitation, is, nevertheless, presented as a historical rather than a structural consideration.(13) The 'breaking down' of 'traditional social patterns' is presented as a natural, evolutionary progression whilst the antagonism, conflict and contradictions inherent in the process are disguised.

Mullard provides some perceptive insights as to the reasons for the adoption of the multicultural approach to education.(14) He argues that the emergence of multicultural education was far removed from traditional educational concerns, that it evolved neither as an educational response to the needs of black pupils nor as a response to the upsurge of racist events between 1958 and 1963. Instead he suggests, multicultural education evolved

> out of a series of political interpretations made about the threat blacks posed to the stability of liberal democratic and capitalist society. It was in effect a political response based upon ... racist assumptions...to an imperative need to protect what Halsey... termed 'the social and political fabric of our society'. (15)

The underlying assumption of Mullard's thesis however is that the drive and pressure for the adoption of a multicultural approach to education has come from 'above'. In this respect, Mullard is empirically incorrect. Certainly, as he suggests, in addition to the DES through its establishment of a multi-ethnic unit and inspectorate to help promote, co-ordinate and monitor multicultural policies and practices, and the ILEA, the Schools Council and the CRE have been prominant in supporting the adoption of

multicultural education: and that the Parliamentary Select Committee has provided an "institutionalisation and legitimation" of multicultural policies and practices.[16] Nevertheless, the central drive for such approaches has come not from 'above' but from 'the base', initially from 'progressive' teachers[17] and later from certain sections of the minority community many of whom have internalised the concept of multicultural education because they see such an approach satisfying their needs to maintain their cultures amongst the younger generation. It has been primarily through pressures of such bodies and the interests of a few committed individuals in positions of authority that certain LEAs (ILEA, Manchester, for example) have responded to such pressures by formulating and implementing educational policies of a multicultural nature. The reasons for limited advances in multicultural education whereby less than a handful of LEAs have adopted multicultural educational policies have been precisely due to the autonomy of LEAs and the failure of the DES to formulate a coherent policy in this direction. What is significant, however, is that, as Mullard points out, the activities of bodies (such as the DES, the Schools Council, the CRE, NAME and ILEA) have led to the promotion of a "racially derived though culturally expressed concept of multicultural education".[18]

The late 1970s, then, despite being a period of retrenchment and severe economies in education have witnessed a substantial and unprecedented growth of the multicultural educational industry, celebrating uncritically a multicultural approach to education. What, then, is the basis of the multicultural approach and what are its fundamental characteristics?

A number of differing viewpoints as regards to what multicultural education is have been put forward. What I propose to do here is to discuss some of the main features of this approach with a view to highlighting its more fundamental characteristics. I do not intend at this stage to make a

distinction, though important, between the theoretical concept of multicultural education and multicultural education as put into practice by its proponents. This distinction is important since the practitioners of multicultural education are not always guided by the more sophisticated theoretical framework developed by some of its advocates. Such a distinction will undoubtedly emerge when we discuss the problems of translating the theory of multicultural education into practice.

The Concept of 'Multicultural Education'

All educational prescriptions of a multicultural nature are based on an uncritical acceptance of society as 'multicultural' and 'pluralist'. As one commentator has put it:

> The term multicultural is used on the assumption that the existing pluralism of British society is recognised and does not exclude concepts like cultural pluralism, cross-cultural, bi or multilingual or multi-ethnic relations. (19)

Therefore, based on this description of the 'multicultural reality' of society are proposed various prescriptions for 'multicultural education'. Education, the curriculum in particular, it is then argued, should reflect the multicultural nature of our society.

> Our society is a multicultural, multi-racial one, and the curriculum should reflect sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society. We 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. (20)

An essential component of the multicultural curriculum is then presented as being a reflection of 'our need to know about and understand other countries'. Present and future society is seen as being "complex" and "interdependent" where many of Britain's problems require international solutions. The multicultural curriculum is then to be achieved through the incorporation of experiences of minority cultures into the curriculum and the teaching of different religions and cultures geared not to the low status uncertificated parts of the curriculum, but at the high status (21)

certificated parts of the syllabus and based on an acceptance of cultural and religious differences with the emphasis on strength of cultural diversity as opposed to a problem-orientated approach. Such an approach it is argued would also provide the black child with an opportunity of cultural maintenance thereby promoting a greater sense of identity through seeing his culture legitimised within the curriculum.(22) Black pupils would thus develop a sense of pride in their cultural heritage and this would enhance their sense of identity and lead to a positive self-image. Making schooling more relevant to pupils who would otherwise have been 'difficult' to teach would capture their interest, reduce a sense of alienation and promote more positive attitudes to school. Such an approach would also it is argued enhance intercultural understanding and promote better race relations, since an undermining of myths, stereotypes and prejudices would foster greater understanding, awareness and tolerance on the part of all pupils. Thus, as one commentator has put it, multicultural education is an overriding educational philosophy which respects cultural and individual differences of all people regardless of their racial, ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds.(23) That all people should be accorded respect, it is argued, is based on a fundamental acceptance of the premise that all people have intrinsic worth. The goal of the school therefore should be to recognise the worth of all and to instil and maintain the importance of equal respect for all. Such a philosophy, it is argued, must pervade all aspects of schooling, its principles and purposes must be comprehensive, penetrating and integrating - not narrow, supplementary, restrictive or assimilating.(24) Multicultural education is, then, neither a school subject nor a form or field of knowledge. It advocates instead 'permeation' of the curriculum on an across the curriculum basis. Multicultural education, it is suggested, is not distinctive from 'good' education. Multicultural education, it is further suggested, is "emancipatory education, which can liberate and not stifle human automony and cultural and social diversity".(25)

An important function of multicultural education as seen by some proponents is that of teaching against racism within the broader context of social and political studies, with a view to combat racism in both individuals and institutions.[26] This function of multicultural education however is considered by many of its advocates to be controversial and does not therefore inform their ideology and conceptualisation of multicultural education on the basis that the underlying assumption of such an approach is that the "perpetrators of racism are invariably white and the victims invariably black".[27] Arguments which view racism as endemic in Britain or as a cultural norm which mould children's attitudes are thus dismissed as 'pathological' and 'tendentious'.[28] The debate about race, it is then argued, "has become confounded with the debate about immigration".[29] Such arguments as Carby has pointed out ignore the structural and historical interrelationship between race and immigration in which race through the process of colonisation has been used as a principal mechanism by imperialism for the economic, political and socio-cultural forms of exploitation, domination and subordination of other racial groups, and whose immigration to Britain is inextricably linked with this process of colonisation.

Multicultural education purports also to provide 'equality of opportunity' for different minority groups through special provision based on an adoption of the concept of 'positive discrimination'. An 'ideal but realistic' policy on multicultural education based on a need to provide a 'equality of opportunity' should, according to John Rex,[30] take account of the problems engendered by the segregation and dispersal of minority children, the instruction of non-English speaking pupils in their mother tongue, the teaching of ESL in ways which would maximise educational opportunity, the teaching of minority cultures at 'lower levels in ways which increase educational opportunity rather than labelling and segregating minority children', the introduction of subjects related to

minority cultures at higher levels and within the schools' credentialling system, the political education of white British children for an anti-racist society - all to be achieved through the development of "appropriate skills and techniques", particularly by teachers and teacher educators. 'Social justice' is the rationale upon which such a notion of 'equality of opportunity' is based. Multicultural education, as one advocate has suggested,

> provides each generation with alternative behavioural and value systems to function in society, while it allows for the prospect of bringing about equality of opportunity and social justice to racial and cultural groups who constitute a society. (31)

Multicultural education possesses, in other words, "an inbuilt capacity for bringing about social change for individuals, groups, classes, and society as a whole". (32) Such an analysis is based on an uncritical acceptance of the multicultural nature of society and an earlier assertion that

> Multiculturalism ... comprises a whole range of concepts, sentiments, mechanisms, structures, and institutions in a society which implicitly and explicitly determine the social class, status and the place and condition of members of a group or groups in a plural society. (33)

Such a conceptualisation clearly symbolises a culturally expressed though racially derived concept of multicultural education. An expectation of an educational approach to bring about 'equality of opportunity' (whatever that may be) and 'social justice' is based on an extremely naive and idealistic view of the nature of the social structure. To suggest that schools can be a mechanism for social engineering is dubious: but to assert that multicultural education has an "inbuilt capacity" to "bring about social change for individuals, groups, classes and society as a whole" must be the height of absurdity. It leaves one to ponder over what other revolutionary feats multicultural education could perform for the poor and minority groups in society!

These then are some of the more fundamental characteristics of the multi-

cultural approach to education. Before we discuss critically some of the prescriptive remedies of this approach, however, it would be more appropriate at this juncture to consider the notion of 'cultural pluralism', since this provides the theoretical context for the multicultural approach to education.

Cultural Pluralism and Multicultural Education

What the proponents of multicultural education mean by 'cultural pluralism' is, to say the least, ambiguous. Common to the rhetoric of multicultural education is a confusion between descriptions of society as culturally pluralist and prescriptions for cultural pluralism as the most desirable form of social organisation. Most discussions of cultural pluralism lack a theoretical consideration and are overtly programmatic in nature. In being prescriptive, they are often ambiguous in that there is a confusion between the prescriptive concept of society as it ought to be and a descriptive accounts of society as how it actually is. It is important then to determine the historical context in which cultural pluralism emerged as a concept which describes a type of society and a particular form of social organisation to ascertain its relevance to contemporary British society. In other words, to determine whether the application of the concept as a description of contemporary British society is appropriate one has to consider the historical context in which the theory of a plural society was first put forward and has since been developed and refined.

Although the concept of cultural pluralism has been revised and amended over the years, the theory of 'cultural pluralism' was first developed in the early 1920s by Horace M. Kallen in the context of increased immigration of a heterogeneous body of ethnic groups to the United States of America.(34) In this early period of immigration two basic theories were developed as to how to deal with the millions of 'immigrants', mainly of European descent. The first theory, that of 'Americanisation' or 'Anglo-Saxonisation'

postulated that the immigrants should give up their old ways and assimilate into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. Schools were seen as the chief mechanism through which this assimilation was to take place. When it became clear, however, that the immigrants were rejecting 'Anglo-Saxonisation', the theory of the 'melting pot' began to receive credence.(35) The melting pot concept denied the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon culture and rejected the demand that immigrant cultures should assimilate into it. Instead, it was believed, all cultures, those of the immigrants as well as the indigenous population, should fuse and melt in order to create a superior new and uniquely American culture. Throughout this period of mass immigration, most leading American sociologists, including Talcott Parsons predicted that the industrialised and centralised American society would bring an end to the existence of distinct ethnic immigrant groups. The ethnic groups however although attracted to the 'melting pot' concept, were nevertheless determined to maintain, to one extent or another their separate group identity, ties and loyalties. Several scholars and writers therefore saw a need to develop a new theoretical and practical approach to the relationship of the dominant society and the ethnic groups, and it was in this context that Kallen developed the theory of 'cultural pluralism'.

Cultural pluralism did not mean that America was or would become a multicultural nation or a "mosaic of cultures". Kallen's main thesis was that American culture was historically not monolithic but pluralistic. By emphasising the fluidity of pluralism, he disposed of the idea of 'majority' and 'minority' cultures. Cultural pluralism meant "unity in diversity", not separatism or tribalisation of American society. One major weakness of Kallen's thesis however was that neither the blacks nor the other racial minorities figured anywhere in his framework of cultural pluralism.(36)

A different tradition of pluralism which arguably had more influence on the development of the concept in relation to contemporary British society

was one which developed in the context of European colonisation and administration of complex heterogeneous societies. This theory of the plural society deals exclusively with the phenomena of culture, and is associated with descriptions by colonial administrators (such as J.S. Furnival) of the culturally diverse nature of many Asian and Caribbean societies.(37) Indeed, over the years this concept has been refined theoretically and extended in the work of many anthropologists.(38) Essentially however through an over emphasis on the phenomena of culture modern descriptions neglect the historical and socio-political context within which the concept of pluralism emerged. Historically, plural societies have been created through colonial intervention and are characterised by heterogeneous populations drawn together for political and economic, not cultural, reasons. Plural societies with their intermix of different 'races' and cultural systems are characterised by their social, cultural and institutional stratification, and have not evolved as a result of collective effort and sociocultural consensus but are the bi-products of conquests. Distinct imperialist relationships of domination and subordination have been characteristic of such social organisations. Plural societies are therefore neither integrative, representative nor democratic but colonialistic and exploitative.(39) The concept of pluralism is therefore as much socio-political and historical as it is cultural and within a plural society the relationships that exist between its component sub-groups is distinctly unequal.

Cultural pluralism in the contemporary context therefore is a concept which has evolved out of a desire to create and maintain a cohesiveness of the entity of the nation state in an attempt to forge a national unity and sense of identity. The objective of the state in the interests of cohesiveness and self-maintenance is to establish an ideology of uniformity amongst its citizens. Schools then are institutionalised mechanisms for differentially enculturating subgroups into a national culture. In view of the historical context of cultural pluralism, what then are the under-

lying assumptions and implications of such a theory of social organisation for contemporary British society?

The pluralist philosophy in an attempt to create cohesiveness, as suggested earlier, subsumes an apparent unity of interests of all citizens within the nation state, without giving recognition to inherent contradictions and conflicting social, political and economic interests within and between different race, class, and gender groupings in that society. The pluralist approach although based on a concept of cultural and group diversity is pre-inclined, as Mullard has suggested, to describe the nature of the social order not in terms of diversity but in terms of unity. Because the approach is preoccupied with the unity of racial groups, it tends then not to recognise the intra-group divisions nor the various degrees and forms of race class consciousness which give rise to intra-group divisions themselves.(40) The pluralist approach implicitly denies, too the historical, structural and ideological basis of racism through its tendency to describe society as an enclosed entity, historically unaffected by the world economic system and power relations.(41) Racism, then, becomes a mere description of a kind of plurality rather than a kind of structure that characterises society.

Through its emphasis on culture, the pluralist approach ignores the structural and institutional inequalities of society and the institutionalised differentiation of interests within it.(42) The approach does not address itself to the historical phenomena of imperialism, colonialism and migration, and the subsequent economic and social relationships resulting in the position of minority groups as a subordinate 'underclass'. The approach fails thus, as Mullard has argued, to incorporate theoretically the structural and ideological basis of racism in society and its historical relationship to the expansion, contraction and crisis of capital.(43) In virtually all discussions of cultural pluralism, the phenomena of race,

class and gender, three critical factors, are usually unspecified and totally absent from the discourse resulting in a concealment and avoidance of the socially differentiating complex phenomena of racism and sexism. The failure of the concept of cultural pluralism to take account of such factors clearly underlines then its weakness since any adequate theory of social organisation must incorporate historical, social and political factors as well as cultural ones. The cultural pluralist approach, as Cross and others have remarked, tends to exhibit the hallmarks of Parsonian functionalism in its ahistorical formulations, through its under emphasis of structural features, its use of the zero-sum concept of power and its lack of concern for its structural inequality.(44)

A common ambiguity inherent in the concept of cultural pluralism is the confusion and interchangeable use of the concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'culture'. In the discourse of education in a culturally pluralist society, this is exemplified by the frequent use of interchangeable terms such as 'multicultural', 'multi-ethnic' and 'multiracial', often indicating a lack of cultural differentiation. In such usage, an ethnic group, for example, is usually defined on the basis of cultural criteria. The interchangeable usage of these terms is indicative of the lack of recognition of the concept of hierarchy with the underlying assumption that the relationship between the different groups is separate but equal. The concept of multicultural education, as Mullard has pointed out, is a racially derived though culturally expressed concept.(45) Almost all definitions and/or formulations of multicultural education have he suggests tended ahistorically to deify a mystifying notion of non-class based culturalism and ethnicity. He suggests further that by accentuating a diversified culturally and ethnically based value system, the multicultural approach has sought to resolve and explain the capital/class race contradiction in terms of the cultural representation of the ideological form of racism-ethnicism.(46) Put very succinctly, he suggests:

> In essence this form represents the exchange of a largely racially determined set of ideas and beliefs (biological determinism) for a largely ethnically determined set of ideas and beliefs (cultural determinism) to justify specific practices and protect specific interests. As the cultural representation of the ideological form of racism, ethnicism then constitutes a set of representations of ethnic differences, peculiarities, cultural biographies, histories and practices which are used to justify a specific courses of action that possess the effect of institutionalising ethnic/cultural differences. (47)

In this way then, ethnicist policies and practices tend to obscure the "common experiences, histories and socio-political conditions of black groups and hence the degree of communality of experience that might exist between black and certain white class groups in society".(48) The multicultural approach, through its emphasis on culture and ethnicity, has therefore displaced overt ideological forms of racism in favour of more covert forms thereby transforming the ideological form of racism into its cultural form of ethnicism.

Another problem of the cultural pluralist model is the one concerned with its treatment of 'cultures' and sub-cultures as pristine and archetypic entities - fixed, static and unchanging. In the context of contemporary British society therefore what this suggests is the existence of a homogeneous 'host' culture, devoid of class or gender differences, surrounded by a motley bunch of 'satellite' Asian or Afro-Caribbean cultures,for example, with an assumption that the two though separate and distinct can be integrated. Translated into practice, the proponents of multicultural education advocate a study of Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures as part of the school curriculum, as we have suggested earlier. Such an approach is based on a pluralistic notion which assumes the compatibility inherent in multiculturalism. Cultures are by no means static and fixed but dynamic and adaptive. Cultures emerge as a result of the lived experiences of individuals and groups. A culture is the shared principles of life,

characteristic of particular classes, groups or social milieux.[49] Cultures are produced as groups make sense of their social existence in the course of every day experience and are therefore intimate with the world of practical action. A concept of culture which excludes the hierarchical and antagonistic dominant and subordinate relationships between cultures and ignores race, class or gender differences, as the concept of multi-culturalism clearly does, is mistaken, misleading and dangerous.

All theories of culture or ideology that employ models of transmission and passive reception based upon an assumption of the system of perfect communication fail to grasp what is specific to the production of meaning.[50] As the authors of 'Unpopular Education' have suggested, work on education processes, as in the case of the transmission model, shows that "all pedagogies involve transformation, blockings, inversions and complex reproduction, never simple teaching and learning".[51] Cultural moments then are not passive but involve active appropriation and transformation of meaning, and if cultural forms are produced in ordinary social intercourse they will not be properly understood if abstracted from this context.[52]

How then should we view the role of the school in terms of 'transmission of culture', bearing in mind the relationship between the educational and economic systems?

Two functions of the school, it is generally agreed,are those of social-isation and cultural transmission. Schools are not culturally neutral nor is the content of schooling as some educationalists mistakenly believe,[53] and any such notions are based on a false premise which shows an elementary understanding of the process of schooling and the relationship between the educational system and other societal institutions. Althuser has seen schools in terms of "ideological state apparatuses" which reproduce[54] capitalist relations of production, whilst Bowles and Gintis have argued

has pointed out. In the context of British schools, the social goals reflected in the school structure, organisation, culture and curricula, Mullard argues, closely approximate the goals of the ruling class, and the reference point for schools for the interpretation of societal goals as regards race relations is in fact racist.(62)

> Schools ... are collectively forced, because of their historical locations, social position, and cultural orientation towards the dominant institutional order, to identify their role and operate within the dominant racist value and political goal structure implicit in official policy on black immigration control. (63)

The function of cultural transmission as a role of the school can be defined in the context of the nation state as well as the more immediate context of the family and community. Within such a notion of cultural transmission, then, two aspects of 'culture' begin to emerge - firstly, the 'culture' of the community, and secondly, the 'culture' of the nation state, or more specifically the 'culture' and ideology of the dominant power group. Through notions of education for citizenship(64) in an attempt to create and maintain the cohesiveness of the nation state, the 'culture' of the nation state is projected as a unitary binding force through its discourse about communality of interests.(65) Even though such a narrow and rigid conception of 'culture' is problematic proponents of cultural pluralism fail to see that the interests and differences between the 'culture' of the community and the 'culture' of the state can and does lead to very real possibilities of conflict and alienation in schools. The multicultural approach acknowledges the fundamental cultural disparity that exists between the 'culture' of the community (or the home) and that of the school (or state), and thus attempts through educational measures to resolve this disonance without devaluing the 'home culture' in any way. Contradictions develop however because, on the one hand the objective of the state in the interests of cohesiveness and self-maintenance is to both subvert local sources of authority, loyalty and solidarity and thereby establish an ideology of

that schools replicate in their social relations the conditions and mentalities of capitalist labour.[55] Other investigations of the process of schooling suggest that they are a form of "symbolic violence" re-enforcing the unequal distribution of cultural resources and securing the existing relations of power.[56] Bernstein has argued that schools reproduce inequalities by institutionalising the cultural criteria of sections of the dominant class.[57] I do not propose to take issue with these analyses except to point out that much of the analysis of the authors mentioned tends to be abstract and unhistorical and "informed by the grand ambition of presenting working models of large social totalities".[58] Nevertheless, the view of the school as a culturally neutral institution, isolated from the rest of society and performing the function of providing 'education for education's sake' is clearly problematic. A rather crude and in some respects over-simplified but nevertheless workable analysis of the role and function of the school in relation to 'culture' would be to view schools as agencies of transmission of the culture and ideology of the dominant ruling group in society. In this respect, what is meant by ideology is more closely aligned to Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony',[59] in that schools are not seen simply in terms of a sight of differences in 'working class' and 'middle class' culture, but more in terms of transmitting a dominant hegemonic ideology.

An aspect of this dominant hegemonic ideology and 'culture' is its racist character. Mullard has drawn attention to the way in which British schools have played an important role in the transmission of a racist culture in both the formal and the informal cultures of the school.[60] Historically, he argues, the public schools of the nineteenth century initially, and the network of Oxford colleges and the mass church state educational system later, were important educational agencies in the " cultural transmission of ruling class ideology".[61] Schools are undoubtedly concerned with the internalisation or learning of dominant social values and norms, as Talcott Parsons

uniformity amongst its citizens and, on the other hand, schools are expected to not only tolerate but promote the cultural values of the community. The assumptions of such a philosophy are however that cultural difference is the root of the problem and that by addressing this issue one can achieve a more 'equal' educational system. The cultural values traditionally transmitted by the family and the community, it is assumed, can be integrated with 'societal norms' and the values of the school. It is essentially a realisation of a sense of cultural alienation on the part of the minority pupils that often leads to calls for a multicultural approach to education, which involves, as we have seen, creating special programmes to meet, 'special needs' of minority pupils with the more sophisticated variant of this approach viewing cultural diversity more positively and therefore prescribing, in addition to meeting the 'special needs' of minority pupils, educational changes for all pupils.

The multicultural approach to education assumes, too, that it is the material which is taught in schools that is problematic, and that by erradicating the ethnocentric bias of the curriculum, a more 'equal' system of education would be achieved through providing the minority pupil with 'equality of opportunity'. The social relations of schools and classrooms are, as Carby points out, reduced to the single question of the transmission of the curriculum.(66) Schools, it is argued, should

> ...tackle with sustained enthusiasm the problems of children from other cultures or speaking other languages and make a microcosm of a happy and co-operative world. (67)

A major problem of the multicultural approach then is that whilst the context of schooling is the appropriate focus for educators who are advocating cultural pluralism, the programmatic suggestions that they make in terms of a multicultural approach to education often hinge on the assumption that school reform will bring about corresponding reforms in society.(68) The logic of the argument of the Green Paper is for example not

only reflective but causitive. It is assumed that the classroom can be a 'microcosm' of society but that the creation of a 'happy and co-operative' classroom will have an effect on the wider society in terms of creating a 'happy and co-operative world'. The greater understanding of other cultures achieved at the classroom level is then meant to flow outwards to create a more harmonious society. Schools, in this respect, are expected to effect wider social relations but are, as Carby points out, paradoxically granted autonomy from the effects of that society.(69) But as Richard Johnson has argued, the materials of the classroom are separate from the cultures of the minority children as lived in school, the lived experiences brought to the school and lived in the social relations of the school by both teachers and pupils.(70)

In order to understand the conditions under which particular ideologies become principles of life, Johnson goes on to suggest, attention has to be paid to both public representations and lived cultures, the characteristic feature of the cultural/ideological being the production of forms of consciousness (ideas, feelings, desires, moral preferences, knowledges, forms of consciousness of self).(71) Johnson argues that one cannot understand these aspects of consciousness unless an investigation of the structural and historical position, in different social relations, of particular social classes and groups is undertaken. In other words,

> We can't understand black cultures and white racisms without a structural account of the position of black people today or some knowledge of a long history of slavery and colonial plantation or conquest and empire.... We won't succeed in working with or across class cultural forms without some concept of class and some historical account that takes us deeper than the common sense of 'stratification', or the idea that 'class' is a residual cultural feature (like pin-striped trousers or posh accents). (72)

A sociological truism of the function of the school, we would assert, then, is to ideologically transmit the dominant culture of the ruling group in

society, even though such a simplified analysis is problematic. The rhetoric and discourse of official documentation conceals this role of education by purporting through its assumed consensus of interests and by concealment of the realities of unequal relationships between groups and society, to provide education for citizenship. Any such liberal and humanistic notions which expect the school to promote 'minority cultures' in its curriculum through a multicultural approach to education, we would consider, paradoxical, idealistic and nonsensical, and exemplifying a rather elementary knowledge and awareness of the functions of education and of its relationship with power and ideology. Most calls for cultural pluralism and a multicultural approach to education have been based at the level of 'awareness, understanding and tolerance of cultural differences'. No consideration, however, has been given by the cultural pluralist perspective to the forms of changes required in the social structure or organisation of society, such as structurally increasing the power of minority groups. Such strategies through an emphasis on cultural aspects and directed at change in peoples' attitudes about other 'cultures', can only be described then as extremely futile attempts at affecting any long term changes in the social and economic relationships between dominant and subordinate groups in society.

The philosophers of education, too, have been quick to point out some of the deficiencies of the multicultural approach. In a recent article published in the Journal of Philosophy of Education, Paul Zec suggests that the rationale for the prescriptive attitude of multicultural education is both obscure and mistaken.(73) The intellectual foundations which logically support multicultural policies and practices he suggests are inconsistent with the general prescriptive attitude. Multicultural education entails, as Zec points out, a rejection of cultural elitism and an explicit or implicit acceptance of some notion of relativism(74) since celebration of differences between cultures is central to the concept of multicultural

education. Such a basis of cultural relativism cannot, he argues, then provide a general framework for education of all in a culturally diverse society. In fact, cultural relativism, Zec suggests, provides logical support for the sorts of policies and practices which are inimical to what the advocates of multicultural education would want.(75)

One misconception of the cultural relativist position which Zec draws attention to is the view of Britain as a society of different and separate cultures. Cultural relativism encourages such a view since it erects theoretical barriers against interpenetration between cultures.(76) By differentiating between what he calls 'weak' and 'strong' relativism, Zec draws attention to the problems posed by relativism and the question of whether there can be a concept of education which is not culture bound.(77)

> It seems that to accept relativism is to accept the view that in a multicultural society the only choices between, on the one hand, the maintenance through education of a dominant culture (which is undesirable because elitist, anti-democratic, etc), and, on the other hand, the institution of separate but equal educational programmes for the transmission of their cultures to co-exist in cultural groups (which is also undesirable because it smacks of apartheid). Ruled out, it appears, by relativism is a non-ethnocentric, non-imperialist education for all in a multicultural society. (78)

It is precisely this latter approach, which is incongruent with cultural relativism, that the advocates of multicultural education propose. Building upon the strengths of cultural diversity which entails inter-cultural respect is not therefore possible for the relativist, as Zec argues.

How Zec attempts to resolve this incongruity is by proposing, as an objectivist, a unitary approach to multicultural education which sets its face against the relativism of knowledge, understanding and values and against educational separatism. I do not propose to launch into a discussion of Zec's proposals nor a philosophical discussion of the rights

and wrongs of the objectivist and relativist positions, except to reiterate some of my earlier comments - that any model of multicultural education based on a unitary approach which neglects the function of the school in transmitting the ideology and 'culture' of the dominant power group in society, and which does not take into account the social and economic inequalities of society and reflected within the educational system, is clearly problematic. The failure of approaches which attempt to achieve social justice through their concerns for the minutiae of education and which seek to provide 'equality of opportunity' for black pupils through a reappraisal of the curriculum do not appear to have enlightened the minds of the new breed of proponents of old methods.

In summary, therefore, we have argued that multicultural education arose essentially as a response to the problems of educability of black pupils and is inextricably linked with their educational failure - that as a result of the failure of the integrationist approach, educationalists sought other ways of making schooling more relevant and appropriate for the black pupil - that multicultural education is a way of appeasing and pacifying the separatist tendencies of some black groups who were dissatisfied with the educational system's response to the 'needs' of their pupils and is, in consequence, in comparison with earlier approaches, a more sophisticated form of social control serving the function of 'Cooling out' the resistance and reaction of black pupils against the lack of opportunity within an unequal educational system and a racist and discriminatory wider society.

Attempts by advocates of multicultural education to promote 'equality of opportunity' and 'social justice', we have argued, are based on an extremely naive and idealistic view of the nature of the social system and of the relationship of power and ideology to education in which schools are expected to be mechanisms for social engineering and a panacea for social

stress, and, by being microcosms of society, are expected to forge a new egalitarian and democratic society. The uncritical adoption and celebration of multicultural education has led then, we have suggested, to what Mullard calls "a racially-derived though culturally expressed" concept of multicultural education.(79) By considering its historical context, we have argued that the application of cultural pluralism, as a theory of social organisation for contemporary British society, and which provides the theoretical basis for the concept of multicultural education, is problematic for a number of reasons.

The notion of cultural pluralism, through an emphasis on cultural factors, we have argued, does not take account of the historical, social and political contexts - that the pluralist approach ignores the structural and institutional inequalities of society and the institutionalised differentiation of interests within in - that the pluralist approach, with its preoccupation with the unit of racial groups, does not recognise the divisions between racial groups and the structural and ideological basis of racism, that it tends, therefore, as Mullard has suggested,(80) to describe society as "an enclosed entity, unaffected by the world economic system and power relations" - that the multicultural approach had displaced and transformed the overt ideological forms of racism in favour of the more covert cultural form of ethnicism.

We have suggested that the concept of culture which excludes the hierarchical and antagonistic dominant and subordinate relationships between cultures, and ignores race, class or gender differences, is mistaken, misleading and dangerous. Through a consideration of the role of the school in terms of 'transmission of culture' we have argued that, although such a simplistic notion is problematic, schools are nevertheless not culturally-neutral but are mechanisms which 'transmit' a particular type of 'culture' and ideology - that of the dominant ruling group in society,

and one which because of its historical link is clearly racist in character - and that any liberal or humanistic notion which expects the school to not only tolerate but promote 'minority cultures' is paradoxical, idealistic and non-sensical, and reflective of an elementary knowledge and understanding of the process of schooling and of its relationship with power and ideology. We have argued, then, that any model of multicultural education, based on a unitary approach which neglects the role and function of the school in transmitting the ideology and culture of the dominant power group in society, and which does not take into account the social and economic inequalities in society is clearly problematic.

In a recently published brief paper, Chris Mullard has provided an excellend analysis of "The Social Context and Meaning of Multicultural Education".(81) In an extremely succinct and well-argued paper, written from a neo-Marxist viewpoint, he has offered a sound sociological framework within which multicultural education as an educational ideology can be viewed. The sociological perspective that underpins and informs the multicultural approach, he has argued, is interactionist and plural, one which views society in terms of a non-integrated multicultural system of class, status and ethnic groups. Based on a false representation of the actual nature of institutionalised racism and symbolised by an acceptance of and almost complete absence of any questioning orientation towards the dominant political, ideological and economic order, the social objective of the multicultural approach is a protection of the social order through multicultural policies and practices. In this respect, the social objective of the multicultural approach is not different from the earlier assimilationist and integrationist perspectives.(82) There is an explicit acceptance of the insignificance of conflict as a structural consequence and condition of the way in which the social relations of production and reproduction are legitimated in society. The multicultural approach, he suggests, is as "racist in character, structure, consequence and application" as the two

earlier approaches. Through an explicit acceptance of the racial structure of power and of the dominant social and political order which assumes fundamentally the relative absence of racism in society, and through a preclusion of not only the phenomenon of racism but also the relationship between racism and capitalism, he argues, the multicultural approach has tended to reproduce and thereby institutionalise and legitimize the relative powerlessness of blacks in society.

Mullard rightly draws attention, too, to the social context within which the multicultural approach has emerged, since it is within this context of institutionalised and personalised forms of racism and racial discrimination, and a deeply felt sense of injustice, frustration, anger and alienation on the part of the black community that the specific educational ideology of multicultural education has to be viewed. The social context within which multicultural education has emerged in Britain has been characterised by a crisis of capital within the international/racial setting of colonial reconstruction, resulting in "zero labour requirements". The ensuing political decisions have led to blacks acquiring effectively a migrant status, as symbolised by the contents of the new (1981) Nationality Bill, with its proposals of changes in repatriation procedures and the citizenship status of black 'immigrants'. The 'deep wedge of fear' between the police and the black community, the anti-black views of many prominent politicians, the growth of extreme-rith-wing movements such as the National Front and the British Movement and the substantial increase in racial attacks against black minorities, all factors which have culminated in an increased fear, frustration and alienation of the black community, resulting in the recent 'riots' in many British inner-city areas with large numbers of black residents provide essentially the social context within which multicultural education has to be seen, since it is, as has been argued, an educational response to the problems of educability of the black pupils, and effectively a means of social control.

CHAPTER 4 - NOTES

1. Bolton, E. (1979) "Education in a Multiracial Society" in 'Trends in Education', 4, Winter 1979, pp. 3-7.

2. Ibid.

3. Coard, B.(1971) "How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System", New Beacon Books, London.

4. Francis, M. (1979) "Disruptive Pupils : Labelling a New Generation" in 'New Approaches in Multiracial Education, 8,1, Autumn 1979, pp.6-9 : St. John Brooks, C.(1981) "What Should schools do with their Problem Children?" in 'New Society, 8 January 1981, pp. 44-6.

5. Stone, M. (1981) "The Education of the Black Child in Britain", Fontana, p.64.

6. See Chapter 3, note 12.

7. Bolton, E. (1979) op.cit.

8. Home Office (1978) "The West Indian Community : Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration", Cmnd 7186, HMSO, London, p.6.

9. Carby, H.(1980) "Multicultural Fictions", Stencilled Occasional Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, p.1.

10. I.L.E.A.(1977) "Multi-Ethnic Education", Joint report of Schools' Sub-Committee and Further and Higher Education Sub-Committee, London, Waterloo (01351), 8 November 1977.

11. Carby, H. (1980) op.cit.

12. Department of Education and Science (1977) "Education in Schools : A Consultative Document", Green Paper, Cmnd 6869, HMSO, London, July 1977, 1.10-1.11.

13. Carby, H. (1980) op.cit.

14. Mullard, C.(1980) "Racism in Society and Schools : History, Policy and Practice", Centre for Multicultural Education, University of London Insitute of Education.

15. Ibid, p.15.

16. Mullard, C. (1981) "The Social Context and Meaning of Multicultural Education" in 'Educational Analyses, 3,1, p.98.

17. The work of teachers through the National Association of Multiracial Education and organisations such as the Afro-Caribbean Teachers Association, are cases in point.

18. Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

19. Gundara, J. (1979) "Initial Appraisal of the Need for Multicultural Education", Centre for Multicultural Education, University of London Institute of Education.

20. Department of Education and Science (1977), op. cit.

21. Rex, J.(1981) "The Teacher and Multi-Cultural Education - The Societal Context", Unpublished paper presented to C.R.E. Conference on 'Multicultural Education', 3-5 April 1981.
See also Williams, J. (1979) "Perspectives on the Multicultural Curriculum" in 'The Social Science Teacher', 8,4, pp.126-133.

22. Ibid.

23. Holmes, E.A. Professor (1980) "Education that is Multicultural and quality : Discussion and Recommendations for Teacher Educators and Teaching Educators", Paper presented to C.R.E. 'Education for a Multicultural Society', Conference, University of Nottingham, 18 April 1980.

24. Ibid.

25. Lynch, J. (1981) "Educational Theory and pracitce of multi-cultural education" in 'ed.) Lynch, J. (1981) "Teaching in the Multi-Cultural School", Ward Lock Educational.

26. Rex, J.(1981) op.cit.

27. See Jeffcoate, R.(1979) "Positive Image : Towards a multiracial curriculum", Chamekon Books..
A discussion of arguments such as those put forward by Jeffcoate will be incorporated into our critique of the 'multicultural' approach later in the chapter. For a very lucid and comprehensive critique of Jeffcoate's position, however, see Carby, H. (1980) op.cit.

28. Ibid. p.26.

29. Ibid. p.26.

30. Rex, J.(1981) op.cit.

31. Gundara, J. (1979) op.cit., my emphasis.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Krug, M.M. (1977) "Cultural Pluralism - its Origins and Aftermath" in 'Journal of Teacher Education', 28, 3, pp.5-9, May-June 1977.
See also Kallen, H.M. (1924) "Culture and Democracy in the United States", New York, Boris and Liveright; and Kallen, H.M. (1956) "Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea", Philadelphis, University of Pennsylvania Press.

35. See, for example, Fairchild, H. (1910) "The Melting Pot", New York, MacMillan : and Fairchild, H.(1926) "The Melting Pot Mistake", Boston, Little, Brown and Company.

36. Krug, M.M.(1977) op.cit.

37. See, for example, Furnival, J.S. (1948) "Colonial Policy and Practice - A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India, London, Cambridge University Press, p.304, where he describes the cultural diversity as follows:

37. contd.

> "In Burma as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples - European, Chinese, Indian and native. It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals, they meet, but only in the market-place, in buying ans selling. There is a plural society with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines".

38. See, for example, Smith, M.G. (1965) "The Plural Society in the British West Indies", Berkeley, University of California Press; (eds.) Kuper, L. and Smith, M.G. (1971) "Pluralism in Africa", Berkeley, University of California Press; Kuper, L. (1974) "Race, Class and Power", London, Duckworth.
Smith has distinguished between 3 types of societies; (a) homogeneous, (b) heterogeneous, and (c) plural.
(a) Homogeneous societies are those where all groups within a political unit share the same total institutional system.
(b) Heterogeneous societies are those in which all groups share the same basic institutions (e.g. economy, education) but participate at the same time in alternative and exclusive institutions. The U.S.A. is a case in point.
(c) Plural societies are different from the other two types in that groups within a political unit also practice differing basic institutions. Each group, as in the case of Furnival's descriptions, has distinctive educational, religious and economic institutions, sharing only a common political organisation which binds them together. The Union of South Africa is probably an example of this form of organisation.

39. Johnson, N.B. (1977) "On the relationship of Anthropology to Multicultural Teaching and Learning" in 'Journal of Teacher Education, 28,3, May-June 1977, pp.11-15.

40. Mullard, C.(1981) op.cit.

41. Ibid.

42. Carby, H. (1980) op.cit.

43. Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

44. Cross, M. (1980)"The Paradoxes of Pluralism : Theoretical and Empirical Explorations", Paper presented to the Research Committee on Ethnic, Race, and Minority Relations. World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden, 18 August 1980 - quoted in Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

45. Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit., p.99-100.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p.113.

48. Ibid.

49. Baron, S. et al. (1981) "Unpopular Education", Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, Hutchinson, p.27.

50. Ibid. p.140.

51. Ibid. p.29.

52. Ibid.

53. See, for example, Jeffcoate, R. (1981) "Why multicultural education?" in 'Education, 3-13', 8,3, p.4-7, in which he argues in favour of promoting "the cultural neutrality of the school".

54. Althuser, L."Ideology and Ideological State apparatuses" in 'Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays", 1971. New Left Books.

55. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) "Schooling in Capitalist America : Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life", Routledge and Kegan Paul.

56. Bourdieu, P. (1971) "Symbolic Power" in (ed.) Gleeson, D. "Identity and Structure", Nafferton Books. See also
Bourdieu, P.(1971) "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought", in (ed.) Young, M.F.D. "Knowledge and Control", Collier Macmillan :
Bourdieu, P. (1973)"Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction" in (ed.) Brown, R. "Knowledge, Education and Social Change", Tavistock.

57. Bernstein, B. (1975) "Class, Codes and Control", Vol. 3, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

58. Baron, S. et al. (1981) op.cit., p.18.

59. Gramsci, A. (1971) "Selections from the Prison Notebooks", Lawrence and Wishart, p.12.
By 'hegemony' is meant "the spontaneous consent given by the great mass of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by dominant fundamental group".

60. Mullard, C. (1980), op.cit.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. See, for example, Department of Education and Science (1981), "The School Curriculum", London, HMSO, particularly the section relating to 'Educational Aims'.

65. For a detailed exploration of the linguistic methods by which official documents present a communality of interests see Donald, J. (1979) "Green Paper : Noise of Crisis" in 'Screen Education', 30, Spring 1979, pp. 13-49.

66. Carby, H.(1980) "Multiculturalism" in 'Screen Education', 34, Spring 1980, p.65.

67. Department of Education and Science (1977) op.cit., my emphasis.

68. Carby, H. (1980) op.cit., p.3.

69. Carby, H.(1980) op.cit., p.65.

70. Johnson, R. (1980) "Cultural Studies and Educational Practice", in 'Screen Education', 34, Spring 1980, pp.5-16.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., p.15.

73. Zec, P. (1980) "Multicultural Education : what kind of relativism is possible?", in 'Journal of Philosophy of Education', 14,1, pp. 77-86.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. A 'weak' relativist is one who, for example, takes into account another person's cultural background before passing judgement on his conduct whilst a 'strong' relativist would deny that beliefs, social practices and conduct rooted in cultures other than one's own are understandable and analysable (particularly from an 'objective' viewpoint), except by means of the concepts employed within those other cultures.

78. Zec, P. (1980) op.cit.

79. Mullard, C. (1981) op.cit.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. For a further discussion of the similaritites in the three approaches, see the conclusion.

CONCLUSION

The main focus of our dissertation has been a discussion of the way in which, ideologically, the educational system has responded to the presence of black pupils since their earliest arrival in British schools in the 1950s. We have highlighted three distinct types of ideological responses, the assimilationist, the integrationist and the cultural pluralist approaches to education, which have governed the philosophy of and determined the policy-decisions of educationalists and decision-makers to the presence of a racial factor in British education. In our discussions we have considered at some length the social scientific features and characteristics of the distinctive ideological approaches whilst examining briefly the historical and social contexts within which these particular ideologies were predicated as the goals governing the educational responses to black pupils.

The earliest ideological responses to the education of black pupils in British schools in the 1950s and early 1960s, we have suggested, were characterised by assimilationist goals and translated into policy-terms through 'ad hoc' responses. Black pupils were conceptualised in problematic terms and the general educational ideology of compensation was thus translated into the more specific educational ideology of 'immigrant education'. The main concerns of educationalists and decision-makers at this stage were, as we have suggested, with the question of how best to assimilate black pupils into 'British culture' and society. Education was considered to be the principal mechanism through which the goal of assimilation was to be achieved. The primary concerns, then, were with the provision of English language teaching and the dispersal of 'immigrant' pupils from inner-city schools to suburban areas, since inadequate English and 'large concentrations' of 'immigrant pupils' in certain inner-city schools were both considered to be obstacles to the 'integration' of black pupils into the host society.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, the integrationist approach to the education of black pupils had superceded the earlier assimilationist perspective. 'Unity through diversity' was the guiding philosophy of this new approach, which emphasised the distinctiveness of different racial, cultural and ethnic groups in society. In place of 'acculturation', 'accommodation' was the main goal of the integrationists, and this was to be achieved through a much more planned and detailed educational and social programme to enable the racial minorities to be 'integrated' into 'British culture' and society. 'Multi-racial education' was the specific educational ideology which governed the response of some educationalists to the education of black pupils. Nevertheless as we have argued - the general educational ideology within which 'multiracial education' was predicated as the more specific educational response to black pupils was one of 'disadvantagement', and underpinning this philosophy was still the conception of black pupils, and the black minorities as a whole, as 'problems'. The integrationist philosophy, however, implicitly encouraged cultural autonomy and separatism, as we have argued earlier. It was a failure of the integrationist approach to reconcile such a movement that, in part, we have suggested, contributed to the emergence of the cultural pluralist perspective of society in the 1970s, and the ensuing multi-cultural approach to education.

The ideology of multicultural education which is governed by the cultural pluralist conception of society, and which has replaced the integrationist approach to the education of black pupils is, we have asserted, essentially an educational response to the problems of educability of the black pupil and the related question of his underachievement. Although justified in terms of its relevance and appropriateness for the education of all pupils in a multicultural society, the concept of multicultural education is still seen by most educationalists in terms of meeting the 'needs' of black pupils. Multicultural education, we have argued, then, is a form

of social control. It is an educational concept which, through providing 'relevant education' for black pupils, in effect provides an avenue for the dissipation and dilution of the resentment, the resistance and the threat that black pupils are seen to pose for schools, the education system and the wider society. Multicultural education has, we have suggested, more to do with classroom control than it has with providing black pupils 'equality of opportunity'. Through a discussion of the historical origins of the concept of cultural pluralism and by making problematic the notion of cultural pluralism we have asserted that multicultural education is based on a false conception of the plurality of contemporary British society - that through its emphasis on 'culture' and 'ethnicity', the multicultural approach has sought to diffuse the racial situation and racial relations - that by emphasising a uniformity of interests through its preoccupation with the unity of racial groups, the multicultural approach has sought to stress the cohesiveness of society and that by ignoring the differentiation of interests amongst racial, ethnic and cultural groups the educational ideology has been preoccupied with projecting an image which concerns itself with 'equality' and 'equality of opportunity'. Multicultural education has, then, as one commentator has suggested, deracialised racism. It has provided a channel for containing the effects of racism on black pupils. As Hazel Carby has suggested, "the refusal to acknowledge the effects of an institutionalised racist society means that multiculturalism is limited to plastering over the cracks".

There are a number of similarities between the ideologies of the three different approaches which have informed and governed the thinking and policy-decisions of decision-makers concerning the education of black pupils. Chris Mullard, employing a neo-Marxist mode of analysis, has argued that there are five critical tendencies which are common to all

three approaches and which shape the similarity in relationship between them. Has has suggested that multicultural education does not reflect an inherently new and autonomous paradigm but represents, instead, "a continuation of old interests in new conceptual clothing". What he means by this is that the multicultural approach is as racist in character, structure, consequence and application as the earlier assimilationist and integrationist approaches which it has replaced. As he has argued, all three approaches have tended to preclude any critical discussion of racism and of the relationship between racism and capitalism. The multicultural approach, he suggests, is linked at all levels in its theoretical construction, presentation and social orientation to the assimilationist and integrationist perspectives, that the nature of the link is as much ideological, political and economic as it is theoretical. One common feature of the three approaches is that they all reflect a similar conceptualisation of and orientation towards the dominant social order, through a false representation of the actual nature of institutionalised racism within society - that the assimilationist approach accepts unconditionally the social order as it is, whilst the integrationist and multicultural approaches accept it conditionally.

Another common feature of the three approaches which Mullard has drawn attention to and which we have suggested earlier, is the explicit (in the case of the first two approaches) and implicit (in the case of the multicultural approach) acceptance of and almost complete absence of any questioning orientation towards the dominant political ideological and economic order. There is not only uncritical acceptance that society is 'multicultural' and 'plural' but an uncritical and unquestioning adoption of the multicultural approach to education.

An explicit acceptance of the insignificance of conflict as a structural

consequence and condition of the way in which the social relations of production and reproduction are organised and legitimated in society, Mullard suggests, is another common characteristic of all three approaches. Conflict, like racism, then, becomes merely a descriptive term, and is not seen as a consequence of the nature of the social order, of the class or racial relations in society. Thus, all three approaches through an explicit acceptance and/or theoretical embodiment of the racial structure of power tend to reproduce and hence institutionalise and legitimise the relative powerlessness of blacks in society, since the predominant set of interpretations made about the position and role of blacks in society is in problematic terms, from white middle-class based interests, which discount altogether black definitions or interpretations of the 'problem' as they perceive or experience it or of the social position that they find themselves in.

All three approaches, Mullard has suggested, explicitly fail also to incorporate theoretically the structural and ideological basis and presence of racism in society, and its historical relationship to the expansion, contraction and crisis of capital, which have essentially provided the economic context in which the ideologies of assimilation, integration and cultural pluralism have emerged. Racism then becomes a purely social psychological phenomenon, extracted from its historical context and where the institutionalised and structural bases of racism are totally neglected in its description and analyses.

These, then, are the five critical tendencies common to all three approaches which Mullard has highlighted. He goes further, however, to suggest that all three approaches possess implicitly a racist structure - one which, symbolised by their common social objective of protections of the social order, assumes fundamentally the absence of racism in society, and one which has been built into the theoretical and conceptual structure

of each approach. These undoubtedly have certain implications for the role and position of black minorities in society, which we shall consider briefly.

What we have suggested thus far, then, is that all three ideological responses to the education of black pupils have not only fundamentally accepted the nature of the social order but contributed in effect to a maintenance and perpetuation of that order through their policy prescriptions - that all three types of responses are in consequence a reflection of the dominant hegemonic ideology which perceives blacks as problems and seeks to perpetuate the subordinate social position of black minorities as an 'underclass' - that the three approaches do not effectively contribute to the educational or social advancement of black minorities which they purport to do, but provide effectively a second-class education for second-class citizens, and serve instead white middle class interests by providing career-structures for such individuals in a growth industry. It has been suggested, then, that the institutional developments in multiculturalism, generally, but more specifically in multicultural education, have been more in the interests of white middle class careerists, more concerned with classroom control than they have been in the interests of black pupils in schools and black minorities as a whole.

We have already considered some of the implications of the uncritical adoption of multicultural education for black pupils. Further institutionalisation of multicultural education could lead, as Mullard has indicated, to the polarisation and differentiation of pupils (and their parents) along ethnic criteria; the sanctioning or legitimation of ethnic differences rather than social similarities as a major reason for the development of pedagogic practices, orientations and reflections; the reorganisation of the school curriculum to meet ethnic as opposed to educational needs as a

priority; a further socio-academic endorsement of certificated subjects for the majority of pupils through the creation of ethnically based non-certificated subjects (such as Afro-Caribbean or Asian Studies) for black pupils; the recruitment of teachers on the basis of their ethnic background and interests as opposed to their teaching abilities and qualifications; and finally, it could also lead to, what Mullard calls, "an ethnically-reconstituted form of authority, control and discipline in schools". In brief, the uncritical adoption and celebration of multicultural education could lead to a form of separate but unequal educational policy prescriptions which have the consequence of providing an inferior type of education for black pupils and thus serving to generate their subordinate position in society.

Finally, as a post-script to this dissertation, we would like to project a few thoughts about the role of multicultural education as an educational philosophy guiding the education of black pupils in relation to the social position of black minorities and of the role of education as a means of social mobility.

The emergence of multicultural education, we have argued, has been inextricably linked with the underachievement of black pupils in schools. We have considered the variety of forms of explanations which have been put forward by researchers and suggested that primarily, the causes of underperformance have been located in the class-cultural backgrounds of the pupils. We would assert that within the educational system - and more specifically within schools, pedagogic practices, teacher-pupil interaction, teacher attitudes and expectations are more fundamental factors which have contributed to the educational failure of black pupils - factors, which are arguably more important than the content of teaching, the curriculum, although to view these in isolation and not as interrelated would be a gross error. We would thus place the emphasis on teacher

attitudes and expectations and the whole process of educational selection within schools which we would suggest need to be investigated and researched more thoroughly, and within which we would argue can be located some of the more fundamental causes for black educational failure. Teachers' preconceptions of the backgrounds and perhaps related abilities of pupils will inevitably contribute greatly to the expectations the teacher has of the performance of the pupils. When such attitudes and preconceptions are negative, and the subsequent expectations low, they can only have the effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Pupils' self-perceptions are shaped by the way in which the educational system thus defines them. Black pupils, as we have suggested, are considered to be class-culturally deprived. It is not this concept of cultural deprivation which, as Nell Keddie has suggested, needs to be investigated, it is more the effect and consequences of its institutionalisation, not least by teachers, which need to be studied more closely.

Any expectations that black pupils will benefit within a school system which thus categorises rather than socialises or educates them, can only be a pious hope. Within the educational system, unless educational policies are directed at fundamental changes in the attitudes of teachers and teacher-educators, at bringing about a fairer process of selection based on ability rather than preconception and categorisation, pupils who are considered to deviate from the norm in anyway will continue to underachieve - unless, of course, as many have already done and continue to do, they develop strategies to 'beat the system' and thus do not allow the obstacles to hinder their educational and social advancement. Unless the selective mechanism of the school system, and indeed the biases of the social system as a whole become variables, no amount of schooling or manipulation of the educational system will bring about the reality of 'equal opportunity' any nearer for black pupils. Until there is a shift of emphasis whereby race and racial minorities cease to be seen in

problematic terms, and the causes of black educational failure begin to be located not within their class-cultural backgrounds but within the educational system, within schools and teachers, unless racism begins to be seen not as a 'black problem' but as a problem of the white metropolitan society, a problem of dominant ideology trying to come to terms with a system of beliefs built up over generations and based fundamentally on explicit or implicit notions of the superiority of the 'white races', any attempts at overcoming the problems of black failure in schools or of structurally increasing the power of black minorities in order to achieve a better social status than that of a subordinate 'underclass' are bound to be futile and a failure, until such factors are recognised, taken account of and remedied. This, in the short-term, however, must remain a pipe-dream.

The debate about the education of black pupils and the theory of multicultural education as a response to this has to take place in the context of the role and functions of education and of the educational system as a whole. Education is considered by many as a mechanism which assists in the process of social mobility. This appears to be much more the case for black minorities since the avenues for achieving social mobility and social enhancement within the existing social structure are limited for these groups. Education thus takes on an even more important role for them as a means of enhancing their social status. It would not be erroneous to suggest that many members of black minorities have achieved a good deal of social mobility and enhanced their social status through the adoption of strategies to 'beat the system' and succeed despite all odds against them in a discriminatory system. Nonetheless, the educational failure of black minorities as a group, is a reality, and as a consequence, their opportunities for social mobility are further reduced. In fact, as has been suggested earlier, education could become a means of social differentiation,

categorisation and legitimation of an 'underclass'. The increasing numbers of black pupils in E.S.N. schools but more particularly in the lower streams of comprehensive schools provides some evidence for this.

We have suggested earlier that the unitary and self-contained national model of education needs to be called into question, not so much because of the diversity that exists within it but due primarily to the inequality and privilege incorporated within such a model. Much conservative and liberal ideology which see the educational system as a mechanism for creating and maintaining the unity of the nation-state thus diffuse the inherent conflict and differentiation of interests contained in such a conceptualisation. We are not concerned here with the avowed aims and goals of education as projected through official discourse and documentation. What is more important is an interpretation of the role of education through an analysis of the effects and consequences of particular policies and practices for different groups in society. Such a conceptualisation is inevitably dependent upon one's particular conception of the nature of society and of the guiding political ideology which determines such a conceptualisation. Education, we would assert, will not assist in the social mobility of black minorities as a group. It is debatable as to whether education in isolation can effectively perform this function. The educational system, we view as performing a functionalist role in society in terms of transmitting the hegemonic ideology of the dominant group in society, and having an interdependent relationship with other institutional structures in society. We would thus consider the role of education much more in terms of a differentiation of interests whereby through the processes of labelling and categorisation certain groups are 'educated' and 'trained' to perform certain functions in society - effectively to serve the labour needs of a capitalist economy and thus the interests of the dominant capitalist class.

Multicultural education as an educational ideology, we have suggested, through the provision of an inferior-type of education for black pupils thus helps to generate the subordinate position of black minorities in society. Any long-term changes in the position of black minorities in society will not result effectively from concerns for the minutiae of education through tinkering with the content of schooling, or even with the organisation of schools. Effective long-term changes will only stem from a recognition of the nature of the social system, of the system of social and racial relations within it, and of action based upon such a recognition. They have to be based upon an acceptance of a stratified social system which discriminates in favour of dominant groups in society and against minorities - they have to be based on an acceptance of the reality of racism, in both its institutionalised and personalised forms, and of class and gender differentiation, which are all part and parcel of the predominant system of social relations. Long-term changes in the position of racial minorities thus require political action, which can only effectively result from a political awareness and a political will to affect change. Political action, however, will not emanate without political power. Power, then, is the linch-pin in any effective political change. An increased political consciousness and awareness on the part of the racial minorities, more political power through a greater involvement in the decision-making processes at all levels may be steps in the right direction, since at the very least, it gives these groups the opportunity to project their own perceptions of the 'problems' as they see them. Otherwise, any semblance of 'equality' for black minorities will remain a pipe-dream, as will any attempts to achieve it through the educational system and the process of schooling.