

## **The state, race, and education in the 1980s**

Source 1: ILEA anti-racist policy statement and guidelines (ILEA, 1983)

Source 2: Extract from 'Sexism and Racism: Partners in Oppression' by Hazel Taylor (ILEA, 1984)

Source 3: Extract from The Swann Report: 'Two Distinct Themes' (within multicultural education) (HMSO, 1985)

**SOURCE 1: ILEA anti-racist policy statement and guidelines (ILEA, 1983)**

The Authority is committed to eliminating racism and to take such action as it properly can to remedy its effects.

All educational establishments, through their staff and governing or managing bodies and in association with communities should prepare and publicise carefully thought-out statements of their position. This must be seen as part of the Authority's legal and educational commitment.

Anti-racist guidelines for ILEA establishments developing their own anti-racist policies:

1. Place the issue firmly on the school/college agenda and make time for discussion and development
2. Come to grips with racism is in its historical context
3. Consider how racism can and does operate in the school/college's particular circumstances
4. Analyse both directly conscious racist behaviour and what the Rampton Interim Report terms 'unconscious racism'
5. Analyse both individual behaviour and the policies and practices of the school/college
6. Analyse the behaviour and practices of individuals and services that impinge upon the life of the school/college
7. Draw upon the advice and experience of others, including other schools/colleges and those with specialist knowledge and experience

**SOURCE 2: Extract from ‘Sexism and Racism: Partners in Oppression’ by Hazel Taylor (ILEA, 1984)**

A headteacher said to me before half term, at the end of a seemingly useful and constructive talk, ‘of course, all this would be fine if my school was all white, but I don’t want to upset the Asian parents’. What did he mean? (The real headteacher of my quotation was indeed a man.) Did he mean that within white Western culture there is no potential conflict for girls who wish to pursue a wider range of roles than those commonly ascribed to their gender? Did he mean that there is one homogeneous Asian culture, the apparent challenging of which would produce uproar? Did he mean that what was being discussed – equality of two groups of human beings, differentiated not by their ‘race’ but by their sexual characteristics – was actually somehow less important than the acceptance of the beliefs of a particular group of parents? Did he mean that his own commitment to sexual equality was so tenuous that it was comforting to justify lack of action by citing a reason which sounded liberally acceptable?

**SOURCE 3: Extract from The Swann Report: ‘Two Distinct Themes’ (within multicultural education) (HMSO, 1985)**

The most obvious difference between the early days of assimilation and integration, and the concept of multicultural education is that whereas the former focused primarily on seeking to ‘remedy’ the perceived ‘problems’ of ethnic minority children and to ‘compensate’ for their perceived ‘disabilities’, multicultural education has usually tended to have two distinct themes – firstly, meeting the particular education needs of ethnic minority children and secondly, the broader issue of preparing all pupils for life in a multi-racial society. These two broad themes are of course very much interrelated and indeed in our view, interdependent, but in order to seek to disentangle the developments which have taken place in the field of multicultural education, we shall consider each of them in turn.

## **The demand for Anti-racist education**

Source 1: Extract from The Rampton Report: Table C 'CSE and O Level Achievements' and Table D 'A Level Achievements' (HMSO, 1981)

Source 2: Extract from The Swann Report: 'Evidence from Students of Caribbean and African Origin'

Source 3: 'School Student Speaks Out', ALTARF Newsletter (All London Teachers Against Racism & Fascism), No. 22 October 1986, pp. 4-5

Source 4: Extracts from Maureen Stone, *The education of the Black child: the myth of Multiracial Education* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981)

**SOURCE 1: Extract from The Rampton Report: Table C ‘CSE and O Level Achievements’ and Table D ‘A Level Achievements’ (HMSO, 1981)**

**TABLE C CSE AND O LEVEL ACHIEVEMENTS**

	<b>Leavers in 6 LEAs</b>			<b>All maintained school leavers in England</b>
	<b>West Asians</b>	<b>West Indians</b>	<b>All other leavers</b>	
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	
No graded results (includes those not attempting exams)	19	17	22	14
At least 1 graded result but less than 5 higher grades	63	81	62	66
5 or more higher grades	18	3	16	21
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

**A LEVEL ACHIEVEMENTS**

Table D shows that **2% of West Indians** gained one or more A Level pass compared with **13% of Asians** and **12% of other leavers**.

**TABLE D A LEVEL ACHIEVEMENTS**

	<b>Leavers in 6 LEAs</b>			<b>All maintained school leavers in England</b>
	<b>West Asians</b>	<b>West Indians</b>	<b>All other leavers</b>	
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	
No A Level pass	87	98	88	87
One or more A Level pass	13	2	12	13
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

**DESTINATION AND TYPE OF COURSE TO BE FOLLOWED**

Table E shows that **1% of West Indians** went on to university compared with **3% of Asians** and **3% of other leavers**.

**SOURCE 2: Extract from The Swann Report: 'Evidence from Students of Caribbean and African Origin' (HMSO, 1985)**

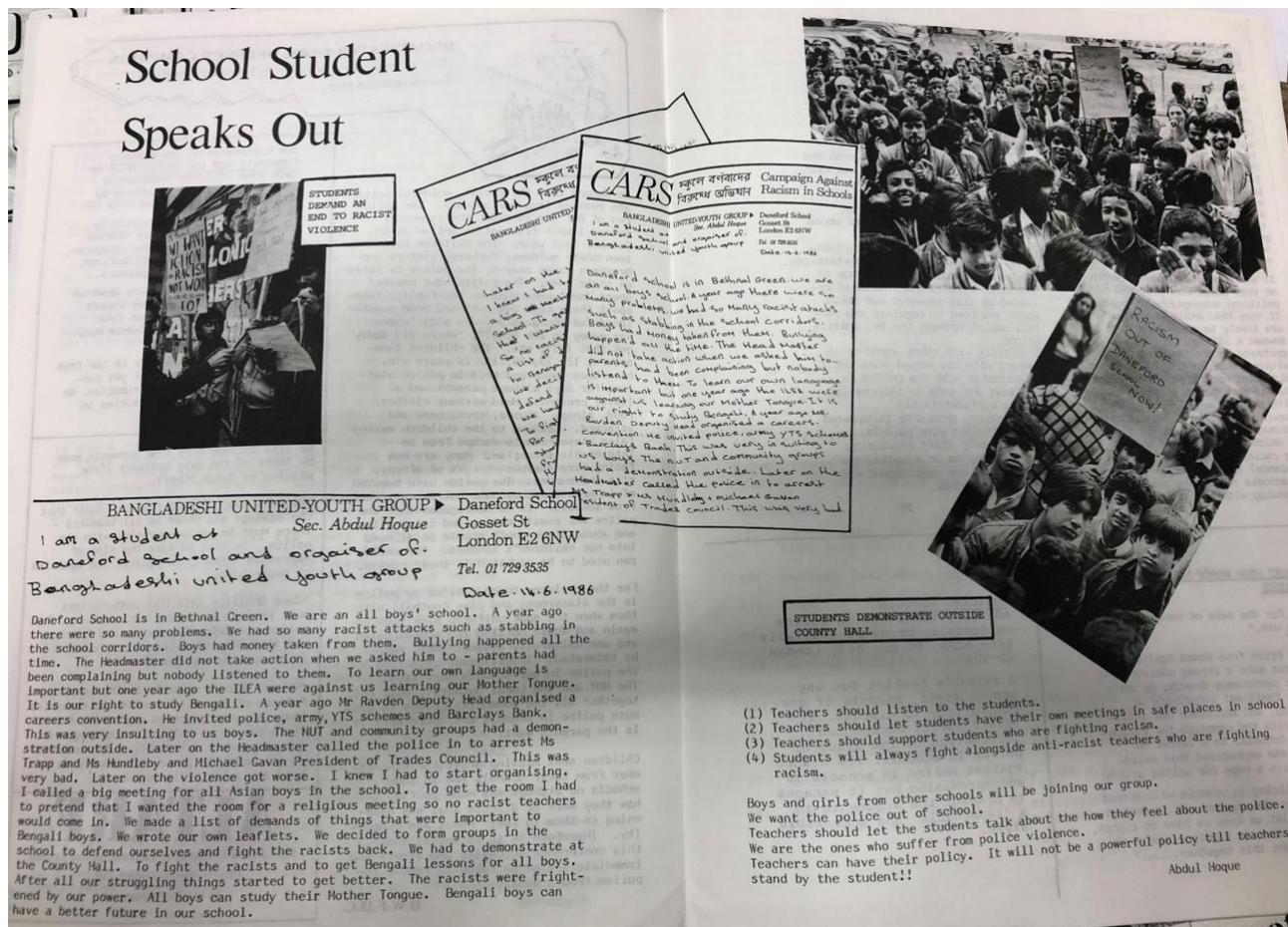
The quotations which follow are selected from the oral evidence of 18 students brought together by the National Union of Students from universities in different parts of the country and following a variety of degree courses including law, anthropology and education:

“... I'm not West Indian... but I consider myself black now, and I am half and half. But I made it, absolutely perfectly through the system, through grammar school, 11-plus, university ok... I personally denied my blackness, because that is how I made it in the system... I wasn't taught anything about myself as a black child or a child that was not necessarily white, except I was sometimes held up as the nicest token coloured girl. I lived in a nice middle class, country rural area... It wasn't until I left university and actually faced the reality of going out and getting a job and things like that did I actually recognise that there was something wrong... I couldn't now go and get a really good job unless it's ... to be a teacher or get involved with the race relations industry, because I am not going to make it in a successful sense as whites are supposed to make it... and the way I was brought up to think I could achieve.”

“The problem here is this idea of multi-culturalism which has been brought down from above somewhere and the idea blacks were still supposed to be interested in Rastas, in reggae, and mangoes and coconuts. They do not see the correlation between the other cultures in this country. In terms of Asians, they are here for the same reasons that West Indians are here, they have different cultures but they have a common struggle. That is, multi-culturalism is not recognised, they are recognising the difference but they are not recognising the common struggle which is the problem of housing; education, police and the society. And if teachers were to be sensitive to that I think they could go a lot further...”

**SOURCE 3: 'School Student Speaks Out', ALTARF Newsletter (All London Teachers Against Racism & Fascism), No. 22 October 1986, pp. 4-5**

**School Student Speaks Out**



**STUDENTS DEMAND AN END TO RACIST VIOLENCE**

**CARS** Campaign Against Racism in Schools  
BANGLADESHI UNITED-YOUTH GROUP  
1 am a student at Daneford School and organiser of Bangladeshi united youth group

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**RACISM OUT OF DANEFORD SCHOOL NOW!**

**STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE OUTSIDE COUNTY HALL**

**BANGLADESHI UNITED-YOUTH GROUP**  
Sec. Abdul Hoque  
I am a student at Daneford School and organiser of Bangladeshi united youth group  
Date: 14.6.1986

**Daneford School**  
Gosset St  
London E2 6NW  
Tel. 01 729 3535

Daneford School is in Bethnal Green. We are an all boys' school. A year ago there were so many problems. We had so many racist attacks such as stabbing in the school corridors. Boys had money taken from them. Bullying happened all the time. The Headmaster did not take action when we asked him to - parents had been complaining but nobody listened to them. To learn our own language is important but one year ago the ILEA were against us learning our Mother Tongue. It is our right to study Bengali. A year ago Mr Ravden Deputy Head organised a careers convention. He invited police, army, YTS schemes and Barclays Bank. This was very insulting to us boys. The NUT and community groups had a demonstration outside. Later on the Headmaster called the police in to arrest Ms Trapp and Ms Handleby and Michael Gavan President of Trades Council. This was very bad. Later on the violence got worse. I knew I had to start organising. I called a big meeting for all Asian boys in the school. To get the room I had to pretend that I wanted the room for a religious meeting so no racist teachers would come in. We made a list of demands of things that were important to Bengali boys. We wrote our own leaflets. We decided to form groups in the school to defend ourselves and fight the racists back. We had to demonstrate at the County Hall. To fight the racists and to get Bengali lessons for all boys. After all our struggling things started to get better. The racists were frightened by our power. All boys can study their Mother Tongue. Bengali boys can have a better future in our school.

(1) Teachers should listen to the students.  
(2) Teachers should let students have their own meetings in safe places in school.  
(3) Teachers should support students who are fighting racism.  
(4) Students will always fight alongside anti-racist teachers who are fighting racism.

Boys and girls from other schools will be joining our group.  
We want the police out of school.  
Teachers should let the students talk about the how they feel about the police.  
We are the ones who suffer from police violence.  
Teachers can have their policy. It will not be a powerful policy till teachers stand by the student!!

Abdul Hoque

[see larger version overleaf]

**SOURCE 4: Extracts from Maureen Stone, *The education of the Black child: the myth of Multiracial Education* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981)**

p. 8 – By focussing on self-esteem, it manages to ignore the vast body of evidence showing that working class and black families have much less access to power, to resources of every kind, than middle-class children. ‘Self-concept’ becomes a way of evading the real, and uncomfortable, issue of class and privilege in our society.

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p. 22 – The idea that middle-class schools and teachers can influence the self-concept of the majority of working-class or black pupils could only have arisen in a theoretical vacuum. Those teachers of working-class children who believe they can provide an environment for the development of positive self-concept within schools, without reference to the social structure which ultimately determines their pupils’ role in society and thus their ultimate life chances, are operating within a philosophical tradition which says that the aims of education should include the free development of personality in a society which hierarchically structured along fairly rigid class lines and where schools are explicitly or implicitly charged with socializing children (of whatever social or racial background) into the cultural values of the dominant groups.

## **Curricula and the practise of ‘multicultural’ and anti-racist education**

Source 1: Commission for Racial Equality, ‘Teaching about India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan’, *Education and Community Relations*, 4 (February 1976)

Source 2: Extract from Fairfield Grammar School (Bristol) School Magazine (1976) [document reference 21131/SC/FAI/PM/4/5, Bristol Archives]

Source 3: Extract from *Is Your Anti-Sexist Work Racist?* by Valerie Davis (ILEA, 1984)

Source 4: I. Aronovsky & C. Sikorski, ‘Teaching about racism in social studies in Newham’, in ALTARF, *Challenging racism* (London: ALTARF, 1984)

Source 5: Equal Opportunities statement, Quintin Kynaston School (1982)

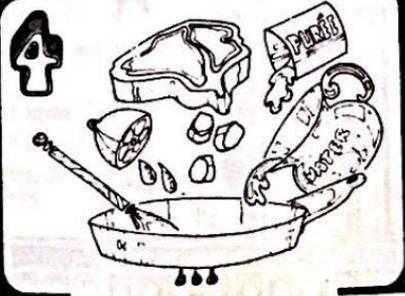
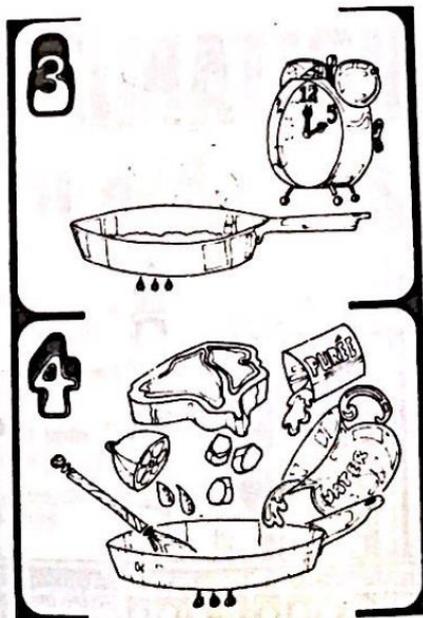
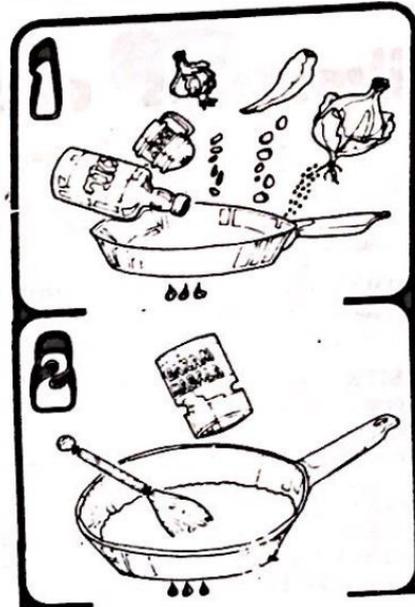
**SOURCE 1: Commission for Racial Equality, 'Teaching about India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan', *Education and Community Relations*, 4 (February 1976)**

# HOME ECONOMICS

**MRS BALBIR SINGH'S INDIAN COOKERY**, Mills and Boon, 1961 (reprinted 1975), £2.50, SBN 263 05691 0. Starts with useful sections on Indian culinary methods and ingredients and continues with a very wide range of recipes — meat dishes, rice cookery, vegetarian dishes, curries, bread, sweets, savouries, pickles etc. (for sample recipes, see *Education and Community Relations*, Vol 3, No 7, July/August 1973).

**THE HOME BOOK OF INDIAN COOKERY**, Sipra Das Gupta, Faber 1973, £2.60, SBN 571 10222 0.

**INDIAN COOKERY**, Dharamjit Singh, Penguin 1970, 75p, SBN 140 46141 8. A good book for the more experienced pupil or student, who is seeking an introduction to Indian cooking.



**SHOPPING.** The best places for advice on cooking as well as foodstuffs themselves are the many Asian grocery and vegetable shops in any area of Asian settlement. In such areas you will also find shops selling saris, other textiles, jewellery etc.

**FAMILIES AND HOMES ON THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT**, Mariyam Mahmood Harris, four articles from VCOAD, Parnell House, 25 Wilton Road, London SW1.

**SOME LIFESTYLES OF INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH**, Home Economics Lifestyles Working Party, ILEA Media Resources Centre, 1975, 50p. A source book on Asian groups in Britain, compiled by a team of home economists. Includes bibliography, resource list, introduction to three main religions, information on Asian family life and personal names and sections on food and festivals.

**SOURCE 2: Extract from Fairfield Grammar School (Bristol) School Magazine (1976)**  
[document reference 21131/SC/FAI/PM/4/5, Bristol Archives]

**THE BRISTOL WEST INDIAN DRAMA GROUP**

Fairfield School is in one of the main multi-racial areas in Bristol, where Blacks, Pakistanis, Indians and other groups live as well as whites. These races organise their own social groups and clubs to promote and enjoy their own ethnic culture.

One of these groups is the West Indian Drama Group of which I have been a member since 1972. The aim of the group is to promote West Indian poetry and drama.

The group was founded in 1967 and led by Stanford Mighty. The very first play performed by the group was called 'Granite'. The next main production by the group was for the St. Pauls Festival in 1972 and was called the 'Firstborn'. The play was written by Christopher Fry who was born in Montpelier and the play is about the struggle of Moses in the Old Testament to free the Israelites from Slavery in Egypt which ended in the death of the Firstborn. The play was directed by Angela Rodaway and this was the first time she took over the organisation of the group and is still directing today.

In 1973 we did two small pieces from the 'York Cycle of Mystery', called the 'Nativity Sequence' and the 'Flood Sequence'. Also we did some small pieces for the Bristol 600 exhibition on the Downs.

1974 was a new era in the group; we started writing our own plays as well as using works by West Indian writers. One of these plays written during November 1975 was called 'How Do You Clean a Sunflower'. It was about people who lived in Jamaica and emigrated to England. The play is about their feelings towards their adopted country and the problems West Indians face in England. The play was quite successful, and won the Observer Newspaper National Playwright Competition in conjunction with the Royal Court Theatre in London. The play was taken to London and members of the group who wrote the play acted in it. Following this trip to London in November 1975 we were twice asked back, once for a weekend in Lewisham (a pre-dominating West Indian area) and again for 8 days at the Royal Commonwealth Institute for their 3rd world exhibition. This was the first time we acted and were paid as professionals (unfortunately only for a week).

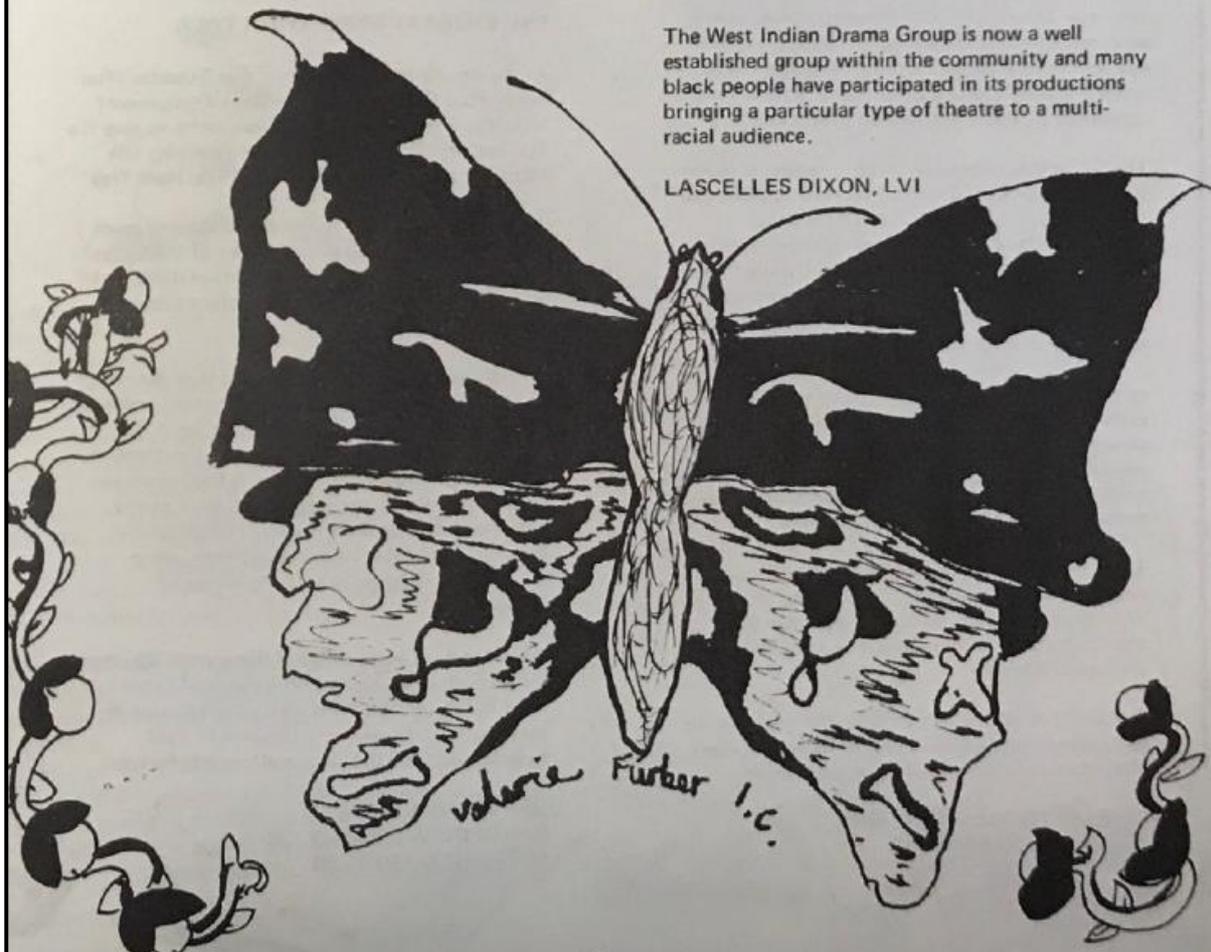
In 1975 'Mrs. Rochester' was written by the group. The play was based on 'Jane Eyre' by Charlotte Bronte on the assumption the Mr. Rochester was black.

In March 1976 the group made an appearance at the Avon Youth Festival in Bath which included 'Mrs. Rochester' and other small comedy pieces.

The group is now working on two pieces for an 'Anti-Apartheid Conference' in June.

The West Indian Drama Group is now a well established group within the community and many black people have participated in its productions bringing a particular type of theatre to a multi-racial audience.

LASCELLES DIXON, LVI



**SOURCE 3: Extract from ‘Is Your Anti-Sexist Work Racist?’ by Valerie Davis (ILEA, 1984)**

Institutional response to the demands of Black people and feminists is reflected in three different, but interlinked, theories of education. Assimilationist education as practised in the 1950s/60’s led to Multi-cultural developments in the 1970’s and presently to Anti-racist/Anti-sexist education in the 1980’s. All those concerned with education today must examine and discuss openly their ideas about anti-racist/anti-sexist education if we are to avoid the mistake that marred multi-cultural education; namely the absence of a political framework. When educationalists adopted some aspects of the Black Studies movement they omitted an analysis of class and race which is essential to any examination of inequality, past and present. This neutralisation of the issues led to curriculum developments that centred on diversity and a celebration of culture.

**SOURCE 4: I. Aronovsky & C. Sikorski, 'Teaching about racism in social studies in Newham', in ALTARF, *Challenging racism* (London: ALTARF, 1984)**

The course is of twelve units with worksheets, questions and back-up information. It begins with a cross cultural simulations game, and is structured around three films – *Why Prejudice?*, BBC TV, and two of the *Our People* series from Thames. Local information and newspaper cuttings are an important feature.

**AIMS AND CONTENT**

The course explores prejudices and racism in order to create an understanding of why they occur, change attitudes and encourage young people to oppose racism themselves. More specifically the aims are:

1. To look at prejudice and stereotyping relating them to Britain's Imperialist history and to understand the racist and class structure of Britain in the context of imperialism and neo-colonialism.
2. To learn why Asian and Afro-Caribbean people have settled in Britain and in Newham.
3. To expose commonly held racist myths about immigration, employment, housing, education, and crime.
4. To examine the facts and consequences of racial discrimination nationally and locally in all these areas today.
5. To create an understanding of the reasons for housing inequality and unemployment in Newham.
6. To show the history and contribution of Black people in Britain.
7. To look at the history of prejudice to immigrant groups in the East End, and to relate this to racism, racial harassment and violence in Newham today. To put the history of prejudice in the context of the growth of fascism in 20th century Europe and to show what its consequences were and are.
8. To look at contemporary anti-racist struggles and their implication for black and white youths in Britain.

**SOURCE 5: Equal Opportunities statement, Quintin Kynaston School (1982)**

**QUINTIN KYNASTON – EQUAL OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL  
EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES**

*Q.K. is a COMPREHENSIVE school. That means it is for everybody. In this school, we believe that everyone has a right to equal chances. Sometimes, people get 'put down' because of their colour or their race. Some people still think boys are better than girls. Q.K. school has policies about this.*

**RACISM**

- There are more than 33 languages spoken at Q.K.
- That means our students' families have come from all over the world.
- People at Q.K. are glad that it is a multi-cultural school.
- You'll learn about many different cultures and countries.
- You'll also find out and discuss why people are prejudiced against other people.
- If anyone tries to 'put you down' because of your race or colour, religion, nationality, language or culture, the school will support you.
- Please report any racist comments or behaviour to a teacher or your head of year.

**SEXISM**

- There are no "girls'" subjects and "boys'" subjects. For the first three years, everyone does the same subjects. After that, you choose
- You'll get lots of advice and help, when it's time to choose. You are encouraged to think about what's best for YOU.
- You'll learn about how people grow up thinking that women are not as good as men. At Q.K., we know that's not true.
- If anyone tries to 'put you down' because of your sex, the school will support you.
- Please report any sexist comments or behaviour to a teacher, or your head of year.

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**OUR SCHOOL COUNCIL**

Q.K. has a school council where people with complaints or ideas can be heard.  
If you want to work against racism or sexism, join your year Council.

**REMEMBER**

Nobody is better than anybody else. Treat everyone with the same respect as you expect yourself.

## **Critiques of and responses to ‘multicultural’ and anti-racist education**

Source 1: ‘The Seven Deadly Sins’, extract from ‘The wrecking of our schools’, *Daily Express* 5 November 1986

Source 2: Extract from ‘An erosion of freedom’ by Ronald Butt, *The Times* 13 March 1986

Source 3: ‘1984 ILEA Headteacher Appointments (GLC Anti-Racist Year ILEA Anti-Racist Initiatives?)’, Hackney Black Teachers’ Group (1984)

Source 4: Extracts from Paul Gilroy, ‘The end of anti-racism’, in Wendy Ball and John Solomos (eds.), *Race and local politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 191-209

SOURCE 1: 'The Seven Deadly Sins', extract from 'The wrecking of our schools', *Daily Express*  
5 November 1986

# THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

**1** **ANTI-SEXISM.** This goes far beyond getting more girls into physics classes. In Haringey, there are gay rights watchdogs in schools. In Ealing Lesbian LinkLine is advertised on school notice boards. Armed with evil pro-gay literature, the aim is to undermine heterosexuality and family values.

**2** **ANTI-RACISM.** This policy plank is used in the more extreme cases to fire racial hatred, not extinguish it. Witness the furore over the Honeyford and Savory cases. These were the teachers who faced the wrath of their town hall masters by pointing out that whites, too, could suffer in multi-racial schools. Brent and Ealing are appointing "race snoopers" to schools, while many Labour councils have outlawed gollies as racist. Now Sandwell Metropolitan Council in the West Midlands has decreed two cartoon chimps called Bangers and Mash are offensive to blacks.

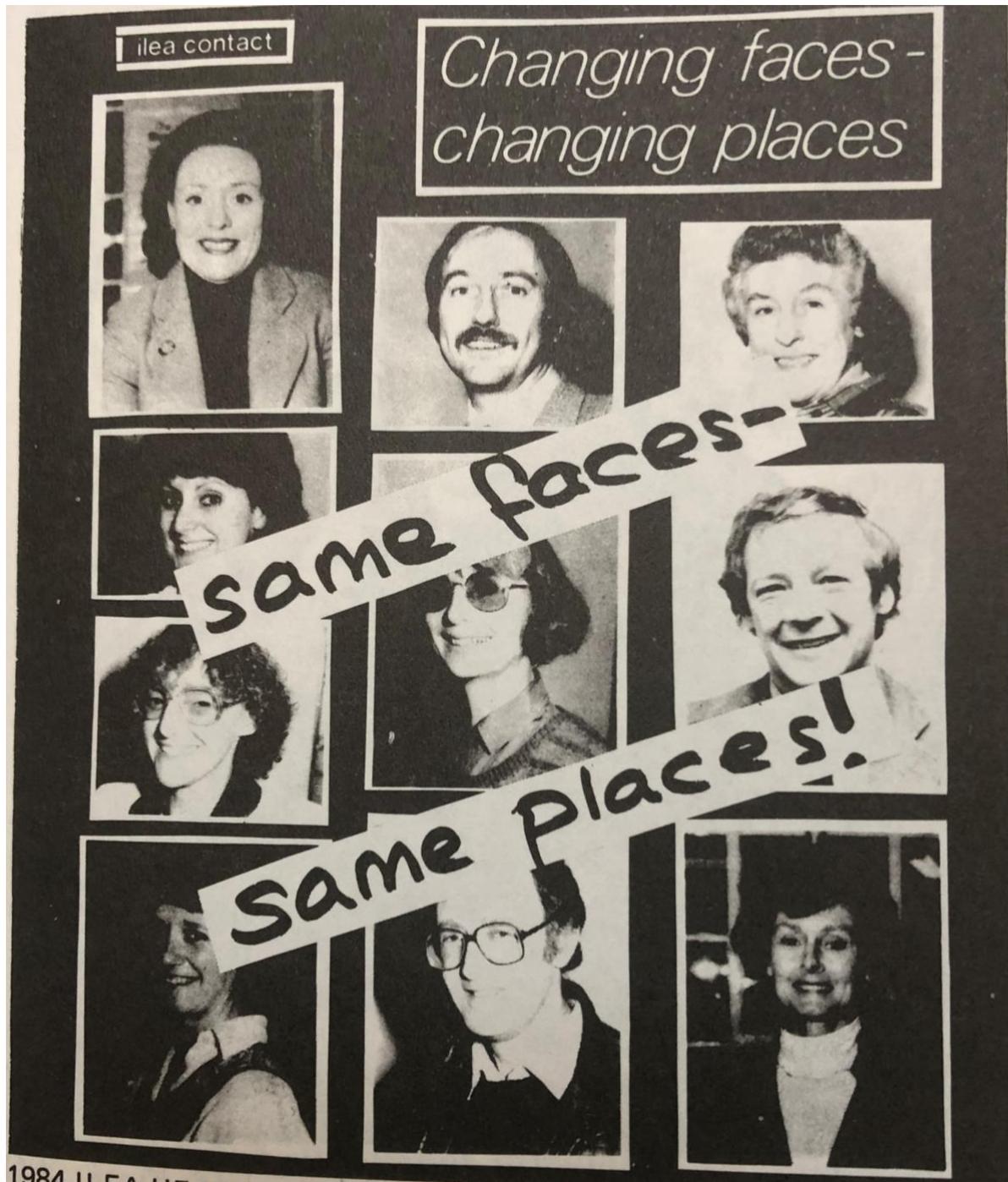
**3** **PEACE STUDIES.** A bogus subject now offered by many socialist authorities, cutting time for traditional subjects. Not only is it useless in helping pupils get jobs, it is slavishly anti-American and, too often, a platform for CND propaganda.

**SOURCE 2: Extract from ‘An erosion of freedom’ by Ronald Butt, *The Times* 13 March 1986**

The free expression of opinion is under threat in parts of Britain, and democracy is being destroyed by a ruthless minority using intimidation and the caucus to bully any resisters into submission. This is not another reference to the Militants of Lambeth and Liverpool but to something even less open, and therefore more dangerous. It concerns the comparatively arcane world of education. What I shall describe is happening in one city, Bristol, but there is good reason to think that it is not unique. One of the most powerful weapons used in this campaign is the charge of racism, and so fearful are many people of being smeared with it that they fear to defend the falsely accused. The accusers define racism to suit themselves, write the label and stick it on those they wish to destroy, denouncing their victims with the veracity of Titus Oates.

This is what happened to Jonathan Savery, a teacher of English to children from ethnic minorities in Bristol. His is a second Honeyford case, but if anything, rather worse. Savery is threatened simply because he believes his duty is to do the job he was appointed to do of helping these children by teaching English, instead of indoctrinating them with a provocative and disruptive creed going by the name of “anti-racism” – the demand made by a militant group of colleagues who have virtually taken control of the Avon Multicultural Centre (MEC), by which Savery is employed.

**SOURCE 3: '1984 ILEA Headteacher Appointments (GLC Anti-Racist Year ILEA Anti-Racist Initiatives?)', Hackney Black Teachers' Group (1984)**



**SOURCE 4: Extracts from Paul Gilroy, 'The end of anti-racism', in Wendy Ball and John Solomos (eds.), *Race and local politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 191-209**

p. 193 – It is certain that we have to devise ways to move beyond anti-racism as it is presently constituted. I must emphasise that I am thinking not of anti-racism as a political objective, or a goal which emerges alongside other issues from the daily struggles of black people, from the practice of community organisations and voluntary groups, even from the war of position which must be waged inside the institutions of the state. I am not talking about the ongoing struggle towards black liberation, for there is much more to the emancipation of blacks than opposition to racism. I am thinking instead of anti-racism as a much more limited project defined simply, even simplistically, by the desire to do away with racism.

The anti-racism I am criticising trivialises the struggle against racism and isolates it from other political antagonisms – from the contradiction between capital and labour, from the battle between men and women. It suggests that racism can be eliminated on its own because it is readily extricable from everything else ... Their activism is now able to sustain itself independently of the lives, dreams and aspirations of the majority of blacks whose experience they derive their authority to speak.

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p. 208 – Anti-racist activities encapsulate one final problem which may outlive them. This is the disastrous way in which they have trivialised the rich complexity of black life by reducing it to nothing more than a response to racism. More than any other issue this reveals the extent of the anti-racists' conceptual trading with the racists and the results of embracing their culturalist assumptions. Seeing in black life nothing more than an answer to racism means moving on to the ideological circuit which is visible in two complementary roles – the problem and the victim. Anti-racism seems very comfortable with this idea of blacks as victims.