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EDUCATION AND RACISM: A STUDY OF THE TEACHERS' AND
THE PUPILS' RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOLING OF BLACK BOYS

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Doctor of Philosophy

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SUMMARY

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This thesis examines the teachers' and the pupils' relations in the schooling of black boys. The study using the methodology of participant observation focusses on one school (Kilby) in an area of black population in an English city. The thesis' s intentions are two fold: firstly, in order to examine these relations, two major aspects of their interaction are addressed, that of the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research, and, the identification and examination of the anti-school pupils' sub-cultures. Two substantive questions are asked: what is the response of the teachers to the schooling of black pupils? and, what is the meaning of the pupils' resistance to schooling? Secondly, in attempting to answer these questions and offer a critique of the dominant 'race-relations' culturalist explanation of black youth's response to schooling, a theoretical framework has been developed which takes account of both the 'economic' and the 'sociological' perspectives. Methodology allowed and pointed to the importance of examining the teachers' ideologies and practices as well as those of the black boys. It is argued that a class analysis of the racially structured British society is more adequate than the conventional ethnic approach in explaining the black boys' location within Kilby school. Hence, it is posited that the major problem in the schooling of black youth is not that of their culture but of racism, which pervasively structures the social reality at Kilby school. Racism is mediated both through the existing institutional framework that discriminates against working-class youth and through the operation of race specific mechanisms, such as the process of racist stereotyping. It is thus further argued that the Kilby school teachers are of central causal significance to the problems that the boys encounter. Furthermore, it is in response to these racist ideologies and practices that both West Indian and Asian pupils develop specific forms of collective resistance, which are seen to be linked to the wider black community, as legitimate strategies of survival.

Keywords: RACE AND SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

There is a sense in which my interest in this research can be said to have begun while I was receiving my secondary education. I won a scholarship to a private school as a boarder, but in the fifth year I was expelled for what was vaguely called my general attitude towards the staff. The decisive event that led to my expulsion was the organizing of a group of friends to boycott the annual sports day, which was of important institutional significance to which local dignitaries were invited. After being warned by our housemaster that our withdrawal was dishonourable to the house, we privately decided to follow the letter of the law and signed up for one event, the throwing of the cricket ball. The headmaster understood the significance of our symbolic protest with the loss of six of the school's best athletes. The following day, I was called to his study where he explained to me his incomprehension and deep regret that a gifted youth had thrown away the opportunities one acquires with a good education.

When I came to study sociology, I began to systematically formulate an understanding of my resistance to schooling within a sub-cultural group of working class 'scholarship' boys, whom the staff saw as culturally deficient. I had implicitly sensed their hostility to my Irish working-class background and refused to collaborate with them in its denigration. I have since come to value much of the cultural

capital that they attempted to impose on me. Like other socially mobile working-class youth I came to make a distinction between their limited pedagogy with its discriminatory class and racist ideology, which I had rejected and the 'high culture' heritage which in a class society is defined and appropriated by the power holders but is of universal value. However, when I came to carry out research in Kilby school, a majority black all boys comprehensive in the West Midlands conurbation, I did not initially use these insights in formulating my research problem.

After completing a masters degree in education, I had difficulty in finding a teaching post for my probationary year. In September 1980, I was appointed at Kilby school to teach English as a Second Language. During the second term, I came to my research partly as a result of working with the careers' teacher, who informed me of the high proportion of the pupils who were achieving poor academic results and of their resulting high level of unemployment. I decided to focus on their transition from school to work and to investigate the relationship between the West Indian and Asian pupils' response to schooling and their future location within the labour market. The dominant perspective of 'race-relations' research, official reports and teachers is to define the 'problem' of schooling black pupils in terms of the ethnic structure of the black community. At this early stage of the research I implicitly shared the assumptions of this approach.

However, using the methodology of participant observation, while examining the anti-school West Indian pupils' response to schooling, I came to see the internal logic and legitimacy of their sub-cultural resistance to racism. I recognized similar patterns of adopted strategies of survival as those I had employed as a schoolboy and, I began to see that the Kilby school teachers held similar cultural assumptions on the basis of race, concerning the black pupils' social behaviour as my teachers had employed on a class basis to explain my deviancy. This changed perception of these anti-school pupils lead me to reformulate my research problem in terms of an examination of the teachers' and the pupils' relations at Kilby school, which is now the focus of this study. Two central elements of the teacher-pupil interaction are investigated. Firstly, the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research is addressed. The question is asked: what is the Kilby school teachers' response to the schooling of black boys? Secondly, there is the identification and examination of the anti-school pupils' sub-cultures and the question is asked: what is the meaning of the pupils' resistance to schooling?

These substantive empirical questions have theoretical implications. A further aim of this study is to offer a critique of the dominant 'race-relations' culturalist explanation of black youths' response to schooling, by adopting a theoretical approach that takes account of both the 'economic' and the 'sociological' perspectives.

It is argued that a class analysis of the racially structured British society is more adequate than the conventional ethnic approach in explaining the black boys' location within Kilby school. It is posited here that the major problem in the schooling of black youth is not that of their culture but of racism. It will be demonstrated in the case-studies that a wide range of racist mechanisms are in operation, including of particular importance, the system of racist stereotyping. It is thus further argued that the Kilby school teachers are of central causal significance to the problems that the boys encounter and that, both the West Indian and Asian pupils' forms of collective resistance, which are seen to be linked to the wider black community are legitimate strategies of survival. Methodology allowed and pointed to the importance of examining the teachers' ideologies and practices as well as those of the black boys.

Relative to other areas of research there has been little study of the location of black youths of West Indian and Asian origin, within the schooling system. This paucity of information is all the more serious given the fact that increasing numbers of young blacks are seen to be 'failing' at school (Tomlinson, 1981a). It is hoped that an examination of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school will provide some understanding of the dynamics of the subordinate position that these pupils occupy within schools. It can be argued that the education system is part of a wider system of constraints which, often unwittingly,

helps to maintain blacks in a position of an underprivileged 'underclass' (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). This study is particularly urgent at a time when one of the major functions of schooling, that of the preparation of youth for the labour market is called into question, as youth unemployment is no longer seen as a temporary phenomenon but a long-term structural problem.

Llewellyn (1980: 42) writes of how much of the existing sociological literature on youth and education systematically neglects gender and makes it invisible. The study as reported here appears to follow a similar methodological approach of excluding half the population from sociological research. However, this does not reflect the reality of the ethnographic work. The black women's activities, within the Kilby community, on the picket lines and on anti-racist demonstrations challenged any sexist stereotypes of them as simply the 'mothers' or the 'girlfriends' of the boys who were the main focus of this study. Furthermore, they contributed extensively to this research, providing fruitful insights into my understanding of the black community's experience of living in a racially structured society. Nevertheless, the primary concern of this research is the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school, and due to the all male pupil population and majority male staff there, this study tends to focus on the position of boys and men and to neglect the position of women.

The report of this research is divided into five further chapters. Chapter two is a review of the previous work in the fields of the three major areas of concern, that of the sociological perspectives of racism, of teachers' ideologies and practices, and of pupil adaptations and strategies. The main studies that have had a significant impact in these fields and the major concepts that have been developed are outlined and assessed, and there is a discussion of the 'economic' and the 'sociological' perspectives in each of these areas and of the need to link them. The study's theoretical position is informed by this framework and is presented here.

Chapter three is an examination of the main policy changes at a national level of multi-cultural education during the last 30 years. The shift from assimilation to plural integration with its culturalist assumptions is illustrated and paralleled with the earlier response to white working-class educational failure. The limitations and contradictions of the state's multi-cultural models are discussed.

Chapter four discusses the methodological and theoretical approaches adopted in the research. Both the review of literature and the methodological procedure informed the development of my theoretical position. There is a detailed account of how the methodological concerns influenced the 'making' of the research problem with reference to the theoretical shift which took place during the study.

The methodological and data collection considerations and techniques are outlined and the rationale behind the research design is explained focussing on the need to combine and integrate quantitative and qualitative approaches. Significant biographical details of the researcher and his relationship with the teachers and pupils who were the subjects of this study are discussed.

In an attempt to describe the complex nature of the schooling process from both the teachers and the two main anti-school pupil sub-cultural perspectives, three case-studies were constructed . The next three chapters deal with these case-studies and here the results of the intensive participant observation and interviewing are reported. Chapter five addresses the study's first major concern, that of the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research and attempts to answer the question of the teachers' response to the schooling of black boys. It begins with a description of the structure and location of Kilby school and sets the scene for a detailed historical account of the white staff's social images of the black community since the school opened. The different ideologies and practices of the teachers who are the subjects of this study are identified. The ethos of the school, and the teachers' response to the implementation of a multi-cultural curriculum is described. There is an analysis of teacher racism with a particular focus on the process of racial stereotyping and its relation to the system of classification.

Chapters six and seven deal with the study's second major concern, that of the identification and examination of the anti-school pupils' subcultures and attempts to answer the question of the meaning of the pupils' resistance to schooling. Chapter six examines the West Indian Rasta Heads group and begins with an explanation of their 'visibility' within the school. Their social location is described focussing on the function of sub-cultures for working-class youth, their relationship with their parents and the black community's response to the effects of the changing socio-economic conditions on Kilby's local economy. The members of the Rasta Heads group are introduced with details of their parents' occupations, housing situation, educational background and career at Kilby school, and the teachers' and other pupils' perception of them. Having examined the lack of teacher-pupil contact, the formulation of their sub-culture is presented in terms of a response to institutional racism with particular consideration given to such cultural elements as their style and toughness. This leads onto a detailed account of their rejection of schooling and teacher strategies, followed by a discussion of the implications of their response for multi-cultural education.

In contrast to the 'visibility' of the Rasta Heads, the next chapter is concerned with an examination of the 'invisibility' of a group of Asian anti-school pupils. The members of the Warriors are identified and, selected

biographical features are provided of their family background and school-achievement. The formulation of the group and their adoption of a Rude-boy sub-cultural tough image is described. There is a discussion of the relationship between class and the response to racism, both within the Kilby community and the school. The Warriors' rejection of schooling is illustrated with reference to their anti-authoritarian and anti-racist approach.

The conclusion summarizes the main findings and discusses some of the implications of this study of teacher-pupil relations. The study's limitations and areas of fruitful further research are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Racism: Sociological Perspectives

- i) The Ethnic Approach
- ii) The 'Sociological' Tendency: Rex's Approach
- iii) The 'Economic' Tendency: a Marxist Approach
- iv) The New Racism

2.3 Teacher Ideologies and Practices

- i) Teacher Ideologies
- ii) Socio-cultural Reproduction Theories
- iii) Teacher Typification
 - a) Labelling Theory
 - b) Teacher Expectations
- iv) Teacher Bureaucracy and Professionalism
 - a) Teacher Bureaucracy
 - b) Teacher Professionalism
- v) Summary

2.4 Pupil Adaptations and Strategies

- i) Black Community's Political Structure
- ii) Sociology of Youth: 1950's - 1970's
- iii) Generational Theory and Black Youth
- iv) Class Analysis and Black Youth
- v) Summary

2.5 Summary

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous research that has been conducted in the areas of sociological perspectives of racism, of teacher ideologies and practices and, of pupil adaptations and strategies. Hall (1980: 2-6) argues that recent work on racially structured societies can be divided into two broad tendencies: the 'economic' and the 'sociological'. The economic tendency is so called because economic relations and structures are seen, in the final analysis, as having a determining effect on the nature of the social formation. The second perspective, the sociological tendency, is characterized by the analysis of race within a framework capable of being defined by a number of social or cultural considerations depending upon the specific context, the economy being only one of these considerations. In each of the major areas of concern in this study, these broad tendencies can be observed and will be used as a framework within which to address the primary questions of this research which are: what is the Kilby school teachers' response to the schooling of black youth? and, what is the meaning of the pupils' resistance to schooling? It is argued that neither a 'sociological' nor an 'economic' analysis is adequate on its own to fully describe the schooling of black youth. The former approach in the sociology of education shows little concern for structural links and constraints and tends to concentrate either on the teachers' or the pupils' perspective. The 'economic' approach leads to a similar distorted view of the schooling process with

its overemphasis on the social control function of schools with little account of the pupil forms of negotiation and resistance. It is proposed that the teacher-pupil interaction at Kilby school will be more fully understood if both levels of analysis are employed and schooling is viewed as a whole process linked to wider social processes.

2.2 Racism: Sociological Perspectives

The first area of concern is the nature of the racially structured British society. There have been a number of sociological approaches to this question. However, before discussing these, it is necessary to look at the theoretical approach of the dominant culturalist perspective of 'race-relations' research, which was referred to in the introduction and of which other sociological perspectives are highly critical.

2.2.1 The Ethnic Approach

Ballard and Driver (1977: 543) who are influential representatives of this approach, appropriately entitle their article 'The Ethnic Approach'. They argue that:

When West Indians first came to Britain as migrant workers in the 1950's, it seemed to many that they were black Englishmen and Englishwomen. Their own group interests and identities were often suppressed by the needs of the moment. Now both they, and especially their children, are developing

and demonstrating more open hallmarks of their ethnic affiliation, of their experience of being West Indians in Britain ... Asians by contrast have had a much less openly aggressive impact upon the British scene. Yet the issues have been more numerous in their case While we cannot disregard the inescapable fact of colour, many social tensions associated with race relations are really centred around cultural differences. ... Economic disadvantage and ethnic diversity are not two sides of the same coin ... The negative concept of racial disadvantage fails to understand the positive vitality of ethnic minority institutions. To act as if minorities did not create a corporate existence of their own is unrealistic and absurd. A central political issue at all levels in our society is how much acceptance is to be given to the separate development of ethnic communities.

The primary focus of this culturalist perspective is obviously the distinctive cultural elements of the ethnic minorities. It is argued that as a result of their experience of being prevented from assimilating into British society, they, especially the second generation, are now emphasising their common culture and celebrating their ethnic identities. This is demonstrated in the symbolic significance of Rastafarianism for West Indian youth and in the re-adoption of the wearing of turbans and saris for Asian youth (Ballard, 1979: 127). However, this ethnic affiliation is not seen merely as a defensive reaction against racial discrimination but has a positive force of its own. So, for example, the relatively more successful social position of Asians compared to West Indians, particularly in employment and education, is explained in terms of the former group's

cultural strength and unity (Khan, 1979). Similarly, Driver (1980) suggests that the improvements in the educational performance of second generation West Indian females results from the strengths of their ethnic structure, such as the strong matriarchal West Indian family organization. These theorists have emphasized the positive elements of ethnicity, but it is also seen as a handicap of ethnic minorities.

Although this perspective receives much theoretical criticism from other sociological approaches, it nevertheless remains a most significant 'common-sense' ideological explanation of the black community's experience of British society.

The significance of its 'common-sense' explanatory power is highlighted by the fact that its critics contradictorily employ its assumptions to describe the social position of the black community. As Figueroa (1982: 43) points out in his critique of Hall and associates' work (1978), one of its major weaknesses is that in adopting these assumptions they reinforce negative stereotypes. Also, the significance of the ethnic approach can be seen in relation to the implementation of multi-cultural education. Historically, the shift from assimilation to integration in the mid-1960's involved teachers becoming informed about the cultural background of black pupils. In the 1980's, a concern with black pupils' distinctive cultural attributes remains a central focus of multi-cultural educational practice.

A number of criticisms of the limitations of this approach have been made. Firstly, as Mercer and Prescott (1982: 102) argue:

Minorities, especially of West Indian and Asian origin, are the victims of racism to such a marked degree that it is irrelevant, even harmful, to be analysing the situation in terms of cultural pluralism.

Secondly, the emphasis on cultural differences as causal of the black communities' problems, may easily lead to a justification of racism with different ethnic groups seen as competing for scarce resources in employment, housing and other social services. Cross (1978: 27) clarifies the logic of this approach in relation to West Indians:

What must be stressed is the danger of perceiving the culture of an immigrant group, particularly one subject to possibly more than three hundred years of close British control and direction as the cause of the problems which the group faces in this country. There is a correlation between cultural unfamiliarity and racial problems, but the former is not the cause of the latter ... The official definition of racial issues as intimately related to immigration has firmly, but falsely, shifted the blame for racial problems onto those who lack of power and political influence makes it all but impossible for them to fight to relocate the blame elsewhere. It is a classic case of 'blaming the victim'.

This is of particular significance as the negative aspect of ethnic differences as a handicap has been the major focus of 'race-relations' policy-makers, welfare professional practitioners, including teachers and social workers, and the more repressive agents of social control, such as the police and the courts.

Thirdly it is on the basis of culturalist assumptions that Asian youths' assumed absence from counter-cultural groups has been explained (Anwar, 1976; Livingston, 1978). In the case studies it is demonstrated that these culturalist assumptions have served to make 'invisible' Asian youths' participation in counter-cultural practices in their resistance to racism.

Fourthly, the term 'ethnicity' is employed as a politically neutral category but in fact serves as a racist euphemism for the black community with the 'second generation', many of whom were born in Britain, contradictorily assigned the same immigration status as their parents. The role of bureaucrats in the welfare professions in this process of converting political questions into technical and administrative problems will be examined later in the chapter. In contrast to the black community, the cultural attributes of the Irish, the largest immigrant group in Britain, is unproblematically of little concern. So for example, English teachers are not interested in learning about roman catholic religious practices, Gaelic football, or ceillies, nor, more importantly, do they assume that such knowledge is necessary in order to understand the educational performance of pupils of Irish origin. However, this is not to argue that the Irish do not experience racism. As Jackson (1963) informs us these cultural assumptions were of significance in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, when there

was much overt racism against the Irish. The legacy of these racist stereotypes are still present today. The Irish military struggle over the last fifteen years has been accompanied by the re-emergence of the 'Irish joke' at the forefront of English humour, with its ideological emphasis on the cultural inferiority of the Irish.

Fifthly, as with white immigrants and their children, the 'ethnicity' of the white indigenous population is unproblematically taken for granted. This main 'ethnic' group is absent from the culturalist analysis. Ballard and Driver (1977: 354) themselves indicate the theoretical inadequacy of their use of the term ethnicity in relation to their suggested policy solution to the question of racial disadvantage. They suggest that the authorities must recognize the right of and provide the means for ethnic communities, including the 'ethnic majority' to "bargain and come to terms with each other". It is difficult to see how this general increased provision of financial support will benefit the "black ethnic groups" whom they identify as "disadvantaged".

Finally, the major weakness of this approach is that by focussing on the 'ethnic attributes' of the black community, they fail to recognize the fundamental significance of their social location in a class society. As Mercer and Prescott (1982: 102) argue:

The most significant feature of the minority experience is not their ethnicity but their place in the class structure. Their relative powerlessness ensures that they will remain in a subordinate position politically and culturally. Again in these circumstances a meaningful cultural pluralism is impossible.

2.2.ii The 'Sociological' Tendency: Rex's Approach

The most stimulating of recent work on the analysis of racially structured societies has come from Marxist (Hall, 1978, 1980; Sivanandan, 1976, 1978; and Green, 1980), quasi-Marxist (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Nikolinokos, 1975) and Left Weberian (Rex, 1970, 1973, 1978; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979) theorists. Such work has argued that the study of 'race-relations' cannot be reduced to models of individual pathology or subjective discrimination and, as pointed out above, following Hall (1980: 2) can be divided into two broad tendencies: the 'economic' and the 'sociological' in which Hall includes the work of Rex. I shall begin with an examination of Rex's work, to which the above Marxist theorists address themselves.

Rex (1973: 157) critical of the classic Marxist definition of class, as determined by the relationship to the means of production, suggests that:

Class position in a modern society cannot be solely and simply defined in terms of men's relations to the means of production or simply in terms of the workplace. It refers to a whole complex of rights, which though they may be in the long run derivative from a man's industrial position, has implications in many other social spheres as well.

In the Weberian tradition he sees classes as existing in each of the primary market situations of employment, housing and education, in which groups compete for scarce resources. Hall (1980: 11-12) describes the way in which Rex has employed Weberian stratification theory in his extensive examination of blacks' position in the housing market.

... in his work on immigration and housing, Rex distinguishes between and within economic groups in terms of the stratification of the 'housing market' - in relation to which he identifies a set of distinct 'housing classes'. It follows that the groups dominant in each 'market situation' do not cohere into anything so singular as a single ruling class, in the Marxian sense. Instead, one must generate, according to each empirical case, a range of ideal-typical 'market-situations', the sum of these plural structures constituting the social formation. This does not mean that the analysis excludes questions of 'exploitation'. This is not however a 'general' feature but one which remains to be specified in each individual case.

Rex and Moore's work (1977), criticism of which will be considered later, remains a classic non-reductionist sociological study of the operation of institutional

racist mechanisms working against the black community and maintaining them within the different 'allocative systems' at the lowest positions.

In his later work Rex with Tomlinson (1979) theoretically develop this analysis of blacks as forming an "underclass" which on the one hand suggests systematic disadvantage compared to the white working-class that they experience across all of the allocative systems but, more positively the concept also suggests that in not identifying with white working-class political and cultural institutions and community life, they have formed their own organisations which must be understood in relation to a "wider political conflict, arising from the restructuring of a formerly imperial society" (p.275). Having established this concept as of central theoretical significance, Rex and Tomlinson (ibid, pp.275-6) then proceed to present a summary of their conclusions emphasising the distinct class position of blacks and the role of racism in maintaining social divisions between the white and black working class. They maintain:

1. That although there is some considerable overlap between the experience of West Indians and Asians and their white working-class neighbours, this is not sufficient to justify the expectation that within, say, a generation the minorities will have been absorbed into and have equal rights with the working-class.

2. That the differences between the minorities and the working-class are not simply quantitative but qualitative and structural, with the immigrant situation being characterized by a different kind of position in the labour market, a different housing situation, and a different form of schooling.
3. That during the period of immigrant settlement, while the immigrant minorities have tried to adjust to British society and have established their own security in it to the extent of having obtained regular employment and their own housing, they have also been stigmatized as an unwanted and threatening element in that society.
4. That the question of the absorption of immigrant minorities into the working class has been settled against absorption, with the native working-class rejecting black immigrants and uniting with other indigenous classes against them.
5. That the immigrant minorities have been forced in this situation to begin organizing themselves for self-defence, developing their own political strategies separately from the working-class.
6. That this process of organization takes a different form in the two minority communities: in the Asian communities it takes the form of defensive organization

within which individuals may aim at capital accumulation and social mobility; in the West Indian community it may take the form of withdrawal from competition altogether with emphasis upon the formation of a black identity, even though a small minority might achieve and a larger might continue to aspire towards assimilation.

7. That the conflicts with British society in which immigrants and their children find themselves engaged may come to be understood in terms of a wider perspective of the readjustment of classes, groups and segments, which occurs with the collapse of the imperial social structure. For the West Indians this is clearest in that their ideologies will emphasize an end to the period of captivity which they believe their people have suffered. For the Asians, it may involve a reconsideration of the rather more favourable position which they have had within the empire, and, particularly, whether they could still find themselves a role as 'the Jews' of post-imperial society.

In examining the implications of their study, they reject the optimistic analysis which could be made by a superficial reading of their survey data, that the decreasing differential treatment of blacks can be overcome, with the implementation of more liberal policies and increased powers to the Commission for Racial Equality. Having examined the life-chances of

blacks in each of the primary market situations, they conclude that there is in fact increasing polarization between the black and white populations. Rex and Tomlinson claim that in the future, the black community and in particular the young will continue to develop self-help political strategies, linked to a third world revolutionary perspective that they found in operation in Hardsworth. They also raise the question of political initiatives that may be carried out by the white community and suggest that:

The only thing which can now be done to arrest the spiral of racism is to call a halt to the present competition between the parties to win support from people thought to be infected by racism, by actually, facing up to the changes consequent upon the collapse of Empire. This could be achieved without the emergence on the racist right of the National Front, or something worse, as a major political force ... Then, with a truce achieved, it should be possible to address the question of overcoming discrimination and disadvantage as well as, most important of all, of developing the sort of social and educational policies, which will enable the known black British population to have their place either as individuals or as groups within society as a whole. It is quite absurd to suppose that nearly a million settlers from the former colonies could be absorbed into Britain peacefully, if no preparation was made for their arrival. Now they are here, even though it is late in the day, policies for a multi-racial, multi-cultural society must be developed.

(ibid, p.294)

From my own research interest, a major strength of Rex and Tomlinson's class analysis is the comprehensive examination of how institutional racism operates within the schooling system. They found that education was sociologically the most important of the institutional sectors in determining

the future cultural and political integration of blacks, that is, in their terms, in determining the maintenance of the black "underclass". Of particular significance to my work is their conception of the complex relationship between educational ideologies at the national and local educational level and their implementation within individual schools. Equally important, as a result of their detailed empirical work, they identify the institutional differential treatment of Asian and West Indian pupils and the resulting different experience of schooling for these two groups. They specify the racial mechanisms, such as the monoculturalist curriculum and the system of negative racial stereotyping that operates against West Indians. Although Asians achieve better academic success, Rex and Tomlinson maintain that they may find that their educational qualifications are not matched by appropriate levels of work. By perceiving the complexity of the traditional primary concerns of British sociology of education, that is selection and socialization, in terms of social mobility and cultural integration, Rex and Tomlinson avoid the racist assumptions of much of the 'underachievement studies', that the black youth themselves and in particular the West Indians, constitute the problem.

There have been a number of criticisms of Rex's work, particularly his concepts of "housing class" in his earlier study, and his theoretical position on the relationship between class and race which he has developed in his more recent work. Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 331) summarize the

wide range of criticism of the theoretical and methodological problems involved in the use of the concept "housing class" since the publication of *Race, Community and Conflict* (1967) the most important of which includes: Haddon, 1970; Lambert and Filkin, 1971; Lambert, Blackaby and Paris, 1975; Ward, 1975; Phal, 1969 and 1970; Davis and Taylor, 1970; Richmond, 1973; Pickrance, 1976, and Clarke and Ginsborg, 1975. Bell (1977) contrasts the concept with that of social class. He maintains that while the latter term indicates the source of the exploitative relationship, Rex and Moore fail to specify who is exploiting whom in housing classes. More recently, Rex (1979: 157) defends a modified version of the concept, pointing out that of central theoretical concern is not the exploitative relations but the differential treatment of different groups within a politically and bureaucratically organized allocative system with scarce resources who are therefore in competition and conflict with each other. Saunders (1981: 143) argues that Rex and Tomlinson's modified position with its emphasis on the positive effect of organized black groups protecting their rights within partially segregated areas leads to a shift away from the earlier significance given to the inner-city housing practices as a source of inequality. He asserts that:

The key factor, then is not housing but race, and the focus of concern turns out not to be urban inequality but racial inequality.

Ratcliffe (1981: 199) found in his empirical work in Handsworth that however the concept of housing class was formulated, it was very difficult to operationalise.

There have been a number of criticisms, including those of Wolpe, 1976; Green, 1980; Hall, 1980, and Gilroy, 1980, of Rex's theoretical formulation of the relationship between race and class. Wolpe and Hall acknowledge the significance of Rex's (1973) criticisms of the limitations of an economic reductionist approach to the specificity of the racial structuring of South African society. So for example, Wolpe (ibid, p.201) concedes that Rex was "right to insist upon the need for a more refined conceptualization of class than was encompassed by the bare reference to property relations". However, he argues that such an analysis of the different relationships to the means of production can and should be developed within a Marxist theory of the social relations of production, as Wolpe demonstrates by developing such a theory, analysing the relations between the dominant capitalist mode of production and the dependent pre-capitalist mode.

Hall (1980) examining Rex's theoretical approach (1978) to South African society and his proposed adaptation of this approach to an analysis of the ethnic relations in Latin America and the Caribbean, argues that although Rex combines elements of a Marxist and Weberian perspective, the synthesis is "secured in an essentially Weberian terrain" (p.10).

For Hall, a weakness of the sociological tendency, including Rex's work, is that the Weberian analysis ultimately produces a set of descriptive plural explanations which lack an adequate theorization and avoids "the necessity to specify the articulating mechanisms and the modes of dominance between these different types". (p.16) of production processes. Similarly, Green (1980) is critical of Rex's Weberian position; the limitations of which, he claims, become more clear with an examination of Rex's analysis of the relationship between race and class in British society. Green (1980:21) argues that at a theoretical level this leads to two major problems involving the Weberian concept of class and its consequent culturalist rather than economic emphasis.

This analysis was said to be problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it failed to define the essential base of class in the social relations of production, and in so doing denied the basic economic determinancy which establishes the concept of class as a fundamental category; a category distinct from the empiricist notion of 'status' groups and the pluralist Weberian notion of class. Secondly, as a result of this theoretical problematic, class became defined, in the last instance according to the culture, way of life, and political consciousness of the group in question ... The result, as we saw with Rex, was, in this case, the proposition that black people in Britain form a separate class: an underclass.

For Green, the dominant contradiction in Western capitalist societies remains that between capital and labour and not the social divisions between races and hence there is no justification for positing a separate black "underclass".

He suggests that recent Marxist theorists have offered a theoretically more adequate analysis of this question.

I shall now outline the main points of this work.

2.2.iii The 'Economic' Tendency: A Marxist Approach

The 'economic' tendency is more critical than the 'sociological' analysis of the ethnic approach. Bourne and Sivanandan (1980: 345-6) in their examination of 'race-relations' in Britain attack the 'ethnic school' with its emphasis on cultural relations for detracting from the black community's real struggle against racism. They maintain that,

Culturalism in practice leads to a cul de sac nationalism defeatism, inward looking, in-breeding incapable of changing the power relations in society ... cultural pluralism, the framework and multi-culturalism, the solution deal with neither (institutional) racism, nor class questions. 'Reactive ethnicity' or cultural resistance, can only be a resistance to racialism in British society. Racialism is not about power but about cultural superiority. Racism is not about cultural superiority but about power; and the resistance to racism must in the final analysis be political resistance, expressed perhaps in cultural forms.

Bourne and Sivanandan make a distinction between the experience of colour prejudice and the institutionalization of prejudice in the power structures of society, that is, a distinction between racialism and racism. They claim that the 'ethnic approach' is exclusively concerned with the former.

Sivanandan (1983: 5) returns to this theme in a talk given to the Greater London Council Ethnic Minorities Unit, arguing that "ethnicity blunts black struggle" by creating cultural and generational divisions within the black community. He identifies the school as the most important social site for the implementation of pluralist philosophy, on which the ethnic approach is based.

Where that pluralist philosophy was first put into effect - where it was formulated and defined - was in education - in the schools - precisely because it was there, among the young blacks, the 'second generation' that the next phase of revolt was fermenting. And the name of the game was multi-cultural education.

The 'economic' approach to the question of racially structured societies focuses upon a political economic analysis, as Nikolinakos (1975: 6) points out, "the study of racism is a study of political economy". A major starting point for Marxist analysis of the political economy of race is Peach's (1968) study of West Indian migration to Britain, with its central thesis that black immigration was primarily determined by the post Second World War labour shortages and that the immigrants acted as a "replacement population" in sectors of non-growth industry where whites were unwilling to work. Castles and Kosack (1973) provide support for this view of the role of immigrant labour in advanced capitalist economies with their work on the occupational location of migrant labour in Germany. They argue that cheap immigrant labour, has been of particular benefit to capital for a number of reasons including: the low cost of black labour and the low cost of its social reproduction, its contribution to the survival of labour intensive industries, and its

contribution to increasing the capital intensity of production, through for example, the over-representation of black workers on shift work. In this sense black labour is seen as a super-exploited strata of the working-class.

An inadequacy of much of the literature stemming from the 'economic' school of thought is the tendency to reduce social divisions and relations to a function of the needs and requirements of the economy. This leads to an instrumentalist view of the state as working directly and unproblematically in the interests of capital. A similar functional and non-contradictory stance is often taken with regard to the school. Also, since all European immigrants are frequently lumped together, as for example in the work of Castles and Kosack, the essential differences of immigrants in Britain vis-a-vis those in Europe and their specific mode of incorporation into post-war British society is inadequately analysed. Sivanandan (1976) addressing himself to the role of the British state as a central mechanism in the distribution of labour in the production process, can be seen as attempting to qualify this weakness with his thesis that since 1971, with the erosion of their legal status, immigrants in Britain have increasingly come to occupy the same disadvantaged position as those in Europe. However the problem of reductionism and the viewing of immigrants and the state as operating functionally and unproblematically in the interests of capital remains.

A number of Marxist theorists, including Green 1980 and Hall, 1978, 1980 have recently attempted to go beyond this class reductionist approach and the instrumentalist view of the state. Green sets out to qualify Sivanandan's functionalist approach, by adopting a Poulantzian position he argues that although the economy is determinate in the last instance, at the present stage of capitalist development politics and ideology are the dominant forces in society. In this way, he is able to maintain the relative autonomy of the superstructure in relation to the economy and to argue for the significance of the contradictory political and ideological elements in the creation of a contract labour system in Britain. However, he stresses that such a theoretical position does not lead to a view of the state as,

... merely the arbiter of contradictions between the interests of capital and the anti-racist demands of the liberal left. Although the demands of the racist lobby are not identical with those of capital, they grow on and are partly determined by the form in which capital exploits black labour. The primary task of the state then, has not been that of arbitrating between opposite forces, racist and anti-racist, but of managing the contradictions between the process of economically exploiting the black minority and containing the social consequences of that exploitation, manifested in social conflict where the most powerful political force is white racism.

(ibid, p.20)

In his analysis of the relationship between race and class, Green rejects Rex's conception of the black community as forming an "underclass". He replaces this notion by the

concept of the racial structuring of the working-class, which maintains the structural unity of the class but at the same time posits that the blacks constitute a distinct strata within the working-class. He sees two main ways by which the "qualitatively different exploitation" of the blacks takes place; firstly, the extent to which migrant labour is not completely 'free' labour and , secondly, their function as part of the reserve army of labour. He concludes that:

The political and ideological divisions which seem to set blacks as a class apart should be seen as a product of the articulation of racist ideology to the objective divisions within the working-class which capitalism reproduces in the same moment as it reproduces the unity of the class in relation to capital.

(ibid, p.27)

Hall (1980) adopts a similar approach in his analysis of the relationship between advanced capitalist societies and pre-capitalist modes of production in third world economies which he argues are structured by relations of dominance and subordination or more specifically what he calls, an "articulation between different modes of production, structured in some relations of dominance" (ibid, p.321). Capitalism exploits black labour in a specific way through the maintenance of pre-capitalist modes of production which is essential for the reproduction of capitalism. As Green argues in relation to this dominance within capitalist societies, so here Hall maintains the effect at the political and ideological level is the racial structuring of the working-class.

Duffield (1981: 27) who offers a critique of the above approaches, arguing that imperialism must be understood as a "specific form of relation and struggle between classes" and not "an abstract external economic relation", points to the advances and limitations of the more recent Marxist analysis examined above. The advances include the linking of capitalism of advanced societies with its operation at an international level and the view of the resulting racism as an important element of the everyday experience within capitalist societies. He then examines its limitations:

Those advances, however, can only be grasped in an abstract one-sided manner since the structuralist interpretation by seeing capitalism as dependent upon a particular category of labour, however defined, remains within the limits of capital-logic. It is this position which compels it to abandon Marx's self-generating view of capitalist development and leads it down the path of empiricism in an attempt to show the extra-utility of a distinct type of labour. Pressure from the same direction also forces it to reconsider the primacy of the contradiction between capital and labour. Such a reconsideration is justified, the structuralist reasons for doing so are not. Its need is empirical to find a discrete mode of exploitation to go with its distinct mode of labour and thus establish a racialized set of contradictions in articulation with, and structured by, that between capital and labour. In the structuralist mode of explanation, imperialism, understood concretely as a specific relation between classes and forms of class struggle, has no place. Instead we find imperialism's abstract and external surrogate, the world market or, in another objectively similar form, as colonial history or past experience.

A particular weakness of the more recent Marxist theory is that while they acknowledge that in order to understand the class position of blacks, it is necessary to examine the ideological and institutional mechanisms that produce the social division of labour, they fail to carry out such an analysis. Hence, in practice an economic reductionist approach remains with racist ideologies simplistically reduced to mere expressions of ruling class interests. An important exception to this is the work of Hall et al (1978). The authors argue that the growing crisis of hegemony in Britain during the late 1960's lead to the formation of a new authoritarian concensus. At an ideological level race came to signify the social crisis; providing the "arena in which complex fears, tensions and anxieties ... (could) be most conveniently and explicitly projected and ... 'worked through'" (ibid, p.333). They insist that this was not a crisis of race but rather that race provided the lens through which the crisis was perceived and mediated; the crisis was largely thematized through race. Racism was no longer the preserve of an extreme minority but became naturalized, that is part of the 'normal' everyday experience of the population. With a move towards national populism, racism provided a mobilizing appeal. The creation of a 'moral panic' about race, particularly made visible in the social construction of the 'Mugger' provided the basis for a shift to the implementation of a form of popular authoritarianism.

Following Hall et al, in attempting to fill this gap, it is my intention in this research to view the relationship between school and the economy not as a functional relationship but as a contradictory and disjointed one. My particular concern is to explore the limits of this relationship and the means by which these contradictions are resolved to the disadvantage of black boys, by examining their specific position within the educational system. As is demonstrated above, in order to carry such a task both the 'economic' and 'sociological' perspectives of 'race-relations' need to be employed. My examination will, apart from giving due consideration to the economy focus on some of the absences in the recent Marxist theory, of its ideological relations and institutions in the area of education. The 'sociological' approach, particularly the work of Rex , is of central significance to this latter aspect. Rex (1983: 171) himself acknowledges that these two broad tendencies are not necessarily in conflict and, that an adequate sociology of the social structure of empire requires both approaches.

2.2.iv The New Racism

Contrary to the dominant perspective in 'race-relations' research, the substantive work will be primarily concerned with analysing the complex ways in which institutional racist ideologies and practices came to be constructed and now operate at Kilby school in the early 1980's.

It is important to historically and socially locate this form of racism. As Gilroy (1981: 208) argues: "different racisms are found in different social formations and historical circumstances". These racist ideologies and practices will be examined in terms of what Barker (1981) calls "The New Racism". He defines the character of this as follows:

It is a theory that I shall call biological or better pseudo-biological culturalism. Nations on this view are not built out of politics and economies, but out of human nature. It is our biology, our instincts to defend our way of life, traditions, and customs against outsiders not because they are inferior but because they are part of different cultures.

Barker is arguing that racism now tends to be rationalized in terms of 'cultural differences' rather than 'cultural superiority'. The latter form of racism is clearly described by Cleeve (1982: 12-13) in a Sunday Telegraph article, called '1938: when the British was best and the £ rode high, a vanishing world', who wrote that:

There were very few immigrants in Britain and almost none of these were coloured. Naturally enough, this affected thinking about foreigners and 'coloured races'. Foreigners were queer, and they lived a long way away. And not only 'British was Best' but Britain was Best. People were fiercely nationalistic and contemptuously chauvinistic. Italians were Wops, Spaniards were Dagos. Frenchmen were Frogs. Germans were Boches and Huns. Negroes were Niggers and Chinamen were Chinks. Indians were Wogs, Jews were Yids, Jewboys, Kikes, Isaacs ... Of course there were sophisticated people in Britain who were international in outlook and who recognised that to be white and to be British was no automatic superiority over foreigners and negroes but

there were not enough of them to affect the general tone of the country.

The present day form of racism with its emphasis on cultural differences is described by Worsthorne (1982: 20) in another article in the Sunday Telegraph called 'Why not inequality?'. He maintains that:

... ordinary people accept wealth and privilege far more readily than they accept, say, coloured immigration, because wealth and privilege are part of the British heritage in a way that coloured immigrants are not. Everyone loves a Lord. But very few like a coloured neighbour. Take a poll on the abolition of the House of Lords, and relatively few will welcome the idea ... But a massive popular majority will favour immigration control. Such popular sympathy or affection for the House of Lords has little to do with any abstract approval of hereditary privilege. Almost nobody approves of titles in theory, just as nobody disapproves of blacks in theory. In each case it is simply a case of liking the familiar and disliking the unfamiliar ... since for the great body of people a sense of nation remains more precious than social justice, equality or freedom itself, none of which abstractions have any meaning except in terms of a specifically British experience.

Duffield (1982:23) develops Barker's work by examining the similarities between the 'new racism' and what he calls the 'new realism' of the liberal establishment with the shift from assimilation to integration. Although the former depends on a pseudo-biological underpinning and the latter on a psychological and sociological base, nevertheless he argues culturalism is the shared terrain which links the new realism with the new racism, that is, despite apparent differences both view culture as a 'problem'.

New realism and new racism are in fundamental agreement over the terms in which black people in Britain are to be discussed and their future decided ... New realism and new racism are oppositions rooted in the soil of culturalism: they are both necessary reflections of each other ... The new realist's project is to show how people maintain and recreate their own bounded ways of life. This is precisely the food on which new racism thrives. The elision is achieved because each has the other inscribed in it.

These notions of new racism and new realism with their shared conception of intrinsic cultural differences as primarily causal of social behaviour are pervasive because of their strong ideological 'common-sense' appeal within the popular authoritarian British state of the early 1980's. So, for example, it is argued here that whereas liberal policy-makers, researchers and teachers including those at Kilby school would reject the racial inferiority/superiority couplet, they do operate with the culturalist model. This underpinning of their ideological position needs to be located within the wider concern of the teachers' response to the schooling of black youth that will now be theoretically examined.

2.3 Teacher Ideologies and Practices

The second area of concern is teacher ideologies and practices. Keddie (1971) in her study of 'classroom knowledge' makes a distinction between the educational context, that is, that of the teacher ideology and perspectives of the non-classroom situation, and the teacher context, that of teacher practices within the classroom. Andy Hargreaves (1981: 303) points out that Keddie paid little attention to the former aspect and that, with few exceptions, such as Hammersley, 1980, 1981, and Woods (1979) "most sociologists of education sympathetic to ethnographic study have followed suit". My research is particularly concerned with the absence of teachers in both contexts, from the official reports on multi-cultural education and 'race-relations' research. This has been due in part to the state agencies and researchers adopting the teachers' dominant perspective in defining the 'problems' of schooling black youth.

In examining the Kilby school teachers' ideologies and practices, the substantive work focusses on two related arguments. Firstly, that the 'colour-blind' assimilationist assumptions of the early reports, such as those of the Commonwealth Advisory Council (1964) and the Department of Education and Science (1965) reflected the main ideology of the teaching profession during the 1960's. The move to plural integration, while primarily a response to the resistance of the black community, was supported by the emergence of the more liberally trained

teachers who were ideologically committed to the comprehensive ideal of equalizing opportunities for all children. As will be shown in the next chapter, the earlier interventionist response to the educational 'failure' of working class youth was adapted and developed to deal with black pupils' assumed problems. Secondly, it will be shown in the ethnographic material that a central element of the racial structuring of the social relations at Kilby school was the operation of teacher racial stereotyping.

The 1970's has seen the development of a number of theoretical perspectives in the sociology of education. The publication of Young's book 'Knowledge and Control' in 1971, marks the beginning of the challenge of the so-called 'new sociology' of education, to the quantitative research methodology and findings of the structural functionalist studies of the 1950's and 1960's, such as Parsons 1959, Merton, 1968. Karabel and Halsey (1977: 3) writing of this period point out that although there were sociologists of education working within other traditions, such as Floud and Halsey (1958) who worked within the tradition of "political arithmetic", and "had explicit reservations about functionalism" (ibid, p.171), nevertheless their approach converged with functionalism at many points. The dominant concern with the micro level of analysis of the 'new' directions was developed in the various interpretative perspectives of classroom interaction, including those of Delamont, 1976; Furlong, 1976 and Woods and Hammersley, 1977. However, the initial enthusiasm for this new approach by a number of sociologists, for example M.F.D. Young and

Esland later gave way to a move towards a more structural Marxist explanation. This attack on the limitations of the 'new sociology' of education is best exemplified in the work of Sharpe and Green (1975: 234) who became disenchanted with the interactionist perspective with which they began their research and collected their data, shifting their stance to a Marxist position. Although like others, including Karabel and Halsey, 1977, and David Hargreaves, 1978, they argued for a synthesis of the micro and macro levels of analysis, by the late 1970's the interactionist and structuralist perspectives were increasingly seen as alternative competing explanations of the schooling process. However, Karabel and Halsey (ibid, p.58) maintain that the divisions between the two paradigms has been exaggerated. Meyenn (1979: 103) usefully suggests the level at which links between the two approaches may be found:

The difficulties in providing a synthesis or an integration ... between structuralist and interactionist levels of analysis may indeed vary depending on the level of abstraction. At the abstract philosophical and epistemological level it is perhaps easier, or rather easier to see how arguments can be put forward denying the possibility of any integration between interactionist and structuralist levels of analysis. But as one engages or as one 'comes down' to 'real life' research in schools and classrooms and spends time with 'real live' pupils and focuses on substantive issues it becomes more difficult to hold extreme positions. One is constantly aware that at this level both perspectives operate. Material constraints, class cultural features are present as is individual and group interaction and negotiation.

Like Meyenn I found that the theoretical difficulties of seeing linkages between the two paradigms depended on the level of analysis, and like him, I have drawn on both traditions in the development of my work.

As Llewellyn (1980: 42) argues in relation to gender relations, developments in the 1970's within sociology of education should have opened up possibilities of recognizing the significance of class and race in determining social processes and structures. Three bodies of theory that are of particular relevance to this research on the racial structuring of Kilby school are the socio-cultural reproduction theories, such as the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Bernstein (1975); the phenomenological approach of the 'new sociology' of education with its focus on classroom interaction; and the sociological studies of the bureaucratic and ideological nature of the teaching profession (Gramsci, 1971; Ginsburg et al, 1980). It is hoped that these theories will enable us to address the area of teacher perspectives and revealing the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research, provide a framework within which to examine more clearly the educationalist and teacher contexts in relation to the schooling of black youth. More particularly in examining the development of teacher ideologies and practices, and the teacher-pupil interaction at Kilby school, this will enable us to empirically demonstrate the complex ways in which institutional racist practices operate. As Solomos (1983: 4) has argued of central significance in the reproduction and maintenance of these racist practices "are ...

the unintended consequences of existing institutional arrangements and social relations".

2.3.1 Teacher Ideologies

Within sociological theory the concept of ideology is a highly problematic term. Apple (1979: 20-21) identifies two main traditions, firstly, that of the Marxist 'interest theory' in which ideology is seen as a system of ideas which serve to legitimate vested interests of particular socio-economic groups. Secondly, the tradition of 'strain theory' developed by Durkheim and Parsons which perceives the main function of ideology as "providing meaning in problematic situations" and enabling groups to interact. The former meaning has been developed by Finn et al (1977: 148) who see ideologies as sets of social beliefs, values and assumptions that though not necessarily intentionally "misrecognise, mask or incompletely grasp the primary workings of institutions". They make a conceptual distinction between levels of generality. They are primarily concerned with a high level analysis, structurally locating education in the political and ideological state apparatus and historically examining the debates about education as part of the process of 'bidding for the consent of the governed' in a social democratic state. These are ideologies 'about' education. There are also ideologies 'in' education. Apple and Taxel (1982: 167) describe these as a "complex of common-sense meanings and practices embodied within our institutions". It is important to stress two points, firstly, that these

and then relates these to the social position of those who hold them. Meighan and Brown (1980: 146-147) are critical of many of these studies, including those of the Plowden Report 1967; Kohl, 1969; Bennett, 1976; and Bernstein, 1967; which adopt a dichotomous approach, that is the construction of two polarised types. They argue that such studies have,

... severe limitations; first of all because they select out two from a range of possible alternatives and, frequently a different pair each time. Second, they operate at various conceptual levels ranging from national systems to individual schools without always specifying the level in question.

They maintain that a similar criticism can be made of those approaches which attempt to go beyond dichotomies, such as Cosin (1972), who distinguishes between elitist/conservative; rationalizing/technocratic; romantic/individualistic; and egalitarian/democratic ideologies.

Hammersley (1977) also criticises this dominant approach for failing to make clear the diversity of teaching forms. He adopts the more sociological understanding of ideology, as a shared view by which individuals make sense of their world. Hammersley maintains that if the causes and consequences of teacher perspectives are to be understood, adequate descriptions of these perspectives must firstly be produced. He begins his study of teacher typologies by arguing that teaching may take different forms which have important consequences for the two generally agreed principal functions of schooling, that of socialization and selection. In order to indicate the diversity of teaching forms, he distinguishes twenty-five

different levels of generality are interdependent" with the more general ideologies functioning to delimit, at least partially, elements included in the less general ideologies" (Ginsburg et al, 1980: 193). Secondly, to maintain the degree of relative autonomy of these ideologies in a class society. As Ginsberg et al argue:

... it seems possible to conceive of ideologies as relatively autonomous from the economic, allowing for the effect of political occupational institutional and cultural factors, while retaining the notion of the centrality of the ideas of the dominant class.

(ibid, p.193)

In my research the more general ideologies concerned with the schooling of black youth will be examined in the next chapter. The section on teacher ideologies and practices will empirically describe and analyse the educational ideologies within a particular school in terms of what Finn et al (1977: 147) see as the ideological work of the school;"their institutional structures, their disposition of knowledge, their pedagogic relationships, their informal cultures and organization" and the relationship of these ideologies to the more general ideologies at a national and local educational level.

There have been a wide range of attempts to describe ideologies of education, including ideologies at a national level, of particular schools and of individual classrooms. An important contribution to this area of research has been Williams' (1961) analysis of ideologies of educational systems at particular historical periods. He identifies four sets of educational ideologies which rationalize the selection of different curricula content

dimensions, which are the 'crucial analytical tools" (p.38) for analysing classroom interaction, along which teachers may vary, and groups them together into five main areas; their definition of the teachers' role, conceptualization of pupil action, of knowledge and of learning; and their preferred teaching techniques. He argues that we have not yet reached the stage where we can develop a descriptively adequate typology. He justifies his construction of four types, which he terms, disciplined-based, programmed, progressive and radical non-interventionist, on the grounds that former research suggests that significant numbers of teachers correspond to these combinations of dimensions. He concentrates on two of these types, disciplined-based and progressive, as these two teaching forms have received most attention from ethnographic research.

The disciplined based type corresponds generally to the grammar school tradition but variants of it are to be found in comprehensive schools. It is characterized in the following way. The authority of the teacher is based on subject expertise and the role of the teacher is defined in narrow terms with an emphasis on product. Pupils are conceptualized as responsible for their actions but basically reluctant to learn. Knowledge is seen as objective, hierarchically ordered and located in distinct discipline boundaries. Learning is conceived of as an individual competitive activity, involving the reproduction of teacher information. It is external to the pupils and so demands a high degree of teacher control and extrinsic rewards and punishments. Teacher techniques and classroom

style are formal, involving strict supervision, class tests and grouping is based on age and ability.

In contrast, the 'progressive teaching' type has the following elements. An authoritative teaching style based on teaching skills is recognized and the teacher role is defined in wide terms with the emphasis on process and a low degree of teacher control. Pupils' actions are explained in terms of environmental factors but they are thought of as natural spontaneous learners. Knowledge is considered to be objective, hierarchically ordered and general in form. Learning is thought of as biologically structured and will take place in a suitable environment in which the pupils' intrinsic motivation is allowed to develop in dialogue with others and active participation. Teaching techniques and classroom style are informal with the teacher responding to pupils' needs, adopting a limited interventionist approach and assessing the pupils' performance in individual terms of his own progress.

These two teaching forms, 'disciplined based' and 'progressive' have much in common with the main teaching ideologies in my research, the Old Disciplinarians and the Liberals. A serious limitation of Hammersley's depoliticized approach is that there is little conception of the power dimension of ideologies and hence there is no understanding of educational ideologies as in competition with each other within institutions. As Meighan and Brown (1980: 136) point out, this is an important aspect of ideology, "since it makes the concept capable of

being used to demonstrate alternative ideas that coexist and compete for acceptance". This is of particular concern in this research, which constructs three main types, the Old Disciplinarians, the Liberals and the New Realists, to examine the effect of changing dominant ideologies in the schooling of black youth. It is emphasised that of primary significance is the relationship between these educational ideologies. The particular focus is the response of the Liberals and the Old Disciplinarians in alliance with the New Realists to an ideological shift in the multi-cultural perspective at a national level from assimilation to plural culturalism.

2.3.ii Socio-cultural Reproduction Theories

The theories of socio-cultural reproduction enable us to see more clearly the function of educational ideologies in a class society. Marx (1904: 11) defines the relationship between the material base and the superstructure in the following terms:

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness ... With the change in the economic foundations the entire immense superstructure is more or less transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophical, in short ideological forms in which men become conscious and fight it out.

Following Marx there has been much debate concerning the relationship between the economic base and the superstructure by such theorists as Lenin (1968) and Gramsci (1971) among many others. More recently, in relation to the education system, there has developed two main bodies of theory concerned with this relationship; the theories of social reproduction, most significantly the work of Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) and the theories of cultural reproduction including the important contributions of Bernstein (1975) and Bourdieu (1970). I shall focus on the work of Bowles and Gintis, and Bernstein as representatives of this field in order to use these theories as an explanatory model of the form of black pupils' education in a racist society.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) see the major function of education as the reproduction of the social relations of the capitalist production process. They provide detailed empirical evidence of this relationship which is outlined at a more general level in Althusser's (1971) preliminary framework. Bowles and Gintis maintain that the economic role of fragmented education

is to produce a stratified and conforming workforce. Analysing the personality characteristics of American high school students, they found that such characteristics as perseverance, consistency, dependability and punctuality were highly graded while high grade pupils scored below average in terms of creativity, originality and independence of judgement.

Their main argument is that there is a correspondence between the teacher-pupil relations and those of manager-worker that reproduce the authority structures and forms of control in class society. The pupils' lack of control over the curriculum offering little personal fulfilment or involvement in school reflects the alienation in the workplace, and the authority structure of the school with the teachers giving orders and the pupils obeying reflects their future situation in the workforce. Work motivation for the pupils based on extrinsic rewards of examination grades and teacher approval mirrors the workers external reward system of pay, status and promotion. Finally, the fragmentation and compartmentalization of school knowledge and the process of learning with pupils attending different subjects with no apparent connection corresponds to the organization of work. Beyond this aggregate level Bowles and Gintis analyse the relationship between different forms of education and the internal organization of schools and the different levels within the occupational structure for which they are prepared. At the lowest levels rule-following and close supervision is emphasised, while the middle and higher levels of education provide a greater degree of independence, with dependability stressed for the former group and internalization of norms for the latter. These behavioural norms operate

at different levels within the educational system and within the streaming processes of individual schools. Within this general dichotomous process, Bowles and Gintis (ibid, p.132) describe the racial structuring of the education system in the preparation of black pupils for the 'secondary labour market', which is characterized by low pay, lack of unionization, little job security or training and little chance of promotion.

Thus blacks and other minorities are concentrated in schools whose repressive, arbitrary generally chaotic internal order, coercive authority structures, and minimal possibilities for advancement mirror the inferior job situations.

So, for Bowles and Gintis the function of schooling is not primarily concerned with the reproduction of technical skills demanded by the economy nor the selection and preparation of pupils of differential abilities for allocation in appropriate jobs. Rather, the school is a mechanism for selecting those who will be dominant and those who will be subordinate in the future workforce and thus transmits the essential inequalities of capitalism. They further argue that if this system is to operate effectively, it is necessary that the pupils experience these inequalities as legitimate and normal. They maintain that the school is a central instrument of legitimation, working on the principle that differential attainment must be differentially rewarded. Education is thus presented as a meritocratic system in which individuals compete equally with each other. Those who attain the highest qualifications have achieved their success on merit and therefore deserve the highest rewards at school and those with few qualifications are responsible for their own educational failure and consequent economic reward. Bowles

and Gintis reject this ideological view and argue, on the basis of their analysis of the relationship between intelligent quotient, educational attainment and occupational reward, that educational and occupational attainment are related to social background rather than an individual's ability. In this way, they argue, the myth of meritocracy "serves to legitimate an authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified and unequal economic system".

In contrast to social reproduction theories with a focus on economic inequalities of class societies, cultural reproduction theories are primarily concerned with cultural inequalities. Bernstein's work is of central importance to the role of education in cultural reproduction in a class society. His analysis is based on both Durkhemian and Marxist perspectives. The former influence is acknowledged throughout his work, for example, in Bernstein's (1975: 67-75) examination of the movement from 'closed' to 'open' schools in contemporary society, in terms of changing patterns of social integration reflected in the movement from mechanical to organic social solidarity. Karabel and Halsey (1977: 70) suggest that his more recent work "shows signs of moving towards a thoroughgoing confrontation with Marxism". They are particularly referring to his discussion of the relationship between educational and economic production (Bernstein, 1975: 174-200).

Bernstein maintains that in order to understand how schools act as agent of cultural transmission, it is necessary to

examine them in relation to the existing distribution of power and principles of control. More particularly educational change must be located in the changing distribution of power and forms of social control in society. He sees educational knowledge as the most important determinant of the structure of school experience and discusses its realization through three message systems;

... curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge; pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge and evaluation counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught.

(ibid, p.85)

To discover the underlying principles of power and control, he constructs two concepts; classification, that is, the construction and maintenance of boundaries between different categories, and framing, involving the form and degree of control within pedagogic relations, including selection, organization and pacing of knowledge. These two structural concepts constitute the 'educational role'. MacDonald (1977: 21) describes the code's significance:

It sets the rules of how to join together and separate the categories of people and knowledge. It organizes the authority and power structures of the school as well as the form of the three message systems ... It is found in every structure of educational transmission and it is the most fundamental feature of socialization. The individual ... acquires the code and is able to produce personal interpretation and meanings within its framework.

On the basis of these concepts of classification and framing

Bernstein identifies a broad historical trend from a collection code'

in which contents are clearly bounded and insulated from each other, to an 'integrated code', in which contents are in open relationship. While the former refers to strong classification and framing, and is likely to be found operating in traditional schools, the latter consists of weak classification and framing and may be found in progressive schools. This paper like much of Bernstein's work is an analysis at the level of educational ideology, using the form of conflicting ideal types, rather than a descriptive account of schooling practice. In a later article, *Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible*, (ibid, pp.116-156), he attempts to empirically demonstrate his theories of cultural transmission and the social basis of changing forms of social control in pre-school and infant schools. Bernstein is arguing that educational transmissions embody class ideologies which are of central significance to the cultural reproduction of class relationships. He suggests that in progressive teaching, social control is implicit and the criteria for assessing pedagogy are multiple and diffuse and so the teachers' control is hidden. For example, the pedagogical theory of play, a fundamental concept to this approach is 'invisible' and so implicit to the pupils. Bernstein shows that the open classroom, implementing 'invisible' pedagogy, involving weak classification and framing, which is considered to be universally progressive, in reality reflects the ideology of the new middle-class, that reproduces itself by means of control of the dominant forms of communication. In his more recent work, Bernstein (ibid, pp.174-200) applies the above concepts to an examination of the nature of the relationship between education and production. He proposes a more

explicit link between classification and the power structure embedded in the form of the social division of labour, and a more explicit link between framing and the dominant form of control within the social relations of the productive process. Furthermore, he posits the close relationship between class and codes, with class as the "fundamental dominant cultural category" reproduced by the mode of production. He terms this systematic relationship between education and production the first educational message. The second educational message refers to contradictions between education and production, that is the relative autonomy of schooling. Having addressed himself to the over-deterministic work of Althusser and Bowles and Gintis, Bernstein suggests in a non-reductionist approach that:

Education is a class allocating device, socially creating, maintaining and reproducing non-specialized and specialized skills, and specialized dispositions which have an approximate relevance to the mode of production.

(ibid, p.185)

While there are important differences between social and cultural reproduction theorists, Apple and Taxel (1982: 167) maintain that they agree on the fundamental issue of seeing education as of central significance to economic and cultural reproduction and help us to see schools as,

... distributing ideological norms and dispositions to students as it sorts them, as selecting and legitimating knowledge, and finally as producing knowledge that is economically important all at the same time.

There has been much criticism of both these bodies of theory. Althusser's work is considered to be overly deterministic (Erben and Gleeson, 1977; Hargreaves A., 1981). Similarly, Bowles and Gintis 'correspondence theory' is criticized for presenting too close a fit between the social relations of production and the school (MacDonald, 1977; Willis, 1977). More recently, Bowles and Gintis (1981) have offered a partial qualification of their theory. Harre (1975) maintains that Bernstein fails to explain power, hierarchy, and control in economic production and the class structure. Bourdieu's theory of educational selection has been attacked as "little more than a theory of cultural deprivation" (Sharpe, 1980: 69).

However, whatever the validity of these criticisms, and they do point to real limitations, socio-cultural reproduction theories remain an important contribution to our understanding of schooling in a class society. By examining questions of power, hierarchy and cultural reproduction they provide an important critique of the more optimistic social democratic view of education as a central instrument in the attaining of equality of opportunity. As Chessum (1980; 115) argues:

In fact sociological literature points to the continued inequality in educational opportunity (Douglas et al, 1968; Halsey, 1972), to persistent problems of truancy, indiscipline, and underachievement (Rutter, 1975; Raynor and Harris, 1977) and to fundamental political conflict between the aims of schooling and working-class pupils (Willis, 1977). This poses the educator with the problem of explaining why despite widely accepted social democratic reforms many of these difficulties remain unresolved, or even intensified (Holly, 1977; Grace, 1978).

This question is of particular significance in relation to the schooling of black youth. These social democratic reforms, which are seen as having largely failed in attempting to make more equal the life-chances of white working-class youth, are now the aims of multi-cultural education. From within the political social-democratic framework it is argued that these reforms will ensure that the racism experienced by the 'first generation' black community will decrease as their children are born and educated in Britain. This simplistic view is now seen to be over optimistic as is demonstrated by the Kilby school pupils' experience of schooling.

The socio-cultural reproduction theorists suggest an inversion of social democratic educational aims. As Willis (1983: 110) maintains, education is concerned not with equality but inequality as its,

main purpose of the social integration of a class society could be achieved only by preparing most kids for an unequal future, and by ensuring their personal underdevelopment. Far from productive roles, in the economy simply waiting to be 'fairly' filled by the products of education, the 'Reproduction' perspective reversed this to suggest that capitalist production and its roles required certain educational outcomes ... as long as the burden of selection/sorting/examination is placed on schooling in an unequal and class society, then the 'Reproduction' perspective must be taken into account.

Furthermore, reproduction theorists have demonstrated the inadequacies and ideological assumptions of the cultural deprivation and pathological theories which locate the cause of working-class educational failure within the working-class community. Again, this is of particular relevance to an

understanding of the state's ideological response to the schooling of black youth in terms of multi-cultural education, which, as is argued in the research, is based on the same theoretical terrain, addressing itself to the assumed pathological nature of the black community.

Although not specifically concerned with the question of black youth, the reproduction theories do provide scope for an examination of black youth's social location in the schooling process and their preparation for the labour market. In order to make clear Kilby school's ideology, the operation of which maintains the reproduction role, I shall examine how the ideologies of class and race interact within the structure of the school organization, focussing on two inter-related aspects of the mono-culturalist curriculum. The first element involves the ethno-centric nature of the form and content of the curriculum. Williams (1961) provides a starting point for much of this research in this area with his concept of 'the selective tradition', that is, the ability of those in positions of power to define what constitutes legitimate knowledge and to represent their history and culture as constituting civilization, thus excluding other cultures or presenting them in a substandard form. Social phenomenologists, including Keddie (1971) and Esland (1971), have developed this idea in their work on the social construction of classroom knowledge and later work such as Young and Whitty (1977) has addressed itself to the limitations of the earlier theory, particularly the problem of the relativistic view of knowledge. Until

recently, much of this work was concerned with class ideologies, with little research on ideologies of race. American work in this area includes Elson's (1964) extensive analysis of nineteenth century textbooks and Mosier's (1965) examination of more recent school books. Both authors argue that these texts ideologically legitimate the conquest and subordination of 'inferior races'. In Britain research has focussed on racism in school textbooks and children's literature (National Union of Teachers, 1979; Stinton, 1979; Priswerk, 1980; Gillian, 1982 and Dixon, 1977 and 1982).

As well as the ethnocentric nature of the form and the content of the curriculum, the second element of the mono-culturalist curriculum in operation at Kily school which serves to achieve social and racial reproduction is that of the transmission of implicit and hidden values, attitudes and dispositions which reflect the dominant culture. Valance (1974: 13) describes the 'hidden curriculum' in the following terms:

The functions of the hidden curriculum have variously been identified as the inculcation of values, political socialization, training in obedience and docility, the perpetuation of the class structure - functions that may be characterized generally as social control ... I use the term to refer to those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level to the public rationales for education.

The earliest work in this area, such as Parsons (1959), Dreeben (1968) and Jackson (1968) provide major insights into the transmission of social values through the school.

However, their functionalist accounts tend to uncritically assume that it is a neutral process of socializing the young into the shared norms, values and expectations of the wider society. From a different perspective, the phenomenological research of Keddie, 1971; Esland, 1971; and Woods and Hammersley, 1977, examine the hidden curriculum in relation to the formation of pupil identities . emphasising the social context, with teachers and pupils actively interacting and creating reality. Whitty (1974: 125) who is representative of the more critical structural theorists, argues that:

The overemphasis on the notion that reality is socially created seems to have led to a neglect of the consideration of how and why reality comes to be constructed in particular ways and how and why particular constructions of reality seem to have the power to resist subversion.

These critical theorists, including Sharpe and Green, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Dale et al, 1976; and Apple, 1979, are arguing that the hidden curriculum must be historically and socially located within the power relations of existing society. MacDonald (1977; 9) argues that such an analysis sees the hidden curriculum "as an expression of social control, power and repression". In my substantive work, I shall examine how black youth in addition to being prepared, through the existing schooling framework, for a class divided society, are also socialized through specific racial mechanisms, such as the exclusion of their culture and history and the system of racial stereotyping, into accepting a subordinate position in a racially divided society. Much of this critical analysis on the hidden curriculum shares the same limitation of the

reproduction theories, that is, its overly functionalist and deterministic approach. In the ethnographic studies, I shall examine how ideologies of class and race inform the pupils' resistance to schooling. Of equal importance to an understanding of the relative autonomy of the school is an examination of the contradictory teacher responses to the creation of ideological hegemony. Gramsci's (1971) work is here of central significance.

One of the major differences between socio-cultural theorists has been the question of the degree of relative autonomy of the superstructure from the economic base. Williams (1976) has made an important contribution to this debate, arguing for a

more complete analysis of base and superstructure to include an understanding of the totality of a hegemonic culture, and the ways in which social change through cultural forms is expressed.

(cited in Dale et.al, 1976: 6)

In reformulating the relationship between base and superstructure Williams acknowledges his debt to Gramsci.

Gramsci (1971) more than any other theorist has been responsible for developing a radical alternative view to that of the mechanistic interpretation of Marx. He replaces the dominant metaphor of an economic base simply determining a political and ideological superstructure, using the term historic bloc to refer to,

the complex way in which classes and fractions of classes are related in society and the complicated relationships between economic, political and cultural aspects of society.

Showstack Sassoon, 1982:14)

Within the superstructure he distinguishes between political society, the state, which refers to the political and judicial apparatuses, and the 'private' domain of civil society, including such institutions as the family, churches, trade unions, the press and schools. Anderson (1977) has documented the ambiguity of this division in Gramsci's work, with the state at times constituting these two areas, while the economy is included in the state. Unlike Althusser, for Gramsci the superstructure was not conceived as a division between state apparatuses with an ideological function and others with a repressive function. Rather each apparatus has both coercion and consent always present, but his concern was to identify which aspect had dominance at particular historical periods.

Gramsci's work shifts from an analysis of the relationship between the state and civil society in Russia to an analysis of the power relations in West European social democracies. In the former the role of state coercion in maintaining the power structure was most dominant due to the ruling classes' failure to acquire hegemonic control. Whereas in Western Europe the bourgeois class reproduces its rule by means of a process of ideological hegemony in winning the consent of the

working classes through the workings of the institutions of civil society. Gramsci locates education as a dominant force within what he calls the 'ethico-political' realm of the state within civil society. He writes:

In my opinion, the most reasonable and concrete thing that can be said about the ethical state ... the cultural state, is this: every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The school as a positive educative function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative force are the most important State activities in this sense: but, in reality a multitude of other so called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end - initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes.

(ibid, p.258)

Hegemony is a key concept in Gramsci's theory. Gwynn Williams provides a definition:

By 'hegemony' Gramsci seems to mean a sociopolitical situation, in his terminology a 'moment' in which the philosophy and practice of a society fuse or are in equilibrium; an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all tastes morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation. An element of direction and control not necessarily conscious is implied.

(1960: 587)

Hegemony refers to the way in which an alliance of social groups enables leaders to exercise power not by simple domination

of ruling ideas but by winning and shaping consent for its leadership. It produces a 'world view' which both legitimates and mystifies the power of the dominant groups. Its function is to reproduce at the ideological level the conditions for class rule and the maintenance of the social relations of production. Hegemony as an organizing principle of values, meanings and practices affects all areas of daily life and thus informs "common-sense" beliefs held by the mass of the population. However, the creation of common-sense is never simply the result of ideological manipulation. Hegemony although pervasive is never permanent, because the dominated groups are still able "to hold onto their 'unofficial' view of the world which is grounded in their own experience of the world" (MacDonald, 1977: 69). Hence, Gramsci emphasised the contradictory nature of common-sense and consequently why hegemony must be continually won, maintained and reproduced..

Gramsci's work is of central importance to my research. One of the major implications of his theory is that teachers' everyday thinking and practices are hegemonically determined. Andy Hargreaves (1981: 305) points out that this untested thesis is not suggesting that teachers adopt a particular monolithic ideology but rather that they hold a variety of views. However,

... the central issue is that while teachers hold a range of views about education and exhibit a diversity of patterns of thought in this area, they do so within definite and unquestioned limits. Beyond these limits lie a set of educational and social practices which would be viewed

by most people as potentially threatening to the existing order of capitalism and the broad social and political assumptions which help to sustain it. Existing practices (what passes for normal teaching and education under capitalism that is) therefore become not one version of reality among many, but the only conceivable one; standing at the deepest levels of teachers consciousness as the only normal, natural and reasonable ways of proceeding. (Williams, 1973; 1977). Through this process dominant versions of reality, of which there are several become deeply sedimented in people's consciousness and mark the boundaries of their commonsense, for the most part remaining beyond analysis and question. In the case of schooling, alternative educational practices and social forms are therefore not only regarded by teachers and other educators as extreme or utopian but frequently as being simply unworthy of serious discussion. They only get talked about.

It is argued in my research that the differences between the teachers' ideologies are important, but that these ideologies are hegemonically determined, working from within a common educational paradigm, with a shared ideological perception of the black community itself, rather than racism as constituting the primary problem in the schooling of black youth. The Old Disciplinarians and the Liberals differ in their prescriptive remedies for these 'problems', particularly that of the 'underachievement' of West Indians. However, both groups assume that education is essentially a politically and racially neutral mechanism which socializes pupils for adult roles and occupations.

2.3.iii Teacher Typification

The second body of theory that is of particular relevance to my concern with teacher ideologies and practices, that has received much attention in recent years, including the work of Rist, 1970, Nash, 1973, Cicourel et al, 1974, Sharpe and Green, 1975 and Hargreaves et al, 1975, is that of teacher typifications. Hammersley (1982:232) maintains that this research has emerged from two particular concerns:

- a) the application of labelling theory to schooling and
- b) the effects of teacher expectations on pupil achievement.

a) Labelling Theory

Before discussing how labelling theory may be applied to school deviance, I shall examine some key aspects of labelling theory as it has developed in the sociological literature. Much research has been carried out on the development of labelling theory, including Becker (1963; 1964), Lemert (1951; 1972; 1974), Douglas (1971; 1972) Kitsuse (1964), Matza (1964; 1969) and Rubington and Weinburg (1973). The latter theorists have explained the differences between their interactionist approach to deviance and the positivistic research that preceded it. The positivist approach is described as 'deviance as the given object'. The focus of attention is the 'deviant', who unproblematically is assumed to be different from the main population. A major concern is to identify the deviants. Official statistics provide this information and is the basis on which sociologists provide causal explanations in order to



develop prescriptive policies aimed at reducing the level of deviancy or controlling or explaining deviant behaviour. The second approach on which labelling theory is based which makes different assumptions is termed by Rubington and Weinburg, 'deviance as subjectively problematic'. Labelling theorists' concern is not the psychological or motivational nature of the person who has broken a specific rule but instead a focus on why he has been labelled and who it is that has identified and judged him to have broken the rule. Becker (1963: 9) maintains that deviance is not a quality of the person but rather a result of societal reaction to specific acts. What is of significance is the "interaction between the person who commits the act and those who respond to it".

Another key concept of labelling theory concerns the question of the effect of the 'labelling' of persons. It is not simply a matter of arguing that certain persons see themselves as deviant when they are so defined. Lemert (1967: 40) suggests a distinction between primary and secondary deviation. The former aspect refers to the initial committing of a deviant act. Secondary deviation arises from societal reaction to the initial deviant act, which causes a change in the individual's perception of himself and subsequently a change in his behaviour. It is argued that societal reaction which is intended to act as a form of social control in reality amplifies deviancy (Wilkins, 1964). It is secondary deviation which has been of prime importance to sociological research.

Labelling theory has offered significant insights into our understanding of deviancy with its emphasis on deviancy as learnt, the need to examine the meaning deviancy has for the actors involved and the role of societal reaction. However, a number of criticisms have been made of this approach. Firstly, it has been argued that it fails to give an adequate causal analysis of deviancy (Gibbs, 1966; Markoff, 1971; and Taylor et al, 1973). A second criticism concerns the question of its preoccupation with the deviants' point of view at the expense of those who label them. Gouldner (1968) calls this a "kind of underdog identification". Taylor et al (1973) extend this critique and assert that the interactionist perspective fails to explain adequately the relationship between power and deviance. Hargreaves et al (1975: 16) claim that the above criticisms are unproductive and the result of misunderstandings between competing theories. However, they do criticize the symbolic interactionist version of labelling theory for basing its approach on "unexamined and inexplicated foundations"..

Hargreaves et al (1975: 17) point out that the study of school deviance in the sociological literature has focussed on the relationship between school experience and juvenile delinquency. This focus of concern has continued in the late 1970's and includes work by: Reynolds, 1976, Willis, 1977 and Corrigan, 1979. Hargreaves et al set out to apply labelling theory to schools. By exploring the nature of classroom rules, they hope to specify some of the common-sense categories and interpretative

work whereby teachers come to identify pupil activity as deviant, type pupils as deviant and decide how to react to discipline classroom behaviour. A number of case studies are used to document their theory of social typing. They found three stages in the process by which teachers come to type pupils. The first stage occurs during the first few meetings when teachers speculate on a pupil against their expectations of a typical first year pupil. The second stage is called 'elaboration' and involves on the one hand coming to see the new group of pupils in terms of certain common dimensions but also because different dimensions are involved, identifying pupils as unique individuals. The third stage, that of 'stabilization' is arrived at when the teacher has a relatively clear and stable image of the pupil, which can be in terms of conformism or deviancy. This is the stage when pupils stand out from the rest of their peers as deviant. Finally, the researchers examine the process whereby teachers decide how to act towards those actions and actors they have defined as deviant. Two principles are involved in the teachers' intervention to maintain order in the classroom. Firstly, the moral principle, whereby rules are established and justified on the grounds that the maintenance of social order resulting from observing it promotes and reflects certain moral values. Secondly, the pragmatic principle, whereby rules are established and justified not by an appeal to what is 'right' but to what 'works', that is what is most effective in enabling teacher-pupil interaction to take place. Hargreaves and his colleagues conclude that classroom deviance could be

avoided, if there were fewer rules in operation in the school and if actions rather than individuals were labelled, so avoiding the social creation of 'deviant pupils'.

Sharpe and Green (1975) in their analysis of the child-centred approach to infant education, offer a critique of the social phenomenological position, including the earlier work of Hargreaves (1967, 1972) which is based on this approach. For them, teacher typification cannot be understood as the phenomenologists have argued simply in terms of teacher consciousness and their classroom interaction with pupils. Sharpe and Green argue that classroom social structure is the product of both symbolic context and material circumstances. They attempt to demonstrate the inadequacy of the phenomenological perspective in failing to take the latter element into account, by citing from their study two paradoxes of the teachers' perceptions of the pupils. Firstly, the teachers were theoretically committed to treating all the children as individuals and avoiding the dangers of early labelling. Nevertheless, in practice this applied only to a number of pupils, others had 'reified' categorizations applied to them. The second paradox concerned the teachers' ideological support of the egalitarian principle that all pupils are of equal value. However, the researchers found that there was a marked degree of differentiation among the pupils, in terms of the amounts and kinds of interaction they had with their teachers and in particular "those pupils whom their teachers regarded as more successful

tended to be given for greater attention than others" (p.115). Sharpe and Green argue that these paradoxes have their origin in the wider structure of material and social relationships.

For Sharpe and Green, of central importance to the teachers in resolving the practical difficulties of implementing a progressive pedagogical approach is the concept of 'busyness', with the children actively involved in activities they have chosen. This results in freeing the teacher from giving them the constant attention she is unable to. In relation to this major working concept, Sharpe and Green develop a pupil typology of problem pupil, bedrock of busyness and elite types. The majority of the pupils belong to the second category, who have not acquired fixed identities and are regarded as 'normal'. They are self-directed in the various activities they choose and leave the teacher not merely to coordinate the ever changing classroom situation but to pay particular attention to those bright articulate pupils on whom the teacher feels she can have most impact. These 'ideal' pupils who show signs of 'readiness' have a high level of inter-subjectivity, have their activities more structured and receive a disproportionate amount of the teachers' time. In contrast for the few pupils who have acquired reified identities as 'problem' pupils, there was a low level of inter-subjectivity between them and the teachers. Sharpe and Green maintain that in the initial stage of the process of reification, these pupils:

... present themselves as strangers to the teachers' cognitive paradigms and routine practices in this context and this generates problems for the teacher which in her theoretical practice entails the need for non-common-sense reflective knowledge where the categories are drawn from 'esoteric' or abstract knowledge.

(ibid, p.120)

The reified identity may be reinforced as the 'problem' pupil continues to display behaviour which is evaluated as deviant. This is partly aided by the ethos of the child-centred pedagogical approach, according to which, the 'problem' pupil should be left alone in a non-threatening atmosphere to work through his problems, pursuing what interests him according to his needs. This seems to integrate him into the bedrock of busyness but the activities which he chooses such as playing in the Wendy House is of little academic value. At the same time the developmental progress of the child is measured by means of how productive are the activities that he chooses. Choosing to play with the Wendy House reinforces the teachers' perception of the child as making little progress. Furthermore, in order to resolve the teachers' management problem, this labelling process may be extended as a wide-range of administrative intervention techniques, such as special schooling and psychiatric testing are employed. These techniques are seen as the most effective solution to the pupils' deviant behaviour, that the teachers explain in terms of the ideology of domestic pathology, for example in relation to the 'one-parent' family. Sharpe and Green suggest that the phenomenological approach is a necessary but not a sufficient explanation of the labelling process.

b) Teacher expectations

A second major concern in recent sociological research of teacher typification has been the study of the effect of teacher expectations on pupil achievement. The best known work in this area is that of Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) experimental study, in which they informed teachers that certain pupils, on the basis of test results, were expected to show rapid intellectual growth. They re-tested the sample group, that were in fact randomly selected, and found that they had made greater gains in I.Q. than the rest of the pupil population. The research has, however been strongly criticized for its methodological approach, for example, that the I.Q. tests were of dubious quality and improperly administered. A particular weakness of the research was that due to their not observing the classroom interaction, they were unable to show how the teacher's expectations had caused the test improvements. Nash (1976) who has carried out a detailed examination of research in this area concludes that the self-fulfilling prophecy theory is suggestive rather than conclusive.

Rist's study (1970) in an American black ghetto primary school analysed the pupil-teacher interaction that Rosenthal and Jacobson had suggested resulted from teacher expectations. He found that pupil classification was determined by class and ethnic stereotypes. The teachers had high expectations of the 'ideal' pupils, based on a

black-white, middle-class reference group. As a result of these expectations, different groups of pupils received differential treatment, in such terms as teacher attention and allocation of jobs of responsibility. Rist argues that the class and ethnic stereotypes in operation in the classroom served to make black pupils feel educationally and socially inferior and this in turn affected their school achievement.

For Sharpe and Green (1975) Rist's work is an important contribution to the study of the effects of teacher expectations because it begins to locate the structuring of pupil identities not simply in the teachers' consciousness but also within the wider material and social conditions of the classroom. They develop their own theory of the self-fulfilling prophecy in relation to the assumed limitations of phenomenological approaches. They cite the work of Keddie (1971) to demonstrate their criticism. Keddie describes three categories of pupils, and analyses the inconsistencies between the teachers' educational theory and their classroom practices in relation to these pupils. The teachers held progressive educational views, were in favour of mixed ability grouping, and explained differential educational performance in terms of motivation rather than ability. However, Keddie, shows that in their interaction with pupils, the teachers operated with an uncritical concept of ability which informed their construction of the 'ideal' pupil as bright middle-class students. These inconsistencies were similar to the Mapledene School teachers of Sharpe

and Green's study. They argue that these discrepancies cannot be reduced to a question of teacher consciousness. For them, much of the work on self-fulfilling prophecy is too simplistic and overemphasises the fulfilment of the prophecy with no mention of its initial emergence.

Sharpe and Green's criticism of the phenomenological approach is particularly of importance in relation to the proposed solution to the problem of the negative effect of teacher expectations. Keddie's work, for example, seems to blame the teacher and suggests that if she did not adopt rigid negative categorization of pupils then this would lead to the outcome of teacher-pupil interaction being very much different. Sharpe and Green argue that such an analysis fails to take into account the context within which teachers are situated;

Where the problems of management and control require some implicit hierarchical differentiation of pupils in order to solve the problem of order and provide some legitimation for the allocation of scarce resources, i.e. teachers'time and energies.

(ibid, p.127)

Sharpe and Green conclude that the 'progressive' teachers contradictory practices of the differential treatment of pupils continues to structure unequal life-chances.

American research has primarily focussed on the class dimension of teacher typification. Rist (1977: 297) examines the multi-faceted and multi-dimensional aspects of teachers expectations. He notes that:

The variables of race and ethnicity have been documented by Brown (1968), Davidson and Lang (1960), and Jackson and Cosca (1974), ... among others as powerful factors in generating the expectations teachers hold of children.

Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 199) point out that in Britain little research has been carried out on the changing cultural base in majority black schools and more particularly little work is available on teachers' perceptions of pupils in these schools. They refer to two examples of the limited research in this area, that of Brittan (1976) and Giles (1977). Both of these researchers found that teachers tended to work with negative stereotypes of West Indian pupils, emphasising their behavioural problems. Rex and Tomlinson's detailed study found similar responses from head-teachers, in the Handsworth district of Birmingham, who perceived Asian pupils in more positive terms. Problems of the latter group were seen to result from cultural differences, such as differences in language and family networks. Tomlinson (1981c) reports similar findings among teachers in the same area, concerning racial stereotyped perceptions of the black community. She writes:

There were distinct differences in the ways heads and teachers viewed West Indian children in their schools ... On the whole, Asian families were felt to be supportive of schools, keen on education, and their children were viewed as likely to persevere in acquiring some kind of school or work qualifications. By contrast, children of West Indian origin and their parents were viewed as more problematic. Pupils were considered to be 'less keen on education', lacked ability to concentrate and were more likely to need remedial teaching ... The learning problems of children of West Indian origin were thought to be more acute than white or Asian children ...

The behaviour of pupils of West Indian origin was also viewed as a serious problem. At primary school level the children were thought to be more 'boisterous, disruptive and aggressive', than white or Asian children, and by secondary level the defiance and hostility of some pupils was felt to seriously disrupt the normal school processes.

(ibid, p.18)

In my ethnographic work, I found that the Kilby school staff adopted similar racial stereotypes of the black community, with a tendency for Asian pupils to be seen as of high ability and conformist in contrast to West Indian pupils, who were seen as of low ability and discipline problems.

This phenomenological work on teacher typifications has a number of important implications for my research on the process of teacher racial stereotyping of black pupils in operation at Kilby school. It helps us to move away from genetically and psychologically based views of the black community as pathologically deviant. It also directs attention away from the functionalist emphasis on the individuals' motivation and the school forces that are assumed to deterministically create black youths' deviant behaviour. By focussing on the interaction between the deviant and the agents of social control who label him, we are able to see how and why particular individuals are selected and defined as deviant and the resulting consequences of this process. Rather than seeing the pupils as simply reacting to forces outside their control, phenomenological research on teacher typifications suggests we focuss on the different meanings that the teachers

and black youth bring with them into the classroom. This is of particular significance to this research, which is concerned with the absence of teachers from 'race-relations' research and official reports. In the substantive work I shall examine the labelling process in operation within Kilby school and its relation to the classification system. There are, as Sharpe and Green have pointed out, serious limitations to much of this phenomenological work, however, as Apple (1979: 140) argues in pointing to the limitations of labelling theory and its resulting self-fulfilling prophecy, he is not suggesting that,

one should throw out social phenomenology or labelling theory. Instead one combines it with a more critical social interpretation that looks at the creation of identities and meanings in specific institutions like schools as taking place within a context that often determines the parameters of what is negotiable or meaningful. This context ... is the nexus of the economic and political institutions, a nexus which defines what schools should be about, that sets the limits on the parameters.

Apple suggests that Sharpe and Green have successfully achieved this combination. Their work is of central significance to my research, particularly their attempt to materially ground the analysis of teacher typifications to demonstrate how labelling and prophecies are generated and fulfilled in material conditions, both inside and outside the classroom and so impose structural constraints.

Similarly, I shall argue that idealist analysis which reduces racial stereotyping to a question of teacher prejudice creating deviant black pupils, as is asserted for example in the work of Jeffcoate (1979) and Green, P. (1982), is insufficient to explain the complex social interaction of teachers and black pupils. Rather the process of racism involves concrete practices linked to the objective material conditions and expectations both within the institution and the wider society. Sharpe (1980: 127) criticizes her own approach in Sharpe and Green's (1975) work for failing,

to produce an adequate materialist account of ideology ... Their use of the term is shifting and is largely synonymous with 'perspective' or world view. They have no account of ideology as itself having a materialist reality embedded in practices and routines.

A materialist analysis enables us to see the limitations and contradictions of liberal progressive ideology on which multi-cultural education is based. So, for example, the Kilby school liberal teachers see the implementation of a multi-cultural curriculum as a solution to the problem of black pupils' academic underachievement. The emphasis is on pupil behaviour modification in exchange for the institutional token acceptance of their culture within the school. However, the teachers assume that their modes of classroom interaction, types of control, conceptions of high-status knowledge and of forms of pupil behaviour are neutral educational categories. They fail to see that these are particular responses to ideological perceptions of real problems,

that have their origin not simply in teacher and pupil consciousness but in the power relations operating within the school and the wider society. So, for example, the 'problems' of schooling black youth, to which multi-culturalism is a response, is ideologically seen not in terms of the racist structures and processes within the school and wider society but rather as located within the pupils themselves and the pathological nature of their community. An examination of teacher racial stereotyping and the resulting differential material and social response to the pupils, enables us to see the role of teachers, which in conventional 'race-relations' research is absent, in reproducing these racist structures. A weakness of Sharpe and Green's work is their failure to empirically examine the pupils' response to the teacher typification process. Of primary concern to my research is the interaction of the teachers and the pupils' ideologies and practices.

2.3.iv Teacher Bureaucracy and Professionalism

The third body of theory that is of particular relevance to my concern with teacher ideologies and practices is the sociological studies of the bureaucratic and ideological nature of the teaching profession. Apple (1979: 141) informs us, as was argued above that power is the key to uncovering,

the dialectical relationship between ideology and the material and economic environment ... Yet ... power is not always visible as economic manipulation and control. It is often manifest as forms of helping, and as forms of legitimate knowledge, forms which seem to provide their own justification by being interpreted as neutral. This power is exercised through institutions which by running their natural course, reproduce and legitimate the system of inequality . And all this can in fact seem even more legitimate through the role of intellectuals who make up the helping professions such as education.

In order to understand the role of these intellectuals it is necessary to examine the bureaucratic structure of the teaching profession.

a) Teacher Bureaucracy

Weber is the main theorist of bureaucratic organizations. He saw them as the defining characteristic of modern industrial society with its need for professional expertise. Haralambos (1980) describes the development of Weber's theory of bureaucracy which derives from his theory of social action. He sees human action as directed by meanings. Various types of action based on different meanings are identified, including, affective or emotional action, traditional action and rational action. He argues that the latter type of action has become the dominant mode of action in modern industrial societies permeating all areas of life, including state administration, business, science and education. Bureaucracy is the prime example of this process of rationalization. It also acts

as a system of control, involving the acceptance of impersonal rules, which is based on 'rational-legal' authority and which produces a particular kind of organizational structure.

Weber (1946) defines bureaucracy as,

A hierarchical organization designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large-scale administrative tasks and organizational goals.

He constructed an ideal type of the rational-legal bureaucracy which included the following elements. Firstly, the existence of different positions governed by rules, the purpose of which is to fulfil specific functions. Secondly, the hierarchical organization of positions. Thirdly, rules governing conduct, their authority and responsibility which are recorded in written form. Fourthly, recruitment is based on staff's technical knowledge and expertise and, finally a clear distinction is maintained between the official and the office, that is, he does not own any part of the organization he works for. As Sharpe (1980: 22) points out, Weber located education within this framework. She writes,

Implicit in Weber's work is a typology of education based upon his classification of different modes of domination and legitimation. This typology gives rise to two differing educational world views, the first orientated to the creation of the 'cultivated gentleman', the second to the moulding of professional expertise ... which trains the young in the specialized skills and knowledge demanded by specific occupational roles in the division of labour, and where bureaucratic structures are the main devourers of the educated. Weber suggests the latter form tends to be narrower in range leading to credentialism, as the educated have to demonstrate their particular competence to perform specific work-role requirements.

Weber was highly critical of the increasing dominance of the latter form in Germany. Although he believed that bureaucratic organization was essential to the effective operation of large-scale society due to its technical superiority, nevertheless, he was pessimistic about its consequences for human freedom and creativity.

Gramsci (1971) accepted much of Weber's analysis of the evolution of bureaucracy but he saw it not as an inevitable consequence of industrialization but as an element of hegemonic domination that obscured power relations. Central to Gramsci's analysis of the state was his theory of modern bureaucracy, which following Hegel he locates at the level of relations between the leaders and the led but unlike Hegel, he does not see its function in positive terms. Migliaro and Misuraca (1978:74) describe what Gramsci saw as the dual nature of bureaucracy;

... the bureaucratic personnel of the State is appointed from above by the political leaders of the State to whom it answers for its activities. It is selected on the basis of technical competence which is presented as a criterion of legitimation. While the ruling classes require loyalty to the State and to their policies from the bureaucrats, the subordinate classes can demand of them only technical efficiency in the exercise of their functions. Thus for Gramsci bureaucracy is both political and technical fact.

This dual nature of bureaucracy and the tendency for the former aspect to be hidden behind the latter is made clear in relation to the ideological nature of teacher professionalism.

b) Teacher Professionalism

Much of the sociological investigation concerned with the development of the professions seems to be a search for an ideal type. The problems of defining the concept of profession, has resulted in various sociological models emerging, the most popular of which seems to be the formulation of trait models of professionalism, which comprise of a list of attributes, that are said to be essential characteristics of professional occupations. In this perspective only those occupations which exhibit all the attributes are considered professional. Millerson (1964: 10) on the basis of analysing the definitions of twenty-one writers, arrives at his own definition of a profession:

It is a type of higher-grade, non-manual occupation, with both subjectively and objectively recognized occupational status, possessing a well-defined area of study or concern and providing a definite service, after advanced training and education.

Johnson (1972) offers a radical critique of the conventional atheoretical and ahistorical approach to the study of professions, including the repetitive trait model; and posits an alternative framework, to examine the power relations which occupational groups develop in society. He argues that a focus of the practitioner-client relationship is the key to examining the source of power and authority of the professions, leading to an understanding of how professions use power and authority in society. The

key question in Johnson's scheme is whether the producers are able to impose their definition of the consumer-producer relationship on the consumer or not. Three major resources explain the amount of power available to an occupational group in this struggle. Firstly, the esoteric character of the knowledge used by the specialist is a power resource, because it produces variations in the degree of uncertainty of the consumer-producer relationship. Secondly, the amount of social power which the occupational group membership has outside the occupation, such as being members of a dominant class or caste in society. Thirdly, characteristics of the consumer; "the social composition and character of the source of demand", specifically, the larger, more heterogeneous and fragmented the consumers, the more easily the producers impose their definition upon the consumer. On the basis of this analysis, Johnson produces a typology of professions as institutions of social control.

Adopting Johnson's framework, we are able to move away from the dominant concern of sociologists with attempting to measure whether teaching a profession or no. Etzioni (1969: 6-7) employs such an approach:

As we see it, a significant segment of the semi-professions aspire to a full fledged professional status and sustain a professional self-image, despite the fact that they themselves are not often aware that they do not deserve such a status, and despite the fact that they objectively do not qualify.

Teaching may be regarded as a "profession divided against itself". An examination of its particular characteristics reveals the heterogeneous structure of the teacher occupation, and helps us to understand why teachers, as 'semi-professionals' (Lortie, 1969, 1975; Legatt, 1970) have not achieved the full status of the classical professions of law and medicine.

Firstly, the early growth of the National Union of Teachers is closely paralleled to the growth of the Labour Party; although not directly linked, there was during the early 1920's a general drift of teachers towards the Labour Party, which was pledged to oppose educational cut-backs (Ozgo and Lawn, 1981: 109). Secondly, we must note the historical internal divisions among teachers, between certified and uncertified teachers; between male and female colleagues; the National Association of Schoolmasters was formed partly as a result of the issue of equal pay for women; and between secondary and primary teachers. Thirdly, there is a prominence of female teachers in Britain. This is particularly the case in the primary sectors, which tends to emphasize the ideological dimension of these teachers providing 'maternal' care for younger pupils. The female majority in teaching has been seen as limiting union militancy (Deem, 1976). This stems from (1) the fact that teaching is a high status occupation for women, though only modestly so for men (Legatt, 1970);

(2) the traditional familial role obligations which still demand more of women than men in the home, and (3) the generally subordinate position of women within society. These mean that women will have less motivation, less time available, and less power with which to be involved in militant action (Ginsburg et al, 1980: 201)

Fourthly, a large percentage of teachers, particularly male teachers are of working-class origin. There may be a tendency among them to identify with the trade union practices of their parents, brothers and sisters in industrial occupations (Tropp, 1957). Finally, a central weakness of the teaching organizations' attempt to establish themselves as an 'ideal-type' profession, has been their relationship to their clients (Johnson, 1972).. Unlike the 'traditional' professions, teachers do not have the power to define the needs of consumers and how these needs are to be met. The failure of teachers to attain full professional status and their historically ambivalent conception of trade union membership suggests the importance of the ideology of professionalism, which has manifested itself as an occupational strategy aimed at creating a unified and self-governing profession.

The ideological nature of professionalism has been discussed by a number of authors, including, Johnson (1972, 1977a and 1977b), Roth (1974), Finn et al (1977), Larson (1977) and Ginsburg et al (1980). One of the central concerns

of these writers is the ambiguous class position of 'middle-class' teachers and the difficulty of determining their specific contribution to the ideological reproduction of class society. Teachers are not owners or distributors of the means of production, the classical definition of the bourgeoisie, and so from this perspective may seem to be aligned to the working-class. Also as Ginsburg et al point out:

To the extent that schooling can be seen as part of the workers' social wage, and to the extent that the skills transmitted by teachers may enable workers to obtain higher wages for their labour, teachers can be identified as on the side of the proletariat, although in the latter case the effect may remain at the level of the individual.

(ibid, p.200)

However, teachers do not produce surplus value, and so from one Marxist perspective, they will be seen as 'unproductive' workers. (Ozgo and Lawn, 1981: 123-148). Also, the teachers class position must not be simply read from their economic position as wage-earners. We must also consider the determinations of what Poulantzes (1975) calls the political and ideological levels. An important aspect of this has been the professional teaching organizations acceptance of the 'mental-manual' division of labour, and their identification with 'mental production'. Finn et al (1977: 170) comment that:

The ideology of professionalism has been used by the teaching organizations to either defend their middle-class status, or to assimilate themselves into that class. Trapped between the developing power of monopoly capital and the advances of the working-

class, professionalism, can be understood as a petit-bourgeois strategy for advancing and defending a relatively privileged position.

Larson (1977: XV) informs us in her introduction, that she has attempted to relate the 'problem' of professions to the more general 'problem' of the location of 'intellectuals' in a class society. For Gramsci (1971) intellectuals, a category that includes practically all 'intellect workers', are essential to the process of hegemonic control, providing an internal coherence and flexibility to the dominant ideology. Gramsci makes a distinction between the 'traditional' and 'organic' intellectuals. While the 'traditional' intellectuals perform tasks of intellectual leadership in a given social formation, the 'organic' intellectuals are more closely bound to the class to which they belong; as an example of the 'traditional' intellectuals, Gramsci cites the clergy and their relations to the feudal governing class in the Middle Ages; they were once an 'organic' intellectual class but having lost their links with a particular class; "they put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group". (ibid, p.7). The 'organic' intellectuals are those 'traditional' intellectuals, who have understood the direction in which history is moving, together with those intellectuals thrown up by the revolutionary class itself to serve as leaders. The intellectual, organically linked to the revolutionary class, becomes a member of the political party, which provides the leadership for that class, "and in active participation, in practical life, becomes

a constructor , an organizer, a permanent persuader ..."

(ibid, p.10). The relative social superfluity of the teaching profession enables different teachers to support or subvert the dominant hegemonic control as reproduced by the dominant social relations of education. It is against this background that we can critically examine the ideological elements of the teaching profession and the resulting mystification of the power relations between teachers and pupils.

Larson (1977: XVIII) helps us to locate the rise of professionalism in America and England:

The model of profession emerged during 'the great transformation' and was originally shaped by the historical matrix of competitive capitalism. Since then the conditions of professional work have changed so that the predominant pattern is no longer that of a free practitioner in a market of services but that of a salaried specialist in a large organization. In this age of corporate capitalism, the model of profession retains its vigour ... the persistence of profession as a category of social practice suggests that the model constituted by the first movements of professionalism have become an ideology, not only an image that inspires collective or individual efforts, but a mystification which obscures real social structures and relations.

Members of the 'Welfare professions' such as teaching, social work and educational welfare officers, now have a major institutional significance in structuring the self-experience of those who are dependent on these agencies. However, as Gramsci explains modern bureaucracies convert fundamental moral and political questions into technical and administrative

problems. So, for example, Apple (1979: 143) pointing to the function of common-sense categories in the politics of labelling maintains that:

the process of labelling occupies a subtle but essential place ... Because the designations, categories and linguistic tools employed by educators ... are perceived by them to have both scientific status, and to be geared to 'helping' students, there is little realization that the very language that they resort to is ideally suited to maintain the bureaucratic rationality (and its concomitant effects of social control and consensus) that has dominated school for so long.

Of central importance to this process of depoliticization has been the development of psychology as an applied science in school management, administration and pastoral care. National and local educational policies are depoliticized within the context of school by means of psychological categories of assessment which are perceived as institutionally neutral categories but in reality serve to recreate the interests of the dominant socio-economic groups. Intelligence testing is the main psychological practice within the schools, but more recently attitudinal testing of such attributes as sociability, social initiative, group dependency and submissiveness and dominance, has become of prime significance, by which personality dimensions can be assessed through 'scientific' methodology. Much of the psychologically-based research on black pupils, for example, Coard, 1971; Milner, 1975; and Young and Bagley, 1982, has focussed on this approach,

emphasizing their 'low self-image'. In my substantive work it will be argued that the liberal teachers employ these psychological mechanisms, which work particularly against pupils of West Indian origin, to explain black youths' assumed problems and attempt to modify their behaviour. Their contradictory position is made more clear by an examination of the relationship between welfare capitalism and liberalism, which Bowles and Gintis (1976: 19) have described:

The basic strategy for progressive liberalism is to treat troublesome social problems originating in the economy as aberrations which may be alleviated by means of enlightened social programmes. Among these correctives, two stand out, education and governmental intervention in economic life. Figuring prominently in the writings of liberals, both have become essential instruments of economic growth. Both it is thought can serve as powerful compensatory and ameliorative forces, rectifying social problems and limiting the human cost of capitalist society.

In the ethnographic work, it will be argued that the fundamental contradiction for the liberal teachers at Kilby school is that while they adopt 'progressive' measures, such as multi-cultural practices as a means of achieving a more equal society for black youth, at the same time they maintain the institutional power relations which reflect the dominant interests of monopoly capitalism, making this aim impossible to achieve. However, the functionalist critiques of liberal teachers' multi-cultural approach have tended to simplify the teachers' complex social location within

a modern bureaucracy. They have over-emphasized the social control element and failed to locate 'progressive' education ideology in its material base, that of the bureaucratic nature of the professional teachers' career structure.

Within schools individualism is a central ideological process, in which the structural causes and the collective action upon these causes of social relations are hidden behind a subjective perspective. It will be shown in the substantive work that at Kilby school, both the Old Disciplinarians and the Liberal teachers have institutionalized an individualized definition of the pupils' academic 'failure'. Locating the source of the problems within the pupils themselves rather than the racist structures and processes of the school and wider society. However, the two groups differed in their response to the 'problem' of schooling black pupils. There will be an examination of their proposed remedies in relation to the question of the teachers' career structure.

The operation of this racial ideology, that is, that black youth constitutes a 'problem' in education must be seen in relation to how bureaucracies work in modern societies. Liberal teachers believe that multi-culturalism will solve the black youth's educational 'problems'. However, different forms of this prescribed institutional solution are seen to have failed, having shifted from assimilation to plural integration, it is now argued (Green, 1982) that an anti-racist approach is necessary to resolve the 'problem'

of schooling black pupils. This is a concrete example of bureaucrats converting political and educational questions into value-free technical and administrative problems. The widespread evidence of black pupils' resistance to schooling and the relatively higher levels of black youth unemployment (Dhondy et al, 1982; Carby, 1982; Smith, 1980; Trinder, 1983 and Bishton, 1984) empirically demonstrate the inadequacy of multi-cultural educational programmes to improve the life-chances of black youth. However, bureaucrats working within the framework of welfare capitalism, define problems in terms that they claim they can solve and, in so doing, generate work for occupational groups.

An example of this is to be found in the vast expansion in areas of the teaching profession, such as pastoral care, on the basis of increased intervention into pupils' lives. Chessum (1980: 124) describes the way in which schools in her study did not work in isolation:

... but formed a part of a network of state agencies and professionals who took responsibility for selected aspects of the welfare and control of the pupils in and out of school. The schools expected to cooperate with these other bodies ... Psychologists, social workers, child psychiatrists, staff of special schools and educational welfare officers were examples. These were schools' sources of help when they felt unable to deal adequately with pupils problems and they strongly reinforced an individualised, family based perspective on pupils' adverse reactions to school. It was part of the task of staff who liaised with other professionals, and won acceptance from them to share this sort of paradigm.

Similarly by adopting this ideological individualized approach, the liberal teachers help to reproduce a vast 'race-relations' bureaucracy based on the 'new racist' ideology of seeing black youth as constituting the 'problem' in schooling. The teachers' culturalist assumptions create a system of racial stereotyping which acts as a selective mechanism of whom needs institutional 'help'. This expansion of social engineering does not address the fundamental contradiction of racism but serves the career interests of the 'helping' professions.

2.3.v Summary

The above sociological studies of the bureaucratic and ideological nature of the teaching profession together with the socio-cultural reproduction theories and the phenomenological approach of the 'new sociology' of education examined here, each provide significant concepts that help us to address the issue of the Kilby school teachers' response to the schooling of black pupils. Furthermore these theories point to the complex nature of the teacher-pupil relations. I shall now theoretically examine the question of the latter's response to the teachers' ideologies and practices.

2.4 Pupil Adaptations and Strategies

The third area of concern is pupils' adaptations and strategies. The primary focus of attention is the pupils' forms of resistance. It will be argued that their resistance is linked to the wider

community and, if we are to understand their strategies, it is necessary to examine the black community's response to the existing power relations.

2.4.1 Black Community's Political Structure

The dominant 'race-relations' perspective by adopting a cultural form of analysis has not addressed itself to the political structure of the black community. However, it will be argued that behind this apolitical stance is hidden an appeal to national homogeneity. So, for example, Carby (1980: 2) attacks the assumed nationalist consensus of official reports and documents. She maintains that:

Inherent contradictions and conflicting interests ... within and between racial, sexual and class groupings are contained by and subsumed under an apparent unity of interests.

Much of the literature, including Heinemann, 1972, Lawrence, 1974, Miles and Phizacklea, 1977, 1980, and Pearson, 1981, that has addressed itself to these issues, has tended to reduce black working-class political activity to social democratic forms. Such work focussing on the divisions between and within 'ethnic groups' concludes that although high levels, of electoral support for the Labour Party, and trade union membership is to be found among the black community, the racial divisions within the labour movement force blacks back into ethnic associations, and a resulting contrast is made between the passivity and ephemerality

of West Indian political associations" (Pearson, 1981: 14) and the more cohesive formal and informal Asian organizations (Wallman, 1979). Miles and Phizacklea's work (1977: 492) provides an example of this approach. Examining recent research on the black community's political activity, they suggest three possible processes that could improve blacks' situation in Britain:

The first is for members of the racial and ethnic strata to become incorporated into the class structure of Britain, with the result that the problems they face and experience will become defined as class issues. We will call this the class unity process. The second suggested strategy is organisation along ethnic lines and we will refer to this as the ethnic organisation process. The third strategy also identified by Lawrence is for members of the racial and ethnic strata to organise across ethnic lines. This we call the black unity process.

Finding little hope for the implementation for the class unity or black unity process, they pessimistically conclude that this results in the ethnic organization process being of primary political significance for the black community in Britain.

Gilroy (1981: 212) is highly critical of the above studies, that following the approach of Castles and Kosack (1973) have concentrated their analysis on the work situation. He accuses Phizacklea and Miles (1980) of imposing their own eurocentric models of political activity onto blacks. He argues that their quantitative methodology fails to make explicit what is specific about black political struggles,

that is the relationship between such struggles and the wider black community. For Gilroy the 'community' is a vital analytical concept, with its linking of waged and domestic labour, for an understanding of the black community's political structure and activity.

Localised struggles over education, racist violence and police practices continually reveal how black people have made use of notions of community to provide the axis along which to organize themselves. The concept of community is central to the view of class struggle presented here. For it links distinct cultural and political traditions, which have a territorial dimension, to collective action and consciousness and operates within the relations of economic patterns, political authority and uses of space.

Gilroy maintains that another aspect of primary significance to the specificity of the black struggle is the centrality of cultural forms of resistance. Here race is not reduced to a question of ethnicity or custom but rather racist and anti-racist ideology and black resistance are seen as an element of class conflict.

... the politics of black liberation is cultural in a special sense: Coons, Pakis, Nig-nogs, Sambos and Wogs are cultural constructions in ideological struggle. Cultures of resistance develop to contest them and the power they inform, as one aspect of the struggle against capitalist domination which blacks experience as racial oppression. This is a class struggle in and through race.

(ibid, p.210)

Allen (1982: 146) who is critical of the caricatured social images of the 'first generation' blacks, argues for the need for an historical analysis of the black community's political activity and its resistance to racism. She is particularly critical of the stereotypes of 'passive' blacks who were in fact involved in the national struggles for independence in their country of origin.

Generalisations that the earlier generation were 'quiescent', 'prepared to accept their lot', 'willingly did the lowly paid, low status work', 'had low expectations for themselves' need much closer examination. It can be argued that such a characterization denies the level of awareness that the older generation had of the conditions of their existence. It denies, too, their experience of colonial oppression and the part some of them had played in attempting to combat and change the circumstances of their lives. Some of those from the Indian subcontinent had been engaged in the independence struggles themselves, and many had come from areas and families which had a long history of such struggles.

The image of 'rebellious' black workers and children is to be found in the early literature on 'race-relations', for example, Banton, 1955; Patterson, 1963 and Davidson, 1966. Hence, their response to racist practices cannot be reduced to the Nottingham/Notting Hill riots of 1958. But a reading of the current literature of this history suggests the absence of such a response.

It is in response to such an absence that a number of theorists have addressed themselves to the question of the continuity of the black community's resistance to racism since their

arrival in Britain. So, for example, Joshua et al (1983) in examining the 1980 'Bristol riot', argue that this was not a recent phenomenon, but rather that 'collective racial violence', understood politically, "as an expression of political struggles and aspirations of the black communities settled in Britain" (ibid, p.1), has been an integral part of the history of black settlement in Britain throughout the present century. For them, the primary cause of this resistance has been racial subordination. They see the black community's response as a non-revolutionary strategy to gain power within the existing social framework and more recently to challenge the increasingly racist role of the state. They stress the collective nature of the resistance as evidence that within the black community there has been a shared understanding of racism that has repeatedly expressed itself throughout the century in terms of a rational form of violence.

Sivanandan's (1982) historical analysis is the most comprehensive account of the black community's political structure and resistance to racism. He traces the move from resistance to open rebellion in the early 1980's and locates within this process the growth of the unity between the Afro-Caribbeans' and the Asians' struggles. Sivanandan details the early individual and collective uncoordinated and separate strategies that were adopted in the workplace by the black communities during the 1950's. It was in response to discrimination in housing that both groups began to organize on a community

basis. Also, of importance in uniting the black communities against racialism was the anti-colonial struggle. For Sivanandan the 1962 Immigration Act marked a shift away from the earlier experience of colour prejudice to that when prejudice was institutionalized in the power structures of society, that is, a shift away from racialism to racism. In response to such a change the black struggle in the work-place and community was strengthened. At work there was increased pressure for self-representation and in the community self-help projects flourished. Of particular significance was the development of the linking of anti-racism and anti-imperialism. The black struggle in Britain was increasingly informed by the black struggles of the past and the present, including those of Ghandi, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nyerere, James, Williams, Du Bois, Garvey and the on-going struggles in Vietnam and 'Portugese Africa' in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and the struggles for Black Power in the United States of America (Sivanandan, 1983: 3).

He next analyses what he calls the defensive struggles of the 1970's, following the passing of the 1971 Immigration Act which stopped all black immigration. The Asian struggle focussed on immigration issues, including attempting to get dependents into Britain and defending individuals against arbitrary arrest and deportation. For the West Indians, the major areas of concern were the miseducation of their children, the 'Sus' laws that were criminalizing their young and

police brutality and official bias. Sivanandan stresses how the fight against racism, strengthened the class struggle, through a series of industrial disputes in the early 1970's, including the most publicized strikes at Mansfield Hosiery Mills, 1972; Imperial Typewriters, 1974; and Grunwick, 1976. Black political organizations, such as the Black Peoples Freedom Movement and the Black Workers Movement were of particular significance to these disputes as trade union racism expressed itself in terms of lack of support. By the mid-1970's, youth were at the forefront of the black struggle, with the growing number of young Afro-Caribbeans identifying with the "popular politics of Rastafari" and the emergence of Asian youth organizations and defense committees, for example the formation of the Southall Youth Movement following the killing of Gurdip Singh Chaggar. Equally important to the black community's resistance to racism was the women's struggles "at the factory-gate, on the streets, in the home, at the schools and in the hospitals" (p.32). Sivanandan (1983: 4) speaking later of this period, when the black infrastructure began to erode under pressure from Urban Aid programmes and the creation of a class of black collaborators, describes the strategic position of women in the black struggle.

It was only the black women's movement that continued from the 1970's and into the 1980's to hold together the black infrastructure. It was the women, both Afro-Caribbean and Asian, who were to continue to collate the struggles, to connect with third world issues to publicise and organise and, above all, uphold the unity between the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities.

Sivanandan argues that during the 1970's there was a shift from a concern with "immigration control to induced repatriation" and with the passing of the 1981 Nationality Act Britain was becoming a "pass law society". It was against this background, with increasing repression from the authoritarian state, that black resistance developed into open rebellion in 1981, beginning in Brixton and spreading throughout the urban area of Britain.

Joshua et al's and Sivanandan's work is of central importance to this research. They demonstrate that black resistance to racism is not a static phenomenon that can be understood in the abstract, but rather that it has assumed distinctive forms in particular historical periods and at the same time they show the continuity of the black community's struggle, challenging the stereotypes of the 'passive first generation' blacks. In the substantive work it will be argued that the liberal educational concessions to the black community with the plural integrationist shift towards a minimal acceptance of their culture was not automatically given by the state. The cruder methods of the assimilationist model, for example, that of the policy of 'dispersal' were eventually abandoned due to the resistance, formal and informal of the black community. Dhondy (1978: 81) has described the growth of black pupil and parent movements who organized around various educational issues, such as banding, bussing and Educational Sub-Normal schools. He maintains that:

... there was a black movement in education in this country from the time that our children began to be schooled here. Its spokesmen were the parents of the young blacks who were born here or brought here from the West Indies, from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and Africa, as dependents.

Furthermore, without reducing the black working class struggle to ethnic divisions nor reducing the specificity of their resistance to racism to class struggle, Sivanandan has analysed the political structure, consciousness and activity of the black struggle as a community and a class, which has deepened and broadened the "class struggle through its black and anti-colonial, anti-imperialist dimension" (1982: 34).

There will be an analysis of the power relations within Kilby school through which racism operates and the wider determinants of the racial structuring of schooling. It is within this framework that I shall locate the pupils' resistance, linking it to that of the wider community. If this response is not to be simply interpreted in terms of deviant behaviour, then two major ideological divisions that have been created by state policy, 'race-relations' research and teachers' 'common-sense' racism, must be critically examined. The first concerns the creation of the generational division between the 'rural and passive first generation' of black immigrants that was analysed above, and the 'rebellious urban second generation'. The Intergenerational rebellion of young blacks has primarily been attributed to those of West Indian origin.

As Allen (1982: 147) points out, the explanation of black youth's resistance to schooling in terms of generational differences has an earlier and more specific history in relation to the sociology of youth during the 1950's and 1960's.

We must look ... at the modes of analysis which have emerged in social science theories about generational relations and in particular in the research on youth. The sociology of youth and the psychology of adolescence are two broad areas, in which questions were posed and which have informed much of the work on specific problems. The problems were defined most commonly by practitioners and authority figures and responses of social scientists were related, in large measure, to these.

Allen's last point needs emphasising, in the authoritarian Britain of the 1980's, a significant element of the creation of the social image of black youth, is the social scientists' response to the repressive state agents, most particularly the police. An examination of this earlier debate reveals that its main assumptions and arguments are now employed in describing the assumed generational divisions within the black community. It will be argued that just as the 'rediscovery' of poverty in the late 1960's revealed the theoretical inadequacy of this approach, so in the 1980's, mass unemployment which disproportionately affects all sectors of the black community, both young and old, demonstrates the conceptual limitations of generational explanations. Further, it will be argued that as with the earlier generational

theory, a class analysis provides an important qualification of the former approach and in so doing, produces a more adequate understanding, in this case of black youth's social location in British society.

The phenomenon of youth has emerged as a central category for the media, popular writers and social scientists in America and Britain since the Second World War. Murdock and McCron (1976: 10) point out that this publicity and theorizing has not taken place in a vacuum. On the contrary they argue that:

... ideas about youth have been intimately bound up with the dominant images of capitalism in change; images of pluralism and openness, of affluence and consumerism, and above all, of increasing classlessness.

Their main aim in examining the career of 'youth culture' theory, is to restore class to the centre of the sociology of youth. The dominant view during the post-war period was that of generational theory. This was more consonant with the cold war climate and the fear that among the young the ethos of individualism which was formed, was being displaced by an emphasis on peer group conformity.

The two main exponents of this approach were, the structural functionalist model as represented in the work of Eisenstadt (1956) and Parsons (1964), and Mannheim's generational model (1952). For Eisenstadt (1964: 135) age is of central significance in explaining youth's relation to society as a whole.

In all societies, age serves as a basis for defining the cultural and social characteristics of human beings for the formation of some of their mutual relations and common activities, and for the differential allocation of social roles.

Similarly for Parsons age is a primary focus of analysis. He formulated the term 'youth culture' to describe the "unique and highly distinctive combination of age-grading and sex role elements" which he identified as emerging among American adolescents. For Parsons and Eisenstadt youth is a period of training and preparation for adulthood. Although their age-specific problems are dysfunctional, nevertheless, youth groupings emerge which act as reintegrating mechanisms. Eventually, youth, which is seen as a homogenous group, pass through this transitional stage, accepting the norms and values of society. Karl Mannheim's concept of the generational unit lies between a functionalist perspective and the concept of separate generational consciousness. Generations were defined as having a common 'location', not in the socio-economic structure of society, but in the "historical dimension of the social process". More specifically generation unit refers not simply to shared location but a common response to social problems. As Mannheim (1952: 304) maintains:

The generation unit represents a much more common bond than the actual generation as such. Youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experiences in different specific ways constitute separate generation units.

Woods (1977: 3) points out that this model was influential in explaining the rise of student activism during the 1960's.

This dissent was:

attributed to the biological fact of age, the psychological processes involved in the structuring of consciousness and reaction to prevailing major issues in society.

British research at this time reflects the concerns of the above work, including concepts of generation gap, distinctive youth culture, and the classlessness of youth culture.

Abram's research (1959) focusses on the classless consumerism of a separate culture based upon the 'teenage market'.

Other theorists, including Musgrove, 1968, Rowntree and Rowntree, 1968, and Neville, 1971, go further and suggest that youth constitute a new class. For example, Musgrove's (1969: 50) conception of youth is that of a culture cut off from productive work and responsibility. He emphasises the values of consumption and hedonistic leisure, leading to youth becoming "a social class, a class relatively independent of the stratification system of adults".

Mungham and Pearson (1976) maintain that although during this period a generational perspective tends to be adopted in the mainstream sociological work on youth, a class analysis is used in the specialized area of delinquency research. The most significant study in this area is Albert Cohen's 'Delinquent Boys' (1955). He argues that as a result of the cumulative failure experienced by working-class boys,

sub-cultures emerge to challenge their status frustration. He employs the term "reaction formation" to describe how these boys, who have common problems of adjustment, invert the dominant values and norms of the school and redefine the status system to include their own criteria. In Cohen's work, behaviour is assumed to be the result of problem solving. This reflects Merton's understanding of anomie as emerging as a result of differential access to opportunities (Merton, 1938). Cohen attempts to go beyond the notion of the universal youth culture and demonstrate the centrality of class inequalities in explaining the formation of youth sub-cultures. However, there are also implicit within his work, important limitations. Firstly, by emphasising the delinquents' rejection of the dominant culture, he fails to take into account the continuities between them. Secondly, this research continues to perceive youth sub-cultures as self-contained units and consequently fails to focus on their links with the wider working-class. Thirdly, Cohen's work and similarly the influential research of Cloward and Ohlin (1960), with its explanation of deviant youth sub-cultures in terms of status frustration through lack of opportunity, assume that all youth internalize the dominant values of individual competition and success. In other words, they adopt a consensus view of society.

Two important pieces of research address themselves to these deficiencies. Firstly, W.B. Millar (1958) critical of this view of perceiving sub-cultures in reactive terms, argues that these groupings are in fact a positive assertion

of lower working-class values. He identifies their focal concerns as trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. For Millar what is of primary significance in understanding delinquency is not the question of the inversion of middle-class values but rather a matter of seeing the delinquent gangs as a product of lower working-class culture. Secondly, Matza and Sykes (1961: 717-18) criticize the sub-cultural theorists for over-stressing the differences between sub-cultural and dominant values. They argue that delinquents' values are not only related to working-class culture but are also to be found in what they call "the subterranean values of leisure" of the dominant classes.

As with the mainstream sociology of youth, during this period British research tends to reflect many of the concerns of American work on delinquency. So, for example, Mays (1954) Liverpool study, and that of Morris (1957) and Kerr (1958), which are of an 'ecological' nature, focussing on changes in working-class neighbourhoods, although independently arrived at, reflect Millar's argument (1958) of the delinquent groups' conformity to working-class values, such as toughness, excitement and autonomy from external authority.

Similarly, a number of British studies reflect Cohen's concern with the school as a central mediating mechanism of class inequalities. In Sugarman's study of London schoolboys, (1967) he argues that pupils are caught between two cultures,

that of the school and the youth culture organized by the entertainment and leisure industry. In dissociating from the school, they are inverting its official values, such as deferred gratification and identifying with the teenage leisure industry's emphasis on immediate gratification. These pupils mainly belong to the 'non-mobile working-class' (p.160). For Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970), the formation of sub-cultures within the school; Hargreaves 'delinquent sub-culture' and Lacey's 'anti-group' result from the status frustration of low-stream pupils. They were particularly concerned with the complex processes of differentiation that operated within the schools and the formal and informal consignment of working-class pupils to different streams.

Although this work went beyond earlier generational theories, in pointing to the importance of the class dimension of youth cultures, nevertheless, there are a number of limitations. Clarke et al (1976: 28) maintain that in the 'ecological' studies social class did receive more adequate attention than in mainstream sociology of youth, but there was an important deficiency:

The class analysis though now present was a rather technically founded 'social' class one, (usually based on the Registrar Generals classification), a static dehistorical concept of class. The ecological areas were not sufficiently dynamically placed within the structure of classes in the city and the class relations of the wider society at the time.

Sugarman in identifying youth culture with the culture of the non-mobile working-class, as though they were synonymous, fails to make clear the complex relations between them. This is also a weakness of Hargreave's and Lacey's work, which remains within the same problematic of the earlier 'educability studies' with "the absence of a critical assessment of what was typically called 'modern technological society'", (C.C.C.S. Education Group, 1981: 131).

It is most important to stress that in paralleling American and British research during this period, it is not suggested that the latter simply reflected the American situation. The primary determinant of British research was the establishment of educational problems within that particular society at that particular historical moment.

An important sub-cultural study at this time was Downes (1966) investigation of the 'corner-boy' culture of two London boroughs, Stepney and Poplar, which was critical of the application of American theory to Britain. He maintains that Britain has highly developed historical traditions, such as the more highly class conscious social structure. Downes develops the class analysis of the mid-1960's by arguing that youth's class position determines opportunities not only at school and work, but also in leisure activities, in which they invest much of their energies as an escape from the monotony of school and work. He maintains that they lack the means or opportunities to achieve the glamorous

promises of leisure consumption but at the same time working-class youth are dissatisfied with the traditional local entertainment. Hence, they react against both middle-class and working-class culture. Although there are a number of limitations in his work, for example, he over-emphasised teenage culture as largely commercialised and does not examine its creative elements, his study extends class analysis and demonstrates the need for this analysis to be restored to the centre of the sociology of youth.

During the 1970's, this focus on the primacy of the class element in subcultural studies is developed by a number of theorists, including Murdock, 1973, 1974, Murdock and McCron, 1976, and the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (the C.C.C.S.), with an emphasis on youth subcultures as solutions to collectively experienced problems and contradictions, and the significance of 'style' in representing class experience. The above writers acknowledge the importance in the development of their analysis, of two influential pieces of work. Firstly, Stan Cohen's (1972) transactional analysis of societal reaction in creating a 'moral panic' concerning the emergence of youth sub-cultural groups, such as the Mods and Rockers, who Cohen argues had become the new 'folk devils'. Secondly, Phil Cohen's (1972) historically based work on the London East End working-class community, which he maintains rested on the mutual articulation of three structures; the extended kinship network, the ecological setting and the local economy. He examines the

the impact of post-war redevelopment on the community and in particular on the young. He sees sub-cultures emerge as an attempt to ideologically resolve the contradictions in the parent culture, such as the central contradiction between traditional working-class puritanism and the new ideology of consumption.

Mods, Parkers, Skinheads, Crombies, all represent in their different ways, an attempt to retrieve some of the socially cohesive elements destroyed in their parent culture, and to combine these with elements selected from other class fractions, symbolising one or other of the options confronting it.

(ibid, p.25)

The problems which are always experienced and 'resolved' at the ideological level, thus remain unreal, imaginary or 'magical' solutions. For Phil Cohen, there are three levels in the analysis of sub-cultures.

... one is the historical ... which isolates the specific problematic of a particular class fraction ... secondly ... the sub-systems ... and the actual transformations they undergo from one subcultural moment to another ... thirdly ... the way the subculture is actually lived out by those who are bearers and supports.

(ibid, p26)

Cohen's work has helped to stimulate many empirical studies at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). In an introductory chapter Clarke et al (1976: 21) offer a critique of the generational and youth culture theories, arguing that the notion of a classless youth culture emerged from a wider debate concerning the

whole nature of post-war change. They maintain that:

The key terms in this debate were ...'affluence', consensus and embourgeoisment ... These terms came to be woven together into an all embracing social myth or 'explanation' of post-war social change ..., the conventional wisdom was that 'affluence' and 'consensus' together were promoting the rapid 'bourgeoisification' of the working-classes. This was producing new social types, new social arrangements and values. One such type was the 'affluent worker' , the new type of "bourgeois worker" ... Another was the new teenager with his commitment to style, music, leisure and consumption: to a 'classless youth culture'.

They argue that the 'rediscovery' of class inequalities revealed the conceptual bankruptcy of the generational and youth culture theories. The C.C.C.S. adopt and develop Phil Cohen's proposition that sub-cultures constitute an 'imaginary relation'. Sharpe (1980: 134-135) describes the way in which they have produced a class analysis of youth sub-culture within a Marxist framework, paying particular attention to the concepts of culture and ideology.

They define culture as an active process of producing meanings in determinate conditions of which those arising from the elementary division of labour at the level of production are regarded as primary. Different class cultures or subcultures there of are related to different class positions and are seen as a material expression of class interests generated therefrom. However, the ideological manifestation of these common class interests may vary, partly because, although there may be a common class problematic which cannot be easily transcended, a similar range of objective conditions which structure the main parameters of social existence, these objective conditions do not always impinge at the same time

in the same way, through the same mechanisms or with the same force, upon all members of the class simultaneously. Using this framework they have attempted to study the various subcultural forms within young working-class peer groups which in their terms 'resolve ideologically, in an imaginary way, the real relations, which cannot otherwise be transcended'.

Willis (1977) in his ethnographic study of a group of working-class youths applies many of the insights of the C.C.C.S.'s work on subcultures within the context of the school. In a detailed examination of the boys' creative culture of resistance he describes the 'lads' rejection of institutionalized knowledge and qualifications. This rejection is based upon their 'penetrations' into the contradictions of the dominant school culture; individualized career patterns and social mobility are of little value to them as they know they are destined for a future of generalised labour. Willis goes beyond the traditional Marxist socio-cultural reproduction theorists' thesis that schools 'fail' pupils, by demonstrating that these oppositional forms of resistance are only partial insights. They contain significant 'limitations' that help to accomplish the reproduction of the class structure and their own location within it. Willis is primarily concerned with the relationship between the anti-school group and their parent culture, and in particular, the shop-floor culture. He identifies a number of similarities between the anti-school culture and the workplace, including coping with boredom and meaninglessness, attempting to gain informal control of the schooling/work process, the adoption

of a distinct form of language, high status assigned to practical ability rather than theoretical knowledge and an inversion of the conventional ranking of mental/manual labour, and its linking with the couplet masculine superiority/female inferiority. Willis examines these links between capitalism and patriarchy. The celebration of masculinity on the shop floor is reflected in the 'lads' mode of resistance to the conformists' positive response to mental work. The 'lads' in rejecting mental work as effeminate and inferior are preparing themselves for the social and ideological practices of the workplace and leading themselves into low-skilled manual labour.

Although not primarily concerned with racism, Willis examines the racial divisions within the working-class in relation to the 'lads'. He dismisses as inadequate a conspiracy theory that racism is merely an ideology propagated by the dominant classes to achieve a divided and weakened working-class. As with sexism, racism is a significant ideological element of the anti-school sub-culture that reflects and reproduces the divisions within the working-class. Having examined the material and ideological divisions that racism produces he adds:

There is also a sense ... in which racism tones the sensual giving of labour power for sections of the white working-class such as the 'lads' in a way which leads to further nuanced affirmation of a particular kind of labouring. It marks the bottom limit of the scope of masculinity and delivers it not as a vulgar assertion of everything physical and menial, but as a more carefully judged cultural category. Since, immigrant racial groups are likely to take the worst and roughest jobs, there are also potentially likely to be harder and more masculine. It is untenable that another social group should take the mantle of masculine assertiveness, so such jobs are further reclassified to fall off the cultural scale of masculinity into the 'dirty', 'messy' and 'unsocial' category.

(ibid, pp.152-153)

Willis is arguing that instead of seeing racism in terms of inevitable ethnic hostility, it is better understood in relation to the complex social definition of labour power in a capitalist society.

There has been a number of criticisms of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Study and that of Willis. Woods (1977: 78) has accused the C.C.C.S. of romanticizing working-class youth cultures. Subcultural solutions are inadequate because the problems that they address are shared by a much larger group of the population. He also feels that focussing on the difficulties of a particular class fraction can lead to sentimentalizing such activities as mugging, 'paki-bashing', and 'queer-bashing' and so, justify personal responsibility in terms of socio-cultural

or ideological conditions. When racial attacks are carried out by and experienced by youth in a similar social location, it strains credulity to explain this behaviour in class terms. Allen (1982: 150) acknowledges the theoretical advances on the generational thesis made by the class analysis of the C.C.C.S. but she sees a serious gap between the theory and ethnographic studies which, concentrate on the leisure activities of 'deviant' groups to the exclusion of what is central to a class analysis, namely the links between working-class youth cultures and the culture of the work situation. Allen cites Willis (1977) as an important exception. For Sarup (1982: 40), Willis shares the main limitation of the approach of the C.C.C.S., that of romanticizing working-class youth-culture and more specifically in his work, of exaggerating the significance of the 'lads' 'resistance to being incorporated into the school. He maintains that in over-emphasizing the 'rationality' of their resistance, Willis fails to examine the potential development of the radical consciousness of the 'conformist' pupils.

2.4.iii Generational Theory and Black Youth

I shall now examine the adoption and adaption of the concept of the generational theory in relation to black youth. Lawrence (1982: 132) maintains that the idea of generational conflict has developed in 'race-relations' research against

a background of the assumed 'passivity of the first generation'.

The ideas of 'identity crisis', 'culture conflict' and 'intergenerational conflict' which power the accounts of 'race/ethnic relations' sociologists have been constructed in large part without reference to the struggles that the parents have been involved in before and since coming to Britain. They have been characterized as the passive, acquiescent victims of racism wanting only to 'integrate', as recalcitrant 'traditionalists', suspicious and bewildered by white society, who withdraw wilfully into their own 'ethnic' or 'religious' enclaves, or as a combination of both.

For example, Brake (1980: 115-116) describes how the differing backgrounds, experiences, expectations and responses of the black parents and their children lead to intergenerational conflict. However, this conception of intergenerational conflict which has become for sociologists, policy-makers and teachers the dominant social image of black youth has taken different forms in relation to youth of Asian and West Indian origin.

Generational conflict within the Asian community has been perceived as less problematic than that of the West Indians and has focussed upon the cultural and psychological problems facing a 'half-British, half-Asian' generation caught between the loyalties and obligations to the 'traditional' parent culture and the more liberal western culture that they experience within the school. Ballard and Ballard (1977: 44) provide an example of the 'conflicting values' Asian youth are assumed to be experiencing:

At home it is emphasized that the individual's primary loyalty should always be to the family group, that children should respect the authority of their elders and put obligations to others before personal self-interest. In contrast, at school, children are encouraged to see themselves as independent individuals, taking decisions according to their personal views and inclinations.

Lawrence (1982: 122) points to the influence of the Community Relations Commission (C.R.C.) in employing the 'cultural pluralist' approach with its focus on ethnic minorities' 'cultural conflict' and 'identity crisis'. He argues that the C.R.C. with its publication of 'Between Two Cultures: a Study of Relationships between Generations in the Asian Community in Britain' (1970) was of central significance in sociologists as the titles of their work suggest ⁱⁿ adopting this approach, including Thompson's 'The Second Generation ... Punjabi or English?' (1974); Taylor's 'The Half-Way Generation' (1976); Ballard's 'Culture Conflict and Young Asians in Britain' (1976) and Meadow's 'In Search of Identity' (1976). The Commission for Racial Equality has continued with this theme in a more recent publication called: 'The Fire Next Time' (1980). For these theorists, as Ballard and Ballard (1977: 44) maintain, Asian youth's generational conflict tends to be a temporary adolescent rebellion, with the youth resolving their problems in their later teens:

... although many young Asians go through a period of rebellion against their parents' values (as do most adolescents in Britain) ... almost all of them are returning to follow a modified version of Punjabi cultural norms in their late teens and early twenties.

This dominant 'culturalist' perspective of Asian youth helps to mask their resistance to racism, which will be examined in a later chapter. The perception of limited intergenerational conflict among the Asian community, with its emphasis on the essential unity of the Asian extended family kinship network, serves to heighten the sociological focus on the generational divisions among the West Indians. So, for example, Brake (1980: 128) uncritically adopting this conception of the Asian community found that Asian youth were not "involved in the same type of alienating processes as Caribbean youth".

In contrast to the transitory nature of the Asian youth's problems, the dominant social image of West Indian youth is that of a 'cultureless' generation lacking self-identity, who are in constant irresolvable conflict with their parents. One of the main concerns of 'race-relations' research has been the 'social problems' of this 'alienated generation'; including patterns of deviant behaviour and negative attitudes to authority, particularly the police (Brown, 1977 and 1982); West Midlands Police 1980), negative identity problems (Milner, 1975), homelessness, as a result of conflict with parents (Pryce, 1979; Garrison, 1980), and their educational and employment problems (Driver, 1979; Lee and Wrench, 1981). As can be seen from the report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1976-7: 25-6), it was assumed that the intergenerational division emerged with West Indian youth wishing to be British; they were:

British born citizens who feel they have every right to be so recognized and have no wish to be designated West Indian. Indeed, the young black mark the emerging division in the adult West Indian community between immigrant and the indigenous black: between the old generation with its West Indian background and tradition and the new generation brought up and educated in the United Kingdom.

Brake (1980: 116) describes the way in which having being rejected by white society, the young blacks suffered a devastating identity crisis. As a result of this rejection and in conjunction with intergenerational conflict at home, West Indian youth form separate sub-cultures and drift into crime.

Pryce (1979) in his work in **Bristol** maintains that the divisions within the West Indian community must be understood in relation to their "background circumstances and culture-traits" (p.1); similar conditions between the West Indies under British colonialism and Britain today resulting in similar responses. He identifies two main life-orientations, that of 'stable law-abiding' and 'expressive-disreputable', and within these, six life-styles; the 'saints', 'proletarian respectables' and 'mainliners', the 'hustlers', 'teenyboppers' and 'inbetweeners'. Pryce emphasises the divisions within the 'first-generation' between those who work and those who hustle for a living, and, further generational divisions with the 'teenyboppers' imitating the 'hustlers' in adopting a life of petty crime.

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

(ibid, p.133)

The concept of the formation of a separate youth sub-culture, which has taken over from the family as the main socializing agency, was made popular by Brown (1977), who in his study in the Handsworth district of Birmingham, found that young West Indians had formed a 'criminalised dreadlock sub-culture'. Although later studies, including Miles (1978), Cashmore (1979), Pryce (1979) and Garrison (1980) are critical of Brown's formulation, they nevertheless recreate the divisions between the 'real rastas' and the 'dreads', and continue to focus on Rastafarianism as a source of intergenerational conflict.

2.4.iv Class Analysis and Black Youth

According to Fisher and Joshua (1982: 135), who are critical of the above sociological approach to the study of young blacks, the social category 'black youth' was,

primarily intended for a special class of West Indian youngsters, usually in conflict with their parents' generation; 'often kicked out of their homes'; 'who do not register for work, who are aimless, rootless drifters; concerned with hustling for a living' ... in

'cultural conflict', 'alienated and adrift from society', and 'from the instruments of law and order' ... As a group they had partly evolved, and partly readopted Jamaican Rastafarian ideologies, symbols and practices, then constructing within the British environment a distinctive and compensating subculture.

Fisher and Joshua examining the application of the inter-generational conflict thesis to the West Indian community, find an underlying incoherence, that involves:

Having posed for black youth an identity crisis originating in a dual culture clash with parental and metropolitan cultures, the same black youths are then portrayed as positively involved in both re-articulating and extending radical, though increasingly central, aspects of the indigenous home culture.

(ibid, p.135)

They maintain that in order to understand the ideological disposition of black youth in Britain, it is necessary to locate them within the wider framework of the position of black labour in a racially, class structured society. However, they themselves do not carry out such an analysis but examine the use of the specific categorization of black youth in relation to social policy.

Other theorists, including Hall et al (1978), Sivanandan (1982), Gilroy (1982) and Gutzmore (1983) have developed a more explicit class analysis of black youth's social location and ideologies of resistance. So, for example, Gutzmore (1983:14)

argues that the social categorization of 'black youth' has to be examined within a framework of "a deepening structural crisis for British national capital and the international capitalist economy". Developing the work of Hall et al (1978), Gutzmore is primarily concerned with the state's criminalization process of black youth, which he argues is part of the overall restructuring of the state. He maintains that the disproportionate effects of the government's monetarist policy, particularly relatively higher black unemployment, of repressive legislation and, of more overtly racist police practices has led to an increase in the black community's resistance and unity. In order to contain this resistance, it is necessary for the state to ideologically present blacks' response as 'illegitimate violence for its own sake'. An important strategy that they employ to achieve this is that of creating divisions between the black community. For Gutzmore, there are no intrinsic 'generation' conflicts, rather the crisis of capital and the undiminishing state aggression affects the whole of the working-class black community. He sees their legitimate defensive resistance "is very likely to continue and take subtler and more deadly forms" (p. 29). Thus it can be argued that the official definition of the problem of black settlement in Britain and the racial stereotypes that have emerged were relatively fixed but have been attached to different social groups, initially black immigrants of West Indian origin and more recently, black youth. Gilroy (1982) maintains that official concentration on the assumed generational conflict has served to mask the

continuity of resistance of both generations. The divisions that do exist in the black community are not essentially generational but tactical. Different sectors of the community across generations adopt different strategies to defeat racism. A particular weakness of much of the work of this more critical class analysis approach is that by concentrating on the resistance of black youth of West Indian origin, they serve to reinforce the stereotype of 'passive' Asian youth.

The dominant 'race-relations' perspective on the basis of culturalist assumptions concerning the 'pathological organization' of the West Indian family structure and the 'stability' of the Asian family system, have created an ideological division between the 'rebellious' West Indian youth and the 'passive' Asian youth. Furthermore, the differential educational attainment of these two groups has been explained in terms of these ethnic differences. So, for example, Cashmore and Troyna (1982: 16) present Asian youth as culturally secure, experiencing few social problems and consequently adopting a conformist approach to schooling which results in their 'high achievement'.

Young Asians, highly motivated by their parents to work steadfastly at school and maximise the benefits that they might receive from formal education, improved dramatically. The emphasis on education in Asian culture had its effects on them and by the late 1970's, they were comfortably in range of white schoolchildren in terms of actual achievements. Educationally, they were unquestionably well equipped and in our view, poised to outstrip young whites in attainments.

In contrast, West Indians are described as 'arrogant', 'rumbustious' and 'contemptuous' and their leisure activities are seen as evidence of their intrinsic violent behaviour, that leads into crisis this section of black youth, who are cut off from their families and alienated from school:

... black youths do have a certain fascination for violence. The almost incredible enthusiasm for movies Kung Fu idiom and the massive numbers involving themselves in the martial arts (as well as the more conventional sports) tells us something about young blacks' interest in violence, as does their celebration of a range of archetypal violent anti-heroes, 'Dirty Harry', Chuck Morris and the late Bruce Lee.

(ibid, p.33)

In the next Chapter, I shall examine in detail the research on black pupils' educational performance and cite Tomlinson's (1981a:142) summary of this work during the last twenty years, that West Indian youth scored lowest on individual and group test scores, and were over-represented in educationally subnormal schools and in low streams and remedial departments in secondary schools. The findings of the interim report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (D.E.S., 1981), formerly chaired by Anthony Rampton, supported the earlier research in this area. A survey of six local education authorities found that only two per cent of West Indians gained five or more CSEs or GCE 'O' levels, compared with 18% of Asians and 16% of other leavers; only 2% of West Indians obtained one or more 'A' levels, compared with 13% of Asians and 12% of other leavers and,

only 1% gained a place at university compared with 3% of the other two groups.

Reeves and Chevannes (1981) are critical of the Report for its presentation of understandardized data of such variables as parental social class or educational level. They point out that the assumed West Indian underachievement is based on the examination of only one variable, that of racial group. However, as they argue, the significance of this particular factor can only be measured when such established co-relations as that of social class and educational attainment are taken into account. Using data from the 1971 Census, they show the significant differences between the social class and educational achievement of different groups within the black community and argue that these characteristics undoubtedly apply to the parents of the children whose examination results are discussed by Rampton.

For example, 9.2% of persons born in New Commonwealth America (which includes the West Indies) belonged to the professional, administrative and non-manual classes, as compared with 34.3% born in India, and 33% of the general population. Furthermore, a mere 2.6% of New Commonwealth American-born males had higher educational or professional qualifications compared with 15.2% born in India and 8.7% of the general population. If the American category is subdivided, substantial differences are revealed between Caribbean countries: the figure for Jamaican males is 1%, for Trinidadians 12.5%

(ibid, p.37)

Reeves and Chevannes maintain that these crudely presented data fail to adequately establish that West Indian pupils are underachieving. Also, the publishing of these results separately from the National Foundation of Educational Research study which was commissioned by the Rampton Committee and which would have offered a detailed examination of these results, was inevitably going to lead to media explanations of West Indian children's performance in terms of 'genetically determined intellectual incapacity'. Of equal significance is the explanation of those working from within the new racist paradigm, including many teachers, who reject the former explanation as racist. They tend to interpret the results as supporting their view that ethnicity explains social behaviour, that is in this situation, the West Indians' 'rebellious' attitude is seen as causing their underachievement. By adopting this ethnic perspective, they reinforce the view that the 'problem' is within the black community rather than racism as the blacks maintain.

Green (1982: 30) is also critical of the construction of these statistics that assume a class homogeneity of the black community and argues that a more adequate analysis would need to examine the different effects of racism upon the West Indian and Asian communities. This may then lead to an understanding of how these groups react to their experience of racism and challenge teachers' culturalist forms of stereotyping.

More useful would be a serious and rigorous analysis ... Such a study would need to consider ... how racism operates in differential ways against the two communities, as for instance, in the stereotyping of West Indian children in school as 'disruptive' and 'slow' and Asians as 'passive' and 'diligent'. When the dynamics of these differential forms of racism have been made clear it may then be possible to consider how different groups respond to and manage racism in education and to put into perspective the common-sense notion among teachers that it is the 'strong institutional frame' of Asian cultures that somehow serves as a kind of insulation against racism in education and contributes towards academic achievement.

In the case-studies, I shall examine the relationship between social background and educational performance. It will also be demonstrated that the powerful racial stereotypes of the 'troublesome' West Indian and the 'passive' Asian pupil and the material and the social response to these social images, in operation within Kilby school, generate different forms of resistance. The substantive work will examine these different forms in terms of the 'visible' resistance of West Indian pupils and the 'invisible' resistance of the Asian pupils.

2.4.v Summary

It has been shown that the main approaches to a sociological theory of youth discussed above, Mannheim's generational units, American subcultural work, the interactionist approach and

British sub-cultural theory, have each offered important insights into an understanding of this social phenomenon. However, these theories have been developed in isolation from each other and at times in opposition to each other, as, for example, in the debate between the more 'sociologically' based explanation of generation and the more 'economically' based explanation of class. Woods (1977: 97) describes the limitations of this dichotomous approach and, argues for the need "to move towards a model which draws on both paradigms in the interest of a more comprehensive theory of youth". Murdock and McCron (1986: 206-207) writing of the limitations of sub-cultural theory that they found in their empirical work, also argue for the need for a synthesis of existing theoretical positions and suggest what such a synthesis would entail:

Firstly, it must be comprehensive and include those youth groups which have been ignored or relegated to the periphery of available accounts. Secondly, it must be symmetrical and deal not simply with adolescents but also with adults, and with the relations between the two. Thirdly, it must be rooted in a detailed empirical examination of the concrete work and non-work contexts through which class inequalities are actually mediated into everyday experience. At the same time however it must also be able to show how the forms of consciousness and action generated within these contexts are embedded in and shaped by, more general structural and ideological formations. This requires a structural and historical analysis of the relations between shifts in the social and cultural position of youth and changes in the structure of class relations and class based meaning systems.

Similarly, it is argued here, that in order to fully understand the forms of pupil adaptations and strategies of the black youth who were the focus of this study, it is necessary to draw on different theoretical explanations at different points in the research and to locate their forms of resistance within the wider community.

2.5 Summary

It has been argued in each of the three major theoretical areas of concern that both the 'sociological' and the 'economic' perspectives are necessary for a full understanding of the schooling of black youth. This is of particular importance if we are to go beyond the limitations of the implicit functionalism which underpins much of the criticism levelled at multi-cultural education during the last ten years. Green (1982) has pointed out that these major critiques, that is, those of Dhondy (1978), Carby (1980), and Mullard (1980), have argued that the central concern of multi-cultural education is that of control and the containment of black youth's resistance to schooling. However, as Green maintains these important arguments are seriously marred by their undialectical approach to what they see as a homogenous social entity. He argues that:

There is an assumption that the phenomenon of multi-cultural education is uncontradictory, that it is a single entity, with a single motivating force and a single trajectory. There is an analysis that confuses intentions with outcomes and presumes that the aims of the state policy, whether embodied in Select Committee proposals or D.E.S. directives will necessarily be realized in practice. Most of all there is no sense of schools as sites of struggle as institutions invested with statutory roles and functions that do not go uncontested and that are not achieved automatically.

(ibid, p.21-22)

In other words, educational research rather than focussing on particular aspects of schooling should examine the process as a whole. In order to achieve this end, I have specified the concepts I am deriving from previous research that has been carried out in the areas of sociological perspectives of racism, of teacher ideologies and practices and of pupil adaptations and strategies. It is hoped that this will enlighten the complex social processes of the schooling of black pupils, account being taken of national and local educational policy and practice, of teacher and pupil ideologies, practices, interaction, negotiation and resistance, and of links with wider social processes. I shall begin with an examination of educational policy at a national level.

CHAPTER III

MULTI-CULTURAL POLICY: NATIONAL LEVEL

- 3.1 Introduction

- 3.2 Cultural Deprivation Theories
 - i) Sociology of Education and National Policy
 - ii) Compensatory Education
 - iii) Critiques of Cultural Deprivation

- 3.3 Multi-cultural Education: Research
 - i) 1960's Underachievement Studies
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- 3.4 National Policy: Assimilation to Plural Integration
 - i) Assimilation
 - ii) Plural Integration
 - iii) Inadequacies of State Models

- 3.5 Summary

3.1 Introduction

A primary concern of this research is to develop an understanding of the institutional means used by the British school system in attempting to deal with the problems it is felt black pupils create. I am particularly interested in the initial definition of the 'problem' posed by the entry of black school children into the educational system. Such an understanding is important because the manner in which they were initially incorporated has played an important role in structuring the relationship between the school and the black community.

This chapter is concerned with the main changes at a national level in educational policy in response to the presence of black pupils within the school system. The period that is dealt with focusses on the change in emphasis from the late 1950's to the early 1980's. The dominant theme in the 1950's to the mid-1960's was that of assimilation. From the mid-1960's, there was a shift in emphasis and the adoption of a new perspective that of plural integration.

It is argued that it is important to see the response to black youth in relation to earlier debates concerning white working-class educational 'failure'. The establishment of the problem, in terms of underachievement, in particular of West Indian pupils, the dominant explanation in terms of cultural disadvantages and the proposed solution in terms

of the adoption of a multi-cultural curriculum reflects the 1960's educability studies, which focussed on the socio-cultural deprivations of working-class pupils and suggested the implementation of compensatory education in order to attain equality of opportunity. Before examining how multi-cultural policy developed at a national level, I shall trace the links between these two debates on cultural discontinuities between the home and the school.

3.2 Cultural Deprivation Theories

3.2.1 Sociology of Education and National Policy

Baron et al (C.C.C.S., 1981: 79) locate the origins of British sociology of education of the 1950's and 1960's,

... in the London School of Economics
... and especially in the social
mobility studies directed by
Professor D.V. Glass, but the
ancestry is traced back to Charles
Booth and the Webbs and to a longer
tradition of 'political arithmetic'.

In many of the critiques of the research of this period, such as those of Young, (1971), Davies (1971) and Gorbutt (1972), its social significance is dismissed, as the critics construct a caricatured version of it, in order to contrast the inadequacies of the positivist approach of the old sociology with the 'radical insights of the new interactionist sociology of education'. However, as Baron et al point out:

... the strength of the old sociology of education, from D.V. Glass's original conception onwards, was the mapping of educational inequalities.

Williamson (1974: 6) develops this argument concerning the strengths of the research of this period.

In sharp contrast to the complacency of public opinion in this area, the work of J.W.B. Douglas and A.H. Halsey, perhaps the two most well-known and respected writers in this field, stood out as a model of clear, well researched and committed social analysis. ... Their work ... has become part of the conventional wisdom of teacher education and, to some extent, of social policy. Few sociologists have received such professional and public recognition, and few could legitimately claim to have the ear of successive education ministers.

Williamson (1974: 7) makes explicit the close links between research at this time and government educational policy. The official reports were preoccupied with the problem of working-class pupils' school failure in relation to their measured ability. The Early Leaving Report (1954) documented the under-representation of children from semi-skilled and unskilled homes in grammar schools, the relatively low levels of achievement of those who did go to grammar school and their early leaving. It suggested the need for a thorough investigation into the influence of pupils' home background on their chances of educational success. The Crowther Report (1959) was concerned that education for the fifteen to eighteen year olds for most pupils was inadequate in quality and duration, in particular among the

pupils in the middle, between the brightest and the great mass of ordinary youth, who were "the richest vein of untapped human resources". Newsom's (1963) terms of reference was to consider the education between thirteen and sixteen years of age, of pupils of average and below average ability. This group constituted half the school population. It was among these pupils that there was found "much unrealized talent" and their deprivations at school were often paralleled by deprivations at home. Robbins (1963) was concerned about "the large untapped ability" in the population. It was found that there was a close association between fathers' and children' education; thirty-two percent of children of fathers who had been educated beyond the age of eighteen were on degree courses, compared with two percent of children whose fathers left at sixteen. Plowden (1967) considered that about a tenth of the population suffered great deprivation and argued strongly for giving special help to deprived areas, so that children there might achieve equality of opportunity.

This focus on the class related patterns of educational inequality was reflected in the sociological research. In order to explain this differential attainment, the concept of educability was developed. This referred to the individual pupils' capacity to benefit from his schooling, which was dependent on such elements as cognitive development, motivation, self-image and language forms. Floud and Halsey (1958: 183) in a paper, tracing the development of

sociology of education up to 1958, argued for the need for research into the social determinants of educability.

In principle the sociologists' task is clear; it is to analyse the social factors which influence the educational process from two main sources. There are those on the one hand, deriving from family environment, and the general background of teachers and pupils and, on the other hand, there are those deriving from the organization; formal and informal of schools, colleges and universities. In practice, the educability of an individual given his personal endowment and unique life history, is a function of all these social factors ... it represents his socially determined capacity to respond to the demands of the particular educational arrangements to which he is exposed.

The two main sources, the internal social organization of the school and family background were subsequently fully researched. For example, the studies of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) documented the processes of differentiation operating with the schools, secondary modern and grammar, and their relationship to the formation of anti-school sub-cultural groups. They argued for modifications in the streaming system and for more significance to be given in teacher education to the pupils' social welfare. The second main source, that of family background, was the major focus of research. The most important of these studies of the problems of educational access was the work of Douglas (1964). He examined the school career of 532 primary school children born in 1946. In looking at the relationship between the home and the school, his primary

explanations were in terms of the pupils' socio-cultural environment and in particular, the major differences in school performance were linked to environmental influences in the pupils' pre-school years. Douglas's evidence of differential attainment by groups of different social background of the same measured ability added weight to the explanation that the major cause was the result of deficient home backgrounds. At this time the concept of cultural deprivation gained widespread acceptance among educational administrators, researchers and teachers.

In America, where the term came to prominence, it was employed to explain the educational underachievement of lower class families, particularly those of black pupils. In America, (Passow, 1968) and Britain (Chazan, 1973; Chazan et al, 1977) there was a catalogue of deficiencies of the culturally deprived child, including cognitive, experiential and personality deficiencies and a whole range of sub-standard attitudes, norms and values. Flude and Ahier (1974: 21), in examining what they term the deficit model of educational failure, point out that, the extent to which this theory of domestic pathology as causal of educational failure had now become acceptable as "an indisputable and scientifically supported truth" could be judged by considering the assumptions of the Schools Council Working Paper, "Cross'd with Adversity" (1970). It stated:

Nowadays it is scarcely necessary to emphasise the prime importance of individual families and homes, in the development of young people. So many aspects of the home environment are significant; its physical resources, the beauty or squalor of its setting, its emotional climate, the stimulus and facility it affords for intellectual, social and emotional learning and the degree of awareness of educational and occupational opportunities which it affords.

The Working Paper goes on to identify the deficiencies of those pupils who suffer from "the most massive disadvantage" in school, who come from 'opposition families', whose values and actions serve against the child.

3.2.11 Compensatory Education

In response to the assumptions of cultural deprivation, there emerged the concept of compensatory education. In 1964, a group of prominent academics held a conference at the University of Chicago to discuss the implications of cultural deprivation for education. The published research papers of the Conference, entitled *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation* (Bloom et al, 1965), presented an examination of the causes and characteristics of the problem, with particular reference to black children, and suggested the provision of additional education for the culturally deprived pupils. As with the theory of the culture of poverty, it was assumed that educational failure began during

primary socialization, with the internalization of a deficient culture, so it was argued compensatory education should be primarily concerned with the pre-school years. This theoretical position informed the Liberal Kennedy-Johnson era of the 1960's with the implementation of "enrichment programmes" such as pre-school Operation Headstart, to provide a stimulating educational environment in which black and lower-class children's motivation would be increased.

In Britain, compensatory education began in the late 1960's with the establishment of Educational Priority Areas, in Liverpool, Birmingham, West Yorkshire and East London. This involved the allocation of increased resources for school buildings in inner-city areas and teachers receiving supplementary payments for working in these areas. Compensatory education has been implemented as a form of community and pre-school education. Compensatory programmes were concentrated on the pre-school years and particular emphasis was placed on increasing primary school literacy and numeracy. Halsey (1972), the National Director of the Educational Priority Areas, argued for the need for "positive discrimination" in order to compensate educationally deprived children from impoverished socio-cultural backgrounds.

3.2.iii Critiques of Cultural Deprivation

Just as the concepts of culture of poverty, cultural deprivation and compensatory education first came to prominence in

America, so too did the critiques of these views.

Friedman (1972: 63) examines several writers' opposition to the theory of cultural deprivation.

It has been criticized on the grounds of being conceptually inaccurate and theoretically inadequate, of being an incorrect explanation of massive scholastic retardation, of being an obstacle to civil rights progress, and of being a device to force a questionable middle-class culture on lower-class students.

As early as 1962, Reissman pointed out that the term was misleading as it implied that lower class children had no culture of their own. He argued that it was not a question of the absence of culture but rather that their culture was different from that of the middle-class. Mackler and Giddens (1965) develop this critique of the cultural deficit thesis by claiming that this approach leads to a labelling process that serves to maintain the myth of the inherent inferior ability of black and lower-class children. These negative stereotypes then, act as a self-fulfilling prophecy with these pupils of whom little is expected producing little. They argue that, instead of focussing on the assumed deficiencies of these pupils, the schools should recognize the value of and utilize their diverse cultural backgrounds in order to integrate them into the academic culture of the school. Baratz and Baratz (1970) similarly attack the use of interventionist programmes that assume that the behaviour of black pupils is pathological. They maintain that the significance of this social pathological

model is that whereas liberals would not accept the genetic inferiority model, with its racist assumptions, the former explanation was "eagerly seized upon" although it too shared this racist perspective. They claim that the refusal to recognise and value as legitimate the different cultural forms of the black community has resulted in the failure of compensatory education such as programmes like Head Start.

These theorists who employ a cultural difference model to explain working-class educational failure have provided insights into the limitations and contradictions of compensatory education and the inadequacy of its conceptual basis, however, many of them have retained a notion of cultural deficit. So, for example, for Mackler and Giddens (1965) the validity of lower-class culture is limited to its usefulness in the development of new styles of teaching that will integrate parents into the curriculum and so encourage them to improve their family life-styles. Similarly, Baratz and Baratz (1970) argue that a child's differences should be used as a means of "furthering his acculturation into the mainstream".

An exception to the above limitation of the cultural difference approach is Labov's (1970) work in sociolinguistics. One of the main assumptions of American compensatory education was that the lower class and in particular, black children suffered from verbal deprivation. Labov attacks this approach which is made explicit in the work of Bereiter

and Engelmann (1966) whom he claims, assume that lower class pupils have no language of their own. Labov's argument that non-standard dialects are different but not inferior to standard English is based upon his research on the speech patterns of lower class black children in Harlem. He (1973: 21) maintains that such notions as verbal deprivation are:

... based upon the work of educational psychologists who know very little about language and even less about Negro children. The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality. In fact Negro children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children and participate fully in a highly verbal culture. They have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English.

Labov points out that a particular danger of the linguistic deficit concept is that it directs attention away from the real inadequacies of the educational system to the imaginary disadvantages of lower-class children.

Other critics of compensatory education, such as Morton and Watson (1973) have gone further in locating this concept within American liberal ideology which contradictorily implements social change in a piecemeal approach within the existing framework of social institutions which, they argue, require radical change as a whole. For them, such reform is a diversion from the attainment of

genuine egalitarianism because equality of opportunity is only possible if it reflects social equality in the wider society. Similarly, Valentine (1968) who is critical of the culture of poverty thesis for locating the source of poverty and educational failure within the poor themselves, argues that the values and behaviour patterns of lower class sub-cultures must be understood in relation to the structural relations of the wider society. In a rather deterministic analysis, he maintains that the distinctive characteristics and values of the ghetto blacks in America are a realistic response to the contradictions between their conditions and the values of the dominant culture.

In Britain, criticisms of the cultural deprivation theory have followed similar arguments to those of the American theorists who have adopted a cultural difference approach. Keddie's writing (1973) on what she terms the "myth of cultural deprivation" emerges from a wider sociological critique of positivist social science research. She points out, that the educability studies' dominant conception of the problem in terms of discrepancies between working-class children's measured ability and their relative educational failure, determined,

... the kind of hypotheses, research methodology and findings that feature as explanations of educational failure and success. (1973: 8)

Consequently, she maintains the quantitative approach of research since the 1950's has focussed on the deficiencies of the measured attributes of the child, such as intelligence quotient and achievement motivation, rather than the teacher-pupil classroom interaction and the

... nature and social organization of the school which processes the children into achievement rates.
(1973: 8)

For Keddie, the failure of this approach is that, researchers and teachers have not recognized the social construction of such taken for granted notions as achievement, ability and educability and they have not accepted as equal to their own, the life-experiences and values of working-class pupils.

Bernstein (1971) in his critique of compensatory education, also focusses on the school's internal organization as of primary importance in understanding working-class pupils' educational failure. He claims that the concept of compensatory education does not make sense in a situation where an adequate educational environment has not first been established. He is particularly critical of this concept, for directing attention away from the limitations of the school organization and content and implying a cultural deficit in the working-class community.

Finally, just as there has been widespread disillusionment with interventionist educational programmes in America,

(Banks, 1976: 112) so in Britain, as Baron et al (C.C.C.S., 1981: 132) point out, despite an increase in certification, there has been little change in the relative educational success of working-class pupils.

The percentage of boys and girls leaving school with no examination certificate fell from fifty-one per cent (both sexes) in 1965-6 to sixteen point four per cent for boys, and fourteen point six per cent for girls in 1976-7, but there was little change in the class patterns of further and higher education, with sixty-five per cent of sixteen to eighteen year olds, with professional fathers in full-time education in 1965 compared with fourteen per cent of children with fathers in unskilled manual occupations.

For Williamson (1974:8) one of the main features of the 'old sociology of education' was its failure to achieve the aims it set itself. However, as he argues the 'new interactionist' perspective cannot be divorced from the failure of educational reform.

For this failure is not only a failure on the part of the old sociology to ask new questions, it is also seen as a political failure on the part of democratic reformism itself.

Although this interventionist approach of compensatory education in response to white working-class youths' 'educational underachievement' is considered by many, for example, Lawrence et al, 1977, and, Raynor and Harris, 1977, to have failed, nevertheless, this form of social engineering was adapted and developed to deal with black pupils' assumed problems.

3.3. Multi-cultural Education: Research

The earliest response to the educational needs of the recently arrived black immigrants' children in the 1960's was primarily concerned with language provision, mainly in terms of English as a Second Language (E2L) to Asian children (Jeffcoate, 1982).

The area in which Kilby school is located was a pioneer in this developmental work. At this time, the dominant explanation of black pupils' educational problems was in terms of cultural discontinuities between the home and the school. Recently, the inspector for multicultural education, in the Kilby school area, has suggested that the teaching of E2L may have been responsible for the comparative high academic results of those who have received it as against the low performance of those who did not. (Multi-Cultural Educational Review, 1983: 8).

Black pupils' educational performance and attainment is another area of concern which throughout the 1970's has become increasingly of central research significance. More particularly, the 'problem' of schooling black pupils has come to focus on the 'underachievement' of pupils of West Indian origin. In the earlier 1960's research studies in this area, immigration was seen as an important variable with comparisons being made between 'immigrant' and 'non-immigrant'. More recent research has used comparative

data of indigenous pupils and those of Asian and West Indian origin. Two surveys of the literature in this area demonstrate the way in which the 'problem' of schooling black pupils was established and explained. In 1966, Goldman and Taylor, produced a survey of research studies and literature concerned with the educational problems of "coloured immigrant children". More recently, Tomlinson (1981a), presented an overview of the ability, performance and achievement of 'minority children'. The research studies examined here are all reviewed in Goldman and Taylor, and Tomlinson.

3.3.1 1960's Underachievement Studies

During the early 1960's, Vernon (1965) carried out a comparative study of the educational performance of 100 pupils of rural South East England and 50 Jamaican pupils. They were tested on a variety of individual, verbal, perceptual and performance tests. The West Indian pupils consistently scored lower than the English boys. Vernon explained the differences in test scores in terms of cultural factors, such as deficiencies in the socio-economic, cultural and linguistic background of the West Indians. Subsequent research has tended to reproduce these findings and offer similar explanations for the West Indians' relatively lower test performances.

As Tomlinson (1981a:122) has pointed out, the Inner London Education Authorities (I.L.E.A.) Research and Statistics group's work, between 1966-75, has been important in establishing black pupils' 'underachievement problems'. Their first report (1967) was produced by a working party consisting of members of the local inspectorate and schools psychological service, who investigated the educational performance of 'non-immigrant' and 'immigrant' pupils, comprising of West Indian, Indian, Pakistani, Greek, Turkish and 'others'. The research was based on 52 primary schools. The pupils were placed in one of seven profile groups on the basis of results in verbal reasoning and teacher assessed Maths and English tests. It was found that while the 'average' child was placed in group four, the average 'immigrant' child was placed in group six, with only two per cent of 'immigrant' children in group one for any of the tests. Four-fifths of the 'immigrant' children and half of the non-immigrant children were rated as below the median of I.L.E.A.'s normal range of performance and 85 per cent of the West Indian pupils were placed in the lower half of the profile. The explanation of the main cause of the low results was in terms of the concentration of 'immigrants' in the schools' catchment areas. The 'immigrants' low scores were attributed to cultural deprivation, such as language and family deficiencies. The non-immigrants' poor performance was explained in terms of over-crowded classes, lack of stimulus, lack of teacher attention due to the increased demands of the 'immigrant'

children, and able white families leaving immigrant areas. Later, I.L.E.A. studies (Little, 1975), including literacy surveys (Little and Mabey, 1973; Little, 1978) confirmed the earlier tests, with West Indians achieving the worst results.

3.3.11 1970's Underachievement Studies

The location within the black community of the cause of both 'immigrant' and non-immigrant pupils' educational underachievement was further institutionalized in the Education Priority Area (E.P.A.) action-research project (Halsey, 1972), with one of the criteria for selection of E.P.A. status being a "high concentration of immigrants". Hence, the researchers' social construction of the 'disadvantaged' indigenous child was partly determined by the presence of 'immigrants' within his school. The Report employed the Department of Education and Science's (D.E.S.) definition of the 'immigrant' child, which headmasters in all maintained schools used in the Form 7(1) returns from schools each January (Kohler, 1976: 16). The definition excluded children from the Republic of Ireland and children of mixed and non-immigrant parentage but included:

- 1) Children born outside the British Isles who have come to this country with, or to join, parents or guardians whose countries of origin were abroad, and

- 2) children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the United Kingdom no more than ten years previously.

This definition was used to collect statistics on 'minority group children' from 1966 until 1973, when the D.E.S. ceased the collection, as a result of criticism from sections of the black community and teachers. (Street-Porter, 1978: 65).

The following E.P.A. report's results are those of the area in which Kilby school is located, where the number of 'immigrants' was large enough for test scores to be examined separately (Payne, 1974). One thousand, nine hundred and ninety primary school pupils were tested, of whom 15% were West Indian, 24.8% Asian and 3.3% 'others'. The children were given the English Pictural Vocabulary test (E.P.U.T.), a test of listening vocabulary, the Streaming Research A reading test (S.R.A.), and a number of other tests of attainment. On the E.P.U.T., the West Indian children scored 81.6 and the Asian children scored 69.6, a score that was so "strongly skewed as to bear no resemblance to the normal distribution of scores in the nationally representative sample". (Payne, 1974: 12). On the S.R.A. reading test nearly two fifths of the West Indians and three fifths of the Asians obtained scores below 80, indicating an inability to read English (Payne, 1974: 12). The mean reading score for West Indian children was 83.5 and

the Asian score was 78.4. The 'immigrants' and non-immigrants' results were lower in this project area than the other area with a separate analysis of 'immigrant' pupils' attainment. The depressed mean score of the non-immigrant children was explained in terms of the high percentage of pupils of non-British origin, who were not defined as immigrants by the D.E.S.. It was suggested that it was impossible to tell whether the West Indians' lower scores were due to differences in the two project areas or due to the pupils' home backgrounds. The latter was seen as an important causal factor, particularly in relation to language problems. The Asians' low results were explained in terms of problems associated with recent immigration.

Research carried out throughout the 1970's remained within the same problematic of the earlier underachievement studies with a primary explanatory focus on the black community's culture. So, for example, Yule et al (1970), while explaining the West Indians pupils' low performance in terms of adverse environmental conditions, such as inadequate child reading practices, saw the United Kingdom born 'West Indians' higher test scores resulting from school experiences. Similarly, McEwan et al (1975) pointed to cultural factors, considering dialect interference responsible for West Indian children only performing slightly better than Asian pupils on a range of language proficiency tests.

Further research on selection, streaming and attainment of qualifications substantiated the view of the relative under-achievement of black pupils. Townsend (1971) showed black pupils' under-representation in selective schools; nationally whereas 20% of non-immigrant pupils attended grammar schools, only 3.9% of Indian, 2.4% of Pakistani, and 1.5% of West Indian pupils did so. Rex and Tomlinson (1979) found a similar relative pattern in the Kilby area with 7% of indigenous pupils, 1.5% of West Indian and 1.2% of Asian attending grammar school. This under-representation in grammar schools is paralleled by West Indian pupils' over-representation in Educationally Sub-Normal schools (I.L.E.A. studies, 1966, 1967; Coard, 1971; and Townsend, 1971). Most recently, concern has been expressed at West Indian pupils' over-representation in disruptive units, labelled 'sin-bins', and withdrawal classes (Tomlinson, 1981b).

A number of studies (D.E.S., 1972; Townsend and Brittain, 1972; Taylor, 1976), have demonstrated the tendency for black pupils to be concentrated in lower streams and remedial classes.

A particular concern of 'race-relations' research has been the relationship between attainment of qualifications and the high rate of black youth unemployment. Several studies, including Allen and Smith, 1972; Brooks and Singh, 1978, and Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, have documented the general pattern of performance in terms of low examination pass rates, over-representation in low status examination groups,

extra years of schooling for many successful pupils and, higher rates of unemployment than indigenous pupils with equivalent qualifications.

3.3.iii 'Other' Studies

Although, there is widespread evidence of the black pupils' underachievement, Tomlinson (1981a: 132) warns against a 'blanket statement' concerning the question of attainment. She argues that there is also evidence of some black pupils' success within the educational system. Stones (1975; 1979) supports this view; she found that both West Indian and Pakistani childrens' test performance was similar to that of indigenous children, providing they were given relevant concept learning experience. Similarly, Driver and Ballard (1979) reported that the average Asian pupils' results were higher than those of indigenous pupils at the same school, albeit the mean level of achievement was low against national standards. Also, Driver (1980) found that West Indian pupils have achieved better qualifications than indigenous pupils, with West Indian girls performing better than West Indian boys. However, Driver's explanation of these results remains within the culturalist perspective. In the former piece of research, Driver and Ballard (1979) argue that the Asian community's cultural strengths enable their children to be less 'socialized to failure' than their West Indian or working-class white classroom peers. In the second study Driver (1980) suggests that his findings are due to the

effects of the inner-city environment in depressing the indigenous pupils' attainment and, that the West Indian girls' relatively high achievement reflects the strong matriarchical West Indian family structure.

Although most research during the last twenty years has employed this culturalist perspective in explaining black pupils' school performance, there have been a small number of studies that have adopted a more critical approach. An important example of this was a study carried out by Redbridge Black People's Progressive Association and the Redbridge Community Relations Council (1978). They emphasized "self-identity and the effects of a hostile society, including teacher stereotypes", as the main problem in explaining West Indian pupils' underachievement. While accepting some of the cultural factors other researchers had documented, they rejected that innately lower intelligence, West Indian family structure or migration effects were possible causes.

3.3.iv Black Community's 'Cultural Deprivation'

Tomlinson (1981a: 142) having summarized her review of the relevant literature in this area, points to the differing explanations of black youth's educational underachievement.

As a great many commentators have noted ... the performance of 'immigrant' children tends to be lower than indigenous ... and the West Indian scores tend to be lowest of all ethnic minority groups scorers. Of the thirty-three studies of West Indian educational performance reported here, twenty-six show the children to score lower than white children ... The explanations offered for these research results range through disadvantage, socio-economic class, migration shock, family difference and organization, cultural factors, child-minding, school and teacher expectations, stereotypes, female dominance, self-esteem and identity problems and racial hostility.

Although these various causes have been offered as explanations of the educational performance and achievement of black pupils, and in particular of the underachievement of pupils of West Indian origin, the dominant explanation has been constructed in terms of the cultural deficiencies of the black community. Lawrence (1982: 116) critically examined the degree of consensus concerning the conception of black culture to be found among sociologists. We might add that this concensus has been shared by policy-makers and teachers during the last twenty years. Lawrence argues that fundamentally a division is created between a conception of a 'strong' Asian culture and a 'weak' West Indian culture. Theoretically, the development of West Indian culture has been explained largely in terms of British imperialism; that is, it underwent a process of acculturation. In contrast, Asian culture did not suffer this fragmentation to any significant degree. But as Lawrence (1982) has argued, these social

images are caricatures.

Afro-Caribbean cultures cannot be described simply as deviations of European cultures but on the contrary, have been actively constructed by Caribbean people. Using memories, knowledge, and the 'symbol' of Africa together with their historical experiences, they have managed to subvert and in a sense overthrow European cultural dominance.

(ibid, p.111)

and concerning Asian cultures he claims that:

What is implied ... is that, culturally at least, the Asian sub-continent enjoyed uninterrupted development ... The truth is, however, that colonialism has had as profound an effect, economically, socially, politically, on this part of the world as elsewhere.

(ibid, p.112)

Central to this cultural division is the evaluation of the structure of the family/kinship network of both groups. Solomos (1983: 5) has pointed out that young blacks and their families were singled out for attention when the first large groups of settlers began to arrive in Britain during 1948-51. He quotes from a report from the Colonial Office, on the experience of the older communities in Cardiff and Liverpool, which reported that:

During the past thirty years groups of colonials have been domiciled in Britain. Originally, they came here as seamen in the 1914-1918 war. After the war, many settled down, married and lived here ever since. They have produced a group of citizens of mixed birth. Upon reaching working age their offsprings had little opportunity for employment, partly because of the economic depression, but more on account of racial prejudice ... These family units therefore became social problems.

(C.O.: 1006-2)

This social image of the pathological nature of black family was the dominant official perspective throughout the 1960's and 1970's. The sociological norm against which they were measured was the idealized white middle-class nuclear family. Of particular concern, has been the function of the family as the primary agent of socialisation of the young. It is from within this framework that black youth have been officially described as a "generation caught between two cultures" (Anwar, 1976). The extended family organization of the Asian community is on the one hand seen as functioning to produce the relative success of its youth. However, at the same time, it is regarded as a barrier to the Asian youth's integration into British society. It is suggested that the parents' traditional attitudes, for example in relation to arranged marriages, is causing great stress to Asian youth.

Whereas there has been official ambivalence in respect to Asian culture, this has not been the case with the conception of the West Indian community. A primary focus of much of the

research in this area, as was pointed out in the last Chapter, has been the assumed generational conflict between parents and children. So, for example, the educational under-achievement of West Indian youth is analysed in terms of the differing forms of discipline they experience. The authoritarianism of their homes is contrasted with the liberalism of the schools. The main cause of West Indian youths' problems is located within the black family kinship structure, which is viewed as dysfunctional to the needs of its young in an urban industrial society

It is this dominant conception of the cultural deficiencies of the black community on which multi-cultural education is based. It has been implemented as a form of compensatory education to challenge the cultural discontinuities between the black community and the school. I shall now examine this development of educational policy at a national level in response to the presence of black pupils within the school system and in particular trace the shift in perspective from assimilation to plural integration.

3.4 National Policy: Assimilation to Plural Integration

3.4.1 Assimilation

Assimilation was never clearly defined but its general meaning revolved around the idea that new immigrants would be

absorbed into the existing structures of British society.

As the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (1964) suggested, the education system came to be seen as the central social mechanism for this cultural absorption.

They wrote that:

A national system of education must aim at producing citizens in a society properly equipped to examine rights and perform duties which are the same as other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups.

(ibid, p.7)

The numbers of black children and language provision were the two main issues for the policy-makers. The former issue was responded to partly in response to the 'fears' of white parents that their children were being held back at school by the presence of large numbers of black pupils.

In 1965, the Department of Education and Science officially recommended the idea of dispersal either by 'bussing' or changing school catchment areas in order to prevent large concentrations of black pupils (D.E.S., 1965). It was in this circular that the D.E.S. explicitly defined the role of education as the "successful assimilation of immigrant children", and that teachers should have "a realistic understanding of the adjustments they have to make".

Williams (1967: 237) found in the 1960's, that teachers in Birmingham, instead of adopting a realistic view imposed their own ideological interpretation. They saw their role as:

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 workers have higher prestige than manual, clean jobs than dirty.

This represents the dominant official definition of, and response to the schooling of black children during this period.

3.4.1i Plural Integration

The shift in perspective to plural integration involved two stages, that of integration in the mid-1960's and an emphasis on cultural pluralism in the late 1970's. The Labour Party's White Paper, in 1965, indicated to the electorate that the government had formally accepted this shift at policy level (Home Office: 1965). One of the earliest formulations of integration was made in 1966 by Roy Jenkins, then Home Secretary. He defined it as:

not a flattening process of assimilation
but as equal opportunity accompanied
by cultural diversity, in an
atmosphere of mutual tolerance.

(Jenkins, 1966)

The above quotation indicated the limitations of the assimilationist educational model and in response to these, a number of innovations were implemented.

The monoculturalist view was replaced by an emphasis on encouraging 'ethnic minorities' to maintain their cultural

traditions. Local authorities began to phase out their dispersal programmes, and by 1973, with the exception of Ealing, they were officially abandoned. Further, there was growing awareness of the over-representation of pupils of West Indian origin in schools for educationally sub-normal children. Of particular significance on this issue was the publication of Coard's work on the schooling of black children (1971). Street-Porter describes the practical responses initiated during this period, as teachers began to see the need to become more informed about the cultural background of the black children they taught:

There was a mushrooming of courses and conferences to inform teachers about the homelands of such British-born children and there was an increasing number of advisory posts created to deal with the problems of immigrant education.

(1978: 81)

It was the officially perceived problems of the 'second generation' that were now of central concern. The educational and employment difficulties experienced by the 'ethnic minority' youth, of Asian and West Indian origin, indicated that the linguistic programmes and the educational cultural concessions were insufficient solutions to these problems. The 1968-69 Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations as its title suggests, 'The Problems of School Leavers', focussed on the particular cultural problems of their transition from school to work. The Report recognised that:

Many of them have special problems, whether because of their upbringing in another country or from discrimination that handicaps them for life. White school-leavers do not suffer the same handicaps.

(S.C.R.R.I. : 1969)

Having described these culturally specific disadvantages, the Report concluded that these special problems demanded special treatment. The argument for special treatment was justified in terms of the officially acceptable notion of equalizing opportunity.

It was argued that this concept of equality of opportunity did not mean treating everyone in the same way. The principle had been established whereby, other economically and socially backward groups received special assistance. But perhaps the most significant comparison, with the black youth's position was that of the handicapped. The black youth were projected as 'social cripples' who deserved special treatment.

Physically handicapped children are given special assistance in both education and employment. This principle should be equally applied to the problems of immigrants particularly to those of coloured school-leavers. In so far as they are handicapped in competing with other school-leavers, then special assistance is needed to give them equal opportunity.

(ibid, p.31)

When the Select Committee produced its next Report, in 1973, they acknowledged that equality of opportunity was not being achieved and consequently as they had warned the seeds

of racial discord were now in operation (S.C.R.R.I.: 1973).

In response to the growing unrest among black youth and their parents, there was a shift in emphasis in the plural integrationist perspective. This new emphasis was that of cultural pluralism. Street-Porter (1978: 82) defines this concept:

cultural pluralism insists that minority groups are accepted as "being equal participants in society ... Where cultural pluralism is genuinely recognized and practiced it would mean that in cases of conflict between minority groups and the indigenous population a genuine negotiation process would take place.

Cultural pluralism highlighted the essential weakness of the early integrationist approach. Multi-cultural education was developing as the exclusive concern of black pupils. The Home Office reflected this new approach which emphasized the need for a multi-culturalist perspective to become part of the whole curriculum for all 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 multi-racial society.

(Home Office, 1978: 6)

By the early 1980's, the official definition of multi-culturalism included a greater awareness of the effects of racism on black youth. For example, the interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (formerly chaired by Anthony Rampton), concluded that:

Whilst we cannot accept that racism intentional or unintentional, 'alone' accounts for the underachievement of West Indian children in our schools, we believe that when taken together with, for example negative teacher attitudes and inappropriate curriculum, racism does play a major part in their underachievement.

(D.E.S., 1981: 70)

Nevertheless, despite this acknowledgement of the effects of racism, the Report did not address itself to the problems of institutional racism. Rather, it recommended the extension of multi-cultural education to all schools. Hence, it remains within the plural integrationist perspective.

3.4.iii Inadequacies of State Models

In order to establish my own point of departure, I shall now outline a number of important criticisms that have been made of the development of multi-cultural education during this period. While disagreeing with the conclusions of these criticisms, they do serve to highlight the limitations and contradictions of the state's response to the schooling of black youth. Firstly, as Mullard (1980: 17) has argued, the conceptual shift from assimilation to plural integration did not mark a fundamental educational change but rather was a question of means to achieve the same end, that of the accommodation of black youth (1980: 17). The difference was that while the assimilationists believed that the maintenance of the 'majority culture' was dependent on the suppression of 'minority cultural' differences,

itself to a problem that does not exist because black children do not have a low self-image. Further, that black people have various sources available to them and do not rely on negative responses from hostile white people in order to create images of themselves. Hence, Stone concludes that:

We should not therefore be surprised to find a normal/average distribution of self-concept scores amongst black children living in Britain.

(ibid, p.233)

Stone's work challenges the need for the intervention of the plural-integrationist perspective with its recommended provision of special treatment for the assumed cultural deficiencies of black youth.

Carby (1980) locates this educational interventionist approach in its social democratic setting. She argues that multi-cultural education is rooted in earlier debates concerning 'working-class failure'. The creation of the Educational Priority Areas was a form of social engineering which emerged as a solution to the assumed deficiencies and deprivations of working-class children. It was hoped that the E.P.A.'s would help to eliminate the reproduction of class inequalities. She claims that:

Multiculturalism is grafted onto this approach as a way of promoting tolerance between social groups ... The school is seen as having a crucial role, therefore in containing the effects of racism and the resulting sense of resentment.

(ibid, p.11)

the integrationists maintained that in order to achieve this end, there must be a minimal acceptance within the curriculum of these cultural differences.

Secondly, there has been much criticism concerning the official conception of the black community in pathological terms. The 'problems' of the 'first generation' have been described in terms of culture shock, migratory problems, cultural differences and linguistic deficiencies. The 'second generation's problems' have been seen in terms of child-rearing practices, deprived home-backgrounds, identity crisis, poor self-image, clash of cultures and generation gaps. It is of particular significance in this context that the state agencies have adopted the contradictory term 'second generation', with its emphasis on migrant status, to describe black British citizens.

This pathologically-based paradigm has led the policy-makers to locate the 'problems' of black youth in the black community itself. Stone (1981) provides us with a particular example of this attempt to 'blame the victim'.

She attacks what has been a dominant theme of multi-cultural educationalists, that a major cause of West Indian pupils' school underachievement has been their own poor self-image.

She dismisses this approach as another variant of the cultural deprivation thesis which sees black family structures as pathological. She argues that the theory and practice of multi-cultural education is addressing

It was this earlier history that multi-cultural education had in relation to white working-class underachievement that partly explains the educational strategies of intervention that were developed in response to black pupils schooling. Hence, the formal justification of these strategies in terms of the Plowden (1967) ideology of positive discrimination, compensatory education and, more recently, in terms of educational disadvantage.

The third criticism is related to the second, that the state agencies in defining the 'problem' in terms of the black community, have not examined the institutional racism of the school and the wider society. Mullard (1980: 12) is highly critical of the educationalists who argue that the school is ideologically neutral on the question of race.

To argue as some ... educationalists do that schools somehow are clinically clean, protected from the consequences of their own historical role as one of the major social transmitters of racist culture, is at best a piece of pipe-dreaming, and at worst an unknowingly ignorant defence of racism.

Mullard's argument may be directed at the assimilationists and the early integrationists but by the late 1970's, there was a general concern in 'race-relations' research concerning institutional racism. However, as Solomos (1983: 4) points out little progress was made with

what became a catch-all phrase for describing all racially discriminatory practices. As he adds:

... researchers have tended to neglect the ways in which institutional racist practices are maintained by relations of power that are logically prior to the decisions and non-decisions of specific state agencies ...

This points to the need for a study of the power relations operating upon and within the school, if multi-cultural education is not to be reduced to arbitrary forms of tokenism.

3.5. Summary

It would seem that having shifted from a 'colour-blind' approach to a multi-cultural perspective, the focus of attention became the assumed 'problems' of the black youth. These were divided into social and disciplinary categories. The former was essentially explained in terms of various forms of cultural deprivation theories. The latter was concerned with the 'problems' the black youth caused the school. However, there has been a general silence on the question of the problems caused by the school due to its racial structuring. As Green (1982: 23) points out:

There is a common tendency in much educational writing on race to allow that critical slippage from the 'problems encountered by' to the 'problems of'. Given the way in which the state frames the issues in terms of the 'problem' posed by blacks rather than the problem of racism it's little wonder that people should read state policies not as remedies for racism but as ways of dealing with black kids.

Later in the research, the explanatory power of the theories of cultural deprivation and family pathology as causal of black youth's assumed problems will be analysed in relation to the bureaucratic structure of the teaching profession.

In the chapters that follow, Kilby school will be examined as a particular case of where the general change in orientation from assimilation to plural integration can be demonstrated. Before presenting these ethnographic studies, there is an examination of the methodological procedures and data collection techniques that were employed in carrying out this work.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY, THEORY AND DATA COLLECTION

- i Introduction
- ii Initial Research Problem
- iii Present Research Problem: Focus on the Pupils
- iv Biography of Researcher
- v Focus on the Teachers
- vi Methodology and Data Collection

i Introduction

This study is primarily concerned with an examination of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school. I did not begin with this research problem but it developed as a result of my methodological concern with observing the pupils' perspective of schooling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Before examining the methodological and data collection considerations and techniques that I adopted to meet and answer the theoretical and substantive issues, I shall describe how I arrived at the present research problem.

ii Initial Research Problem

Young (1971: 1-2) referring to Seely's (1966) valuable distinction between the 'making' and 'taking' of research problems, claims that sociologists during the 1950's and the 1960's tended to 'take' the educators' problems and, by failing to make explicit their assumptions took them for granted. Young argues that sociologists should:

... 'make' his own problems, among which may be to treat educators' problems as phenomena to be explained; this is not just to criticize earlier sociological research, but to ask what implicit assumptions led some questions ... to be asked and others ... to be treated as given.

This concern with methodological procedure, which was an important element of the emergence of the 'new sociology'

of education, appears to be missing from much 'race-relations' research. It was an inadequacy with which I began my study, by 'taking' the dominant explanation, shared by researchers, official reports and teachers, of the educational performance of black pupils in terms of the ethnic structure of the black community. The substantive issues focussed primarily on the pupils, and methodological and data collection techniques were employed to meet the culturalist assumptions of this theoretical approach.

During my second term at Kilby school, in early 1981, I began to formulate my research concern, that of the examination of black pupils' transition from school to work. In order to build up selected case-histories, quantitative material was collected from the school records on the social background of the then fourth year pupils (1980-1981), including such data as parental occupations, housing situation, number of siblings, 'problem' families, for example, one-parent families and pupils who had social workers, information on junior school attended and their reports, and material on the pupils' school career at Kilby school, including I.Q. and attitudinal tests, stream, placement, annual reports and attendance and disciplinary records. In analysing the data, a pattern emerged of the relatively higher academic achievement among Asian pupils and the underachievement among West Indians. I also collected information from the

local careers office on job recommendation and first job obtained by the Kilby school pupils during the previous five years (1976- 1980), and made contacts with a number of past pupils to develop my understanding of their transition from school to the labour market.

My initial concern was to explore on an ethnic basis the cultural links between the West Indian and Asian response to schooling and their future location within the labour market. Working from within a dichotomous framework of the underachieving West Indian pupils and the academically successful Asians, I focussed on two main peer groups within the fourth year, namely the anti-school West Indian Rasta Heads, and a pro-school Asian group who were in the top stream. Informed by the large body of 'race-relations' literature which adopted an ethnic approach to the study of black youth, at this stage of the research I was attempting to identify the significant variables that caused the Asian pupils' apparent positive response to schooling and the West Indians' apparent negative response. As is the case with the dominant 'race-relations' perspective, as I observed the pupils I became particularly concerned with the cultural aspects of the West Indians' educational failure.

iii Present Research Problem: Focus on the Pupils

Whyte (1943: 300) points to the importance of having the support of key individuals in groups studied

ethnographically. My initial source was Gilroy, who explained to me the West Indian pupils' own informal social division, that was based on identification with different types of black music, namely the Funk Heads, the Soul Heads and the Rasta Heads. As well as being identified by their association with different kinds of music, that they indicated through the wearing of badges, they also tended to have different dress and hair-styles. The groups did not fall into a simple classification of pro-school and anti-school pupils, though the former two, a number of whom attended church, tended to be more orientated to the formal demands of the school. Unlike Willis' 'Lads' the Rasta Heads did not perceive the other West Indians as mere 'Earoles'; for them "each man must find his own way". Gilroy, a Soul Head, provided detailed information on the composition and practices of each group.

My first contact with the Rasta Heads group resulted from an out of school incident. A number of them had been stopped by the police and were being questioned. The pupils recognized me from the school and asked me to assist them. During the following week, I explained to them that I was carrying out a study on the educational performance of black youth and required their help to understand how their cultural background might affect their attitude to school. I also made contact with a group of Asian conformist pupils, who were in the top stream of the fourth year, and similarly informed them of my interest in their cultural background. The latter group were at first suspicious and would not agree to being tape-recorded, though within a few months with the

exception of one pupil, they fully cooperated. Their initial reluctance to trust me was partly due to the ambiguity of my role within the school. Although, I explained to both groups that I taught English as a Second Language, the Asian pupils assumed I was a student teacher and questioned the use of the material I was collecting. For the Rasta Heads, this role ambiguity was also of significance, however, conversely they trusted me because to them, I did not seem like a 'real' teacher.

Meyenn (1979: 125) argues that within research, methodology has a relative autonomy, and that however important theoretical and substantive issues are, they do not completely determine methodology. The shift in the understanding of my research problem partly arose from the methodological concern with observing the anti-school Rasta Heads group. Liebow (1967: 11) chose participant observation because he believed that this method would provide a "clear first hand picture" of the "life of ordinary people, on their grounds and on their terms". While investigating the Rasta Heads' sub-culture, I came to see its logic as a strategy of survival. Rather than viewing it in terms of how sub-cultural values contributed to West Indian pupils' educational failure, I came to see their sub-culture as a legitimate mechanism against the school's institutional authoritarianism and racism.

This reassessment of the Rasta Heads' sub-culture lead me to re-examine what I came to see as the teacher stereotype

of the conformist Asian pupil. From observation within the school and the local community, I had identified a number of Asian anti-school pupils and, the Rasta Heads often spoke of the Warriors, the main Asian anti-school sub-cultural group at Kilby school. I met Parminder, then a fifth form pupil at an anti-racist demonstration and explained to him my study. He introduced me to Amerjit, the leader of the Warriors. Initially their cooperation was based upon their respect for Parminder, who eventually became an unofficial research assistant. Though difficult to judge, like Whyte and Liebow, my presence with the Warriors and the Rasta Heads seemed to produce few changes in their normal behaviour. After the first year of field-work, Sokhjinder asked me if I would get into trouble for being one of the gang.

Detailed field notes were taken and written up each evening. At the beginning of the research I relied heavily on tape-recorded interviewing, using both structured and semi-structured interview schedules. In order to build up case-histories of the boys who were the main subjects of the study, I interviewed each one of them individually and in groups. After about the first year of field-work, I found that the interviewing had improved with a more effective questioning technique, that is, I learned what questions to ask, what questions not to ask and how and when to ask them. It was at this time that I began to interview the boys' parents in their homes, some of whom I had met at anti-racist meetings and demonstrations, such as those in support of the Bradford Twelve

(Race Today, 1982: 124) or on picket lines, such as the one in support of workers involved in the Raindi dispute (Bishton, 1982: 44). The interviews with the parents covered a wide range of areas, including their attitudes to their children's education, immigration to Britain, living in Kilby, their work situation and their response to racism. Further interviews were carried out with representatives of the black community in Kilby and the local authority. From empirical data collected in the local community, I came to see the Rasta Heads' and Warriors' resistance to racism within and outside the school as linked to that of their parents' resistance.

As the research progressed over the two year observation period, I developed the participant observer role. McCall and Simmons (1969: 1) clearly describe the variety of methods involved in this approach:

... participant observation is not a single method but rather a characteristic style of research which makes use of a number of methods and techniques - observation informant interviewing, document analysis, respondent interviewing and participation with self-analysis.

The degree of observation and participation with the boys varied from almost complete observation in many school activities, such as classroom interaction with teachers, to almost complete participation in activities in the local community, including hanging around the park and cafes, playing football and cricket, listening to music, attending

'blues' parties or involved in "just talk" either at my house or one of theirs. Whyte (1943: 305) informs us that he began "as non-participating observer. As I became accepted into the community, I found myself becoming almost a non-observing participant". There were occasions when involvement in activities precluded my observation and, at such times the boys often recorded my behaviour and reported back to me the next day.

iv Biography of Researcher

Whyte (1943: 300) informed the group he was studying that he was writing a book about the area. However, he found that "acceptance in the district depended more on the personal relationships I developed far more than any explanations I might give". Like other researchers, for example Parker, (1974) and Moore (1977), I found that what I assumed were insignificant autobiographical details, were from a research point of view of significance. These included: looking only slightly older than many of the boys, living in Kilby and being able to cope with and contribute to their humour; being quick witted was an essential social skill. My dialect was not a problem as I tend to adopt a non-standard form in informal situations. I came to understand the Rasta Heads when they used a strong West Indian dialect. After a year on the research, I enrolled for Punjabi lessons but the teacher concentrated on Hindi and so I dropped out after a

short period. My pronunciation was a great source of amusement for the anti-school Asian pupils who attempted to teach me the basics of their languages. Although, I made little progress with learning Punjabi, the exercise made clear to me the linguistic competence of these disaffected boys, with whom the school had made little contact. Most unexpectedly, members of both groups identified with my Irish nationality, which had implications for my field-work. For example, on a number of occasions outside of school, when their friends questioned or objected to my presence among them, it was pointed out that I was "Irish not white" and this seemed sufficient to satisfy their objections. I had long conversations with the boys on the effects of imperialism on our respective countries of origin and members of both groups showed a broadly sympathetic understanding of the Irish political situation, as was particularly demonstrated on such occasions as the death of Bobby Sands, the Irish Republican hunger striker.

Perhaps most important of all for my ethnographic field-work was the pupils' access to my home, situated around the corner from the school, which provided a relaxed atmosphere and undoubtedly contributed to the quality of the data collected. Over the research period, it became a sort of local communal centre where many pupils gathered, with the Rasta Heads and Warriors meeting on a regular basis, often accompanied by their girl-friends. The experience of talking, eating, dancing and listening to music together helped

to break down the potential social barriers of the teacher-researcher role that may have been assigned to me and, my seeing them as pupils. They were around most evenings and over the week-end and vacation periods. Fortunately, I do not require much sleep as there were frequent late nights and early mornings when parties were arranged. Socially, much of my time was taken up either in such informal events, or the more formal occasions , such as attendance at churches, temples and mosques for religious festivities, marriages and funerals.

One of the most enjoyable parts of the field-work, were the trips to such places as Wales, London and Donegal. I have been involved in youth work for a number of years so places to visit were easily arranged. Both members of the Rasta Heads and the Warriors complained prior to going that they were not interested in what they ridiculed as "school camping trips", however, such occasions were thoroughly enjoyed by all and talked about for weeks after. These trips reminded me of camping holidays with Northern Ireland youth, many of whom were involved in para-military organizations, projected tough images and similarly protested about being treated like schoolchildren. However, away from the social pressures and constraints of their respective local areas, one felt the freedom and youthfulness that they expressed as they spent hours quietly fishing, building sandcastles, climbing mountains or mucking about at night in their tent. Similarly, whether driving back into Derry or Kilby, one felt return

the dominant social response that they adopted on their 'home-ground', which was often most immediately expressed in terms of hostile remarks and gestures towards the British army or police, respectively. What was of particular significance about these events was that they were a useful reminder of the limitations of this type of research, which does not and cannot record the total complexity of the social behaviour of groups. That the boys' behaviour away from Kilby surprised me, served as a necessary qualification of my feeling that the intensive participant observation had led me to 'really know the lads'.

v Focus on the Teachers

At the planning stage of the research I had not intended to make the teachers at Kilby school the subjects of this study. However, research activity is not a static but rather a dialectical process, with methodology, data and theory informing each other. Before the end of the first year of field-work, having reassessed the social significance of the anti-school pupil sub-cultural groups, I shifted the research concern from the conventional race-relations' focus on the youth's culture as the main problem to their schooling, and began to investigate the assumed unproblematic nature of the teachers' ideologies and practices, and in this way, 'making' the research problem.

This methodological shift to include the teachers as a focus of the research ensured that the study did not become merely an.. 'underdog' account. Lacey (1976: 56) argues that ethnographers rather than being over-concerned with the notion of objectivity should attempt to describe the social system from a number of perspectives.

... I saw it as my job to develop views of the system from a number of points of view - those of the parent, the teacher, and the child. It was, I believed, through presenting these views and, more importantly the intersection of these views that the researcher could illustrate the dynamics of the system .

I adopted a similar methodological approach, with the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school, becoming the central substantive concern, and in so doing, developed my analysis of how their different perspectives intersected to produce a social process. It was a focus on the intersection of the teacher-pupil ideologies and practices that revealed the complex structure and processes of racism operating within the school, including of central significance the system teacher racist stereotyping.

The teachers were not formally informed that I was carrying out research on Kilby school. This was partly a result of not initially intending to study the teachers but also having decided to, because I felt that by not revealing my research interest in them, I could more effectively carry out my observation of them. Working covertly, I did not find the difficulties of loss of mobility and questioning of

management which Schatzman and Strauss (1973: 62) suggest would be involved in this research tactic. The headmaster was aware that I was a post-graduate student interested in the problem of black youth unemployment. This gave me the opportunity to have long discussions with him concerning the schooling of black boys, and I was permitted leave of absence one day of week to attend the University.

David Hargreaves' description (1967: 193) of the advantages of participant observation as a research method applied to my situation as a teacher-researcher, in relation to the Kilby school teachers.

The method of participant-observation leads the investigator to accept a role within the social situation he studies: he participates as a member of the group as well as observing it. In theory, this direct participation in the group life permits an easy entrance into the social situation by reducing the resistance of the group members; decreases the extent to which the investigator disturbs the 'natural' situation, and permits the investigator to experience and observe the group's norms, values, conflicts and pressures, which (over a long period) cannot be hidden from someone playing an in-group role.

However, Hargreaves maintains that the teacher role presents particular problems for this research approach. Adopting R.K. Merton's concept of role-set, meaning the sum of expectations of different actors; he points to the role conflict involved for the researcher in using this method. Although initially accepted by the staff as a teacher, his presence in the classroom as observer lead to the usual

difficulties of disturbing the situation he was investigating. This undoubtedly was the case with my own presence in the classroom. Due to room shortage at the school I had access to teachers' lessons, as English as a Second Language teaching frequently took place at the back of their classrooms. However, the disturbance of the normal teacher-pupil interaction occurred to a less extent than Hargreaves suggests as my identity as a researcher was not known and also, due to my status as a probationary teacher. This was of significance to the research not only because I did not appear as a professional threat to them as a school inspector or researcher might but also because it legitimated my asking questions about their educational perspective and practices, that is, I carried out informal interviews under the pretext of learning the job. My participation with hidden identity allowed me as a researcher to experience 'a view from the staffroom' or more appropriately, views from the staffroom. A significant aspect of my field-work was the informal personal relationships of teacher to teacher. Equally important to my observation was the opportunity to listen to the teachers interacting with each other. As there was a high proportion of teachers who were politically active and interested in educational theory, the strategy of listening resulted in rich research data.

However, whatever its advantages, as Schatzman and Strauss (1973: 62) argue, participant observation with hidden

identity does raise ethical problems that are not easily resolved. It may be argued that if in adopting this research tactic we gain new insights into the processes involved in contemporary forms of schooling, in this case, the schooling of black youth, then its justification is that the teachers involved can benefit from these insights, such as awareness of the racist ideology and practices in operation at Kilby school. Nevertheless, whatever the merits of this argument that the end justifies the means, the ethical problem, of recording individuals without their knowledge remains. However, this moral dilemma is not necessarily overcome by making known one's presence as a researcher to those who are the subjects of the study. As Hargreaves points out, a certain amount of deception is inevitable in participant observation, as it was when the teachers appeared to treat him as a friend rather than a researcher that the most significant things were said.

Like Hargreaves (ibid, p.199) I decided that all the material that I recorded was of analytical significance for the study, but only non-confidential evidence would be written up. Similar criteria was used in deciding what material to write up concerning the boys in the study. I adopted Parker's (1974: 224) framework and allocated the field-work data to three categories, that which could definitely be written up, that which definitely could not be written up and that which I was unsure about. The third category was eventually divided and distributed into the first and second categories after consultation with those involved.

The core methodology of my study was participant observation and observation. Finn (1979: 6) presenting a paper on Willis's work 'Learning to Labour' explains that the choice of the qualitative methods used in the research was determined by the nature of the interest in the 'cultural'. He claims that:

The techniques used were particularly suited to record this level and have a sensitivity to subjective meanings and values as well as an ability to represent and interpret symbolic articulations, practices and forms of cultural production. In particular the ethnographic account, without always knowing how, can allow a degree of activity, creativity and human agency within the object of study to come through into the analysis.

I also found that this approach of inferring meanings by understanding the context, through participation in the life of the teachers' and anti-school pupils' sub-cultural groups, was very productive. Also, like Lacey (1976: 60) I found of equal importance was the combining of methods and their integration in the analysis of data. So, for example, the identification of an Asian anti-school sub-cultural group at Kilby school, resulted from my observation of them being followed up by the collection of material from school documents and questionnaire on their attitude to school, which enabled me to build up case-histories on the Warriors. The significance of this combination of methods is also seen in relation to the system of racial stereotyping that

the pupils informed me operated within the school. Information from the school records concerning the process of promotion and demotion offered possible support for their claim, with 14 pupils in the top stream in the first year being reduced to seven in the fifth year, and only three of them entered for 'O' level examinations. This lead me to investigate this process and conclude from evidence collected from observation that it was informed by teacher racial stereotyping and discriminated against West Indian pupils. This process will be more fully documented and explained in the chapter on teacher ideologies and practices.

The combination and integration of methods also acted as an important means of cross-checking data obtained from participant observation, thus limiting potential subjective bias. So,,for example, documents such as press cuttings on schooling and race in the local area, and the school governors' reports substantiated the Kilby teachers' views on the high level of overt racism within Kilby and the school during the late 1960's and early 1970's. The search of national and local newspapers also substantiated the increase in the level of racist attacks, particularly against Asians, during theperiod that I had recorded racist attacks on Kilby school pupils.

This employment of different methodologies and data collection techniques proved very fruitful for the generation of theory.

However, a major error was the failure in the early period of the study to fully utilize material that I had collected from other sources other than participant observation. So, for example, although at an early stage I had collected material on pupils' social background, it was not until much later that I tabulated the correlation between parental occupation and stream placement and so found, the over-representation of pupils of a non-manual background in the top stream. Furthermore, the school records provided information on the under-representation at the school of West Indian pupils of a middle-class background. This material provided evidence that class might be a more significant variable in explaining black pupils' school performance than conventional 'race-relations' research suggests.

This failure to fully make use of different methodologies and to integrate them was partly due to my reading of the literature on ethnographic studies of the classroom, which seemed to suggest an exclusive methodological concern with participant observation. Re-reading these accounts, such an interpretation was a mis-reading. More significantly, I began the study using a quantitative approach, however, having shifted my research concern, I concentrated on analysis of the qualitative data with little reference to the quantitative material. This dichotomous approach was essentially the result of my underevaluating the role of methodology in the research. I would have more quickly gained insights into the teacher-pupil relations at

Kilby school if at the planning stage of the research, I had not adopted a reductionist view of seeing methodology as simply determined by theoretical and substantive concerns. Equally important there is a need to maintain a practice of reflexivity if one is to fully utilize the empirical material gathered from the use of different methods.

Another weakness of the research concerned the question of the allocation of time to different subjects of the study. Inside the school my time was fairly evenly spent with teachers and different groups of pupils. However, outside of the school, although my close identification with the anti-school pupils did not appear to detract from my relationship with the more conformist pupils, in retrospect I feel that I should have spent more time with them. This would have given me a more comprehensive view of the pupils' responses to schooling from different perspectives and served to highlight the anti-school pupils practices.

Finally, a problem that remained throughout the research, was the feeling of 'ripping off' the boys. Such comments, as Gilroy telling me that he was glad that he had met me because he thought that all whites hated black people, helped me to justify their involvement in the study, indicating that our relationship was not merely that of researcher and researched, nor only of benefit to myself. Asking the boys about this, Kervin and Leslie sarcastically suggested that I had probably "saved them" from the other white liberals, such as social workers and probation officers who "visited Kilby to help them".

The above methodological procedures and data collection techniques were employed in carrying out ethnographic studies on the teachers and the pupils at Kilby school. In the next chapter, I shall begin with an examination of the teacher ideologies and practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHER IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES

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5.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with an analysis of the teachers' ideologies and practices in operation at Kilby school and their effect on black pupils of West Indian and Asian origin. There are five broad areas of concern. Firstly, an historical view of the development of the construction of the white staff's social images of the black community. Secondly, the identification of the different teacher ideologies and thirdly, an examination of the relationship between these ideologies and the dominant mono-cultural educational perspective within the school. The Liberals' adoption of a multi-cultural approach is seen as a development of earlier educational reforms which, as was pointed out above, were based on explanations of educational underachievement that focussed on working-class pupils' assumed cultural deprivations. Fourthly, an analysis of the teachers' racism with a particular focus on the process of racial stereotyping, and fifthly, I shall examine the effects of this process of stereotyping in relation to the system of classification.

It will be argued that no simplistic division can be made between the Old Disciplinarians and New Realists, as representing a reactionary racist force in contrast to the Liberals' progressive anti-racist ideology. Rather, it will be shown that while the former groups are overtly involved in racist practices, the Liberals' position also serves to maintain a racially structured institution. So,

for example, Mr Raynor, the Head of the Remedial Department, was theoretically opposed to streaming. However, he was responsible for the administration of the selection mechanisms of testing and classification, which were of central significance in reproducing the racist pupil stereotypes. It will be argued that these inconsistencies between the liberals' ideological position and their practices cannot be simply reduced to a question of the inevitable contradictions of adopting a subtler form of social control in a racially structured institution based on persuasion rather than coercion. The contradictions and limitations of the liberal educational ideology has a material base, an important element of which, is the bureaucratic nature of the teachers' professional career structure. Furthermore, it was the control of the selection mechanisms that formed the liberals' power base within the school.

There are important differences between the teacher ideologies which will be explored in detail, but one of the main arguments of this research is that all these ideologies work from within a common educational paradigm, with a set of shared assumptions, from which emerge certain issues that are defined as problems. Of primary significance is the teachers' shared perception of the black community itself as constituting the 'problem' in the schooling of black pupils. The ideological construction of this 'problem'

by both authoritarian and liberal teachers takes place within a culturalist perspective which assumes a class homogeneity of the black community and which operates with a differential response to pupils of West Indian and Asian origin. Of central importance in defining this response is the relationship between the process of racial stereotyping and the system of classification in operation at Kilby school, which as part of a wider process of racism tends to structure social reality at the school. It will be shown that an examination of social background differences of the West Indian and Asian pupils challenges the teachers' classification of them in ethnic terms. More particularly, such an examination will serve to demonstrate the racist nature of the teachers' ideological 'common-sense' division between the 'high achieving' Asian pupil and the 'low ability' West Indian pupil. Before examining the areas of concern it is necessary to describe the structure and location of Kilby school.

5.2 The School and the Community

5.2.1 The School

Kilby school is an 11 to 18 four form entry, boys only comprehensive school situated on a single site. At the time of the research, there were 624 pupils on roll, with 44 in the sixth form. 411 were of Asian origin,

173 of West Indian origin and 40 were white boys.

There was a low staff turnover among the 33 full-time teachers and three part-time teachers. The senior management of the school consisted of headmaster, deputy-head, head of upper school and head of lower school. The school had a good reputation within the local community as a place that maintained high disciplinary standards and seemed to manifest little trouble. Further description of the school's structure and personnel will be examined later in the chapter in relation to teacher ideologies.

5.2.11 The Community

Kilby school, which has Social Priority School status, is located within an inner-city suburb in the West Midlands conurbation. In the early 1970's, Kilby was regarded as one of Britain's main black problem areas. It was then described as a former prosperous residential area which had deteriorated into a typical decaying inner-city suburb with the usual multi-deprivation problems, characterized by lack of good employment opportunities, inadequate housing and social amenities and general disillusionment among the young. For the white population, this deterioration was associated with the arrival of black immigrants. In the late 1970's, other researchers challenged the popular image of the area as a black ghetto, pointing out that there were as many elderly white people as of blacks of

all ages resident there. Its changing ethnic composition during the last 30 years may be summarized as follows; in 1951, it was a largely white working-class area, with a high proportion of Irish immigrants, by the early 1960's there was a significant number of West Indians who outnumbered Asians by three to one, while by 1971, it was the West Indians who were numerically marginally the minority. This trend has continued in the 1980's; comparing the census figures for 1971 with those of 1981, reveals that the number of Caribbean-born residents in Kilby fell from 8,880 (1971) to 6,998 (1981) while the Asian-born residents (principally Indian) rose from 9,116 (1971) to 13,668 (1981). The total number of residents in Kilby is 83,396, so at the time of the 1981 census, West Indians constituted 8% and Asians 16% of the Kilby population. Kilby's image as a 'black area' is further reinforced by the figures for the number of residents with both parents born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, which is 40,951 or 49% of the area's total population (Census, 1981).

Researchers

in the late 1970's described the variety of different housing situations in Kilby, including owner occupiers, private renters from private landlords, or housing associations and council tenants living mainly in old terrace dwellings or larger villa-type houses some of which are multi-occupied by a number of families. A majority of the pupils lived in owner-occupied houses within the

immediate vicinity of the school. In terms of housing, Kilby has a long history of development in contrast to the demolition of old houses and construction of high rise dwellings in neighbouring areas (Paris and Blackaby, 1979). The pupils often spoke of council improvements to their homes and this undoubtedly contributed to their positive view of Kilby, although much of the housing still lacks amenities and looks in decay, as is true of the area's social amenities.

In terms of the industrial structure of the area, the metal industries, that is metal manufacture, engineering and allied industries, play a dominant role in the economic life of the West Midlands. For black males, the metal industries represent typical forms of employment, especially the unskilled sector in foundry, forge and furnace work and other general labouring where they are over-represented. Similarly, the occupational structure for females shows, that black women are over-represented in factory and hospital work. Much of this information is derived from published material on Kilby, but in order to maintain the area's anonymity, the names of the researchers will remain undisclosed. My own research into the occupations of the pupils' parents confirmed the above findings, with most of them involved, or formally involved prior to redundancy, in these jobs and for a significant proportion of them, their places of work were situated in neighbouring areas.

The research was carried out at a time of growing mass unemployment, with over two and a half million registered unemployed by July 1981, which has had a particularly harsh effect on the West Midlands. Walker (1984: 5) describes the decline as demonstrated by the latest set of regional statistics.

... the West Midlands shows every sign of decline. Since 1971, the region's economic performance has been consistently below average and G.D.P. per head fell from 103 per cent of the U.K. figure to 90 per cent in 1981. The problems of Black Country manufacturing are evident. Capital spending in industry is only two-fifths of the U.K. average in most of the region; unemployment has risen to 15.5 per cent; weekly earnings of men are now below those of most other regions, pushing personal disposable income per head down to 93 per cent of the average.

Gaffikin and Nickson (1984) provide a detailed account of how 10 major companies in the West Midlands have withdrawn investment in the area and transferred it abroad. They argue that the sectional interests of the trade-unions has prevented them from responding to the companies' corporate investment strategy and so stemming the loss of jobs. According to the authors these 10 companies in 1978 employed a total of 686,694 workers throughout the world, and of these 75% were employed in Britain. By 1982, the companies' total workforce had fallen by a quarter to 530,275 which was accounted for exclusively by cutbacks of 31% in Britain while the overseas workforce marginally expanded.

Turning to the question of black unemployment, Trinder (1983: 5) provides information from the Labour Force Survey on unemployment by race, and points out that it disproportionately affects the black community and in particular black youth.

The unemployment rate for whites in 1981 was 10 per cent, but for West Indians, it was 21 per cent and for Pakistanis 20 per cent. This difference is partly accounted for by the proportions of different ages in different categories. More West Indians are younger and unemployment rates for 16-29 year olds, are higher for all races than they are for older age groups, but within each age band, there is still a large differential. For whites aged 16-29 years the unemployment rate was 14.7 per cent in 1981 and for non-whites it was 25.1 per cent.

Within Kilby the black community were disproportionately affected by unemployment as they were concentrated in declining industries. For black youth the situation was even worse, with almost a 50% reduction from 40% to 21% in the total numbers entering employment within the region, during the period 1978-1980, and within Kilby one out of every two white youths found work compared to less than one in three black school leavers. Furthermore these figures underestimate the 'real' total. Examining information from Kilby's career service on the Kilby school leavers over the five year period 1978-1982, revealed the limitations of the official statistics, with a number of pupils not registering and a disproportionately high number participating

on the youth opportunity programmes, which offer little hope of permanent employment (Stares et al, 1980). It is against this background of regional decline that I shall present a brief history of Kilby school.

5.3 History of Teacher-Pupil Relations

5.3.i National and Local Response

In order to understand more clearly the more specific history of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school, there is a need to examine the relationship between national and local developments in response to the schooling of black pupils. Troyna (1982: 128) points out that there has been no centrally prescribed policy on multi-cultural education. He argues that this inactivity has not resulted merely from an administrative oversight but represents an explicit ideological position on this issue. Dorn and Troyna (1982) develop this argument concerning the absence of national policy during the 1970's. This was at a time when the D.E.S. assumed a more assertive role in other areas of education. They agree with Kirp's (1979) analysis that Britain at a national level has adopted a policy of racial inexplicitness in education by subsuming the needs of ethnic minorities under the more general categories of urban deprivation and educational disadvantage. This decentralized approach gave the Local Education Authorities a great deal of autonomy.

But as Little and Willey (1981: 30) reported to the Schools Council, many authorities have not taken the initiative to develop coherent strategies in the absence of an explicit national policy.

Townsend (1971) has argued there has been differing and often contradictory responses at both authority and school level, to D.E.S. proposals. Hence, the development of specific ideologies is an uneven process. So, while it is true that the dominant response of the white staff at Kilby school, including management, teachers, secretarial and domestic workers, to the black pupils was to largely reproduce the generally held racial stereotypes, described earlier in the chapter on national policy, nevertheless the local political circumstances determined the differential rate of appearance and development at this level. Three main stages can be identified in the historical development at Kilby school of the construction of the staff's social images of the black community that demonstrates the relationship between the national and local levels. The first stage was concerned with the initial interaction with the black boys' arrival in the early 1960's, of the staff and the pupils. The second stage, which built on the earlier stereotypes, was in response to the growth in the early 1970's of a majority black pupil population. Thirdly, in the mid-1970's there was a shift away from an emphasis on cultural superiority to one of cultural differences.

a) First Stage: Initial Interaction

Mrs Shepherd, a white domestic who had worked at Kilby school for twenty-one years explained that when it opened, there was among the predominantly white population high expectations of their new local secondary modern school. Her more recent negative perception of it, is associated with the arrival into the area of the black community.

Mrs Shepherd: *

It opened in 1959, we really looked forward to it, our own school. It was a beautiful school then. It was all white, now it's all wong. My two sons came here. It was still a good school then. The rabble have only come in the last ten years. First four came, then eight, then sixteen the next year, now it's over a hundred and a few whites, if you can get that. Mr Willis (headmaster, 1964-1972) made the kids come in the back way. In those days there was no running around the school like there is now, everything's gone now. You were regarded as a snob if you lived in Kilby. Now if you say you work here, they regard you as riffraff. Things have changed a lot since this lot took over. They should never have let so many of them come here should they? It's a wonder I haven't turned black I've been here so long.

* Length of pause is not indicated in this nor the following interviews.

It was during this early interaction between the white staff and black pupils that there emerged among the former group a social pathological view of the black community. Mr Willis, Headmaster, during this period, confirmed this view:

Mr Willis:

Things were tough then, much tougher than now. I mean for individual teachers. In those days the first children who came to school were really a displaced generation. The families were broken up. There were lots of social problems, every type of problem, like culture shock, identity problems, a migrant population coming to terms with city life. It was very tough to have to cope with all this and try to teach.

Many of the teachers' social images of the black community in the 1960's, emphasised the superiority of British culture. These crude racial images were historically linked to British imperialism. Mr Fleming, a history teacher, remembered the arrival of the black pupils and offered an explanation of the 'problem black population' which had much popular support.

Mr Fleming:

They were seen as a threat really, a threat to the civilised standards of our society, of British society. They were seen as underdeveloped, backward, that is from backward countries, and from their rural backgrounds they were unable to cope with the demands of a highly-advanced industrial society. They couldn't especially the Indians. They had low standards at home, like their crowding, not because they had to, they preferred it. There was lots they couldn't cope with, like British toilets. The white workers were forced to ask for separate facilities; and the noise. The coloureds, the West Indians had parties all the time.

As is demonstrated in the following example, similar social images were recorded in the school governors reports of this period.

The school is being singled out to help children from backward countries, who have many cultural and social problems. There are many extra problems concerned with maintaining standards. The children's families don't help matters, especially the Indian parents, who refuse to accept our way of life. They are standing in the way of their children's adapting to school in Britain.

(February , 1964)

These racist stereotypies were not simply locked away in individual teachers' heads. By the end of the 1960's they were translated into social and material responses. Firstly, there developed among the staff, a social acceptance of a high degree of overt racism. Mr Dempster, a senior teacher, described the situation during this period.

Mr Dempster:

People, teachers were much, were much more openly prejudiced. The West Indians were talked about as belonging to the jungle and all that sort of thing. Remember, it's often forgotten but in schools things like size are important. First years are easily, more easily controlled than fifths formers. Well, then teachers were confronted, it was always thought of as confrontation with big West Indians. They were challenged, so they resorted to derogative labelling. It was a kind of defence mechanism. And, with Indian kids when they first arrived, there was a lot of talk about them, being sly, pretending they couldn't understand you if they got in trouble.

Secondly, a more coercive disciplinary policy was adopted, including more frequent use of suspensions and corporal punishment. More significantly, this authoritarian strategy was backed up by an informal process of 'official bullying'. At this particular time there was much visible resistance among the pupils, which often displayed itself in physical terms. In order to incorporate the boys into the school, the teachers met force with force. Mr Young, a teacher of English, recalled these strategies.

Mr Young:

There's a lot of liberals here now compared to then. They were fascists. Selected teachers, like the two P.E. blokes were used as a deterrant against the big West Indians, and if it broke down, they layed in against them.

These adopted strategies were the practical response to the assimilationist perspective with its attempt to absorb black pupils into British society. The following research carried out during this period also reflected this theoretical framework.

b) School Research Findings: 1960's

In 1965, the Association of Teachers of English to Pupils from Overseas (A.T.E.P.O.), chose Kilby school as part of its study of the problems of coloured immigrant children, with particular reference to the West Indian population which was then in the majority. This study which is representative of the 'race-relations' research of this time, worked

within a framework which emphasised the social pathology of the black community. In the introduction it is stated that:

... the difficulties of teaching and maintaining discipline ... are not created by educational problems alone; a certain amount of colour consciousness seems to exist, further problems and difficulties are caused by poor speech, bad housing conditions and also the inability of some immigrants' parents to appreciate the conditions and conduct considered to be acceptable by the host community.

(A.T.E.P.O., 1970: 14)

It was from within this framework that a number of related social images produced a caricature of the Asian and West Indian groups. The Asian population was described as possessing a strong culture and at the same time as passive recipients of the dominant culture. In contrast, the West Indian community was perceived essentially in terms of social deviancy.

Most of these difficulties lie within the Caribbean immigrant group. The Asiatic immigrant group appears to accept its new situation and is eager to cooperate in the learning situation.

(ibid, p.14)

The report describes in detail these social images. Firstly, there is criticism of West Indian parents and pupils for their unjustifiable claims of racial discrimination. These complaints are rationalized in terms of exaggerated occupational aspirations and an adolescent 'chip on the

shoulder.

Some feelings of prejudice may be an echoing of parents' attitudes who see prejudice in the refusal of Unions and employers to accept lower standards of trade skills.

(ibid, p.15)

Secondly, the Report established powerful stereotypes of the West Indian and Asian pupils. These racist stereotypes were developed within a framework of psychological reductionism. Complex social processes were reduced to a simple question of ethnic temperament and personality.

Caribbean children seem to be more quarrelsome than Asian children ... the whole pattern of play in playgrounds has significantly become rougher and more aggressive. We have had a significant rise in the amount of petty pilfering.

(ibid, p.16)

Thirdly, the Report assumed class homogeneity of the black community. This is of central significance in the creation of these early social images. In place of a social class analysis, an ethnic division was created between Asian and West Indian pupils in terms of the 'common-sense' educational concepts of attitude and ability. The high achieving Asian pupils are contrasted to the troublesome and low ability West Indian pupils. Consequently, sport and non-academic subjects are prescribed as the means for the latter group to attain school success, though even in these areas they are seen as deficient.

It is in sports and arts that immigrant children may compete equally with native born children. Success in these fields may go a long way towards removing suspicion and the 'chip on the shoulder' attitude that seem prevalent among so many adolescent immigrants. In practical subjects, such as woodwork, the majority of Caribbean pupils lack basic skills and ability. They appear to have difficulty in coordination of hand and eye ... also ... a majority of these pupils lack concentration, are easily discouraged, being satisfied with low standards of performance.

(ibid, p.16)

Finally, the 1966 Report demonstrates that the early social images of the black community were created within a perspective that excluded as part of the 'problem', the official ideologies and practices of the policy-makers, the researchers and the teachers. The cause of 'the problems of the coloured immigrant children' in Kilby school was seen primarily in terms of the social pathological nature of the black community. It was assumed that the school would be successful with the 'second generation' in compensating for these 'first generation' migratory problems. The Report concludes that:

Where a boy has been born in this country and has been brought up accepting the standards required in an industrial environment, his performance is within the normal distribution range, resulting in some cases in work of a very high standard.

(ibid, p.16)

For the teachers, this report carried out by a professional association, was felt to be a more realistic examination of

their situation than the local education authority's policy as is shown below, and so was of particular significance in developing the racist ideology in operation within the school. The early process of racial structuring at Kilby school is demonstrated by this study which established the 'problem' of schooling black pupils in terms of the ethnic structure of the black community and opposed Asian 'conformity' to West Indian 'truculence'. It acts as an effective summary of the response of the 'race-relations' researchers and teachers to the black pupils' arrival at Kilby school.

c) Second Stage: Majority Black Pupil Population

The second stage of the development of the teachers' negative racial stereotypes was in response to the growth of a majority black pupil population in the early 1970's. This was partly a result of the education authority that Kilby school is located in, which decided against the implementation of the policy of dispersal which was officially sanctioned in 1965, by the Department of Education and Science. As Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 177) point out, the authorities decision was not based on the needs of the black community but was an attempt to contain assumed low academic standards spreading to every school in the city. Nevertheless, although at the local education authority level, these crude mechanisms of control were rejected, individual

schools responded differently to what they saw as a crisis of majority black schools.

The response at Kilby school demonstrates that the development of educational perspectives is an uneven process. Whereas the D.E.S. by the mid-1960's had incorporated an interventionist approach to multi-cultural education, it was not until the early 1970's that it was adopted at Kilby school. The policy-makers at the national level were responding to the black community's protest against racism within the schools. However, whereas black parent and pupil movements had emerged in London, this organization had not taken place in Kilby. For example, the placement of West Indian children in E.S.N. schools was a central issue in other parts of the country but as Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 176) point out this issue was never a major focus of local activity in Kilby's local authority. This was partly as a consequence of an attempt by the local education authority to keep 'problem' pupils within the main schooling system. So, we can see that each local education authority has a certain autonomy and in response to local conditions it structures its own social reality at an institutional level and implements its own individual strategies within the schools.

What had emerged at Kilby school from the earlier encounter during the 1960's of the white professionals and black pupils was the juxtaposition of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian pupil and the 'low ability troublesome' West Indian

pupil. Whereas during this earlier period, it was believed that a 'colour blind' approach should operate, of treating all pupils the same, by the 1970's there had been a shift to a more interventionist strategy. Partly in response to the frustration felt by many of the teachers against the local authority's refusal to 'disperse' black pupils, a highly stratified internalised system was adopted. The powerful caricatures of the Asian and West Indian pupils which operated within the school informed the structuring of this approach. The arbitrary selection mechanism for assigning pupils to different streams led to West Indian pupils who were of 'higher ability' than their Asian or white peers being placed, on subjective behavioural grounds into the lower streams.

A senior maths teacher, Mr Johnson described the situation during this period.

Mr Johnson:

The coloured boys, there were a lot of them by the early 1970's. They were nearly all in the lower ability bands. We often didn't have a choice because we couldn't find special schools for all the troublemakers. Suspensions weren't really a deterrent. The authority were all for keeping them within local schools but really they needed specialist help. Often much older boys were in the same classes with boys much younger than them. It was difficult to know their ages. They were, many of them, were so big. The coloured boys always ended up at the bottom. It was not always because they weren't bright. They were the worst behaved ones. It was their aggressive attitude. They went wild if you disciplined them. You couldn't reason with them. The problem was there was too many of them, too many problems.

Mr Hall, a retired headmaster of a school in the local area, with a 60% black pupil population confirmed this view. He contributed to a 'Report on West Indian Pupils, 1968-1970'. He maintains that:

To move from A to C stream means roughly moving from white to black pupils ... Now for two years a broad-band system has been run. Two forms 'above the line' will lead to C.S.E.. The two forms 'below the line' are lower in potential. In the third and fourth years the lower two forms are entirely coloured. This is noticeable though we have honestly ceased to think 'this is Jamaican, this is white and so on'.

(Hall, 1971: 85)

This report describes the relative position of West Indian pupils in the lower streams in relation to white pupils. At Kilby school the West Indian pupils' stream position was increasingly opposed to that of the 'high achieving' Asians in the top streams.

What emerges from the relation between this stereotyping of West Indian 'truculence' and Asian 'conformity' and the streaming process which discriminates against West Indian pupils, is the way in which this racist practice at a local level served to reproduce these racial stereotypes that were already contained in national policy, as pointed out in an earlier section. The material response of implementing a tight stratification system at Kilby school demonstrates the streaming process's own dynamic in serving to reinforce the teachers' social definitions of the black pupils. There was now firmly established a strong differentiation among the 'technical problems' and West Indian pupils 'behavioural problems'.

d) Third Stage: Cultural Superiority to Cultural Differences

During the mid-1970's there were significant structural changes at Kilby school. In 1972, there was a new headmaster and the school officially became comprehensive. Also, at this time there was the emergence of a group of teachers of the English and Remedial Departments and the school counsellor, whose liberal educational ideology challenged the dominant authoritarian ethos of the school. The latter's perspective was considered to have failed and to have contributed to the hostility between staff and pupils. The stratification system was relaxed and mixed ability grouping in the first three years was adopted in most subjects, with the exception of Maths and Science. The headmaster introduced a new radical pastoral system with the appointment of a new school counsellor, a head of upper and lower school and a tutorial system to operate in all years throughout the school. Corporal punishment was rarely used and its use restricted to the headmaster.

It was during this period that there was an ideological move away from an emphasis on racial superiority to one of racial differences. In response to these perceived differences, a number of teachers attended multi-cultural courses to learn more about the pupils' home backgrounds. The religious education syllabus adopted a multi-faith approach; the English and history departments included multi-cultural material in their courses; and the Remedial department introduced

Black Studies. These interventionist techniques were rationalized in terms of the specific cultural needs of the black pupils. The school counsellor, Mr Lynch, explained this shift from assimilation to plural-integration and the perception of the special needs of the 'different ethnic groups'.

Mr Lynch:

It was thought that we could treat them all the same. The old assimilationist-argument of creating a melting-pot, in fact in practice it means treating them all as white. Our idea, I mean the idea we worked with was to treat all cultures as equal and show them as equal inside the school. This will help create a multi-cultural society. But we were realistic, in fact, perhaps we weren't at first. We tried to balance out the negative images by concentrating on the positive ones but we began to see the effects of cultural differences. How could the West Indian kid from a one-parent family compete equally with a child from a good background? These kids have so many difficulties, social, educational etcetera. I don't mean only the West Indian lads. The Asian kids often don't know whether they're coming or going between the two worlds they live in, and not belonging to either one really.

With the displacement of the earlier coercive disciplinary methods, psychology became of central significance. The educational psychologist and more importantly the use of psychological terminology functioned to legitimate the negative racial stereotypes operating within the school. The over-representation of West Indian pupils in the lowest streams and remedial departments of the school was justified in terms of 'common-sense' educational categories of ability, attitude, aptitude etc. These ideologically constructed 'common-sense' concepts were still in operation at Kilby school during the research period and will be critically examined later in this chapter.

e) School Research Findings: 1970's

In 1976, a group of liberal teachers in the English and Remedial Departments, together with the careers teacher and the educational psychologist attached to the school, set up a study into the possible underachievement of the pupils at Kilby school. It was felt by the staff involved that a case could be made for conducting this study on any single year group. The third year was the time for pupils when poor performance became noticeable. Three third year groups were therefore included in the study; a mixed ability group in biology and history, and class 3:3 in maths. Mr Swallow, the educational psychologist explains why they set up the research:

Mr Swallow:

A number of us were concerned at the significant number of boys who seemed to be underachieving. I saw this as meaning two possibly different but related things. Firstly, that the boys might be doing less well than expected due to lack of already established educational skills needed to profit from lessons, and this would be cumulative. Secondly, that they might be doing less well than expected due to lack of incentive to learn, that is some failure of motivation. Many teachers for instance complain about the pupils' lack of concentration. In the past we hoped rather naively that the pupils would adapt, our study was part of a more active, positive approach. If we could identify what skills were missing or why the boys suffered from lack of motivation then we could plan positive programmes. We thought this was the best approach to attack underachievement and, a number of teachers on the project were concerned that the school achieve some degree of equality of opportunity. I must add that if many of the boys lacked motivation, it was not reflected in the staff. All the investigations were carried out as sympathetically but objectively as possible. I had nothing but the very best of help from each of the teachers, whose general teaching style and relationship with the children I much admired.

This study, carried out by a group of liberal teachers, demonstrates the ideological dominance of the view of the pathological nature of the black community. It was set up to examine the situation from the teachers' perspective and located the 'problem' within the boys' own culture. The teachers were not seen as part of the problem and the solution was seen essentially to lie in terms of changes the boys must make, with little mention of the institutional response to their needs and aspirations. The skills that were found to be necessary for satisfactorily dealing with the requirements of the lessons were:

1. Understanding what the teacher was saying -
 - (a) the meanings of individual words (vocabulary)
 - (b) the meanings of the combinations of words within phrases, clauses and sentences (syntax)
2. Meaningful reading of all written material from books, on the board, on hand-outs etc ...
3. Writing answers to questions accurately.
4. Copying from the board.
5. Understanding of diagrams.
6. Labelling a diagram or map.
7. Copying and colouring a map.
8. Reading one's own writing.
9. Understanding a cartoon picture.
10. Recall of previous material.
11. Understanding of mathematical notation.
12. Understanding the principle of a table 'matrix'.

13. Arrangement of written work on paper and handwriting.
14. Finding page numbers.
15. Have all equipment ready (pencils, textbooks etc ...)

It was concluded that several considerations prevented the drawing of 'hard and fast' conclusions. Although the 'method and results' section looked long and detailed, in fact time prevented anything more than a brief analysis of one sample of the pupils' performance. The results were therefore best seen as providing a general awareness of difficulties that boys might be facing, rather than an exhaustive survey.

The main results were:

- a) The poor understanding that many boys had of common English words.
- b) The difficulties that many boys had in understanding their textbooks.
- c) The inability of many boys to construct a simple written sentence in English.
- d) The inability of many boys to grasp the relationship of diagram to real life.
- e) The inadequacy of many boys' revision and preparation for examinations.

Mr Lynch, the school counsellor argued that despite the limited and negative results the study was of importance for two reasons. Firstly, it was an indicator of the institutionalization of the liberal philosophy operating within the school. During this period, the older authoritarian teachers argued for the maintenance of the traditional methods of teaching.

The second reason for its importance was that it marked a shift in how the school constructed the problem of the failure of black pupils and how it should respond. He maintained that the research enabled the black pupils' special needs to be identified.

Mr Lynch:

These boys had special needs we hadn't recognized, or at least some of us were then beginning to recognize. The older teachers were wrong, the hoped for cultural adaptation of the 1960's didn't take place so, a more interventionist policy had to, was needed. Having scientifically tested the skill deficiency and motivation problems, positive learning programmes could then be worked out. These programmes of learning would be multi-culturally based. It was an opportunity to respond in a more specific way to the particular problems of learning of a specific group, that is, non-white kids.

This study had much in common with the many 'under-achievement' studies of the mid-1970's and shared many of their limitations and contradictions. One of its main weaknesses was that it assumed a 'common-sense' understanding of such critical terms as, 'under-achievement', 'equality of opportunity', and 'multi-cultural' education. Unlike the 'race-relations' research of the 1960's, it did raise the question of the problem black pupils faced from discrimination. However, its primary concern was not the institutional racism of the school but, an attempt to remedy the assumed problems of the black pupils. Ultimately, the resistance of the majority of the teaching staff preventing the implementation of the study's recommendations.

5.3.iii Summary

A number of concepts of the black community have developed in the last twenty-five years which form the basis on which research workers and policy makers have prescribed and teachers have attempted to implement proposed solutions. The above demonstrates how these three groups have each reproduced each other's social definitions. These early social images were further reinforced by the school authorities' material and social response to the schooling of black youth and their resistance. The history of Kilby school shows that the initial coercive policy that operated during the 1960's was challenged by a more liberally-inspired ideology of meeting the 'special needs' of black pupils by attempting to implement a multi-cultural curriculum. However, the growing contradictions of this attempt to attain educational equality of opportunity for black boys in a racist society lead to a return to the adoption of a more authoritarian approach.

The conventional psychological and social concepts that are in use in the early 1980's to explain the 'educational failure' of black pupils were developed at an earlier period in response to the schooling of white working-class youth. However, the encounter of white professionals and black youth has its own particular significance. Racism as an ideology is mediated through the existing bureaucratic educational framework. The specific meanings and concrete practices that have developed in relation to this sector of the working-class will be examined in the rest of this chapter.

5.4 Teacher Typology and School Ethos

5.4.i Teacher Typology

There were thirty-six teachers on the staff at Kilby school. They could be divided into three groups; the Old Disciplinarians, the Liberals and the New Realists. An ideal type of each group would read as follows:

The Old Disciplinarians:

Member of the National Association of Schoolmasters / Union of Women Teachers (N.A.S./U.W.T.), common-sense ideological approach to learning, opposition to progressive development in educational theory, supported hierarchical nature of school administration, and organization of curriculum in terms of streaming, subject-based, adopted an assimilationist perspective, pro-corporal punishment.

Seventeen teachers belonged to this category. A criterion for inclusion in this group was not that of middle-age, in fact many of these teachers were in the age-group, 30 - 40. But the authority and main influence of this group lay with the six older teachers, including the Deputy-Head, and the departmental Heads of Science and Mathematics, who had been army trained. The two women members of staff belonged to this category, as did the two black teachers. These teachers worked in different departments within the school but the main subject areas were Science, Mathematics, and Crafts. The interaction in the staffroom reflected the ideological divisions between the teachers.

The Old Disciplinarians tended to sit together at one end of the staffroom and were criticized by the Liberals for their preoccupation with playing cards and dominoes during lunch-breaks instead of discussing educational matters.

The Liberals:

Late 1960's college trained, member of the National Union of Teachers (N.U.T.), supporter of the Labour Party, theoretically based pedagogy, applied new educational technology, strong bias to use of psychology, supported child centred learning, emphasis on pastoral work, supported mixed ability teaching groups, adopted a cultural pluralist perspective, against corporal punishment.

There were 10 teachers who were classified as Liberals. Their composition which reflected that of the Labour Party in Britain was very much an alliance of a broad church of active social democrats with the exception of a recent member of staff, who was committed to revolutionary politics. The Liberals had regular school-based union meetings and a majority of them attended local branch meetings on a regular basis. Six of these teachers were in the age group 30 - 40, three were in the 25 - 30 age group and one was aged 53. Their power within the school emerged from the significant positions held by the school counsellor and the Head of the Remedial department. They had attended comprehensive schools and had been college trained, which they believed was largely determinant of their liberal ideological position. This group of teachers had close professional contact with an educational psychologist attached

to the school, who visited regularly. These teachers located within the English, Religious Education and Remedial departments were responsible for the multi-cultural curricular changes within the school. In contrast to the assumed atheoretical position of the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists, the Liberals were constantly updating their teaching practices with recent educational theory. It was here that they often found themselves in disagreement over the implementation of these new developments. Their theoretical divisions contrasted with the apparent unity of the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists.

The New Realists:

Late 1970's graduate, members of the Professional Association of Teachers (P.A.T.), returned to common-sense educational ideology, acknowledgement of the failure of the 1960's educational reforms, accepted organizational structure of the school, tendency to authoritarianism, adopted assimilationist perspective, main concern insecurity of job.

There were 5 teachers who are termed New Realists. They were all recently qualified and products of the educational move to the Right. This was the first teaching post for 3 of them, while the other 2 had experienced supply teaching and were on 12 month contracts at Kilby school. They believed that teacher organizations should act as professional groups rather than adopt trade union tactics. Two of these teachers had left the N.A.S./U.W.T. over the issue of the withdrawal of goodwill, concerning the carrying out of extra-curricular activities. They joined

the P.A.T. which is committed to a policy of non-striking. Although, the New Realists are small in number, they were a significant group, who tended to act in alliance with the Old Disciplinarians in creating the present general authoritarian ethos of the school.

The identification of these different ideologies enables us to see more clearly the internal power relations that operate at Kilby school. However, this overview may imply a number of unintended impressions. Firstly, it is important to emphasize that this analysis of ideological conflict utilizes the analytical device of the Ideal Type and so, it follows from this, that these ideologies are not to be found empirically in pure form, nor is it possible to simplistically locate teachers within one category. The empirical world is more complex. However, these ideologies attempt to represent educational perspectives within which teachers at Kilby school tended to operate.

Secondly, it may seem that, during different periods in the history of the school, one ideology held exclusive control. This is not the case. What each of these periods represents is the relationship between competing ideologies in which a dominant position emerged. But it is this relationship and the various practices that the resulting power relations generates that is of primary concern. Of particular importance to this balance of power is the formation of alliances between the different groups. For example, this research was carried out at a time when a dominant authoritarian ideology had emerged

at Kilby school as a result of an alliance between the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists. However, this did not entail a simplistic return to the overt racism and practices of the early 1960's. The Liberals continued to challenge the practices of this alliance, as they operated their multi-culturally informed pedagogy within the Remedial, Religious Education and English Departments. Furthermore, there were important contradictory historical legacies that have remained in operation, for example the tight classification system and the pastoral system. This chapter will examine the way in which the power relations in operation during this research period, structure the adoption of particular strategies and tactics in dealing with the black youth at Kilby school.

The Independents:

It is difficult to place in the adopted framework the 4 remaining teachers on the staff. They tended to support the dominant ideological perspective operating within the school at a particular period but generally their teaching practices were not easily identified with a particular group. For example, the Head of the History department reflected this theoretical ambiguity, on the one hand, he had implemented multi-cultural curricular innovations, with studies of the role of British imperialism in Africa and the West Indies, while at the same time, he had adopted a strong authoritarian approach to discipline. Another Independent teacher regarded his commitment to christianity as the main determinant of his approach to teaching. He challenged the school's multi-faith Religious education syllabus; he refused to teach about the theory

of evolution; he would not join a teachers' union, but he was a strong supporter of the pastoral system.

The Headmaster was also included among this group. Due to the strong hierarchical structure of the school, he was of central significance to its ethos. His arrival in 1972, with the appointment of liberal teachers, had challenged the dominant ideology of the Old Disciplinarians which had been based on disciplinary coercion and overt racism. The newly appointed school counsellor and the Head of the Remedial department had come to be regarded as the liberal and intellectual elements of his management. They had been responsible for the attempted move from assimilation to plural culturalism. The latter perspective had never replaced the former position as a dominant approach throughout the school, but during the mid-1970's it had been seen by many teachers to be dominant as a result of the significant changes during this period. Finally, during the late 1970's, the Old Disciplinarians in alliance with the New Realists had implemented a more authoritarian approach which focussed on a return to more coercive sanctions, including more frequent use of corporal punishment, suspensions and transfers to Special Schools. Accompanying this, there had been a reorganization of the time-table which extended the streaming procedures and which excluded form periods in which pastoral work had been carried out. The New Realists had argued that basic literacy and numeracy must take priority over multicultural activities. Once again, the Headmaster had been central to this shift in perspective as he had been to the earlier one.

In particular, he had been responsible for creating a 'moral panic' concerning the growing resistance of the pupils to the demands of the school. The effects of these changes on the school ethos will now be examined.

5.4.11 The School Ethos

At the time of the research what might be called a 'new realism' had emerged among the teachers at Kilby school. A number of factors were in operation at this time in the 1980's, which explained this new ethos. Firstly, the effects of mass youth unemployment within the city were feeding back into the school. This expressed itself in terms of the increasing day to day dissatisfaction of the pupils. Secondly, there was low morale among the staff due to the fact that the educational cuts imposed by the central Conservative government had led to little promotion either within the school or more importantly to other schools. Also, new teachers' primary concern was their own permanent employment in a contracting labour market. This led to the Old Disciplinarian teachers in alliance with the New Realist teachers emerging as the dominant ideological force within the school. The liberal perspective which had been implemented in the mid-1970's with its emphasis on cooperation rather than coercion was dismissed as having failed and there was now a return to a more authoritarian disciplinary policy.

These material conditions were of importance in creating a numerical dominance of two to one in favour of the authoritarian

perspective. Many of the Old Disciplinarian teachers who had been unsuccessful in gaining promotion in other schools had in the past been internally promoted. The Liberal teachers who now found it difficult to find promotion in other schools were thus also excluded from internal promotion. This had lead to much despondency among them and for some, a loss of their earlier enthusiasm for curriculum innovations. The ideology of most of the new teachers reflected the political move to the right in the wider society, (Hall S. and Jacques, M. 1983), which expressed itself in terms of their authoritarian approach. The teachers' career frustrations were compounded by their perception of the pupil population. In interviews many of them spoke of the pressures of dealing with the pupils' academic failure. Mr Hickey, believed that this perception of the pupils was of central importance in understanding the dominant ethos of the school,

Mr Hickey (Liberal):

You must remember that the teachers here see themselves as having to deal with failures. This has a terrible effect on the place. It's like an old secondary mod really. The majority of the kids are treated with contempt coz they're seen as thick an' if you're forced to stay here, you see yourself as part of the failure syndrome.

Mr Hickey considered that this represented the position of the authoritarian teachers. However, the Liberal teachers tended to share a common social perception of the pupils. Both authoritarian and liberal teachers defined the problem of schooling black youth in terms of their academic failure and both groups offered explanations of this failure in terms of individual intellectual and socio-cultural deficiencies.

Mr Green (Old Disciplinarian):

Nearly all these kids are bottom of the pile socially, intellectually. They come from deprived backgrounds, they're not motivated at home, broken families, fathers in the West Indies, no English spoken at home and of course there is no social mix here. They're all from around the local area, it's just a bad catchment area.

B.E.:

Do you think that the school contributes to the failure?

Mr Green:

Well, even Basil Bernstein said that school cannot compensate for the home and he wasn't even talking about the kind of kids here.

B.E.:

I believe he said that it could not compensate for society.

Similarly Mr Young maintained that the low examination results were essentially determined by the assumed social pathology of the pupils' families.

Mr Young (Liberal):

Yes you get depressed about the exams marks but you have to put them in context. A lot of our kids come from problem backgrounds, like the West Indian kids, a lot of them may be from one parent families. The Indian kids' parents especially the mothers, may be finding it difficult to adjust so they are going to have other things on their minds apart from school work. So, these special or more specific problems must be taken into account, in fact they are of most importance.

Where the liberal teachers differed from the authoritarian teachers, was in their response to this commonly perceived problem. Mr Lynch, the school counsellor, who was seen by the teachers to closely identify with the pupils, described the liberals' interventionist approach.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

I have loads of kids thrown out of lessons and I have to investigate. When you hear what's going on in there you despair. I listen to both sides and I know that some of these lads are tough, a lot of them have a lot of social problems but that's the point isn't it? We have to treat these problems in a caring way. They're not just going to go away. That's where I blame the teachers who, think that we can carry on without adjusting, without devising new strategies, special ways to deal with the special problems that our kids have here.

The general low morale of the staff expressed itself in a number of ways. Firstly, there was much criticism of the school management. The Headmaster spent much time away from the school. He was seen by the rest of the staff as having lost his early interest. It was assumed that he had served his time and was waiting for a move. The Deputy-Head was seen as inefficient and unable to maintain control. The school management retained constitutional power but they did not operate as dynamic leaders. Mr Walker described the effect of this weak leadership on the staff.

Mr Walker (Old Disciplinarian):

They are terrible for the place. I came keen as you do, but it's the whole place. It's a question of leadership. If the lot at the top are lazy bastards and are seen as such, then what can you expect from the rest of us? It works its way down doesn't it? No one gets promoted for being a good classroom teacher, it's a question of not disturbing them out there.

Secondly, there was a very high rate of absenteeism among the staff. On most days there were several teachers absent and many of them took the maximum three days before a doctor's note was required. This of course meant that other teachers had to cover for them, and as a result, there was a great resentment at the loss of free periods. Thirdly, there was

little preparation and teachers were frequently late for lessons. Mr Collins, the music teacher, who was very popular with the pupils pointed out the difficulties of classroom interaction.

Mr Collins (Liberal):

It doesn't matter who you are, the hardest thing is in there to be in there. Everyone is trying to get out, it's like, like thirty people stuck together in a room and no one wants to be there and including the teacher, in fact in many cases, especially the teacher, and you can't blame him. It's really tough in there and there's no support, at the end of the day you're on your own. We have the autonomy to do what we want and for some it's the autonomy to go insane, quietly.

Fourthly, there was little social contact between staff and pupils outside of lessons. Three teachers were responsible for sport, but apart from this, there was no extra-curricular activities in the school. There was a sense in which the teachers could be described as being 'bussed' into and out of Kilby school with the least possible contact with the main population. Mr Raynor, who was highly critical of the staff's attitude to the pupils, claimed that you could phone up most of the teachers at home 30 minutes after the school finished. Finally, most of the teachers perceived their teaching role in terms of survival. Mr Griffiths, who had been at the school for 6 years, described the strategies of survival that he had developed in the classroom.

Mr Griffiths (Independent):

I have developed techniques to avoid confrontation. New teachers think that it's just a question of force, but of course it's much more complex. I think you learn to read the mood of certain classes, certain groups or even certain pupils. You ignore remarks maybe, don't challenge everything that's going on, be selective. You have to, if you are going to survive the day, otherwise you just go mad.

Humour in the staffroom served as a means of defence against the harsh realities of the classroom. Teachers joked with each other about the demands of the 'shop floor'. Selected 'problem' pupils were a source of severe ridicule. When a teacher informed the staff that she was leaving, it was suggested that tunnel four could now be filled in, as only one escaped from each exit. We may conclude from the above that the dominant ethos at the time of the research was that of the polarization of the predominantly white staff and the majority black pupil population. This polarisation will now be examined in more detail in terms of the ideological reproduction of the dominant culture of the wider society.

5.5 Mono-culturalism - Multi-culturalism

Although the composition of Kilby school consisted of a 94% black pupil population, structurally it remained a 'white' school. This mono-culturalist perspective which pervaded all areas of school life will be examined in terms of the ethno-centric nature of the content of the teaching materials and the school knowledge, and the implicit transmission of social and economic values, attitudes and dispositions, that is the 'hidden curriculum', which reflect the dominant culture. It will be argued that while the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists overtly maintained this mono-culturalism; the Liberals although theoretically committed to a multi-cultural approach, did in practice, due to the internal limitations and contradictions of their ideology, serve to reproduce this cultural dominance.

One of the main ideological divisions between the teachers at Kilby school concerned the question of the curricular content. The dominant perspective of the Old Disciplinarian and New Realist teachers at the school was that of assimilation. A minority of Liberal teachers conceded the need for a plural culturalist perspective. The main argument of the former groups, working from within an ideology of 'common-sense', was that they were preparing the pupils for a white society. Their position was summarized below by Mr Gill, the Chief Careers Officer in the area, who is a Punjabi.

Mr Gill:

What's culture? Most of the people in Kilby are from the Punjab, the most invaded area in the world. This is important, very important to remember, it affects how they react. They know all about foreign power. We have mainly the uneducated in this area. What are, is important to their children and so them? To be successful. And how is this to be achieved? By adapting to their new environment. It's a basic, fundamental law of nature survival of the individual depends on adaptation. What's more important that these boys live in the past? What's important is that they learn English and take advantage of the opportunities that will then be open to them. I allowed my two sons to learn Punjabi. I mean the writing of it, after they had got their 'A' levels and places at university.

The Old Disciplinarian and the New Realist teachers adopted a 'colour-blind' approach to the black pupils. They believed that this was the implementation of a non-racist curriculum.

Mr Rogers believed that the Liberals' position was essentially concerned with social engineering, which he argued had never worked in the context of the British educational system.

Mr Rogers (New Realist):

It seems to me that the safest principle is to treat all children regardless of colour as the same. If you take the multi-culturalist position to its logical end, you see the dangers of this form of engineering change. It becomes a type of positive discrimination which can easily be seen as another type of racism. I don't think that you should interfere with the basic structure. If you want to help the children here, it must be all the children and so must be carried out by a neutral body, say like local authority aid to the inner-city. But change geared to one group, to one particular group of coloured children has never worked and it will not work if only a minority are to benefit.

One of the central assumptions of Mr Rogers and of many other teachers at the school, was that multi-cultural education was the exclusive concern of black youth. The Old Disciplinarians and the New Realist teachers defended their refusal to adopt a multi-cultural curriculum, as the following quotations show, in terms of conservative pedagogies, the external demands of the examination system and by reducing race to class.

Mr Beckett (Old Disciplinarian):

I don't think that it's really to do with the question of being for or against a multi-culturalist policy as I often argue. There are teachers here who have taught their subjects for years in a certain way, a certain style. Why should they change? They have been teaching this way successfully to coloured and white kids.

Mr Tetley (New Realist):

It's not as simple as wanting it or believing in it, not in the real world. We work with constraints. The exam system and before that the universities set a certain course and demand certain standards. Black Studies may be of some use but we have certain commitments. If you include all the cultural stuff then in fact you are discriminating against the black kids here as they are competing with kids who only have to bother with passing exams.

Mrs Turner (Old Disciplinarian):

If you look at any society the ones at the bottom always do worse. If you are going to make the curriculum relevant for the coloured children, what about the white children who are under-achieving? White children from poor homes, from working class homes do just as badly.

Teachers who have emerged from the working-class spoke of how they have had to adapt to the academic demands of the school in order to achieve social mobility. They found it difficult to understand how the black community can demand equality with white people and at the same time wish to create special recognition of black culture within the school. The following discussion took place at a meeting, that Mr Parks, Head of Upper School, was asked to attend, on the need to adopt a multi-cultural curriculum.

Mr Parks (Old Disciplinarian):

I can't understand this lot. We all have to change. I was brought up in Lancashire. I'm glad I escaped going into the factory but I had to change at school. All this Black Studies I don't understand. It just divides kids. You can't ask to be treated equally and then ask for special treatment, you can't have it both ways. That lot this morning were so arrogant. Black culture, black culture. What the hell does it mean anyway? I've got to get them through the exams.

The Liberal teachers, working from within a plural culturalist perspective, argued that there must be an institutional acceptance of the black pupils' culture.

Mr Young (Liberal):

It is essential if we are to overcome our problems that we take seriously the cultures of the pupils. The curriculum must reflect the multi-racial society outside. We must play our part in making more equal the different cultures within the school.

The Liberal teachers had attempted in their own respective subject areas to implement a multi-cultural curriculum. Also, a year after the research period began, Mr Raynor the Head of the Remedial department, invited a multi-cultural unit into the school for a term to help to develop a multi-cultural curriculum. Most of the authoritarian teachers refused to cooperate. The liberal teachers responded positively, and between them they developed multi-cultural material that they used in team teaching situations. What emerged from the seminars and the workshops was how little any of the white teachers at Kilby school, including the two teachers on multi-cultural courses knew about the black community. One main project that was undertaken was the examination of racial stereotypes in the books used in the school. It was found that in the greatly under-stocked library that many of the old books either explicitly portrayed black people in a caricatured way which was mainly derogative or, implicitly assumed a white audience. It was concluded that most of the text books, scheme readers, and general reading material were culturally inappropriate for the black pupils at Kilby school.

Against this background we can now examine how these different ideological meanings of the authoritarian and the liberal teachers were translated into practices within the curriculum. In order to make clear this relationship between meanings and practices I shall select a major area of concern: that of the school's language policy.

5.5.ii Language Policy

Hall et al (1978: 341) have emphasized the importance of language as a vehicle of learning and have criticized schools' negative response to Creole.

Language is the principal bearer of cultural capital and thus the key medium of cultural reproduction. Measures which could formally be designed to develop additional competence in the spoken and written languages of a new essentially foreign, culture frequently became instead the means by which existing linguistic competences are dismantled and expropriated as 'poor speech'. Instead of standard English being added as a necessary second language to whatever is the patois or Creole spoken by the child, the latter are often eliminated as sub-standard speech.

This view of Creole that Hall refers to, as a form of sub-standard speech, was shared by the authoritarian teachers at Kilby school. Informally they described the language of the black youth, as aggressive, babbling, loud, meaningless, argumentative and jabbering. In interviews with these teachers they maintained the same derogative view of Creole. They labelled it as linguistically deficient, a more restricted code than non-standard white English, and as illogical. Mr Beckett, who had taught English at the school for 15 years described this dominant view.

Mr Beckett (Old Disciplinarian):

Our job is impossible, the West Indians have't even got the basics, not really. They haven't access to English literature. I've spent years correcting the way they talk which is the way they write. Most of them can't even write in sentences or use plurals properly, the basics. Their main problem is their, I was going to say their language. but you can't call it language really. And this is what is written down, no sense of audience. You know how they all talk when they're ganged together. Sometimes I think they are doing it on purpose, like a mass refusal to accept standard English, but I suppose not, in my more rational moments. Call it a severe linguistic handicap if you like and I don't think that there is a cure for it,

not in the school I mean. No, not until their parents are prepared to bring them up on a more standard diet of English.

The liberal teachers challenged this negative evaluation of Creole. They had created a more positive language policy which involved the use of Creole in drama, mime, story-telling and writing. Mr Young, an English teacher, had produced material making use of black writers, such as Sevlon, Dhondy and Baldwin, for the C.S.E. mode 3 English examination. The liberal teachers had implemented ideas developed by the Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A.) and were in agreement with the I.L.E.A. English Inspectorate (1979: 6) who argue that the pupils' confidence in themselves is of critical importance to academic achievement.

There can be little doubt that the greatest single factor contributing to pupils' achievement of mastery of the writing system is their confidence in their own ability to do it ... There is now a great deal of evidence to show that the teachers' expectations and attitudes play a very important part in the pupils' learning. If those attitudes include a view of the pupils' language which does less than justice to that language, then the result will be very damaging to the learning chances of the pupil.

However, the liberal teachers' response has contradictorily served to reinforce a negative evaluation of Creole. Their implementation of a pluralist approach has been uneven. It has been adopted in the lower streams of the English and History for departments, while the top stream, standard English continues to be the accepted form. So, in practice the use of Creole within an educational context is associated with the low status

of the 'low ability' pupils. If Creole is accepted as a different language with its own structure then its use within the classroom should be extended to all West Indian pupils and should not be reduced to a function of social control in the lower streams. That the latter is the case is made clear by the fact that its use is particularly associated with the 'remedial' pupils who were encouraged to use the repertoire approach, in which all language and dialects are treated as equally important.

Recognition of the skill in the oral language of West Indian pupils was found in their junior school reports. Their reports at Kilby school supported this view. Yet, this positive view of West Indian pupils had not found expression in the mainstream school curriculum. With few exceptions, the English syllabus reflected little of the recent research on 'language across the curriculum'. It was still grammar-based and, the writing mode which served as an effective means of class discipline excluded the spoken mode which many West Indian children had shown to be competent in.

The question of West Indian Creole was the liberal teachers' predominant concern in reforming the school's language policy. They took for granted that the school had responded more positively to Asian languages, and pointed to the time-tabling of the English as a Second Language (E.2.L.T.) classes that Asian pupils attended.

B.E.:

What is the school's language policy as regards the Asian pupils?

Mr Raynor (Liberal):

Well the Asians are taken care of with E.2.L..
They get a lot of support and of course their culture
is strong. They have a number of languages which
they use and which are accepted in the school.

However, since the early emergence within the school of E.2.L., there had been little development in this area. The response to the Asian languages is an example of the wider process of curricular selection and evaluation of what counts as 'worthwhile' knowledge. In this case not all languages were considered to be of equal worth. European languages were seen as 'worthwhile' and so they were included on the timetable and were accepted by the examination boards as a subject of high status. Also, European languages were assigned high status in the hierarchy of school subjects, by being associated with 'high ability' pupils, for whom at Kilby school one European language was compulsory. Special arrangements were made for those pupils who were considered to be linguistically able to attend Germany lessons in a local school. In contrast to this, a negative attitude was adopted towards Asian languages. So, for example, when a group of Asian parents requested that mother tongue teaching be included on the curriculum for pupils of Asian origin, the school management refused their request on the grounds that essential subjects would have to be dropped and that provision for learning these languages was already made within the area in out of school hours. Partly as a result of this exclusion, pupils who spoke two or three languages but had difficulties with English, particularly in the written mode, were labelled remedial and treated as slow learners. That these difficulties were not seen as a problem by the liberal

teachers which could be overcome by the introduction of mother tongue teaching is an indication of their ideological selection of the use of Creole in the classroom as of particular significance in relation to West Indian pupils' assumed 'problems'. Both Asian and West Indian pupils would have benefited from the opportunity to use their languages within the classroom; that only the latter group were encouraged to, suggests that ultimately this selection is not based on educational nor linguistic grounds but that of social control.

B.E.:

Why has there been more concern with the language of West Indian kids than that of the Asian kids?

Mr Raynor (Liberal):

I wouldn't agree, a lot of work has been done for them. It's institutionally established and so may be hidden but nevertheless it is there and, they are achieving a lot more than the West Indian boys. If we are to overcome, if they are to overcome their problem, they must be encouraged to view their language more positively. Owen and Harold for example (remedial pupils) are cooperating much more as a result of being encouraged to talk in their own dialect and this will increase their motivation to work.

The liberal teachers' response to the West Indians' language emerged from the ideological construction, which they shared with the authoritarian teachers, of West Indians as 'problem' pupils. Both authoritarians and liberals located the pupils' linguistic problems within the pupils themselves. Like many of the perceived 'problems' that were assigned to Black youth, particularly those of West Indian origin, the unexamined institutional material and social response of the school had been central in creating them and reinforcing those of the wider society. The authoritarian and liberal teachers differed in their response to their common definition of the problem. The authoritarian

teachers believed in a non-interventionist strategy based on standard English for all pupils. In practice their negative evaluation of black youth's language served primarily to discourage them from writing effectively and developing their ideas. The liberal teachers theoretically argued for the acceptance within the curriculum of the black pupils' languages. However, as was argued above, in practice this has resulted in the implementation of a pluralist approach for pupils of 'low ability' and this association has contradictorily tended to reinforce the negative evaluation of Creole.

5.5.iii The Hidden Curriculum

Of equal importance in understanding the response of the authoritarian and the liberal teachers to the ideological role of Kilby school in maintaining the dominant culture, is an examination of the transmission of values, attitudes, predispositions and social skills. This is at times carried out overtly, for example when teachers impress upon the pupils values of achievement and right attitudes to work. However, much of this form of learning is carried out through what has become known as the 'hidden curriculum', that is, the implicit transmission of these values and social skills. It will be argued that although the authoritarian and the liberal teachers differed in their response to the pupils who rejected these values and social skills, both groups assume that the dominant values of the school were intrinsically worthwhile. Hence both groups, as the following

incidents show, were responsible for the attempt, albeit unintended, which pervaded the whole school, to incorporate black youth into white cultural identities.

The morning assemblies have remained essentially christian. The Headmaster and the Deputy Headmaster, who were both practising christians, believed that it was important to maintain the christian religious heritage. So, for example at the beginning of each academic year, representatives of the Gideon organization, a christian group, distributed New Testaments to all the first years. During assemblies, there were token gestures towards the Sikh, Hindu and Muslim religions, but these often amounted to little more than explanations of why groups of pupils were absent celebrating particular religious occasions, such as the Diwali and Eid festivals. Informally, the largely secular teaching staff were either ignorant of the pupils' religions, or critical of their religious observances, such as their frequent visits to mosques and temples, the Sikhs' wearing of turbans, and the Muslims' fasting during Ramadam. It was assumed that the pupils of West Indian origin shared the traditional christian values of the school. The beliefs of the Rastafarian religion, which a number of pupils identified with, were never formally acknowledged. Each morning, at assembly this process of cultural incorporation was enacted as white christian values were celebrated by the school management. The following talk is representative of the school authorities' insensitivity to the school's multi-racial population.

Mr Keegan (Independent):

A lot of you have taken up wearing badges. I would rather you did not, unless they are of significance. If you are in the scouts or boys brigade then that is very commendable. I was a scout myself. Also the scouts' badge might get lost amongst the other badges, they just look untidy. And there is a chance that some boy will bump into you wearing the badges and it might catch you.

Mr Keegan, the Headmaster, considered this to be a value-free warning. For him, it was essentially concerned with appearance and safety. However, what was of significance for him was not necessarily the same for the boys. Six out of the 230 boys present were members of the scouts. Three of them were white. The pupils' badges indicated their identification with black popular culture, representing their appreciation of such figures as Bob Marley, Marcus Garvey and Aswad.

The teachers' understanding of the pupils' response to academic work highlighted the way in which both authoritarian and liberal teachers assumed the neutrality of the dominant values of the school. Many of the teachers were critical of the pupils' lack of competitive spirit, especially among the West Indians. The following conversation, concerning the annual internal examinations that were taking place, was recorded in the staffroom.

Mr Walker (Old Disciplinarian):

I can't believe it, every year it's the same.
The noise in there is intolerable.

Mr Tetley (New Realist):

A lot of them have finished after half an hour.

Mr Walker:

They don't even try, half of them. I just don't understand them, they just don't seem to have it in them to work through a paper.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

Well, you know my view on it Pete, I believe that we don't teach them the necessary study skills.

Mr Walker:

No it's more than that. It's their attitude especially the West Indians, they refuse to take exams seriously. Look at the lot at the back they had no intention of working. They just want to disrupt it that's all.

Mr Lynch:

But it's not simply a matter of not ...

Mr Walker:

No they want ...

Mr Lynch:

No, it's not just, it's a question of their motivation. I think that we could do much more to explain that once they leave here, they won't be surrounded by their friends. They'll be on their own and they'll have to succeed on their own and that's why working to their potential while they are here is so important.

The authoritarian and the liberal teachers differed in their explanations of these pupils' attitude to work and so suggested different solutions to the problem. However, both groups took for granted that the school's dominant values of individualism and competition were intrinsically worthwhile. They believed that if the pupils adopted a positive work orientation approach to the school, which was based on these values then, their resulting school success would guarantee work success. Both groups of teachers perceived the pupils

resistance to schooling in negative terms and failed to take into account that different class and cultural groups have access to different experiences and values. These differences can be seen, for example, between the teachers' value of competitive individualism and the anti-school pupils' forms of collective resistance, which will be examined in the following chapters.

5.5.iv Summary

The attempt to maintain and reproduce mono-culturalism at Kilby school through the ethno-centric teaching materials and the hidden curriculum was achieved as a result of this shared educational paradigm. On the one hand, the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists overtly rejected any reform of the curriculum in response to the majority black population. On the other hand, the liberal teachers' commitment to a multi-cultural position was in practice reduced to a strategy of accommodation of the non-cooperative pupils. This resulted from the limitations and the contradictions of their theoretical position which shared the same ground as the authoritarians in defining the 'problem' of schooling black youth in terms of the pupils themselves rather than the racist and social class determinants of the school and wider society.

It is important to stress that the social relations of the school cannot be simply explained either in idealist terms

of teacher consciousness nor in functionalist terms of social control. The different remedies of the authoritarian and liberal teachers in response to the assumed 'problem' of schooling black pupils were materially linked to the career structure of these two groups. In modern bureaucracies appointments and promotions are increasingly based on merit. For both groups evidence of their professional competency was measured and evaluated by school management and their colleagues in terms of their capacity on a day to day basis to develop coping strategies in their management of the pupils. Two broad strategies of career mobility could be identified at Kilby school, that of the Old Disciplinarians and New Realists, based on the maintenance of institutional order by means of overt authoritarian practices. Hence, the disaffected pupils who openly challenged their authority presented real disciplinary problems which called for strong preventative measures. The response of the liberals was more ambivalent. Their institutional power, particularly within the counselling, careers and remedial departments and their future career progress was dependent on their 'success' in working with these 'problem' pupils. It was in their material interest to achieve consensus within the school by means of negotiation and to persuade deviant pupils that resistance to schooling was not in their interest. Furthermore, in the contracting teaching profession with little job mobility the expanding area of multi-cultural education provides fertile ground for aspiring liberal teachers, who have demonstrated their ability to deal with 'problem' black pupils.

5.6 Teacher Racism

One of the central concerns of this research is the question of how white teachers at Kilby school encountered the black pupils of Asian and West Indian origin. Recent Official Reports on black youth's presence in schools, for example, D.E.S. (1981) have mentioned the role of racism. This has tended to be superficially discussed in terms of 'another' factor contributing to their school 'failure'. However, there has not been a systematic analysis of racism and there has been little mention of teachers. It will be argued that at Kilby school, racism was prevalent throughout the white staff, including the school management, the teachers and the administrative and domestic workers. I shall examine this widespread racism with particular reference to the teachers' attitudes to the black community and the system of racial stereotyping that operated within the school. It will be further argued that while the Old Disciplinarians and New Realists explicitly worked within this framework, the Liberals worked implicitly within it.

5.6.1 Teacher's Attitudes to Black Community

Many of the staff had been at the school for many years but they did not identify with the black community. Their hostility towards them was displayed in a number of ways.

The following discussion took place between white school governors,

senior teachers and white parents, after a meeting at which an Indian parent had asked for Punjabi to be placed on the curriculum. There was immediate identification by the teachers with the white parents, representing less than 5% of the pupil population.

Mr Crisp (teacher):

These meetings are a waste of time. Instead of having Indian languages in the school, they should be concentrating on their kids being taught English. They should do something useful with what we taught them ...

Mrs Rose (School Governor):

It's like the old saying, when in Rome do as the Romans do. If we went to their country, we'd have to follow their customs, and what about the white children here? What are they supposed to do while the Indian boys are learning their languages?

Mr Crisp:

They're the ones I feel sorry for. Like, just look at Walsall they're opening up Indian schools. If I lived there I would demand Welsh schools for my children. All that extra money on the rates and if ...

Mr Ford (parent):

They don't know what they want. They moan, say they're worried about the Nationality Act because they want to stay here. Then why don't they try and be more English? I'm glad to ...

Mr Rose:

It's just a few community leaders who cause all the trouble especially the Sikhs. Most of the parents of the children here can't speak English so they couldn't even ask the questions.

The white staff's racist attitudes was also displayed by the frequency with which they generalized from the particular behaviour of black youths to the ethnic group as a whole. So, for example, when a white boy, who attended the school

was beaten up by two Asian boys for informing on them,
the secretaries discussed the incident in racial terms.

Mrs Rogers:

It's awful not to be able to send your child to
a school without getting bullied and beaten up.
They're always onto the white boys here. I would take
my child away I would.

Mrs Peters:

I woudn't send mine to ...

Mrs Rogers:

Well neither would I.

Mrs Peters:

My husband says that the Indians are all the same.
at work and that, and they gang up an' stick together.

The secretaries, like most of the staff at Kilby school
were unaware of the large number of racist attacks on the black
pupils. When they were informed of this, they reduced
this racial verbal and physical assault to school boy rivalry.

Mrs Peters:

Youngsters are always mucking about, fighting an'all.

Mrs Rogers:

They're as bad as each other. Look at the gangs
of boys walking home from here at night an' all.

Mrs Peters:

Yeah , goin' through the park causing trouble.
Some of them people ...

Mrs Rogers:

They should go straight home like mine an' keep
out of trouble.

Mrs Peters:

They shouldn't go looking for it.

Mrs Rogers:

It's those mad skinheads. I don't like them.
But I suppose they think they're getting their
own back.

The teachers had little contact with the black community and so tended to caricature the pupils' parents. Teachers' negative interpretations of the parents' behaviour might be read as a defensive mechanism to discourage their participation in the school. So, for example, when an Asian parent had asked for a progress report of his son after half a term at the school, Mr Green, the boy's tutor refused the parent's request. He explained his decision in the staffroom.

Mr Green (Old Disciplinarian):

I refused it because there's no point. How are we supposed to know if his son's a genius? Anyway his parents can't probably read English. They'll want it in Punjabi next.

Another example of the teachers' unsympathetic attitude to parents was displayed after a fifth year's parents' evening.

The following comments were recorded:

Mrs Turner (Old Disciplinarian):

They all want their bloody kids to be brain surgeons.

Mrs Rogers (New Realist):

It's hopeless them bringing older brothers, no older than themselves. It's just a waste of our time. It's supposed to be a parents' evening.

Mr Beckett (Old Disciplinarian):

Did you see William's mother coming in when it was all over. Just like her son, always late. Turn up when it pleases them. You can always see where they get it from.

The above three incidents may be interpreted in a positive way, in terms of the support that the black community is willing to give to the schools. Firstly, that many immigrants tend to highly value education as a means of escaping the unskilled sector of the labour market. Secondly, that the pupils' parents if they are unable to speak English, are prepared to make sure that their children are represented at the school. In the third case, Mrs Williams was a nurse at a local hospital, who managed to get off early from a late shift.

The liberal teachers who were more sympathetic to the parents nevertheless failed to make any organized contact with them. They assumed that they were reactionary on most educational issues.

Mr Hickey (Liberal):

What can we do? Among white kids, the old working class authoritarian behaviour is disappearing. Most of the parents are more liberal but not our parents. If you want the Asian and West Indian support, you're lost. They'll only back up the authoritarian lot here, as you know they often appeal to .

This caricature of the parents was frequently challenged during the research period, when I met them in their homes and on picket lines and anti-racist demonstrations. It would suggest that the response of the parents at Kilby school was one determined by lack of contact by the liberal teachers and the absence of organization rather than the parents' culture. It is against this background of the racial attitudes of the staff that I shall now examine the system of racial stereotyping in operation at Kilby school.

5.6.ii System of Racial Stereotyping

There was a tendency for Asian pupils to be seen by the teachers as technically of 'high ability' and socially as conformist. West Indian pupils tended to be seen as of 'low ability' and potential discipline problems. This racial division was partly the result of the historical ideological legacy that the present staff had inherited. This was transmitted to the younger members of staff in a number of ways. Firstly, senior staff advised younger teachers on the specific problems of having to deal with black youth. Mr Lyons, who was on teaching practice at the school, described his introductory talk with the school management.

Mr Lyons (New Realist):

The Deputy Head told us that we had to look out for the West Indians and what to do. If they went mad, we just had to leave them alone to cool down. There was nothing we could do, and things like that if they swore at use in their own language we must report it. They had a lot of trouble from them in the past.

Secondly, these powerful social images of the black pupils were passed on in the staffroom to younger teachers. This often took the form of older teachers offering moral support to new teachers who might be having difficulties with particular classes. Stories were often told with racist overtones, of how 'old characters' on the staff had dealt with pupil confrontations, particularly the 'big West Indians'. The young teachers' specific problems were rationalized in terms of the racial composition of the school rather than the young teachers' inexperience, his personal inadequacies or the material constraints of an overcrowded, under-resourced school.

This racial division of the pupil population was of central significance in the structuring of the social reality of the staff at Kilby school. However, its maintenance could not simply be reduced to historical structural determination. The school did not exist in a social vacuum and the racial stereotypes of the wider society were what teachers brought to the teaching situation. Mr Barlow recalled his initial reactions to his redeployment to the school.

Mr Barlow (New Realist):

I didn't want to come here. I tried to find other places, anywhere. I'd heard all about the area, not the school itself really but about the problems of coloured kids, about the reputation of the West Indians. You would read about them mugging old ladies round the place in the papers but, and then the thought of having to teach them.

These racial stereotypes of the wider society were also an important element in the racial structuring of the social reality at the school.

Of equal importance to the maintenance of this racial division was that the present staff's perception of the ethnicity of the black pupils tended to reinforce rather than contradict the historical social images and the racial stereotypes of the wider society. I interviewed Mr Lyons, when he was on teaching practice, and as is shown above, he spoke of how negative racial stereotypes were passed onto him by the school management. He was subsequently appointed to the school on a 12 months contract. I interviewed him again before he left the school and he spoke of how his perceptions of the pupils had developed.

Mr Lyons:

The West Indians are tough. I tried not to let anyone influence me in how I treated them but they look at you with wild eyes if you tell them to sit down. They are looking, expecting trouble. They are more prejudiced than white people. The Asians are better, you tell them to do something an' they are meek an' they go an' do it.

This finding supports Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) and Brittan's (1976) studies of teacher attitudes to black pupils, that the racist stereotypes with which they work tended to be reinforced rather than negated by pupil responses.

The following comments indicate the widespread acceptance of these teacher caricatures, which seemed to evaluate Asian pupils in technical terms and West Indian pupils in social/behavioural terms. The Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists worked explicitly within this system of racial stereotyping. So, for example, Mrs Turner, a science teacher, explained the improved examination results in terms of the changing ethnic composition of the pupil population.

Mrs Turner (Old Disciplinarian):

This is the first year I've had a class in which most of them could cope with the work as the exam results have shown. Without being too crude, if we're honest it's because we're getting Asians now and not West Indians. Though there's still a lot of thickies.

Similarly, Mr Beckett explicitly described his perception of the black pupils in these terms. He did however make a further sub-division between Jamaican boys and those of other islands. He assumed that most of the West Indian pupils at Kilby school were of Jamaican origin and he claimed that he could identify them from their behaviour.

Mr Beckett (Old Disciplinarian):

There is a difference between West Indians and Asians, yes definitely. It's a question of attitude, temperament, sticking at the work. The West Indians have a chip on their shoulder, that, that's why they act towards us in the way they do, aggressive, I do make a distinction between Jamaicans and the others, from other islands. The other islands are hard working, achievement orientated, but we have few of them here, David and one or two more.

The liberal teachers worked implicitly within the framework of racial stereotyping. Mr Young, and English teacher, was critical of the teachers' dominant social image of the West Indian pupils. He was regarded by the other members of staff as a successful classroom teacher who had few disciplinary problems and coped effectively with trouble-makers. The following discussion took place after I had attended a number of his lessons. He assumed that I was helping a small group of pupils with language difficulties and so was not aware that I was observing his interaction with the pupils.

B.E.:

Do you think that you treat all the kids the same?

Mr Young (Liberal):

I like to think, no I mean I do try and consciously try to treat them all the same but you, I suppose, unconsciously I label kids and react in certain ways, different ways to different kids. Kids who cause a lot of hassle say, or personality clashes, but generally I try to treat them all the same.

B.E.:

What about your treatment of Asians and West Indians?

Mr Young:

Well, no, as you know I'm against the crude division that they make in this place. I try to treat the Indians and the West Indian kids the, and the white kids the same. I try to see them individually. There's good and bad in all and some days it's one.

kid and the next another. There are a few that are problems but it can't, it's not a question of them all being West Indian or anything like that.

Mr Young was surprised when I showed him how he had responded to a number of incidents involving pupils who had interrupted the lessons. Although there were out of a class of 34, only 5 West Indians, they had been identified nearly twice as many times, compared to the 27 Asian pupils and 2 white pupils, as causing an interruption. More significantly, as Mr Young discusses below, was his perception of black youth of Asian and West Indian origin, which was related to the criteria he used to define what constituted a 'classroom interruption'.

Mr Young:

I see, I would, I did come away, well I would of come away thinking that I was not working with the stereotypes; at least, not those ones. It's amazing really, Jasbinder turning around for a ruler is legitimate, is seen as O.K.. Richard (West Indian) doing the same thing is regarded as interrupting and his behaviour is good generally. I don't think of him as one of the problems. I bet he's noticed that I treat him differently.

The stereotypes that Mr Young was aware that he worked with were part of what Lacey (1976: 60) calls the teachers' "crude conceptual picture of the class" in which he classifies the pupils into such groups as 'the bright boys', 'the conformists', 'the troublemakers' etcetera. These crude typifications are developed as coping strategies in the management of the classroom interaction. What Mr Young was unaware of was how for the Kilby school teachers, this conceptual framework provided the basis on which there emerged the racist stereotypes that they employed within the school. At this level, the racist stereotypes functioned as a strategy of teacher survival.

There were a number of occasions, which I recorded, when the liberal teachers' implicit racial stereotyping was challenged by personal contact with groups of West Indian pupils. Mr Raynor, Head of the Remedial Department, described his surprise at the positive interaction of such a group.

Mr Raynor (Liberal):

You know that lot of third years, I was really surprised I've just got them in my tutor group. I always thought of them as sullen. They're a very sociable group once you get to know them.

Mr Banks, a Religious Education teacher, pointed to the more positive aspect of the teachers' caricature of the West Indian pupils. He made clear that the system of racial stereotyping operating within the school did not simply consist of the caricature of the 'rebellious' West Indian pupil and the 'conformist' Asian pupil. This would be too crude a construct and be challenged by the teachers' interaction with the pupils. For each group, there was constructed an oppositional structure without which the racial stereotyping could not form a system of knowledge for the teachers who used it. So, for example, Mr Banks described the behaviour of West Indians as truculent on certain occasions and as exuberant on others.

Mr Banks (Independent):

If you are honest you must say that they are tougher to teach. I find them so anyway. But they are more, they have more character, more interest than the Indian or the white boys here. They are often truculent but they can also be full of exuberance. A lot of their teachers in the junior schools say that when they were with them they were mostly full of life but it's not the case here. But if you're talking to them they have a better sense of humour. But it has got a lot more easier with more Indians. I think that if you examine yourself you are prejudiced, and you must change it and it's tied up with.

(He pointed to his christian cross that he wore).

Mr Banks, who was a committed christian, identified with the West Indian pupils who shared his christian zeal. He had organized a christian club, that fifteen younger pupils attended.

The teachers' dominant social image of the West Indian pupils was that of 'trouble-maker'. However, they had developed strategies and tactics to deal with this social perception that they had created. What they found more threatening was the academically successful West Indians. It would seem that their caricature of the West Indian pupils had developed exclusively in behavioural terms excluding a technical evaluation. Hence, the oppositional structure of this group consisted of an evaluative system of their temperament which varied from truculence to exuberance but did not include such technical categories as the measurement of achievement. They were implicitly assumed as a group to be of 'low ability'. Mr Lynch, the school counsellor, discussed the teachers' response to academically successful West Indians.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

The teachers here can't cope with black lads who can stand up for themselves without being cheeky. Look at the Charles boys. Teachers hated them. Why? Because they were successful and probably going to be more successful than them economically. If a black lad talks back to a teacher as an equal, they have a special vocabulary for him, he's arrogant, truculent and so on. They go out of their way to humiliate him and if the lad walks away to avoid confrontation they get them for cheek. If yer a racist, the one thing you don't want is a successful black. Such lads have always found it tough here. I try and get them into colleges.

In contrast to this caricature, the Asian pupils tended to be perceived in technical rather than behavioural terms, though the latter was not excluded. The oppositional structure of the teachers'

caricature of the Asian pupils consisted of the positive perception of them as high achievers and the negative view of them as sly. In the day to day interaction between staff and pupils, the Asian pupils were perceived as causing few disciplinary problems. However, many teachers explained their 'conformist' attitude in negative stereotype terms.

Mr Walker (Old Disciplinarian):

I've never no, I don't think I've ever met an Indian who was interested, I mean really interested in learning, in education. All they're bothered about is science subjects and becoming doctors. They don't consider discussion as work. Can we write something.

Mr Tetley (New Realist):

You talk to them and you can't tell if they're listening or not. They're such liars an'

Mr Walker:

I know, look at

Mr Parks (Old Disciplinarian):

At least with the coloureds, you know where you are, with the Asians you just can't tell.

Mr Walker:

They may get into less trouble, I know that, but let's face it they're more sly and they've got no guts. The West Indian will go wild but at least he'll stand his ground. He's no coward. The Indians would stab you in the back.

Mr Parks:

And then say it wasn't them.

Much of the conventional research on 'race-relations' calls for in-service training for teachers. The evidence at Kilby school, suggests that it has little effect in changing racist attitudes. Mr Gordon was a young teacher who was completing a part-time B.Ed. degree in multi-cultural education. Like many teachers he

continued to hold contradictory ideas on questions of race.

In staffroom conversations, he often employed multi-cultural phrases and suggested a liberal position on these issues.

However, his superficial stance was challenged by his support for openly racial verbal attacks by other members of staff.

The following discussion took place in the staffroom, with Mr Gordon relating details of how he had caught an Asian pupil cheating in an examination.

Mr Gordon (Liberal):

I threw out Ranjit Kumar for cheating in my exam today.

Mr Rogers (New Realist):

You've got to watch them (Asian pupils), every year it's the same, we get a few of them caught. They're too sly to. They're so ambitious ye see, parents trying.

Mr Gordon:

I know, when I go along the Kilby road I see them pushing in the queues. Always trying to get things for nothing. It's their standards. I told Kumar if that's your standard that's fine out there but we're not, we don't accept it in this school.

Finally, we can see how the system of racial stereotyping operated in relation to the teachers' response to the pupils sub-cultural groups. Teachers at Kilby school were aware of the significance of the pupil peer group interaction. A minority of liberal teachers maintained that these peer groups were of central importance to the formation of the pupils' social development. However, most teachers saw these groups primarily in terms of a social base which strengthened the pupils' resistance to their authority. The following discussion which took place between Mr Lynch, the school counsellor and Mr Winters, a probationary P.E. teacher, was representative of these differing views.

Mr Winters (New Realist):

It's terrible the way the kids get into gangs. They come here as individual kids but after about 2 years, they begin to form really strong groups and then the gang affects them more than us. It's a pity that we can't prevent them happening and then we could be more effective.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

No, these lads haven't got much. These groups are very important to them.

Mr Winters:

Yes, but it's the trouble they cause that ...

Mr Lynch:

They form their identities through these groups. Believe me, they will need these mutual self-help peer groups to exist outside of here.

At Kilby school, teachers become experts at predicting the formation of particular sub-cultural groups. Usually during the pupils' third year, leaders of these groups were the first to emerge. Once they were publicly identified, their friends when disciplined were referred to as belonging to a particular gang. At this point, the authorities attempted to split up these groups. Below, the teachers are discussing what tactics to employ to counteract the growth of a sub-cultural group among the third-year boys.

Mr Walsh (Old Disciplinarian):

He's a real yobbo,

Mr Parks (Old Disciplinarian):

We're gonna have a similar clique by the end of this year as the present fifth year if we're not careful.

Mr Walsh:

He's got his jabs around him already. I told him to go down the stairs. He just stared back. You know that arrogant look. Then Williams, Brown and Jacobs came and ...

Mr Griffiths (Old Disciplinarian):

Fletcher?

Mr Walsh:

Yeah he was there. I couldn't believe it, third year. I told Wilson there's no way he's coming into my group next year but of course he just gave that stupid look.

Mr Parks (Old Disciplinarian):

Are they all in one group, the same class?

Mr Griffiths:

No not, that's the trouble. It's usually from 3:3 but some of them are in 3:1.

Mr Walsh:

I'm going to make sure he's put down to 3:2.

Mrs Turner (Old Disciplinarian):

His work 's O.K., in fact he's ...

Mr Walsh:

I don't care it's his attitude to the staff. Well you know, he'll only talk to you if he has to, as if he's doing you a big favour and of course the other boys pick it up.

Mr Griffiths:

He's the most truculent kid I've met. Typical Jamaican, sucking his teeth and getting the others to go mad.

Mr Walsh:

I think the Head should take them and tell them, warn them they don't hang around together while they're here, anyway, or they find another school. I mean just imagine them in the fifth year.

Mr Griffiths:

We'll have to get him and a few others and they'll need a concerted trampling on. They'll need the full treatment.

The emerging third year West Indian sub-cultural group were seen to be modeling themselves on the Rasta-Heads. The school authorities realized the central significance of Rastafarianism. Its ideological strength within the context of the school was that it had not permitted white authoritarian or liberal accommodation and so, consequently, it had united the staff against it. The authoritarian teachers saw it as the most visible threat to the order of the school. The liberal teachers were divided among themselves as to the significance of this ideology of resistance. The majority liberal view and the institutionally more effective one, was represented by Mr Lynch, who argued that Rastafarianism acted against the interests of West Indian pupils, preventing racial integration and social mobility. Mr Fields, who lived in Kilby and believed that the school should be community-based, represented the minority view. At the time of the research there were only two teachers who defended the Rasta Heads' activities as a legitimate strategy of survival. Mr Fields, who remained within the culturalist perspective, explained how he had come to appreciate the positive effects of Rastafarianism in building up West Indian youth's 'low self-image'. Harold, a West Indian pupil in the Remedial Department who had a good disciplinary record, began in the fifth year to associate with the Rasta Heads.

Mr Fields:

I don't particularly like the Rasta movement. I know some who are O.K. but generally they are devisive. But I've begun to see that from our kids' point of view it gives them high status, a role and it helps them to develop a positive image of themselves that a lot of West Indians lack. Look at Harold in my group, he used to be an uncle Tom. It isn't enough to tap a kid on the head everyday and tell him we are pleased with him. Now he's a much fuller personality, beginning to work out an identity. Teachers go mad when we loose kids like him. They haven't chosen our way they reckon, fuck it, of course they haven't . It wouldn't make sense. They have to prepare themselves for living around here. I don't see it as a question of agreeing or disagreeing with the Rasta stuff. It's a question of understanding why it has emerged. But I don't personally think that this is the best course. We must work together more to build up our community.

Mr Fields' response was partly determined by the school authorities reaction to Rastafarianism. The Headmaster and the Deputy Head were successful in creating a 'moral panic' among the staff concerning the Rasta Heads' behaviour.

The teachers' response to the emergence of a new sub-cultural group demonstrated a number of significant points in relation to the system of racial stereotyping operating within the school. Firstly, that for most teachers, this group was seen exclusively in negative terms as a source of disruption to the school's authority. This perception of, and response to the pupils' resistance to the racist power relations of the school and the broader society demonstrates how for both authoritarian and liberal teachers professionalism operates as an ideological strategy for depoliticizing educational and moral questions and converting them into value free administrative and technical 'problems'. By refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of the

pupils' behaviour and locating the 'problem' within the black youth's culture, the Old Disciplinarians and New Realists reinforced the view of the need for their authoritarian solution to the problem of maintaining order. At the same time they reproduced their professional role as power holders within the school. Similarly the Liberals reproduced the dominant institutional social relations, by adopting racist stereotypes, which served to prevent real knowledge of black youth and their location within the school and wider society. The Liberals' definition of the situation also served to expand the need for their professional diagnosis in such areas as the school testing and classification apparatus, remedial work and counselling in response to the pupils assumed psychological and social deficiencies.

Secondly, we can see the teachers' perception of the 'visibility' of the West Indian pupils and in particular their strong reaction against Rastafari as an ideology of resistance. Thirdly, the third year Asian pupils' resistance would appear to be 'hidden'. This is made clear if we examine the composition of this sub-cultural group. The Asian and West Indian pupils' resistance to schooling, as the main case-studies will show, tended to take place in separate groups, however, the third year group that the teachers were discussing above consisted of 6 West Indian pupils, 4 Asian pupils and 1 white pupil. Nevertheless, it was the West Indian pupils who were selectively perceived as the 'trouble-makers'. Fourthly, these social images can be seen to determine the teachers' mode of

intervention, which operated on a racial basis. Here we can see how the system of demotion and transfers discriminated against West Indian pupils. It will be argued in the next section that these selective mechanisms were of central causal significance to the over-representation of West Indian boys in the lower streams of the school and their presence in Special Schools.

5.6.iii Summary

A definite system of racial stereotyping which consisted of an oppositional structure for each youth group, was in operation at Kilby school. The Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists worked explicitly within this framework, while the Liberals worked implicitly within it. The dominant social image of the pupils that emerged was that of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian, and that of the 'low ability truculent' West Indian. However, this is not to argue that the teachers defined pupils exclusively in terms of this stereotyping. Nevertheless, these racial caricatures, which were often hidden, were of central significance in understanding how white state professionals encountered black youth. Furthermore, these racial social images were of primary significance to the stratification system in operation at Kilby school.

5.7 The Process of Testing and Classification

The process of testing and classification in operation at Kilby school was the central mechanism which structured the pupils' school career. The main stages in a pupil's school career were firstly his placement on entry to the school; secondly, the 'choosing' of subject options at the end of the third year; thirdly, the preparation for and the taking of examinations in the fifth and sixth years; and finally, career advice, aptitude testing and applying for either a job or Further or Higher Education. During the research period 'youth opportunity' training schemes became of particular importance. The Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists defended this process, arguing from a functionalist perspective that it matched the pupils' talents, skills and abilities to the jobs for which they are best suited. The liberal teachers and 2 Independents were opposed to the selective system. However, as it will be shown, their criticism was aimed at the present organization of this selective system but they did not challenge its theoretical base. There was a shared acceptance of such concepts as intelligence, ability and aptitude. It will be argued, behind these ideologically constructed concepts, lie class and cultural power relations. That these power relations lay hidden is partly due to the liberals' adoption of a cultural form of analysis which assumed the class homogeneity of the black community. This racial reductionism served to reinforce the teachers' perception of the division between the 'academically high achieving' Asian and the 'low ability, problem' West Indian pupils and so structured the teachers'

material and social response to these two groups. It is through this response as part of the wider institutional structures that racism was mediated.

5.7.1 System of Stratification

A systematic policy of stratification operated within the school through a strict streaming procedure. Levels of intelligence were measured by an initial screening test on entry to the school. The Richmond Analysis tests mental ability, attitude, and literacy and numeracy skills. The boys were then placed in a four stream stratification for all subjects except Physical Education, Religious Education and Crafts for which there was mixed ability teaching. This initial selection was of primary importance, as there was little movement between the streams.

My Raynor, who was responsible for the administration of the tests, was highly critical of their limitations.

Mr Raynor (Liberal):

They are not valid. They are diagnostic tests being used as an instrument of selection. They are given out in the first few days of the children arriving, which for administrative purposes make sense but the practice is educationally totally unsound. Children just in from their junior schools to a new establishment, totally unsettled and there is culture bias. You might as well stream by throwing all the names in the air and picking them out at random.

For the liberals, it was not simply a matter of questioning the validity of the testing procedure. Their main criticism was the selective nature of the stratification system.

Each year, they argued for the introduction of mixed ability teaching groups for the first three years. They were particularly concerned at the effect of the streaming process on the 'low ability' pupils.

Mr Hickey (Liberal):

The selective mechanisms are a hangover from the old grammar-secondary mod division. There has been a lot of research to suggest the harmful effects of this type of placement, especially the self-fulfilling effects of being labelled a failure, of being treated differently in the lower streams. It's not just the question of the child's perception but the effects it has on teachers, going into 3:3 for example, to those who are seen of low ability.

However, what the liberals did not challenge was the theoretical basis on which the policy of stratification was based which defined *ability* as an absolute category. The liberal and the two independent teachers who did not support streaming, nevertheless, reified *ability* as a rare commodity. For example, Mr Wilts, the Head of the History Department, employed this concept to explain the large failure rate in school examinations.

Mr Wilts (Independent):

You cannot talk of failure in an unqualified way as you suggest. There are a number of variables involved. Remember that out of a hundred and twenty each year, you get about twenty who are capable of passing 'O' level. In fact, with the Grammar round the corner they take about four per cent of the cream perhaps more. Even the C.S.E. was only meant for the next forty per cent. An average is a grade three or four C.S.E. but we put nearly everyone in for it, so they fail. But you must measure our success rate against the range of ability in a school like this.

Hence, the argument between the authoritarian, and the liberal and the independent teachers concerning the stratification system in operation within Kilby school took place within a shared theoretical educational paradigm which assumed that such psychological concepts as intelligence, ability and aptitude are value-free and reflect social reality.

Mr Young (Liberal):

There will always be kids of low ability and those that are brighter. But what a school must ensure is that all are treated equally, and that all have an equal chance of developing their own abilities, whatever they are, and they will naturally be different.

The liberal teachers worked from within a social democratic educational ideology which sees schooling as a meritocratic mechanism for achieving equality of opportunity. This concept of equality of opportunity was developed in the late 1960's in relation to the question of the academic failure of white working class youth. In response to the presence of black youth in the school, the liberals argued that in order to achieve equality of opportunity there had to be an institutional acceptance of a plurality of cultures.

Mr Hickey (Liberal):

The last 40 years of educational development has been concerned with attaining equality of opportunity. I believe that this is one of the aims I work with, and for the black kids it means accepting their culture, but in the main curriculum not just as an extra subject area.

The liberals assumed that the plurality of cultures within the school would coexist equally. What is missing from their analysis is an awareness of the power relations that exist

between the dominant and minority cultures both within the school and the wider society. So, for example, the liberals were unable to see that their view of knowledge served to maintain a mono-culturalist class based curriculum. They tended to see knowledge as a fragmented collection of value free commodities, and the school as a means of the maximisation of this cultural accumulation. They did not see the systematic ideological selection, transmission and evaluation of school knowledge which reflected the dominant culture and so excludes the cultures of the black community.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

In the past, we have selected a few of our top lads and given 'em the best of our culture. A comprehensive, a multi-cultural comprehensive curriculum enables all the pupils, whatever their ability, white and black, to be given the chance of the best which has been passed on from the past in each of the subject areas.

Furthermore, they did not see the ideological role of the form in which knowledge is organised. So, for example, the liberal teachers were unaware that the individualised learning programme that were implemented in the Remedial department and which were based on the pupils signing 'contracts', promising personal behaviour modification, were reflecting particular social and economic interests.

The liberals' plural culturalist perspective was located within a culturalist form of analysis which assumed that individual pupil's behaviour could be explained in terms of their ethnicity. The teachers' dominant social images were

of a 'strong' Asian and a 'weak' West Indian culture.

It is on the basis of these social images, that the teachers tended to explain the differential educational attainment of Asian and West Indian pupils at Kilby school, in terms of the perceived differences between the two groups. These categories, that teachers shared with the State and conventional 'race-relations' research, form the ideological basis of their 'common-sense' racism.

Mr Lynch (Liberal):

The West Indian lads have special problems, specific problems due to their background. A lot, I have to deal with, a lot of them that have only one parent. Their mothers don't know what to do with them. It's really tough on them. It's no fault of theirs. Families that migrate split up but for them it's more. Historically, they had to suffer the effects of slavery, breaking up families and so marriage and family life is missing. The Indians are almost the opposite. They have a very strong culture. There are pressures on them living in two cultures but their strong family background helps them through. So ye see, you can't simply talk about Indians and West Indians as though they start off equally in the education system. The West Indian lads need much more support. The Asians have confidence in themselves. All the literature will tell you that if the West Indians are to do as well as the Asians they must have this extra support by us accepting their culture within the school, by giving it high status, by responding positively to their special problems.

Mr Lynch acknowledges the material influence on West Indians of the effects of slavery, yet his analysis remains essentially within a culturalist form. For as Lawrence (1982) pointed out above in relation to sociologists, and this view was shared by the Liberal teachers at Kilby school, it is assumed that in

contrast to the fragmentation suffered by Afro-Caribbean cultures as a result of British imperialism with little response from West Indians, Asian cultures were not effected to any significant degree. These social caricatures are then presented as causal of contemporary black youths' behaviour. The Liberals by accepting a cultural form of analysis had obscured the class position of different sections of the black community. While they would tend to adopt a social class analysis to examine the academic achievement of white pupils, black pupils' results were simplistically reduced to a question.

of racial origin. This racial reductionism served to maintain the system of stereotyping in operation within the school, reinforcing the teachers' perception of the division between the 'high achieving' Asian pupils and the 'low ability' West Indian pupils. An analysis of the parental occupation of the four streams in the pupils' first three years and the option groups in the fourth and fifth years at Kilby school at the time of the research revealed the following data:

(see Table 1a and 1b)

What the data shows is that pupils of a non-manual work background were over-represented in the top stream. At Kilby school, this social class group consisted of 73 pupils of whom 44 were in the top group. Of this social class, 63 were Asian pupils and 5 were West Indian. This suggests that social class rather than ethnicity would appear to be a more significant variable in explaining the differential educational attainment between the Asian and West Indian pupils. However, this is not to suggest that this differential educational attainment can be simply reduced to the analysis of the objective variable of social class. Nevertheless, the teachers at Kilby school, acted as though it was ethnicity rather than class that primarily determined the educational success of black youth. This was demonstrated in the relationship between the teacher racial stereotypes and their perception of and response to the middle-class pupils.

TABLE 1a

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

Composite of first three years

1st Stream	Manual	Non-manual	Total	% non-manual to manual
Asian	52	21	73	29
West Indian	12	5	17	29
White	7	3	10	30
Total	71	29	100	29
2nd Stream				
Asian	65	11	76	15
West Indian	19	0	19	0
White	7	0	7	0
Total	91	11	102	11
3rd Stream				
Asian	68	6	74	8
West Indian	20	0	20	0
White	3	0	3	0
Total	91	6	97	6
4th Stream				
Asian	33	4	37	11
West Indian	16	0	16	0
White	2	0	2	0
Total	51	4	55	7

TABLE 1b

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

Composite of fourth and fifth years

1st Stream	Manual	Non-Manual	Total	% non manual to manual
Asian	26	15	41	37
West Indian	11	0	11	0
White	3	0	3	0
Total	40	15	55	27
2nd Stream				
Asian	21	1	22	5
West Indian	26	0	26	0
White	3	1	4	25
Total	50	2	52	4
3rd Stream				
Asian	26	2	28	7
West Indian	20	0	20	0
White	3	1	4	25
Total	49	3	52	6
4th Stream				
Asian	15	3	18	17
West Indian	20	0	20	0
White	2	0	2	0
Total	37	3	40	8
5th Stream				
Asian	13	0	13	0
West Indian	13	0	13	0
White	1	0	1	0
Total	27	0	27	0

Becker (1952) developed the concept of the 'ideal pupil', to refer to that set of teacher expectations which constitute a taken for granted notion of appropriate behaviour.

Keddie (1971: -55) argues that of primary importance to the creation of the ideal pupil are social class judgements of pupils' social, moral and intellectual behaviour. At Kilby school, there was no significant West Indian middle-class with only five out of 157 West Indian pupils from a middle-class background. Among the Asian pupils, in each year, there was a small group of middle-class pupils. Teachers tended to identify with these pupils and saw them as constituting the 'Ideal pupil'. This is not to suggest that middle-class Asian pupils simply reduplicated or reflected the dominant ideologies of the teachers. Nor is it to argue that the mutual identification of the teachers and the middle-class Asians was consciously created. There was an internal logic to the ideologies and practices of each group. However, their logics did intersect at important points. So, for example, the shared values of individualism and competition served to reinforce the teachers' differential response to the pupils, with their positive response towards middle-class Asian pupils. It would seem that teachers also tended to extend the conformity of these pupils to the Asian group as a whole. This then served to make 'invisible' the resistance of working-class Asian pupils. The teachers' positive response to middle-class pupils, including those of West Indian origin, can be contrasted with their negative evaluation of the working-class pupils' sub-

cultural groups, that was examined earlier. However, although social class would appear to be a more significant variable in explaining the pupils behaviour and the teachers' response to their behaviour, nevertheless, the teachers continue to explain the pupils' response to schooling primarily in terms of ethnicity. For the teachers there is assumed to be an unproblematic class homogeneity among the black community.

The liberal teachers were of central significance in two ways in the evaluation and classification of pupils in racial terms. Firstly, their use of psychological terminology unwittingly, functioned to legitimate the negative racial stereotypes operating within the school. The over-representation of West Indian pupils in the lower streams and non-examination groups was rationalized in terms of their adoption of the 'common-sense' educational categories of ability, aptitude and attitude. The liberals were responsible for the move away from psychometry ('I.Q. testing etc ...), as the dominant educational ideology, to attitudinal testing (Scarff, D.E. and Hill, J. 1976). This was partly a result of industry's criticism of the school's failure to prepare pupils for work. The attitudes of West Indian pupils tended to be highly caricatured in this work. At the junior school level, for example, their lack of concentration, troublesomeness and inability to cooperate was frequently recorded. At the secondary level their argumentativeness, non-cooperation with the staff, and inability to prepare for important occasions such as examinations were emphasised. Secondly, although

the liberals opposed the stratification system, they failed to see that their acceptance of its theoretical underpinning, that is, the conception of the limited supply of intelligence, served to reproduce, maintain and ideologically legitimate a strict classification of 'academic' and 'non-academic' pupils. It was through this existing framework that racism was mediated. In the context of Kilby school, this division became synonymous with the division between the Asian and West Indian pupils. So, for example, the under-representation of the West Indian pupils in the top streams and 'O' level examination groups led to a simplistic social perception of West Indians, as a social group, as predominantly non-academic, and their ethnicity as the causal factor. Furthermore, the liberal teachers due to their acceptance of these ideologically constructed 'common-sense' concepts, were unable to see that the above division was not the result of cultural differences, but as Lettieri argues, this institutional division reflects the labour process of capitalist societies.

Capitalism has allowed us to get used to living under a system in which intellectual and manual work tend to be incompatible with each other.

(1976: 151)

Significantly, he adds, in relation to teachers' ideological position.

This mutual exclusion is, moreover, a characteristic feature of petty-bourgeois ideology, which is horrified by the idea of manual work.

(1976: 151)

The organisation of the curriculum, which was based on this division and which served to reinforce the racial stereotypes of the 'academic' Asian and the 'non-academic' West Indian, will now be examined.

5.7.ii Curriculum Organization

The stages of the pupils' career at Kilby school were structured in order that the primary teacher concern were the needs of the 'academic' top stream. They had a number of material and social advantages. Although, there was a severe shortage of classrooms, they had permanent teaching locations for each subject, while the middle stream pupils had to move to different classrooms for the same subject. Also, the top stream were given access to specialist classrooms, for example the science laboratory and the computer room; they had the most experienced teachers, the first choice of subjects, preferential treatment on the timetable and more equipment and books. Of equal importance was the attitude of the staff to the pupils. The teachers regarded them with high esteem and had high expectations of them.

As a result of the organisation of the curriculum in favour of the academic top stream, it was particularly the third stream that suffered. It was considered of little importance on the timetable; receiving split teaching periods and

inexperienced teachers, and it was vastly under resourced. This system of structuring the curriculum led to a strict stratification policy. Mr Raynor, the Head of the Remedial Department, explained how pupils who were placed in his department on entry to the school, had little chance of upward mobility.

Mr Raynor (Liberal):

It's a terrible dilemma when the children work very hard and technically they are ready to move out of the Remedial department because the third set is non-supportive of our boys. When I came here first I worked to get as many of them as possible out, but seeing what happens to them, we now keep them in the department. They are sometimes disappointed but you can't promote them to the worse place in the school. It's only the top and bottom we cater for, but those at the bottom are stuck there. We have no choice.

At the end of the third year, the top stream were offered first choice of subject options and encouraged to take three science subjects, thus relegating the two middle streams to non-academic subjects and a general course in science. The next stage of this highly selective process was the placement of pupils into examination groups. The top stream were given access to the high status G.C.E. examinations, while the middle streams were placed in C.S.E. groups. The remaining Remedial pupils were encouraged by subject teachers not to enter public examinations but to concentrate on practically orientated subjects. When they did choose examination classes, they were often discriminated against by being grouped together with an inexperienced teacher who had low expectations of them.

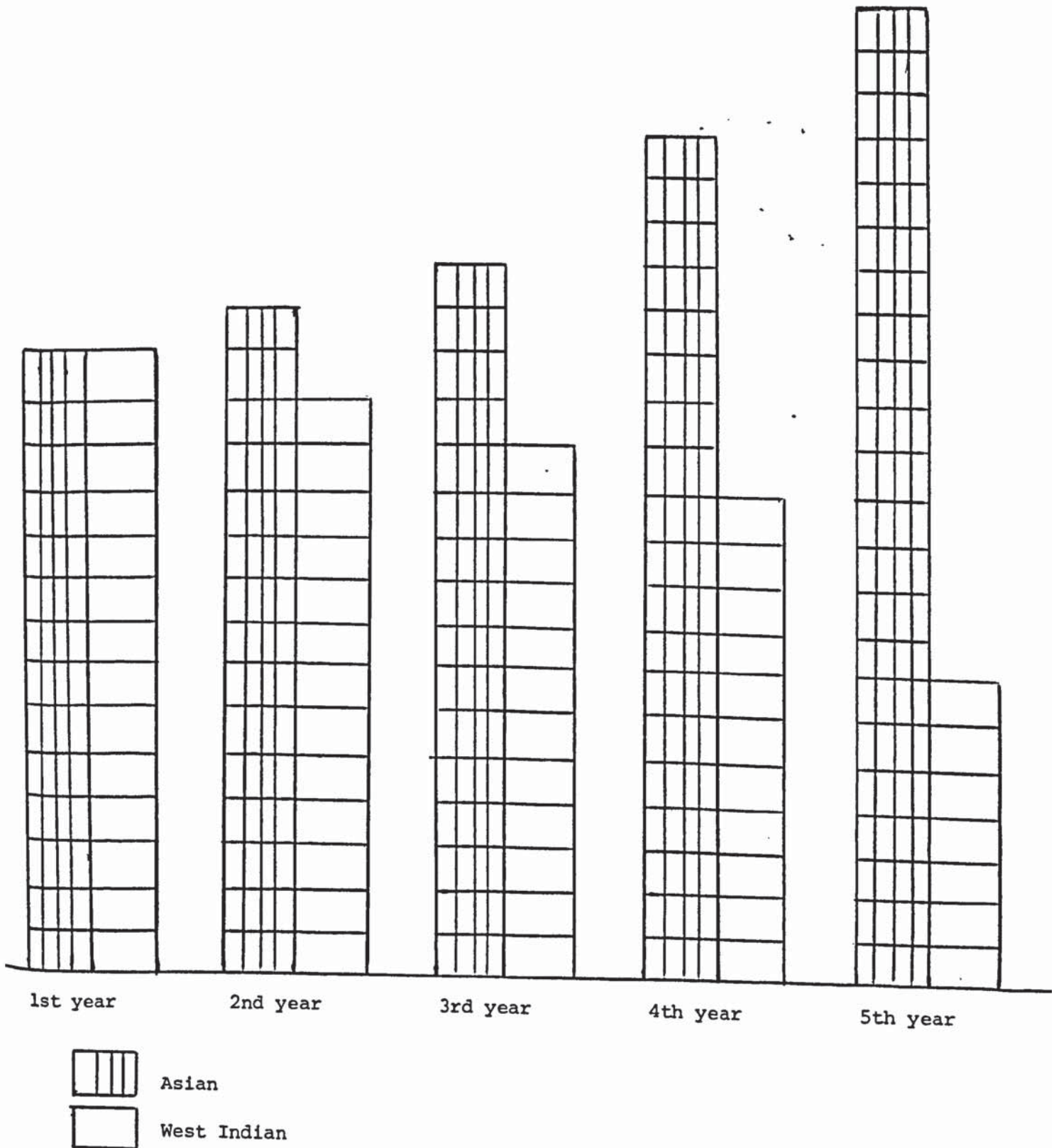
This organisation of the curriculum and the resulting differential response of the teachers to the 'academic' and the 'non-academic' pupils disproportionately affected the West Indian pupils who were under-represented in the top stream. This placement was not simply the result of the school's tests. As can be seen from Table 2, in the early years, and particularly in the first year, the West Indian pupils were well-represented in the top streams. However, as they moved up the school, they became over-represented in the lower streams. In the first year of the present fifth year's schooling at Kilby there had been 14 West Indian pupils in the top stream. By the fifth year, there were seven and of these only three pupils were entered for 'O' level examinations. Similar patterns were to be found in each year. Of particular significance to these results, was the process of promotion and demotion between the streams, which was accepted by both authoritarian and liberal teachers and which was ostensibly based on the criteria of ability and achievement. This process, which in practice was based on an arbitrary decision-making procedure, was informed by the teacher racial stereotyping and so, discriminated against West Indian pupils. It will now be examined.

5.7.iii Process of Promotion and Demotion

Several incidents recorded during the research period highlight the practices of this process and makes clear

TABLE 2

THE FIFTH YEARS' FIVE YEARS OF SCHOOLING 1977-1981
PUPIL ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN FIRST STREAM



the teachers' differential response to the Asian and West Indian pupils. On one occasion it was found that 38 pupils were in set one for English, so 3 of them had to be demoted. It was the responsibility of Mr Wells, the Head of Lower School, to choose the 3 pupils. He asked Mr Knight, a temporary English teacher, to select them on the basis of their last English test. Mr Walker, the Head of French, complained that the boys that were chosen would have to drop French, but the 3 of them had received certificates in recognition of their high achievement in his subject. He argued that the decision should not be based on one test in English, but that all the teachers who taught the pupils involved should make a collective decision. Mr Wells, who saw his job primarily in administrative rather than educational terms, refused to accept Mr Walker's suggestion. He asked Mr Higget, the Deputy Head, to decide. Mr Higget suggested that the principle of last in first out should be applied, so the 3 boys who joined the school during the year were put into a lower stream. Also, he argued that since one of them, Lloyd Cains, had come from a Special School, he would benefit from this placement. It is difficult to work out how Lloyd was to benefit from this demotion, but the Deputy Head's assumptions were not based on the advice of the educational psychologist's report from his former school. It stressed the need to create an educational environment in which Lloyd's self-image was allowed to develop positively. Lloyd was very upset by the decision. Two years later he was suspended for continual non-attendance. The school

counsellor maintained that the school authorities' arbitrary administrative decision-making had indirectly created a school deviant.

On another occasion, a West Indian pupil, Denzil Wallace was demoted from the topset in Mathematics. The decision was challenged by his form teacher, Mr Snape.

Mr Snape (Liberal):

Roy, why has Denzil been put in 2:2?

Mr Walsh (Old Disciplinarian / Head of Mathematics):

The results are over there. He scored below the pass mark.

Mr Snape:

But how has he done in the year?

Mr Walsh:

Terrible, his work rate is awful.

Mr Snape:

But how come it was never reported to me?

Mr Walsh:

Listen, I've got 32 in that class and I just can't be expected to follow up every pupil. I warned him a number of times, this would happen.

Mr Snape:

But why send him down to ...?

Mr Walsh:

Because I always stick by the tests.

Mr Snape:

But Roy, Denzil scored the highest marks in his year on the Richmond Test. Everyone ...

Mr Walsh:

There are freak results every year.
Every year, you get one that you can throw
away. You're always against the tests, don't
tell me you now think that they are infallible.
Denzil's brother was just the same.

Mr Snape:

The junior school said that he was the best
pupil that they had in his year. Christ,
I can't believe it when black kids do bad on
tests, you blame them and when they do well you
question the tests.

One further example of the arbitrariness of the decision-making
process highlights the racial element that is often hidden
behind what are assumed to be value free administrative and
educational solutions to institutional problems. Paul
Edwards, a West Indian pupil, was placed in the third set
when he arrived at Kilby school. During his first term,
some of his subject teachers were concerned with his behaviour.
This was described in terms of his vagueness and his coming
late and not being prepared for lessons. At the end of the
first term, Paul was demoted to the Remedial department.
The following discussion in the school counsellor's room
took place during Paul's second term at the school.
Mr Barlow, a Physical Education teacher, and Mrs Turner,
a Science teacher, had asked the school counsellor to find
a place for Paul in a Special School. Mr Snape who worked
in the Remedial Department, challenged the recommendation.
Mr Barlow (New Realist):

We're only thinking what is best for him.
He doesn't fit in to the school.

Mr Snape (Liberal):

What do you mean he doesn't fit in? What does he or what doesn't he do that so annoys you?

Mrs Turner (Old Disciplinarian):

It's not as simple, as easy as that. It's that strange gazed look. You find it with coloured children. He turns up late with no excuse.

Mr Barlow:

Yes, that's it, and he's not upset by it, that's the thing that gets me. He keeps getting lost and he's not upset. A lot of these kids have terrible backgrounds and they react in strange ways, to us anyway, they react in strange ways.

My Lynch, the School Counsellor, asked Mrs Parsons, an educational psychologist, to carry out a series of tests on Paul. She concluded that there was no psychological reason why Paul should be transferred to a Special School. Mr Lynch asked Mr Barlow and Mrs Turner to specify the educational reasons why he should be transferred. They felt unable to give concrete reasons. Mr Lynch accepted the findings of the educational psychologist and decided that Paul should remain at Kilby school.

Just as demotion was arbitrarily based on the perceived attitude rather than as was officially assumed the 'ability' of pupils, so similarly this same criterion was used in relation to promotion. Mr Parks, the Head of Upper School, justified this approach:

Mr Parks (Old Disciplinarian):

There are boys of relative higher ability in the lower sets, especially among the West Indians. I've told you before Johnson and Brown were marvellous at Maths, especially problem-solving.

But it's their, it's the West Indians' attitude and that must decide it in the end. You can't promote a boy who is known to be a trouble-maker, who's a dodger. It will look like a reward for bad behaviour. We've always got to be looking behind our shoulder and asking ourselves what effect will this move have on the other boys?

This arbitrary decision-making process also operated in relation to the placement of pupils into examination groups. Officially the top stream were given the opportunity to take the high status G.C.E. examinations. However, in practice, not all the top stream pupils were placed in these groups. The selection was based on subject tests and the teachers' evaluation of the pupils' aptitude. The system of racial stereotyping operating in the school informed this selection. Hence, it served to demote West Indian pupils, who were in the top stream during their third year, to C.S.E. groups. This selective mechanism also operated against West Indians in the lower streams, who were over-represented in the non-examination groups. Furthermore, during the fourth and fifth year, these arbitrarily based decisions were implemented on the basis of a system of rewards and punishments. Once again, this discriminated against West Indian pupils, who were more frequently excluded from examination groups.

This process was an essential element in the differential response of both authoritarian and liberal teachers to the Asian and West Indian pupils. It is important to draw together the main conclusions of the effects of the implementation of the decision-making process in relation to the system of promotion and demotion of pupils, their placement

in examination groups, and their transfer to Special Schools. Firstly, it can be seen that it was not only the sector of the West Indian pupils who overtly challenged the authority of the school, who were racially caricatured as culturally deficient but the whole group. Secondly, it was the conjunction of the system of negative racial stereotyping and the process of decision-making which is arbitrarily based on behavioural criteria that served to discriminate particularly against West Indian pupils. Thirdly, that what are complex social and educational issues were reduced to administrative problems. One of the central functions of the school administrative role, which includes the teachers' evaluation of pupils, is to deal with what is dysfunctional in the system. Due to the teachers' powerful social image of the social pathology of the West Indian pupils, they were 'seen' as the main cause of the dysfunction. Hence, the school authorities spent much of their time in dealing with 'problems' that they had indirectly created. This in turn served to maintain the dominant social image of the West Indian pupils as 'behavioural problems'.

5.8 Summary

This chapter set out to address itself to an absence in conventional 'race-relations' research and official reports, that of the response of the teachers to the schooling of black youth. The different teacher ideologies and practices in operation

at Kilby school were identified, with particular reference to curriculum organization and the system of racial stereotyping. It was argued that these differences are important but, we may conclude from the above that the main institutional response at the school has been an attempt, albeit unintentional . to incorporate the majority black pupil population. The Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists were unambiguously committed to this approach. The liberal teachers, whose position was part of a wider social democratic approach to solve the assumed cultural deprivation of white working-class youth by means of equalizing opportunities, saw the mono-cultural position of the rest of the staff as the main cause of their failure to implement throughout the school a multi-cultural curriculum. However, we can see that the arguments of the differing teacher ideologies take place within a particular shared conception of what constitutes multi-cultural education. All teacher groups adopted the State's conception, which perceives black youth rather than racism as the primary problem. It is this perception of black youth on which are based the state's multi-cultural policies, as was pointed out in an earlier chapter. The authoritarian and the liberal teachers differed in their prescriptive remedies for these 'problems', particularly that of the 'under-achievement' of West Indian pupils. The liberals believed in an interventionist approach based on the state's multi-cultural policies, while the authoritarians argued for the maintenance of the traditional curriculum for all pupils. However, both groups

worked from within the same educational paradigm, which assumes that education is essentially a politically and racially neutral mechanism which socializes pupils for adult roles and occupations. It was argued that teachers are not as crude Marxists suggest, disinterested agents of an abstract capital or the state, functionally reproducing social control. Similarly, the proposed solution of culturalist analysis to the 'problem' of schooling black youth, that the implementation of a multi-cultural curriculum will develop positive teachers' attitudes to black pupils, is inadequate. It is within the teachers' material interest as power holders, to maintain the dominant social relations of the school, including its racist structures. As a result of the limitations and contradictions of the liberals' ideology and practices, they were unable at all to perceive how the ideologies of class, race and gender interact at Kilby school. Hence, they were unable to resolve the problems that arise.

These problems are not the result of black pupils presence within the school but are part of a wider crisis in the State's reponse to the schooling of working-class youth as a whole. What a study of the encounter of white middle-class professionals and black youth serves to do is to highlight the dynamics of this response, which are often hidden. This is particularly significant at a time of crisis for the schools with a collapse of the youth labour market. It is against the background of the

operation of a process of depoliticization and deracialization that works from within a culturalist form of analysis and which results in the differential response of the teachers to the Asian and West Indian pupils, that I shall locate the black pupils' forms of resistance, which will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE RASTA HEADS: VISIBLE FORM OF RESISTANCE

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 School and Society
- 6.3 Formation of a Sub-culture: Response to Racism
 - i) The Rasta Heads' Visibility
 - ii) Lack of Teacher-Pupil Contact
 - iii) Formation of the Rasta Heads
 - iv) Elements of a Sub-culture
 - v) Rejection of Schooling
 - vi) Rejection of Teacher Strategies
- 6.4 Summary: Not a Question of Relevant Courses

6.1 Introduction

It has been argued in earlier chapters that within Kilby school, the teachers' racism, working within a culturalist perspective, operated on the principle of defining West Indian and Asian pupils as different. These cultural differences were seen by the teachers as the primary cause of their behaviour. An important element in the creation of these oppositional forms of pupil practices has been the way in which 'race-relations' research has perceived and reported the school experience of these two groups. As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, researchers have tended to focus on the 'underachievement' of West Indian youth with the dominant explanation of this 'underachievement' in terms of various theories of cultural deprivation (Nule et al, 1970; McEwan et al, 1975 and Essen and Ghodsian, 1979). In contrast, the 'problems' of Asian youth have been reduced to questions of linguistic difficulties and the conflict of being 'caught between two cultures' (Anwar, 1976; Derrick, 1977; and Little and Willey, 1981).

By working within this culturalist perspective that assumes that the intrinsic ethnic differences between West Indian and Asian cultures are essentially causal of their academic achievement, researchers have created a number of significant effects. Firstly, they have produced powerful social images of the social problems that West Indians' cause schools in contrast to the Asian youth's

technical difficulties. Secondly, this in turn has challenged the black community's argument that racism is the main cause of their children's school failure. Thirdly, the emphasis on the 'passivity' of the Asian pupils has underplayed the resistance to schooling of sections of this group and so helped to make it 'invisible'. Finally, the culturalist perspective has assumed a class homogeneity of the black community.

It will be argued that to challenge the teachers' common-sense perception of 'rebellions' West Indian and 'passive' Asians, a more fruitful framework to adopt is that of the visible and invisible forms of resistance to schooling of these two groups. This framework will enable us to see a disjuncture between the teacher-pupil relations. Further, it will show that one of the main effects of the teacher stereotypes and the resulting mode of intervention was that they tended to highlight the perceived 'rebelliousness' of West Indian pupils and the perceived 'passivity' of Asian pupils. It is important to emphasise that no conspiracy theory was involved here. It was not a question of teachers consciously denigrating West Indian culture and elevating Asian culture. Rather, these oppositional stereotypes had an existence in the material reality of the social relations of Kilby school. It would appear that this was not simply a problem of false consciousness as they performed a particular function. The practices of the teachers based on these stereotypes attempted

to reproduce the situation they believed to exist.

It will be further argued that of equal importance to an understanding of the pupil forms of resistance was the response of West Indian and Asian boys to the teachers' racial stereotypes. In other words, it was not only what happened to pupils that was of importance but also, how they perceived and managed their experience of racism.

Two of the main case-studies, that of the West Indian Rasta Heads, and the Asian Warriors, suggest that their response operated at two levels. At one level, in both groups there were elements of a sub-culture that inverted the dominant ideology of the school. At another level, this ideology was accommodated and this had the effect of creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. So, for example, the Rasta Heads adopted the response that was expected of them and, overtly challenged the authority of the school. The Warriors similarly responded to teacher expectations and on occasions while breaking the rules they adopted a low profile. Although, this was the dominant sub-cultural response, it will be shown that on occasions, they broke through this ideology, challenged the teacher stereotypes and emphasized the unity of black pupils of West Indian and Asian origin and their common experience of institutional racism.

Finally, it will be argued that the pupil ideologies and practices cannot be explained in terms of individual psychological inadequacies or generational conflict. The problem is not one of cultural deficiencies or divisions but a question of class location and institutional racism. It is important to locate the growth of black boys' sub-cultures of resistance both in relation to the dominant relations of society and in relation to the black community's response to racism. Hence, the liberal teachers' prescribed solution of a more relevant multi-cultural curriculum, which was examined in the last chapter, has been overtaken and will not resolve the crisis of schooling black pupils.

6.2 School and Society

Among teachers at Kilby school, there was a tendency to see groups and relations within the school in isolation from the rest of the society. But as has been argued concerning the self-activity of the Brixton youth in resolving their homelessness by occupying local council houses:

The strength therefore of the black squatting movement is the fact that it is rooted in Brixton's black community and has as its base the social organization of the youth. They visit and frequent the same youth clubs, they congregate in large numbers at social functions, originally molded into single social unit within the schools.

(Race Today: May 1974: 171)

Similarly, the Rasta Heads resistance to schooling must be located in its social setting. This will be examined in terms of the social function of sub-cultures for working-class youth, the relation between the Rasta Heads and their parents, and the response of the black community to the effects of the changing socio-economic conditions on Kilby's local economy.

The Rasta Heads group could not be reduced simply to a black variant of working-class youth sub-culture. However, it did share much with parallel white forms, similarly located within the class structure. Brake explains why these groups emerge. He argues that:

Sub-cultures arise as attempts to resolve collectively experienced problems arising from the contradictions in the social structure, and that they generate a form of collective identity from which an individual identity can be achieved ... This is nearly always a temporary solution, and in no sense a real material solution but one which is solved at the cultural level.

(1980: 36)

Of central significance to the emergence of the Rasta Heads had seen their response to the contradictions of schooling. Milner describes such contradictions experienced by black children attending British schools.

At present the black child spends the greater part of his working hours in a place that does nothing to confirm him in any important aspects of his identity. Effectively, he is treated as an English child, albeit a 'coloured' one, and with certain disadvantages. His own cultural originality is almost entirely ignored, so that he only receives that sense of himself from his parents out of school hours.

(1975: 204)

Within Kilby school, there was little positive confirmation of the black pupils' identity. However, Milner's weakness is his assumption that black children live in two dichotomous social worlds, the school and the home.* Driver (1977) has suggested the importance of the male peer group in the formation of identity. The Rasta Heads' opposition to schooling was most immediately expressed through their dissociation from the formal sphere of schooling into the informal sphere of their sub-culture. A positive association took place and central to this was a process of Africanization which pervaded the pupils' resistance. Of particular significance was the ideological influence of Rastafari in building a black cultural nationalism.

B.E.:

Do you think all young blacks are affected by Rastafari?

Kevin:

Of course.

Leslie:

Yeah because I'll tell yer one thing before Rasta some people would not know them culture.

Kevin:

Yeah Rastafari tell you about your culture because if you ask my father for one where yer come from 'e don't want to know about Africa. 'im say my 'ome is Jamaica.

Christopher:

Is yer roots really, yer find out who yer are.

Leonard:

I don't check for Selassi but I really respect 'em right, you know when I was at school I never knew I came, that our foreparents came from

* As will be shown below, for the Kilby school boys, these two worlds were connected by the peer group.

Africa. Rastafari 'elped me to find out more things about myself, who I am an' what's important.

Small groups of pupils at Kilby school overtly identified themselves as Rastas but its ideological significance was much wider. As Miles found in his research,

For a larger proportion of black youth in England, a distinct identity and life-style, a stylisation can be found in patois, a style of dress and appearance, and a music which is a blend of Jamaican and Rastafarian symbols and English experience and events.

(1978: 22)

Of equal importance to the formation of the Rasta Heads and the development of their ideologies and practices, as Cohen (1972) has argued concerning white working-class youth sub-cultures, was their relationship to the 'parent' culture. A black teacher working in Kilby dismissed the explanation common among white teachers that West Indian youth's 'deviant behaviour' was the result of generation conflict among the black community.

Ms Brown:

All the teachers, most of them and they are encouraged by the race-relations stuff they read believe that we (the black community) are split in two. I sometimes wonder who they're talking about. It's not true, it's not true that our parents come thinking the streets were paved with gold, just nonsense. They had expectations of improving life like all migrants. How come they don't say the Irish were looking for these golden streets? Over the last twenty, thirty years, they have been more disillusioned. But why wouldn't black parents understand the frustrations of their kids? My dad fought racism ever since he came here. Kids are doing it their way now.

Mr Wallace, a black local community worker expanded this view of the unity of the black community.

You see the white experts always simplify things. It's part of the old rulers principle divide and rule. In fact it's not simply a matter of the parents not wanting their kids to become Rastas or throwing them out if they do. Sure a lot of them don't want their kids to become Rastas for religious reasons or realistically they are more vulnerable to police harassment, but at the same time the parents, my parents have educated their young, not by intention, and perhaps all the more successfully for being unintended into what life in a racist society really means. In loads of things, like the problems of working for white people, how they're treated by white officials, if they move into white areas, lack of promotion, doing shit work, they hear stories of people being beaten up by the police, no respect for older members of our society, the list is endless. The kids have learnt well and try other ways of surviving, of beating the system but I think in many ways the black community has more unity than among white people because the whole of the black community suffer from racism. How stupid and typical of whites to assume our parents just accepted it. Do people just accept being treated as inferior?

In support of this argument, Hall et al (1978: 353) have stated that no simple dichotomy can be made between the 'first generation' West Indian migrants and their children.

The commitment of the first generation migrants of steady if unrewarding labour and the second generation to the life on the street and hustling rather than labouring are the principal forms in which the generation gap is articulated ... However, as the pressures on the colony community, from police surveillance and control, from unemployment and official racism have steadily increased so the division within the colony between the young and the old, between those who have chosen the respectable route and those who have chosen to hustle and survive, has been eroded and there has been an increasing tendency to close ranks internally in the face of a common and hostile threat.

For Hall et al, the unity of resistance to racism of both 'generations' is linked to the changing economic, social and political changes during the 1970's. An unintended consequence of this analysis may be the assumption that prior to these socio-economic changes the 'first generation' passively accepted racism. Mr Baxter, Kevin's father, cited these changing conditions as of significance to West Indian parents' support of their children's critical response to schooling but also emphasized that the West Indian community had fought racism since their arrival in Britain.

Mr Baxter:

We hoped that our kids wouldn't have to do the bad work we had to do. But it hasn't worked out like that. I have lived here for over twenty years and things have got worse and worse for black people in this area. I used to think it was Delroy's fault at first but it's been the same for the others. Like Kevin was suspended from school and then the teachers, the headmaster tried to get him for non-attendance. They tell me he's clever but they were never really interested in him. They told he has a chip on his shoulder. I was told the same thing when I first came here and asked for a job in my trade. We had to fight to get our right jobs. They sent me all round the country, now there's no jobs round here. Kevin knows, his two brothers and all his friends are on the dole. So you can't really blame him.

Mr Baxter, like many of the parents interviewed considered that the most significant aspect of the national socio-economic changes was the effect of unemployment on the local economy.

A number of reports and research findings have concluded that in addition to the problems facing working-class youth

with the collapse of the youth labour market, black youth also experience insitutionalized racism (Dex, 1979, Stares et al, 1980, Smith, 1980, Rex and Cross, 1982, Trinder, 1983). During the research period, I visited a number of local employers. The following interview took place at a local factory that produced machettes. His argument was typical, albeit unusually explicit, of their response to recruitment during the recent economic recession.

B.E.:

How come the older workers are all black and the younger ones white?

Mr Banks:

A few years ago, we could only get coloured blokes, but now, well between you and me we can pick and choose, so it's only natural that we pick our own kids. . They'd do the same.

For Mr Banks, 'our own kids' referred to white youth. The fact that nearly all the black boys seeking work had been born in Britain did not qualify them to be classified as British. Colour was the predominant criterion for selection. For pupils at Kilby school and their parents, this was a common experience of ^{the} racist structures of the local economy. It was awareness of these material conditions and particularly, knowledge of the effect of mass youth unemployment on the racial division of labour that informed the Rasta Heads' resistance to schooling.

B.E.:

Do you think qualifications are important?

Leslie:

Put it this way, I know friends who 'ave 'O' levels an' some of them 'ave left school for two or three years and aint got nowhere. The teachers don't know, really know, what it's like out 'ere. 'ow can they? They may build up yer 'opes then ye go looking for jobs an' they just look at ye and ye know, go way nigger.

B.E.:

How do you know?

Leslie:

Ye know, ye see it in 'is face in the way 'e looks at ye. It's something ye can feel, ye've seen it with teachers an' cops en it? Ye 'aven't a chance with white kids looking for the same jobs. They think, the owners, I'll 'ave you your white, an' a lot of white kids 'aven't work.

The logic of this sub-culture was not one of failure, inability to do examinations nor one of cultural deficiency, but one of questioning the validity of academic success and qualifications in relation to the demands of the local labour market. The relationship between the Rasta Heads' ideologies and practices and their perception of and preparation for work was further highlighted by the question of their rejection of contemporary forms of employment (Willis, 1977: 154). Black employees' subordinate position in the labour market was explicitly linked to British imperialism and teachers were seen as presenting as an historical phenomenon what the Rasta Heads perceived as the present-day relationship between blacks and whites.

Leonard:

I don't see why I should work for England because England ain't done nothing for me. You can't say we're supposed to do good an' work for England. And you did this for us and this. You came to my descendent country right, your own free will. We couldn't stop it because yoursupposed to 'ave the guns an' all that. It's because of the white man, slavery Africa. Because of slavery and that's the mostest thing about it. Teachers make ye thing slavery was in the past, well in this country there's a new slavery, of bad work, that's what they did to the slaves. I wouldn't work for no white man.

With the high rate of unemployment among black youth, the question of refusal to work tended to be hidden. However, the dynamics of the racial division of labour was seen to be extended to the Youth Opportunity Programme now in operation (Sergeant, 1981). Hence, the rejection of a subordinate position in the labour market was transferred to these tyouth 'training' schemes which the Rasta Heads refused to attend.

Christopher:

There's a lot of kids round 'ere even if they could get a job wouldn't take just any job. I wouldn't do no bad job, factory work an'allthat for nutton and the same with the Y.O.P. things, we wouldn't go on them. The work is too low an' 'ow ye gonna survive in this country on £20? It cannot buy nutton. How am I gonna survive?

The above research suggests that the emergence and development of the black sub-cultures within Kilby school cannot be explained simply in terms of parallel white youth sub-cultures nor in terms of 'second generation' deviancy. Rather, it is

within the social relations of these black boys' groupings, linked to its wider class and cultural dynamics, that their resistance to schooling can be more fully understood. It is important to stress that this is one particular response to racism, however, different sectors of black youth adopt and develop the various strategies of survival worked out by the black community.

6.3 Formation of a Sub-culture: Response to Racism

6.3.1 The Rasta Heads' Visibility

The two main case-studies of the resistance to schooling of the West Indian and Asian sub-cultures, will be examined in terms of visible and invisible forms of resistance. The following account was an example of how members of these two groups by responding to teacher expectations reproduced their visible and invisible practices of resistance. Kilby school was located at the end of a long drive. The visible presence of the West Indian pupils was highlighted each day as they grouped together at the school entrance. This was the only entrance for most of the teachers who drove to school. They frequently complained about the pupils' presence there. Each week at assembly complaints were related from local residents and passers-by of the nuisance caused by these groups of pupils. In contrast to the West Indians, Asian pupils gathered together at the back gate of the school involved in the same illicit activity of smoking.

The West Indian pupils can be divided into three groups, the Soul Heads, the Punk Heads and the Rasta Heads. One of the main case-studies was based on the latter group. It was this group of anti-school pupils, that was most likely to include the 'under-achievers' of conventional 'race-relations' research. It was also this group that appeared to be successfully developing forms of collective resistance to the dominant racist culture of the school.

The Rasta Heads group consisted of 8 pupils: Kevin, Leslie, Christopher, Andrew, Neville, Clive, Michael, and Leonard. They were all born in England of Jamaican parents. Kevin's father was a carpenter and his mother was a nurse, and Clive's father was a painter and decorator. The other pupils' parents worked in non-skilled employment, while Andrew's and Leonard's fathers were unemployed. Six of them lived in Kilby. Neville's and Leonard's families had been rehoused outside of Kilby during the last four years. The pupils had attended two local junior schools. Kevin, Leslie and Leonard began their secondary school career in the top set but were demoted to set two, during the second and third year at the school. They were entered for C.S.E. examinations during the fifth year. Andrew and Neville who were placed in set two on entry to the school, were demoted to non-examination groups at the end of the third year. During their five years at the school, six of the Rasta Heads had been suspended and, in the third year, two of their friends were transferred to Special Schools. The Rasta Heads were the most visible sub-culture within the school. Most of the staff regarded

them as the main source of disciplinary problems, both directly through their un-cooperative behaviour and indirectly through the effect they had on the rest of the school. Among the anti-school pupils they had very high status and among them, the Rasta Heads encounters with the staff, were a constant topic of conversation and a source of imitation. However, for the conformists, the Rasta Heads were seen as the main cause of the low academic ethos of the school.

6.3.ii Lack of Teacher-Pupil Contact

Young West Indians have grown up in a racially stratified society, in which there is little contact between the black and white populations. In interviews many of the boys claimed that, other than teachers and white pupils at the school, they did not know any white people. Gilroy, a 'soul-head', made the point that he did not know any white people outside of school but that knowing them would not have included visiting their homes.

B.E.:

How many white people do you know?

Gilroy:

Apart from teachers?

B.E.:

Apart from teachers.

Gilroy:

Apart from boys at the school?

B.E.:

Apart from boys at the school.

Gilroy:

None. I'm don't know any. I only know white people at school even, even Kevin Johnson, he knows 'em but he ain't ever been in their houses even.

Some of the boys claimed that they had white friends at Junior school but their friends' parents discouraged them from visiting.

The Rasta Heads argued that this racial division extended to the teacher-pupil relations within the school and that teachers had little contact with them. Furthermore, they argued that teachers knew little about the lives of black people, as they did not visit their homes or spend time in their communities. The only time when they met black adults was the occasion of the formal parents' evenings. This lack of contact and out of school experience helped to create and maintain the teachers' stereotypes of black youth. The Rasta Heads resented the teachers claiming to have knowledge of the black community. They interpreted the teachers' claims as a strategy of attempting to ally their authority with that of their parents against them.

Leslie:

I don't know (white teachers).

Kevin:

I!m don't wanna know.

Leslie:

They only know your problems till ye get outside the gate, that's only school problems.

Kevin:

Not even then. They don't know nothing about our ways, like when they say, I know your mother will do, I know, they don't know.

Leslie:

'Ow can they know? They just guessing. They only say it to frighten you, to set your own parents against you, that's wicked.

Kevin:

Like they say, I know your father, I know your father. An' I know for a fact 'im talk like 'e knows my father more better than me and 'is my father.

White working-class pupils also experience a similar lack of contact with teachers, as Mays (1962: 180) points out:

The teachers in the school find themselves at the nexus of two distinct cultures with a correspondingly difficult role to play. Being themselves mainly conditioned by the grammar school tradition and the middle-class system of values, they have to make a drastic mental readjustment to be able to deal sympathetically with the people whose attitudes and standards are so different.

More recently, Willis (1977) found that teachers still had to make this cultural readjustment with white working-class pupils. However, there are important differences between the teachers' response to the two sectors of working-class youth. Firstly, many of the teachers at Kilby school had emerged from the working-class and tended to identify more easily with white pupils. Secondly, Kilby school was of particular social significance for the black boys, as it tended to act as a filter institution into white society. For these pupils, the teachers were seen to represent white society. White teachers' lack of interest and contact with the black community was one of the pupils most immediate experiences of living

in a racially stratified society. It was in interaction with these 'significant others' that the Rasta heads' form of resistance emerged.

6.3.iii Formation of the Rasta Heads

Research suggests that anti-school boys' peer groups usually emerge during the third year of secondary schooling (Hargreaves, 1967; Willis, 1977; and Corrigan, 1979). A similar pattern occurred at Kilby school. Initially, the pupils never thought of themselves as a gang. Most of them lived in the same neighbourhood and attended the same junior schools. However, as the schools made more demands on them they moved into a closer friendship. This grouping of black boys took on a specific significance within the location of the school.

B.E.:

When was the gang formed?

Kevin:

We never classed ourselves as a gang right. Like I know Christopher, Leonard and Clive from junior school and others live close. But we came together more at the end of second year at this place.

Christopher:

Really, yeah at the end of the second year, start of the third year en it, an' teachers kept at us for being together.

Kevin:

Yeah teachers kept trying to break us up, an' we was friends.

Christopher:

But we just came better, more together.
You just say alright, it comes to a time, it
just seems you just walk around with 'em. You
walk with 'em you know. Everywhere you go your
just together. You just move into togetherness.

In interviews with Junior School teachers, they frequently told me that they could not understand what went wrong with some of the 'nice coloured boys' once they went to Secondary School. Howard, a Soul Head, pointed out that as black youth grew older they became more aware of what teachers thought of them and then, they were able to read their past experience more clearly.

Howard:

At Junior School, teachers pretend they like black kids, as soon as you leave Junior School and you get into Secondary School, and you reach third, fourth, and fifth that's when you learn, you realize how you are being treated and the problems in the past. As you get older you understand what you are.

By the end of the third year at Kilby school, there would seem to have occurred what might be called a process of dissociation at the same time as the emergence of the Rasta Heads' sub-cultural group. Most of the boys interviewed who were of West Indian origin spoke of the West Indies and Africa as their home.

B.E.:

What nationality are you?

Leonard:

Well, I'm Jamaican, West Indian.

Andrew:

West Indian, Jamaican, African, originated from Africa.

B.E.:

Were you born here?

Andrew:

Yeah English born but originated from Africa.

Neville:

You mean that, I don't really care much about that because that's just where I was born. I could have been born in Israel, my roots still go back to Jamaica and then to Africa.

Other pupils who at Junior School had identified themselves as black English boys, at Secondary School, identified exclusively with their Afro-Caribbean origins. Brake (1980: 115) suggests that:

One myth which was quickly dispelled for black and brown youth in Britain was the view that racial integration would grow through the educational system.

Many of the boys ritualistically, as though publicly cleansing themselves, claimed that they had never thought of themselves as English.

B.E.:

Was there ever a time you would have thought of yourself as English?

Leonard:

No, no never.

Andrew:

Never 'ow could we?

Neville:

Never.

B.E.:

Did you ever think of yourself as English?

Kevin:

Well when I was at Junior School.

B.E.:

Yeah.

Kevin:

It didn't seem to occur to me. I mean I just thought of myself as English, English-West Indian, English-black then.

The Rasta Heads explained their dissociation from the dominant culture as a response to their growing awareness of racism.

Kevin:

Now it's changed.

B.E.:

Why has it changed?

Kevin:

Well because some'ow or other I've come to know white people 'ated us .

Leonard:

That is true.

B.E.:

Till?

Kevin:

When I was at Junior School.

B.E.:

Till when?

Kevin:

Well, till I was in about fourth year of my Junior School.

Leonard:

That is true, that was then when you was younger, you understand what I mean. When you get older you soon learn.

B.E.:

Did you think of yourself as English when you were younger?

Leonard:

I didn't class myself, I didn't class myself as English at all. I don't feel proud to be English. I don't feel proud to be it.

B.E.:

How did you find out?

Kevin:

Well things just started 'appening. Just started to 'ear people talk about the police picking them up for nothing, an' things like that and then seeing films, all sorts of things. 'Earing about the Ku Klux Klan, the National Front, things like that.

Much of the research on racism has tended to concentrate on individual attitudes of whites (Banton, 1959; Rose et al, 1969; and Driver, 1977), rather than the underlying social forces working together against the black community. For the Rasta Heads, racism could not be reduced to the personal discriminatory attitudes of individuals. They were aware of the pervasiveness of white cultural hegemony.

Leonard:

Well I was born 'ere right but I don't wanna class myself as English, you understand, I prefer to class myself as Jamaican coz I don't really feel English, you know what I mean? Because you know when like some of your kind of people talk about, when they say something about when good stock comes in and they say, oh, it's British, when they talk about it's British, they ent talking about black people. They're talking about you lot. It's not for us, do you understand what I mean? Like when they say you buy pork chops, it is British of course, or when you produce the rocket, it is British. It's not for black people. It's for your kind of people.

B.E.:

So does English or British mean white?

Leonard:

To me it's not supposed to be but that's what it seems to me to my opinion.

Andrew:

Very white.

Andrew and Leslie explained the logic of their dissociation from the dominant hegemonic control of the school.

They argued that the price of integration was that black people had to embrace the racist culture of white society and the majority could not do this.

B.E.:

Say black people were accepted as English, would you want to be classed as English?

Andrew:

No, you, you can never change just like that. Long time, it cannot be the same. I don't feel English because everything that goes in Britain it's not really for black people. It's against black people, so 'ow can we join it, that, become part of that.

Leslie:

How can you call it your country when you've got racialists against you. When you've got people like the National Front against you. You can't even get a job in their own country. So 'ow can you call it yer country.

B.E.:

You wouldn't want to be English?

Leslie:

Not I wouldn't want to be, though for sure I wouldn't coz of what I said, but can't be, just because you're born 'ere that doesn't say you is English.

Hall et al (1978: 347) argue that 'race' performs a double function. On the one hand, it is a central element in the way in which the black working-class experience their lives, on the other, it serves to raise consciousness of their subordination. So, it can be argued that 'race' is the principle modality in which the black youth's process of dissociation from the dominant culture operates. It was within this framework that the Rasta Heads' sub-cultural resistance could be located.

6.3.iv Elements of a Sub-culture.

One important cultural form of a sub-culture is its style which indicates membership of a particular groups. A.K. Cohen (1965: 1) maintains that:

An actor learns that behaviour signifying membership in a particular role includes the kinds of clothes he wears, his posture and gait, his likes and dislikes, what he talks about and the opinion he expresses.

The Rasta Heads' visibility within the school was partly due to their generation of style. This included dress, hairstyle, posture, language and the wearing of Rastafari colours. The teachers had reacted against this, as it was perceived as a threat to their social control. There was a systematic attempt to prevent pupil identification with Rastafarianism. The wearing of dreadlocks, hats, rasta badges or colours was banned. No distinction was made by the school authorities between those who spiritually iden-

tified with it and those for whom it was a more loose cultural association. The art teachers were told to censor any work that reflected Rastafarian influence. This had been the criterion used to prevent an 'A' level student, who went onto art college, from publicly displaying his work. Severe sanctions were carried out against boys who challenged the authorities' position.

As a result of the effectiveness of the teachers in prohibiting external identification with Rastafari, the Rasta Heads emphasised that it was cultural practices and attitudes that defined membership of the group. Also, it is important to remember as Clarke et al (1976: 22) argue, it is not only possessions and objects that make a style.

What makes a style is the activity of stylisation. The active organisation of objects with activities and outlooks which produce an organized group identity, in the form and shape of a coherent and distinctive way of being-in-the-world.

A central component of their 'being in the world' was their projection of an image of 'toughness'.

The West Indian experience of British schooling can be read in terms of the building of a culture of survival. From his work in Britain, Dodd (1978: 599) describes this culture in the following terms:

The culture of these 'black marginals' is based, like any 'culture of poverty', upon survival; but its emphasis is on style, movement, and talk. This may be confusing to the visitor until he realises that, in this culture, this is precisely how you survive. Roles and careers follow accordingly. The black street perspective, a profound contemporary influence on West Indian youth in England and the Caribbean look to its history in the highly symbolic biographies of Marcus Garvey, Haile Selassie and nameless rebel slaves. Rebellion in fact, is a primary concept in building a viable street identity ... it is a taken-for-granted assumption about their manhood and their place in society, or, as they see it, outside society.

Black youth systematically encounter among white people situations of degradation and violence; groups of fascists verbally and physically assault them; shop-keepers assume they are all thieves; teachers, social workers and probation officers treat them as 'social problems'; whilst the police are seen as a force of occupation in their neighbourhood. Hence, the Rasta Heads' projected machismo image, which may appear to contradict the Rastafari philosophy of peace, was in their terms a realistic defensive strategy. They knew their collective image of toughness had protected them from the recent increase in racist attacks that many Asian youth have suffered.

B.E.:

Is it important to act tough?

Christopher:

In this country yeah. Yer gotta survive in it? Yer can't let the white man use you all the time.

B.E.:

Do you think you sometimes act tough when you don't necessarily feel that way?

Christopher:

Yeah, yeah that's true, yeah that is true. Yer see it's the image. You've got to act tough to survive 'ere, to survive in this country. If you are being picked on, do yer understand? I mean, you've got to act tough. Like say two white kids right call yer, black bastard, what yer gonna say? Are yer gonna walk on? Truth and rights I wouldn't. I'd give them the same. I'd give them, yer white dis, yer white bastard, back the same way. It's the same with teachers and specially the beesman. He tries to make you feel low. Yer gotta stand up for yer rights, en it?

This toughness is not merely based on physical criteria.

B.E.:

Does a black guy have to be tough?

Kevin:

It depends. You gotta act kinda tough. I mean there's two kinds of toughness. You can talk right and you can be physical. If yer just physical I wouldn't mix with that somebody. I want someone who can talk and is physical right. I don't want to mix with a stupid 'ead-case, 'e will cause you unnecessary trouble. Most of my friends they have sense. You got to talk to the man.

It was by means of these thought out strategies of resistance that the Rasta Heads were creating a crisis for the school by refusing to accommodate to the status quo. In this manner, they prevented the authorities from maintaining control through consensus. They continually challenged the relations and institutions of the school and forced its authoritarian nature into the open; the 'tough' teacher confronted the 'tough' pupil. They rejected the institutinal rhetoric of racial integration in favour of their own preparation for what they called 'reality', that is, life as they experienced it.

6.3.v Rejection of Schooling

The Rasta Heads regarded their view of the world as being superior and more relevant than that of the school authorities. As Willis (1977: 42) found during his research of white working-class boys:

Most essentially this counter-culture is organized around the colonization of symbolic spaces within the school, spaces left unpatrolled by the school authorities. The nature of this colonization is the introduction of meanings and social ambience which subverts the school ... This involves the development of a system of practices and a set of evaluative criteria, opposed to those sanctioned by the staff and aimed at maximum distancing from them.

The Rasta Heads systematically arrived late for lessons, disturbed other pupils by demanding their seats at the back of the classrooms, continually interrupted teachers, tried to cause arguments, talked incessantly throughout lessons and slept when asked to complete written work. They did little homework, never prepared for school tests and refused to attend annual examinations.

B.E.:

Where do you sit in the classroom?

Andrew:

In the middle to the back.

Clive:

At the back really.

B.E.:

How come?

Clive:

'ow come? because it come naturally.

Andrew:

You don't 'ead from the front.

B.E.:

Why no't?

Michael:

I don'tknow, it just comes natural you know.

Clive:

We wanna talk an' eat sweets an' all that.

Andrew:

An' fall asleep, yer can't sleep at the front.

Much of the liberal research on the educational performance of black youth have pointed to the role of the school in alienating pupils (Jeffcoate, 1979; Hicks, 1981; and Willey, 1982). There has been little work, however, on the question of the pupils' rejection of the functions of schooling. The Rasta Heads' main sub-cultural activity was called 'just talk', which has much in common with Corrigan's (1979) concept of 'doing nothing', that is, that for a majority of working-class youth their main activity is the 'passing of the time'. For the Rasta heads 'just talk' or moving with a friend or extending your dinner break was more important than the rigid structure of the school curriculum.

B.E.:

Do you come late for class?

Kevin:

Well sometimes, yeah.

B.E.:

Why?

Neville:

Just, I'm still talking.

Kevin:

Seriously though, I don't come late just for the sake of coming late.

Neville:

A lot of teachers believe that, yer know, that we come late for the sake of coming late.

Kevin:

That's wrong, I'll tell you the truth now, I don't come late for the sake of coming late in the afternoons.

Neville:

For sure, I'll tell you one thing now though, if I was talking to a girl or a friend right, I'd rather talk to them.

Kevin:

Than rush to school for sure.

Neville:

Serious, and like I'm eating my dinner, if you don't eat your dinner when you rush to school, how can you do the work on an empty stomach? that's what I say.

Kevin:

Yeah , an' we're late because we wait for each other an' move with them, so you're late en it.

Their conversations at the back of the classroom might be vivid details of the 'blues' they had attended the previous night. They might need to take the day off, or sleep when they come into school as a result of their leisure activities.

For the Rasta Heads, there was no intrinsic meaning in the discipline of school work. Andrew and Clive offered a rational analysis of their refusal to work in lessons in terms of the subject content lacking relevance to their lives.

B.E.:

Why don't you work?

Clive:

Because most of those lessons I just cannot stand.

Andrew:

There's two parts to a lesson it's got to interest you.

Clive:

It's got to be interesting right.

Andrew:

And you 'ave to be interested in it. Most of the teachers bore you to death and I want to go to sleep.

Clive:

Sometimes, even in Mr Parks' lesson I just drop asleep.

Andrew:

Boring. So'ow can you be interested in a lesson that bores you to death and 'ow can a teacher say, why don't you work? I tell you one thing, I only do things I'm interested in, serious. I don't play chess, I don't play games like that. I don't read books I'm not interested in. I do it for a reason.

B.E.:

Do you read any books?

Andrew:

No I' ardly read any books.

Clive:

It depends on the book.

B.E.:

What was the last one you read?

Clive:

I'm reading the Bible.

B.E.:

Why do you work for someone like Mr Parks?

Kevin:

Mr Parks? Put it this way I don't to tell you the truth.

Christopher:

You only work, only work when it is necessary.

Kevin:

These few weeks Mr Parks, someat must be wrong with 'im because I practically don't do no work for 'im. I'll tell yer that now.

Christopher:

You only do it when it's necessary, when it's fully necessary.

Kevin:

Yeah, I sit down an' write things man but I wont give it in because what's the use? Give it in I get cussed, get shamed because I feel I can do better. I can write some good essays sometimes but Mr Parks was right when I gave 'im my four essays. I only did them because I had to do them. That's why they was boring. I was writing just for writing, so, so that's why I'll probably get a bad mark anyway.

The visibility of the Rasta Heads resistance was related to their overt rejection of schooling. However, this could not be explained in terms of ethnic personality traits as teachers frequently did when they reduced this open confrontation to a question of West Indian temperament. At Kilby school,

resistance to schooling, as will be shown in the next chapter concerned with an examination of an Asian sub-cultural group, was not an exclusively West Indian response nor was it the only response of West Indian youth but the teachers tended to see West Indian boys as intrinsically deviant. This teacher perception creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

One aspect of the visibility of the Rasta Heads was their overt rejection of the work discipline of the curriculum. But also of significance, were the more subtle strategies of resistance that they had developed in their refusal to participate in the 'hidden rules' of classroom interaction. They reject what Jackson (1968) describes as the unofficial three R's, rules, routines and regulations, that pupils must learn if they are to be successful at school.

In the passage below, the Rasta Heads explained that 'sucking teeth' and giving 'bad looks' were natural for black people. In the context of the classroom, however, they took on a different meaning. The teacher expected the pupil to appear sorry when he was disciplined, even if the boy was only acting out the pupil role of subservience. The Rasta Heads refused to apologize. Sometimes, they automatically reacted when they were disciplined, to 'warn off' the teacher. But they were very skilful at setting up the teacher and often they would exploit the teachers' lack of experience and acted out being angry. When the teacher backed off and turned away, they laughed triumphantly behind his back.

B.E.:

Sometimes when a black kid is disciplined in class, they suck their teeth and ...

Michael:

It's just natural.

B.E.:

Do you know that teachers are very offended by it?

Leslie:

So what? He'll 'ave to live with it en it?

Michael:

'e's got to book up on it all the time, that comes from the parents because you could be in yer 'ouse right and somebody says something to yer right, it's natural, it's a natural look.

B.E.:

Well what kind of look is it?

Michael:

It's just will you cut it out or something like that.

Leslie:

Bad looks, bad looks, just like a warning off.

B.E.:

Would you do it to your parents?

Neville:

If they really get yer vexed.

Michael:

Yeah, a warning off en it? Would you go up to somebody laugh with them, then talk them up and then beat 'em up.

B.E.:

So you're ...

Michael:

It's just like a warning off. Yer get, yer get a snake, like a rattle snake rattles don it to warn off the somebody, same as somebody gives you a bad look to warn off, to say don't go no further.

B.E.:

Do teachers understand?

Micheal:

Teachers? understand no way. Teachers is white.

6.3.vi Rejection of Teacher Strategies

The Rasta Heads were creating a sub-culture of resistance to schooling which was essentially concerned with collective protection and survival. Their attitude constantly brought them into conflict with the school authorities. This opposition was expressed in their language in terms of, 'standing up for yer rights', establishing 'truths and rights' and refusing to be 'shamed up' by teachers.

Leslie:

Alright then put yourself in my place. You get so mad, the teacher slap you up in front of your friends, and you feel shame, you feel low down before them. What do you expect me to do? Walk off, walk off. 'Ere I tell the man to fuck off or just tump 'im down, that's what I say.

Teachers were frequently complaining that West Indian pupils refused to be disciplined. This area of conflict, so essential to the maintenance of order within the school, highlighted the visibility of these pupils. The teachers assumed that the problem lay in the black youth themselves, and their

behaviour served to reinforce the teacher stereotype of the 'troublesome' West Indian. However, for the pupils, as Kevin pointed out, this stereotype was the source of the problem. Inside classrooms they were confronted by white adults who treated them as inferiors.

Kevin:

It's lowness, you feel lower than the other man, done it?

B.E.:

So what?

Kevin:

What do you mean, so what? Already yerr looked down up more inferior right. Not just us lot, all, all black men. The Indian kids are treated better than us, so it don't make no sense to make yourself look more inferior than you're already claimed to be.

This might not necessarily be a case of overt racism on the part of a teacher. He might be more concerned with the maintenance of order, but the effect of the ethnically based stereotypes, was that it was often interpreted through the modality of race. So the 'pressure' was on the black youth to defend himself in front of his friends. Extra pressure was added by the fact that his reputation of being 'tough' or 'soft' stayed with him outside of the school.

Clive:

When yer get out of school they'd run jokes. They say yer get box up by the teacher, couldn't box 'im back, an' all that. They'd bring it up, shame man, shame.

The Headmaster, Mr Silvers, had reacted strongly against the influence of Rastafari. As a result of this he had become

a primary target of the Rasta Heads' opposition. They expressed the hostility between themselves and the headmaster in personal terms.

Leonard:

I'll tell Mr Silvers right, 'ow can you run a school on fear alone? Most of them, like first years are frightened to go to Silvers.

Clive:

Frightened to death.

Andrew:

Really scared of 'im.

B.E.:

Aren't you scared of him?

Leonard:

No, in the first year when 'im passing my heart would jump up you know but ...

Clive:

We build up a confidence between us.

Leonard:

In my mind I say, if Mr Silvers layed a hand on me I swear to go I'd tump 'im down.

B.E.:

But you wouldn't?

Leonard:

I would, truths and rights. I'd tump 'im back, don't care. 'Is just a normal man.

The 'fear' that Leonard pointed to pervaded the whole school. The teaching staff as well as the pupils were expected to bow to the wishes of the headmaster. Many of the teachers attempted to establish an authoritarian relationship with

the boys which reflected that in which they were held by the headmaster. This was part of the necessary price that they paid for their limited social mobility and might underlie their resentment of the pupils who refused to conform. Like Corrigan's (1979: 51) Smash Street Kids, who told him that school far from teaching them anything only bossed them around, the Rasta Heads frequently saw the teachers as agents of social control. As can be seen from the following discussion, their attitude to teachers, appeared to be somewhat ambivalent. Their objection to 'tough' teachers did not mean that they would cooperate with those who were more liberal, whom they rejected as being 'soft'.

Christopher:

Some teachers let you away with stuff, some don't.

B.E.:

Do you respect any teachers?

Michael:

Respect? 'ow can you respect 'em when they don't respect you?

Christopher:

I don't respect teachers. They just go on tough. I know a teacher may go on tough for a certain time but the time will come when he gonna fall, that what I say. All dem teachers that go on 'ard I say they gonna fall soon.

B.E.:

What's bad about teachers you don't like?

Christopher:

All teachers think they're tough.

Michael:

'Is attitude to tell you the truth.

B.E.:

What's that like?

Michael:

The way 'e goes on you know, bossy because 'e thinks 'is bigger, well 'e is an' 'e uses it as a threat.

Christopher:

I 'ate most of all a teacher who expects you to live up to 'is way of life like Parks. 'Is like a beesman, "I don't know 'ow you'll turn out lad, I've known yer five years, 'ow you gonna end up?" 'Is like a prison-warden or someat, serious.

Andrew:

Just like that example, because so many 'ave been taught by 'im right and come out good means everybody else who goes in 'as to do the same.

Christopher:

Yeah.

B.E.:

Don't you think a teacher should push you?

Michael:

If everybody 'ave their own target dem, 'ave their own target done it. Everybody don't want to reach the same 'ights as another

B.E.:

What about teachers who aren't tough?

Clive:

They're all the same.

Christopher:

They can be the worst, tryin' to get yer to do their things just like the tough ones, only with other methods.

Michael:

You can't trust a teacher but it's , it might be easier to get them soft ones.

Fundamentally, the Rasta Heads saw school as a battle between themselves and the school authorities. They rejected the various strategies worked out by the teachers. On the one hand, they objected to the harsh tactics adopted by some of the teachers, but they would not cooperate with the more human face of the same enemy. The Rasta Heads had watched their opponents carefully and learned that weak members of their group were legitimate targets for the teachers, especially the Headmaster.

Andrew:

That's what Silvers does, especially when they're in trouble 'e uses them to get full information.

Leslie:

'E uses the past. Like 'e'll bring up, I know your father, I know you an' all that. 'E uses the weak, like 'e use the small ones.

Andrew:

Yer, if you're ever in trouble right, an' you go to Silvers' room right an' you're the one who looks a bit frightened, right then 'e just says I got one now.

Leslie:

Yeah because I tell you Mr Silvers ...

Andrew:

Look in 'is eyes ...

Leslie:

Mr Silvers 'es evil. You can look in 'im eyes. You ever look in the eye of a chicken.

Andrew:

'Im vicious, 'im got an evil look about 'im.

As a consequence of the implementation of these teacher strategies, they had become experts at perceiving any signs of weakness in the authorities and responded as they had unintentionally been taught.

Clive:

They 'ate us for getting new teachers an' soft ones, 'alf of us don't turn up an' when we turn up, we just sit down in our group an' talk about life. If they cause us any trouble we talk 'im down, in a way we can get back at them for using us so bad, that's fair en it?

One of the Rasta Heads most creative and effective cultural practices was their use of creole. In most lessons they continued their 'talks' in creole, thereby using language as a mechanism of white exclusion. This was not simply a form of group argot. Their resistance to teacher strategies through language took various forms, for example, in the formal domain of the classroom they frequently answered questions in monosyllables. They were aware of the defensive attitude of teachers, and so they often challenged their authority by adopting the tongue of a defiant culture. Their language belongs to an oral tradition, which conflicted with the essentially written mode of the school. In their early years of schooling, West Indians are often viewed positively as possessing oral skills. The Rasta Heads' Junior School reports detailed their high language competency. The teachers at Kilby school had not developed these skills. The Rasta Heads aware that the official language of the

school was a major instrument of their own deculturation, had developed these skills in order to resist the teacher strategies.

Another significant aspect of the Rasta Heads' rejection of teacher strategies was their collective resistance to the teachers' attempt to divide them through the mechanisms of the stratified streaming system. The teachers could not understand why so many of the West Indian pupils of 'high ability' rejected individual social mobility. Among the Rasta Heads were some of the 'brightest boys' in the school who had been demoted from the top stream during their school career. They refused to allow a black elite to be created from among them.

B.E.:

Why have you gone from the top stream down to a lower one?

Kevin:

I's just it, en it?

Neville:

Teachers always saying we expect dis from you, you are different, you work 'ard. I don't think we're different, we're all the same. I mean we should be all treated the same en it?

Kevin:

Like Leonard 'im got brains, like Leslie 'im got brains an' all of 'em but teachers then try to divide, seperate friends.

The logic of the Rasta Heads' position in rejecting the teachers' strategies which was based on competitive individualism was made clear in the following incident. During the

research period, a fifth year named Harold, in the Remedial Department suddenly became troublesome. The teachers explained this in terms of his recent close association with the Rasta Heads. Teachers tended to explain pupil deviancy in cultural pathological terms. However, as a teacher sympathetic to the sub-culture pointed out, that the Rasta Heads could offer Harold a sense of equality that the educationally liberal approach of the Remedial Department had failed to provide. This provides a good illustration of the contradictory relationship between the liberal teachers' policy and its implementation. On the one hand, the Remedial pupils were more motivated to work. On the other hand, their confidence had been undermined as they were aware of their low status in the school and the low value of their school work (Stafford, 1981: 71). In contrast to the official stratification system operating within the school and its central significance in defining pupil identities, there was no discrimination on academic grounds among the Rasta Heads.

B.E.:

Where do you learn everyone is the same?

Christopher:

Through reasoning sessions.

Kevin:

Reasoning sessions all about Rasta. I's the way you is. They 'ave a reasoning session right? First they may choose a place right? It could be anywhere.

B.E.:

Do you have them at school?

Christopher:

We 'ad one last week in the sports hall. No, I don't think they would let us 'ave it in the school due to some certain reasons like ...

B.E.:

Like what?

Christopher:

Because when you 'ave a reasoning session everybody is as one, you smoke the holy 'erbs en it?

Kevin:

You don't 'ave to 'ave a reasoning session with ganja right, that's only part of it.

Christopher:

No, all yer really need is a bible en' everybody just as one.

Kevin:

Yeah everybody just as one.

The Rasta Heads were aware of the limitations of individual social mobility. They knew the cultural cost involved. Unlike the professional teachers, they could not invisibly move into white suburbia and white-collar jobs. Within the context of school, the symbolic significance of their smoking ganja was their rejection of the official strategies of competitive individualism and their collective celebration of unity and equality; 'everybody as one!'. The Rasta Heads took on the hierarchical structures of the school and the punishments handed out. They built modes of resistance to all of them. Teachers had to learn to negotiate with members of the group, in order to avoid open confrontation in the classroom. The Rasta Heads realized this is an important sphere of movement they had won within the school. Their success was based upon their collective resistance.

6.4 Summary: Not a Question of Relevant Courses

Williams (1961: 122) has emphasized the central importance of the relationship between the schooling process and the dominant culture of society. He has argued that:

The way in which education is organised can be seen to express, consciously and unconsciously, the wider organisation of a culture and a society ... the content of education ... expresses ... certain basic elements in the culture.

In a similarly critical response to the dominant school culture, the Rasta Heads perceived and challenged the intellectual and social hegemony of white society. This was most immediately expressed in terms of criticism of the Euro-centric curriculum content.

Leonard:

It's true at school you don't learn nuttan, not really. You don't learn nuttan about your own culture. You just learn about Spain and France an' Great England. There's nuttan wrong with these countries yer know what I mean? But me, I don't wanna learn about that. I wanna learn about my own culture - but they wanna us to learn about France. I hate French. I don't understand one word I'm saying. Even Asian pupils 'ave difficulty 'ow come? They, some of 'em speak three and four languages, 'ow' come? Coz the only thing that matters is learning French, an' even the teachers can't speak it.

It was not simply a question of the transmission and reproduction of the dominant culture within the school. Of equal importance was the relationship of the school to the cultural capital of black youth. Hall et al (1978: 340) maintain that:

In education, the reproduction of educational disadvantage for blacks is accomplished in part, through a variety of racially specific mechanisms. The cultural capital of this sector is constantly expropriated, often unwittingly through its practical devaluation. Sometimes this takes the form of patronising, stereotypical or racist attitudes of some teachers and classrooms; sometimes the fundamental misrecognitions of history and culture, as much in the overall culture of the school as specifically through syllabuses and textbooks.

The reproduction of these racially specific mechanisms of exclusion in operation at Kilby school were examined in the last chapter. Here Andrew, Kevin and Neville discussed one of the effects of these mechanisms, the cultural continuity of the curriculum for white children. However, their insight into the racist curriculum took place within the limitations of a culturalist perspective. So, for example, they assumed that the fight against fascism during the Second World War was irrelevant to the black community.

Andrew:

Why can't we 'ave Black studies like at Moor Green?

Kevin:

Yeah, why should we deal with tha' 'istory. I don't know about World War II or World War I.

Andrew:

I'll tell yer for sure right, might be most of the white people in this school can go home an' say mom what 'appened in the World War II.

Kevin:

I couldn't do that'.

Andrew:

She might say this 'appened. I say to my mom what 'appened in the World War II? She'll say what World War II? Nobody knows.

Neville:

They can't say there's yer grandfather's medals
an' all that stuff.

Andrew:

'E just wouldn't know what you're talking about.

Kevin:

Yeah, serious why should we deal with 'istory and
geography what don't concern us. The majority in
that class it don't really concern.

They raised the question of the introduction of Black Studies.
However, most State attempts at making the curriculum more
relevant for white working-class children have failed. They
have, however, led to the institutionalization of second-rate
qualifications, for example Certificates of Secondary Education
and City and Guilds courses. This institutionalized mediocrity
supports the unequal job structure of the labour market.
Similarly, Dhondy (1974: 45) points to the limitations of
Black Studies, which he calls a 'Battle for Minds'.

The impetus that gave rise to Black Studies
which was an inspiration to know yourself
and feel your own power, drifted into the
formalities of geography and history.
Inevitably, this co-operation of the
impulse and the demand killed the interest
which black youth took in the 'subject'.

Dodd (1978: 600) maintains that second and third generation
blacks, through Rastafarianism, reggae and rebellion, are
developing a radically new self-concept.

They are positive statements of change,
which adhere to a view of black people as the
descendents of a disinherited cultural tradition,
possessing its own manner, pride and a growing
sense of its own value. They are performed in
the Afro-American style as properties attaching
expressively to the body and affectively to the
behaviour - although most whites are unfamiliar
with this style and tend to react with hostility
- like the police.

Teachers at Kilby school also reacted with hostility. They had little respect for black youth, whom they considered to be largely cultureless. They accepted the model of black youth as presented in much of the 'race-relations' literature (C.R.C., 1976; Watson, 1977) as a 'generation caught between two cultures'. This led to the liberal teachers' prescription that the function of school is to offer a path of integration to the 'second generation immigrant'. The Rasta Heads were representatives of the 'underachievers' of many of the studies of West Indian pupils (Tomlinson, 1981a). They demonstrated the theoretical poverty of this type of research which informed the liberal teachers' position and which reduced the social basis of black resistance to a collection of individual 'behavioral problems' that could be put right by the adoption of a liberal multi-cultural curriculum. The form of resistance of the Rasta Heads cannot be reduced to a simplistic psychological theory, such as motivational deficiency. As Dhondy (1974: 47) argues the adoption of a more relevant course, for example, Black Studies, would not co-opt these pupils.

It is futile for a black studies course to attempt to encapsulate their culture. It's only text is survival, and it is bound by a rejection of the discipline of work that society offers them, and can therefore be called a culture of resistance. It is a culture antithetical to the idea of schooling and, so finally unco-optable.

Their material and social base was the black community and its resistance to racist structures. As Brake has argued concerning working-class youth sub-cultures located in the inner-city. They have their:

origins in structural conditions and (are) mediated by class race and gender and further modified by the local working-class community and the local political economy.

(1980: 65)

Rather than examining the Rasta Heads' ideologies and practices in terms of pathological behaviour categories, they can be seen, more than any other fraction of the working-class, to be consciously creating their own culture. In so doing, they are rejecting the model of white society presented by teachers, and resist institutional incorporation into white cultural identifies (Hall et al; 1978: 341).

CHAPTER VII

THE WARRIORS: INVISIBLE FORM OF RESISTANCE

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Formation of the Warriors

7.3 Class and Response to Racism

- i) Resistance to racism
- ii) Class and Racism
- iii) Class and Teacher Racist Stereotypes

7.4 Resistance to Schooling

- i) Racism and Dissociation from School
- ii) Strategies of Resistance
- iii) Response to Teacher Authoritarianism

7.5 Summary

7.1 Introduction

The last chapter was concerned with the visibility of a sub-cultural group, the Rasta Heads. This Chapter will examine the invisibility of an Asian sub-cultural group, the Warriors, and the relationship between these two forms of resistance to schooling. It will be argued that the Warriors have developed a specific response to their experience of racism. As pointed out above, at one level they constitute a sub-cultural group which challenges the authority of the school. At another level, the Warriors respond to the teacher expectation of their ethnic group and adopt covert anti-school practices. Also, it will be argued that the teachers working within a culturalist perspective which assumes a class homogeneity of the black community is of central significance in maintaining the teacher stereotype of the 'passivity' of the Asian pupils. In particular teachers tend to extend to all Asian pupils, the conformity of the middle-class Asian boys. I hope to demonstrate that an analysis of social background will help to reveal more clearly the pupils' expectations and achievements at Kilby school. More specifically I shall examine the presence of working-class Asian pupils in a sub-cultural youth group and their resistance to their experience of racism.

7.2 Formation of the Warriors

The Warriors group consisted of nine pupils: Amerjit, Arshid, Ashwin, Iqbal, Khalid, Kulbinder, Parminder, Raj and Sokhjinder.

All of them were born in England. Arshid and Khalid were of Pakistan origin, the parents of the other seven were from the Indian Punjab. When the research began all their fathers were working in manual jobs in foundaries and factories and five of the boys' mothers were working in local factories. During the research period, four of the boys' fathers were made redundant. The Warriors lived in Kilby, except Sokhjinder who had recently moved with his family to Kingston, a predominantly white area nearby. They all attended local primary schools. Amerjit and Parminder began their secondary school career in the top stream but were demoted to the second stream at the end of the third year. Arshid, Ashwin and Iqbal began and remained in the second stream, and Raj, Sokhjinder Khalid and Kulbinder in the third stream. All of these pupils were placed in C.S.E. examination option groups during the fourth year but Kulbinder was demoted to a non-examination class at the beginning of the fifth year. Parminder gained five C.S.E. grade ones and stayed on in the sixth form to take 'A' level examinations. His increased political consciousness which developed partly as a result of visits to areas such as Southall, where there are a number of vocal Asian political groups, informed his later close identification with, rather than participation in the group's practices. He maintained that these practices were of political significance but that of more importance was a politically organized response to racism in all its institutional manifestations. Parminder formed a close relationship with Amerjit, the leader of the group.

There were a number of peer groups throughout the school. For the anti-school pupils, the Warriors were seen as the best organized and toughest group and so, were respected and feared. The groups projected an image of toughness both to the racists outside the school, as to the teachers and pupils within. They acted as a model for younger pupils. For the more conformist boys, the significance of the Warriors was that they caused them trouble either directly by threatening them, or by refusing to cooperate with the teachers and so disrupting their lessons. Due to the teachers' preoccupation with the Rasta Heads, the Warriors as a group were often overlooked, though individual members of the group were regarded as disciplinary problems.

Brake (1980: 128) maintains that the findings of research on Asian youth conclude that they are absent from youth culture.

Asians are rarely found in youth culture ...
and indeed are often absent from formal
youth organizations.

Working from within a culturalist perspective, he argues that this absence is the result of the Asian youths' 'strong cultural background' which serves to maintain unity within the community. The Warriors explained their absence in the past from youth sub-cultures in terms of the control exercised by their families.

Iqbal:

I think there hasn't been gangs, not so much.
It's parents, Asian parents, an'uncles an'
everything press their children into education.
They maybe beat them, but I used to get really
shouted at, but I keep telling 'em education's no
good there. They think if ye get C.S.E.'s it's good.

Although West Indian youth groups emerged earlier and are therefore more visible, Asian youth groups are now developing within the schools.

Raj:

When the West Indians came down to England they had much more freedom than the Indians. It was basically freedom but the West Indians didn't have any, as much social freedom but the West Indians had, so they rebelled first before the Indians. But now the Indians are rebelling. So we become rude-boys and things. We know there en't nothing for us here. But our parents still press us.

Asian boys at Kilby school have identified with various white sub-cultural forms.

Sokhjinder:

There are some heavy metal, just a few you know that I've seen in Kilby. I've seen teds, Elvis followers, rockers, seen a few punks. There used to be two in this school, Sarwan and Allan, and there's mods. They wear the odd earring and do their own hair.

Of more significance is the identification by the Warriors with the Rudeboys sub-cultural form. As is indicated by their choice of name, they wish to project a tough image that challenges the stereotype of the 'passive Asian'. They have adopted from the Rudeboys an anti-authoritarian attitude, particularly in relation to the police and teachers, the most visible agents of social control which impinge on their lives.

B.E.:

What's the main one for the Warriors?

Ashwin:

Most of us are rudeboys.

B.E.:

Why rudeboys?

Ashwin:

I think the main way, the main way we call ourselves rudeboys is coz we 'ate authority and school and the police. We like thæ music and the people.

Iqbal:

Rudeboys are tough. They can look after themselves. They go round making trouble so kids are scared of them.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, the emergence of anti-school peer groups usually occurs during the third year of secondary schooling. The formation of the Warriors group followed this pattern. They claimed that when they first came to Kilby school, they were all conformists. During the third year, attitudes and orientations towards the school began to crystalize. The Warriors group came together as they found boys with a similar response. Their shared view of the school was that of a system of hostile authority and meaningless work demands.

B.E.:

So you were good when you first came here?

Arshid:

Only when I came'ere. I mean most of them in the first year you'll notice, they don't cause no trouble and the same in the second year. But in the third, fourth and fifth year ye get trouble off them.

B.E.:

Well what happens in the third, fourth and fifth year?

Arshid:

You just start to grow up, to grow up an' ye know if the teachers push ye round ye stand up to them. You start talking back to him.

Ashwin:

In the first and second years you don't know teachers that well. But in the third year we began to be better mates and stick together.

The informal group was the means by which the authority of the school was challenged and boredom alleviated. As Willis (1977: 23) argues:

Even though there are no public rules, physical structures, recognized hierarchies or institutional sanctions in the counter-culture, it cannot run on air. It must have material base, its own infrastructure. This is, of course, the social group. The informal group is the basic unit of this culture, the fundamental and elemental source of all its resistance.

B.E.:

Why go in a gang?

Khalid:

It just happend en it?

Kulbinder:

For company. You come to school and you look forward to seeing your mates.

Khālid:

School is really a meeting place. You come at first to read and learn something but then you come to see yer friends and talk about what you did the night before and arrange to go places and things. Maybe plan to disrupt a lesson or something, and look after yerselves.

The Warriors claimed that their group had no formal rules, but certain behaviour was expected. Perhaps of most importance was the obligation never to inform on group members.

Amerjit:

When the riots were on we thought we'd do our little bit to the collection. And Raj got picked up right an' there was about twenty kids involved. He didn't grass on one. Ye all mates, ye stick together. It's like some really strong organization like the I.R.A.. They don't grass on each other. They really are, that's what I like to see some strong group like that. Like the coppers were really getting onto Raj but there was no way he was going to budge. To some people authority is something good, something you can turn to, but not to us. It doesn't represent that to us. Someone I can turn to is my mates. They just represent something over ye, against ye, trying to split ye up coz they know when black people stick together we're strong. Mates always look after each other.

The formation of the Warriors group demonstrates that the Asian pupils can constitute a sub-cultural group which challenges the dominant school culture.

7.3 Class and Response to Racism

7.3.1 Resistance to Racism

This research was carried out at a time of increasing violence against black people. A Home Office Report (1981: 11) found that:

the incidence of victimisation was much higher for the ethnic population, particularly the Asians, than for the white people. Indeed the rate for Asians was fifty times that for white people and the rates for blacks was over thirty-six times that for white people.

Similarly, a recent report by the Commission For Racial Equality (1982: 6) detailed the rise in racial attacks in the neighbourhood of Kilby school.

In the past year, at least sixteen attacks on black ... council house tenants have been reported to the Community Relations Council, including one vendetta last month where fire bombs and stink bombs were posted through an Asian family's front door.

Asians have tended to be seen by racists as an easy target. As a result of these attacks there has emerged a number of youth organizations, most notably the Southhall Youth Movement, the Bradford Twelve and the East London Bengladeshi Youth Association, to defend their communities. For example, as the Race Today Collective (1979: 52) reported:

The election campaign of '79 will be remembered for the extra-parliamentary intervention of the black communities of Britain who have ... taken to the streets to oppose the presence of the N.F. in their areas. The demonstrations called by the joint I.W.A.'s and S.Y.M. occupied the streets leading to the town. They were driven there by police equipped with riot shields.

The increase in racial attacks, many of which go unreported to the police, have led many Asians in Kilby to realize that they must organize to defend their community. The following discussion with Mr Swali, the father of Raj, took place on a demonstration to support the Bradford Twelve.

Mr Swali:

We have to stick together and support each other. It's this place now, we could be next. There are a lot more attacks now in Kilby. I've seen it get more and more. The police don't care, you phone them and they come two hours too late or not at all. We must defend, protect ourselves.

A similar attitude to organized self-defence is adopted by the Warriors. A central element of their development as a group was their resistance to racism both within and outside the school. The Warriors' most immediate experience of racism was the verbal and physical abuse that they received from white gangs. During the research period, I documented the increasing number of attacks on the boys and their families.

B.E.:

When did you become aware of racism?

Kulbinder:

I don't really know it seems like always.

Parminder:

You come to experience it everyday. White people look at you in a special way, on buses, and in shops in town and all white places, they look at you. They're kind of suspicious all the time.

Although the harassment of the Asian community in Kilby is not confined to skinheads, they are seen as the most extreme and visible expression of white racism.

Amerjit:

I just noticed it for a long time. When yer, I think, when yer in junior school you kind of don't know anything about racialism. You wouldn't understand what's meant. Ye hear names, but it's when ye get older whites seem to pick on ye, call ye really bad names and 'smash ye up, especially when there's a gang of whites together, skins an' that an' ye on ye own. They kind of act tough, call ye Paki bastard an' smash ye up.

As a result of skinheads presence at football matches, most Asian boys never attended local matches, although many of them are keen football supporters. They also knew that this was the location for the distribution of National Front and more recently British Movement propaganda.

Kulbinder:

A lot of my friends have been attacked on their own an' a lot here. It's getting worse with the National Front and British Movement.

It is this evidence of racist abuse which may explain their absence from school football teams and their involvement in sports like hockey.

The Warriors are aware of the media coverage of race issues. Despite the fact that racial attacks are frequently made on the black community, the media present selected 'black crime', and so create the image of the 'black mugger' waging war against white victims.

Amerjit:

The news an' papers an' all right, only talk about when say, when a black person mugs someone. What about the fucking National Front an' the skinheads an' a lot of other white people hating us for, for nothing?

Kulbinder:

Yeah, an' beating us up, even on the drive, in the park everywhere. But they only go round in gangs. Twenty white kids got one Indian. I bet the judge would send him away.

On discussing the similarities and differences between black and white people, colour discrimination was felt by the youth to be the main difference.

Amerjit:

Colour matters the most, especially if yer talking about being accepted. Like you can go to town or like on our trips out to new places an' no one knows yer Irish but they know I'm Indian en it, an' you haven't even been born here.

However, none of the Warrior group would have liked to be born white.

B.E.:

Do you wish you were born white?

Amerjit:

No, the problem don't go away coz I'm born white. No, I'm glad to be Indian. It has its problems, but nearly all whites are bastards, so it's a stupid question en it?

Raj:

How can you wanna be what you hate, no, never.

The Warriors demonstrate that colour has its positive as well as negative elements for the black community. As the Race Today Collective (1975: 56) argue:

This is not to say that there is no distinction between black and white immigrant labour. There is one important distinction, the second generation of white immigrants is not branded by skin colour. Those who are branded are able to maintain a continuity of struggle from new arrivals to new natives.

One of the effects of racist practices is that an 'unofficial geographical immobility' is forced on the black community. The boys in Kilby rarely visited other areas of the city. They felt isolated if they went alone and conspicuous if they went in a group.

B.E.:

Do you like living in Kilby?

Khalid:

I would prefer to live in Kilby than a white area because you won't be so much on yer own. When ye go to a white place on yer own, they look at ye as if yer an alien.

Sokhjinder's family moved out of Kilby into a white area. His family regretted the move and were trying to return. They were constantly harassed and have had their windows broken on three occasions.

B.E.:

You don't live in Kilby, do you?

Sokhjinder:

No we are in the Kingston area.

B.E.:

Which would you prefer?

Sokhjinder:

I prefer Kilby because people around it, you know, they're more friendly. Down there, they're complete strangers, nearly all white. I haven't mixed in. I wouldn't know how. I don't know how to get along with white people. I think most probably all of them hate us, so they keep attacking us, even the milkman, the boy who helps the milkman ran up the garden an' shouted 'Paki bastard go home'. My mother an' sisters are really scared.

Kilby is often described by white people as a depressed area. but this is not the experience of black residents. Despite the housing limitations and lack of social amenities imposed upon the inhabitants, they have positive images of their neighbourhood. The boys express this in terms of their preference for living together in the security of Kilby.

The residents have successfully recreated their own culture on the streets of Kilby; including shops to service their own community; workers' associations, and churches, mosques and temples which act as religious and social centres. The main road with its Asian supermarkets, restaurants and cinemas is a powerful symbol of their presence and permanence.

Arshid:

This en't a bad area. I mean ye fell safe here. Ye feel at home. I know some friends who used to live in Kilby. They've moved out to Kingston. They really hated it coz they left everything here. I mean Asian people have made this place where ye feel good.

B.E.:

What do you like about living in Kilby?

Ashwin:

Put it this way, I feel safer in Kilby at two o'clock in the morning than any white area.

7.3. iii Class and Racism

This image of Kilby as a defensive zone and more significantly the adoption of the strategy of community self-defence is not shared by all Asians. Britain means different things to different sectors of the black community. The Race Today Collective (1976: 123) describes it as follows:

Neither is the Asian community of one mind. A middle-class has developed within ... For this group, Britain is experienced as quite a different place from those who have nothing to sell but their labour power ... Until recently all appeared to be running

smoothly. The concentration of attacks from outside had the effect of tearing the veil from the surface, bringing to the fore what the different sections stand for. The middle-class Asians do not want to fight. They prefer appealing to government ministers and the police to calm things down. Pressing on them are the mass of Asian families who have been facing the attacks on the ground. The latter stand for the mobilisation of the strength and the power of the community in mass meetings, mass demonstrations, and vigilante groups.

As was shown above, I have examined the assumed class homogeneity of the black pupils at Kilby school. Most of the Asian boys' parents worked in foundries before many of them were recently made redundant. A small group of boys of a non-manual work background attended the school. The latter group were over-represented in the top streams of the school and were not involved in the anti-school sub-culture. Two incidents that occurred during the research period highlighted this relationship between class and anti-school sub-cultural groups. Firstly, the 1981 Summer disturbances in Kilby. The Warriors were involved in the disturbance, which they described as an opportunity to get even with the police and take advantage of goods. The middle-class pupils condemned the disturbance. They argued that the police were only doing their job, and protecting property, including the supermarkets and factories owned by their parents.

Permjit:

It was just trouble-makers. They were just out to steal as much as they could.

Tarlochan:

We had to get out the back of our shop. The police were around trying to stop trouble.

Vijay:

You have to have law and order. We lost a lot of trade immediately after. It had nothing to do with, I mean the riots were not really protests against the police and racialism and all that. They were just, just trouble-makers destroying property in their own area.

The second incident concerned the Raindi dispute (Bishton, 1982: 44) in which two hundred textile workers, mainly Asian women, in December 1982, with the support of the Sikh temples, the Indian Workers Association (G.B.), the local trades council, the local labour party and the Socialist Workers Party, demanded the reinstatement of three workers who were sacked for joining the Transport and General Workers Union, the recognition of their right to strike and the implementation of the Wages Council Act of 1979. The management issued termination notices to the strikers, redundancy notices to those working and threatened to close the factories. The dispute ended with the employees gaining their demands except the reinstatement of the three sacked workers. As a result of a number of successful industrial actions, including the Raindi dispute, by Asian workers, the Asian traders responded by forming the Asian Trade Association Midlands. This development was described in a Shakti article (1983: 13) as follows:

Some years ago it would have been quite easy to blame white racism for grievances of Asian workers ... Now things have changed. With the rise of a relatively underdeveloped black bourgeoisie new tensions have emerged

particularly among Asian workers whose relationship with the management has turned on class lines. A textile factory in Coventry owned by an ex-Communist Punjabi was closed down in 1978; and workers of S. and K. Cash and Carry chains of stores in Birmingham, Coventry and Wolverhampton won after many weeks of picketing. Seeing the danger about three hundred Asian traders ... formed as a new body named as the Asian Trade Association Midlands.

Two pupils were interviewed concerning their understanding of the strike, Ashwin, one of the Warriors, whose mother worked at one of the Raindi factories, and Mohan whose family owns the company.

Ashwin:

My mother prefers to work for Indians. She feels better with the other Indian women, but they just use this really. They show they don't care about them, just, just making lots of money, big cars an'all that. I would never work for an Indian man. They don't pay you, like we joke a penny a day. We need the money but you 'ave to strike an'stick together if yer gonna get better wages.

Mohan's explanation of the dispute reflected the views of the local Punjabi press, for example, an editorial in Des Parde (1982: 4) claimed that jealousy was the problem.

Mohan:

It's not about wages like is said. It's trouble makers who are jealous. There's lots of them in our society. How can it be about wages? If you go to other factories round here they pay less and have less room to work in for the machine. It's like I said to you before, at school you learn too much about workers' rights and nothing, they don't tell you about how difficult it is to have a business. We work a seven day week. White people can't understand. A family business looks after its own people in our society. With us

they don't feel, they won't get any racial abuse. We don't need unions to tell us. You see it's simple, if wages go up our profits are small, and so you end up closing the factory and anyway look at them on strike, they have lost all that money so it can't really be about more money.

The response of these two pupils to the strike reflects the development within the Asian community of a black business class and the organization of workers. This business class has emerged by exploiting the labour of Asian women. Women have increasingly come into the labour market during the 1970's, and it has been the members of the Asian Traders Association who has employed them in Kilby area. The women's demand for union recognition and the response of the management demonstrates the class division between these groups. The class division of the Asian community was reflected in the attitudes and practices of the pupils at Kilby school. This was demonstrated in the different explanations of racism given by middle-class and working-class Asian pupils which reflected those of their parents. The former group described racist attacks as individual aberrations of white youth. It was basically a moral problem.

Mohan:

It's only a small percentage that are racialsists. We get white people in our shop, an' my brother at the grammar school says that most of them are okay, so it must only be a few.

Permjit:

It's the same with every group, some are good and some are bad.

Vijay:

There is differences, like we don't get on with all black kids and some white kids might not like us. It's mainly the skinheads who cause the trouble but Indian kids go looking for trouble too, getting drunk and picking fights.

The Warriors offered a political explanation of racism that included an awareness of the role of white imperialism in the past and the present.

B.E.:

What percentage of white people are racists?

Amerjit:

Nearly all of them.

Arshid:

Yeah, they just hide it.

Ashwin:

Anyway I don't like them either.

B.E.:

Like who?

Ashwin:

The whites. I 'ave always 'ated the union jack or whatever you call it an' the Royal Family an' all them posh bastards looking down on us.

B.E.:

Why?

Ashwin:

Just 'ated, for what they did over in India. They tried to take control over the Indians.

Amerjit:

They should't 'ave done that. Why did they? An' why did they go round torturing the negroes for in America' like that?

B.E.:

Who?

Amerjit:

The bloody whites. They've robbed everything everywhere. An' they're still doing it today in Africa, Salvador, everywhere they go they rob.

Raj:

They rob the countries before they free them an' then they starve. They won't let them come 'ere or America now unless they've got lots of money.

Parminder, who worked for the Communist Party, helped to develop the Warriors' political consciousness. He made an explicitly political distinction between hard line organized racists like those who are National Front voters and those who are involved in racial abuse. He argued that the working-class was racially divided and that black people were treated as scape-goats for the frustrations generated within the organization of work.

B.E.:

What percentage of white people are racists?

Parminder:

If you were thinking of supporting the National Front, for them no per cent. But using things like, there goes a Paki, or there goes a nigger, I think a very high percentage. The main point of being a racist is because you feel frustrated with your life. You feel everyone's abusing you at work, so you may as well abuse others as well. So you go round doing the same thing to black people and there's no unity.

7.3.iii Class and Teacher Racist Stereotypes

Parminder's political awareness was not representative of the Warriors. They may have offered political explanations of racism but their resistance to schooling was not informed by an organized political ideology. Parminder had an ambivalent relationship to the Warriors who he attempted to politically organize. They tended to ridicule his beliefs and especially his use of political language, but at the same time he was shown respect as an effective and articulate anti-racist speaker. The dominant ideological response of the Warriors remained within a culturalist perspective. However, Parminder was an important influence on the group's shifting on certain issues beyond the limitations of their position. Of particular significance, was their critical perception of the teacher racially-based stereotypes operating within the school. Once again, we can see in the pupils' explanations of these stereotypes, the class division of the wider Asian community.

The Warriors suggested that the teacher racial stereotypes were not based upon any real differences in the behaviour of Asians and West Indians. Rather it was the teachers' classification and labelling processes, to which both groups reacted, which determined teachers' perceptions of pupils.

B.E.:

Do you think that West Indians cause more trouble than Asians?

Ashwin:

No, don't be stupid, that's what teachers think. The Indians cause just as much trouble.

Raj:

The West Indians are more obvious some'ow.
They're seen more easily.

Iqbal:

It's not, it's not that coloured kids cause
more trouble. It's teachers, they pick on them more.

Raj:

They treat them differently. I think they think
the West Indians are dumber than us.

They challenged the teacher stereotype of the 'ignorant West
Indian' by pointing out that it was 'high ability' West Indian
pupils who were involved in the anti-school groups.

B.E.:

Do you think they are more dumber?

Raj:

No I don't.

Iqbal:

No, because they can do as well as Indian kids,
better than a lot of them. The ones who have
been in most trouble were the brainy ones,
like Kevin and Michael, in the first year they
were the brainy ones, really brainy.

These racially-based stereotypes acted as powerful social
images and were of central significance to the teachers'
perception of their interaction with pupils. They served
to highlight the perceived 'rebelliousness' of West Indian
pupils and the perceived 'passivity' of Asians. The Warriors
claimed that the West Indians did not cause more trouble
for the school authorities but that they were officially

'seen to'. When a West Indian pupil became a disciplinary problem, it was seen by the teachers, as a frequent characteristic of being 'West Indian'. Any disruptions caused by Asian pupils were seen as individual acts of deviancy and did not challenge the teachers' idea of being 'Asian'.

Ashwin:

White people, teachers look on Asians as kids quieter an' think they accept their ideas more, agree with them. They think they won't make trouble, It's things like that.

Iqbal:

It's like this, if an Indian does something wrong, like one of us cause trouble they think it's just 'im. There's something wrong only with 'im an' all that. But if a coloured, if a West Indian does it, acts bad, they drag 'im off to the 'ead. They'll really shame 'im up an' think another bloody West Indian making trouble.

Ashwin:

That's what 'appened with us. But then I think they get scared of the coloured kids more in the fifth year, Kevin an' all them. An' they think that coloured kids make others worse. An' Asian kids are more on their own. If ye think all coloured kids are bad ye gonna be scared of them when they get big.

Khalid maintained that these racial stereotypes also operated with authorities outside of school, especially with the police.

Khalid:

It's like outside. The police pick on West Indians more. Ye see to them the Asians, they 're not so suspicious to them. If they see Kevin an' 'is lot and if they see us they act differently, more tougher with them.

For the Warriors, the effect of these racial stereotypes, shared by the teachers and the police, was to criminalize the behaviour of West Indian youth.

Ashwin's explanation of West Indian youth's resistance to schooling questioned another aspect of the racial stereotype adopted by teachers, that of the individualism of West Indian youth. Teachers frequently explained West Indian pupils' refusal to cooperate with authority in terms of their inability to work together among themselves. Liberal teachers working with the same stereotype often assumed that this was the effect of slavery. Ashwin's argument challenged this dominant view. He claimed that due to the influence of Rastafari, West Indian youth were more aware of racism and that in the past, they were more organized than Asian pupils in developing collective techniques to oppose it.

Ashwin:

In a West Indian community they have Rastas who tell them things more. It's like if you were an extreme Sikh. The Rastas tell you this society isn't good and you should reject it. They stick together more an' are more aware of what's going on instead of us.

Parminder supported this view, arguing that West Indian youth had been at the front of the rebellion in school against racism, but that now Asians were as much involved in rejecting school.

Parminder:

I think older Indians weren't so much together, didn't act together enough. Some were like my dad in the union. But the Rastas are really strong, that's why white people are scared of them or try to buy them off like here in Kilby. But Asians have learned, now they are more together all over the country and here. Like the third year gang, they are going to be really bad. The teachers hate them already.

The Warriors' critical analysis of the racial stereotypes in operation within the school contrasts with the middle-class pupils' acceptance of the dominant teacher ideology. Iqbal discussed the divisions that existed between the Asian youth.

Iqbal:

Some Asians believe that they will be accepted in a general view by whites because they think they're different, better than West Indians. An' that white people would prefer to aim at West Indian cultures an' they wouldn't like the West Indians as much because they look more white, act more white.

The division between the Asian youth that Iqbal pointed to was a real division, but it could not be explained simply in terms of arbitrary differences between the youth. The sector of Asian youth that Iqbal referred to, tended to be represented by the middle-class at Kilby school. In interviews with the latter group, they argued that West Indian pupils were mainly disruptive and anti-authority. The middle-class pupils identified with whites rather than West Indians and they believed that occupation and property ownership were more important than colour in determining their future relationship with white society.

Permjit:

My father wouldn't have coloured people working for him. He prefers whites. The West Indians are always causing trouble.

Tarlochan:

The West Indians are the main trouble at this school an' it's the same where they live, playing music all night, hanging out of their windows all day. They never work, most of them, thieving and begging.

B.E.:

Do you think colour makes a difference?

Mohan:

Like I said before only a few, a small percentage are prejudiced. What job you are doing makes a big difference. Of course, no one looks down on a doctor or an accountant.

Vijay:

My brother at University does not have trouble. People may look down on you because you live in Kilby not just because of your colour. Indian business men drive round in mercedes, people look up to them.

This is not to suggest that the conflict within the black community between Asians and West Indians can be reduced to class location. One of the central limitations of the culturalist perspective, within which the youth sub-cultures worked, was the emphasis upon cultural differences. However, there tended to be among the working-class groups, like the Rasta Heads and the Warriors, a shared perception and response to racism that was not found among the middle-class Asian pupils. It is against this background of the class heterogeneous nature of the black community that I shall locate the resistance to schooling of an Asian working-class youth sub-cultural group.

7.4 Resistance to Schooling

7.4.1 Racism and Dissociation from School

A central element of the development of the Warriors as a group was their resistance to racism, both within and outside the school. Asian youth at Kilby school have little contact with the white community. When they visit other areas, it is mainly places of black settlement or business activities, such as markets. Within Kilby they mix with other Asians and West Indians but there are no white members of their leisure groups.

Parminder:

I know a few white people through the Communist Party.

B.E.:

Would other Asian kids know white people?

Parminder:

No, not normally. If they did know them they wouldn't keep in contact. But around here they're, it ain't very common.

Raj:

I don't know none except for teachers an' Peter an' a few others here.

Ashwin:

Ye see when we go out, when we leave Kilby and go to London an' other places, it's to other Indian places like my sister lives in Wolverhampton.

The following discussions with the Warriors demonstrated their anti-racist position and their dissociation from white

society. They critically celebrated their own cultural origins. As Brake (1980: 128) argues:

Asian youth ... can draw upon its own historical, cultural and religious traditions and importantly its own languages.

However, Brake fails to point to the limitations of their position. As is shown in the Warriors' discussion of nationality, their dissociation from white society remained within a culturalist perspective, as they tended to accept the conventional definition of culture as a determinant of behaviour.

B.E.:

What nationality are you?

Raj:

Asian en it? I'm Indian. I was born in England but I don't think of myself as English. I've got to stick to my culture ye see. You know my background.

B.E.:

What about you?

Ashwin:

I'm Indian, I was born over here but I think I'm Indian.

B.E.:

Well do many of the kids here think of themselves as English?

Ashwin:

No, none of us. No, none of them. They think they're Indian, an Asian person.

B.E.:

What about when you have kids?

Iqbal:

They'll be Asian of course.

B.E.:

Even if they are born here?

Ashwin:

That doesn't, that, that makes them a British citizen that's all. That's what we want, but it won't change ye.

Iqbal:

It won't change who ye are. We'll still live in our society and white in theirs.

It was against this background of living in a racially exclusive society that there emerged an awareness of racism. For the Warriors, this developed at the same time as their dissociation from school.

The Warriors expressed opposition to compulsory schooling. They saw the formal side of school as irrelevant to their future lives. They suggested training on the job as an alternative to the present arrangement.

B.E.:

Have you worked much while you were here?

Amerjit:

I've dossed all the way through.

B.E.:

Why?

Amerjit:

Just did. I didn't wanna work. I don't think school will do anything for me. I don't believe in schools. Let yer parents teach ye or learn at work or something, that would make more sense. I don't think many kids believe in the learning bit in school.

Raj and Amerjit's explanations of their dissociation from formal schooling were representative of the Warriors' attitude to school. Raj was one of the best hockey players in Kilby. He became disillusioned with the demands it was making on him. Eventually he decided between the gang and school sport and he chose the former. He thought it was better to make the decision than to allow the school authorities to carry out their constant threats to ban him. He saw, as many other anti-school pupils claimed, that his sporting skills were being exploited by teachers to increase the school's prestige.

Raj:

‘(I hate school. They always say we done this for ye an' all that. What have they done? we made ye into, we gave ye our time. The, the school gets all glory en it? The prizes and everything. In the, about in the fourth year I started playing for myself an' then I dropped it. I could just see they were just using me.

Many of the boys were highly skilled sportsmen. However, as they moved into sub-cultural groups, they either withdrew from school teams, or more often, the authorities banned them using sport as an institutional mechanism of exclusion. The staff argued that if the boys refused to cooperate in all areas of school life, they should not be allowed to participate in selected areas of high value to them.

Arshid's experience of school was shared by many of the pupils at Kilby. Having learnt the basic literacy and numeracy skills, the school had little to offer him.

Initially he was motivated to teach himself to read and write, but having achieved this task, he then found the formal side of school made few demands on him.

Arshid:

So when I first came 'ere, I mean I 'ad a reading age of , I read like a seven year old. I couldn't do anything, coz in our old school, the junior school, they thought there were a few of us who they thought 'ad no chance in life. So, they used to give us jobs around the school. And I spent about six months building up tents. So I worked 'ere, worked at home an' I learnt without them. I mean what else 'ave I learned here in five years? Fucking nothing 'ave I?

7.4.11 Strategies of Resistance

The Warriors developed a number of strategies of resistance in response to the demands of the school. Firstly, they were a constant threat to the teachers' control. Even when they did not carry out a planned interruption, their very presence in the classroom meant that the teacher had to negotiate his way through the lesson.

Khalid:

We do it all the time. We do it without thinking most of the time. We don't even realize we're doing it. But we're winding them up and they have to let the pressure off.

Due to the collective nature of the Warriors' strategies, the teachers' usual techniques of control, for example, the threatening of pupils, the use of sarcasm and the selection of weak pupils to make an example of, could not be employed

with these boys. Amerjit explained the importance of the development of these collective strategies to disrupt lessons. One pupil started an argument, the teacher reacted and he had a group of pupils against him.

Amerjit:

We do loads of things to interrupt them. Like we often get a teacher going just to get him annoyed. We arrange it between a few of us. Get in a, get in a group, an' get a teacher, And wind 'em up real bad an' cause a big argument.

He likened the pupil-teacher interaction to a fight which both sides must be seen to win. All teachers were opponents to attack, even Mr Parks and Mr Walsh, two senior teachers, who were regarded as strong disciplinarians. The Warriors planned the disruption of lessons in which one of them has been disciplined in front of his friends.

Amerjit:

We take them all on, even Parks and Walsh. We work our plans out, like when they shame one of us up in front of everyone.

They found most lessons boring. They had to sit through double periods of sixty minutes, often producing minimal work. Hence, the sub-cultural group acted as a resource base of diversionary activities. The more formal the lesson the greater the challenge to employ their diversionary skills. High status was accorded by the boys for the most creative response to the boring routine. They persistently interrupted lessons, by coming late, dragging chairs, laughing among themselves and arguing with teachers.

Raj:

If one word sums school up, lessons an' all that it's boring. It's just boring, same old things everyday.

Iqbal:

It's more fun when yer supposed to be working. It's too easy in Social Studies.

B.E.:

What kinds of things do you do?

Kulbinder:

Oh, always being cheeky, late coming late nearly everyday. They say I'm very lippy.

The boys were aware that the teachers disliked teaching them and consequently often came late themselves and had little work prepared for lessons.

B.E.:

Why do you come late so often?

Kulbinder:

Why not? They do, they hate coming into us.

Iqbal:

They sometimes tell us. Ye can tell anyway.

Kulbinder:

So, I hate it as well. So I come late, it adds a bit of excitement.

Dhondy (1974: 46) argues that language is one of the most powerful weapons black pupils possess.

The culture of blacks ... is capable of opposing this wedge of interests. To put it simply, if a large number of youth in a school speak only Punjabi or Gujerati, it becomes impossible to grade them into clever ones and thick ones. It becomes virtually impossible to treat them as anything but mass workers, produced to share a fate they resent and defy.

Language was of central importance to the Warriors' collective strategies of resistance to schooling.

Amerjit:

We can easy make them mad.

Ashwin:

When we are together in class we talk in Indian and they go mad.

Amerjit:

Yeah , they can't, they don't know what we're saying. And they think we are talking about them.

B.E.:

Are you?

Amerjit:

Not at first we didn't. But when we see them going mad, we all start laughing.

Bi-linguists naturally adopt the most appropriate language for the situation. Asian pupils frequently spoke in Punjabi, Hindi, Gujarti or Urdu among themselves. However, the Warriors have learnt that teachers often over-react to this. Therefore they used their languages as a means of excluding teachers. They also adopted the defiant language of the Rasta Heads, when they were confronted by the authoritarian attitudes of teachers.

Secondly, the Warriors' rejection of schooling was expressed through their attitude to school work. They primarily associated school work with writing. So their refusal to cooperate with the school authorities often took the form of avoiding writing tasks. The various strategies

developed to achieve this were recalled with pride, for instance, coming late to lessons to miss the instructions, forgetting to bring a pen, breaking the pen the teacher gave you, claiming to have hurt your hand or just falling asleep. Members of the group attempted to go through the whole term without producing any written work.

B.E.:

Do you work in class?

Khalid:

No, I haven't done any writing for months.

Amerjit:

It depends on what kind of mood I'm in. If I don't want to I don't. I just snooze off. Say we do dictation, we get lots of that, that's one thing I can't stand, so I snooze off. They could give us handouts. It's just to keep us quiet, so I do them a favour by nodding off.

Some of the boys claimed that, initially, they were keen to write well in English. However, teachers eventually destroyed this enthusiasm. Each year they were asked to do the same tasks; writing long essays, comprehension exercises and writing letters of job application. They continued to make the same mistakes each year and the teachers responded with the same negative comments. Often their work was not marked over long periods of time. So, eventually they gave up trying to improve their writing skills.

Khalid:

We use to do it, but not now. In the second year, they didn't even mark the books, me an' Manjit's. We gave in our books and not even once did they mark it. We gave in our book every week. I even finished my book.

Copying was a common strategy for those who did produce work. The boys believed that the teachers' superficial marking was unlikely to discover this practice. Logically, they cannot see the point of homework when they had not worked during lessons.

B.E.:

Is there much copying?

Arshid:

Much? About one person does the work and about ten people copy it, changing it a bit. They never say anything about it.

B.E.:

What about homework?

Amerjit:

Too busy, waste of time.

Arshid:

We don't do nothing at school, so we aren't gonna do it at night.

Within the school, great premium was placed by the school management upon silence in the classrooms. It was an institutionally accepted sign of a 'good' teacher. Iqbal indicated the ground that they had won for themselves in this area. Unofficially, most teachers expected little work from them, and they were allowed to talk among themselves, as long as they didn't cause too much noise.

Arshid:

I mean if ye want to say something. I just 'ave to say it. I wanna say it then I get into trouble for saying it. I mean ye can't keep quiet for an hour, but they used to try an' stop us even whispering.

Iqbal:

Some teachers, most of 'em now let us keep our coats on an' eat in lessons an' talk at the back.

The Warriors' rejection of schooling was also expressed through a high rate of absenteeism among them. They frequently came to school to make arrangements with their friends for a game of pool in the local snooker hall or to visit a cafe in which to spend the afternoon. The response of the Warriors to their absence from school was an example of the way in which their resistance to schooling at one level was influenced by teacher expectations. The Rasta Heads in open confrontation with the teachers would often refuse to bring a letter from their parents explaining their absence. But the Warriors were more likely to bring a forged letter and so avoided further disciplinary action.

B.E.:

Do many kids knock off time from school?

Khalid:

Yeah, and the teachers don't know.

B.E.:

What about registration?

Khalid:

Just get forged letters. It's a whole business.

Sokhjinder:

Ye can get yer brother or a friend. Lots of us do it.

Khalid:

Teachers don't say much. Ye see ye can get away with it, just say me older brother had to write it coz me parents don't write English. The teachers seem not so suspicious of Indian boys as Kevin an' that lot. They go mad at them but they can't say their parents can't write. They don't expect it from us.

So, the Rasta Heads were more frequently suspended for non-attendance. During the research period, two West Indian pupils were taken to court for non-attendance, having been suspended by the school. The disproportionate numbers of suspended West Indian pupils then served to reinforce the teacher racial stereotypes of the 'rebellious' West Indian and 'passive' Asian pupil.

The solidarity among the Warriors enabled the high rate of absenteeism to continue. Of equal importance was the support that they received from the wider community.

Arshid:

Ye know who is skiving it because ye know ye will share with each other. Ye know an' ye never say anything about someone even if ye 'ate 'im. We don't grass 'im up. That is one thing this school is good at, no-one grasses on nobody.

B.E.:

What would happen if they did?

Arshid:

Ye just never would. Ye wouldn't think of it. Ye can't be against ye own lot.

B.E.:

But say somebody did.

Arshid:

They'd probably, they'd be battered to death. Not by the person who done it, by bigger friends outside of school. "E'd be beaten bad.

The Kilby teachers have developed a number of strategies to deal with these anti-school pupils' practices. The Warriors' rejection of schooling was made most clear in their response to these strategies.

In 'Learning to Labour', Paul Willis argues that most pupils accept the relationship between themselves and the teacher as one of 'fair exchange'. Teachers exchange knowledge and qualifications for respect and good behaviour. However, the 'lads', the counter school group, saw through this basic teaching paradigm. Similarly, at Kilby school, the Warriors rejected this assumed fair exchange and pointed to the essentially authoritarian nature of the teacher-pupil interaction. Their challenge of this ideologically constructed concept led to a break-down in the achieved consensus within the school, which enabled the authorities to act as they did.

The Warriors maintained that when they first came to the school, they cooperated with the teachers, but the teachers' response had caused them to withdraw their cooperation. They now felt a lot of resentment towards them. The teachers had minimum contact with them. Outside of lessons they ignored pupils except to discipline them. Raj interpreted the teachers' behaviour as a general dislike of all pupils, irrespective of how they responded to their authority.

B.E.:

What do you think of the teachers?

Ashwin:

I 'ate most teachers. Some ain't bad like Mr Hickey or Mr Snape. You can 'ave a laugh with them.

Arshid:

They don't know nothing about us, about 'ow we live.

Ashwin:

Who wants to be like them? That en't success.
It's a piece of piss their job is.

The Warriors were particularly critical of the authoritarian nature and arbitrariness of the teachers' behaviour that caused so much friction within the school. The boys refused to respond positively to the teachers' frequent changes of mood.

Ashwin:

It's the way they treat ye that makes ye really bad. They keep getting on ye nerves for nothing. One minute they're laughing together , then they're going mad at some boy.

Raj:

Like they pick on ye, do this, do that. They pick on little things, like I was having my dinner once. I'd never had this teacher before an' I did something wrong an' he kept getting at me, an' he got me the next day. This went on for a week. Then I suddenly realized, keep out of his way.

Ashwin:

They always do that. They 'ave to win in front of all the other kids.

Raj:

They gotta boss ye around. They think if they snap their fingers we'll do what they say an' all this. Why should we?

The Warriors' perception of and response to the teachers' authoritarian behaviour was made explicit by Amerjit, the leader of the Warriors. He was quick witted and verbally and socially very skilled. Teachers could not understand how a pupil of his ability refused to cooperate with them.

Khalid:

Teachers always hate hlm.

B.E.:

Why?

Amerjit:

Don't know. They say it's my attitude.

Khalid:

They're scared of him en it? Coz he staps up to them.

Amerjit:

They think I'm, I don't want to work an' all this, an' I'm lazy. An' my attitude towards them, because I don' t treat them the way they'd like me to treat them.

B.E.:

How are you supposed to treat them?

Amerjit:

Yer supposed to treat them with respect. But I've got no respect for them

B.E.:

Why not?

Amerjit:

Because I don't like them, the way they rule ye. They've got too much power an' they've gotta use it everyday. They like to think they've got some authority. Ye see if ye doing something wrong, right, an' they don't say nothing, then there's no authority there. If ye see what I mean. That's why they really hate all us lot. We keep making them mad.

Amerjit's dislike of teachers was based upon the unequal distribution of power which he believed enabled them to dominate pupils. The Warriors developed subtle strategies of

resistance that challenged this domination. In the following incidents, Amerjit recalled how these strategies operated. He disliked Mr Elmes, the Head of the P.E. Department, but on this occasion he cooperated with him, in order to challenge the authority of Mr Winters, a new P.E. teacher, who had not learnt the 'hidden rules' of social control. He naively presumed it was primarily based on force. He had to learn the covert mechanisms of social control, which include techniques of moral persuasion, selection of weak pupils and the questioning of boys in private, away from the support of their peer group.

Amerjit:

Like when in the fourth year, Winters ...

Khalid:

Yeah, he really shamed him up.

Amerjit:

I was knocking the ball around in the yard an' he shouted a few times to come in. He started getting very heavy, an' I told him to piss off. Then Mr Elmes came an' told me to come in, an' he was in charge, an' I walked straight in an' ye can imagine how Winters felt. Ye see he had no power.

Khalid:

But he was only young an' he hadn't learnt yet that there's a limit ye can go to, an' ye can't go over the limit.

Amerjit:

Because what he was after was power. That's what all teachers are after, power over someone. If they have power, they can tell ye what to do. They then feel good or something. An' then he started pushing me an' I was gonna hit him back but he backed off an' it made him really mad. In the end he lost coz I kept cool an' he got really aggressive, an' he lost. As soon as he raised his voice an' got extra he'd lost, en it?

Khalid:

We all cheered him. Even the head thought he was a stupid bastard for getting involved with us.

The Headmaster showed his disapproval of the way Mr Winters had handled the situation. Such incidents challenged the hegemony of the school and forced the staff to adopt a more coercive attitude to the boys and so revealed the real relations of domination operating within the school.

The Warriors' refusal to cooperate with the authoritarian teachers was extended to the liberal teachers. The latter group believed that the teacher-pupil relationship should be based on rational persuasion. Underlying their approach was the assumption that the boys' culture and position within the school was 'different but equal' to that of the teachers. However, that was precisely what was challenged by the Warriors. They dismissed the approach of these teachers as an attempt to co-opt them. The liberal teachers attempted to accommodate the Warriors' resistance to schooling. They believed that if issues of conflict were rationally discussed with the pupils, they would then see why their behaviour was not acceptable, and so alter it. They also saw this as the best strategy for containing further confrontation. An incident in the dinner queue one lunch period, which is discussed below, demonstrated the contradictions between the pupils' social position in the school and that of the authorities. Mr Lynch, the school counsellor, attempted to defend the rules of the school. He was surprised that the

boys challenged the hierarchical structure of the school. For him it was there naturally, and one would not call it into question. For the pupils, situated at the back of the queue, it was a question of the most senior being officially permitted to push in front of them. They were also critical of the privilege being extended to prefects, as a reward for their conformism.

Kulbinder:

We just 'ave big arguments.

Sokhjinder:

They say listen to Amerjit, listen to Edward, do we fuck. They don't really listen anyway, like none of us were made prefects. Anyway we pushed in the dinner queue and a fight started.

Ashwin:

We was suspended. Our parents had to come up.

Sokhjinder:

And after we came back we were supposed to discuss it in Social Studies. Well, Lynch wouldn't listen to our side, not really.

Khalid:

He'd made up his mind before he came in. What's the point in getting us to say our side.

Sokhjinder:

We said, teachers, sixth formers an' prefects, all of them went to the front of the queue. It's kind of pushing in, so why can't we?

B.E.:

What did he say?

Sikhjinder:

He said it's privileges coz staff can't stand in queues there's only thirty minutes for dinner. Well, what about us? We wait an' all these others push in an' there's nothing left for us.

Khalid:

He knew he'd lost, so he changed a bit and said it maybe wasn't fair but we better get used to it because that's the way the world is. It's rubbish, if yer got rules an' things ye can change them. I ain't gonna let no white fuckers push me about.

Sokhjinder:

He just supported them. He always does, in the end anyway.

Mr Lynch was unable to persuade the boys, so he reduced his argument to a question of 'common sense', that the authority relations that operated in the school were the way things were in the 'real world'. From his own perspective he assumed that if that was the way things were, then that was the way they must remain. However, he benefitted from the present social arrangement. While the pupils for whom the present arrangements were not of benefit could not see why they could not be changed.

It was the function not the style of teachers that they saw as primarily determinant of school conflict. Sokhjinder attacked Mr Young's attempt to make them feel guilty about their behaviour. They instinctively felt that teachers could not be trusted.

B.E.:

O.K. say a teacher tries to explain things and persuade you.

Amerjit:

I'd go against him naturally.

Khalid:

Some of them try it, but it's the same en-it?

Sokhjinder:

They're the worst, making ye feel bad for what ye did. The others just tell ye off. Mr Young gives ye all the shit about you've let us down an' we never thought you were the same as the rest, load of bollocks.

Amerjit:

It's still authority. They're just using different methods to rule ye, do what they want. Like when they're interrogating someone they have a hard one an' a soft one working together against ye. We hate them all.

In interviews with teachers from other economically depressed areas, such as Liverpool and Derry, they claimed that the pupils in inner-city schools, viewed the teachers with as much hostility as the police. In the recent past, prior to the research period, this was not the case in Kilby. In the worsening economic climate however, with its disproportionate effect on the black community, a similar view was emerging there. The collective practices and attitudes of the Warriors pointed to the growing contradictions of schooling for black pupils. The Race Today Collective (1975: 10) argue that, this is the generation of black youth:

whose very lives and life style are an opposition to the productivity deal under whose yoke generations of the working-class have laboured.

As the crisis has become more visible, teachers have retreated into a more authoritarian stance. The boys gave details of the similarities between these authoritarian teachers and the police. They had direct experience of the repressive function of both state agencies of social control. Teachers

have become experts at 'interrogating' pupils. In response the boys have developed techniques of counter-interrogation as each morning they were paraded into the headmaster's office for the ritual "who did it?"

Parminder:

I hate authority, It's the same with coppers. I can't stand them. Teachers are like them, always trying to catch you out.

Iqbal:

They act just like them.

B.E.:

How?

Parminder:

Well, they tell ye what to do, so can coppers. In a way the coppers can arrest ye and the teachers do things the same like, coppers arrest ye an' fine ye, teachers grab ye for something an' give ye lines or suspend ye.

Iqbal:

Both are suspicious of ye all the time. They look at ye as if you've done something wrong when they see ye. They try an' catch ye out. Ye can't trust them.

Parminder:

They interrogate ye the same.

Iqbal:

Yeah, getting the weak ones and trying to get ye to grass on yer mates.

The Warriors claimed that the individual teacher' power lay in his ability to back up his authority with the support
o
of other teachers. They rationalized their group perspective in terms of the need to imitate this strategy in order to survive.

Amerjit:

I always feel better, stronger when therè's more than one. It's like we was stopped by coppers the other night when you left an' he got extra but we stayed calm, an' when we walked round the corner another one was there. If we 'ad cheeked the first one, 'e would of called the other one. Well teachers are like that in a way. They can always call or send ye to someone else, teacher in charge of ye learning, 'eadmaster, deputy-'ead, 'Igget 'ere an' all the rest. So ye must, ye need ye mates, ye must stick together to survive in this place an' out there.

The Warriors believed that their collective techniques of resistance were effective in defending themselves against the school authorities. The conformists complained that the teachers were not tough enough with trouble-makers. Teachers realized the strength of the sub-cultural groups like the Warriors and adopted a strategy of negotiation with them. This often involved redefining what constituted unacceptable behaviour in the classroom in order to avoid confrontation.

Arshid:

I mean ye talk back to teachers and ye mates back ye up an' it's going to spread. The other teachers, they're not going to put too much pressure on ye.

Traditionally sub-cultural groups within the school system have been successful in winning ground for themselves. This success has been based upon the solidarity that these groups have built up among their members.

7.5 Summary

This Chapter has attempted to establish the existence of resistance to schooling among a section of Asian boys at Kilby school and to explore the nature of this resistance in order to challenge the teacher stereotype of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian pupil. Such a group, the Warriors, were identified and it was shown that they adopted a sub-cultural response with many practices similar to the Rasta-Heads, in their resistance to authoritarianism and racism. However, the Warriors as an anti-school group tended to remain invisible to the teachers, with the latter's attention primarily focussed on the West Indian pupils. The Warriors took advantage of this situation and on occasions carried out their anti-school practices covertly. The teachers' culturalist understanding of the pupils' social behaviour served to maintain the Warriors' invisibility, with the middle-class pupils' behaviour being assigned to the Asian boys as a whole. The disciplinary problems caused by members of the Warriors were explained by teachers in terms of personal deviancy and did not detract from the dominant social image of the 'conformist' Asian. However, the Warriors' response to teachers as part of their wider perspective of rejecting school cannot be reduced to a question of individual pupil deficiency. As the analysis of pupil social background demonstrated class location informed the pupils' experience of and response to the dominant social relations of the school and the wider society and through these relations their experience of and response to racism.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

8.1 Theory

8.2 Method

8.3 Research Issues

8.4 Further Research Issues

i Research Implications

ii Limitations and Future Research

CONCLUSION

The first chapter set out the aims of this study and this final chapter assesses how successful the research has been in achieving these aims and also attempts to assess the implications of some of these findings. The study using the methodology of participant observation focussed on one school (Kilby) in an area of black population in an English city. Briefly the aims were two fold. Firstly, the examination of the teachers' and the pupils' relations in the schooling of black boys in which two major aspects of their interaction were addressed, that of the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research and the identification and examination of the anti-school pupils' sub-cultures. Two substantive questions were asked: what is the response of teachers to the schooling of black pupils? and, what is the meaning of the pupils' resistance to schooling? Secondly, by adopting a theoretical approach that took account of both the 'economic' and the 'sociological' perspectives, to offer a critique of the dominant 'race-relations' culturalist explanation of black youth's response to schooling. Methodology allowed and pointed to the importance of examining the teachers' ideologies and practices as well as those of the boys.

8.1 Theory

The dominant 'race-relations' ethnic approach, as for example, presented in the work of Ballard and Driver (1977) focusses upon the ethnic minorities' distinctive cultural attributes. It is suggested that their strong ethnic affiliation acts both as a means of defence and has a positive force of its own. So, for example, the differential educational attainments of Asian and West Indian pupils is explained in terms of the former group's ethnic structure with its cultural strength and unity providing necessary support for the second generation. The dominant social images, constructed by these theorists, of a strong Asian culture, and a weak West Indian culture, are reproduced in official reports and within the school, in terms of the 'conformist high achieving' Asian pupil and the 'troublesome low ability' West Indian, with the teachers employing similar culturalist assumptions about the black community in their explanation of these pupils' response to schooling.

One of the main aims of this research was to carry out a critique of this dominant 'race-relations' ethnic approach and to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the teacher-pupil relations in the schooling of black boys. The theoretical framework adopted to achieve this has been one that has sought to combine the 'economic' and 'sociological' forms of analysis in the three major areas of concern to this study; the sociological perspectives of racism, of teacher

ideologies and practices and of pupil adaptations and strategies. Limitations and confusion in previous research has resulted from too strict an adherence to one of these forms of analysis. Future research may benefit from the bringing together of these three areas of concern.

In the study of racially structured societies, both the 'economic' (Hall et al, 1978; Hall, 1980; Sivanandan, 1976, 1978 and Nikolinokos, 1975) and the 'sociological' (Rex, 1970, 1973, 1978; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979) perspectives have pointed to the inadequacies of the ethnic approach with its explanation of the black community's social behaviour in terms of their cultural attributes. Both perspectives emphasize the need for an analysis of the black community's social location in a racially and class stratified society. Both explanations have contributed important insights to the understanding of the structural position of the black population, that may be seen as complementary rather than as competing explanations. The 'economic' form of analysis has demonstrated the primary significance of political economic determinants of migration, pointing to the economic role of black workers acting as a "replacement population" during the post Second World War labour shortages (Peach, 1968). The 'sociological' approach addresses a main weakness of the 'economic' tendency, its failure to examine the ideological and institutional mechanisms that serve to reproduce the black's class position.

In the second area of concern, that of teacher ideologies and practices, an attempt was made to combine the 'economic' structuralist level of analysis with that at the 'sociological' interactionist level. The socio-cultural reproduction theories (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bernstein, 1975) provide fruitful insights into the structural links between the education system and the wider social processes, particularly the production process. More recent work in this area, such as that of Willis, 1977; 1983; Sharpe, 1980; and Bowles and Gintis, 1981, has modified and developed the earlier socio-cultural models. Their more sophisticated framework takes into account the central significance of contradictions and resistance within the social formation. The interpretative perspectives (Young, 1971; Delamont 1976; Woods and Hammersley, 1977) with their focus on interaction and negotiation between teacher and pupils do not necessarily offer alternative explanations of schooling, as is often suggested by these two traditions, but can be seen as Meyenn (1979) argues, as pointing to an important qualification of the structuralist view by suggesting that schools do not mechanically reproduce the social relations of the wider social processes. As Andy Hargreaves (1983: 28), who is critical of the structuralists' 'high level of generality' and use of nebulous concepts such as 'relative autonomy' maintains, in order to overcome these limitations:

... it is incumbent on Marxists to be open not only to the empirical contributions of other traditions but to the theoretical implications of non-Marxist work as well.

Similarly in third area of concern, that of pupil adaptations and strategies, an attempt has been made to combine the more 'sociologically' based explanation in terms of generation (Mannheim, 1952; Eisenstadt, 1956) and the more 'economically' based explanation in terms of class. (Downes, 1966; Clarke et al, 1976).

These theoretical perspectives have implications for this research which has drawn on both the 'economic' and 'sociological' positions. So, for example, the relationship between school and the economy was seen not as a functional relationship, but as a contradictory and disjointed one. In examining the specific position of black boys within the educational system, due consideration was given to the economy and also account taken of its related political and ideological institutions in this area of education. Similarly, in looking at the teachers' response to the schooling of black pupils account was taken not only of negotiation and interaction but of the material circumstances and the societal location and constraints. This approach was demonstrated in the analysis of the system of teacher racial stereotyping that was explained in terms of the development of a teacher coping strategy to meet the demands of classroom interaction. However, these teacher typifications were not simply reduced to a question of teacher prejudice but rather seen as an element of the process of racism which involves concrete practices linked to the objective conditions and expectations both within the school and the wider society. A final example of the influence of the attempt

to take account of the 'economic' and 'sociological' forms of analysis, was in the area of pupil adaptations and strategies. There was an intensive study of the specificity of the particular generational responses of black youth sub-cultures to institutional racism. At the same time, these forms of resistance were linked to the black working-class response to their location within a class and racially stratified society.

A main argument of this research is that the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school, can be better understood if schooling is viewed as a whole process, involving the interaction of different perspectives and, linked to the wider social processes. This has been highlighted in this study in relation to an examination of a key process, that of the system of racist stereotyping in operation at the school. A more comprehensive understanding can be gained if this social process is viewed from the perspectives of both teachers and pupils in their interaction. Before describing the complex nature of this intersection of teachers' and pupils' response there is an examination of the methodological procedures and data collection techniques which informed my understanding of these substantive issues.

8.2 Method

In this research, methodology has been of vital importance in the generation of theory. The methodological concern with studying the Rasta Heads lead to the shifting of my theoretical perspective to focus on racism rather than the boys themselves as the main problem in the schooling of black pupils. This was the major breakthrough that prevented this study from simply reproducing the racist stereotypes of the dominant race-relations ethnic approach. It also lead me to re-evaluate the significance for the study of methodology that I had undervalued at the planning stage of the research. Of particular value was the employment of different methodologies. The methodological concern with studying the teacher-pupil relations as a whole process rather than concentrating on one aspect resulted in the use of different methodologies and data collection techniques, thus producing different types of data. In their early period of the research, there was a tendency to concentrate exclusively on the quantitative material. However, as the study developed there was an attempt to combine and integrate observations and interview transcripts with the quantitative data.

In examining the complex nature of the teachers' response to the schooling of black boys and, the boys sub-cultural responses to schooling, the use of different methodologies proved an invaluable means of cross-checking. This was of particular help in relation to the vast amount of material

that I had collected from observation, with the potential dangers involved in this method of inferring meaning from understanding the context by participation in the teacher and anti-school pupils groups. So, for example in attempting to identify the operation of racist mechanisms within the school, observations were checked against pupils' and teachers' views and these further checked by reference to information in the school records. The different methodologies informing each other, hopefully have lead to a more accurate and complete account of the social processes involved in the interaction between the teachers and the pupils.

It is suggested in the literature on social science methodology that one of the main disadvantages of qualitative methods is the amount of time required to carry them out. Indeed, I found participant observation to be very time-consuming and demanding of my full commitment during the field-work. Just as the art of teaching is regarded as 'caught rather than taught', so similarly the success of this activity depends on the researcher's ability to establish relationships with the subjects of his study. The establishing and maintaining of these relationships will largely determine the quality of the data collected.

I found that while observing and participating with both the teachers and the pupils created tensions of identifying with groups who were often hostile to each other, it was nevertheless productive for my understanding of their

inter-relations. Equally productive was the conflict of teacher-researcher role. Researchers of deviant pupil groups appear to find it easy to identify with the pupils' resistance to the authoritarian school structures, and I found this to be the case. However, partly as a result of being a teacher, I also had an insight into the demands of classroom interaction, where one often had to spend an hour with thirty pupils who did not wish to be there. It was within this hostile situation that I came to see the teachers' constructions of racial stereotypes as strategies of survival. Similarly, conflict of role in relation to advising pupils to enter the school's sixth form which might not benefit them educationally, but would secure teacher employment, gave me an insight into the significance of teachers' material interest in informing their educational ideology. More empirical research carried out by teachers may add fresh insights into the teachers' perspective, and help us to see more clearly, for example, why teachers construct the particular pupil typifications that they do.

A primary concern of this research has been the encounter of white teachers and black pupils. This encounter also has implications for white researchers, whom as Lawrence (1981: 9) points out, have in the past failed to take into account how their relationship with black respondents may be structured by racism. The complexity of this issue was demonstrated to me as my research developed. Prior to the research, like a number of the liberal teachers,

at Kilby school, I was politically committed to an anti-racist position as a member of the Anti-Nazi League, yet contradictorily at the same time we held racist assumptions about black pupils. Furthermore, this is not simply a problem of 'white bourgeois teachers and researchers', I met many black teachers and 'race-relations' experts who shared similar racist assumptions. In other words, being an indigenous member of a given community does not in itself guarantee immunity from racism. Unless one adopts an extreme relativist epistemological position, that knowledge is culture bound, this is what one would expect. It is hoped that having shifted my research concern to viewing racism as the major problem in the schooling of black pupils, that was informed by the carrying out of this empirical study, that I have become more aware of how social location in a racially and class stratified society influences ones perspective and that this in turn informs this research and helps to challenge 'common-sense' racist assumptions.

8.3 Research Issues

In an attempt to address the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research, the Kilby school teachers' response to the schooling of black youth has been examined. The different teacher ideologies were identified, consisting of the Old Disciplinarians, the Liberals and

the New Realists. It was found that of primary significance was the relationship between these competing ideologies and the various practices generated by the resulting power relations. During the research period the alliance between the Old Disciplinarians and the New Realists had emerged as the dominant force and this structured the adoption of particular strategies and tactics in dealing with the pupils at Kilby school.

On the one hand the identification of the different teacher ideologies demonstrates that the schooling process is not a monolithic enterprise and, more particularly, that multi-cultural education is not necessarily a homogeneous entity. On the other hand, although the differences between the authoritarian and liberal teachers are important, their common conception of the pupils' culture as the primary problem in the schooling of black youth, serves to maintain and reproduce the racially structured institution. The teachers themselves emphasize the differences between their prescribed remedies, that of the authoritarians' maintenance of the traditional curriculum and of the liberals' multi-cultural interventionist approach. Indeed this is one of the key criteria for the teachers' judging where to place colleagues on the schools' 'social map'. However, their common assumption that the blacks themselves are the primary problem determines their common conception of a solution in terms of the pupils changing to meet the demands of the school, with little attention given to the

question of how the school might change to meet the demands of the pupils.

The liberals have addressed themselves to the latter concern, however this has been informed by an earlier response to white working-class educational failure, which was based on the assumption of working-class cultural deficiency. Shifting from an assimilationist perspective to that of plural culturalism, the latter response was part of a wider social democratic approach of attempting to achieve equality of opportunity for working-class youth. The liberals' multi-cultural position can be seen to share the same limitations of the earlier suggested solutions of compensatory education, with its psychological reductionist attempt to bring about behaviour modification leaving the school structures and processes unchanged.

This adoption and adaptation of the earlier model is an important example of the means by which racism is mediated through the existing framework of British schooling. At a policy level, there has been no attempt to create an alternative system of schooling for black pupils. Though it could be argued that in practice the operation of such racist mechanisms as 'bussing', culture bias testing and the assignment of an over-representative number of black pupils to Educationally Sub-normal schools and remedial classes has resulted in such an effect.

Although it is suggested that racism works through the existing institutional school framework that discriminates against working-class youth, this is not to argue that race can be reduced to class or that the position of blacks within the school system is the same as that experienced by their white working-class peers with whom they share a similar structural location. As is demonstrated throughout this study, racism pervasively structures the social reality at Kilby school and, of central significance to its operation are race specific mechanisms, such as the non-representation of black culture and the use of culturally biased assessment and selection procedures that are identified in relation to the maintenance and reproduction of the mono-culturalist curriculum through the ethno-centric teaching materials and the hidden curriculum.

These mechanisms and in particular the process of racist stereotyping at Kilby school calls into question teachers' absence from conventional 'race-relations' research and the Kilby school teachers' perception of themselves as not a vital contributory factor in the black pupils' school underperformance. Both the authoritarian teachers in an explicit way and the liberals in a more implicit form were found to be of central significance to the operation of these racial mechanisms.

In an attempt to identify and examine the anti-school pupils' sub-cultures, the meaning of the pupils' resistance to

schooling has been addressed. The two case-studies of the pupils suggest that both Asian and West Indian boys exhibit anti-school sub-cultural elements and resist assimilation into the dominant school culture. Many of the elements of both groups' sub-cultural practices were similar. Both groups challenged the dominant social relations of the school. This was manifested in a number of ways, including the partial resistance to teacher racism, the rejection of teacher strategies and a high rate of absenteeism. Also, both the Warriors' and the Rasta-Heads' practices were based on the collective nature of their ideological position. Furthermore, both groups have positive images of themselves as black. Here the research supports the work of Stone (1981), whose findings challenge the conventional 'race-relations' view that West Indian youth have poor self-images. These pupils at Kilby school were confident, articulate and positively identified with their culture.

Both the teachers' and anti-school pupils' perspectives provide insights into the schooling of black pupils. However, as pointed out above, of significance for a comprehensive understanding is an examination of the interaction of these two groups with particular reference to the system of racial stereotyping. The case-studies show that there was in operation in Kilby school a definite system of racial stereotyping which contained positive and negative elements for each group. The Asians were seen by the teachers as 'conformist' but 'sly', while the West Indians were seen as 'troublesome' but on occasions as 'exuberant'.

The dominant social images of the pupils that were constructed was that of the 'high achieving' conformist' Asian pupil and the 'low ability troublesome' West Indian.

An examination of the teacher-pupil interaction within this social process demonstrates the complex nature of the operation of these racial mechanisms. Research in the past has tended to address only one aspect of this interaction. So, for example, Carby (1982: 208) in her work on 'Schooling in Babylon', concentrates on "our brothers and sisters struggling in the classroom and outside, rather than on the struggles of teachers". Such an approach detracts from the complexity of the nature of the encounter of white teachers and black pupils and suggests a conspiracy theory against black youth. However, it is not simply a question of teachers consciously denigrating West Indian culture and elevating Asian culture. The complexity of the teacher-pupil interaction involved a number of inter-related elements.

Firstly, this form of racial division was contained within the historical legacy inherited by the present staff at Kilby school. Three main stages were identified in the historical development of the construction of the white staff's social images of the black community. The first stage was concerned with the initial encounter, with the black boys' arrival in the early 1960's, of the staff and the pupils. It was during this assimilationist period that

there emerged among the staff a social pathological view of the black community and, there was a high degree of overt racism that assumed the superiority of British culture. The second stage which built on the earlier stereotypes, of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian and the 'low ability troublesome' West Indian pupil, was in response to the growth in the early 1970's of a majority black pupil school population. A highly stratified streaming system was implemented and these racial caricatures informed this approach. Thirdly, in the mid-1970's, there was an ideological shift away from an emphasis on cultural superiority to one of cultural differences. The earlier coercive policy was challenged by a more liberally inspired ideology of meeting the 'special needs' of black pupils by attempting to implement a multi-cultural curriculum. By the time of this research, in the early 1980's, the growing contradictions of this attempt to attain equality of opportunity in a racist society lead to a return to a more authoritarian approach and the resurrection of aspects of the earlier forms of overt racism.

As well as this historical influence, the maintenance of this racial division of the pupils was also informed by the teachers bringing with them into the teaching situation, the racial stereotypes of the wider society. Of particular importance, here was the local press, which created 'moral panics' about 'black ghetto life' in Kilby (Hall et al, 1978). Furthermore, it was found that these racist stereotypes tended

to be reinforced rather than challenged by the teachers' contact with the black pupils.

A third element of the complexity of the teachers' role in the schooling of black pupils was the differential material as well as social response to the pupils of West Indian and Asian origin. So, for example, it was shown that the West Indian pupils' relatively poor academic performance was not simply determined by teacher labelling and expectations, though as the pupils and their parents point out, this is a relevant factor. More significantly these social responses were informed by concrete practices, such as the organization of the curriculum in favour of the top 'academic' stream, the system of stratification and the system of promotion and demotion that were based on arbitrary decision-making procedures, which in turn were informed by teacher racial stereotyping. The oppositional stereotypes of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian pupil and the 'low ability' 'troublesome' West Indian had an existence in the material reality of the social relations of Kilby school and performed a particular function. The teachers' practices based on these stereotypes attempted to reproduce a situation they believed to exist.

Fourthly, a further complication involves the inter-connection between the system of racial stereotyping and the traditional teacher strategies that are adopted to make sense of and structure their interaction with the pupils. So, for example, teachers create 'social maps' of the classroom, based

on such crude typifications as the 'bright pupils', the 'conformists', the 'trouble-makers' etcetera, in order to develop coping strategies and manage the classroom interaction. (lacey, 1976: 60). It is on the basis of this conceptual framework that there emerges the racist stereotypes that the teachers employ at Kilby school; in so doing, they are developing their strategies of survival.

Fifthly, the dominant school ethos was that of the polarization of the predominantly white staff and the majority black pupil population. The maintenance and reproduction of the mono-culturalist curriculum by both the authoritarian and liberal teachers demonstrates that the liberals' commitment to multi-cultural education was in practice reduced to a strategy of accommodation of non-cooperative pupils. This resulted from their shared educational paradigm which assumes that education is essentially a politically and racially neutral mechanism which socializes pupils for adult roles and occupations. Hence, they were unable to see that different class and cultural groups have access to different experiences and values. However, while individualism and competition make sense for an occupational group such as the teachers, many of whom have emerged from the working-class, this is not necessarily true for the working-class as a whole. The necessity for class and cultural unity may seem less obvious for the white working-class with the development of welfare capitalism and the growth of trade unionism. But not all sectors of the working-class have the same relationship to state institutions or even to working-class institutions

and political representation. The black working-class experience white working-class racism as well as state institutional racism. Hence, individualism would serve to weaken the black working-class community, as it does for the whole of the working-class. It is collective strategies of resistance that make sense of the black working-class community's experience of the power relations of British society.

Finally, the complexity of the operation of race specific mechanisms, was shown in relation to the adoption of different practices, by authoritarian and liberal teachers, in response to the assumed problem of schooling black pupils, which it was argued cannot simply be explained in terms of their educational perspectives producing different strategies to maintain control within the school. Their practices were also materially linked to the career structure of each group, which in modern bureaucracies is increasingly based on merit. Two broad strategies of career mobility were identified. The authoritarians' position was more straightforward; they attempted to demonstrate their professional competency by implementing strong disciplinary measures. The liberal teachers' response was more ambivalent. Their power within the school was based in the remedial and counselling departments and it was particularly here that their future career progress was determined by their 'success' in dealing with 'problem' pupils. This was highlighted by an incident during the research. A City and Guilds course

was developed for the fifth year remedial pupils. They signed a contract promising to produce and record a specific number of work tasks and to conform to the school's disciplinary demands. In return they were informed that their 'records of personal achievement' folders would help them to find employment. The scheme of work was regarded by the school management as very successful with little disciplinary problems throughout the year from this group of boys.

In the following six months after their leaving school, I contacted all of the boys who had completed the course. They were very bitter and disillusioned as none of them had found jobs. In contrast the careers teacher's next employer was most impressed with his organization and implementation of the course. Also, it was suggested to a liberal teacher, who was going for an interview for a senior pastoral post, that he should claim to have worked on the course and to bring with him examples of the remedial pupils' work. The teacher who had had a number of previous interviews was convinced that the pupils' folder work helped him in his appointment. This incident highlights, what was shown in the research, that it was in the liberals' material interest to achieve consensus within the school by means of negotiation and attempting to persuade deviant pupils that their resistance to schooling was irrational and illegitimate. In so doing, the liberal teachers complemented the authoritarian approach of the Old Disciplinarians and New Realists, reproducing the school's hegemonic domination, including its racist structures and

processes, defended the institution against ideological resistance and their professional role within it.

This complexity of the teachers' role in the structuring of the social reality of the school has important implications, which will be considered below. Firstly, there is a discussion of the nature of the pupils' resistance to the system of teacher racial stereotyping. This response adds further evidence of the complexity of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school, and of their mutual adjustment to each other within the context of the power-relations of the school.

The identification and examination of the 'anti-school' pupil sub-cultures, of both boys of West Indian and Asian origin, demonstrates the ideological construction of the racial division between the 'high achieving conformist' Asian pupil and the 'low ability troublesome' West Indian, which underpins the teachers' system of racial stereotyping. Although many of the Warriors' and Rasta-Heads' practices were similar, they were not perceived as such by the staff. It was argued that there was a disjuncture between two discrete practices, that of the teachers and the pupils. It was the administrative function of the school to bring them together in the schooling process. However, in the absence of the teachers' real knowledge about the black community, that is, in the absence of a concrete connection between teachers and pupils, a gap was created in which the system of racial stereotyping fitted in. It is here that we can see a central difference between the Rasta-Heads'

and the Warriors' practices. The visibility and invisibility of these groups is at one level explained in terms of the form of their sub-cultural response which tended to be shaped by the teachers' racial stereotypes. This had the effect of producing a self-fulfilling prophecy, with the Warriors adopting a more covert position in challenging the school authorities. This then served to reproduce the teacher racial stereotyping and the resulting material and social response to black pupils of West Indian and Asian origin.

It was argued that this differential response took place within a culturalist perspective in which teachers assumed a class homogeneity of the black community. A social class analysis challenges the teachers' dominant social image of the conformist Asian pupil. It provides a contrast between the conformist attitudes of the middle-class Asian pupils and the anti-authoritarian perspective of the Warriors, who were of a working-class background. This is not to suggest that a simplistic dichotomy can be made between conformist middle-class Asian pupils and rebellious working-class Asians. Rather, it suggests that the general social class tendencies which operate among white youth, particularly that of the tendency of white middle-class pupils to be more successful at school than white working-class pupils, may be of more significance than racist stereotypes in explaining the academic position of black youth at Kilby school. It must be added, as Ford (1979: 76) has pointed out in relation to white youth that the correlation between class and academic achievement, is primarily in terms of class

aspirations rather than class origin. So, for example, there were at Kilby school, academically successful conformist black working-class pupils. Furthermore, such an analysis of the social composition of the pupils helps to explain the differential educational achievement of West Indian and Asian pupils without reducing it to a question of 'ethnic differences'. Having identified resistance to schooling among both West Indians and Asians, this challenges the conventional view that the West Indian youth's relative school failure can be explained in 'ethnic' terms of their negative attitude of non-cooperation with the school authorities. This in turn adds support to the black community's argument that racism, experienced by both Asians and West Indians, rather than ethnic differences is of primary significance in determining black youth's academic success.

The two case-studies may appear to suggest a reversal of the teacher stereotypes, that is, that it was the Warriors with their more overtly politically informed ideology that were the most effective anti-school sub-cultural group. There is an element of truth in this view. It was, for example, this politicization of their ideological position that was of central significance at one level to the form of their resistance to schooling. It can be seen in relation to their breaking through the dominant culturalist perspective in which both sub-cultural groups were situated. It was the Warriors who explicitly challenged the teacher racial stereotyping operating within the school and perceived the Asians' and West

Indians' common experience of institutional racism. However, this is an insufficient analysis of the pupil-teacher relations at Kilby school and assumes a narrow understanding of the political dimension of the pupils' resistance, that shares much with the social democratic view of the black community's political structure, that Gilroy (1981) criticized above. As he pointed out, of specific significance to the black political response in Britain is the cultural forms of expression that are adopted within the context of the whole community. This is equally true within the school situation. Both the Rasta Heads and the Warriors perceived the Kilby school teachers' authoritarianism and built resistance to the existing power relations that was stylistically expressed through clothes, hair-style, language and many other culturally informed symbolic gestures. In particular, both groups actively challenged the racist ideology in operation within the school and resisted incorporation into the dominant culture.

The case-studies also suggest that the youth sub-cultural practices were linked to the wider black community. For the Rasta-Heads as their name suggested, the dominant ideological source was Rastafarianism. This reflected its widespread influence within Kilby. However, this is not to argue that the Rasta-Heads anti-racist position can be explained simply in terms of this particular ideology. Of equal significance was their parents and friends informing them of their experience on a day-to-day basis of racist practices. Also, the Rasta-Heads

response must be linked to the Wider West Indian community's organized resistance to racism, for example, in relation to racist school practices, their opposition to E.S.N. schooling and banding that discriminates against their children. Similarly, the Warriors' practices based on the need for collective strategies within the school were reflected in the Asian working-class within Kilby, as for example, was seen in their response to community defence and the organization of Asian workers. However, the research pointed out that the differences between the two are not of primary significance, more important is the generation of different strategies that have emerged from the black working-class in response to their common experience of racism. These links between the pupils' practices and the wider black community demonstrates another aspect of the complexity of the teacher-pupil interaction at Kilby school.

8.4 Further Research Issues

8.4.1 Research Implications

A number of implications arise from this focus on the complex nature of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school. This complexity involves the two inter-connected levels at which racism operates within the school. At one level, racism is mediated through the existing institutional framework of the schooling process. Here, as the socio-cultural theorists

(Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bernstein, 1975) have argued, schools can be seen as latently recreating the social relations of the wider society, including such structural divisions, as those of class, race and gender. This is achieved through a number of pedagogical practices which serve selectively to reproduce the dominant cultural hegemony, by differentially skilling both technically and socially, different social groups for their future location within the socio-economic division of labour. However, this reproduction, as the Warriors and Rasta-Heads in this research make explicit, is not automatically or mechanically achieved as the more deterministic Marxist theorists suggest. As Carrington (1983: 62) argues, in his ethnographic study of West Indian youth, the school system should be seen as a site of struggle. Commentating on the position of teachers, he maintains that:

the conservative face of schooling ... must be regarded as contingent rather than pre-given. To accept a politics of education and policy initiatives within education, whether to tackle race, class or gender based forms of educational disadvantage, is to accept the specificity of institutions such as the school and to recognise that teachers ... whilst not totally free, are not 'automatons', 'passive objects', 'cultural dupes' or the mere bearers of the mode of production.

At a second level, racially specific mechanisms, such as the system of racist stereotyping, are identified in operation. These mechanisms are linked to the former level, that of the existing institutional framework, but it is in response to these specific mechanisms that racially explicit policies

could be formulated and implemented. Sivanandan(1983: 9) suggests a way of overcoming the limitations and contradictions of conventional 'multi-cultural' practices by adopting an explicitly anti-racist approach.

In the field of education ... it is important to turn ethnicity and culturalism into anti-racism. But this involves not just the examination of existing literature for racist bias (and their elimination) but for the provision of anti-racist texts ... and not just an examination of curricula and syllabuses but of the whole fabric of education: organization and administration, methods and materials, attitudes and practices of heads and teachers, the whole works.

From my research, it is evident that a priority for such a policy should be to address the issue of the absence of teachers from conventional 'race-relations' research, and, in so doing, to examine the racism within the teaching profession. The adoption of the strategies that Sivanandan outlines above should not be seen in isolation but as a necessary part of a broader anti-racist response. This may point to possible future alliances between black parents and pupils and progressive teachers who challenge the hegemonically determined view of a depoliticized and deracialized school system, thereby locating the 'problem' of schooling black pupils not within the black community but within the racially structured class society. Within the context of Kilby school, this in turn would challenge the existing social and material differential response to black pupils of West Indian and Asian origin.

Another implication of this study, which arises from the focus on the teacher-pupil relations, is the question of the significance of the pupils' implicit understanding of the school process. Through the framework of the existing power relations, multi-culturalism is ideologically presented as a legitimate educational strategy and the anti-school pupils' perspective is perceived as an illegitimate response. This view is reinforced by much of the literature on youth sub-cultures which over-emphasises the negative aspect of the pupils' resistance to schooling. A similar criticism can be made of this research. This is partly the result of the nature of the school's institutional authoritarianism which prevents the development of formal mechanisms which would democratize teacher-pupil relations and provide pupil representation. There is no formal acknowledgement of the pupils' perspective, of how to manage the school, as a legitimate view. Hence, their practices ideologically appear as the irrational, illegitimate activities of a minority of irresponsible trouble-makers. This negative view is further reinforced by the lack of organized political structure that is, found among youth sub-cultures. So, for example, the latter groups' ideology does not appear as rationally legitimate as that of student unions in higher education. Frith and Corrigan (1976: 11) discuss the dilemmas facing the National Union of School Students in organizing anti-school pupils.

Can classroom struggle contribute to class struggle? This is precisely the problem of the (C.P. organized) National Union of School Students ... They have found it difficult to attract support from school 'failures'. Their members have a commitment to education which makes the N.U.S.S. a useful organization; the children who smash windows haven't. This doesn't make the latter correct, class conscious or revolutionary, but it does mean that the N.U.S.S. has to work out, how to recruit them. Without the 'failures' the union isn't even creating union consciousness - these stropy pupils leave school untouched by any organized form of politics and the N.U.S.S. is left in an elitist position.

Although they adopt a narrow social democratic view of political consciousness, Frith and Corrigan do point to a real limitation in pupil organization that was prevalent among the Rasta-Heads and Warriors.

Nevertheless, contrary to the immediate appearance from the case-studies of the pupils' exclusively negative response to schooling, an alternative reading is possible, that was empirically found among the Rasta-Heads and the Warriors, that of their positive, progressive view of the reorganization of Kilby school. These elements of inventiveness and cooperation, which have been examined in the substantive work, included democratising teacher-pupil relations, linking learning in the school with learning in the wider community and the decoupling of school and work. It is important to stress that these elements were not rigourously defined by the pupils. However, in the Rasta Heads' and Warriors' rejection

of formal schooling, there is implied a radical critique of the existing structures and processes and, an alternative progressive form of education. The radical creativity of the pupils' perspective can be seen by contrasting their position with that of the liberals' multi-cultural solution which assumes the maintenance of the existing social relations within the school. Equally limiting and contradictory is the conventional white Left's analysis, which many of the Liberal teachers adopted, that of primary importance to the problems of urban schooling is that more resources be made available to local educational authorities. This might lead the strengthening of the bureaucratic structures of which the pupils are critical. Ultimately, the progressive basis of the pupils' position derives from their understanding of the black community's needs. In this, they go beyond multi-culturalism which based on racial stereotypes provides no real solution to the black community's actual cultural and material situation.

Policy-makers and practitioners such as teachers have much to learn from pupils about ^{their} understanding of school. It is, for example, the pupils who directly experience the material constraints of the increasing contradiction between, what has been a major function of schooling in industrial societies, that of the preparation of pupils for work, and the emergence during the early 1980's of mass youth unemployment as a long term structural phenomenon. As the interview below indicates, such contradictions create particular institutional

responses. Although shifting my research away from examining the transition from school to work which proved to be too ambitious a plan, I continued to collect data on the boys' first six months post-school experience. These findings are outside the scope of this study, but one general trend is pertinent. For the anti-school boys, the failure of all but one of them and few of the rest of the pupils in their year to find employment confirmed for them the realism of their response to schooling, as Kevin assessing their approach indicates:

Kevin:

We're all the same now, no-one's got a job, a real job. School made no difference, it can't if ye black. Ye see we knew, that's the real difference between us and them (the conformists). They believed in the teachers, they don't know, they don't live in reality. We were proved right, we were right to 'ave a good time, en it?

The Kilby school pupils' failure to find work was reflected in the general employment situation for the area. The Kilby careers service informed me that of 1,890 youths of school leaving age in 1982, by November of that year, 3.9% had found what they called 'normal employment'. One of the main 'limitations' of Willis' 'lads' was that their cultural 'penetrations' into the school process was undermined by its mystifications, such as the boys' rejection of mental work, their sexism, racism and violence, which served to bound them back into the manual sector of the labour market to which they as members of the working-class were structurally destined. (1979: 145). The Rasta-Heads' and the Warriors' resistance

to school shares similar limitations, however, with the disappearance of many of these manual jobs to which they were destined, and more generally within the dominant hegemony in which they have little power, both as pupils within the school and as part of the black working-class within the wider society, such collective strategies of resistance make sense, albeit limited.

8.4.ii Limitations and Future Research

We now turn to the question of the study's limitations and possible future research in this area. Rex (1982: 71), in his writing on West Indian and Asian youth, acknowledges that his work may be accused of dealing with generalisations and stereotypes. However, he claims that what he was attempting to do was:

... to indicate the nature of a typology of youth situations and minority youth situations. The research to which it points is not towards simple cross tabulations of life chances and social conditions ... but to the collection of structured life histories to see how these ideal types or stereotypes actually reflect the range of empirical reality.

My own research can be seen as an example of the type of empirical study that Rex suggests is needed. However, there is a danger of generalizing from my work black youth's location in and experience of the school system. This would be a grave error. I have, since completing this fieldwork,

carried out research on black girls in a mixed comprehensive school within the West Midland conurbation . This latter work highlights a serious limitation of this study, that of the unproblematic approach to the question of the gender of those who were the subjects of this research, and how this category acted as a determining force in structuring their social reality. There is much empirical and theoretical work to be done here.

Similarly it is not suggested that the racial stereotypes of the 'high achieving conformist' Asian pupil and the 'low ability troublesome' West Indian are to be empirically found in all schools with a black population. It was pointed out that the system of racial stereotyping in operation at Kilby school consisted of an oppositional structure for each group. I was primarily concerned with the dominant social images, however, the West Indians were also more positively viewed on occasions as 'exuberant', and there was a negative caricature of the Asians as 'sly'. Towards the end of the field -work, there appeared to be a tendency, with an increasing Asian population, for the negative perception of them to be more prominent than in early years. Likewise, my present study of the girls, who are attending an Asian majority school, suggests that the negative view of the Asian pupils is more common there than at Kilby school. This is to be expected, as stereotypes are not fixed social phenomena but are socially produced in specific situations to meet specific demands, but more research is

required to test such findings as are presented here. Further empirical studies, for example, of black girls of different class and ethnic groups and of black pupils as a minority of a school population, could address some of the questions raised by this study. Of prime importance is the question of the relationship between the pupils' resistance to racism, particularly within the institutional context of the school, and that of the black community's forms of resistance. It was argued that the former was informed by the latter response and linkages were suggested. However, the relationship between these forms of resistance were indicated rather than firmly established. Willis (1977: 52) in locating pupils' counter-school culture within the context of the wider working-class culture has provided insights into this area of cultural reproduction in a class society. He argues:

It is now time to contextualise the counter-school culture. Its points of contact with the wider working-class culture are not accidental, nor its style quite independent, nor its cultural skills unique or special. Though the achievements of counter-school culture are specific, they must be set against the larger pattern of working-class culture in order for us to understand their true nature and significance ... In particular counter-school culture has many profound similarities with the culture its members are mostly destined for, shop-floor culture.

Further research focussing on different class and gender groups within the black community would provide valuable comparative material of under-researched social groups and, together with further research on institutional racism

would help to develop a more comprehensive view of the complex nature of the teacher-pupil interaction within urban schools and its structural relationship with wider social processes. Such work might also allow a further development of the 'economic' and 'sociological' forms of theoretical analysis.

Understanding teacher-pupil relations is not an easy task . The issues that have been examined in this study of the teacher-pupil relations at Kilby school are not only of significance for the black community but are part of a wider concern with the schooling of working-class youth as a whole. A study of the encounter of white middle-class professionals and black boys serves to highlight the dynamics of this process which are often hidden. More specifically the research hopes to make a contribution to the concern of the schooling of black pupils. Most recently, (Spencer, 1984: 1) it has been reported that Lord Swann, Chairman of the Committee investigating the education of ethnic minority children, having replaced the emphasis, from the earlier Rampton interim report, on racism and teacher attitudes to that of West Indians' home background and lifestyle as causal of black pupils' underachievement, has been asked by the Committee to return in the draft report to the original conclusion. This research has attempted to demonstrate that racism is of primary significance, both in terms of the racial structuring of the social relations of the school and the pupils' resistance to racial structures and processes.

An understanding of the teacher-pupil relations in the schooling of black pupils is imperative for parents, teachers, policy-makers and all concerned with education, and for the well-being of black youth. Hopefully this research increases our understanding.

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