ASIAN-NAMED MINORITY GROUPS IN A
BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

A study of the education of the children of immigrants of Indian, Pakistani or
Bangladeshi origin from the Indian sub-continent or East Africa
in the City of Bradford.

Brenda Mary THOMSON

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Postgraduate School of Studies
in Peace Studies
University of Bradford

1991
ASIAN-NAMED MINORITY GROUPS IN A BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

A study of the education of the children of immigrants of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin from the Indian sub-continent or East Africa in the City of Bradford

Brenda Mary THOMSON

ABSTRACT

This thesis was planned as an interdisciplinary work, a possible exemplar of 'a peace study' (see Appendix 5).

It offers an analysis of the situation of the Asian children of immigrant families, socially and racially disadvantaged in Britain, in the Bradford school system from the mid-1970's to 1980, and their relative success in terms of external examination assessment in comparison with their peers. This is seen against the backdrop of pioneering Local Authority policies to support their education, and observations of practice in schools. The findings are generalised as models of what is perceived by the policy-makers and practitioners to be progress towards racial justice and peace.

It is argued that the British school system has shown limited facility to offer equal opportunity of success to pupils in socially disadvantaged groups and that this is borne out in an analysis of the situation of the Asian pupils in the County Upper schools in Bradford (CB), less likely to be allocated to external examination-orientated groups or to gain success in these than their peers. There are indications that their potential may not be being realised. It is argued that while language support for the bilingual child is important, account should also be taken of a more general cultural dominance in the school system and stereotyped low expectations from teachers which may feed racial bias in institutions.

The data show that the LEA policies, though benevolent in intention, demonstrate institutional racism in effect. With four case studies from observations in Bradford schools, models are developed for practice that has potential for power-sharing and greater equity of opportunity for pupils, involving respect for cultural diversity and antiracist education strategies supporting and supported by community participation in schools. It is argued that white educationists need to listen to black clients, pupils and their parents, involving them in dialogue to ascertain their real needs, to implement appropriate policy.

As there was a considerable lapse of time between the field work research and writing up of this thesis, and its final presentation, an addendum (with bibliography) reviews some of the research and literature in the field since 1980. This situates the field work historically. The issues raised and discussed in the context of the 1970's are still far from being solved. The additional work strengthens, rather than changes my original conclusion that society is locked into a cycle of inequality. A counter-hegemony must emerge from 'grass-roots', community initiatives with a values-base linked not to self-seeking or confrontational power group politics but to a notion of the common good.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was conceived as an interdisciplinary piece of work. I am indebted to many colleagues at Bradford University who have made its completion possible, particularly my three supervisors from the School of Peace Studies, Professor Adam Curle (Emeritus), Paul Rogers and Andrew Rigby; Professor Paul Coles (Emeritus) and Jack Reynolds (History); Professor Sheila Allen, John Laredo, Tom Kitwood, Baruch Hirson and Nigel Young (Sociology); Michael Le Lohe (Politics); Alfred Davey (Social Psychology); Keith Stoodley, Steve Simpson and the staff of the University Computer Centre (Statistics); Professor James O'Connell, Malcolm Dando and Bob Overy (Peace Studies); also Professor David Jenkins (Emeritus) and Ursula King, Leeds University (Theology).

It is presented with thanks for their tolerance, to my family, to colleagues in Bradford LEA and to the clients whom we would serve, particularly the children and young people. Special thanks are due to Ricki Connor for fulfilling the tedious task of typing the thesis with skill and good grace.

Additional thanks are due to Professor Sally Tomlinson, University College of Swansea, Alison Parkin and Sue Moody
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Maps, Diagrams and Tables</th>
<th>vii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**INTRODUCTION: including a summary of the thesis** 1

**PART 1: THE BRADFORD SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ITS HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT** 9

**Chapter 1: A HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN BRADFORD** 10

**Chapter 2: IMMIGRATION INTO BRADFORD** 24

- Cultural and racial diversity in the Bradford City population 25
- The build-up of numbers of children of New Commonwealth immigrants in Bradford schools 36
- The Asian immigrant's experience of schooling 43

**Chapter 3: THE BACKGROUND THEORIES FOR A DISCUSSION OF SCHOOLING AND RACE IN BRITAIN** 53

**CONCLUSION** 68

**PART 2: A STUDY OF THE ASIAN-NA ME NED MINORITY GROUPS IN THE BRADFORD (CB) COUNTY UPPER SCHOOLS IN THE SCHOOL YEAR 1975-76** 70

**Chapter 4: THE CONTEXT OF THE UPPER SCHOOL STUDY** 73

- The allocation of the pupils to Upper school 74
- The sample for this case study 76
- The distribution of pupils according to name type and sex in the County Upper schools in September 1975 80
Chapter 5: A STUDY OF THE COUNTY UPPER SCHOOL ROLLS ACCORDING TO THE NAME TYPE, SEX AND TEACHING GROUP OF THE PUPILS

Flexibility of allocation of pupils to teaching groups in the Upper School 87

The allocation of pupils in nine County Upper schools to teaching group bands in September 1975, according to name type and sex 91

An assessment of the trend in the allocation of pupils to teaching group bands in nine County Upper Schools in September 1975, according to name type and sex 97

Summary 99

Chapter 6: A STUDY OF THE COUNTY UPPER SCHOOL LISTS SHOWING ENTRANTS IN THE GCE/CSE EXAMINATIONS: SUMMER 1976, ACCORDING TO NAME TYPE AND SEX 101

Factors shown to affect external examination results nationally 102

The attainment of certificates in the General Certificate of Education Examinations (at 'O' and 'A' levels) and the Certificate of Secondary Education, in the County Upper Schools in the Summer of 1976, by entrants according to name type and sex 103

An analysis of the GCE 'O' level examination results in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976, to show a relationship between pass rate and subject taken by entrants according to name type and sex 111

Summary 121

Chapter 7: THE ASIAN CHILD'S MOTIVATION TO SUCCEED IN THE BRADFORD SCHOOL SYSTEM 123

Chapter 8: DISCUSSION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BACKGROUND OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL STEREOTYPING THAT MAY FEED WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE 138

CONCLUSION 148
PART 3: THE BRADFORD POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS AND ITS PRACTICE IN THE SCHOOLS

Chapter 9: NATIONAL POLICY AND ADVICE ON SCHOOL PROVISION FOR THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS WHO SPEAK ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Chapter 10: THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION IN BRADFORD

Chapter 11: THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRADFORD'S DISPERSAL POLICY IN 1977

Chapter 12: THE BUSSING OF CHILDREN IN IMPLEMENTING THE DISPERSAL POLICY AND ITS EFFECTS, FROM OBSERVATIONS IN TWO FIRST SCHOOLS
Conclusion 244

Chapter 13: SPECIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROVISION IN BRADFORD FOR THE CHILDREN SPEAKING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE 246

Teaching English in the Centres: first-phase language development 249

Teaching English as a second language in the schools: second-phase language development 255

Conclusion 268

Chapter 14: ACCOMMODATION TO RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CURRICULUM OF BRADFORD SCHOOLS, 1977 271

The situation in general in the City schools 274

The outer City First school involved in a Schools Council/National Foundation for Educational Research Project, 1977 282

Discussion 287

Chapter 15: THE LEA RESPONSE TO THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES' REQUESTS TO ALTER PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS, 1977 307

The practice in Religious Education and School Assemblies 308

Rules relating to dress for school and for Physical Education 323

The practice in the provision of school meals 331

A meeting of Muslim leaders and members of the LEA at an inner City First school, 24.1.1977 336

Conclusion 342

Chapter 16: SCHOOL STAFFING AND RESPECT FOR RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN BRADFORD SCHOOLS, 1977 346

Ethnic minority staff in schools 347

The role of the liaison teacher 352

Conclusion 357
Chapter 17: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BRADFORD POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN PROVIDING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SCHOOLING 358

CONCLUSION 372

PART 4 RACIAL PRIVILEGE, RACIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE IN A BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM 374

Chapter 18: THE CONTEXT OF CHANGE FOR THE BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM 375

Chapter 19: FOUR CASE STUDIES OF SCHOOLS IN BRADFORD WORKING TOWARDS CHANGE IN SOCIETY WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM 386

A school ministering to a need perceived by the administrators of the school system 387

A school facing racially prejudiced attitudes in children and staff 390

A school facing social disadvantage by a redistribution of advantage 393

A teacher in a First school engaging in dialogue 400

Summary: Four case studies 405

Chapter 20: DISCUSSION: APPROACHES TO RACIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE IN A BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM 406

CONCLUSION 431

CODA 439

APPENDICES

A.1 A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A CITY UPPER SCHOOL IN BRADFORD 440

A.2 FURTHER STATISTICS 488

A.3 SINGLE-SEX SCHOOLING FOR MUSLIM GIRLS IN BRADFORD 1965–1977 502
ADDENDUM: THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL AUTHORITY POLICY CONCERNING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES (RACE) AND SOME ISSUES FOR THE SCHOOLING OF BLACK CHILDREN IN BRITAIN IN THE 1980's

Introduction

1. The development of Local Authority policy concerning equal opportunities (race) in Britain from 1970's to 1980's.

2. Some issues for the schooling of black children in Britain in the 1980's

2.1 The 'racialisation' debate

2.2 Multicultural versus anti-racist policies and strategies

2.3 Achievement and 'underachievement' in school, with particular reference to black children

2.4 The effects of allocation procedures on the schooling of black children

2.5 Summary

3. Discussion

4. Conclusion

Notes (to the Addendum)

Bibliography (for the Addendum)
LIST OF MAPS, DIAGRAMS AND TABLES

PART I

Figure 1.1 Bradford 1971: Social class and distribution of car ownership 26

1.2 Bradford 1971: distribution of population born in the New Commonwealth 27

1.3 Bradford Local Education Authority boundaries pre- and post-1974 28

1.4 Place of birth of the population of Bradford, the West Yorkshire conurbation and Great Britain, 1971 30

1.5 Source areas of immigrants to Bradford from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh 32

1.6 Table showing immigrant pupils by origin in all maintained schools, January 1972 and percentage of total immigrant pupils 37

1.7 Table showing the number of children of New Commonwealth and Pakistani parents on the roll of schools and Centres 1963–78, in the Bradford (County Borough) area 38

1.8 Table showing the proportion of non-English speakers among the children of Pakistani/ Bangladeshi and Indian parents in the Bradford City schools in 1964, 1968 and 1972, according to age group 39

1.9 Table showing the proportion of non-English speakers among the children of Pakistani/ Bangladeshi and Indian parents in the Bradford City schools in 1975 and 1978 according to age group 40

1.10 Table showing immigrant children of compulsory school age born overseas and registered for admission to schools and Centres in the years shown 41

1.11 Table showing the number of live births of children to Asian parents in the Bradford CB area in the years 1960–1978 42

1.12 Table showing the number of Muslim children receiving Qu'ranic teaching in a sample of two First and two Middle schools in Bradford, March 1977 48
PART 2

Figure 2.1 Bradford (CB): the siting of the County Upper schools 72

2.2 Table showing the degree of parental choice obtained in the allocation of children to County Upper schools in the years 1973, 1975 and 1977 74

2.3 Table showing the number of pupils according to name type and sex on the roll of two single sex schools and the two newly co-educational schools, as compared with the rest of the County Upper schools in September 1975 76

2.4 Table showing the total County Upper school pupil population in September 1975, according to sex and name type 81

2.5 Table showing the number of pupils according to name type and sex, on the roll of each County Upper school in September 1974 83

2.6 Table showing distribution of pupils according to name type and sex in the County Upper schools according to year group in September 1975 84

2.7 Table showing the number of children who moved from one teaching group band to another in six Upper schools from September 1967 to May 1976, according to name type. Also a comparison with the total number of pupils in three years, Years 3–5. 89

2.8 Table showing the allocation of pupils in nine Upper schools to teaching group bands in Years 3–5 in September 1975 according to name type and sex 91

2.9 Distribution of immigrants when there is streaming by ability across a year group; national sample 1970 94

2.10 Table showing the percentage of each ethnic group of pupils in the Fifth form in certain multiracial secondary schools in Britain, by the purpose of the course, 1970 95

2.11 Table showing the allocation of pupils to teaching group band in each of Years 5–3, according to name type in some County Upper schools in September 1975 98
2.12 Table showing the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' level (A-C) and CSE (2-5) according to the name type of entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

2.13 Table showing the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' level (A-C) and those at D, E and unclassified according to the name type of the entrant in the County Upper Schools in the summer of 1976.

2.14 Table showing the number of subjects passed at CSE (1-5) and those failed according to the name type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976.

2.15 Table showing the number of GCE 'A' level entrants from the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976, according to name type and sex

2.16 Table showing the number of subjects sat at GCE 'A' level by entrants according to name type and sex, and the grades gained, according to whether these were passed A-E, or allowed at 'O' level/failed in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

2.17 Table showing GCE 'A' level entrants according to name type in the County Upper schools according to their antecedents, in the summer of 1976

2.18 Table showing the GCE 'A' level entries according to whether they were passed at grades A-E or allowed at 'O' level/failed by entrants according to name type in the County Upper schools according to their antecedents, in the summer of 1976

2.19 Table showing the number of entries sat in GCE 'O' level in Science and Arts subjects, according to whether they were passed at grades A-C or not, by entrants according to name type and sex in County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

2.20 Table showing the entries sat in GCE 'O' level Mathematics, according to whether they were passed (A-C) or not, and the name type and sex of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976
2.21 Table showing the GCE 'O' level English Language entries according to the name type and sex of the entrants and the results, according to whether they are graded A–C or D–E and unclassified in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976 116

2.22 Table showing the entries for GCE 'O' level examinations in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976 according to whether the examinations were sat or not by pupils according to name type and sex 125

2.23 Table showing the entries for CSE examinations in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976 according to whether the examinations were sat or not by pupils according to name type and sex 125

2.24 Table showing a comparison of the number of pupils in the sixth form with the total number of pupils in each of the County Upper schools in September 1975 126

2.25 Table showing the distribution of pupils according to name type and sex, in the two year groups of the sixth forms of the County Upper schools in September 1975 128

2.26 Table showing the distribution of pupils according to name type and sex in the sixth forms of five of the County Upper schools in September 1975, according to whether they were entering courses leading to examinations in GCE 'O' level or to GCE 'A' level Years 1 and 2 130

PART 3

3.1 Table showing the number of special buses used, schools served and children carried in the dispersal 1965–78 172

3.2 Table showing proportions of children of immigrant parental origin in the Bradford (CB) schools 1971–78 174

3.3 Table showing the language assessor's recommendations for allocation to school or Centre, of children arriving from overseas in Bradford in 1976–77 193

3.4 Table showing the degree of parental choice obtained in the allocation of children to Upper schools in 1977 200
3.5 Table showing the distribution of days' absence from and attendance at two City First schools according to the school attended, the name type of the pupil and whether the pupils are local or 'bussed' children, in the school years 1975-76 and 1976-77 209

3.6 Table showing a relative absence rate for each category of pupil (viz. 3.5) 210

3.7 Table showing a pattern of absences, according to their duration in half days, of one age group of children (4+ to 6+) through the two years 1975-76 and 1976-77 at two City First schools 211

3.8 Table showing the number of Asian children's names returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in an outer City and an inner City First school in the years 1973-77 229

3.9 Table showing the names of pupils according to name type and sex, returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in the years 1973-77 at an inner City First school 229

3.10 Table showing the names of pupils, according to name type and sex, returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in the years 1973-77 at an outer City First school 230

PART 4

4.1 Table showing passes at GCE 'O' level and CSE according to name type and sex of the entrants at the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and the other County Upper schools, summer 1976 394

4.2 Table showing passes at GCE 'O' level and CSE according to name type and sex of the entrants at the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and the other GS schools, summer 1976 394

4.3 Tables to show the passes in GCE 'O' level and CSE examinations by entrants according to name type in the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and other County Upper schools, summer 1976 in (a) English Language and (b) Mathematics 396
4.4 A three-dimensional view of power 417

APPENDICES

A1.1 Social class distribution of economically active males, Bradford (Census 1971; social class RG(SE)70) 444

A1.2 Table showing the distribution of pupils in Years 3-5 and in the sixth form according to their name type and sex, in a City Upper school in September 1975 450

A1.3 Table showing the number of pupils in the first year (Lower) and second year (Upper) Sixth Forms, according to name type and sex, in a City Upper school in September 1975 452

A1.4 Table showing the distribution of pupils in Years 3-5 in teaching group bands, according to name type, in a City Upper school in September 1975 456

A1.5 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands according to sex and name type in Years 3-5 in a City Upper school in September 1975 458

A1.6 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands according to sex in Years 3-5 in a City Upper school in September 1975 460

A1.7 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 5 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975 462

A1.8 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 4 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975 464

A1.9 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 3 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975 467

A1.10 Table showing the distribution of pupils in Year 3 according to name type and sex in social, economic groups P, S and M in a City Upper school in September 1975 472
A1.11 Table showing allocation to teaching group band in Year 3 according to the name type of the pupils and social economic group rating of their fathers in a City Upper school in September 1975

A1.12 Table showing the pattern of allocation of pupils to teaching group bands in Years 3-5 according to name type, in nine County Upper schools (including School A) in September 1975

A1.13 Table showing the GCE 'O' level (grades A–C) and CSE (Grades 1–5) passes per entrant in School A and other County Upper schools, in summer 1976

A1.14 Tables showing the distribution of passes at GCE 'O' level (Grades A–C) and CSE (Grades 1–5) in English according to the name type of the entrants at School A and at the other County Upper schools in summer 1976

A1.15 Tables showing the distribution of passes at GCE 'O' level (Grades A–C) and CSE (Grades 1–5) in Mathematics, according to the name type of the entrants, at other county Upper schools in summer 1976

A2.1 Table showing the number of pupils according to name type and sex on the roll of each County Upper school in September 1975

A2.2 Table showing the allocation of pupils in some County Upper schools to teaching group bands in Years 3–5, according to name type and sex of the pupils and the antecedents of the schools, in September 1975

A2.3 Tables showing the number of subjects sat in CSE and GCE 'O' level examinations according to whether they were passed or not passed in the County Upper schools in the summers of 1975 and 1976

A2.4 Tables showing (a) the number of entrants and (b) the pass rate for the GCE 'O' level examinations according to name type, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1975 and 1976

A2.5 Tables showing (a) the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' level (A–C) and CSE (2–5) according to the name type and sex of the entrant and (b) further, according to the antecedents of the school, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976
A2.6 Tables showing the number of subjects sat by entrants according to name type, sex and the antecedents of the school at (a) GCE 'O' level, passes A–C or Grades D, E or unclassified and (b) CSE, passes 1–5 or failed, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

A2.7 Table showing GCE 'A' level entries according to whether they were graded at A–E or 'O' level/failed for entrants according to name type and sex in subjects in Science and Arts categories, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

A2.8 Tables showing the entries sat in GCE 'O' level (a) Mathematics, (b) English Language, according to whether they were passed (1–6) or not, and the name type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1975

A2.9 Tables showing pupils graded A–C, D, E and unclassified and not entered for the GCE 'O' level English examinations in the 15+ age group (10%) sample of the County Upper schools, summer 1978, 1979

A2.10 The use of spoken English out of school by a sample of Asian children from the outer city First and Middle schools and the inner city First and Middle schools studied, Bradford, March 1977

A4.4 Sample of children interviewed at two First and two Middle schools in Bradford, by ethnicity and sex

495–7

498

499

500

501

520
INTRODUCTION

This work was originally planned as an exemplar of 'a peace study' [1] for the new School of Peace Studies of the University of Bradford. It was based on an assumption that a peace study:

a. would start at a point of 'unpeacefulness' (Curle, 1971) experienced by the researcher.

b. would extend the researcher's experience by a synthesis of theory with practice through observation.

c. would be interdisciplinary around a specific problem.

d. would have a future perspective, stimulating action for change. An objective will be to advise on viable policies that result in practice that is perceived as 'just' by those experiencing them.

e. would be explicit in its value base.

This study was undertaken on the assumption that people are intelligent, co-operative and willing to struggle for justice in the hope that positive peace is ultimately possible [2], (viz. Rawls (1972) 'Justice as Fairness' (p. 61).

The study aimed, in the context of the historical and social situation of the Bradford school system in the mid 1970's:

a. to analyse the situation of the Asian-named minority group children on the City school rolls, in comparison with that of their peers, in terms of their academic success in school.

b. to analyse the local authority policy of special provision for the children who speak English as a second language in practice in schools.

[1] See Appendix A.5, A Peace Study, for an expansion of this.

[2] My personal stance is a theological one, from a Christian tradition of an ideal society that perceives a potential for people to work together in 'love' (the nature and action of which are apprehended through God in Christ). See Real Peace is Jesus; paper submitted for M.A., Peace Studies, Bradford University, March 1975 (un-published)
c. to set the situation displayed in the context of progress towards racial justice and peace in a British school system.

The point of departure for the study was my experience of the unpeacefulness of race relationships as a mother in a multiracial family, as a teacher who had taught in schools in Britain and in Nigeria, and as a person of privileged economic and social status in British society, given through a schooling pathway up the academic scholarship ladder of the meritocracy (Young, 1958). From this background I returned to academic life, as one of the first of a multiracial, multicultural and multinational group of postgraduate students in the School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford. I began this study in January 1976 after a year’s immersion in that interdisciplinary academic atmosphere.

Completion took over ten years, for two main reasons. Firstly, as a mother and practicing teacher with the Local Education Authority (LEA) at the time of the field work, my focus was on the immediately perceived needs of the children in school. A response to these took priority over the presentation of a thesis. I was continuously involved in the moulding of policy and practice in relation to the school provision for Asian children as a parent, school governor, teacher and from September 1982 as an Education Adviser to the LEA. This was the prior time commitment. Secondly, the fact that I was researching the local, contemporary situation of which I was part meant that I was in a constant interaction of theory and practice. From a human values perspective, the situations required a response of me. From an academic perspective any response both affected the situation and required further observation, comment and study. This presented a problem of boundaries for the study. The outcome was a research project based on a 'critical model' (Fay, 1975) of social analysis as the most appropriate theoretical base available but with a clear acknowledgement of the value-base to the research (Appendix A.5).

My experience of racial, cultural and class differences had highlighted for me
the importance of prejudice as a factor in group identity. Prejudiced beliefs can provide cultural sanctions to maintain political and economic power differentials between racially-defined groups through the institutions of society. Sometimes these sanctions are racially explicit (e.g. apartheid in South Africa) but more often they are unconscious and implicit in policy but racially discriminatory, however unintentionally. I chose to study this latter discrimination which results in a perpetuation of the privilege of white people through the institutions of society in Britain.

The situation of the study was that most immediately relevant to my experience and knowledge as a mother and teacher in Bradford, that of a local school system with a large number of Asian children on roll speaking English as a second language (E2L). Two particular issues were prominent in the politics of the education of the E2L children in Bradford in 1976, firstly that of the dispersal of these children among the city schools by 'bussing' [1], and secondly that of a request for single-sex schooling for Muslim children after puberty in a city that was committed to a policy of comprehensive co-education. The Asian children were perceived, as were some of the children in my own family, as non-white. Thus factors influencing decisions on these issues were broader than language and cultural difference and encompassed those of race.

It seemed to me that a study of the race factor in policy and practice could be a valuable contribution to the development of policy for the schooling of children for the future multiracial, multicultural society. My contact with other LEA's with a high proportion of Asian and Afro-Caribbean children on school rolls showed that there was a lack of this kind of research at the time, whether on LEA's or by them. In fact, the responses to my enquiries from LEA's showed

[1] Bussing: a term related to the quota system policy of allocating black children to schools. Those who exceed the quota allowed at the local school, usually in the inner city area, are sent by special school bus to a school in an outer city area (see Chapter 12).
little perception of the factor of 'race' as a problem.

A review of the literature showed a need for work to be done in two areas. Firstly, there was a need for some assessment of the local policies for education of the children of immigrants. Such research as there was on the situation of the Asian children in the Bradford schools was written from the perspective of the majority community, by the LEA administrators themselves, and tended to affirm the administrative decisions taken. Some attempt to offer an alternative perspective on the policies seemed appropriate. Secondly, since such assessment as there was concentrated particularly on language and secondarily on family background of the children in order to integrate them into the school system, then this school system itself should now be studied to assess the extent to which it was accommodating to the Asian child's cultural and racial difference. Finally, most studies of race relations prior to 1980 had focussed on the immigrant communities, with some consideration of the constraints of the sending country (Saifullah-Khan, 1975; Jeffrey, 1976). It seemed appropriate for the thrust of my study to be towards consideration of the constraints of the receiving country, in particular institutional racism within the school system. The study could, by clarifying the racial dimension of privilege in schooling, focus the direction of change in policy and practice that would enable racial justice to increase.

The aims of the thesis have been met through the following objectives:

a. To make a basic description of the situation of the pupils on the roll of the City Upper schools in Bradford (former County Borough area) 1975-76 in two broad categories that would approximate to racial difference, from which to analyse a relative success rate in the school system. This was the context for the analysis of the LEA policy relating to the education of the children of New Commonwealth immigrants.

b. To demonstrate the effectiveness of the LEA policy for the education of children who spoke E2L (English as a second language), 1965-1975, in English
language teaching provision and in promoting accommodation to racial and cultural differences in the schools.

c. To select those aspects of the policy that were most effective in promoting racial justice and show how they could be added to and developed in the best interests of all children in Bradford schools in the 1980's. These would be pointers to the effectiveness of the LEA's equal opportunities policy on race relations, brought in by the council in 1981 (see Appendix A.13).

The dissertation has been developed in four parts:

Part 1 The Bradford schools are set in their historical context to show the effect of the broadening base of educational opportunity over the past century through legislation and school provision. This demonstrates the continuing importance of examination standards imposed on the schools as a measure of success in schooling.

The cultural and racial diversity of the Bradford population is described, briefly, with the build-up of the numbers of Asian children in the schools from 1965. This gives an indication of the size and particular nature of the educational problem that has been faced by Bradford LEA. It has been argued that the immigrants have come into a low status position in an unequal society with a traditionally monocultural school system. In this situation, social mobility through schooling is dependent largely on the ability of the child to integrate into this system.

To allow the non-English speaking newcomers this facility required an extensive programme of E2L (English as a second language) teaching in the schools. It would require that the immigrant parents understand the nature of schooling in Britain and an expectation of their involvement in it. It is argued that since, in its history, the school system has shown a limited facility to offer equal opportunity for success in school to children of the lower socio-economic groups in society, the possibility of its doing so for children who are both economically deprived and culturally and racially different from the monocultural
norm would appear to be limited, without radical change of policy and practice.

This analysis is accompanied by a presentation of a theoretical framework for discussions of equal opportunity and racial disadvantage in education. The data for Part 1 of the thesis has been extracted from both primary sources, including census returns and LEA statistics, and secondary sources.

Part 2 The Asian children's talent to succeed in the Bradford schools has been assessed in comparison with that of their peers by two indicators:

i) a relative allocation to teaching group band in City Upper schools in September 1975. This showed the teachers' assessment of the children's chances of success in the public examinations over three age groups (thus including a tentative measure of trend).

ii) the public examination results in summer 1976, classified according to name type categories. The results of the GCE 'O' level and CSE examinations offer a descriptive measure of the attainment of a total age group in the City schools in one year, according to an educational standard that is accepted as valid by society in general. The GCE 'A' level results for summer 1976 have been analysed for comparison.

The results of this assessment were analysed in the context of the Asian child's motivation to succeed in school and parental and teacher encouragement to this end. It has been argued that, while the Asian children show a relatively lower talent to succeed in school than their peers, a deeper analysis of examination results can show this to be only partly a function of their ability in English language. The monocultural bias of the subject content of the examinations themselves is unhelpful. The motivation of the Asian children to succeed, backed by supportive families, has been shown to be high, but teacher expectations were frequently low and relying on stereotypes.

Most of the data used was from primary sources, including the Upper school lists of pupils in September 1975 and the Public Examination Boards' result lists,
analysed according to name type. Some of the data was based on observations in
the homes and schools of Asian children. This is accompanied by a presentation
of the background to racial and cultural stereotyping in Britain that feeds
perceptions of black people.

Part 3 The policy for the education of immigrants, 1965–1975, has been set in its
national context. The development of the local policy has then been described, to
show how Bradford has interpreted national guidelines and legislation. The
Council's policy of 'positive action' from 1965 to 1980 was expressed in specific
procedures, including the registration, medical examination, assessment of the
English language competence of the children of New Commonwealth immigrants,
and their dispersal among the schools for special language teaching provision. The
accommodation to racial and cultural difference in schools, including classroom
practice, school rules, statutory provision in terms of religious education and
worship, physical education and school meals, has been described, with an
increasingly large minority of culturally different children entering the schools over
a decade. This has been discussed in the context of the provision, perceptions and
expectations of teachers.

It has been argued that Bradford made generous provision for the children of
immigrants after 1965, but the procedures by which the policy was administered
were racially divisive and frequently perpetuated and promoted the racial inequalities
that they were intending to redress. The policy concentrated on integration of the
children into a competitive school system, with a lack of sensitivity at the outset to
the importance of status differential between groups in the effectiveness of measures
for promoting equality of opportunity. It is further argued that there was little
consultation with the minority communities themselves and an inadequate
preparation of the teachers for the task they were facing. Consequently, the Asian
children were expected to change to fit the schools and there was a low awareness
of the damage that could ensue to minority language, culture and identity. There
was an inability or unwillingness on the part of the dominant community to face the racial prejudice that was being perpetuated through schooling and was reinforcing status differential, for to listen to requests for change from black people.

The data on which the argument has been based was from observation (sometimes participant) in the classrooms and homes of the children and from LEA documents, particularly local administrative memoranda (LAM's).

Part 4 The possibilities and constraints of the situation displayed in Parts 1–3 have been discussed, using four observed case studies of Bradford schools, to show a potential for development towards racial justice. It has been argued that an increase in opportunity for success in school, for all children, can come through moving from a monocultural to a multicultural curriculum and a diversification of the criteria for success which that implies. The life chances of the children can be improved through a politically aware teaching staff, committed to combatting racism through schooling and in society. It has been argued that this will involve the opening up of school to community participation through dialogue, influence and involvement, enabling the institution to be responsive to the real needs of its clients and their parents. This involves a reappraisal of the responsibilities of the home and the school in educating the child and a redistribution of the power to influence practice. Some practical suggestions for policy development have been derived from the discussion.

The concept of dialogue is ultimately set in a theological perspective, as a framework for projection into the future, and thus as a thesis for peace.

*See p. 62.*
PART I THE BRADFORD SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ITS HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

An understanding of the history and nature of the schooling itself, and the context of immigration to Bradford, is a necessary background to an appreciation of the educational achievement of the Asian children in the City.
"There, far below, is the knobbly backbone of England, the Pennine Range .... There is a glitter of water here and there, from the moorland tarns that are now called reservoirs .... Over to the right is a long smudge of smoke, beneath which the towns of the West Riding lie buried, and fleeces, tops, noils, yarns, stuffs, come and go, in and out of the mills .... a late September afternoon .... sunshine lights up the nearest of the towns, most of it jammed into a narrow valley running up to the moors."

J B Priestley (1929) [1]

Today's Bradford is cleaner and sweeter than Priestley's Bruddersford, with the mills constrained by the Clean Air Act and houses burning smokeless fuel in their central heating boilers. The glass-roofed market has gone and the romantic Swan Arcade has made way for a monstrously self-important Police Headquarters which dominates an otherwise tastefully redeveloped town centre.

Bradford, an industrial city with a population of 294,172 [2], is the second largest of the West Yorkshire conurbation towns that spread across the valleys of the Aire and Calder rivers. Bradford Dale supported cottage industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spinning wool from the moorland sheep and weaving it into cloth. The fact that it is floored with coal and ironstone gave momentum to the growth of steam-powered industry in the eighteenth century and allowed the phenomenal growth of 'worstedopolis' in the early nineteenth [3]. The town still retains the flavour of the Industrial Revolution, with its rows of stone-built terraced houses climbing in straight streets up the valley sides, and its factory chimneys marking the wandering Bradford Beck, long since embowelled

[2] Registrar General, Census of population of England and Wales, 1971. This figure refers to the former County Borough area.
under the tarmac. Newer housing estates sprawl higher up towards the moors and industry is diversified, but still the amphitheatre of hills around Bradford Dale contains a close-knit socio-economic unit, Britain's 'largest village' (Brockway, 1946). This city-village has tolerated and supported social pioneers such as Oastler, Forster and McMillan in a situation that was closed enough for their work to have visible impact and open enough to attract national interest and acclaim.

The following brief history of the development of the school system in Bradford shows two things. Firstly, it shows a pioneering tradition. The privilege of the economically powerful has frequently been balanced with a strong sense of humane responsibility for the less advantaged [1]. The political awareness of the less economically powerful, sharpened by changes and suffering, has provided adequate political muscle to direct the outcome of the social conscience [2]. Secondly, it shows how successive reforms in national educational provision, some pioneered from Bradford [3], have broadened the base of educational opportunity but have been trapped in a meritocratic mould [4] that has measured success by an academic standard of the grammar school tradition graded by external examinations, linked to University entrance requirements. This has been the standard of success applauded and rewarded by status and profit in society.

Schooling (the development of literacy) in Bradford has always been available for money, even to immigrants. The North German yarn and piece merchants of

---


[2] This is shown by local political groups from the Chartists to the Bradford-born Independent Labour Party, and the working class trade union strength shown by its representation on the Bradford School Board 1870–1902.


[4] M Young (1958) The Rise of the Meritocracy: where merit is IQ + effort and this may well constitute the basic belief of the ruling class of the twenty-first century.
the nineteenth century set up their own school which in time incorporated the established but failing Bradford Grammar School [1] and founded a Girls' Grammar School too [2]. 'Charity schools', teaching reading and writing [3], were available for others. Most of the schooling of the working class began through the Sunday School Movement [4], aiming for moral uplift by means of teaching children to read the Bible. Government grant aid to voluntary bodies for distribution to their schools began after the first Factory Act (1833) had forbidden the employment of children under nine and made education for working children compulsory for two hours a day [5].

With the extension of suffrage to 'the working man' [6] there was an increased national concern at the 'want of instruction still observable among the lower classes ...' [7]. Government inspectors were appointed to see that the grant-aid was being well spent and soon quantifiable standards of attainment were demanded. A system of teachers' 'payment by results' was instituted in 1862 [8]. Thus, closely following publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), the

---

[1] Bradford Grammar School's official constitution dates from the Restoration, when it was granted a royal charter and became known as the "Free Grammar School of King Charles the Second at Bradford".


[5] In 1832, John Wood opened within his mill one of the earliest factory schools in the country for the factory children and others who wished to attend, Fieldhouse (1978), op.cit.

[6] The Second Reform Act 1867 extended suffrage to all male 'householders'. It did not extend it to farm labourers or women, though most of the urban working men were empowered to vote for Members of Parliament.


[8] An examination was set in reading, writing and arithmetic. Movement from one class (standard) to the next was by achievement rather than age. The teacher's salary varied according to the number of children coached through the standard. S J Curtis (1957 ed.) *History of Education in Great Britain*, pp. 253-269.
government set a seal on the nature of the developing elementary school system for workers' children by demanding from its pupils and teachers the 'survival of the fittest' in a narrow field of competitive numeracy and literacy.

The national system of elementary education was campaigned for and completed under the responsibility of William Forster, MP for Bradford from 1861 until his death in 1886 [1]. Under the 1870 Education Act, local School Boards were to be set up which would assess the provision of schooling in the area. To provide a comprehensive elementary education schools system, schools provided by voluntary bodies (mainly churches) were supplemented by schools provided for out of the local household rate:

"One object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours." [2]

In Bradford, many of these board school buildings were still in use in the 1980's in the inner city, witnessing to this benevolence. The fears of their critics that they would be godless institutions within which there was no hope of moral succour for the poor were allayed. Ecclesiastical architecture, a curriculum that differed little from that of the voluntary denominational schools, and teachers who had trained and taught in those very denominational schools put constraints on change.

[1] Forster was the son of a Quaker missionary and he came to Bradford in 1841 to set up in partnership with a wool manufacturer. He was turned out of the Quaker Fellowship when he married the daughter of Matthew Arnold and later joined her as a member of the Anglican church. The sectarianism of the church was part of his experience. He was bent on social service and twice visited Ireland during the potato famine to see what conditions were like and to administer relief provided by the English Quakers. He supported the aims of the Chartists, though not the violence of the majority faction. T Weymiss Reid (1888) The Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster

A now internationally famous member of the Bradford School Board was Margaret McMillan (Mansbridge, 1932; Lowndes, 1960). She came to Bradford to work for the newly formed Independent Labour Party (Brockway, 1946) and was elected to the School Board in 1894 with a mandate 'to fight .... the battle of the slum child'. She was horrified by the stunted, dirty and verminous children she saw in the schools and worked to pioneer school medical inspections (1899) [1], school swimming baths (Wapping Road, 1897) and the School Meals Service (1907) [2].

While the early educational reformers in Bradford had been concerned mainly for the moral welfare of the children, Margaret McMillan was acutely aware of their neglected physical welfare and in this respect had an impact not only on schooling in Bradford but nationally [3].

By the time McMillan left Bradford in 1902, 'payment by results' had gradually disappeared, and the curriculum of the Board schools had widened to include music, history and geography. Also advanced 'Higher Grade' schools had opened [4] through working class pressure on the School Board. These offered a broader curriculum still [5] and influenced by the Independent Labour Party and trade unions made strong links with technical college training. They did not cream off the top standards from the Elementary schools but, unlike those of other School Boards, attracted children at a younger age from relatively well-to-do...

---

[2] After the passing of the Provision of Meals Act, 1906, Bradford was the first city to set up a Central School Meals depot, in 1907. The central kitchen sent food out to four dining centres in slum areas of the city.
[3] Most of her work in nursery education and with creative new teaching methods for infant schools was done after she had left Bradford, though this was only a continuation of approaches that she developed there.
[5] Initially French, Latin (an immediate challenge to the classics-based grammar school), Euclid, algebra and physical geography.
working class families who could afford the fees [1] or bright children from Elementary schools on School Board scholarships. Thus, by the time the Bryce Commissioners, 1895, visited the city, they found 'a door open in Bradford for a boy of special ability to pass right through to the universities' [2]. Had it not been for Robert Morant [3], 'a convinced adherent to the classical and literary tradition of secondary education' (Dent, 1949), a completely new type of schooling might have blossomed then, arising out of the needs and impetus for change of the working class.

The Higher Grade schools were seen as a challenge to the education ladder to the University through Preparatory and Grammar schools. Morant declared that the local councils had no right to pay for them out of the rates [4] and Bradford's Higher Grade schools were pronounced illegal in 1899. In effect they survived as 'municipal secondary schools' under the Education Act 1902 when the whole system of grant-aid to schools was revised. The new 'local education authorities' (LEAs) were empowered to raise the apex of the schooling pyramid and lay the basis of a national system of 'secondary' education. While the Higher Grade schools survived physically as municipal secondary schools, with Morant's influence the new secondary schools inherited the grammar school tradition of selection by academic or fee-paying ability and a curriculum of a classical bent.

[1] The fees were not so high as those for the grammar schools and thus Higher Grade schools were in direct competition with them.
[2] The Bryce Commission, 1895, was appointed "to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England". Curtis (1957 ed.) op.cit., Chapter IX.
[4] This opinion was confirmed as a legal judgement in a dispute between the London School Board and the London Technical Education Board at the time. Each wished to be recognised as responsible for secondary education in order to draw the rate support.
A 'free-place' system was introduced in Bradford in advance of the national system, with the brightest pupils from elementary school being encouraged to move into what had hitherto been a more middle class preserve. Thus a class-based system of schooling was in process of conversion to a 'merit' based system, but with merit defined by the grammar schools.

The Bradford Trades Council, 1916, did present a programme of reform that was subsequently adopted by the Labour Party Conference in 1917 (The Bradford Charter). It envisaged secondary education as non-selective and following rather than parallel to elementary schooling [1]. Some of the ideals of the Charter became a reality in Bradford after World War I, with 'Central' schools offering an alternative to the senior classes of elementary schools, and secondary school fees abolished. By the time the Hadow Committee reported in 1926 [2], Bradford was offering a variety of types of schooling to the adolescent, according to choice. In response to the Hadow Report, '11+ selection' was introduced nationally and had to be adopted by Bradford too. A competition was set for secondary school selection. Equality of opportunity came to be understood as equality to enter the secondary grammar school.

One particularly persistent legacy from the past remained to fuel this competitive individualism in schooling. For the few, there were places in Bradford's two independent Grammar schools that took the brightest Elementary school children on scholarships, schooling them to at least sixteen years and frequently to University entrance.

The Education Act 1944 made diversity in schooling statutory. The gradual change in teaching methods in the inter-war years under the influence of

---

educationalists such as Dewey [1], Neill [2], Montessori [3] and McMillan [4] made it possible. Children were to proceed at eleven, either to a multilateral (comprehensive) school or by selection into a school in the tripartite system (secondary modern, secondary technical or secondary grammar) all these 'county' schools having 'parity of esteem'. Despite the fact that many of the 'modern' schools, 'the hope of the 1944 Act' (Musgrave, 1968), were educationally exciting (MacKenzie, 1970) they could not earn the parity of esteem required of them, nor give the prestige accorded by public examination certificates [5]. In 1948, Labour-controlled Bradford Council submitted a 'development plan' under the 1944 Act to central government that, mindful of the Bradford charter of 1917, the 1947 Labour Party Conference [6] and a need for parity of esteem, proposed reorganisation of the schools on comprehensive, co-educational lines.


[4] Margaret McMillan's teacher training college at Deptford (1918) aimed 'to turn out teachers who will be true gardeners of real child-gardens', G A N Lowndes (1960), op. cit., p.60.

[5] It was with these children in mind that the Certificate of Secondary Education was established. Report of the Beloe Committee on Secondary School Examinations other than GCE, 1960.

[6] The Labour Party Annual Conference, 1947, passed the following resolution: "This Conference urges the Minister of Education to take great care that he does not perpetuate under the new Education Act the undemocratic tradition of English secondary education, which results in all normal children born into well-to-do homes being educated together in the same type of school, while the ablest children in working class families are separated at the age of eleven from their less gifted brothers and sisters. This Conference draws attention to the fact that on four occasions during the last five years it has passed resolutions emphasising the need for rapid development of a new type of multi-lateral or common secondary school, taking a complete cross-section of children of secondary school age without selection, and providing a comprehensive curriculum suited to children of varied capacities and tastes. It calls upon the Minister to review the educational system in order to give real equality of opportunity to all the nation's children."

Meanwhile, the former municipal secondary schools were renamed ‘grammar’ schools. In Bradford, these catered for a third of the school population. Government pressure to reduce this proportion to one quarter was resisted, a measure of the importance the city placed on the grammar school. Although the base of educational opportunity had been broadened to offer education to all according to ‘age, ability and aptitude’, a single ladder of achievement remained with a grammar school bias responsive to the universities. It is important to note that in Bradford this competitive entry to the grammar school as the apex of schooling was strongly supported by the more articulate members of the working class (Parker, 1970).

In Bradford, eleven-plus selection was finally ended after a Labour Council had been returned to power in May 1963. Through some firm political management the reorganisation was achieved within a year. Post-primary education was reorganised in 1964 into two year non-selective Junior High schools (11–13) and three-year Senior High Schools (13–16) receiving their first comprehensive intake in 1966. The nine former selective grammar schools (Extended High Schools) and one purpose-built comprehensive school had sixth-form provision. Initially children were allocated to the schools on parental choice, but it was soon apparent that large numbers of parents were opting for their children to attend the Extended High Schools (still named grammar schools). In May 1967, the Conservatives regained control of the local council and solved the provision/prestige problem at a stroke. At a Council meeting on September 26th, 1967, it was decided that all the senior schools should henceforth be known as grammar schools and each would cater for all pupils in the 13–18 age range (Parker, 1970). Extra resources were directed towards these new sixth-forms including practically the whole of the city’s allowance from central government to cover extra provision for the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA), planned for 1972–73.
Comprehensive reorganisation did not supersede and barely masked the pride of place the people of Bradford gave to the grammar school tradition – curriculum, teaching style and examinations.

One area of Bradford, Low Moor, presented reorganisation problems to the planners. There was no school suitable for a Junior High School and the area was short of Primary school places. At the same time there was discussion, both locally and nationally, about the wisdom of setting up a two-year Junior High (‘transit camp’) on the one hand and the 11+ break on the other. The Chief Education Officer of the West Riding, Alec Clegg, stated that:

"The Ministry should be approached with a view to establishing secondary schools with a clear run of three years to 'O' level, and middle schools which extend as far below the age of thirteen as the law will permit ...." [1] (my emphasis)

On July 31st 1964, an Education Act permitting authorities to submit proposals for new schools in this 9–13 age range became law. This opened up new possibilities for Bradford to extend the Junior High schools to incorporate the nine year-olds, solving the worry about the two-year school and removing the problem of Primary provision at Low Moor. Delf Hill, the first experimental Middle school (9–13) in the country was built there and opened in 1969.

This particular piece of educational history is important not only as a further example of Bradford's educational pioneering, but also because the reorganisation of the school system from 5–13 into First and Middle schools offers an excellent example of local authority consultation with parents and teachers and dialogue on educational policy. The reorganisation itself took four years (1971–1974) but it had been preceded by thorough consideration of the educational problems involved through a Teachers' Advisory Council (TAC) set up in September 1964 by the

Education Committee [1] and by numerous public meetings. Whereas the reorganisation of secondary schooling came as a Council imposition, Middle schools were born of much debate around their nature and purpose, curricula and staff/pupil relationships. The new school at Delf Hill, in an open plan building, aimed to combine the peer-group-based, inter-disciplinary, experiential learning approach of the Primary school with an introduction to the subject orientated teaching and specialist teachers considered more appropriate to the curriculum of the secondary sector. The examination bias of the secondary sector could be relaxed and the child-centred learning that had become widespread in the Primary education sector, was extended quite dramatically in some of the city schools. On the basis of my own experience, it was apparent that the staff, backed by parents, who had been involved in the discussion of policy and philosophy were prepared to fight to retain this possibility [2]. Ultimately, Bradford was handicapped financially, having to bring obsolescent school buildings up to a minimum rather than an adequate standard for many of the schools, but the potential for a radical change in the approach to the middle years of schooling was there (Blyth and Derricott, 1977).


[2] In the two Middle schools of which I made a particular study, one Head of a purpose-built Middle school catering for four units of 90 children each, fought the local authority allowance of a teaching ratio of 1:24 for Middle schools which would not allow him the four teachers he would require for each unit in a building designed for small group work rather than large class teaching, and with parental backing retained a staffing ratio of about 1:20; the other school, set up in an old inner city former Grammar school building raised a strong protest when it was suggested that another Middle school should be merged with it to rationalise accommodation, on the grounds that space for small group work was of the essence in Middle school management and, backed by parental protest (on less 'educational' grounds in this instance), averted the merger.
British schooling differs in the constituent parts of the United Kingdom in detail of the compromise between national and local authority policies, in the degree of influence by church and state and in legal and cultural idiosyncrasies. The differences are related to the means of schooling rather than to its aim. British schooling, in effect, aims to educate children so that they can take a useful role in society. Success in this schooling is measured by an external examination at school leaving age which, although there is no unified national standard or curriculum [1], broadly defines the child’s status and usefulness for society.

The national school system is largely controlled through central government’s provision of funding which will weight priorities though allowing much local autonomy in policy detail and in curriculum content. It has been described as a ‘managed democracy’ (Smith, 1957):

"The principle of planning is accepted with the State as the arch-planner, but the State operates not as a dictator but rather as the big brother of other interests concerned with the task of education." [2]

Teachers' associations, voluntary bodies, school governors and the Headteachers and teachers themselves play a role in contributing to the plan.

The 1944 Act endorsed the concept of control by partnership. It endowed the Minister of State for Education with central power of oversight and inspection, in order to:

"promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." [3]

[1] The General Certificate of Education and Certificate of Secondary Education examinations are set, moderated and marked by a variety of examination boards with only a limited standardisation of results.

*Anational Curriculum was introduced by the Education Reform Act, 1988*
The LEA Educational Services Committee, with its elected Council members and professional educationists responsible to it, is bidden:

"So far as their powers extend to contribute to the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by ensuring that sufficient education .... shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area." [1]

It thus retains autonomy to decide local needs, to direct and control resources.

The resultant British school system displays a diversity that is the product of creative difference of opinion and discussion. Though planned and centrally advised, it is potentially open to the possibility of progress, change and originality. Bradford's school system exemplifies one such 'original' response to a local situation, as part of the broader educational provision for the community.

The British school system owes much to Bradford folk, working class and middle class together, from its initiation under Forster in 1870, through its welfare provision pioneered by McMillan at the turn of the century to the ideals set by the Bradford Charter of 1917, structured in the Bradford Plan of 1948 and promoted in comprehensive reorganisation. Following Bradford's lead, national planners in the 1960's struggled to offer parity of esteem to the schooling of all our children. Bradford pioneered Middle school development and the thrust to introduce progressive educational methods into the more formal teaching of the 'secondary' age range.

It was during the decade of reorganisation in the 1960's that the Asian children began entering the Bradford schools in increasing numbers (Chapter 2). However, throughout all the years of its life, the Director of Education did not ask the TAC to consider this situation, nor did the teachers themselves minute the

[1] Education Act 1944, Section 7, as quoted in T Burgess (1969) op.cit., p.53
issues it was raising [1]. No meetings were held to explain the setting up of language centres nor the dispersal policy.

The development of the school system demonstrates Bradford's history of pioneering change and a tradition of grass-roots democracy. It shows the possibility of educational policy and practice being open to effective pressure from local groups, whether that of trade unionists through the Bradford Charter or in the consultation with parents of children for whom the Middle schools were being planned. At the same time it shows the influence of national cultural assumptions on the local political norms. Bradford's part in the conversion of grammar schooling from a preserve of the aristocracy to that of a right for a meritocracy shows a redistribution of political power among social groups but little change in the hierarchical structure of society. It was reformist rather than revolutionary. A lack of focus, in the process of reorganisation of the educational issues that the Asian immigration was posing, too reflected a national norm.

The following chapter describes the nature of immigration to Bradford in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the impact of this on the school system and the potential conflicts developing.

[1] The TAC held monthly meetings over eight years, 1964-1972. The one exception is a mention made in a discussion of the admission of pupils to school other than at the beginning of the school year, "especially immigrants". This was made at a panel meeting of a working party to discuss Middle schools, in September 1964, not at a full Council meeting, and is not minuted as having been reported back to the full Council.
CHAPTER 2 IMMIGRATION INTO BRADFORD

Bradford is used to immigration. In the nineteenth century, the Irish came in large numbers, seeking work in the mills. In the twentieth century, the Asians did the same. The former were white, the latter black and most were poor. This synopsis of the situation will set a context for understanding the inter-relationship between host and immigrant in Bradford that will be relevant to a consideration of the Asian groups' impact on the schools.

Firstly, it will show that cultural variety is an overt dimension of the city's life and was so before the Asians came. Secondly, it will show the size of the problem of educational provision that the Asian immigration posed. Most of the Asian children entered schools with a limited ability to speak English. Their proportion in the school population increased rapidly once immigration legislation effectively changed the pattern of migration from workers to dependents. Thirdly, it gives an indication of the Asian family's perceptions and expectations of schooling, a mismatch between presumption and reality. While Bradford was used to cultural variety in its social life, this had had little impact on the ethos of schools, except perhaps in the remaining voluntary-aided Anglican and Roman Catholic schools.

Bradford is not a rich city. In 1971, over four-fifths (84.4%) of the economically active population were in the manual worker and lower social classes, compared with 72.4% in England and Wales [1]. There had been a rapid rise in unemployment in the seventies. In 1974 it was 2.6% of the workforce, in 1980 it was 6.7% and in 1981 it was 11.9% compared with 11.3% [2] annual average UK

figure. A higher proportion of black workers were unemployed than white workers [1]. The older, poor quality housing in the central and south-eastern wards of the city was taken up by people of low socio-economic status (Figure 1.1). These were the residential areas of the majority of immigrants from the New Commonwealth in 1971 (Figure 1.2).

Local government reorganisation in 1974 brought the dormitory towns of the Aire Valley into the political sphere of the new Bradford Metropolitan District (Figure 1.3). The educationalists of the West Riding of Yorkshire brought a legacy of Sir Alec Clegg's child-centred philosophy (Clegg and Megson, 1968) to the County Borough of Bradford's reverence for the Grammar School tradition (Parker, 1970). The area of study of this thesis was the pre-1974 Bradford City, focus of the earlier and greatest concentration of settlement of immigrants from the New Commonwealth. The period was a time of educational change alongside changes required in response to the needs of the immigrant families.

Cultural and Racial Diversity in the Bradford City Population

Bradford has been host to immigrant families for well over a century, from Ireland, the continent of Europe, the West Indian islands and, most recently, from East Africa and the Indian sub-continent. They have contributed to her industrial prosperity and each new ethnic group has left a mark on the social life of the city.

By the 1851 census, there were 244 'foreigners' in Bradford, most of them

[1] In Bradford, with almost 11% of the population black, 23% of all unemployed males were black (August 1980) and 36% of the young males unemployed in the city were black (May 1979). Source: Bradford Community Relations Council, 1980.
Figure 1.1 Bradford 1971: Social class distribution and car ownership

Active males in professional and managerial classes: Wards with 15.8–23.5% (First quartile)

Households without a car: wards with 74–81% (First quartile)

City centre area

Source: C Richardson (1976) A Geography of Bradford, p.160 (modified)
Figure 1.2 Bradford 1971: distribution of population born in the New Commonwealth

New Commonwealth percent of population in area
- Less than 1
- 1-25
- More than 25
- Inner city ward boundaries

Source: C Richardson (1976) op.cit., p.164 (modified)
Figure 1.3 Bradford Local Education Authority boundaries pre- and post-1974

- Land above 600 feet
- Bradford LEA pre-1974: County Borough boundary
- Bradford LEA post-1974: Metropolitan District boundary
north German yarn and piece merchants and their families [1]. The north
Germans assisted in the foundation of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce and
helped to set up the Technical College (later to become Bradford College). There
were Jews, German Evangelicals and Roman Catholics. Most of the nineteenth
century immigrants, however, came from Ireland, Roman Catholic, numbering 9,581
(9%) of the Bradford Parish population in 1851 (Richardson, 1968). This
migration was at its peak during 1841–1845, immediately before the Great Famine.
The Irish were poor and settled in the cramped housing of the city centre, areas
such as Goit Side having a density of 800 persons per acre [2]. The Catholic
elementary school system was established by and for them.

Immigration from the Republic of Ireland continued through the intervening
years, but 'foreign' immigration was insignificant until the Second World War
brought new groups to the city. There were ex-soldiers, refugees and emigrés
from Eastern Europe – Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.
Eastern rite Catholic churches, a 'Captive Nations Association' and community
cultural clubs witness to their continued presence among the population. Other
European refugees came from Hungary and Yugoslavia, some as volunteer workers

The more conspicuous immigrant groups in the city were those from the New
Commonwealth countries, including Pakistan. The colour of their skin differentiated
them from the earlier groups. They made up approximately 7% of the city
population in 1971 (Figure 1.4).

---

[1] One such family was that of Frederick Delius, the composer, whose father
came from Westphalia in Germany in 1874 and established himself as a wool
and yarn merchant.

[2] C Richardson (1976) op.cit., p.98. This density is ten times higher than any
in Bradford of the 1980's.

### Figure 1.4 Place of Birth of the Population of Bradford, the West Yorkshire Conurbation and Great Britain, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where born</th>
<th>Bradford Number</th>
<th>Bradford %</th>
<th>W. York conurbation Number</th>
<th>W. York %</th>
<th>Great Britain % of W. York (000's)</th>
<th>Great Britain %</th>
<th>Bradford % of Great Britain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Countries</td>
<td>294,172</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>1,728,250</td>
<td>17.05</td>
<td>53,979</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>7,095</td>
<td>18.39</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Republic</td>
<td>3,082</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>17,415</td>
<td>17.71</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European countries</td>
<td>4,512</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>18,545</td>
<td>24.30</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Commonwealth</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Commonwealth countries in:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>33.42</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>1,980</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>10,320</td>
<td>19.31</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>5,897</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>15,935</td>
<td>36.95</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan (Incl. Bangladesh)</td>
<td>10,999</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>21,930</td>
<td>50.02</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New Commonwealth and non-UK citizens born outside the UK:

- No. 29,794
- 91,170
- 32.62%
- 10.10%
- 5.27%

Source: C Richardson (1976) *A Geography of Bradford*, p.163

The West Indian immigration into Bradford has been little researched (Richardson, 1976). Most of it dates from the early Sixties. In 1975, there were 1,460 Afro-Caribbean children recorded on the register of the children at school in November out of a total of 9,491 (15.4%) [1]. There were Caribbean evangelical Christian churches (Black-led churches) in the city, a West Indian Cultural Association and, from 1980, a supplementary school [2].


[2] Supplementary school: school run by a voluntary agency to supplement mainstream schooling, particularly with information of cultural and religious significance to the group.
The Asian immigrants were the most recent and came in large numbers. The pioneer Asian male migrants began to settle in Bradford in 1940. Most of them were nightshift workers in the textile mills. Sawdrie (1971) estimated that by 1953 there were 350, a hundred of whom had been joined by their wives. Migration did not become substantial until 1961 when there were 1,512 Indians and 3,457 Pakistanis in the city [1]. Immigration from India had increased four-fold and that from Pakistan ten-fold over the previous year, still with a preponderance of males, most without wives and sending money back to families on the subcontinent. The two Commonwealth Immigrant Acts (1962, 1968) caused a change in the type and therefore the amount of immigration [2]. Fear of control of entry (Rose et al., 1969; Peach, 1968) caused the men to bring their families over and plan more long-term settlement. The balance of migration shifted from the economically active to the 'economically inactive', from men to women, from adults to children. Among the number of men still gaining entry, it shifted from the unskilled workers to the professionally qualified [3].

The Asians came from a wide variety of geographical areas, national [4] and ethnic groups (Figure 1.5). Badr Dhaya (1973) estimated that there were 10,500 Pakistanis in the city in the mid-Sixties, mostly from agricultural villages in the

---

[2] The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 permitted free entry to the dependents of persons already resident in Britain but imposed a quota on adults requiring work permits. Thus the pattern changed from the immigration of single/unaccompanied men to a rapid increase in the number of wives, children and elderly relatives of those men already here entering the country. By 1967, 90% of all Commonwealth immigrants were dependents. As dependents became an increasing proportion of new immigrants, children became an increasing proportion of the immigrant communities.
[3] The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 tightened the conditions of entry for dependents and required them to obtain an Entry Certificate from the British High Commission in their country of origin. It also re-allocated the quota of work permits so that most were for professional men.
[4] Pakistan was created as a state, separate from India, on August 14th, 1947. Both countries were members of the Commonwealth of Nations. In 1971, East Pakistan seceded from Pakistan and became the state of Bangladesh. Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth.
Figure 1.5 Source areas of immigrants to Bradford from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

Source areas of most of the Asian immigrants to Bradford

northern Punjab, speaking Punjabi (Urdu) or Pushto. There were 1,500 from East Pakistan (later Bangladesh), speaking Bengali. The Pakistanis were Muslim and in time they established mosques in the inner city - Southfield Square for the Pakistanis, Cornwall Road for the Bangladeshis. The majority were in unskilled work or small businesses, though by 1980 many were unemployed. There were Indians from Gujerat, a few of them Muslim but most Hindu, and Hindi-speakers from a variety of localities in India. The Hindus established a temple and cultural society in East Bradford. Many of them were professional people. There were Punjabi-speaking (Gurumukhi) Sikhs, most of whom settled in East Bradford and established two temples (gurdwaras) there. In addition, Bradford received Asians from East Africa in the late 1960's, in particular a contingent from Uganda in 1972 [1]. These latter groups, though tracing their origin back to the Indian sub-continent, came through a rather different colonial and post-colonial situation from the other Asians. Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, on the whole, they showed a greater degree of accommodation to British culture and the English language than the rest.

By 1971, the census showed that 6.21% of Bradford city's population was Asian (Figure 1.4). To this must be added children born in the United Kingdom to these citizens. Eversley and Sukedo (1969) calculated that since Pakistani settlement contained the lowest proportion of complete families, it would show the highest rate of increase for years to come. The statistical effect of this on the schools rolls is described later (pp.36–43).

The majority of the new immigrants found housing in the inner city wards (Figure 1.2) (Carter and Jones, 1978, 1979) in the same areas that had housed the

East European immigrants and, a century earlier, the Irish. The Asians, in particular, made provision in these areas for their community needs. In 1959, there were two grocery–butchery businesses to provide the Muslims with halal (appropriately slaughtered) meat; by 1966, there were fifty-one; by 1971, there were 260 Asian retail establishments, justifying the existence of eleven wholesale businesses and one canning factory (Richardson, 1976). Apart from the places of worship, there were social meeting places, sweet and kebab centres, cinemas showing Indian films and supplementary schools for mother tongue and religious teaching. This cultural provision, made viable by the size of the communities, increased their concentration and self-sufficiency.

The concentration of the newest immigrants in the inner city of Bradford may give the appearance of 'a ghetto', but there was no enforcement of residence there as there would be in a classic ghetto situation [1]. Families were moving out as they became established and setting up small retail businesses in the new areas of residence. Any white resistance to this was mainly hidden – most apparent as a movement of white householders out of the widening Asian residential area. Citizens appeared to be opting for tolerant co-existence, with separation but not segregation. Council housing policies acknowledged the need for Asian families to live in communities in the larger inner city housing stock. The policies changed from inner city 'slum-clearance' in the 1960's, to 'regeneration' of the inner city in the 1970's [2].

The local Council [3], Labour and Conservative controlled alike, had been

[2] 'Regeneration' involved improving the old housing stock through a grant-aid system to householders/landlords in selected areas, restricting the access of motor vehicles to the smaller streets and reducing the through-flow of traffic, rebuilding council housing in the inner city, environmental improvements by tree-planting etc.
very supportive of the immigrants up till the 1964 General Election. The immigrant workforce was of great benefit to Bradford’s mills. After the 1964 General Election when Griffiths (Conservative) won Smethwick from Gordon Walker (Labour) on the race issue (Foot, 1965) and in the build-up to the 1968 immigration controls, the local Labour councillors found it politically expedient to take a more neutral stance (and thus supportive of an anti-immigrant status quo). This allowed the National Front (an overtly racialist [1] political group) to rise to some strength in the city. However, after violent clashes around National Front marches in 1976 [2] at which time Bradford was threatened with becoming the national headquarters of the party and national focus of activity, its influence waned dramatically in the town. Much of this decline must be attributed to the uncompromising stand of the local press against racism [3] at the time and its full, fair reporting of incidents backed by positive articles giving information about the recent immigrant groups [4]. The Bradford National Front vote was 10% of the vote in 1977 and 1% in the 1978 local elections, but less than 0.5% of the vote in the 1979 General Election.

Increasing unemployment with a recession in the wool trade and heavy industry in general was affecting the community as a whole but the black communities in particular. The potential for conflict was acute. The situation was ripe for stereotyping the black immigrants themselves as ‘the problem’, in a society where racial prejudice is a significant factor in social policy and intercourse.

[1] The term racialism is used in this study as synonymous with racial prejudice, see “Review of the Literature”.
[3] The term racism is used in this study as: "culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities", Wellman, 1977.
The Build-Up of Numbers of Children of New Commonwealth Immigrants in the Bradford Schools

Figure 1.6 gives a basis for comparison of the Bradford situation with a national statistic of 'immigrant' pupils in maintained schools with 10 or more such pupils in England and Wales. In January 1972, the Department of Education and Science (DES) recorded 279,872 such pupils, 3.3% of all pupils (Figure 1.6). A Commission for Racial Equality estimate for 1977 was that 1:20 school children (450,000 out of 9.5M) were of New Commonwealth ethnic origin [2].

The Bradford LEA statistics of children of New Commonwealth immigrants have been collected since 1963. When the DES discontinued the practice in 1974 Bradford continued until 1978. The Bradford statistic [3] included all children registered for dispersal (Chapter 11), irrespective of the date when their parents came to the UK. Figure 1.7 shows the actual number of children of New Commonwealth and Pakistani parents on roll in schools in the Bradford County Borough district in these years. It shows that Asians have been the greater proportion of these. The numbers have increased steadily, but the increase has been greatest in the Pakistani/Bangladeshi category. There were 6,811 children in this group, double the size of the Indian group, by 1978. At this stage the 'immigrant' children were almost 20% (11,678) of the children on the school

[1] The DES defined 'immigrant' pupils in schools as:

"(i) 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
(ii) children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the United Kingdom within the previous ten years."

The Education of Immigrants, HMSO 1971


[3] In order to keep consistency of statistics over the period of Metropolitan reorganisation and afterwards, my figures refer only to the former Bradford County Borough area. In this they differ from the statistics in the annual document District Trends published by the CBMDC.
### Table showing immigrant pupils by origin in all maintained schools, January 1972 and percentage of total immigrant pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia, Canada and New Zealand</td>
<td>2,455</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus (Greek)</td>
<td>9,504</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Turkish)</td>
<td>4,461</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibraltar, Malta</td>
<td>1,252</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya (Asian origin)</td>
<td>17,340</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(African origin)</td>
<td>1,385</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Commonwealth countries in Africa</td>
<td>14,444</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>56,193</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>30,629</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Commonwealth countries in Asia</td>
<td>8,008</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies (including Guyana)</td>
<td>101,898</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-commonwealth countries</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>12,009</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1,958</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>3,275</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European countries</td>
<td>5,980</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of World</td>
<td>9,081</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>279,872</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Statistics in Education 1972 Vol. 1 Schools (London HMSO)  
Quoted in D Hill *Teaching in Multiracial Schools*, Methuen & Co. 1976
Table showing the number of children of New Commonwealth and Pakistani parents on the roll of schools and centres 1963-1978, in the Bradford (County Borough) area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Count</th>
<th>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>Total Numbers on roll</th>
<th>% of 'immigrant' children to all children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pak-</td>
<td>Indi-</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stan &amp;</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1963</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1963</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1964</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1964</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1965</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1966</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1967</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1968</td>
<td>1619</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1969</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1970</td>
<td>2438</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1971</td>
<td>2781</td>
<td>2062</td>
<td>1303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1972</td>
<td>2938</td>
<td>2137</td>
<td>1346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1973</td>
<td>3341</td>
<td>2296</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1973</td>
<td>3795</td>
<td>2441</td>
<td>1449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1974</td>
<td>4163</td>
<td>2655</td>
<td>1537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1975</td>
<td>4675</td>
<td>2809</td>
<td>1460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1976</td>
<td>5366</td>
<td>3010</td>
<td>1379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1977</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>3071</td>
<td>1266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1978</td>
<td>6811</td>
<td>3162</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Include 'half-Asian' and 'half-Negro'. †Figures in this column from Sept. 1971, include Asians from East Africa, which had formerly been included in the Pakistan, India or others columns.

Source: City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, Directorate of Educational Services Education in a Multiracial City August 1976; also annual reports for 1977 and 1978.
### Table showing the proportion of non-English-speakers among the children of Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Indian parents in the Bradford City schools in 1964, 1968 and 1972*, according to age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>E &amp; W Pakistan 1964 &amp; 1968; Pakistan &amp; Bangladesh 1972</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pupils %NES</td>
<td>Pupils %NES</td>
<td>Pupils %NES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>168 38.1</td>
<td>112 51.8</td>
<td>280 43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>287 37.3</td>
<td>355 38.6</td>
<td>642 38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>767 52.7</td>
<td>688 40.4</td>
<td>1455 46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>211 49.3</td>
<td>234 46.6</td>
<td>445 47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>527 49.5</td>
<td>440 38.1</td>
<td>967 44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>847 31.4</td>
<td>723 12.4</td>
<td>1570 22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>173 46.8</td>
<td>223 34.0</td>
<td>396 39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>805 55.8</td>
<td>587 25.0</td>
<td>1392 42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1324 34.4</td>
<td>726 10.5</td>
<td>2050 26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7+</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>173 46.8</td>
<td>223 34.0</td>
<td>396 39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>805 55.8</td>
<td>587 25.0</td>
<td>1392 42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1324 34.4</td>
<td>726 10.5</td>
<td>2050 26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>173 46.8</td>
<td>223 34.0</td>
<td>396 39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>805 55.8</td>
<td>587 25.0</td>
<td>1392 42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1324 34.4</td>
<td>726 10.5</td>
<td>2050 26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>552 45.1</td>
<td>569 42.7</td>
<td>1121 43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1619 50.5</td>
<td>1382 32.7</td>
<td>3001 42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2938 38.3</td>
<td>2137 20.8</td>
<td>5075 30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1121 43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3001 42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5075 30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2438 53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3382 52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5075 30.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** City of Bradford Educational Services Committee reports. November 1964, February 1968 and March 1972

**Note:** Numbers of non-English-speaking pupils in parentheses.

*The relatively small number of E. African Asian pupils is included with either the Pakistani or Indian pupils in the age groups in the 1964 and 1968 statistics. In 1972 they were listed separately in the report. There were 292 pupils in this category, 43 of them (15%) NES.
Figure 1.9  Table showing the proportion of non-English-speakers among the children of Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Indian parents in the Bradford City schools in 1975 and 1978, according to age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pakistan and Bangladesh</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>%NES</td>
<td>Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2735</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>3730</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>1382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2265</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4541</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>2713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>6673</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>3069</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figures 1.8 and 1.9 show the proportion of children of Asian parents classified as 'non-English-speaking' (NES) [2] during these years. A change in the categorisation in the LEA statistic, associated with Middle School reorganisation,


[2] NES (non-English-speaking) as defined by a teacher, is one who is deemed unable to follow the normal school curriculum of the age group with profit because of language difficulties.
1971–74, makes comparison of the two tables difficult. It is clear, however, that even where the proportion of NES children in an age range was decreasing, the actual numbers were increasing. In 1974, 73.3% (454) of the 'rising five' (4+) Pakistani and Bangladeshi children, mostly born in the UK, were considered to be NES on entering the school system and received their initial education in 'language centres' (Chapter 13).

The figures for NES children at Junior/Middle and Senior/Upper age groups (with the addition of a few in the 5+ to 7/9 age range) represent the newcomers from overseas, rather than children born in Bradford. Immigration of school age children averaged 500 a year in the 1970's, many of them older children (Figure 1.10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of children of compulsory school age registered</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CBMC Directorate of Educational Services Annual Reports, see Bibliography 3.

In 1978, for instance, 697 children born overseas were registered with the LEA. Of these, 21.5% (146) were in the 10–16 years age range. Of the 454 who were of school age, all but 9 were Asian, most NES. This gives a measure of an educational task of increasing dimension in a school system monolingual in English. Practice developed and altered over time but from 1965 language centres were set up to cater for the initial English language teaching (English as a second language: E2L). After gaining a basic competence in English the children were
dispersed among the schools and given 'second phase' language support (Chapter 13). For the older children, who may not have had previous schooling, there was an additional task of developing their literacy and numeracy skills to enable them to work with English children of their peer group.

The educational task of provision of English language support in schools for children of first generation immigrants will continue to be a considerable one. In the 1970's, with most Asian children born in Bradford also entering school with minimal English competence, the number of births to Asian parents in Bradford was increasing (Figure 1.11), as was their proportion of the total live births [1]. This will persist as an issue for the second generation born to these immigrants, as it is fairly common practice for young Asian males to be married to brides from the Indian sub-continent, who may have little knowledge of English.

The school system itself was undergoing reorganisation from 1964 to 1974, with the attendant pressures on finance and staff. For the LEA, coping with an influx of NES children was more of a 'problem' than a challenge.

Figure 1.11 Table showing the number of live births of children to Asian parents in the Bradford CB area in the years shown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Live Births</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total live births</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City of Bradford Metropolitan District, Directorate of Educational Services Annual Reports, op.cit.

*1978 figures are for the Bradford Health District, a larger area than the Bradford CB, though the additional areas have a very small Asian population.

While cultural variety was part of the fabric of Bradford city life and had been for decades, in the past immigrant groups had had schooling provided by the communities tailored to their needs, as for example the provision of schools for the Roman Catholic Irish in the nineteenth century. The New Commonwealth immigrants came to an established compulsory, state school system that was both comprehensive (in terms of pupils intake and curriculum coverage) and, on the whole, co-educational.

While a separate school system could be set up for the immigrants, the expectation was that they would be catered for by the state system. In fact, it was often just the possibility of this free, highly prestigious schooling, that the immigrants desired for their children.

The Asian Immigrant’s Experience of Schooling

An immigrant copes with a duality of cultural influences, those from the homeland and those from the receiving country. In the nurture of children, the former influences will be particularly significant. The research of Douglas (1964) suggest that a child’s success in school is related to the extent to which school and home values coincide, and the degree to which parents understand and support the school system. The Asian children were brought up with the language, religion and national allegiance of their parents, but attended schools that reflect the mainstream British culture, with lessons in English. Their success in school could be dependent on a shared understanding of the purpose of schooling between the parents and LEA, in the absence of a coincidence of home and school customs and values. And so, a brief description of the development of modern schooling in Pakistan and Qu'ranic schooling in Bradford will serve to show how the Asian parents' perception of school may provide an inadequate basis for understanding
contemporary schooling in Britain, and thus for supporting the children in their schooling. It will offer clarification of the situation in which the LEA would need to develop consultation and build dialogue if the Asian children are to be offered an equality of opportunity with their peers.

Schooling in Pakistan as a Context for the Asian Family's Understanding of the Aims and Methods of the School in Britain

Schools in Britain are very different from the schools the Pakistani child's parents may have attended or seen in the 1950's, or earlier, in Pakistan (Curle 1966; Myrdal, 1968; Oakley, 1968; Rauf, 1970; Jefferies, 1976). Before partition (1947), the Muslim area of India had been less welcoming to the British-style education system than the rest of India. The Muslims had their own well-organised system of mosque schools (muktab) with Qu'ranic teaching, from which some children would proceed to cultural and professional education in the 'madrash' or to a guild for artisan or craft training (Curle, 1966). Consequently, schooling to prepare children for modern society with its factories, government offices and hospitals, tended to be less developed than in other parts of the sub-continent and it was also viewed with some suspicion. Curle suggests that the Muslim intellectual, often also a religious leader:

"went into opposition. There was very little action he could take, however, except to cling doggedly to his beliefs ... the attempt of scholars to preserve inviolate the Muslim outlook, had led to the desiccation of the well of Muslim scholarship and teaching. Fanaticism had replaced creativity; reliance on existing authority had replaced the quest for truth." [1]

A compulsory system of primary (6-11) schooling was established in the 1960's but actual provision was patchy. Even where fees were not charged, textbooks and uniforms were to be provided by the parents, so many children did not attend because the money was not available. Girls were less likely to go to school than boys as they were seen to be particularly vulnerable to the corrupting influences of

education. The majority of schools were managed either by local bodies or private organisations (e.g. Christian missions), subject to Government inspection and eligible for grants if shown to comply with Government standards.

Progress through the school system was by attainment of a test standard rather than by age, with the academic direction of the secondary system tightly controlled by the Universities. This produced a primary schooling reminiscent of that in early nineteenth century Britain:

"For most students the examination has come to be more important than the acquisition of knowledge ... Teachers have taught only the basic minimum of what was required by the syllabus and have substituted cramming for education ..." [1]

A Pakistani teacher who settled in Bradford in the mid-sixties described schooling in Pakistan thus:

"The children start school at five years old. The primary school is divided into five standards. Each standard has an annual syllabus and the teacher must cover this. If he fails to do so, the results will be poor and his promotion prospects affected. There are exams at the end of each year and any boy who does not pass stays down and repeats the year. Since there is a prescribed course and the teacher is responsible for the results, then he works hard.

Education is compulsory up to the fifth grade, though not all children are in fact in school, especially the girls. It is free up to the matriculation standard, standard 10, reached by children of sixteen years.

The standard of the yearly exams is set by the headteacher, but the matriculation standard is national.

Officially, there is no corporal punishment in schools, but the teacher is so highly respected that a boy's parents give permission for him to be punished if he doesn't work, by caning and keeping him in. I never punished a boy but told him: 'Tomorrow, bring your father ....'.

Homework is always set at all grades and marked in the morning. In Pakistan we make them do it.

Physical education is compulsory and formal, with a band to march to." [2]

[2] This, and subsequent unreferenced quotations, are excerpts from my research diary. See p.568
The formality of the schools, school progress measured by test scores and promotion through 'Standards' rather than 'Year groups' and the low level of involvement of girls in the school system, are all at variance with the mainstream philosophy of schooling in contemporary Britain. A mismatch between parental assumptions and the reality of schooling as experienced by the Asian child in Bradford has been perceived as problematic by some of the teachers:

"The Asian children respond very well to formal teaching, but with more informal situations they just muck about, they don't seem to be able to cope."

Upper School teacher, 13.5.1976

"He is so arrogant. He won't work any of the answers to problems out himself, but expects me to supply him with them."

Middle School teacher, 30.9.1976

"Asian parents will tend to come to complain that their children are lazy at school or that school is not being firm enough with them and therefore they are not performing adequately."

Upper School Headmaster, 30.4.1976

The topic most frequently raised by parents in the Asian homes I visited was discipline in school. They saw a close link between strict discipline and learning and were anxious therefore that the children should be well-behaved in school. The parents also placed a heavy responsibility on the teacher for ensuring that the child was well-behaved, by application of an external discipline, while the teacher in a British school might be looking to the parent for the lead in this and towards a development of self-discipline in the child. Given the Pakistani system of progress through school by 'standard' rather than by age, it was difficult for Asian parents to understand the 'remedial' groups in a Bradford school. While the Asian children were unhappy to be placed in 'remedial' support groups for Maths or English because this had an implication of failure, for their parents it had implications of 'misbehaviour' at school. Thus the expectations of the Asian parents related more to their experience of schooling in the homeland than to the reality of schools in Bradford. The children were caught in the mismatch.
Ou'ranic Schooling in Bradford

The majority of Asians in Bradford were Muslim and by 1980 there were twenty-three mosques established and a Council of Mosques, representing most of these, was being formed. The mosques had daily classes for instructing children in the Qu'ran, in the precepts of Islam and in some literacy in Urdu. One of the earliest mosques (Howard Street), founded in 1959, had had a resident, salaried priest (imam) since 1966. Apart from leading the prayer, he ran Ou'ranic classes from 17.00 hours to 19.00 every day except Friday:

There were thirty boys in the preliminary reading class, sitting in a semi-circle on the floor, reciting aloud their lesson for the day, with a 'hafiz' [1] to hear them in turn. He corrected their recitation and gave each a few more lines to learn for the next day. These were the younger children, the youngest being six years old. The more advanced class had fourteen boys in it, with two teachers listening as the boys recited longer passages (suras). The teaching sessions ended with prayers. Each boy pays a few pence a week for the teaching and is expected to attend regularly.

Visit to Howard Street Mosque, February 17th, 1977

Similar classes happened in all the mosques around the city.

Most of the children had their Ou'ranic classes, immediately after school, in family or small neighbourhood groups, rather than in the mosque itself. They still called this 'going to mosque'. Many, especially the girls, recited the Qu'ran with their mother, or an older sister, at home. From a sample of First and Middle school children [2] in 1977, 56% of those who responded to the question 'Do you go to mosque?' said they went 'to mosque' for Ou'ranic lessons regularly (Figure 1.12). A further 34% said that they 'read' (i.e. recited) the Qu'ran at home after school.

---

[1] A hafiz is one who can recite the Qu'ran in its entirety.
[2] The schools were two pairs of First (5-9) and Middle (9-13) schools, one in the inner city and the other, drawing on the catchment area of the first for 'bus children' (Chapter 12) was in the outer city. The sample was of children whose parents spoke a mother tongue other than English. All children in the category in the outer city schools and those from the top year group in the inner city First (8-9) and Middle (12-13) schools were in the sample. Of a possible 200 children in the categories, 161 were interviewed including 125 Muslims (Appendix A.4.4 and .5) in March 1977.
Figure 1.12 Table showing the number of Muslim children receiving Qur'anic teaching in a sample from two First and two Middle schools in Bradford, March 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At 'mosque'</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most First school Muslim children went home to collect their study books after school and then spent a couple of hours in Qur'anic schooling before their evening meal. It was obviously considered to be a very important part of education by Muslim parents. Local authority school teachers had criticised the practice [1] as prolonging the hours of schooling too much for the young children. There was also disquiet about the very authoritarian approach to teaching in the mosque, reputedly supported by corporal punishment [2].

Fewer Middle and Upper school children 'go to mosque'. This was partly because they may have learnt the basic lessons, but more because of a growth away from the discipline of the home as they grow older and a greater commitment to the discipline of day school homework that parents may accept as a

[1] This is information gained as a teacher in the inner city First school. One teacher had calculated that in 1976, 40 of the older children in the First school spent an average of 9.2 hours a week in the mosque. In 1977 this figure was 7.2 hours per week.

[2] While I saw no evidence of corporal punishment on my visits to mosque schools, there was plenty of evidence from the children themselves that the stick or a smack was used as an aid to rote learning. In response to an open question "Is the mosque school different from this school (County school) ?", 13 out of the 70 children who said they learnt the Qu'ran at the mosque mentioned corporal punishment.
necessary alternative. The Muslim Education Trust was providing an opportunity for some boys to receive Islamic instruction as well as the recitation of the Qu'ran as an extra-curricular activity, in six of the twelve Upper schools in the city in the Spring of 1976. An imam or teacher visited the school once or twice a week for about half an hour on each occasion, frequently to coincide with the School Assembly. There were only a small number of boys attracted to the classes, an average of 12 in each school.

There was obviously much motivation towards Qu'ranic schooling in the Muslim communities, even if learning was aided by the stick at times. Many of the children learnt large sections of the Qu'ran by heart at an early age. The Muslim parents saw this as a vital training for life and a valuable counter to the permissive, secular influence of British schooling.

Liaison between Home and School

The Asian immigrants came from an experience of schooling which, on the whole, did not require the parent to be involved with the child's schooling beyond ensuring attendance and that the child had the necessary equipment. The contemporary British tradition attempts a closer liaison between home and school. The LEA appointed home-school liaison teachers to several of the inner city schools and Language Centres in Bradford to facilitate this liaison with the Asian homes (Chapter 16). It was perceived that the Asian parents would need to understand the aims and methods of schooling if they were to support their children adequately, and to help them to cope with the inevitable cultural duality.

One way in which they could begin to understand the purpose and nature of the child's school would be by visiting it. This in turn could have an encouraging effect on the children, to the benefit of their school success, research might suggest. Dickinson et al (1975), in a study of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow Primary
schools, showed that on language tests the Pakistani children were two or three years behind published norms, the deficit being greater for older pupils. This had implications for their schooling in all curricula areas. Amongst the factors found to be positively related to test performance were the amount of English spoken in the home and the extent of the parents' voluntary contact with the school. The two factors can be seen to be inter-related. The Asian parents who could communicate comfortably in the medium of English would be able to visit school with the confidence of being understood, but also through visiting would become more familiar with schooling practice and better able to support their children in experiencing it.

It was the general opinion of Upper school teachers in 1975-76 that Asian parents did not attend parents 'Consultation evenings' to discuss their children's progress. There could be practical reasons why this was so. The men were frequently working an evening/night shift in the factories. Women in Muslim homes were not expected to leave the home in the evenings. Communication difficulties may have been blocking the liaison. Only one Upper school was translating letters sent home into the child's mother tongue in 1976. Non-English-speaking parents were expected to provide an interpreter for interviews at school. By 1976, the LEA had circulated no instructions to schools nor offered facilities that might have eased such consultation with the senior schools.

The Asian parents were more likely to be visiting the schools of their younger children, a fact that holds true for English parents too. However, a survey in 1977 [1] showed that even there only 18% of Asian parents visited their child's school often and 22% had never visited it. The ones who visited the school most often were more likely to be those who had a child at a local school (30%) than one bussed to a school on the outskirts of the city (6%), thus distance from school was a factor for consideration. Forty percent of the parents of children bussed to
First school had never visited their child's school, even to see the school before the child's admission or for the child's medical examination. Five percent of the parents did not know where the school was. It was this kind of gulf that the home-school liaison teachers were expected to bridge.

Summary

This brief description of the Pakistani communities' experience of schooling serves to demonstrate that their children were nurtured in a tradition of respect for schooling, and of gratitude for free schooling as a privilege to be grasped. For the Muslim this may have been tempered by a certain suspicion of the 'permissiveness' of state schooling and its perceived challenge to Muslim authority. The experience of the Pakistani communities is similar to that of other groups from the Indian subcontinent.

In general Asian parents were used to schools run on authoritarian lines, with formal teaching methods and strict discipline. They would have expected the child's learning to be assessed regularly with test certificates to demonstrate school achievement, but also that promotion within school for the pupils would be determined by examination results. These parents would need to visit schools in Bradford to become familiar with the contemporary British educational methods and school organisation, and to have adequate opportunity for effective discussion of progress and performance in school, to be able to be appropriately supportive to the child. The LEA was just beginning to develop a mechanism for this in the 1970's. Research has shown the parents' understanding of school and support of the child to be important. As this expected support is not part of the

[1] C Gorton and M Somerville (1977) Questionnaire to ascertain the views of Asian parents on some aspects of First school education. Unpublished. This survey was conducted by two inner city school teachers with the help of Home Tutors who were meeting the parents in their homes to teach them English.
expectations of schooling in the Asian communities, there is a risk that the cultural mismatch inherent in the situation could disadvantage the Asian child.

The following chapter will serve to set the Bradford of these first two descriptive chapters into a broad canvas of theory of the competitive elitism of the British school system that augurs against equal opportunity and equity of life chances for pupils and a social reality of racial discrimination in Britain that further disadvantages black families. This theoretical context will serve as an aid to a critical analysis of Bradford's policies for the education of the children of immigrants that led to a Council equal opportunities (race relations) commitment in 1981.
CHAPTER 3 THE BACKGROUND THEORIES FOR A DISCUSSION OF SCHOOLING AND RACE IN BRITAIN

The description of the Bradford school system so far, with its clearly competitive, meritocratic nature scarcely veiled in a comprehensive coeducational structure, can be sharpened by analysis from the perspective of research in the sociology of education. This chapter makes critical reference to theory on social reproduction particularly as it relates to differential achievement, as measured by external examination results in schools[1] in terms of class, race and gender. It will provide a background for discussion of schooling and race in Britain.

Prior to the 1970’s the sociology of education relating to differential achievement focussed on class. It was concerned with the ideology of equality of access, derived from a dominant structural-functionalist analysis of society. It was built on the notion that stratification is a necessary aspect of complex industrial societies. Research in education focussed on easing the way up the ladder for those groups seen as 'deprived and disadvantaged', by identifying and illuminating the biases built into the education system so that, in a social democratic state, more progressive policies could be developed.

It has been shown (Chapter 1) that Bradford’s education policy had followed the British tradition of optimism in just such a

[1] In the thesis I have described this differential achievement as 'a talent to succeed in school' (see pp.71, 85) to signify that school outcomes are complex involving an individual's skill and will, school structures and processes, and societal stratification and assumptions.
liberal, progressive school system. The schools were to be a channel of social mobility and change, governed by the meritocratic principle that 'good' (IQ plus effort) will 'up' in modern, 'post-industrial' society. To quote Daniel Bell (1973):

"The post-industrial society, in its initial logic, is a meritocracy. Differential status and differential income are based on technical skills and higher education. Without those achievements one cannot fulfil the requirements of the new social division of labour which is a feature of the society ... the number of talented people in society, as measured by IQ, is a limited pool ... . By the logic of a meritocracy, these high scoring individuals, no matter where they are in society, should be brought to the top in order to make the best use of their talents. This is the basis of the liberal theory of equality of opportunity" [1].

A much quoted excerpt from Douglas (1964) challenged the idea of a limit to the pool thus:

"In recent discussions there has been a tendency to assume that there is only a limited number of persons who can benefit from higher education and that there is a clearly defined 'pool of talent' on which to draw for university places. It has been said, however, that what is extracted from the pool depends much less on its content than on the effectiveness of the pump; it is clear from the present study that the pump is leaking badly at the points of secondary selection and school leaving." [2]

The Bradford Charter [3] had focussed on 'the pump' and a transformist role of comprehensive education but the national climate determined that access to the grammar school tradition would be the initial strategy. After the 1944 Act, the City of Bradford affirmed the perceived justice of its pride in the Grammar schools and at the same time denied parity of esteem to the Secondary Modern schools by resisting central government pressure to reduce its provision of

Grammar school places from 34% to 25% of the population each year. The implication of this was that equality of opportunity meant equality of opportunity to enter the grammar school (Musgrave, 1968). Bradford made that opportunity as wide as possible (viz. Halsey et al, 1980):

"In their more unguarded and romantic hopes, the British reforming optimists in education have pictured all children as earnest seekers after grammar-school scholarship and all teachers as middle-class Fabians devoted to the peaceful transformation of middle-class privileges into universal common culture."

In Bradford, eleven-plus selection was abolished in 1963 and a comprehensive school system brought in early in comparison with other local authorities in England.

Behind this liberal approach, focussed on the primacy of individual effort, is a quasi-scientific view of knowledge as neutral and of the school as acting as a passive filter in the opportunity for learning. Students, with their family background (in particular, class), are therefore responsible for their own achievement, or lack of it, in school. It seems to me that this is based on too narrow a perspective of social interaction. A broader and more appropriate approach is offered in Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony', that is, most people's commonsense understanding of the way things are. Hegemony is:

"the whole body of practices and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of the nature of man and of his world. It is a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the

society ... beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move in most areas of their lives." [1]

The concept of hegemony takes the question of 'How do schools process students in the way that they do?' to a broader question of 'why?'. It takes the argument into the realm of cultural beliefs and sanctions and the ways in which society is reproduced. It can be argued that in a capitalist society, like Britain, the pervading hegemony ensures the reproduction of an unequal society to enable the stability of the system and the continuance of privilege for the owning classes. Schools, then, can be seen as among the central institutions for reproducing the social, cultural and economic patterns of society. For Apple (1979):

"education is not a neutral enterprise, but a political act; educators cannot fully separate their educational activity from the unequally responsive institutional arrangements and the forms of consciousness that dominate advanced industrial economies like our own." [2]

From this stance it is argued that schools are not passive filters, they process both people and knowledge (Young, 1971), they are agents for the 'selective tradition', and cultural 'incorporation' (Williams, 1976). Knowledge is not neutral. It is important to ask: 'Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it taught in this way and to this particular group? What knowledge is and is not made available?'

Wexler (1976) addresses the subject of 'school knowledge'. He weaves curricular, socio-political, economic and ethical analyses

together in such a way as to show the subtle connections which exist between these and educational activity. For Wexler, the key to reproduction through schooling should be seen in the selection and transmission of knowledge. Schools are social organisations that process knowledge. The sociology of education is essentially the sociology of knowledge (Wexler, 1982).

Wexler, then, sees knowledge in school being transformed into a commodity that is socially patterned. He refers to a number of researchers who have worked in this area. Bourdieu (1973) argues that school perpetuates the social order 'by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies'[1], through a definition of 'school knowledge', ostensibly assessed on a 'merit' system but in reality more accessible to some than to others according to social class. Anyon (1979) takes this further by identifying the selection of knowledge as a key factor in this, favouring the interests of the wealthy and powerful. Bernstein (1977) concentrates on the coding and control of the language in which schooling is conducted.

As Apple (1979) comments, this is to see schools as teaching more than passive 'knowledge'. The learners are living children. It is to 'call for an understanding of how the kinds of symbols schools organize and select are dialectically related to how particular types of students are organized and selected, and ultimately stratified economically and socially'. [2] It involves an understanding of

knowledge as power, selected and unevenly distributed (Young 1971; Sharp and Green 1975; Bernstein 1977, 1982), so that school 'achievement' is also selective and unevenly distributed according to class, race and gender. Quoting Wexler (1982):

"The selection and transmission of class culture as common culture silences the cultures of the oppressed, and legitimates the present social order as natural and eternal" [1].

The liberal reforms only appeared to be working while there was an expanding economy (Halsey 1980). The 'new sociology of education' of the 70's was a response to the gathering crisis in world capitalism, the recession. It placed more emphasis on the 'hidden curriculum', the centrality of the question of 'school knowledge' and its 'selection'. The process of social reproduction was seen more closely linked to economic and 'cultural reproduction'. It criticised the liberal assumptions that schools necessarily led to widespread social mobility and shifted the focus from equality of access to services towards the promotion of equitable life chances through education. Since social reproduction of the class society in general continues despite the intervention of the liberal state and its institutions, it may be suggested that some of the real functions of institutions work counter to their stated aims. This can be seen as a 'structural' issue, that is grounded in the basic ways institutions, people and modes of production, distribution and consumption are organised and controlled. It can be analysed through

a set of critical questions that are generated out of a neo-Marxist argument to show how the education system, through the 'hidden curriculum', 'produced' people who ultimately and relatively unquestionably, fitted into the social division of labour outside school. Bourdieu (1973), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Apple (1979) relate the 'how' to the 'why' in terms of the needs and production process of capitalism [1]. Some of the writings offer a rather mechanistic, economic determinist view of social reproduction, assuming a direct correspondence between culture and power and the needs of capitalism.

Apple (1979), from a Neo-Marxist perspective, argues that educational activity needs to be looked at critically not just politically and economically but also ethically, since the way it is organised at present, reflecting the social ethos (hegemony), 'naturally' generates the unequal distribution of power, status and resources and will continue to increase the divide between rich and poor in advanced countries [2]. The task is complicated by the fact

[1] Following Marx, any society with its own peculiar set of regularities created through history is produced and reproduced through "productive forces", those fundamental social processes whereby raw materials are turned into commodities which, in turn, enter the economic system of use and exchange. Schools, charged as they are to 'make' the young into adults, create and recreate productive forces that help move children into functional roles within the dominant institutions of adult society. But it is important to be aware of the dialectic between the active elements of a culture and those elements that are part of a productive force (e.g. teachers/school: the authoritative system arranges for the capacity to do 'work'; students: decide how much and under what conditions they will provide it). When such conditions become conscious and collective, then those elements of the social structure they are expected to reproduce become contested.

that the distribution of knowledge is already constrained by this very hegemony. The prevailing institutions of cultural distribution, like schools and the mass media, through their 'intellectuals', give legitimacy to the ideological forms and make them seem 'neutral' [1]. They are themselves victims of the 'selective tradition'. The school curriculum, therefore, is both an expression of the lived cultural practices and also 'commodified' (Apple, 1979) knowledge and skills, producing 'cultural capital' [2] (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Therefore, Apple argues, any serious appraisal of the role of education must:

i. situate the knowledge, the school and the educator within the real social conditions which 'determine' these elements;

ii. ensure that the act of 'situating' is guided by a vision of social and economic justice if it is to be meaningful;

iii. be aware that the position of the educator is neutral neither in the forms of cultural capital distributed and employed by schools nor in the economic and cultural outcomes of the schooling enterprise itself [3].

[2] P. Bourdieu sees the 'meritocracy' notion as specious. What happens is social reproduction of an unequal society except for a few escapees. The importance of institutionalised knowledge and qualifications lies in social exclusion rather than in technical or humanistic advance. They legitimate and reproduce a class society, through a seemingly more democratic currency—"cultural capital"; knowledge and skill in the symbolic manipulation of language and figures, which has replaced real capital as the social arbiter of modern times. The middle class thus enjoys its privilege, not by virtue of inheritance or birth, but by virtue of an apparently proven greater competence and merit.
Sharp and Green (1975), in their study of a progressive primary school in the United Kingdom, demonstrated this 'natural' effect of hegemony by looking at the way in which teachers managed an 'integrated school day':

"whilst the teachers display a moral concern that every child matters, in practice there is a subtle process of sponsorship developing where opportunity is being offered to some and closed off to others. Social stratification is emerging". [1]

They saw the classroom as socially structured by the wider context of which teachers were a part. The teachers reflected and in turn reproduced major features of this. If this reproduction was challenged, by a bright child or a parent, the challenger could be labelled 'deviant' because the challenge was to established power positions and control. They argued that, contrary to its professed intentions, 'the rise of progressivism and the institutional support it receives are a function of its greater effectiveness for social control and structuring aspirations compared with more traditional educational ideologies'. [2]. This was partly because within progressivism, social, emotional, aesthetic, physical, as well as intellectual, criteria were used in assessing pupils' achievement, thus the possibilities of social control were enhanced. While this may be so, I would also want to argue that the deviant has greater scope for contestation, for subversion of hegemony (counter-hegemony), in a more open, progressive school process. Sharp, herself in later work does cite 'an opportunity for a systematic counter-hegemony to be presented to those whose exposure to the mass media and their ideological structures is such that they never

elsewhere encounter it' [1], as one of the few advantages of compulsory schooling.

Sharp and Green (1975), like Apple (1979, 1982) assert the need for systematic political intervention to change the wider societal structure and control of incentives rather than focus on school alone as a means of resolving social problems. Jencks et al (1972), in a major study of inequality between individuals rather than groups in the United States of America, too argue that school is only part of the issue. They document the fact that economic returns from schooling are twice as great for individuals who are economically advantaged to begin with, but for black students, even finishing high school will probably not bring any significant benefits. This study advocates reducing income inequality directly by political and economic action rather than indirectly via educational reform, through some kind of 'managed capitalism' or welfare state policy.

In the context of the United States of America, Apple (1982a) argues that the world economic crisis has brought a loss of legitimacy in education institutions as the state finds itself unable to maintain the services won by people through struggle. At the same time society is becoming thoroughly commercialised as pop culture is invaded by the commodification process. As the economic crisis deepens, with international competition requiring the financing of technological innovation to maintain profit margins, there are cost cutting, company take-overs and exploitation of the workforce. The economic crisis is paralleled then by a political and cultural/

ideological crisis, an increase in inequality in respect of class, gender and race, as an increased share of the profits and capital is being accumulated by an increasingly few large companies. There is social decline rather than progress.

However, Apple cites wide research evidence[1] to show that schools, even if only part of the issue, are an important element in the maintenance of existing relationships of domination: sites of reproduction. He argues that schools take an input, students, and efficiently processes it through a hidden curriculum, turning it into an output, agents for an unequal and highly stratified labour force. Thus the school's major role is in the teaching of an ideological consciousness that helps reproduce the division of labour in society:

"as a state apparatus schools perform important roles in assisting the creation of the conditions necessary for capital accumulation (they sort, select and certify a hierarchically organised student body) and for legitimation (they maintain an inaccurate meritocratic ideology and therefore, legitimate the ideological forms necessary for the recreation of inequality)." [2].

These two functions are often in conflict with one another as an overproduction of credentialled individuals may call into question the way schools function. The qualified personnel are necessary and yet they may critically challenge the status quo. Educational institutions also produce knowledge required to expand markets, control production, labour and people, engage in the basic applied

[1] He refers to Bourdieu, Althusser and Baudelot, and Estabet in France; Bernstein, Young, Whitty and Willis in England; Kallos and Undgren in Sweden; Gramsci in Italy; Bowles and Gintis and his own work in the United States of America on societal reproduction.

research needed by industry, and create widespread 'artificial' needs among the population. This accumulates as a form of capital which, like economical capital, tends to be controlled by and serve the interests of the most powerful classes in society:

"schools process both people and knowledge. But the 'processing' of knowledge includes more than its differential distribution to different kinds of people, but also its production and ultimate accumulation by those in power." [1].

But this production can at the same time be seen as an agent of reproduction of inequality:

"the educational apparatus is partly organised in such a way that it ultimately provides a major site for the production of technical/administrative knowledge through its agents, research programmes and commitments ... . This knowledge is commodified and accumulated as a form of cultural capital by the most powerful interests in the economy and the state" [2].

It is accumulated as a set of techniques and an ideology of accountability and control.

Apple repeatedly argues that the educational and cultural system is an exceptionally important element in the maintenance of existing relations of domination and exploitation in these societies. A simplistic analysis of 'reproduction' (see Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu and Bernstein) tends to exclude other elements of what might be happening in schools — contradiction, contestation, setting school within the wider nexus of social relations — and sees them so much as determined institutions, mirroring what society needs, that they can be ignored. He argues that acting on schools only is not enough, but ignoring them is wrong:

"the educational system - because of its very location within a larger nexus of social relations - can provide a significant terrain over which serious action can evolve" [1].

In fact he offers an optimistic view of the transformist possibility of education:

"Reproduction is only secured after considerable ideological work and is thus susceptible to educational work of an oppositional or counter-hegemonic kind".[2].

In this he is paralleled by two extensive pieces of British research on school effect; Rutter et al (1979) and Mortimore et al (1988), both of which conclude that 'school matters'.

Rachael Sharp (1980) sees this as a new liberalism:

"Never engaging in any systematic critique of their own essentially ahistorical and voluntarist premises and generally unself-conscious concerning the structural context within which their own thought is evolving, they portray the cultural determination of social structures and the structural primacy of consciousness, which is precisely what liberal thought would have us believe ... they provide support for the view that through greater self-consciousness and awareness cultural meanings can be transformed and the social structure thereby regenerated along new lines." [3]

She restates a Marxian analysis of education, using concepts such as 'mode of production' and 'social formation', which exposes cultural meanings and the 'taken-for-granted'-ness of bourgeois values. It takes account of the outer constraints on the system as well as of its inner workings. It is her contention that:

"whilst the new sociologists of education have identified the question of management and social construction of knowledge within education as the most critical substantive issue, given

its significance for the social 'construction of reality', they provide us with no concepts to analyse the social reproduction process except those which are ultimately tautological. An adequate theory of cultural meanings, or cultural reproduction involves an analysis of the interrelationship between culture and that which is not culture" [1].

For Sharp, Marxism provides a set of theoretical categories to enable this to be done.

It has been noted that both Apple (1982a), in later work, and Sharp (1980) refer to the transformist and counter-hegemonic potential of schooling and a capacity to produce knowledge and culture as well as to reproduce. They attempt to grapple with the contradictions and contestations within institutional formation - denoting the struggle - and to take on the capacity for resistance of the people within the institutions, for instance, the 'partial penetration' (viz. Willis, 1977; see note [2] p.58) of the reproduction processes, by 'student power'. Several researchers (Willis, 1977; Everhart, 1983; Weis, 1985), looking at student life from a bottom up rather than top-down experience, however, have pointed to ways in which contradiction and contestation processes can, in turn, enhance the established power. Their work is described below.

The 1970's shift from a focus on equality of access for individuals to services to the promotion of equitable life chances for social groups through education was taken further by these writers. In effect this moved the analyses away from simplistic

models of social control and socialisation, but at the same time recognised the realities of the relations of domination and exploitation. It also became apparent, however, that the mere fact students resist does not guarantee either that they will be successful or that their resistance will necessarily lead in a progressive direction. Everhart (1983), in introducing his research, refers to Willis (1977), noting that:

"by affirming manual work and physicality, the students affirm their own class background and subjectivity and at the same time act in a way that constitutes a rather realistic assessment that, as a class, schooling will not enable them to go further than they already are" [1].

In his study of working class young people in Britain, Willis (1977) noted the resistance of his subjects to an academic education and the production of a working class school counter-culture. He gives a practical description of the transition to work of some non-academic white working class boys in Britain, 1972 - 75, and a theoretical analysis of the inner meaning, rationality and dynamic of the cultural processes recorded. The working-class students were anti-school, viewing the mental work as that required of 'sissies', 'prudes' and 'ear oles', that is those who did not question the authority structure of the school. To 'the lads', acceptance of the mental labour in school was tantamount to the acceptance of the authority structure of bosses (teachers and administrators) and required a passivity of role that 'the lads' were not willing to front. On the other hand, they viewed themselves as independent and

active agents pursuing their own destinies despite the imperatives of an institution whose purposes they found irrelevant. This perspective of action and independence was manifested daily through their conscious refusal to participate in a variety of school activities and the inclusion of themselves as a group in activities that permitted the degree of independence that they sought.

There was an assumption about the kind of work 'the lads' would enter, because they had already rejected the intended continuity between work and mental labour built into the formalised dimensions of school and accepted the world of manual labour. There was:

"toleration of authority but rejection of its incursions, of masculine work that sissies cannot survive and the establishment of group cultures that reinforce the ideal that work is a place where one can be open about his desires, his sexual feelings, his liking for booze and his aim to 'skive off' as much as is reasonably possible." [1]

Willis sees the working class lads' own culture as effectively preparing them for taking on subordinate roles in Western capitalism with their manual labour power, an element of self-damnation. However, this damnation is experienced, paradoxically, as true learning, affirmation, and as a form of resistance. He sees an objective basis for these subjective feelings and cultural processes in a 'partial penetration' [2] of the 'really determining conditions

[2] Penetration: "impulses within a cultural form towards the penetration of the condition of existence of its members and their position within the social whole, but in a way which is not centred, essentialist or individualist." (Willis 1977, p.119) i.e. they have developed responses to school and work that show an awareness of the inequality they face - you can succeed as an individual but not as a class. Limitation: "those blocks, diversions and ideological effects which confuse and impede the full development and expression of these impulses." (Willis 1977, p.119) [Continued]
of the existence of the working class ... (which are) ... limited, distorted and turned back on themselves, often unintentionally, by complex processes ranging from both general ideological processes and those within the school and guidance agencies, to the widespread influence of a form of patriarchal male domination and sexism within working class culture itself' [1]. In other words, the working class lad sees through the qualification-job-social process offering as a con, even if achievable, and not desirable because of the losses of immediacy of gratification and independence of mind on the way [2]. To refuse to compete is therefore a radical act: 'it refuses to collude in its own educational suppression' [3]. To the working class as a group, the only true mobility would be the destruction of the whole class society. The counter-culture makes a real penetration of the difference between individual and group logics:

"Conformism may hold a certain logic for the individual then but for the class it holds no rewards: it is to give up all possibilities of independence and creation for nothing but an illusory ideal of classlessness." [4]

Willis moves on from his analysis to look at the interplay of class, gender and race in the stratification of a patriarchal system. He sees manual labour as associated with the social superiority of

Continued...
Partial penetration: "the interaction of these two terms in a concrete culture. Ethnography describes the field of play in which the impulses and limitations combine but cannot isolate them theoretically or show them separately". (Willis p.119).

[1] P Willis (1977) op.cit. p.3
masculinity in the working class culture and mental labour with the social inferiority of femininity, so that:

"a member of the counter-school culture can only believe in the effeminacy of white collar and office work so long as wives, girlfriends and mothers are regarded as restricted, inferior and incapable of certain things." [1]

This results in a surprising affirmation of labour power, taking it out of the political and into the personal, symbolic sexual dimension. Racism provides occasion for further diversion back into a quasi-political arena. He argues that 'the lads' perceive that:

"Since immigrant racial groups are likely to take the worst and roughest jobs, they 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." [2]

In this context, racism relates more to the complex social definitions of labour power under capitalism than to simple ethnic hostility (cf. Sivanandan, 1976, racism as a tool of capitalism). These perceptions, based in and arising from working class culture in general, also contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of the social order.

Whereas Bourdieu, and the structural-functionalists, would see the education system as a direct response to need in a capitalist society, Willis sees a more open system:

"The bureaucratic educational welfare state machine so characteristic of Western capitalism must be seen in part as the result of a cumulative encrustment which capitalism manages to turn to its advantage, rather than an expression of its own

[1] P Willis (1977) op.cit. p.149
will or straightforward domination. Its own uncertainty makes it prone to mutation and further gives it life in mutation." [1]

Everhart's study, based on two years' fieldwork in one junior high school in the United States of America, chronicles the daily routine of 12-15 year-old students and, to a lesser degree, their teachers. It addresses the interaction between the authoritative system of school and the presence of a set of separate cultures within the school. Teachers may owe a cultural allegiance to a wider society, while students relate more to the local community.

Everhart gives a vivid description of high school students' resistance to 'school knowledge'. There were the 'anti-schoolers' who made space for themselves by 'goofing off' (the clowns and 'misbehavers'), low status in terms of school authority, and the high status 'skippers' who made space for themselves through competence in drama, music, or athletics. The students were able to control their fate in an environment that viewed them as passive members of the organisation by cheating, smoking, and skipping. This gave them a sense of power, but also damned them:

"the productive force of the student culture leaves critical institutional regularities unexamined, thereby sustaining the social structure rather than challenging its premises." [2]

While there are 'systems of regenerative knowledge' [3] present in the form of resistance, they are also reproductive of the very system they oppose.

[1] ibid. p.176
Everhart demonstrates that people act on the terrain of school in ways that both support and deny the cultural and economic requirements of capital at one and the same time. He contributes to the literature on schooling and reproduction but also to issues of hegemony and the interpretation of ties between popular culture and social formation. He argues that the Marxian theory of labour needs rethinking in those situations where the labour engaged is not for wages, and where the 'owners' do not 'profit' monetarily from the labour of workers. Furthermore, where productive forces are seen as not just the creation of direct surplus value for the powerful, but also to be symbolic goods that are reflective of material commodities and indeed may replace them e.g. religion, communications, music, learning. In these situations, reproductive forces do not 'reproduce' directly the structures of society but are symbolic of basic productive forces, entering the exchange system of society as language, communication patterns, belief systems which may reproduce the very labour system from which they emerged.

Thus it is not just the formal curriculum of school that serves as a productive force, but also the very culture of adolescence itself - social processes are created by students based upon their interpretation of the material world - language, communication patterns, belief systems emerge as symbols not in the direct control of school officials but part of the productive system of schooling. Everhart goes into the school itself, to describe in detail the culture that is produced by the interaction between the class
cultures of these adolescents and the formal curriculum and social organisation of the institution.

Lois Weis, during the academic year 1978-79, as a white researcher in a largely black urban community school in the north eastern part of the United States of America [1] shows many similar facets of social reproduction. She is quite clear, however, that while internal institutional and external structural factors exert a powerful influence on the shape and form of student culture, they do not determine it in any simple sense.

Weis (1985)argues that black student culture at the community college acts primarily to ensure that the vast majority of students will return to the ghetto streets and that the culture that the students themselves produce encourages their own 'superexploitation' as blacks in American society. This is so despite the fact that they attend college with the intention of escaping from the urban underclass and that college itself embodies the principles of equality of opportunity and upward social mobility. She finds that the black students both embrace and reject schooling at the same time. They affirm the importance of the process of education, but drop in and out of school, arrive late to class, exert little effort and engage in extensive drug use. This results in a low graduation rate per entering class and the reproduction of deeply rooted race/class antagonisms from the broader society. She notices that

the hidden curriculum, in terms of relationships between the curriculum and student culture, affects the shape and form of student culture but does not 'determine' it in any simple sense. This is especially so for messages embedded within the staffing pattern. The black staff are in fringe areas of music, physical education and the traditionally female disciplines of secretarial science, child care and social science. They are also allocated those pastoral areas associated with a college attendance policy, for instances issues about time wasting, or collecting grants and then dropping out. Thus they are coopted to 'an attempt to impose the dominant notion of time upon students from a subculture which embodies oppositional cultural practices' [1]. Perceptively she describes black staff responses to the student disaffection. These staff increasingly focus on the one or two students who will 'make it' and define their success in terms of such students, while at the same time providing these students with a less demanding curriculum than the one designed for the whole group. They cite students as the reason for enjoying their job, but show a need for satisfaction in the job in terms of student success. The 'successful', usually middle class black students, are viewed negatively by the student body as a whole, making it all the more difficult for individuals to attempt social mobility through school [2].

This study goes further than those of Willis and Everhart in analysing the role and efficacy of resistance in local institutions by taking gender and race into account, a dimension lacking from much

of the work in the 60's and 70's and seen as crucial in the 1980's. Apple and Weis (1983) argue that it is helpful to conceptualise social formation in terms of interlocking spheres of economy, politics and culture but further, that dynamic relations of race, class and gender interact with each other in complex ways with each component necessary for the mutual reproduction of the others. They describe this as a 'parallelist approach', not linear, uni-causal but encapsulating simultaneous multi-causal processes operating within the cultural, economic and political spheres. The research of Fuller (1980) is of interest here. Her study is of girls of West Indian origin at a working class High School in England. She shows them to be the school's high achievers, asserting their distance from both the West Indian male youth (who rejected the curriculum in ways similar to those exhibited by the lads of Willis's study, Willis, 1977), and the racial connotations of 'underachievement' applied to West Indian young people in the British school system in general (Rampton, 1981). Her work suggests that the interrelationship of race, class and gender inequalities is not a simple one of addition.

While Willis sees the possibility of individual working class lads becoming socially mobile through education, Weis is less optimistic even for individual black students:

"Student culture thus sees through the ideology of the community college; it exposes the unequal position of blacks

[1] See Addendum for discussion of 'parallelist' and 'non-synchronous' (McCarthy 1990) relationships between race, class and gender groups.
Both Willis and Weis ask the question: why is this 'penetration' of the social reality not translated into oppositional political action? The conclusion that both come to is similar. There is a combination of ideological, cultural assumptions that limit penetration, particularly because of a group faith in education itself, which serve to block insights [2]. For black American students, the legacy of prohibition of literacy to slaves compounds the limitation:

"Despite a raised consciousness among blacks of their own structured subordination, students ... take substantial responsibility for their own 'failure' ... . A tendency to 'blame the system' which is linked to a structural legacy of subordination thus exists side-by-side currently with a tendency to blame oneself." [3]

However, Weis argues that black students do believe that knowledge can be used for collective action, and that this potentially stands them in better stead for transforming their situation through political dissent than Willis's (1977) working class lads or London's (1978) students, who reject the primacy of mental labour. For Willis, since 'disaffected working class kids respond not so much to the style of individual teachers and the content of education as to the structure of the school and the dominant teaching paradigm in the context of their overall class cultural experience and location' [4], the greatest hope for

[1] L Weis (1985) op. cit. p. 144
[3] ibid. p.185. See also P Willis (1977) op. cit. p.166
educating working class students is through encouraging independent working class educational institutions.

Moving into the 1980's there seems to be a paradigm shift in Britain in terms of the approach to educational provision, that takes into account the racial dimension. However, race is treated in a similar way to class in the 1960's and 1970's, a 'racialisation' [1] of structural inequality, and politicisation of race, defining racial minorities as educational problems.

While races do not exist as biological entities, Williams (1986) argues that social divisions delineating racial groups, are recreated around a continuing notion of the simplistic 19th Century theory of scientific racism, and anchored into material relationships. Sivanandan (1982), Hall et al (1978), Reeves (1983) demonstrate how this thinking permeated postwar political debates, particularly those concerning citizenship in the successive Immigration Acts and the Nationality Act 1982. This becomes common wisdom (hegemony) and is then invoked by groups as an explanation of their own social, political and economic position (viz. Husbands 1983, concerning the National Front; Willis 1983, concerning cultural production and reproduction). In turn mass education, Williams (1986) argues 'reflects' structural inequalities in a capitalist

[1] Racialisation (see a discussion in the Addendum) is a summary term for the "political and ideological processes by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or phenotypical characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the population can only be understood as a supposed biological unity". R Miles (1984) "Racialisation", in E E Cashmore (ed.) Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations, p.223.
democracy rather than creates them. The common wisdom perpetuates and strengthens both a racial understanding of citizenship and significant divisions within the working class. The divisions are sharpened, under the construct of a 'social problem', by a rapid growth in unemployment particularly among the young, the geographical concentration of industrial decline and a shift away from welfare and public spending. This 'social problem' thinking is manifest in education where the marginality of black groups is reinterpreted as 'underachievement' in terms of schooling. Williams suggests that attempts to compare Asian, West Indian and white children, as though these groups were culturally homogenous and contained no significant social class or gender difference between them comes from a political concern for the need for integration, based on a fear that alien-ness might lead to separation or conflict:

"The deliberate exclusion of 'racial' groups from real social participation is thus reinterpreted as a consequence of the unfortunate attitudes of a section of whites or the self chosen isolation of the culturally different." [1]

Williams argues that the central state has played a major role in the ideological process of racialisation in the last three decades, but not in the development of policies to combat racism and racial inequalities in education. This is in contrast to earlier decades when numerous education reports were written with attention to issues of class, 'disadvantage' and 'deprivation' (viz. Plowden Report 1967). The climate then was one of expansion. The political context now is one of recession. Control over state funded employ-

ment and services, and a reduction in social mobility requires a different form of state-management over education from the free-wheeling 1960's (Hall, 1983; Simon, 1984; Dale, 1981). The Education Reform Act 1988 gives powers for central government control of the curriculum and assessment procedures and to impose forms of accountability and evaluation on professionals that are reminiscent of 1862 [1]. A re-emphasis on academic subjects and vocationalism, the involvement of successive non-educational bodies such as the Manpower Services Commission, Training Agency, Training and Enterprise Councils in education decision-making and provision add to this to make the re-emergence of a two tier state education system inevitable. This stratification is itself a structure of control for the poor, for the marginal and for the radical professionals. In effect, central government's special 'race' policies in education are there, hidden in the generic controls. Add to this the increasing centralisation of funding for education (Section 11 LGA, Education Support Grants, removal of grants for locally-determined categories for inservice training of teachers and the threat of charge-capping) and even the radical local authority is limited in its flexibility to make alternative provision in response to 'racial' pressure groups and local need. Williams argues that:

"Thus the state delegates 'the problem' to particular local authorities, while retaining financial and ideological control over the definition of the problem and its solutions. Thus 'race' has emerged as a fundamental element in the politics of inequality at both central government and local level" [2].

A radical response to racial inequalities in school in a number of local education authorities (LEAs) is anti-racism, a politicisation of race in education. For Williams (1986), it is important to develop understandings and strategies for change based on commonalities and alliances between disadvantaged groups. Anti-racist policies would be included within wider equal opportunities strategies, while each issue is to be considered in its own right. Anti-racist and anti-sexist guidelines would mirror each others' language (viz. ILEA 1983 a., 1983 b., 1985), a 'parallelist' approach (see Apple and Weis, 1983). She argues that, in the current climate, any effective equal opportunities policy will inevitably require some redistribution of power and resources, to the benefit of some groups and disadvantage of others and there is no way that the implications of this can be contained within school. She points out that:

"As long as one of the crucial tasks of schooling is to allocate individuals within an already determined and inequalitarian structure, then teachers will be seen as gatekeepers distributing scarce resources among competing groups."

[1]

The commonalities and alliances within education must make broader alliances with other groups, such as trade unions, to challenge the wider structural inequality of society (e.g. monetarism, erosion of local control) and to struggle against 'the conditions which reinforce the racialisation of structural divisions and those which perpetuate political and ideological processes defining marginal groups on the basis of 'inherent' characteristics such as colour'.

[1] ibid. p.149
The trend of her argument is similar to that of Sivanandan (1976, 1985) or Jackubowicz (1985) who develop a theory of racism as part of the class system and a product of capitalism.

Williams observes that three particular themes have dominated political and professional debates in official documents, whether focussed on social class or 'racial' aspects of education, the 'underachievement' of working class and black young people in schools, the harmony/integration of youth and mainstream society, and the relationship between employability and education. She points out that not only have key policy themes remained identical but earlier explanations and solutions are still being reproduced, 'cultural deficit, cultural differences, teacher stereotyping and labelling and discrimination with an unequal structure of opportunities.' [2] She draws parallels between the work of Bernstein (1970) or Midwinter (1972) and Edwards (1984) or James (1979) (the former working in the context of class and the latter of race), all of whom focus on the curriculum, language teaching and skills of the teachers a prime subject for reform, and between Jackson (1964) or Douglas (1964) on class and Brittan (1976) on race who focus on the attitudes of teachers, teacher expectations, stereotyping, labelling, as mechanisms through which class or racial membership results in class or racial disparities in achievements. Thus both explanatory paradigms and ameliorative policies (particularly those based on the school as a compensatory institution providing for the special needs of those described as culturally, linguistically or materially

[1] ibid. p.150
deprived, viz. Plowden SPA's and Home Office, Section 11 funding) have been reproduced in different contexts. The intention to raise the standards of schools in 'areas of deprivation' while maintaining standards in the more favoured areas is common, and the failure of earlier remedial and compensatory policies to alter the social class nature of achievement is ignored. Inequalities in achievement in school have hardly changed in forty years, [1], a challenge to 'legitimacy' in a state education system (Williams, 1986).

Williams (1986) describes the rationale thus:

"Very similar educational strategies were and are seen to be necessary to demonstrate justice to lower working class or black youngsters and to educate the rest, middle classes or whites, for harmony." [2]

The social engineering advocated through comprehensive education (access to a common culture via a common curriculum) can be seen as a class version of Education for All (Swann, 1985). The institutional answer has been the same, some form of community involvement. More radical proponents would promote community action as 'constructive discontent' (Midwinter). The reformists, advocating integration as an antidote to anarchy, would see community consultation and involvement as a policy for maintaining law and order (CRE, 1980; NUT 1981). Gurnah (1987) and other black writers would call this 'containment'. If a head of 'constructive discontent' were to be engendered across commonalities and alliances around inequality, particularly in the political climate of the 1980's with a retrenchment on democratic

local government, following a 'catastrophe' scenario (Woodcock and Davis, 1978) [1], there is potential for dramatic social change.

In the field of the sociology of education, where the structural functionalists of the 60's focussed on policies, in the 1970's the new sociology focussed on the happenings in classrooms, but as Sharp (1980) pointed out, still with liberal assumptions (see p.57). More recent writing has attempted to bring the two approaches together from a critical studies tradition, emphasising a dynamic relationship between the structural and institutional arrangements of school and knowledge and the societal constraints on educated and educator, the self-affirming agency and capacities of teachers and students to resist and transform the structures that exist both in education and the wider social context. Apple (1986), Apple and Weis (1983), Troyna and Williams (1986), McCarthy (1990) approach the issues of racial inequality in schooling from this perspective and with a neo-Marxist stance. This tradition also incorporates action as part of the analytical process (reflection on praxis, Freire, 1972a, 1972b, 1976). Their focus is on inequality as injustice, in a society that is organised to maintain it thus.

From this review of the literature it can be observed that prior to the 1970's the sociology of education, relating to differential achievement in schools, focussed on class following the mainstream, liberal approach to education. Schooling was considered

[1] This theory was developed through research on a prison population. It presents disorder as a function of tension and alienation. The disorder level can jump disjunctively/catastrophically from quiet equilibrium to disturbed equilibrium, as it did in the 'race' uprisings in some of the larger cities in 1981. See D West (1990) Authenticity and Empowerment for a discussion of this theory in the context of liberation.
to be apolitical, school knowledge neutral and success in school related to equality of opportunity for access and individual effort. Schools were passive filters, therefore students responsible for their own achievement. 'Underachievement' was related to individual and family shortcomings. But school knowledge is not neutral (Wexler, 1982) and liberal reforms only appeared to be working while there was an expanding economy (Halsey, 1980).

The new sociology of education of the 1970's acknowledged this, placing more emphasis on the 'hidden curriculum', linking social and cultural reproduction more closely with economic stratification. Using a neo-Marxist argument it showed the education system itself as both reproductive of class inequality and productive of people to fit into a social division of labour outside school. From this perspective schooling is a political activity and reform would require systematic political intervention in the social and economic structure of the state rather than focussing on school alone. It is this theoretical stance that will provide the basis for analysis of data in this thesis.

Schools, however, do both reproduce societal stratification and produce knowledge and needs as commodities that accumulate as a form of cultural capital and serve the interests of the most powerful (Apple, 1982a). Schools have some effect in broadening the gateway to this power, therefore 'school matters' (Rutter, 1979; Mortimore, 1988) and contestation of the reproduction processes is possible (Willis, 1977; Everhart, 1983; Weis, 1985). The mere fact that teachers care and students resist does not necessarily guarantee
reform, though, but may be an element in self-damnation (Willis, 1977) or 'superexploitation' (Weis, 1985). Social mobility, through schooling may be available to individuals but not to class groups.

Willis moves the research and analysis of reproduction in education in Britain into the 1980's. Though focussing on class still, he refers to the interplay of class, gender and race in the stratification of a patriarchal state. For Weis, this interplay is integral to the analysis and Fuller's (1980) work suggests that the interplay is more complex than a simple addition of handicaps. Neither is particularly optimistic that social mobility is possible even for individual black students through mainstream schooling. The successful black female students in Fuller's study were pro-education but not pro-school.

The 'racialisation' (Williams, 1986) of much of the policy and strategy on equal opportunities in education in the 1980's, effectively offered 'race' as an alternative to class as an organising principle for discussion of inequality. The key policy themes were similar to the earlier ones organised around 'class', that had failed to enable significant change in the past, and earlier explanations and solutions are still being reproduced: remedial and compensatory education programmes to redress students' 'cultural deficiency' or difference and their response to labelling/stereotyping and discrimination. The mainstream assumption is still that education opens up opportunity (see Education Reform Act, 1988) and that racism is a marginal problem in a fair and open British society (Swann, 1985). Williams (1986), however, argues that
while the 'racialised' statements are a replay of the earlier inequality/class theme, in contradistinction to action on class in the expansionist 1960's, the central state has not developed overt policies to combat racism and racial inequality in education in the recessionist 1980's. Policies are there by default in generic controls, in the changes being brought about by the Education Reform Act (1988), for instance, but the real direction of change is towards increased differential in equality of opportunity between socially defined groups, limiting the scope of even radical local authorities to respond to local need. This returns the problem to the victim of inequality.

One way forward could be community schooling, not romanticised as in the 1960's, assuming a unified community, but rather establishing political and institutional mechanisms which ensure the accountability of professionals and group representatives, with real and valid consultation. Willis's (1977) strategy of 'working class schools' could be appropriate in this context. Ranson, Hannon and Gray (1987) propose a model of 'public accountability' with the community involved in decision-making as citizens rather than as consumers. Weis (1985) points out the need for self-reflection and awareness, both for the managers in an institution (the faculty) and for the managed (students), as a basis from which to articulate the conditions of their own existence in order to engage in collective action for transforming the realities perceived towards equity and justice. To avoid Sharp's (1980) charge of 'new liberalism' it would be necessary first to identify the group constraints and then to
organise group dissent from them in action. Apple (1982a) proposes education on issues of increasing corporate control, cultural political and economic democracy and alternatives to existing forms of economic and political organisation as a first step; engaging in counter-hegemonic activity; scholarship - real histories of socialist and oppositional educational practices; communication beyond the sphere of educators to, for instance, working class parents, youth, groups of workers; focus on both socialist and feminist activity.

It may not be the existence of a social hierarchy and stratification in society that is working against the best interests of groups, but the use of power within an hierarchy. There are echoes of this in Curle (1973, 1974 - see this thesis Chapter 20, p.428). He describes the primary nature of human group identity as a 'belonging identity' and a political need to stand aside from this in order to reject and thus begin to transform the societal 'exploitative network', building a 'supportive network' in the process.

This thesis, as a 'peace study' (Appendix 5), aims through observation and analysis towards 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1972) both for the individual psyche and in the political domain. The analysis, therefore, will be extended to propose and promote oppositional political action and the building of 'supportive networks' (Curle, 1973) or a counter-system, energised by a counter-hegemony to that of social inequality of groups as necessary. The methodology of critical sociology, informed by action (reflexion on
praxis, Freire 1972a, 1972b, 1976), dealing in strategies as well as in analyses, approaches what I would perceive as peace study methodology.

The purpose of this chapter, set alongside the preliminary analysis of the historical and social context of the Bradford's school system (Chapters 1 and 2) was to clarify the problem of racial inequality addressed by this thesis. If schools are to be seen as chiefly sites of social reproduction then it is society, with its energising hegemony, and not schools alone that must be the focus of change. However, as Allen (1971) observes:

"the long-standing problems in British education are not created but highlighted by the presence of coloured children" [1].

So, the situation of the Asian children in Bradford as a 'colour indicator' of a flaw in the system when equality of opportunity is espoused, may help to clarify the ambiguous nature of the school system in society as a whole.

Subsequent parts of the thesis build up a picture of racial inequality in the Bradford school system, firstly from a mainstream perspective, with a case study of the City's Upper Schools, 1975-76, using the traditional markers of external examination results (Part 2). This is followed by a study of the Local Education Authority's policy for the education of the children of immigrant parental origin in the 1960's and 1970's, focussing on an alternative perspective of the Asian children in the First and Middle Schools (Part 3). The

insights from these two perspectives are then used to assess four case studies of 'good practice' in individual schools as agents of equal opportunities, in order to build a model for action towards racial justice that acknowledges institutionalised discrimination, engages with hegemony in society and promotes and enables the building of a counter-system. While the focus is the school system, the field for action is societal and the ultimate goals must have a national and global dimension.
PART I CONCLUSION

This preliminary analysis of aspects of Bradford's history and social structure offers a backcloth to the thesis. The discussion of theory on equal opportunity and racial disadvantage in schooling clarifies the problem of the thesis. Bradford is a large industrial city with a higher proportion of its population with low socio-economic status than the national average. This is so despite the fact that it has been the site of industrial development and innovation, and home of pioneering educational and social reform. This relatively poor city faced an educational problem of considerable impact on the need to provide special schooling for the children of immigrants come to work in an industry now in recession.

The school system that had developed in Bradford over a century had been moulded into a comprehensive, co-educational system of compulsory schooling accommodated to cultural norms that preceded the arrival of the New Commonwealth immigrants. As in other parts of Britain, it owed a clear debt in aims and design to the grammar school system that was a constituent part. Comprehensive schools in Bradford were based on the grammar school ideal of competitive individualism. Highest accord was given to monocultural, academic success in an examination system controlled by bodies external to the school system itself and representing a national norm. Social mobility through schooling continued to be largely dependent on a child's ability to accommodate to this ideal.

While the opportunity for access to schooling had been broadened, research has shown that the opportunity for success within the system and consequent life chances within society is related to the extent to which the home culture can support the child in this competitive individualism. Bradford had a far higher proportion of its citizens born outside the UK than the national average. It is a city of cultural variety. While the earlier immigrant groups provided schooling for their children appropriate to their social and cultural needs, the new wave of
immigrants had a predominantly state provision for the compulsory schooling of their children. Bradford's history of immigration and integration informed expectations of the newly immigrant groups. There was a strong attraction for the immigrant to take up the schooling offered and to acculturate to this dominant norm, in the terms of Sivanandan (1976) the state conserving its strength.

The recent Asian immigration was distinct from others in that the children had been received into a compulsory, comprehensive, co-educational county school system in large numbers from a variety of cultural groupings. The Asian communities differed markedly from the English-speaking Christian norm of the dominant culture. In history, the school system had shown only little facility to give success to those who were unable to accommodate to its competitive, monocultural ideal. The Asian children were handicapped by an initial language difference.

The immigration further differed from other recent major immigrations (except that from the West Indies) in that it brought black children into a school system in a society where racial prejudice was a significant factor, as demonstrated by the need for Race Relations Acts. The thesis will aim to assess the extent to which the LEA, by giving special educational provision for learning English as a second language, has enabled the Asian child to enjoy equality of opportunity for success in the school system, and the extent to which that success may be modified by the ability of the minority or majority groups to overcome racial and cultural biases.

[1] The term 'black' as used in this study refers primarily to a status group and only secondarily to skin colour.
PART 2 A CASE STUDY OF THE ASIAN-NAMED MINORITY GROUPS IN THE BRADFORD (CB) COUNTY UPPER SCHOOLS IN THE SCHOOL YEAR 1975-1976
This case study offers a description of the situation of the Asian-named minority group children on the Bradford (CB) County Upper school rolls as a basis from which to discuss equal opportunity in schooling, given the context analysed in Part 1. The central proposition is that while the Asian children in the County Upper schools in Bradford, in the school year 1975–1976, showed a relatively lower attainment than their peers in the external examinations of the General Certificate of Education (GCE) at Ordinary and Advanced level and the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), this should not be seen as an 'absolute' assessment of the abilities of the Asian child to achieve academic success. Consideration should also be given to the nature of that examination system, which is measuring the success, and to the expectations the teachers may have of the examination entrants. An analysis has been made of the complete, relevant population of County Upper school pupils at a certain time, rather than of a random sample with a longitudinal study, because the results are to be used to focus discussion on the broad background of assumptions and perceptions that may affect schooling outcomes, rather than on a limited statistical analysis of a situation.

The study shows firstly that the accepted system of grading children according to literacy and numeracy, in schools with English as the medium of instruction, has a labelling effect with implications beyond allocation to teaching group. It shows how the bilingual children, easily identified by skin colour in this particular situation, can be marked as a group perceived by the teachers to be 'less able'. This has further implications concerning the opportunity such children may have to be entered for the external examinations at 15+ (Chapter 5). Secondly, a close consideration of the external examination results themselves (summer 1976) shows a differential success rate according to the entrant's name type. It is shown that this correlates with a cultural bias in the exams that can be related to language and content (Chapter 6).
Figure 2.1 Bradford (CB): the siting of the County Upper schools

City centre

Area with highest concentration of New Commonwealth immigrant settlement, 1971 (see Figure 1.2)
CHAPTER 4 THE CONTEXT OF THE UPPER SCHOOL STUDY

It has been stated that in Bradford the comprehensive school did not supersede the grammar school in terms of the respect that people gave to it. In practice the reorganisation from 1964 barely masked the grammar school tradition of curriculum, teaching styles and examinations (Chapter 1). It has allowed children a greater parity of access to that tradition.

There were twelve County-maintained Upper schools in Bradford (former County Borough area) in 1975. All had had a comprehensive ability range intake since 1964, though a preponderance of the lower achieving children (in terms of numeracy and literacy) were allocated to the former Secondary Modern based schools until 1967 when Sixth Form provision was extended to all the senior schools. The schools retained the names that had belonged to the buildings in the pre-1964, selective phase even after the older grammar school buildings became redundant. They also retained the majority of their teaching staff. So the ethos of the school was affected by its antecedents. While there was a parity of provision between the schools, a parity of status had to be won. In 1975, many parents still showed a preference in applying for admission for their children to the former grammar school based comprehensives.

Nine of the schools were on the outskirts of the city and three were in an inner ring (Figure 2.1). All but two were purpose-built for comprehensive schooling. Of the exceptions, Thornton Upper was in an older grammar school foundation building that had been extended and Fairfax was on a split site, using a former girls' grammar school old building and newer, former Secondary Modern school base. All were well-appointed and offered opportunity for pupils to partake of the width of the curriculum.

By 1975, all but one pair of the Upper schools (the Belle Vue schools) were co-educational. The last two pairs of schools to achieve this status were Grange
(1974) and Carlton-Bolling (1975), both developed from a grammar school base.

The Allocation of Pupils to Upper School

Parents were invited to name three Upper schools in order of preference for their children, in November of the year prior to entry. The following Easter they would be told the name of the school to which the child had been allocated. There was a right of appeal against the allocation given, strengthened since the 1980 Education Act underlined this right.

In 1975, there were 3580 children to be found Upper school places. They were allocated as follows, according to their parents' preference:

"Parents who received their first choice 80.75%
Parents who received their second choice 11.33%
Parents who received their third choice 4.83%
Pupils allocated against choice 3.09%"

The proportion of parents receiving their first choice was increasing (Figure 2.2). This was partly a demonstration of the increasing parity of esteem of the schools, but partly parental resignation to the system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allocation of pupils to schools as % of total allocation</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First choice</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>80.75</td>
<td>86.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second choice</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>11.33</td>
<td>8.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third choice</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against choice</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CBMDC Directorate of Educational Services, Schools Division

All Asian children were subject to a dispersal policy (Chapter 10), because of concentration of the Asian population in particular areas of the city (Figure 1.2). To assist this dispersal the catchment areas for a particular school were different for Asian and for non-Asian children. Thus, although Asian parents were allowed to opt for a school on the three-choice system they were less likely than non-Asian parents to be allocated a place according to their first choice. In 1977, while 86.17% of all children were allocated to the Upper school of their parents' first choice, the degree of success for 'immigrant parents' was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First choices</td>
<td>64.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second choices</td>
<td>23.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third choices</td>
<td>5.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against choice</td>
<td>6.24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1]

The Asian families in general, and Muslims in particular, preferred single-sex education for their girls, especially after puberty. They showed a marked preference for the girls' schools (Figure 2.3) [2] that was in conflict with the Council's policy to avoid 'an undue concentration of immigrant pupils in any particular school'. Furthermore, since two of the inner city schools, Grange and Carlton-Bolling, near to the centres of Asian settlement, were also from a former grammar school base and popular for that reason with the non-Asian parents, Asian children were less likely to be allocated to their nearest school than non-Asian [3].

[1] Letter from the Chief Schools Officer to Councillor McElroy, 12.10.1977, Appendix A4.3. See also Figure 3.4, p.200.

[2] In the one year for which I have the relevant data, 1973, out of 64 children in the city allocated to Upper schools against their parents' choice, 21 were Asian girls 'whose parents restricted their choice to Belle Vue, Bolling and Grange', all single sex schools at the time. See Notes on Allocation to Upper Schools in 1973. CBMDC Directorate of Educational Services, Schools Division, 1973.

[3] Letter, Appendix A4.3, op.cit.: "The following schools have different catchment areas for Asian and indigenous children:- Belle Vue Boys' and Girls', Thornton, Grange, Rhodesway, Hanson, Carlton-Bolling, Tong." This list includes all the former grammar school based comprehensives.
Figure 2.3 Table showing the number of pupils according to name
type and sex (as percentages of the row totals) on
the roll of the two single sex schools and the two
newly co-educational schools (SS), as compared with
the rest of the County Upper schools in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SS Schools</td>
<td>8.81</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>41.15</td>
<td>41.15</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>8.42</td>
<td>43.56</td>
<td>45.57</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>42.83</td>
<td>44.24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 261.07 (on the whole numbers): DF = 3; P = <0.001

* AN: Asian-named
   NAN: non-Asian-named

The Sample for this Case Study

This case study was concentrated on the schools of Bradford that were
maintained by the local authority, excluding the Roman Catholic Voluntary schools
which catered for very few Asian children at the time [1]. It was restricted to
those within the former Bradford County Borough area [2] because of the
availability of the statistics. Over 95% of the Asian children on roll in the

[1] Under the 1944 Education Act, schools "maintained" by the Local Authority
were of two kinds: County schools, for which the LEA pays full revenue and
capital costs; Voluntary schools, initially built as institutions of Christian
religious denominations or other voluntary bodies and incorporated into the
national school system, the LEA paying staff salaries, general running costs of
the school and maintenance of the inside of the building, while the voluntary
body meets other maintenance and building costs and exercises certain
autonomy in the appointment of staff and religious instruction. See T Burgess
(1969) A Guide to English Schools

[2] This region was the concern of the former Bradford City Council, to which the
Education Committee was responsible. It was incorporated, under local
government reorganisation in 1974, with a large area of the county that had
been administered by the West Riding Education Committee, into Bradford
Metropolitan District.
Bradford Metropolitan District were in these schools in November 1975 [1]. It considered children who were of statutory school age and those who were in the sixth forms of Upper schools [2]. It is a case study of provision under the Education Act 1944, Section 8, requiring that:

"the schools available for an area shall not be deemed to be sufficient unless they are sufficient in number, character and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs."

The pupils in the study were categorised by name-type as 'Asian-named' (AN) and 'non-Asian-named' (NAN) [3]. The AN category referred to children of families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, or of those who once emigrated from the Indian subcontinent and who came to Britain after sometimes several generations have lived in Africa, particularly Kenya and Uganda. Most of the children were either immigrant themselves, or the children of recent immigrants. The category included a variety of nationalities, though most were British subjects as citizens of Commonwealth countries under the British Nationality Act, 1948 [4].

[2] The Education Act of 1944 (Section 35) deemed that children between the ages of 5 and 15 years were of compulsory school age, but made provision for the upper age limit to be raised to 16 years "as soon as the Minister is satisfied that it has become practicable" See H C Dent (1962) The Education Act 1944 pp. 38-9. The raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) was accomplished in the school year 1972-73. On the whole the Sixth form comprises pupils who choose to stay on at school after the statutory leaving age, in order to enter for public examinations.
[3] They were categorised from school lists by their second name (father's name: surname) partly by using the information on Asian names provided in a guide published by the Community Relations Commission, but mainly through personal experience from work in the field of immigrant education in Bradford.
The term does not equate to an 'ethnic boundary' (Barth, 1969) but covers culturally diverse communities, differing in language, religion and custom. Even within the Pakistani community, with Muslims 'sharing fundamental cultural values and forms' [1] there were social and ethnic divisions closely related to the immigrants' former geographical location (Saifullah-Khan, 1976a). It did approximately divide the school population into 'white' (NAN) and 'black' (AN) pupils [2]. The feasibility of using this categorisation was tested on one school for which I had a particularly intimate knowledge (Appendix A1).

The category did have a membership that was identified by the LEA as distinct for administrative purposes. It was seen as covering those who may require language support provision for English as a second language who have to be subject to a dispersal policy as part of this provision (Chapter 11); who were 'coloured' and, with Afro-Caribbean children, were classified as children of 'New Commonwealth immigrants'. Except in discussion directly derived from the descriptive statistic, I shall use the term 'Asian' to describe this AN, LEA administrative category.

The population for this study was the whole County Upper school population in September 1975 in the former Bradford County Borough, initially. The banding study used nine of the twelve schools and the analysis of examination results was of all GCE and CSE results in the city Upper schools in the summer of 1976. No random sampling was used. This gave a picture of the situation in the schools that might be perceived by the city population in general: the voters, policy-makers, teachers and taught. It was not designed to allow a fine statistical analysis of pupil achievement such as could be used to eliminate factors which

[2] The Afro-Caribbean population of the County Upper schools in September 1975 was approximately 338 and although included in the NAN statistic here, the numbers are small enough not to affect the outcome of the study substantially.
might contribute to disadvantage. The study was an exercise in painting a scene rather than quantifying an indicator and therefore the factors which might correlate with distribution patterns of pupils' achievement itemised were those clearly visible ones of sex and skin colour.

A total population sample avoids the problem of the variation in school catchment and any correlation of this with pupil performance (Newsom report, HMSO, 1963; Mabey, 1974). A social class variable has not been used. While social class is of demonstrated relevance in considering the achievement of white British children (Floud et al., 1956; Douglas, 1964; Douglas et al., 1968; Halsey et al., 1980), it may be of less relevance in a cross-cultural study such as this one. The purpose of a social class grouping is such that:

"Ideally, each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar." [1]

This is assumed to be determined by employment status and occupation. In the feasibility study (Appendix A1) the association between the socio-economic group of the father and pupil's allocation to teaching group Band was more significant for the NAN than for the AN category. There was a marked difference of lifestyles in the Asian and non-Asian families of similar social class status. Taylor (1976) also demonstrates this divergence in a study of Asian school leavers matched with white school leavers in Newcastle. He found that while by occupation most of the fathers were working class, over half of the Asians were self-employed (most as credit drapers) and house-owners (some owning two houses), while the English fathers were employees and tenants [2]. Thus within the same social class grouping in a cross-cultural situation, there may be differences in employment status and house tenure style. Dickinson et al (1975) used reasons such as these

for omitting a control for the social class variable in a study of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow. I felt justified in avoiding its use for similar reasons but have compensated by using the whole population analysis. The "visually" descriptive purpose of the study made the social class factor less important.

The Upper school population was chosen since:

a. it was technically possible for one researcher to visit the twelve schools involved and collect the data in a reasonable space of time.

b. the external examination results (GCE/CSE) provided a useful indicator of 'success' that had a national comparability to link with related research.

c. a study of the whole 13-16 age range over the three years 1973-1976 was possible through this sample to a limited extent, allowing some indication of trends.

The picture that the study provided was of an institution – the school system – in a society in which skin colour is an important indicator of status and in which discrimination against black people has been well documented, both with regard to Afro-Caribbean and to Asian immigrants (Smith, 1977). It was made at a time when the LEA policy for the education of the children of immigrants had been under development for ten years. It demonstrated some quantitative aspects of a situation further investigated by qualitative research methods in Part 3 of the thesis.

The Distribution of the Pupils According to Name Type and Sex, in the Upper Schools in September 1975

There were 12,558 pupils aged 13+ on roll in the Upper schools in September 1975 [1]. It was necessary to visit each school and collect a copy of the school roll to ascertain the numbers in each school and to categorise the data according to name type and sex.

[1] One of the Upper schools, Buttershaw, still had some pupils who had entered at 11+ (in a former 11-18 Comprehensive). The 111 pupils, aged 12-13 were excluded from this analysis.
The Asian pupils were 13% of the Upper school population but with far fewer girls among that group than would be expected in a normal distribution. Figure 2.4 shows that whereas the ratio of non-Asian girls to non-Asian boys in the schools is 1:1 as would be expected in a normal population, the ratio of Asian girls to Asian boys is 1:2.

Several reasons could be suggested for this imbalance:

i. The practice of sending young Asian boys to the UK with a relative, not necessarily the parent, for them to gain benefit from the education system. Rose et al (1969) reported the prevalence of all-male Pakistani households in the 1960's.

ii. The practice of not bringing Asian girls approaching puberty to the UK with their family, but leaving them in the Indian sub-continent with relatives in order that a suitable marriage might be arranged (Saifullah Khan, 1974, 1976).
iii. The practice of sending young Pakistani girls from the UK to Pakistan as they mature, in order that they might be brought up in a strictly Muslim society and not be 'spoiled' for marriage by a 'permissive' Western society. This occurred on several occasions in my personal experience with children in primary schools in Bradford [1].

iv. The reported practice of withdrawing teenage Muslim girls from school at 12+ and 'hiding' them (sending them to live with a relative in another town for a while until they are dropped from the LEA truancy list).

The pattern of distribution of Asian children among the schools was uneven (Figure 2.5). In three schools the proportion of Asian girls (at 8% or more of the roll) was considerably higher than in the rest (on average 2.5% of the roll). These were the single sex girls' school and the two schools that only became co-educational in 1974 and 1975. This showed clearly the preference of Asian parents for single sex schooling for their girls. If there had been more single sex schools this would, in fact, have been even more marked (Appendix A3). The higher concentrations of Asian boys in the schools correlated more with accessibility of the school to the areas of Asian settlement.

The pattern of distribution of Asian pupils among the year groups in the Upper schools was as would be expected in years 3 to 5, given the 2:1 ratio of boys to girls, except for a shortfall of Asian boys in year 3 (Figure 2.6). What was significant was the high proportion of these young people staying on into the sixth form (Year 6/7). This was particularly significant with respect to Asian boys whose numbers were 50% higher than would be expected if there were no association between the contingencies considered. Even the Asian girls were 'staying on' in numbers proportionate to their representation in the upper school

**Table showing the number of pupils (as percentages of the row totals) according to name type and sex, on the roll of each County Upper school in September 1975**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (C)</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>42.08</td>
<td>45.02</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (C)</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>45.53</td>
<td>45.53</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (SM)</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>46.11</td>
<td>45.26</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (SM)</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>44.73</td>
<td>47.27</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (SM)</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>43.99</td>
<td>42.87</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (SM)</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>12.73</td>
<td>40.83</td>
<td>44.05</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. (GS)</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>43.28</td>
<td>48.13</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. (GS)*</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>10.05</td>
<td>40.93</td>
<td>39.87</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. (GS)**</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>40.87</td>
<td>43.21</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. (GS)</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>41.64</td>
<td>48.05</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. (GS)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80.66</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (GS)</td>
<td>16.80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83.20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (6/. 4.36</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>42.83</td>
<td>44.24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two single sex schools until September 1975
** Two single sex schools until July 1974

The total number of pupils on roll in September 1975 was 12,558. For numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A2.1.

SM Based on a former secondary modern school
C Based on a purpose-built new foundation comprehensive school
GS Based on a former grammar school
### Figure 2.6 Table showing distribution of pupils according to name type and sex in the County Upper schools according to year group, in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>$%$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>171.28</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>10.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>335.99</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>8.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1681.21</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>42.80</td>
<td>0.00087</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1736.53</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>45.50</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>166.08</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>0.0011</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>325.80</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>0.00012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1630.23</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>42.30</td>
<td>0.251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1683.88</td>
<td>1703</td>
<td>44.75</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>160.06</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>4.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>313.99</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>0.000003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1571.12</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>44.47</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1622.82</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>42.91</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>50.58</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>33.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[two-year groups]</td>
<td>99.21</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>29.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>496.44</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>39.52</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>512.77</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>42.54</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>5379</td>
<td>5556</td>
<td>12558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>42.83</td>
<td>44.24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 48.55$  $\text{DF} = 9$  $P = <0.001$

population, whereas their NAN girl peers are proportionately less well represented in the sixth form. This feature of Asian pupils staying on beyond the statutory school leaving age has been recorded elsewhere, in Newcastle for instance, where Taylor (1976) found that over twice as many Asians continued their studies beyond 15 (the school leaving age at the time of the study) than did a matched control group of their English peers.

This chapter has given an intimation of the differential treatment of AN and NAN pupils by the LEA, of the importance of education to Asian families shown
in the staying-on rate of AN pupils in the sixth forms and of cultural norms and patterns of immigration of the Asian community in the mid-1970's, with its relatively smaller number of adolescent girls than boys. It has set the scene for an analysis of the school performance, particularly external examination results, in more detail, to provide a picture of the Asian pupils' talent to succeed in the Upper schools.
CHAPTER 5   A STUDY OF THE COUNTY UPPER SCHOOL ROLLS 
ACCORDING TO THE NAME TYPE, SEX AND 
TEACHING GROUP OF THE PUPILS

I see this analysis of the allocation of pupils to teaching groups as an important preliminary to any study of examination results, since it throws light on the relative chances allowed to certain categories of pupil to enter for those examinations. Such allocation may well decide their life chances later on.

This study was concerned with the pupils in years 3–5 (aged 13–16 years) in nine of the twelve County Upper schools [1]. In 1975, in these schools teaching groups were organised in terms of the teachers' perceptions of the ability of the pupils to be successful in the GCE or CSE examinations. I categorised the groups as A Band, those for pupils for whom teaching was orientated towards the GCE 'O' Level or CSE examinations in Year 5, and B Band, those for pupils who were not seen as having potential to pass the external examinations or who would have been entered for a few CSE subjects only [2].

I visited each school and spent a day with the staff and in the classes to gain the necessary insight into the school structure to enable me to divide up the groups in this way. With the comprehensive school still working out its philosophy in practice, few Headteachers were willing to admit to taking over the old grammar school system and were defensive about suggestions that they streamed children according to a narrow ability criterion. However, since external examinations were a final dictator of school structure in all of these schools, in terms of teaching time allocation and curriculum, the pupils were in fact organised

[1] The other three schools could not be readily categorised because of the nature of the timetable or the extent of mixed-ability teaching.
[2] GCE "O" level examinations were designed for the upper 20% of the ability range in school; CSE was for the next 40%. In fact, four out of five children left school with at least one examination pass (HMSO (1976) Statistics in Education) in 1974/5.
into groups that simplified the task of teaching to this end.

The data were taken from the September lists of the school roll, except for one case, where the school placed all pupils in mixed ability teaching groups for the first term of Year 3 and then divided them into attainment groups on Maths and English competence for the second term [1].

Such a study seemed to me to be particularly relevant when using examination results as an indicator of school achievement for a group of children compared with their peers. Research into this field at the time had not addressed this factor. Taylor (1976), in a small sample of Newcastle school-leavers, found that 79% (38) of the Asians and 78% (54) of the English boys took no certificate (GCE/CSE) with them. However, he does not record whether they were entered for examinations and failed them, or were not entered. More recently, Driver (1980) used examination passes as his basic data for assessing relative success of ethnic groups in school at 16+, but gave no indication of the proportion and ethnicity of pupils not entered for the external examinations at 16+. A study of the way schools are grouping their pupils throws light on the perceptions that teachers may have of their pupils’ abilities.

**Flexibility of the Allocation of Pupils to Teaching Groups in the Upper School**

For the initial allocation, much reliance was placed on the record card sent from the child's Middle school and the accompanying Headteacher’s report. This would include a school test assessment of the child's ability in Maths and English. Sometimes this was the result of a standardised assessment test, though there was no city-wide test in use. Some of the Upper schools made their own additional assessment either in the summer term prior to entry, when the entrants were on a day visit to the school, or in the first few weeks of the September term. With 35–40 Middle schools to serve twelve Upper schools, continuity of curriculum and

[1] For this school I used the May term list for all year groups.
standardisation of assessment was a regular issue of concern.

Of the nine schools used in this study, six allocated children to teaching groups on the basis of the Middle school report, backed up by early testing to divide them into ability groups for Maths and English. The other subjects on the timetable were then taught at a level considered appropriate to these English/Maths standards. Thus a divergence of curriculum began in Year 3 with children whose English language competence was low being placed in teaching groups that were least likely to be aiming for external examination entries. The children who spoke English as a second language were particularly likely to be placed in these groups initially. At the other three schools, pupils followed a common syllabus during the first term (in one, this was only for an initial six weeks) and then testing was done to allow a permanent allocation to groups, with an accompanying differentiation of syllabi.

There was always the possibility for pupils to move from one teaching group to another if they were deemed to be 'misplaced', though this became increasingly difficult in practice as curricula diverged and the external examination requirements controlled the groups in Year 4. Teachers were of the opinion that this movement could and did happen.

In six out of the nine schools I studied, I was able to check the extent of this movement, since the September school lists had been annotated as to movement of pupils when I collected them in May. By May, any reassessment of the intake allocation had taken effect as most schools embarked on the external examination syllabus from the summer term. Figure 2.7 shows that in these six schools, only 1.2% of the pupils were moved between the A and B Band categories during the school year 1975-76. Twice as many pupils were moved into the A Band as were moved out of it. There was more movement among the Asian pupils than among the rest, though with such small numbers there could be
Table showing the number of children who moved from one teaching group band to another in six County Upper schools from September 1975 to May 1976, according to name type. Also a comparison with the total number of pupils in those years. Years 3-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>AN Pupils</th>
<th>NAN Pupils</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B to A Band</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A to B Band</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi = 0.18 \quad DF = 3 \quad P = >0.05 \]

Total number of pupils in Years 3-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of pupils moved as % of total no. of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No proven statistical significance to the association between name, type and movement. Even within this small amount of movement, the cases of pupils moving tended to be related to exceptional circumstances, as the following examples will demonstrate:

"School A
A teacher said: 'Movement is easy in the Third form'. In 1975-1976 in Year 3 seven pupils had been moved up into a higher class and two into a lower class in a school with a straight A-C streaming. In this movement only one pupil had moved across the Bands, from B to A. The rest of the movement was from a 'remedial' class into the CSE/non-examination groups. Most of these were Asian pupils who had been in this group because of their inadequate grasp of English and the movement had been negotiated by a sympathetic E2L teacher. Another teacher said that in the Thirds it was a policy for those who do not do their homework to be moved down, so that those who wish to work can do so. One pupil had been moved from A to B band, an Asian boy, for this reason. His teacher said: 'He is a clever boy. He passed his RSA English examination this year. He is to see a psychiatrist.'

In Year 4 there was one transfer from B to A and two moves within the B band. There were three transfers to higher classes in Year 5, but at this stage the moves cannot alter examination orientation, since pupils must already be well into their courses."
“School B
The teachers said that a fair amount of movement was possible between classes, one suggesting that eight to ten pupils may be moved at a time. This school’s year groups can be divided into three 'A' teaching groups and four parallel 'B' groups. The 1975 lists showed that only one pupil had been transferred to another class, and that was within the B Band.”

7.5.1976

These observations demonstrated two things in particular. Firstly, they showed that teachers were carrying misinformation about the amount of movement between teaching groups that was occurring. Several E2L teachers articulated a frustration they felt at the constraints that the groupings placed on the progress of the Asian children towards examination success. Only one other teacher commented on this by observing that pupils placed in lower teaching groups because of their inadequacies in English were 'misplaced' in his lower ability Maths group. Secondly, they showed the possibility of movement between the groups being made for behaviour discipline as well as on educational grounds.

One school showed a higher amount of flexibility between the teaching groups than the rest (Appendix A1). In this school, no pupils were moved 'down' as a matter of policy. Flexible grouping within the bands enabled pupils to be placed in appropriate and changing 'sets'. Ten pupils, including two Asians, moved into the A Band groups within the first year (Year 3). Within the A Band groups six pupils moved from CSE to 'O' Level sets in Year 3, including 3 Asian girls. Within the B Band, seven pupils were moved from non-examination to CSE sets. This gave a movement 'up' of 6.3% of the year group. No movement occurred in Years 4 and 5 because of the constraints of the examination syllabus.

Thus, fairly extensive readjustments of teaching groups are possible in the first year of Upper school, as shown by one school, though for most pupils their future schooling pattern had been decided by the time they left Middle school.
The Allocation of Pupils in Nine City Upper Schools to Teaching Group Bands in September 1975, According to Name Type and Sex

Figure 2.8 shows that the observed number \( (f_o) \) of Asian boys in the A Band was about half that which would be expected \( (f_e) \) in the total population observed. The Asian girls were under-represented too, although their NAN girl peers were represented at a significantly higher frequency than expected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>184.96</td>
<td>325.48</td>
<td>1631.00</td>
<td>1674.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>1676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>16.33</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>26.02</td>
<td>0.0013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>48.14</td>
<td>43.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>227.04</td>
<td>399.52</td>
<td>2002.00</td>
<td>2055.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>2054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>58.20</td>
<td>21.20</td>
<td>0.0010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>11.78</td>
<td>38.34</td>
<td>43.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Column total | 412 | 725 | 3633 | 3730 | 8500 |
|              | 4.85 | 8.53 | 42.74 | 43.88 | 100.0 |

\( \chi^2 = 206.49 \quad DF = 3 \quad P = <0.001 \)
See also Appendix A2.2

Many teachers would claim that girls do better than boys at school until they reach the stage of external examination entrance. Douglas (1964) would support this, referring back to the work of Stroud and Lindquist (1942) for his comments on it. He suggests however that 'girls excel in subjects that are taught by women and boys in those that are taught by men' [1], more than that there are fundamental differences in the academic ability of the sexes. He gives weight to the fact that Primary school teachers are mostly women:

"Their (teachers') assessment of the boys' ability is particularly unfavourable ... heavily influenced by the behaviour of the boys in class. The unruly boy or the boy who is idle tends to be graded by his teacher as unsuitable for grammar school education even when, by his score in the survey tests, he should get a place. In the 11+ examinations ... although they do a little less well than would be expected from their test scores, (they) do considerably better than their teachers anticipated." [1]

This particular argument carries less weight in an analysis of the differential allocation of boys and girls to the A Band in Bradford since the Middle school system is staffed by a high proportion of men teachers. On Douglas's argument, this should go some way to correcting the First school bias by Upper school stage. Unfortunately, Douglas's work on teacher perceptions of children and their assessment of their ability according to sex were not followed up in his 1968 extension of the study (Douglas, Rose and Simpson, 1968) but both Jackson (1968) and Barker Lunn (1970) report that boys have a less favourable attitude towards school than girls, a factor which could be relevant to the subjective teacher assessment of the child's attainment passed on by the Middle school report. The Asian girls do not appear to be benefiting from this 'glow' effect.

Bearing in mind the possibility that girls are assessed as more able than boys in the earlier stages of schooling, it is clear from Figure 2.8 that the most significant association is still between name type and allocation to teaching group band. The Asian pupils are more likely to be allocated to the B Band than their peers. Most of these children will be speaking English as a second language, and because of this and other cultural differences from the majority, will be at a disadvantage in any English assessment or verbal reasoning tests administered to the whole group (Haynes, 1971). The school structure, by allocating pupils to ability ranges in teaching groups with differential outcomes, is at the same time confining the Asian children to groups of 'less able' pupils and labelling their future potential.

[1] ibid. pp. 103-4
There is a certain inevitability in this allocation where ability in English is a major criterion of assessment. The Asian children observed here will have spent varying lengths of time in British schools. Research from the early days of immigration showed a positive correlation between the immigrant child's performance and length of British schooling (Saint, 1963; Wiles, 1968; Little et al, 1968; Dosanjh, 1969). Taylor (1976) found that Asians who had at least four years' education in England performed considerably better than recent arrivals, to the extent that they were at least on a par with English boys. Essen and Ghodsian (1980), in a presentation of data from the National Child Development Study [1], on the performance tests in reading and mathematics of sixteen-year-old immigrants, concluded:

"Among first generation immigrants, West Indians and Asians who have spent longer in Britain perform better in reading than more recent arrivals, although length of stay was not found to be related to Maths scores." [2]

Even those who had been born in Britain and had been at school here since the age of five were having to cope with schooling through the medium of a second language rather than the mother tongue.

Townsend and Brittan (1972), in the second part of an extensive survey of LEA provision and organisation in multiracial schools, showed that over two-thirds of their sample of 98 schools streamed by ability. They recorded the Headteachers' assessment of the spread of immigrants across these streams. In the schools with less than 20% immigrants on roll (viz. Bradford 1975, Figure 2.5), they found that the Indian and Pakistani children were 'clustered in the lower streams' in 16 out of the 37 secondary schools (Figure 2.9):

[1] National Child Development Study (NCDS), a longitudinal study being carried out by the National Children's Bureau, of approximately 16,000 children in England, Wales and Scotland, born in one week of March 1958.

Figure 2.9 Distribution of immigrant pupils when there is streaming by ability across a year group: national sample, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary schools with less than 20% immigrants</th>
<th>West Indian</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Pakistani</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With some streaming by ability across a year group - distribution by streams:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evenly distributed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clustered in higher streams</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clustered in middle streams</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clustered in lower streams</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of secondary schools</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H E R Townsend and E M Brittan (1972) Organisation in Multiracial Schools adapted from Table A.10, p.151.

It then followed that over a quarter of the Indian and Pakistani pupils were in non-examination groups compared with a tenth of all pupils and they were significantly under-represented in the GCE 'O' level groups (Figure 2.10). They found that few immigrants tackled 'O' level courses until the sixth form. They concluded that:

"there is a clustering of immigrants in the lower streams of secondary schools. Although lack of proficiency in English is a major cause of this, the fact that the immigrants from, say, Italy and Cyprus are much more evenly distributed across the streams suggests that linguistic difficulties are not the sole cause of any differences between immigrants and non-immigrants. The fact that many Headteachers see upward movement to more even distribution as pupils progress through secondary school suggests that, whatever the causes of early low placing, some of these can be, and are being, overcome in some schools." [1]

It is significant that the West Indian children, mostly speaking English or a variation of English as a first language, were 'clustered in the lower streams' too. Like the Asian children, and unlike the Italian and Cypriot children who spoke English as a second language, they too were identifiable by skin colour.

The visual impact of the allocation encourages a spurious link between skin colour and educational ability. It is possible that this labelling, in its turn, will have a detrimental effect on the perceptions that the teachers have of the Asian child’s ability. For instance, I observed that teachers frequently attributed "lack of imagination" to Asian children, in creative writing, where facility in English language may well have been the limiting factor rather than an intrinsic imaginative ability. A teacher would place the responsibility for the 'deficiency' on the child rather than on the appropriateness of tasks set and stimulus given in school. For example:

"Asian children cannot cope with creative work because:
- their use of language is limited for imaginative writing.
- they lack the school experience that could have developed their ability for creative writing.
- the CSE creative writing is based on a comprehension which is difficult and literary in style, hence we do RSA.
- culture clash: they are amazed at the English family dialogues and family relationships. 50% of the CSE paper is externally marked.
- the children are from the inner city, with very little experience beyond. They tend to assume that the inner city standards are the norm, bad language, and assess people on
they lack the heritage of play of the English child, unless they have been through the school system, though decreasing numbers are now from Centres."

Upper school, 7.5.1976
(my emphases)

Other comments were received from Art teachers:

"Asians show less perception about drawing faces. If asked to draw side face, they draw a stylised full face. They show less freedom and imagination and their colour sense is immature."

Ms.--------, Upper school, 29.3.1976

"The Asian children are less imaginative. I suppose this is due to language difficulties. Their approach to Art is stiff and immature."

Mr.--------, Upper school, 29.3.1976

"Look at those who say they can't paint (the Asians). They don't show much imagination in pictorial art work. Their work is exceedingly childish."

Ms.--------, Middle school, 21.3.1977

"Ten years ago the Asians used to concentrate on patterns with the use of strong pastel colours but now increasingly they're westernised - Kung Fu. I teach the skills and guide composition so imagination is not so important as representation."

Upper School, 5.5.1976

"When the lesson is an instructive one, no cultural difference is apparent, except that the Asians seem to have difficulty in grasping perspective, pictorial space. Pakistanis are apt to produce copies of Asian cinema posters, where others would be more aware of TV. Their art work remains childish longer - a crude use of colour, very little sense of colour harmony - but it responds to instruction. In the O and A level exams they do more abstract work."

Upper school, 20.5.1976

The 'lack of imagination' here may have been more with a teacher who had failed to appreciate Muslim traditions of art, and some avoidance of the representation of human figures, than with the child.

This bias in a teacher's perception and estimation of the Asian child's ability has implications for the allocation to teaching groups and on the encouragement that the pupils will be given to succeed in the competitive examination system [1]. Further, if skin colour is implicitly perceived as a factor in achievement, then it

[1] J W B Douglas (1964) op.cit., p.100 and the 'Hawthorne effect' (see H G Canady, 1936), children respond better to assessors of their own 'colour'.
could be argued that black children will need to be taught by black teachers to excel, as Douglas argued that 'girls excel in subjects taught by women'.

An Assessment of the Trend in the Allocation of Pupils to Teaching Group Bands in Nine County Upper Schools in September 1975, According to Name Type and Sex

Although this study used data from one school year only, analysis of each of the year groups separately will give a suggestion of trend in the situation of the Asian children within that population. Year 4, in September 1975, was the previous year's intake apart from marginal movement of children into or out of the city school system.

Figure 2.11 shows this analysis for the three year groups, categorised according to name type and teaching group band. A comparison of the chi-squared values for each Year/intake group shows an increased significance in the association between name type and teaching group band with the earlier intakes. While the Asian pupils were still more likely to be allocated to the non-examination/CSE orientated teaching groups in Year 3 (1975 intake) than their peers, the situation was moving towards equality. Furthermore, a comparison of this data with a similar analysis of one of these nine schools (Appendix A1, Figures 7–9) shows that in that school, because of a positive action policy of the Headteacher (see pp. 393–400), the degree of association is minimal in the 1975 intake (Year 3). This suggests that the disadvantage that Asian children have as E2L children in school will be reduced in time, partly as their level of English competence is raised, but also as the schools learn to cope more adequately with their particular needs.
Figure 2.11  Table showing the allocation of pupils to teaching
group band in each of Years 5-3, according to name
type in some County Upper schools in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asian name</th>
<th>Non-Asian name</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Year 5 (15+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973 intake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>170.84</td>
<td>1122.16</td>
<td>1293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>93.66</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>193.16</td>
<td>1268.84</td>
<td>1462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.29</td>
<td>80.71</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>2391</td>
<td>2755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.21</td>
<td>86.79</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>99.18</td>
<td>DF = 1</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asian name</th>
<th>Non-Asian name</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11) Year 5 (14-15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 intake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>181.01</td>
<td>1130.99</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>1201</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.46</td>
<td>91.54</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>213.99</td>
<td>1337.01</td>
<td>1551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>1267</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>18.31</td>
<td>81.69</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>2468</td>
<td>2863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>86.20</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>57.16</td>
<td>DF = 1</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asian name</th>
<th>Non-Asian name</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111) Year 5 (13+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 intake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>163.45</td>
<td>1109.55</td>
<td>1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>91.36</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$ ($\lambda$)</td>
<td>214.55</td>
<td>1456.45</td>
<td>1671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>83.96</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>2566</td>
<td>2944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.84</td>
<td>87.16</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>34.67</td>
<td>DF = 1</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary

It has been shown that the Asian pupils, especially the boys, were less well represented in the external examination orientated teaching groups (A Band) than their non-Asian peers in the city Upper schools in 1975-76. While this may be related to the fact that they are speaking English as a second language in an English medium school system, similar research studies suggest that race may also be a factor in the allocation. It is important to note that a dependence on Middle school reports on entry to the Upper school and lack of flexibility of movement between the teaching groups in a streamed system in Year 3 will mean that the pupil's external examination opportunities at sixteen will be more or less fixed by the age of 13. Thus a child who came late into the system from abroad or who entered from Middle school with little competence in spoken English would be allocated to a non-examination group at 13 or 14, because of a language handicap to learning at the pace of peers in other groups rather than because of any potential academic ability. As movement through the year groups was age-related and the delivery of the examination syllabus was planned as a two-year course and linked to this, the opportunity to 'catch up' would be denied except in the sixth form. At that stage the immigrant child would probably be grouped with NAN peers who had 'failed' the 'O' level in Year 5 and would be repeating the course in one year. Thus the syllabus would be covered in a shorter time, possibly to a lesser depth than in Years 4 and 5, further disadvantaging the pupil who was approaching it for the first time.

For the Asian child the possibility of increasing competence in a second language after 13 was not being matched by a greater flexibility in the opportunity to enter groups orientated towards examinations at 16 because of the constraints of the syllabus and the way it was covered by the teachers. Furthermore, clustering in the B Band may have had a detrimental labelling effect, related to skin colour,
on the children, especially where movement down the banding could be seen as a punishment. This may have wider implications for the black child's achievement in school.

In a society in which examination passes like GCE/CSE are the accepted mode of selection for further education and for a job, then the concept of equality of opportunity in education must include the right for all children to have an equal chance to be presented for these examinations. While, in the Bradford Upper schools, the trend from 1973–1975 seemed to be towards reducing the disadvantaging allocation to teaching group bands for the Asian pupils, the inequality of opportunity was still apparent. In the following chapter, the analysis of external examination results for the summer of 1976 in effect denotes a self-fulfilling prophecy.
CHAPTER 6 A STUDY OF THE COUNTY UPPER SCHOOL LISTS SHOWING ENTRANTS IN THE GCE/CSE EXAMINATIONS: SUMMER 1976, ACCORDING TO NAME TYPE AND SEX

It will be shown that the Asian pupils were less likely to achieve a pass in the external examinations they entered - (GCE 'O' level/CSE) at 15+ than their non-Asian peers, though for those who continued to take GCE 'A' level examinations, the association between name type and pass rate was not significant. Secondly, a correlation will be shown between the success rate and the examination subject taken. Asian pupils were less likely to succeed in Arts subjects than in Science subjects. The former were more overtly biased towards the English culture and language.

Society uses the GCE/CSE as a guide to success in school and to the pupil’s future potential in society [1]. The English language qualification in particular is important for entry into further education and many jobs. The GCE is a literary, academic examination, marked by external examiners. The CSE contains some element of continuous assessment, tests 'other factors relating to the pupils' ability and achievement beyond the results of a single set of written answers to examination papers' [2], and is partly marked and moderated within the school. Because of the mode of allocation to teaching group in the Upper schools (Chapter 5), the Asian pupils were more likely to be entered for the CSE than the GCE, even within the A Band. In fact the CSE assessment was more suited to their

[1] These examinations superseded the former School Certificate in 1951 and 1965 respectively. They were assessed by pupil norms rather than positive pupil outcomes. This raises questions of comparability from year to year and between Examination Boards. For instance, Grade E in the 1976 GCE corresponded with a Pass at School Certificate 1951, further it was accepted that pupils entering a subject for more than one Board might pass with one and not with another. See Mather (1977) "GCE, Pass or Fail", YREB (1975) CSE: An analysis of the statistical moderation procedure.

situation as bilingual children taking into account factors in addition to the final examination but it had a lower status with employers than the GCE, even the CSE Grade 1 which was a GCE 'O' level pass equivalent.

My data [1] were of entrants to the examinations in the Upper schools in the summer of 1976, that is those who were allocated to teaching groups in 1973–74 or earlier. It included all who entered for these examinations in Year 5 and in the sixth form. The information was for one year only, so was of limited value for drawing general conclusions, though a feasibility study of the results from the summer of 1975, tabulated in Appendix A2.3–A2.4, gives some measure of comparison.

Factors Shown to Affect External Examination Results Nationally

More pupils gained examination successes in 1974–75 than ever before in the UK [2]. The number of pupils leaving school with no certificates had halved since 1972, with four-fifths of all school leavers gaining at least one graded result in either GCE or CSE in 1974–75. This improvement happened with the spread of the comprehensive school, but research has shown that the success rate continued to be related to the sex and social class of the entrants.

In 1974–75 the national statistic showed that only 43.17% of the successful GCE/CSE candidates were girls though the girls' success rate had improved by 20% over the previous 5 years [3]. The boys' success rate had only improved by 7% during that time, so the move towards comprehensive schooling and the greater flexibility of teaching groups that this allowed was increasing the equality of opportunity for girls.

[1] Statistics collected with the permission of the Chief Schools Officer, CBMC Directorate of Educational Services, on the understanding that the schools and entrants would not be identified (Appendix A4.2). They derive from the computer lists of the GCE Joint Matriculation Board and Associated Examinations Board, CSE Yorkshire Regional Examinations Board.
Social class is a well researched factor in examination success (Douglas, 1964; Douglas, Simpson and Ross, 1968), with children in lower socio-economic groups being disadvantaged (Wedge and Prosser, 1973; Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980). Davis's study of the summer 1976 examination results in Leicestershire schools supported this [1]. That study, of an LEA with both selective and comprehensive schooling areas, was also able to make a limited contribution to research on the effects of the factor of selection at 11+ on the examination attainment of the pupils. The comprehensive schools area offered the pupils more opportunity to enter the examinations than the selective schools area, with more passes per pupil (though fewer passes per entry) [2].

It is sometimes suggested that size of school might affect intensity of teaching and consequently success in examination results. There appears to be little evidence for this suggestion. Davis (1977) found no significant correlation between examination results and school size. The comprehensive schools were all larger than the selective schools in her study.

The Attainment of Certificates in the General Certificate of Education Examinations (at 'O' and 'A' Level) and the Certificate of Secondary Education In the County Upper Schools in the Summer of 1976, by Entrants According to Name Type and Sex

In this analysis, the examination entrants were categorised according to name type with some comment on the association of differences in attainment with the sex of the entrant and the antecedents of their school (whether grammar school

[1] D Davis (1977) "Where comprehensives score" Times Educational Supplement See also (1984) "To each according to his class" TES.
[2] In this study, the comprehensive schools were in an area that had a higher 'social class indicator than the inner city selective schools' area. The study showed greater differences between the scores of the results of the 'best' and 'worst' schools within each schools' category (correlating with a social class indicator) than between the two categories 'selective' and 'non-selective'.

(GS) or secondary modern/comprehensive school (SM/C) pre-1964 base, see Chapter 1 and Figure 2.5, p.83.). The GCE 'O' level results were categorised as grades A–C (the former School Matriculation level), generally perceived as a 'pass', or D, E and unclassified, generally perceived as a 'fail' at 'O' level. CSE grade 1 was an A–C equivalent [1].

While the two examinations were not strictly comparable in style, or even in grading vis-à-vis the attainment of the entrant, they were perceived in rank order and given popular status accordingly. As this study was concerned with a qualitative analysis of perceptions and labelling of groups more than with a quantitative analysis of the results, the examination passes in the two exams have been directly compared (Figure 2.12). For this purpose, the successes at 'O' level grades A–C were compared with those at CSE 2–5. The common grade, CSE 1, has been omitted, as its inclusion would not have altered the implications of the analysis and it would have involved some duplication [2]. As Figure 2.12 shows, the Asian pupils gained significantly fewer of their passes at 'O' level than did their peers. In a total population gaining 31% of their passes at 'O' level, the Asians gained only 22% at this level. The sex factor is of less significance, but the Asian girls gained a lower proportion of their examination passes at 'O' level than did the Asian boys, while their NAN girl peers were doing better than the NAN boys (Appendix A.2.5). Thus the Asian pupils, especially the Asian girls,

[1] Grades D and E at 'O' level also qualify for a certificate, though they are not recorded as a "pass" for the purpose of this analysis. While GCE/CSE were intended to be equivalent at grades C/1, when the marking scheme was arranged in 1975 there was no considered equivalence between D, E and unclassified/2–5, unclassified.

[2] The analysis is complicated by the fact that in 1975, for the first time, both 'O' and CSE results carried a very small number of results of an experimental 16+ examination for which entrants were given a grading of appropriate standard in both the GCE and CSE. This applied particularly to Maths and English results and to the higher attaining groups. It therefore inflated the CSE results in those subjects especially the Grade 1 (CSE Grade 1, 1976, AN 122, NAN 992).
Table showing the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' Level (A–C) and CSE (2–5) according to the name type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GCE 'O' Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>558.51</td>
<td>3492.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>3655</td>
<td>4051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A–C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χ²</td>
<td>47.29</td>
<td>7.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.94</td>
<td>32.38</td>
<td>30.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>1246.49</td>
<td>7794.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>1409</td>
<td>7632</td>
<td>9041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χ²</td>
<td>21.19</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>78.06</td>
<td>67.62</td>
<td>69.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>11287</td>
<td>13092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 79.43  DF = 1  P = <0.001

were gaining a disproportionate number of their examination passes in the lower academic level, lower status examinations than their peers.

There were 19,569 subjects entered [1] in the GCE 'O' level and CSE exams by pupils in the city Upper schools in the summer of 1976. Of these, 4,051 were passed at 'O' level at grades A–C and 10,155 at grades 1–5 in the CSE, with 1,114 of those passes graded at 1. The CSE assessment is intended to relate to 60% of the ability range. Figures 2.13 and 2.14 show that the Asian entrants had a lower success rate than their peers in both of the certificate examinations, in an analysis of the total number of examinations sat, though this was of little statistical significance in relation to the high 'pass' rate for the CSE. (A detailed analysis of the results according to name type, sex of the pupils and the antecedents of their school is tabulated in Appendix A.2.6).

[1] Figures 2.11, 2.12 and 2.13 exclude a record of those pupils entered for the exam who did not sit it.
Figure 2.13  
Table showing the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' Level (A–C) and those at D, E and unclassified according to the name type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976 (CSE Grade 1 not included)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades A–C</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>3571</td>
<td>4051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>3655</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>40.95</td>
<td>50.81</td>
<td>49.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades D, E and unclassified</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>3623</td>
<td>4110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>3539</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>14.49</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>59.05</td>
<td>49.19</td>
<td>50.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column total</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 33.12 \)  \( DF = 1 \)  \( P = <0.001 \)

Figure 2.14  
Table showing the number of subjects passed at CSE (1–5) and those failed according to the name type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades 1–5</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>1583</td>
<td>8572</td>
<td>10155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>1531</td>
<td>8624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>86.11</td>
<td>89.55</td>
<td>89.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Failed</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>1006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.89</td>
<td>10.45</td>
<td>10.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column total</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 18.46 \)  \( DF = 1 \)  \( P = <0.001 \)

The pass rate in any exam will depend on the marginality of the candidates entered, but the GCE 'O' level Grade C is standardised to about 60% of the entry for each subject. This examination provides the most objective measure of
achievement for 15-16 year olds in the national context that is available (Bardell, Forrest and Shoesmith, 1978 [1]). In a northern industrial city such as Bradford, with a relatively high proportion of its population in social classes IV and V (Richardson, 1976), a lower pass rate than the norm might be expected. The overall pass rate for both 1975 (Appendix A2.3b) and 1976 in the city was 50%. The pass rate for the Asian entrants in 1976 was only 40% (33% for the Asian girls). This success rate included the passes gained by pupils staying on into the sixth form to retake subjects failed before or to add extra subjects to their certificate. The Asian pupils, who were more likely to stay on than their peers (Figure 2.6) were still struggling for parity of success.

About a third of the Asian pupils stayed on into the Upper school sixth form to GCE 'A' level courses in the early '70's. There were very few Asian girls in this number. In the summer of 1976, only two schools entered Asian girls as 'A' level candidates (Figure 2.15) [2]. The Asian boys, however, were well represented at a percentage higher than that in the total school population (cf. Figure 2.5). An analysis of the pass rate at GCE 'A' level in 1976 suggested that there was no statistically significant difference between that of the Asian and non-Asian entrants (Figure 2.16) [3]. Both the Asian boys and girls were passing marginally fewer of the subjects for which they entered than would be expected, but the evidence here suggested that, despite an initial language handicap for most of them, they were performing on a par with their non-Asian peers at 'A' level.

[1] A review of thirty-four studies of comparability in GCE.
[2] This low representation correlated with low expectations in school of Asian girls shown in the Banding study (Figure 2.7) and in the analysis of GCE 'O' level and CSE results (Appendix A2.5-A2.6). Most of the Asian girls were Muslim and not expected by their families to stay on for higher education.
[3] This was so for Arts or Science subjects (Appendix A2.7).
Figure 2.15 Table showing the number of GCE 'A' level entrants from the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976, according to name type and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrants</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>7 (22.05)</td>
<td>167 (151.95)</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>37.78</td>
<td>39.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>49 (33.95)</td>
<td>219 (234.05)</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.09</td>
<td>49.55</td>
<td>60.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 19.40$  $DF = 1$  $P = <0.001$

Figure 2.16 Table showing the number of subjects sat at GCE 'A' level by entrants according to name type and sex, and the grades gained, according to whether these were passed A-E, or allowed at 'O' level/failed, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'A' Level Grades</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pass A-E</td>
<td>12 (13.82)</td>
<td>67 (75.68)</td>
<td>312 (306.00)</td>
<td>400 (395.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass 'O' and Fail</td>
<td>9 (7.18)</td>
<td>48 (39.32)</td>
<td>153 (159.00)</td>
<td>201 (205.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total entries</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 4.1044$  $DF = 3$  $P = <0.05$

These findings are consistent with those of Halsey et al (1980) in their discussion of pupils disadvantaged by social class in the school system. Their Oxford Mobility Study suggested that success in schooling could be seen in terms of ability to 'survive' as well as of initial access opportunity:

"The survivors are increasingly assimilated to the pattern of survival, and also of performance, of the service-class pupils." [1]

That is, survivors learn to cope with a system that others (service class; i.e. middle-class pupils) are already socialised to cope with on entry to school. The Asian boys at least were showing ability to survive, as Taylor (1976) also noted in his Newcastle study. While it is good that some Asian young people should be shown to have the ability to cope with a system to survive, it is not equitable. The school system itself needs scrutiny for potential for change to support the diversity of pupil needs.

All the Bradford Upper schools had a mixed ability intake, social class mix and a comprehensive curriculum. They were developed from different traditions however, only two of the schools were founded and staffed as comprehensives (C), four became comprehensive schools from a secondary modern school base with a continuity of staff (SM) and six were based on former grammar schools (GS), also with continuity of staff (Figure 2.5). In 1975, the SM and C schools catered for 55% of the pupils on roll. An analysis of the GCE 'A' level results for summer 1976 according to the antecedents of the school of the entrants shows that the SM/C schools catered for 56% of the Asian boys on roll in September 1975, but 44% of the 'A' level entrants (Figure 2.17). However, within this latter figure were twice as many Asian boys as in the GS schools.

Figure 2.17 Table showing GCE 'A' level entrants according to name type in the County Upper schools, according to their antecedents in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM/C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because of the dispersal policy, there was no reason to expect an atypical allocation in terms of academic potential in any year. Also, there was little significance in the association between name type and pass rate according to the school types (Figure 2.18) for the Asian entrants. The weight of significance in the contingency table was with the NAN categories passing more subjects than expected in the GS schools and fewer than expected in the SM/C schools. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the SM/C schools, with the teachers used to catering for children with educational disadvantage, whether of class or culture, were allowing the Asian pupils more opportunity to develop their academic talents than the more academically competitive, middle class biased, GS schools. A more specific research project would be required to test this hypothesis. Meanwhile it gives some direction for this study to address the qualitative aspects of the school system as they affect the Asian children — school ethos, staff concern for disadvantage and a sympathetic understanding of cultural difference.
An Analysis of the GCE 'O' Level Examination Results in the County Upper Schools in the Summer of 1976 to Show a Relationship Between Pass Rate and the Subject Taken by Entrants According to Name Type and Sex

Using the GCE 'O' level examination, because this gives the most consistent norm referenced results from one year to the next (Appendix A2.3) this analysis will show that while the Asian entrants had a lower overall pass rate than their peers in 'Science' subjects, this was less significant than in 'Arts' subjects. The Mathematics and English language results have been analysed separately as examples of subjects where ability in the English language was least and most relevant respectively. A detailed study of the questions set for the entrants to answer in the English papers suggest that it was not merely facility in the language that may have handicapped an E2L speaker but the cultural bias of the content, and that the extent of this may have varied from year to year.

For the purposes of the first analysis (Science and Arts subjects) the following subjects were isolated as 'Sciences': General Science, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Rural Studies, Applied Science, Human Biology, Personal Science, Physical Science, all mathematical subjects and Computer Studies. Other subjects were categorised under the general heading 'Arts', including modern languages and English language, with all the more practical, technical and craft subjects. This effectively isolated all the 'academic' sciences, requiring a high level of numeracy and literacy, from the less language-based technical subjects requiring a high manual dexterity and practical input in both the course and the examination work. Under the science heading then were those subjects required for entry to medicine, nursing or pharmacy. Asian pupils frequently cited a medical career as their goal.

Figure 2.19 shows the boys doing better than would be expected if there were no association between the entrant's sex and the results in Sciences, particularly the NAN boys, and less well in the Arts, particularly the AN boys. For the non-Asian girls, this distribution was significantly reversed. The Asian girls were
Table showing the number of entries sat in GCE 'O' Level in Science and Arts subjects, according to whether they were passed at grades A-C or not, by entrants according to name type and sex in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'O' Grades</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>NAN Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A B C</td>
<td>f_e 51.62</td>
<td>161.33</td>
<td>480.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f_o 33</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x^2</td>
<td>6.72</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>10.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D E</td>
<td>f_e 52.38</td>
<td>163.67</td>
<td>487.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>f_o 71</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x^2</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>12.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals</td>
<td>% 1.27</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>11.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x^2 = 115.98  DF = 7  P <0.001
passing fewer subjects at grades A–C in both categories than would be expected, but from a visual comparison of the observed pass rates in each category, the significance of the mismatch was greater for the Arts than for the Sciences, contrary to the pattern of the non-Asian girls.

Thus, despite the general disadvantage of the AN pupils shown in the overall analysis for the summer 1976 examination results (Figures 2.12–2.14), the Asian boys were showing particular potential in the sciences. In the sciences success depended more on the entrants' ability to understand, learn and record than on creative, literary ability. They were also subjects in which there may have been particular societal motivation to succeed, since the medical profession was the one high status profession where black people were in evidence in Britain. In the Asian communities medicine was seen as an highly desirable aspiration for both boys and girls (though the stricter Muslim households would discourage girls from higher education).

As an example of a subject that is relatively little dependent on English competence, an analysis of the Mathematics examination results was made. While English was the medium of instruction in Mathematics, and of particular importance as Mathematics is now being taught with emphasis on the understanding of mathematical concepts rather than rote learning of rules and computation, a high standard of fluency in written English would not have been necessary to answer the examination papers. It was a subject that the Asian pupils who came late into the school system in Britain could have tackled, if they had spent time in school overseas and learnt the basic concepts in a mother tongue. Thus Mathematics would be a good indicator of the Asian, E2L speaking entrant's ability in comparison with the English first language entrants.

Other research confirmed this proposition. In a study of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow Primary schools, Dickinson et al. (1975) found that while on most
intelligence and attainment tests the Pakistani pupils were found to be somewhat poorer than a control group of Scottish pupils, no significant difference was found in tests of Arithmetic. Essen and Ghodsian (1980) in a study of reading and Mathematics ability of sixteen year old immigrants found that among first generation West Indian and Asian immigrants, while reading scores were related to length of stay in Britain, (those who had spent longer in British school were reading better), Mathematics scores were not. Asian children's Mathematics scores were not significantly lower than those of the indigenous British, especially if social and home circumstances were taken into account. The second generation Asians performed better than the corresponding first generation and marginally better than the matched indigenous children. Therefore they attributed most under-performance of Asian children in school to language difficulties.

Figure 2.20 Table showing the entries sat in GCE 'O' level Mathematics, according to whether they were passed (A–C) or not, and the name type and sex of the entrant, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'O' level grades</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A B C</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>14.60</td>
<td>74.03</td>
<td>248.17</td>
<td>322.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.000012</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>7.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( % )</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>11.23</td>
<td>30.80</td>
<td>56.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D E</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>14.60</td>
<td>67.97</td>
<td>277.83</td>
<td>295.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unclassified</td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.000013</td>
<td>0.084</td>
<td>8.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( % )</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>11.24</td>
<td>45.12</td>
<td>40.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>( % )</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>11.23</td>
<td>37.66</td>
<td>48.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 26.62</td>
<td>DF = 3</td>
<td>( P &lt; 0.001 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.20 shows the boys doing better than the girls in Mathematics, the non-Asian boys significantly so. However, although all the girls were doing less
well than would be expected, for the Asian girls there was only a marginal association between the contingencies. While in the overall analysis of results there was an association between pass rate and name type (Figures 2.13 and 2.14) in the Mathematics results, this was not significant. A comparison with the Mathematics results for 1975 (Appendix A2.8a) shows the Asian pupils, in fact, gaining more success than their peers in this subject. In Mathematics, a subject that has a large number of entries compared with most other subjects, the Asian children were showing their potential ability to achieve external examination success.

An analysis of the subjects in which English language competence is vital showed the AN pupils particularly disadvantaged in 1976. This analysis was concerned with the English examinations which tested the pupils' competence in written English and comprehension [1]. At GCE this was called 'English Language' [2]. Most GCE entrants would have taken this paper and it was a required qualification for higher education and many jobs.

This was a subject in which girls on the whole were showing a better performance than boys. Figure 2.21 shows the Asian entrants passing at a rate far lower than expected, especially the boys (24% of their entries). A comparison with the 1975 statistic, however did not support this situation as typical (Appendix A2.8b). While there was little significant difference in the pass rate of the two years for the non-Asian entrants, the Asian entrants showed a significantly higher pass rate (57% of their entries) in 1975. A check on the 1978 and 1979 statistics, using the DES 10% sample [3] suggests that the 1975 situation was more typical.

[1] The GCE English Literature examination was not considered because of its nature (literary criticism and appreciation) and because it was not of specific importance as an entry qualification to higher education and jobs.

[2] General Certificate of Education examinations set by the Joint Matriculation Board and by the Associated Examinations Board

[3] Department of Education and Science 10% sample of national examination results, from children born on the 5th, 15th, and 25th of each month. Form 7d, Schools, Part II.
Table showing the GCE 'O' level English Language entries according to the name type and sex of the entrants and the results, according to whether they are graded A–C or D, E and unclassified in the County Upper schools in summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'O' level grades</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A B C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>28.35</td>
<td>50.82</td>
<td>318.86</td>
<td>266.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>22.51</td>
<td>9.88</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>35.85</td>
<td>17.89</td>
<td>62.92</td>
<td>50.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D E unclassified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>24.65</td>
<td>44.18</td>
<td>277.14</td>
<td>232.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>25.89</td>
<td>11.37</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>64.15</td>
<td>82.11</td>
<td>37.08</td>
<td>49.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total %</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>1243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2 = 77.55$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF = 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P = &lt;0.001$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A2.9). Entrants for 'O' level English Language would be drawn from A band teaching groups (Chapter 5), therefore on 1975/76 figures they would be out of a smaller proportion of the AN than the NAN category [1]. Fewer marginal Asian candidates would be entered. This analysis was inconclusive; further research may have shown a more favourable situation for the Asian pupils.

English language was the subject in which the E2L pupil would be most likely to have been disadvantaged, especially in the 'comprehension' element of the examination. The topics used for study varied from year to year, but a cultural bias in the contextual pieces on which the questions were based, or the topics allowed for essay work, could pose particular difficulties for the Asian child.

A Bradford Upper school language teacher studied JMB 'O' level language papers from 1969 to 1976 and noted questions on papers that could have been said

[1] In the 1979 data from the DES 10% sample (Appendix A2.9) 50% of each of the name type categories were entered for the English Language examination, however.
to hold some form of cultural bias to the disadvantage of the child from a minority culture. The questions reflected three kinds of bias:

a) to a middle class white experience;

b) to an English culture;

c) to a western Christian cultural context of thinking. [1]

She saw middle class bias shown in the fact that comprehension passages were drawn mainly from a white middle class experience, often on "folksy subjects such as boarding schools", or as in this question from November 1975:

"Consider the following list of events:
The Boat Race; The Grand National; the FA Cup Final; Wimbledon Fortnight; A Royal Command Variety Performance; Guy Fawkes Night; Remembrance Day; The Trooping of the Colour or the Changing of the Guard; The Last Night of the Proms; The Motor Show or the Boat Show.

Explain why any two of them are regarded as significant in British life .... "

A working class white child could have problems choosing two from that list, especially if he/she came from 'up North': where 'Plot Night' or 'Bonfire Night' is celebrated but rarely is it called 'Guy Fawkes Night'. A Pakistani child might be unable to make a choice from experience and have special difficulty in assessing the 'significance in British life'.

The English cultural bias was more obvious. For instance, the comprehension passage in November 1976 was about Pinner Fair and Tissington Well-Dressing. In addition, the candidate was asked to choose to describe other local customs from a similarly 'English' list:

"Easter play or parade, a Whit-week walk, a summer carnival or show, a college rag day, Morris dancing, Christmas carol-singing, or any other suitable event."

For the Asian candidates to have responded to the final 'or any other' with a

[1] H Grinter (1978) E2L Teaching for 'O' Level Candidates. The questions quoted were all taken from the JMB GCE 'O' Level English Language papers, Syllabus B.
choice relevant to their own cultural experience would have required resilience under the heavy weight of cultural dominance.

Sometimes the 'English' questions formed only one section of a broader selection of essay topics to choose from:

"3a:-- Explain how to:
   (iii) make a Christmas cake"
   November 1972

"1(a) My family at Christmas"
   November 1976

"4(b) Describe:
   (ii) The scene in an English village before and after the disastrous flooding of the river which runs through it."
   November 1969

The Pakistani pupil could have avoided these. But the examiner, with more sensitivity could have omitted the word 'English' from the November 1969 example to allow a Pakistani child to draw on possible overseas experience and to allow all children to draw on Welsh or Scottish experience too.

Questions with special reference to Christian festivals could have been broadened to 'or other specific religious festivals' and thus not only widened the choice to accommodate a multifaith population sensitively but, more positively, drawn on the relevant experience of a variety of cultures. A Muslim child might not have been able to write about 'attending a church service' (November 1970) and his school might not have had a 'speech day or prize-giving', the alternative topic. He could probably have written an interesting account of prayer in the mosque or learning in Qu'ranic school. If Asians 'lacked imagination and creativity' (pp.95–6) in this situation, it could have been because they were being asked to write from second-hand experience.

Another area of bias was more subtle. It was in questions that assumed a western morality and mode of thought as both the norm and commendable. The following question could have been avoided by a Pakistani pupil in 1973, but the
choice was narrow, two questions out of three:

"Mrs Smith: I don't know what young people are coming to. When I was young, I knew how to behave. I had respect for people older and wiser than myself.

Jack (June): At least we think for ourselves. I don't believe these older people are always right.

These are the opening lines of a discussion between Mrs Smith and her son Jack (or her daughter June). Continue this discussion in as natural a manner as you can, representing the different viewpoints of the younger and older generation about clothes, behaviour and attitude towards life in general ... you must argue both sides of the case...."

June 1973

This would have been an alien discussion for most Pakistani fifteen year olds of my experience. To continue it in a natural manner would have demanded greater imaginative skill of them than of their peers, since it was part of the Pakistani culture that young people would accept the opinions and attitudes of their elders rather than think and express themselves freely on such personal matters. On the other hand, a Pakistani pupil might possibly write an impassioned and authoritative defence of Islam in response to a question, but this might be unacceptable to the examiners if it lacked balanced argument, an inappropriate mode for such a defence.

Grinter concluded:

"There is no overt racism on recent JMB 'O' level English Language papers. Some questions can be interpreted in such a way that Asian experiences can be introduced and it is obvious that the majority of questions must be directed towards the majority of the students; but I found nothing in any of the past papers available for our students to use, which would counteract the inevitably alienating effect of most of the materials." [1]

The 'alienating effect of most of the material' would have led to a natural assumption by the child that his/her own experience was unacceptable. To interpret questions 'in such a way that Asian experience could have been introduced' would have required positive training of pupils to this end by the teacher.

Most research has pointed to language difficulties as a reason for the low attainment of Asian children in comparison to their peers (e.g. Essen and Ghodsian 1980). Bradford LEA policy for the education of the children of immigrants (Part 3) has concentrated on addressing this perceived need. The analyses in this chapter confirmed that Asian entrants in the GCE 'O' level examinations, 1976, gained more success in the subjects that were less language based, the sciences, especially Maths. They endorsed a need for language support. However the observations pointed to cultural bias as a second factor to be considered. The content of the subject studied may have been as important an instrument of disadvantage to the Asian child as the medium of its conveyance. While the analysis of the English Language results was not conclusive, it did show a significant fluctuation in the pass rate of the Asian entrants between 1975 and 1976. A demonstrated bias towards a particularly English content in some of the examination questions in certain years could severely handicap the non-English child. It would be particularly important for such a bias to be excluded, as the GCE 'O' level English Language qualification was required for entry to universities and many jobs. Asian young people who were academically exceedingly talented were having difficulty in obtaining the qualification, often re-sitting the exam several times.

A third factor of importance was the motivation of the pupils themselves to do well in particular areas. A preference for careers in the medical professions, often related to misinformation in the Asian communities about the opportunities in other professions, may have accounted for some of the higher incidence of success for Asian pupils in the science subjects.
Summary

While this chapter shows the Asian pupils gaining less success in the external examinations than their peers as a group, some of this may have been due to language difficulties and an initial allocation to teaching group, a disadvantage that could be resolved in time with a more flexible system. The LEA policy focussed on provision of English as a second language support for these pupils and saw their failure as because 'they haven't learnt the language' (LEA Adviser for Immigrant Education, 1976). This LEA comment not only placed full responsibility for success on the Asian pupils but also failed to give credit for their bilingualism. They were expected to write examination papers in a language that was not their mother tongue. Under those circumstances, the Asian pupil's success was notable.

A longitudinal study of the examination results could well show an improvement in the Asian success rate as more of the children entering Year 5 in the Upper school had been through seven years of schooling in the city. In time families would be more settled and the language policy would become more effective with teacher experience. Certainly, for the most academically able Asian children who 'survived' into the sixth form and followed GCE 'A' level courses, communication posed fewer problems, whether spoken or written in my experience, and the examination results demonstrated this.

Certain schools seemed to be enabling the Asian to succeed more than others (pp.109-110 and Appendix A1). The exam analysis suggested that the comprehensives which were developed from a purpose-built comprehensive school or secondary modern school initially may have had particular characteristics that were supportive of the Asian child. This aspect of the study on school ethos and the teachers' expectations and sensitivity to difference will be followed up in Chapters 14 and 15.

A closer analysis of the results suggested other factors affecting success. The
content of examination papers may be biased and handicap the Asian entrant. The relative success in sciences of the Asian pupils may be a reflection of this in part. It may also demonstrate an effect of factors outside the school – aspirations of the Asian family, opportunities perceived in society by the Asian children. These further motivating factors will be addressed more closely in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 7 THE ASIAN CHILD'S MOTIVATION TO SUCCcede
IN THE BRADFORD SCHOOL SYSTEM

If a child is to learn anything in school he/she must want to do so. Willingness to learn may come through fear of failure or through a desire to achieve. It may be to please oneself or to please another.

In this chapter it will be argued that the Asian pupils in Upper school were not only willing to learn at school but showed a determination to succeed that compared very favourably with that of their peers, as instanced by diligence in sitting the external examinations for which they are entered and by their willingness to stay on beyond the statutory school leaving age in the sixth form or at college for further and higher education. Furthermore, the Asian parents were, on the whole, keen for their children to succeed in school and had high expectations of them, especially of the boys, from an early age.

If these two elements of learner motivation and parental expectations, usually seen as important factors in school success, were not bringing that success, then there was added reason for focussing on the schooling system, rather than the learner, for primary reasons for the disadvantage that the Asian children were showing in competition with their peers.

The policy for external examination entries in most schools was such that more candidates were entered for the examinations than were expected to sit the papers. A minority of these would 'drop out' from the examination course because they would not have attained a required standard of work. A significant minority would leave school at Easter in their final year, having reached school leaving age, and not return to sit the examinations for which they had been entered. Some would be unable to sit the examination for health or other personal reasons.
Driver (1980), in a study of five multi-racial secondary schools [1], gave data of pupils who enrolled for external examination courses and subsequently did not record any examination results. The 'drop-out' rate for English boys was 36% and for English girls was 43%. The data for Asian pupils was only partial, but it is relevant to note that the rate for the West Indian pupils (24% and 22% respectively) was significantly lower than that for their English peers.

My own analysis was more specific, showing not a 'drop-out' rate from the examination course, but an absence rate from the examinations themselves. By looking at the two examinations — GCE 'O' level and CSE — separately, a more accurate picture of the difference in absence rate to be expected of entrants for the respective examinations could be seen.

In the GCE 'O' level examination, where I knew from experience that the Asian entrants were competing with the more highly motivated of the non-Asian candidates, there was no significant association of the absence rate with either name type or sex of the entrant (Figure 2.22). The overall absence rate was low at 2%. In the CSE examination, however, the observed data differed markedly from the frequencies expected if there were no association between absence rate and the entrants' name type and sex (Figure 2.23). A visual assessment of the statistics suggests that boys were more likely to be absent than girls in both name type categories. While the overall absence rate for the examinations was 8%, the Asian pupils were only absent for 3.6% of the examinations for which they were entered. The higher absence rate for CSE than for 'O' level would be due partly to the fact that more marginal candidates were entered for the former than for the latter [2]. In both examinations the Asian pupils showed a high motivation to gain

[2] Most school pupils were entered for at least one subject at CSE, to give them an attainment goal for the last two years of schooling.
the certificates, having a consistently low absence rate.

The Asian pupils also showed a high motivation to remain at school beyond the statutory leaving age. Approximately two-thirds of all pupils left school at the end of Year 5 and one third elected to stay on beyond the statutory school leaving age for an extra one or two years in the sixth form at the end of the year.
1975-76. Approximately half of the pupils in the sixth form were entered for GCE 'A' level examinations. The rest were in the lower sixth for one year, taking 'O' level or CSE examinations and some non-examination courses.

The significantly high proportion of Asian pupils, especially boys, staying on into the sixth form has already been noted (pp.82-4). As Figure 2.6 shows, there were 55 Asian girls and 153 Asian boys in the County Upper schools' sixth forms in September 1975, out of a total of 1,159 pupils. Thus they formed 18% of the sixth form at a time when Asian pupils were 13% of the Upper school population (Figure 2.24), while the number of Asian pupils within the schools was steadily increasing year by year (Figure 1.7).

Figure 2.24 Table showing a comparison of the number of pupils in the sixth form with the total number of pupils in each of the County Upper schools in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Total Roll</th>
<th>% in VIth</th>
<th>% Asian</th>
<th>Total Roll</th>
<th>% in VIth</th>
<th>% Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1295</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1224</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12,558</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In British educational research, this 'staying on' rate has usually been correlated with social class. Douglas, Rose and Simpson (1968), for instance, recorded that of the top 16% of lower manual working class children in their sample, 50% left at the statutory school leaving age, compared with 22% of the lower middle class children and 10% of the upper middle class. Davis (1977), in a study of schools in Leicestershire, found a 'strong connection' between social class and numbers staying on into the sixth form. On the basis of such research one could expect a low 'staying on' rate for the Asian pupils, since a high proportion come from families where the wage-earner is in socio-economic group IV or V (RG 70). However, as has been argued (pp.79–80), the pattern of relationships between social class and educational achievement is not consistent across a cultural boundary.

In one Bradford Upper school in September 1975, that can be considered to be fairly representative of the Upper schools as a whole, 79% of the Asian pupils were classified as having fathers in these partly skilled or unskilled manual worker categories, or unemployed (Appendix A1, Figure 4.1). Yet in that particular school, 39 of the 184 pupils in the sixth form (21%) were Asian. My experience suggests that an analysis of the composition of the sixth forms according to the social class of the pupils' families would show that the correlation between social class and 'staying on' rate would be different for the Asian and non-Asian pupils, with Asian pupils more likely to be staying on than their peers in the manual, and even in the service class (social class III, RG 70) groups.

Figure 2.25 shows the distribution of pupils in the two year groups of the sixth forms of the city Upper schools in September 1975, according to name type and sex. A visual assessment of the statistics suggests that, apart from a higher representation of Asians than would be expected given their proportion in the school, the observed data deviates little from that which would be expected for the
lower sixth form. In the upper sixth form, however, the small number of Asian girls is highly significant. While in the non-Asian category there is little difference in the number of boys and girls taking these courses, for the Asian category there are only seven girls. Even allowing for the fact that there were twice as many Asian boys as Asian girls in these Upper schools in September 1975 this number compares unfavourably with the number of 57 Asian boys in the sixth form.

Pupils in the upper sixth form were almost exclusively those who were on GCE 'A' level courses. The statistic is an indication of the reluctance of Muslim parents, in particular, to support their girls to higher levels of education in school and college.

It has already been shown (p.107) that the Asian boys were represented on the two-year GCE 'A' level courses at a level that compared with that of their non-Asian peers and that there was no statistically significant difference between the pass rate of the two name type categories at this level (Figure 2.16). In a school system in which the AN pupils have been shown to be less likely to be

---

### Table showing the distribution of pupils according to name type and sex, in the two year groups of the sixth forms of the County Upper schools in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>34.69</td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>288.89</td>
<td>310.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form</td>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>13.13</td>
<td>39.26</td>
<td>41.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>20.31</td>
<td>56.50</td>
<td>169.13</td>
<td>182.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form</td>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>39.95</td>
<td>45.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>39.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 14.91$  $DF = 3$  $P = <0.01$
allocated to A Band (GCE 'O' level potential) teaching groups than their peers and to be less successful in the external examinations at CSE and GCE 'O' level overall than their peers, this suggests a high degree of motivation and determination to achieve the higher examination levels by a substantial number of the Asian pupils. This motivation was in the face of apparent lack of 'ability' in comparison with their peers, as classified by the standards of the school system prior to this stage, of the group of Asian pupils in general.

For many of the Asian pupils, however, a slow start because of language difficulties meant that they were more likely to be following 'O' level than 'A' level courses in the sixth form. There were nearly twice as many pupils in the lower sixth forms as in the upper sixths because of the number following a one-year sixth form course in addition to those on the first year of an 'A' level course. Figure 2.26 is a collation of the data from five of the twelve upper schools concerning the sixth form courses that the pupils were following [1]. It shows a significantly high number of Asian pupils, especially girls, taking one year courses only in the sixth form. This suggested, on the one hand, a motivation by the Asian pupils to gain external examination qualifications, but on the other their need for extra time at school to gain the GCE 'O' levels they may have required. In fact, in the summer of 1976, 25% of the Asian candidates who were entered for the GCE 'A' level examination from the city Upper schools were also offering subjects at 'O' level, while only 13% of the non-Asian candidates were doing so. Sometimes candidates were offering a subject that they had not studied in Year 5, but most frequently the entry figures were for subjects that were being re-taken because the candidate had failed to gain a pass, or a pass of the required standard in Year 5. For the Asian candidates, English language was a subject that featured

[1] The data was incomplete for the other seven schools, but my observations and experience suggest that the situation described is not untypical.
frequently as a re-take. In the summer of 1976, of the nineteen 'A' level candidates also offering English language 'O' level, 10 were Asian [1].

The motivation of the Asian children to gain examination qualifications and their willingness to stay on in education after the school-leaving age had been acknowledged in the LEA policies. In Bradford, with comprehensive sixth form provision in all the upper schools in 1975–76, even though some of the schools put a minimum qualification on sixth form entry [2], school was the more convenient

---

**Figure 2.26** Table showing the distribution of pupils according to name type and sex in the sixth forms of five of the County Upper schools in September 1975, according to whether they were entering courses leading to examinations in GCE 'O' level, or to GCE 'A' level, years 1 and 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GCE 'O' level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>18.96</td>
<td>67.82</td>
<td>79.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>16.81</td>
<td>11.93</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CSE course (one year)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GCE 'A' level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>13.21</td>
<td>22.26</td>
<td>79.64</td>
<td>93.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GCE 'A' level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>13.53</td>
<td>22.79</td>
<td>81.54</td>
<td>96.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>9.83</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column total</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 54.095 \quad DF = 6 \quad P = <0.001 \)

[1] Eleven of these candidates passed, but only two of them were Asian.
[2] Some Heads required three GCE 'O' level passes for entry to the sixth form; others relied more generally on the teachers' perceptions of the pupil's 'ability to follow an academic course'.

institution for this post-16 education for most pupils [1]. After one year in the sixth form, some pupils would then go into further education at college. Bradford, recognising this and recognising the need of the Asian young people for further educational opportunities [2], supported initiatives at Bradford College, where in 1978, about a fifth of the 2,500 full-time students and 16,000 part-time students were Asian [3]. In 1976, the College started a scheme to assist young, mainly Asian, unemployed, with training and practical work supported by lessons in English and Maths. In that year, half the students on the course were Asian. In 1978, it started a 'limbo' project, supported by European Economic Community funding for one year, seeking 'to put back on the educational ladder 16-19 year olds who were not able to make it in school' [4], partly designed for the students speaking English as a second language.

Research in other parts of the country has also shown this willingness for the Asian student to persist in education. Mackie (1978), reported a school in Manchester's Moss Side where it was 'the West Indian and Asian pupils who stayed on and went into higher education'. Brooks (1975), in Walsall, notes that Asians wanted to continue in full-time education into the sixth form:

"This education was seen in instrumental terms as a passport to upward mobility, in that formal qualifications were seen as necessary for the better jobs, a prerequisite for the good life." [5] .

[1] On comprehensive reorganisation, 1964-65, there were 645 pupils in the sixth forms in the city Upper schools. About 300 of these offered GCE 'A' level subjects in that year (Minutes of the Teachers' Advisory Council, Bradford, December 1964). In 1975, there were 1,159 pupils in the sixth form and 442 pupils entering GCE 'A' level examinations.

[2] Bradford LEA was involved in the discussions with the DES which culminated in the publication of A second chance: further education in multiracial areas CRC (1976).

[3] Usha Rai (1978) "How Bradford College became a place of hope for the 'Indian Englishman'", Times Educational Supplement


Singh (1975), in a study of two samples, Asian and white, of school leavers from ten Leicester schools (the Asian sample being 50% of the total population of Asian school leavers in Leicester), found that after a year the Asian sample was concentrated in full-time further education courses. Most of the Asian young people having been to secondary modern schools in the non-comprehensive part of the LEA's school system. He found 'surprisingly little lack of difference in the academic attainment of the two samples' [1]. J H Taylor (1976), in the study of Asian youths in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, showed that 53% of his Asian respondents pursued full-time studies beyond the statutory school-leaving age and 34% of these were still in full-time education after eighteen [2], whereas only 23% of the English pupils did so. While it is necessary to take the class factor and ethnic group into account when comparing Asian and white pupils' 'staying on' rate in different parts of the country in detail, the research does suggest that it is high.

My general impression was that the Asian young people were not to be put off by initial disadvantage or even 'failure' in the school system. They showed considerable determination to succeed. And yet perceptions in the white community did not always mirror this observation. One Bradford Upper school Head told me in 1976:

"We don't want to increase the Asian intake at this school. It's spoiling our sixth form standards."

He echoed the fears of many middle-class white parents whose children had privilege of entry, in effect, to the sixth form. As Figure 2.24 showed, the four schools with the highest percentage of Asians on roll also had the largest proportion of pupils on roll in the sixth forms. Thus an increase in the Asian intake could well increase the sixth form size. In the school where the Headteacher is quoted above, the relatively large number of Asians in the sixth

---

[1] ibid., p.73
form did not signify an overloading with pupils who were retaking 'O' level courses. Two-fifths of each name type group were on GCE 'A' level courses. For that school, the pass rate in the small number of subjects taken by Asian candidates at 'A' level was low in the summer of 1976 [1], but not for the non-Asian candidates, whose results compared favourably with those from the entrants from the total Upper school population. Thus the standard of work was not being 'spoiled' by the Asian candidates, though it could be suggested that the Asians were being 'failed' by the school.

The situation of the sixth forms was to change rapidly in the years following this analysis. An increase in unemployment, particularly for school leavers, the central government initiatives that stimulated youth training schemes and a wide variety of post-16 school/college link courses, brought changes in role for the sixth form. The detail of this analysis was of little subsequent relevance except to highlight the willingness of the Asian pupils to take up opportunities to further their formal education.

The Asian child's determination to achieve success in school may be seen partly in terms of desire to please themselves, but also as a response to the approval of others. It is generally agreed that family and Asian community encouragement towards and expectations of success in school were important elements in its achievement. My field work suggested that the Asian community valued schooling highly. Even though there may have been some mismatch of expectations (Chapter 2), the potential for support of the child was there.

During two terms in the summer of 1977, I visited the homes of the twenty Asian 8–9 year olds I was teaching at the inner city First school. I went to show

[1] The pass rate for Asian candidates, 1976, at 'A' level was 20% (two of the ten subjects entered), while in the whole city there was no significant difference in the pass rate according to name type category. The pass rate for non-Asian entrants was 68%, slightly higher than the average for the city.
the parents their children's work in the large 'book' we had made of the language groups' activities [1]. Most of the 'wage earners' in the homes were millworkers or unemployed. Only two of the families could be described as middle class (RG 70), one father a travel agent and the other the proprietor of a shop. In all but one of the homes [2], the family showed great interest in the child's work, delight at my visit, and were keen on the child's schooling. The following situation was typical:

"At Nasreem's house there was a copy of a book on the sideboard in which the older children had been teaching the pre-school child her letters. Father, a millworker, was very worried about the children's progress in school, especially as it had recently been interrupted by an extended visit to Pakistan. He asked me if I could start a Saturday school for the children to learn more. He had absolute confidence in English schools. He had asked for his daughter to be transferred to the local Middle school at nine, even though the school had a poor reputation for academic achievement. As he saw it: 'All schools are alright. Once the children get in the classroom they will work'."

5.6.1977

The middle class parents had equal confidence in school but showed more discernment about the nature of the school system. They had selected outer city Middle schools for their children on transfer, commenting, "My doctor friend advises me that it is a good school", and "I don't mind the children going a long way to school. The education is important." Literacy of the parents in the mother tongue was an important, but not a necessary factor in this confidence in schooling. Mothers who had had no schooling themselves were determined that their children should reap the benefits of British education.

Comments I received on Asian parents from teachers in Upper schools were

[1] This was an extension of my language development work with groups of children in the school, a strategy to develop the children's confidence in their ability to express themselves in English and consequently their fluency. Parental approval and encouragement I considered to be an important factor in meeting this objective.

[2] The home of a Bangladeshi family, recently immigrant to Bradford, following the post-1971 war with West Pakistan. The lack of welcome could have been more related to a lack of understanding of the reason for the visit than to lack of interest in the educational development of the child.
always about the 'over-aspirations' they had for their children, never about 'under-aspirations'. In the early '60's, with the first immigrants, there was a confidence in the possibilities of social advancement through schooling and high hopes of their children's progress to the legal or medical professions. By 1976, the families were still confident, but more aware of the constraints, particularly of the influence of the host society on the children. This teacher's assessment is fairly typical and a reasonable reflection of the reality:

"Up to three years ago, immigrants entering Upper school were new to the city and keen to get to English universities, seeing this as the key to wealth, over-estimating their abilities, passive and keen. Now there is a more realistic mixed approach. After many of them have been through Middle school, they have attitudes similar to the Bradfordians. There are even some lazy ones."

City Upper school, Head of English, 5.7.1976

None of these teachers seemed to doubt the high aspirations of the Asian parents for their children, and saw this in contrast to the low aspirations that they felt working class white parents had for theirs.

While from my visits to Asian homes I found that parents were keen on schooling both for their boys and for their girls, it became clear from things that some parents said and actions within the community that education in school to higher academic levels was considered more important for boys than for girls. All the homes I visited in this instance were Muslim, which will bias the evidence since traditionally Muslim families have a strong sex role differentiation and at puberty the girl's schooling is expected to be directed particularly towards her role as a mother. This observation I made on a Muslim mother's expectations of her children was typical:

"Shaqeeb is a twin and although his sister is cleverer than him at school (and physically bigger and heavier than him) his mother talked to me only of Shaqeeb's schooling and her aspirations for him. She wanted him to be a politician, preferably prime minister."

30.5.1977

On visits to homes with a liaison teacher in school time, we frequently found
Asian girls of Middle school age at home looking after their siblings while mother was out shopping, at the clinic or visiting relatives. Girls were known to have been deprived of schooling because the family had sent them to Pakistan to be company for other relatives, to improve their marriage chances [1], or because their fathers had withdrawn them from co-educational schooling at puberty [2]. In the well publicised Patel case (Corbett, 1974, Appendix A3), the girl concerned told me:

"By the time my father gets through with this I shall be too old for school. I did want to learn something of history and geography and these things."

26.7.1974

Asian girls were less likely to have their needs supplied by British schooling as found in Bradford and more likely to be restricted by their family duties in furthering their academic education beyond sixteen than their brothers.

It seemed probable that while Asian parents were keen for their children to receive schooling, the children's duties to home and the religious community might override their responsibility to attend school. The strong commitment to family and family honour (izzat) is stressed by several Asian writers (Parekh, 1974, 1978; Crishna, 1975; Wilson, 1978), and researchers studying the Asian family in Britain (Saifullah Khan, 1974; Jeffrey, 1976, 1979).

There seemed little question of the Asian child's motivation to succeed in school, nor of the family's confidence in and encouragement of this. The low drop-out from examination courses in school, the high staying-on rate in the sixth

---

[1] Daughters may have been sent back to Pakistan to marry and live there. Sons have been more likely to be sent to collect a wife, since a woman could register as British by marriage to a British subject (a right abolished by the 1981 Nationality legislation, in most cases). Jeffrey suggested that this return could be part of a more complex chain of events that was closely connected with implementation of immigration controls. Families came to join the husband; young men stayed, while mothers and daughters in time returned to Pakistan. See P Jeffrey (1976) Migrants and Refugees, pp. 49–50.

[2] All but one pair of the Bradford 13–18 schools had been co-educational since 1975.
form and further education and the good success rate for the Asian boys in GCE 'A' level all confirm this.
CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BACKGROUND OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL STEREOTYPING THAT MAY FEED WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE

The picture that has been built up by this study of the Bradford County Upper school population in 1975–76 shows groups of black children showing less success in the school system relative to their white peers, despite motivation to succeed. It has to be viewed in its interpretative context, against a background of the mode of accrediting success in the school system itself and the history of black people in Britain. The purpose of this chapter is to extend the discussion of a theoretical background to an analysis of equal opportunities in education and of racial discrimination from issues of persistent structures in society and status differential to the theories of psychological, attitudinal discrimination between peoples. These latter may be coincident with, and thus reinforcing, the former in a British society that has been described as 'racist' (Sivanandan, 1976) or as 'harbouring racist resentment' (Parekh, 1978). Both writers perceive clear links with colonialism and a perpetuation of the divisions of the British Empire between white and black peoples. This discussion is important in that it will inform the subsequent analysis of Bradford's policy for the education of the children of immigrants and raise issues for consideration in any strategies for change.

The British school system, based on competition, has a built-in failure motif that can both describe and perpetuate divisions between groups. This has been described, in respect of Bradford, in Chapter 1 and against its ideological foundations in Chapter 3. The state school system became an agent of acculturation to a monocultural norm, against which success is measured and life chances accorded.

In this situation, the field of cross-cultural comparison of groups is fraught with difficulty in finding valid criteria for comparison (Haynes, 1971). This is
particularly so in a situation of power differential between the groups, where a
dominant group has selected the criteria and defined the value of success in terms
of life chances. While work to alleviate bias in 'objective' tests of school
performance has made it possible to compare a child's progress with some accuracy
against past performance, there is no culture-free test that would allow valid
inter-group comparisons. Thus testing is potentially a dangerous tool in a
multiracial school system, as has been suggested from observations of cultural bias
in GCE English Language papers (pp.116-119), for instance.

The over-representation of the Asian-named child in the lower band teaching
groups (Chapter 5) would seem to be a 'colour indicator' of this division and
danger in the school system that may well be a self-fulfilling prophecy exacerbating
the under-attainment of the Asian child. The Asian child, as an immigrant (or of
immigrant parents) from relatively poor material circumstances in the homeland
comes at a disadvantage into an hierarchical system, with limited social movement.
He or she joins the 'poor white' children who are 'born to fail' (Wedge and
Prosser, 1973; Wedge and Essen, 1983), part of a new minority in an old structure
of social conflict and inequality.

This status of the Asian child in the school system defined apparently through
difference of culture and class, and thus correlating with that of the white working
class child, has deeper historical dimensions that relate specifically to racial
grouping. The Asian child is 'black', the majority group is white. The grouping
is part of the dominant white group's perception of reality and imposed from a
position of power, with an assumption of white superiority to which history has
acculturated them (viz. Curtis, 1964):

"If whiteness of skin was the mark of the highest race, then darker races
would be inferior in increasing order of their darkness." [1]

This followed from the concept of all things living in an ordered hierarchy, first seen in spatial terms in the Middle Ages, with inanimate objects the lowest form of being and man 'a little lower than the angels', but under the influence of science, Linnaeus [1] and Darwin [2] was collapsed into a chronological mode with Africans the nearest link to the ape:

"Given the toughness of the ancient envisagement of an immutable and serialised world, the modern revolution in western thought was not its abandonment. Indeed, the hierarchical order per se remains for most minds today a truism. The intellectual unsettlement took the form of the conversion of the purely archetectonic, static and spatial order of categories into a temporal one. The concept of a timeless inventory of creation was transformed into one that was viewable as historical, developmental, evolutionary and progressive — one in which transition from form to form or from culture to culture, far from being contrary to reason and theoretically disallowed, was accepted as the way things worked." [3]

Gobineau's writings [4] on the belief in the supremacy of the Nordic–Aryan race survived him by many years and were resurrected to support the doctrines of National Socialism in pre-war Germany and the Nazi gas chambers of the war years. The racist thinking of the time diverted any possible emphasis on the inter-relatedness of living beings, and thus human kinship, into a metaphysic that endorsed the subjugation by one race of others:

"Darwin provided a new rationale within which nearly all the old convictions about race superiority and inferiority could find a place ... The idea of natural selection was translated into a struggle between individual members of a society, between members of classes of a society, between different nations and between different races. This conflict, far from being an evil thing, was nature's indispensable method for producing superior men, superior nations and superior races." [5]

Spencer's 'survival of the fittest' concept and Galton's 'eugenics' (transmission of

human characteristics through heredity) [1] fuelled the researches of the scientific racists and the developing social stereotypes of black people that have proved very difficult to erase. Later developments in anthropology, and the realisation that there are no 'pure' races, have made little headway into these learned prejudices because of the political, psychological and ideological relevance of the earlier science of race to the dominant group: racism. In racism in Britain, stratification in society is reinforced by stereotyped images of black people to their detriment. Racism is self-perpetuating through the privileged position of a socially dominant group, thus any strategies for change must take account of issues of both prejudice and power.

Ideas of the inferiority of the 'negro' predated the eighteenth and nineteenth century scientists. The history of the black community in Britain can be traced to the mid-sixteenth century. There is a familiar ring about the words of Queen Elizabeth I (1596) in a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, that according to:

"Her Majesty's understanding ... there are of late divers blackamoores brought into these realms, of which kind there are already here to manie, considerynge how God had blessed this land with great increase of people..." [2]

Fears about black immigration, employment, miscegenation find their origins in the misunderstandings and commercial exploitation of the age of European expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Walvin, 1971).

In the seventeenth century, developing world trade from the countries of Europe fed the Industrial Revolution in Europe and created enormous accumulations of wealth in the hands of a relative minority of the white population. Initially, slavery became an economically necessary part of the Atlantic trade triangle. Ideas about the inferiority of the negro made this inhumane exploitation of human beings conceivable to Christian people who might otherwise have been troubled by its

[1] F Galton (1869) Hereditary Genius; an inquiry into its laws and consequences
cruelty. At the same time that Christianity, hand in hand with commerce and technological development (van Leeuwan, 1964) began to circle the globe, the 'quasi-religious belief' in progress (Baillie, 1950) justified both the human and material exploitation of colonies and their subsequent 'civilisation'. The philosophers of the French Revolution, in reifying the idea of 'progress as 'improvement', extending it to the moral sphere of 'liberty, humanity and fraternity', provided an ideological justification for the missionary, the merchant and the military men to intrude from Europe into all corners of the globe and congratulate themselves on this trespass (Moorhouse, 1973). The fruits of man's knowledge were to be used to build a social system for the benefit of all. The intrusion was considered to be benevolent and therefore justified.

Assumed white superiority and anti-black prejudice were subtly reinforced by the psychological associations of black with darkness, evil, badness, dirt, that became linked with the racist thinking, deepening the stereotype of the black person as inferior:

"The English language is my enemy ... 'nigger', ... 'dago', 'black power' ... These words have a power over us; a power that we cannot resist ... The word 'whiteness' has 134 synonyms, 33 of which are favourable and pleasing to contemplate ... 'purity', 'cleanliness' ... The word 'blackness' has 120 synonyms, 60 of which are distinctly unfavourable, and none of them even mildly positive ... 'blot', 'blotch', 'smut' ... If you consider the fact that thinking itself is subvocal speech (in other words, one must use words in order to think at all), you will appreciate the enormous trap of racial prejudice that words have on any child who is born into the English language.

Any creature, good or bad, white or black, Jew or Gentile, who uses the English language for purposes of communication is willing to force the Negro child into 60 ways to despise himself, and the white child, 60 ways to aid and abet him in the crime." [1]

Such racist thinking affects the impartiality of science whose very language will hold bias. The English language is the medium of education for most children in

[1] O Davis (1967) "The English language is my enemy" reprinted in Dragons' Teeth (1980); also B M Thomson (1981) "Racism Awareness Rules, OK ?" NB. There is some commonality in this respect with other ... European languages.
Britain and thus, in favouring white as opposed to black images, could be contributing to racial disadvantage and must, at least, be seen as potentially 'political' (Hoyles, 1977). This issue too must be considered in any analysis of provision for the Asian child and in strategies for change.

The language of Europe interacts with a deeper and more intractable philosophical frame of reference that it expresses, the 'either-or', dualistic habit of thinking through which the Greek mind-body split allocated hierarchical status to thought over feeling, philosopher kings over the common man (Plato). Thus 'black' is seen as an alternative to 'white', and black people different from white people, therefore a category to which status can be attributed rather than a continuum of the same humanity [1]. Not only are they different, but opposite, black becoming negation of white as evil was the negation of good:

"The entire history of Western painting bears witness to the deliberate whitening or bleaching effort that changed Christ from a Semite to an Aryan person ... It was necessary that this man, the incarnation of God, be as far removed as possible from everything that could suggest darkness or blackness, even indirectly." [2]

The black slavery of the Industrial Revolution and the paternalism of colonialism have ostensibly gone, but colour still infects our thinking so that the former status of black people remains expressed in the institutions of white society. As Wicker states in his introduction to the Report of the US Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968:

"What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions maintained it, and white society condones it." [3]

It can be argued that this is no less true of the white society that exported racism to the United States with the Pilgrim Fathers, though the ghettoisation is more

covert in the deprivation and overcrowding of Britain's inner cities (Rex, 1973).

The privilege is difficult to relinquish. The privilege that white groups developed through colonialism is perpetuated in the relationships of the motherland to former colonies and in the modern institutions that immigrants enter in Britain in a new form of colonialism:

"Faced with the militant peoples of ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses with its flags, and even with certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is 'giving' independence to its former subjects, to be followed by 'aid' for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about 'freedom', which has come to be known as neo-colonialism." [1]

The black immigrant from former colonies does not escape. He enters the 'metropolitan country' (Rex, 1973) into a low status group and is contained there by that country's institutional restraints, 'domestic neo-colonialism' (Sivanandan, 1976). Rex offers a tentative theory of race relations thus:

"Firstly ... colonialism produces, in colonial and metropolitan countries alike, certain situations of a particularly harsh and exploitative kind, usually marked by a degree of physical compulsion which is unusual in the liberal-democratic and social-democratic countries. Secondly, within this, racialism is marked by a closure on mobility and the allocation of roles according to the presence or absence of some external sign thought to be unalterable. Thirdly, such situations throw up, and are subsequently sustained by, racist theories of a more or less systematic, more or less sophisticated, but always implicitly deterministic kind." [2]

The conservatism of institutions ensures that this 'closure on mobility' does not cease when 'independence' is granted to the colony. As in the 'motherland', the conservatism of the British school system (transmissionist) creates barriers to the achievement of the aspirations of Asian school children; a closure on mobility.

Blauner (1967), developing a model of 'internal colonialism' in the United States of America, differentiates between colonisation as a process and colonialism as a social, economic and political system. He contends that, in the States, the position of the Negroes, American Indians and Mexicans is different from that of those who immigrated voluntarily, the Jews and Orientals, because of their relative power situations:

"The essential conditions for both American slavery and European colonialism were the power domination and the technological superiority of the Western world in its relation to peoples of non-Western and non-white origins. This objective supremacy in technology and military power buttressed the West's sense of cultural superiority, laying the basis for racist ideologies that were elaborated to justify control and exploitation of non-white people." [1]

Thus a post-colonial 'colonisation' factor is active for the former colonials (the black and Indian groups) while the white immigrant minorities:

"have always been able to operate fairly competitively within that relatively open section of the social and economic order, because their groups came voluntarily in search of a better life, because their movements in society were not administratively controlled and because they transformed their culture at their own pace – giving up ethnic values and institutions when it was seen as a desirable exchange for improvements in social position." [2]

This would seem to me to be implicit 'colonisation' too, since it involves adopting dominant culture and tends towards assimilation. In Britain, most of the 'immigrant minorities' were from former colonies and they are black, so the element of self-determination does not apply in the same way. Assimilation was never truly open to black people for all the 'melting-pot' theories, given the racist ideologies. The difference between Blauner's groups is on a continuum, with more choice in assimilation to the ethnic values and institutions of the dominant community and improvement of social position allowed to the 'immigrant minorities' than to the former colonials. As Kwame Nkrumah (1965) cautioned, neo-colonialism operates 'not only in the economic, but also in political, religious,

[2] Ibid.
ideological and cultural spheres'. Colonial heritage is played out in immigration legislation and in a cultural imperialism with a Western norm of justice and social fit as a base standard. This domestic neo-colonialism and closure on mobility is but a small part of the whole North/South development and underdevelopment scenario (Brandt, 1980; Hayter, 1981), based on capitalist expansionism, that had led through trade to military and economic global power focussed in the North [1]. Since the North/South divide also approximates to 'colour' lines, the racism that is a structural element of the divide may well be the most provocative force for conflict and world change in the twentieth century (Tinker, 1977).

The discussion in this chapter is to serve as an extension of the background of understanding against which subsequent observations can be analysed. It seems to me that any analysis of policy and practice for the education of black children must be made in the context of understanding of both theories of stratification in society (Chapter 3) and the stereotyped assumptions that reify and reinforce these. It must face issues of prejudice and power. Further, it must be made in the awareness of an attitudinal and philosophical underpinning of thought and action mediated through a language. Here, the dualism that structures English/thought patterns (building an 'either/or' rather than 'both/and' society) and the associations with good and evil that 'colour' perceptions of race, have implications both for understanding of an issue and/or subsequent strategies for action, especially when much of the power-base for decision-making in British society is with the white majority. Any analysis, then, must also face issues of privilege. Finally, it seems to me that the privilege of white groups must be seen in the broad context of North-South politics, in a largely post-colonial phase but with a potential for

'closure of mobility' on black groups that could mirror the former inequalities of status in a neo-colonialism of global extent.
PART 2 CONCLUSION

It has been argued that among the Asian school population there was evidence for two of the basic ingredients for educational success: learner motivation towards the ends of the school system (external examination qualifications) and parental encouragement with high expectations that their children will achieve. Yet the analysis of the external examination results for the summer of 1976 showed the Asian entrants gaining relatively less success locally than their peers and there was evidence to show that this was repeated in other years. National statistics were showing a similar picture.

A possible reaction to this evidence would be to suggest a lack in the ability of the Asian child to achieve success, grading the child according to a measure of English Language and Mathematics ability to demonstrate this. With the Asian child's particular handicap with respect to British schooling, speaking English as a second language, this has meant, as the banding analysis shows (Chapter 5), that these children were generally graded lower than their peers. This grading has been shown to limit the possibilities for examination entry in the GCE 'O' level especially and may have further implications in stereotyping the Asian child (viz. the Headteacher's comments on Asian pupils 'spoiling' the sixth form, (p.132)). This low grading can become self-perpetuating therefore in terms of options for the Asian child and expectations of the teachers, a closure on mobility.

An alternative reaction would be to see the lower attainment not just as a measure of the ability of the child to succeed in school but also as a reason for questioning the flexibility of the school system, through national policy and local implementation and practice to meet the particular cultural needs of the Asian children. For instance, Bradford's response to local needs was to make provision for these children to learn English, supported by special central government funds.
This could be seen as 'positive action' (Race Relations Act 1976). However, it has been suggested that there may be contextual conditions of power, prejudice and privilege detracting from the potential success of this (Chapter 8). The analysis of examination results (Chapter 6) suggests that some of the differential success rate could be correlated with opportunity to enter the examinations and cultural bias in the examination papers, for instance. The structure and curriculum of Upper schools may be closely aligned with an examination syllabus that favours one ethnic group to the disadvantage of another. It would be pertinent to study aspects of the explicit and implicit curriculum of schools, therefore, and to assess the cultural bias in the ethos of the school itself and in the expectations by the teachers of the children.

In the light of observations analysed so far, and of the discussions of theoretical considerations that form a background, it is appropriate for the analysis to move from the focus on the recipient of the policy for the education of the children of immigrants to the policy itself and its implementation in the schools. It will address issues of the national policy and the extent of its support for good schooling for the immigrants, the effectiveness of implementation of local policies for the needs of the Asian children in terms of language, custom or religious difference, the flexibility of the response of individual schools in the situation to meet these needs in both explicit and implicit curriculum and whether the staffing of the LEA and its schools is supportive of the new situation.
PART 3  THE BRADFORD POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF
THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS AND ITS PRACTICE IN
THE SCHOOLS
The central proposition of this section is that while the Bradford Authority's policies were ostensibly broadening the base of access to schooling by enabling the bilingual Asian child to enter the mainstream via a language centre, the access was within a society where socio-economic disadvantage mirrored race, both through racially biased procedures and to culturally biased institutions. The policy concentrated on English language provision and required the child speaking English as a second language to fit into the established English-medium school curriculum. It took little account of the disadvantage that racial and wider cultural differences might have on the achievement of the Asian child. While redistributive in intent (positive action as seen under the 1976 Race Relations Act) it will be argued that the policy was perpetuating white racism, as little relevant change was being required of the teachers, the stated school curriculum ('explicit' curriculum) or the general school ethos ('implicit' curriculum) by 1977.

Firstly, as a context for the Bradford situation, the national policy and advice on the school provision for the children of immigrants who speak English as a second language will be described, briefly, as it developed up to 1981 (Chapter 9). Secondly, the development of the Bradford policy will be described and its practice in 1977 assessed in detail (Chapters 10–13). This provides a basis for discussion of the extent to which the schools (Chapter 14) and the teaching staff (Chapter 16) have been directed, or have chosen, to change their practice to accommodate to the racial and cultural difference of the newcomers, particularly to respond to Muslim requests (Chapter 15).
Britain became an increasingly multiracial country at a time when, with the memory of Hitler in Europe, the re-emergence of Black African nations and the relinquishment of the British Empire, the 'colour-bar' relationships of colonial days were an embarrassment to a nation that saw itself as essentially tolerant. There have been many post–World War II attempts designed to address British anxiety about urban deprivation and black immigration through reforming bodies. The National Committee for Commonwealth Immigration (1962), renamed the Community Relations Commission (1968) and, with the Race Relations Board, renamed the Commission for Racial Equality (1976) was constituted to focus on the racial dimension of national life. The very existence of such bodies is witness to a recognition of the presence of racial prejudice and discrimination in Britain.

Central Government response to the situation has consisted primarily of immigration control (Immigration Acts 1962, 1968, 1971) and secondly of a stated disapproval of inequality, with legal support for equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, colour and creed (Race Relations Act 1976). But there has been little active support, apart from some funding through the 1966 Local Government Act, to enable change to happen in practice. The Immigration Acts 1962, 1968 effectively initiated a problem of educational provision that Bradford LEA had to face (Chapter 2). Prior to these immigration restraints, few dependents had journeyed to the United Kingdom with the male immigrants from Asia. Families were brought over at this time and settlement began chiefly through fear of immigration restrictions and their effect on freedom of movement. During the first four years in which relevant statistical information was collected by
the Department of Education and Science (DES), the number of immigrants [1] on roll in maintained primary and second schools rose from 148,000 (estimated) in January 1966 to 263,710, or 3.3% of the total school population, in January 1970.

It will be shown in the following description of government announcements and suggestions for the situation that advice was offered to LEAs on the educational provision but there were no directives to ensure that local policies were created and implemented in line with central advice. Also, there was very little extra financial support for LEAs with immigrant children to enable them to fund research into the needs or to make extra provision in the schools.

As English is the medium for teaching in a British school, the children who speak English as a second language (E2L) are potentially at a disadvantage to their English-speaking peers in the system. National advice on redressing this disadvantage has to be put into effect in the broad social context of racial prejudice in Britain (Smith, 1977). This was recognised by the DES but pronounced as of 'no educational importance.' The DES survey states:

"In the past the immigrants have usually been of European stock sharing with the host community a broadly similar culture, common linguistic elements – and, most significantly in many people's minds, though of no educational importance, with skins of similar colour. The immigrants of the 1950's and 1960's, on the other hand, represent a wide variety of ethnic and linguistic groups differing in backgrounds, attitudes and educational needs; the great majority are distinguishable by colour and have to add to the difficulties all immigrants face that of having to contend with the very complex problem of colour prejudice" [2]. (my emphases).

[1] The DES defined immigrant children in school as: "(i) 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
(ii) children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the United Kingdom within the previous ten years." The Education of Immigrants, HMSO, 1971, Footnote to p.2. Many of these were white children of families from Europe, Australia, New Zealand, but for most English is a second language, not their mother tongue.

[2] ibid. p.4
I would argue that it cannot be assumed that that which is 'significant in many people's minds' can be divorced from policy and practice in the schools. Hence racial prejudice is a factor to consider in the educational disadvantage of Asian children in Britain.

The first formal publication of advice on schooling for the children of immigrants was a pamphlet for teachers of English as a Second Language, 1963 [1]. No extra money was made available for the appointment of these specialist teachers. The Government thinking on the issue in 1963 became clear when Sir Edward Boyle, Minister of Education, promised his 'strongest support' for authorities that 'try to spread immigrant children by introducing zoning schemes' [2]. This came as a response to the protest of white parents in Southall, 1963, who claimed that the number of Indian children in some of the schools was having an adverse effect on their own children's education [3]. A circular issued in 1965 [4] (Circular 7/65) recommended that once the proportion of immigrant children formed one-third of the pupils in a school, additional immigrants should be dispersed to other schools in the area. The term 'immigrant' was not defined at that time, but Circular 7/65 assumed that the children to be dispersed would be "coloured", though skin colour was not mentioned. There was no research evidence of the desirability of this dispersal for the target group on social or educational grounds to back the recommendation. Criticisms of this DES recommendation, for instance in the Plowden Report (HMSO, 1967), pointed out that children should be given special consideration on account of their language and

other educational difficulties, rather than on account of their colour [1]. The DES Circular 7/65 intimated that the Government's real concern was for the white population when it stated:

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

Not all local authorities took up the dispersal recommendation. Some, such as Birmingham, favoured an adjustment of school catchment areas. Others, 11 out of 64 LEAs with significant numbers of immigrant pupils in 1970, practised dispersal with bussing as a matter of policy (Townsend 1971) including Bradford, Ealing and Huddersfield. The administration and application of dispersal techniques varied.

Circular 7/65 also recommended that the school curriculum should include teaching 'about Commonwealth countries', that there should be increased teaching staff in areas of high immigrant population and extra non-teaching assistants in school. It asked the LEAs to sponsor courses, conferences and research on the education of immigrants, children and adult. It stated that requests for financial assistance from LEAs towards this extra provision would be considered. In January 1966, schools were asked to keep an 'official' count of the number of 'immigrant' pupils in school and an assessment of their spoken English proficiency to enable this financial help to be fairly directed. These statistics were to be submitted to the DES as a supplement to the annual return statistics of all pupils in England and Wales.

Some financial provision for these measures was made eventually under the 1966 Local Government Act. For staff to be employed on 'work attributable to

[2] From 7(1) (Schools) for submission to the DES (see note 1, p.153 above).
differences in language or customs' [1] between immigrants and the local population, the LEA could claim for 75% of the salary to be paid from Home Office funding. Grants under this scheme totalled £1 4M in 1967–68 [2] and nearly £14M in 1975–76. Take-up was uneven since the initiative was left with the LEA [3]. As neither take-up nor use of the money was closely monitored by the Home Office until the '80's, while the fund relieved some of the effects of disadvantage in some inner city areas, it was also used for the general alleviation of disadvantage rather than for the special needs of the target 'immigrant' groups by some LEAs and thus misused. This happened to Government policy on the other aid programme provided initially to deal with the problems of black groups in the inner cities (Urban Aid [4]) but widened in scope over the years to include general issues of urban deprivation [5]. Thus, such central government funds as were made available for the alleviation of racial disadvantage tended to be dissipated into a general relief of urban deprivation, reducing their effect in terms of 'positive action' for black groups.

House of Commons Hansard, 23.2.1977.
[3] In Manchester where the immigrant pupils on the school roll totalled 6% (1973) the grant claimed under Section 11 for 1972–73 was £150,000, and by 1978 was £366,000. In Brent where the school immigrant population was 25% (1973) the grant for 1972–73 was £269,000 though in 1979 the claim was expected to be for £1,000,000: quoted by Caroline Haydon "Confusion reigns on grants for race-mix schools" Times Educational Supplement 21.4.1978. She used these figures to demonstrate an unevenness of take-up of Section 11 money. Her comparison is misleading since by my estimate the Manchester school population will be about 20 times that of the Brent one, and the number of immigrants on roll, while a smaller percentage of the total, will have been about three times as large (Source: Townsend 1971). However, the unevenness is real. An NUT report (1978) Section 11 showed that authorities with roughly similar 'New Commonwealth' populations often submitted claims for quite different grants, and that two eligible authorities claimed nothing.
By 1969 the first report on the immigrants in schools by the NFER, (Townsend 1971) showed that there was substantial provision of language centres and special classes (full-time and part-time) to fulfil the most obvious needs [1]. These arrangements helped non-English speakers over their initial basic communication problems. The continuing need for language support in school had still to be addressed. There were Government guidelines for provision and some financial help for LEAs, but no directives. Thus, through the laissez-faire approach of central government, LEA provision was varied and even non-existent in some areas of high immigrant population.

Subsequently, national confidence in dispersal as a policy waned. Circular 7/65 has never been withdrawn but in the 1970's dispersal as a policy, in fact, was seen as having 'grave social disadvantages' (UK Department of Education and Science 1971). The cost was counted in terms of transport and new school building but further:

"Looking to the future, as the number of new immigrants declines and as children of immigrants by degrees have less linguistic and cultural difficulties, the educational arguments for allocating groups of children to schools outside their neighbourhood will tend to diminish and disappear" [2]

The DES Report (1971) stated that "the bussing of infant and young junior children should not be undertaken unless there is a compelling need to do so" [13] – a significant moderation of the policy of circular 7/65. By 1973, the recommendation was that dispersal should be phased out as quickly as possible.

[1] The percentage of immigrant pupils who were classified as having language difficulties (defined as those who are unable to follow a normal school curriculum with profit to themselves) was 16.4% in 1970 in England as a whole, according to Townsend (1971) op.cit. but there was much variation among the LEAs, the highest having 45.7%.
[3] Ibid. p.20
except at the request of a parent [1]. The move was towards providing language
teaching in special classes. The collection of the supplement on immigrant
children in school to the annual return to the DES of statistical information was
discontinued. The new move showed a government sensitivity to policies being
seen as 'racially specific'.

A further DES survey, The Continuing Needs of Immigrants, 1972,
recommended 'second-phase' language support in mainstream schools, for children
leaving language classes/centres, and in-service training for their teachers. HMIs
conducting the survey found that, in many of the secondary schools they visited,
these children were placed in lower 'streams' with slow-learning English-speaking
children because of their poor written English. Language difficulties hampered
them throughout their schooling. The recommendation was reiterated by a
subsequent White Paper, Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of
Immigrants, 1974. However, the recommendation for a special immigrant advisory
unit at the DES was turned down. Instead, the Centre for Information and Advice
on Educational Disadvantage (CED) [2] was established, which dealt with 'remedial'
education and assessment including issues relating to the education of immigrants.
Thus Government policy continued to subsume the needs of immigrants under the
general heading of educational disadvantage. Colour prejudice as a cause of
disadvantage was still seen as a passing phase and of little importance.

In the late 70's a more positive attitude to racial difference as a factor of
disadvantage began to appear in official documents, reports and legislation. The
Race Relations Acts, 1976, placed positive responsibility on educational bodies to
ensure that facilities were provided without racial discrimination (Clause 19);

[1] Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1973) Education
Vol. 1 (Report)
[2] C Haydon "Getting into Practice", Times Educational Supplement. 17.3.78,
pp. 20–21.
allowed positive action in certain areas to provide for the special needs of particular racial groups (Clause 35); and outlawed 'unintentional discrimination' \[1\] against minority groups (Clause 1.i.b). The move of emphasis was from 'non-discriminatory' to 'equal opportunity' policies, from assimilation and social integration to a respect for difference and a positive approach to diversity.

A research report requisitioned by the Schools' Council, \textit{Multi-racial Education: Curriculum and Content 5 - 13} \[2\], (1976), developed this idea. However, it faced a storm of official protest and was only published in an abridged form later (Schools Council, 1981). This report argued that effective curriculum development depended on schools making a sensitive appraisal of the multi-racial reality in which children were growing up and their response to it. It cited 'racism' as the most significant feature in that reality and criticised the education system, as 'one of the manifestations of racism':

"schools have to demonstrate overtly their involvement in, and allegiance to, the concept of a truly multi-racial society - not least because failure to do so militates against the likelihood of educational success for racial minorities," \[3\].

In 1977, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) recommended to the Home Secretary that a 'multicultural' curriculum (not merely the 'teaching of other children about Commonwealth countries') \[4\] should be adopted by education authorities:

"Such curricula will ensure that minority group children enjoy the same opportunities for achieving self-respect and a strong sense of identity as other

\[1\] The imposition of requirements or other conditions in which one racial group would have proportionally greater difficulty complying with than another. For example, using culturally biased tests in assessing children who may be allocated to ESN(M) schools.  
\[3\] Quoted by L Hodges in "Off to a prejudiced start" \textit{Times Educational Supplement}, 24.2.1978, p.10.  
\[4\] UK DES Circular 7/65.
The official terminology changed from 'multiracial' to 'multicultural' to 'multiethnic'. This was an accommodation to the critics who attacked the 'common provision' approach to racial disadvantage for its inability to cope with different requirements of specific 'ethnic minorities' (viz. Cross 1978) but at the same time broadened the context to include white minorities as well as black. A new move to set up a central fund to meet the specific special educational needs of black groups [2] was again dismissed [3]. However, it was accepted that there was a special need to monitor the West Indian child's performance, the first statistical returns to be available in 1980 (Rampton/Swann Inquiry [4]). More government funds for self-help groups were made available, in a scheme administered by the CRE, through an enlarged Urban Aid programme and to a lesser extent through the Voluntary Services Unit at the Home Office.

By 1981, there were plenty of government recommendations but few directives on the schooling provision for the children of immigrants. There were limited funds to back the recommendations and such as there were, were dependent on local, often voluntary group, take-up. The DES (1971) survey cited 'the very complex problem of colour prejudice' [5] as one of the elements of the disadvantage that new immigrants were facing, but in 1981 the Government was focusing its educational provision for equal opportunities on 'ethnic' difference or general disadvantage, approaching the race issue at a tangent rather than

[4] A Royal Commission was set up to enquire into this issue, led by Rampton and later Swann. The brief of the Commission was broadened during the enquiry to take account of the situation of Asian children too.
confronting it. Meanwhile, the interim report of the Rampton Committee (1981) identified 'racism' as a major factor in the disadvantage of West Indian children in schools.

Looking at the situation in Bradford, where practice informed and often led the national policy, it seemed to me that, as many of the implicit assumptions on which policy and practice were based had a racial component, then this should be explicitly identified and the effect assessed. This I have attempted in the following exposition of the Bradford policy for the teaching of the children who speak English as a second language, or 'immigrant education' as it was known initially.
CHAPTER 10  THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'IMMIGRANT' EDUCATION IN BRADFORD

A description of the development of 'immigrant' education in Bradford will show that the national advice on policy followed Bradford's lead in most instances. The large number of Asian immigrants to Bradford, the rapid build-up of numbers of their children in the schools in the mid-60's and the concentration of the immigrant population in a relatively small and compact area of the city made a considerable impact on the city's life (Chapter 2). They came to a city which had experience of immigration and a liberal, humanitarian political tradition. As the children did not speak English as their mother tongue, E2L provision in the schools was an imperative. In January 1965, Bradford formalised a dispersal policy (in advance of the DES circular 7/65) and set up a Language Centre in addition to the special language classes already running. In 1971, the LEA developed infant centres and home-school liaison work. It advised the DES on second-phase language work (DES 1972), already developed in the mainstream schools in the early '70's and on further education to allow the bilingual children a 'second chance' to gain the qualifications they required (CRC 1976).

Although the provision of E2L was the rationale for the policy that developed, it will be argued that the implicit assumptions of the policy were around 'race'. The intentions of the policy were liberal and benevolent. The practice could be described as 'racist' in terms of its administration and its effect on the schools.

The dispersal policy adopted in January 1965 referred to 'the education of the children of immigrants'. The term 'immigrant' was not defined but a later survey of the development of the policy (CBMDC 1976) referred to 'a number of ethnic minorities who have entered the city at various times' and then 'in the late Fifties and early Sixties immigration from the New Commonwealth' [1]. In effect, the

policy related to children of this latter group distinguished by skin colour from the host community. It was based on a statistic of all such children, first collected by the LEA in April 1963 [1]. Initially, numbers of 'half-Asian' and 'half-Negro' children were included in the totals, a practice discontinued after 1972 [2]. Unlike the DES, Bradford took no account of the date when parents arrived in the UK from East Africa, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, in defining the children as 'immigrant' for the purpose of the statistic.

**The Development of the Dispersal Policy**

At first the LEA assumed that the children of New Commonwealth immigrants would be admitted to schools and merged with the indigenous population as had immigrant groups before them. However, in 1961 it was realised that 'problems were arising that could not be ignored ...' [3]. Non-English-speaking children were presenting themselves at certain inner city schools in significant numbers and teachers felt unable to cope with their special language needs in the classroom situation. On September 26th, 1961, the City Council decided that 'a special class for coloured children' [4] should be established at Whetley Secondary School to deal intensively with these language difficulties. When the advertisement for a teacher for the class was placed there was a protest at the use of the word 'coloured', so it was replaced by 'non-English-speaking' (NES) [5]. The assumption behind the initial connotation, with its racial implications, is important for the argument of this analysis. It demonstrates what is 'significant in many peoples' minds' and the potential 'educational importance' of this, contrary to the DES statement of 1971 (DES 1971).

---

[1] ibid. p.3  
[2] Five years after the DES discontinued the practice.  
The first special class was established in 1962 for children of 10+. They were to progress into mainstream school as soon as they had an adequate grasp of English to cope in the classroom situation. A second class was soon started to deal with increasing numbers. Papers and documents of the time show a mounting concern at the numbers of children to be added to the school roll each term:

"The number of immigrant children increased by 314 between April and September 1964. These figures are, however, already out of date and returns which have just been received indicate that an increase of a similar magnitude has occurred in the last two months." [1]

There were stories of inner city schools with queues of Asian fathers at their doors on the first day of term, wanting to enrol their children. There were indications of increasing resistance from headteachers to the extra burden placed on their resources [2], already stretched through coping with general educational disadvantage in the inner city.

In September 1964, there were 500 NES children in the city schools, 44% of the total number of Asian children of school age (Figure 1.8). Seventy percent of these were in the 7+ age range, when oracy and literacy in English would be expected for the normal school curriculum. Many had no previous school experience which made integration in a normal curriculum difficult anyway. At this stage, a special centre was set up for the older children (10+) to learn English. An empty school building at Barkerend was used, linked to one of the secondary schools. It was planned as a 'teaching centre and as a training centre for teachers without experience of this type of work' [3].

The LEA felt it was time to take advice and formulate a policy to deal with

the escalating situation. Members of the Education panel of the Council visited Southall, London, where a dispersal scheme was being put into effect with the backing of the Home Office. The HMI were called in and Mr Tudhope (then responsible to the DES for immigrants in schools) strongly advocated dispersal of the children among the city schools. He claimed that:

"once a school has more than one-third coloured children the character of the school changes and standards fall." [1]

He approved of the special language teaching in centres linked to schools. Consequently, the Director of Education, T F Davies, and the Chairman of the Education Committee, Mrs Doris Birdsall, worked out a scheme linking Language Centres and dispersal in a comprehensive policy. It required the central registration of all 'immigrant' (in this context 'black') children prior to allocation to school.

The LEA dispersal policy was approved by the Council to be brought into effect for the new school term, January 1965. A limit of 25% was fixed on the proportion of immigrant children admitted to any one primary school, with a recommendation that for secondary schools, the proportion should be considerably lower, because:

"Many problems arise when large numbers of immigrant children are present in a school. The teacher's task is made very difficult, particularly if the children are non-English-speaking and if they are unfamiliar with the standards of hygiene and social behaviour expected of them. In these circumstances the integration of immigrant children is retarded and the interests of the English children are jeopardised. The entire character of the school changes." [2]

A further limit of 30% immigrant children and 15% non-English speakers in any class at a school was suggested as a general practice, except for the special

[1] Mr Bendall, Chief Special Services Officer, CBMDC 1976, Personal interview.
English classes. According to the Chief Special Services Officer for Schools, "The important thing was to get the children out of the areas of immigrant settlement, such as Lumb Lane, into schools away from these areas." [1] Thus the dispersal policy was to help the child's language development within the context of social integration. The child's behaviour would be modified towards the norms of the dominant society.

At first, natural dispersal functioned. Children were diverted to schools within walking distance of their homes, or readily accessible on a bus route. Soon, these schools too began to exceed the 25% limit. It was recognised that:

"Transport arrangements would be necessary for immigrant children directed to schools some distance from their homes and strict regard could not reasonably be paid to qualifying distances. Where public transport was used, guides would have to be provided for groups of children. In certain cases special buses might become necessary with 'bus guides'." [2]

In 1965, two special double-decker buses were in use to aid dispersal (Figure 3.1).[5]

A registration system was established with centralised records. The Asian parents' choice of school was restricted since headteachers were asked not to admit 'immigrant' children to school directly on parents' request, as would be the norm, but to refer parents to the Education Department where responsibility would be taken for allocation. A newly-appointed Immigrant Welfare Officer made arrangements for the medical examination and language assessment that would lead

[1] Mr Bendall (PI) 1976, as above.
[2] City of Bradford Education Committee (1964) op.cit. Item 3, No. 7h, p.3. A free bus pass is allocated to children who are placed by the LEA in a school over two miles (under 8 years old)/over three miles (over 8 years old) distance from their home, measured by the shortest walking route. They do not qualify for a free pass if they are sent to a First school that is more than two miles distant purely on parents' choice. They would probably qualify at Middle and Upper school stage if the school is over three miles distant, even if the school were that of the parents' first choice, since the choice would need to have been endorsed by the local authority administrators.
to admission to school or Centre. If directed to school, most of the 10+ aged Asian children would go first into a special language class. At this time, those under ten years were expected to pick up the language as they mixed with the indigenous children. With a limited number in each class, the E2L children would be encouraged to communicate with their English-speaking peers. Extra teaching and welfare staff were provided for schools 'with an appreciable number of immigrants'.

By the summer of 1965, the Education Committee was pursuing its policy with firmness. Immigrant parents were growing uneasy at the delays incurred before children were allocated to school, so the Director of Education issued instructions that all immigrant children on the lists should be taken into school immediately. One teacher recalled:

"Some had been on the waiting list since February. We pushed them into classes in toilets, anywhere, to get them on the school roll. Then we had to sign them off as leavers a few weeks later. There was inadequate provision but we were forced to take them in." [1]

At this time, the local authority was facing a net increase of about 700 immigrant children a year. About 80% of the new immigrants were NES [2].

By mid-1968 there were four Language Centres for the older children, catering for 460 Asians, ten special classes attached to the then Junior High and High schools, catering for another two hundred and a scheme of second-phase language development (Chapter 13) in most of the High schools. There were 59 full-time staff and 20 part-time staff (and 5 Community Service Volunteers), funded by a Home Office grant (Section 11, LGA 1966), to cope with the extra educational measures.

[1] Mr Glenn, the first 'special class' teacher and later (1966) Head of Barkerend Centre (PI).
The total number of children registered as immigrant had continued to rise, as the effect of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was anticipated (Figure 1.7). The major immigration at this time was of dependants. Live births to Asian women now resident in Bradford continued to rise too (Figure 1.11). Now 40% of the immigrant children in school were NES, but of the children being received into school, 70% were NES. Almost all of the NES children were Asian, particularly Pakistani, the faster-growing group (Figure 1.8). Thus, the problem of educational provision continued to increase.

The dispersal policy and associated measures were adjusted over the years. The 25% limit remained an untenable ideal of official directives. In 1971, 22 out of the 183 schools (excluding Centres) in the City had over 25% immigrants on their registers (Figure 3.2). The LEA increased the recommended limit to 33 1/3%. However, as it was recognised that even this might be impracticable, it was agreed that it could be exceeded at the discretion of the Director of Education. The limit on proportions in particular classes was abandoned, though schools were urged to 'spread immigrant children as far as possible throughout the school, in particular ensuring that they did not congregate in remedial classes', and to avoid 'segregation'. [1].

The policy was under regular review, but a major change came in 1971, with the setting-up of Infant Centres for the initial schooling of most of the Asian children, whether born in Bradford or not. The policy change was adopted partly on the basis of a survey done by the Schools' Psychological Service in conjunction with the Immigrant Education Service in the summer of 1969 (Peace, 1971).

The survey was of 54 Asian children, then aged seven, who had entered Infant school at the age of five, and a control sample of English children in the

same teaching groups, to "investigate the Infant school progress, with particular reference to language of these immigrant children" [1]. It aimed to compare 27 Asian children [2] from schools with a 'low concentration' of immigrants (under 15%) with a similar category in schools with a 'high concentration' (over 30%), further comparing these with matched control categories. Apart from 'school experience', the categories were also matched by sex and 'ability'. This latter criterion was assessed through an initial teacher-rating, backed by a modified Stanford-Binet IQ test, omitting the verbal items where possible and modifying the score 'where an item might unavoidably handicap the immigrant child' (Peace 1971). On this basis the controls had a verbal reasoning quotient (VRQ) 12 points above that of the immigrant sample but this was discounted as 'partly accounted for by the differing cultural backgrounds of the immigrant and control groups'. All the testers were white — a factor that research has shown can affect the results in an inter-racial situation [3].

The children selected for the survey were tested for 'reading age' and given a 'language interview'. All groups had a mean reading age below their chronological age. For the Asian children this retardation was six months greater than for the controls, a statistically significant result, but not of educational significance at this stage. The only significant area of difference between the groups in the language interview was in a score of language errors. While the Asian children scored adequately on the number and type of words they used and their ability to answer questions asked, they showed a 'marked inferiority' to the controls in the accuracy

[2] The category was small but consisted of the total population of Asian children in the relevant age groups, last term at infant school, who had been at the same school from the age of entry in this 'low concentration' category.
of their use of the words, 'wrong choice of words, wrong tense, confusions of
singular and plural, mistakes of word order' [1]. They could communicate on a
conversational level in English, but their accuracy would be inadequate for written
English.

In comparing the results of the tests for the groups in schools with a 'high
concentration' of immigrants with those with schools with a 'low concentration', it
was found that there was no significant difference in reading age or language
interview score between the immigrant groups or between the control groups [2].
This would appear to suggest that a policy of dispersal was of little aid to the
Asian children's language development. There was no evidence to suggest that an
increased proportion of E2L speakers in a school had a negative effect on
standards. The survey was not cited by the Authority as evidence against the
advisability of a dispersal policy however. It was cited as evidence for a need 'to
segregate' these young children 'in order to integrate more quickly' [3], and in
1971 seven Infant Centres were established, catering for the 5–7 year-olds.

The previous policy of allowing young NES children to 'catch' the English
language by contact with English–speaking peers had been found wanting (Garvie
1971 a;b). The statistical basis of the survey was weak but it did point to the
Asian children's need for more structured language training to enable them to
progress satisfactorily. There was no evidence to support or reject the proposal
that this might most effectively be given in isolation from the mainstream school
(and previous Authority policy had been against 'segregation'). As all the children
tested needed some remedial language support to bring them to a level expected
for their age, this could have been provided through extra teacher attention, an
ease in the teacher–pupil ratio, in the multi–racial classroom. Bradford's choice of

Infant Centres was controversial at the time (Garvie 1972). However, because they were established in the areas of high concentration of immigrant settlement, at least they were 'local' schools and most of the very young Asian children were released from the trauma on starting school of being bussed away from the home area to school.

In 1971, in addition to the seven Infant Centres, there were three Junior Centres (7–11) and three Senior Centres (11+). Teacher-social workers ('liaison teachers' [1] pp. 252–254 and pp. 352–357) were appointed to each of the Centres to develop home-school links. They also set up English classes for the Asian mothers, whose lack of English was seen as a factor retarding the children's acquisition of E2L. The task of Centres was broadened. Apart from language training, the Senior Centres prepared children for 'working life', the Junior Centres remedied some of the general education gaps the children might have and the Infant Centres familiarised the children with normal English school practice.

Meanwhile the special classes at Upper schools were being replaced by second-phase language provision and eventually E2L departments, entering pupils for examinations in the subject.

The dispersal policy continued with the number of children 'bussed' to school [2] increasing significantly:

[1] The name was changed in 1975, partly because of objections from Social Workers on professional grounds, but also in response to the reorganisation of Local Authorities in 1974. Bradford County Borough was combined with parts of the West Riding County Council. The West Riding had not required teacher/social workers to be qualified teachers, while Bradford had done so.

[2] The numbers refer to the children of First and Middle school age only (except for those transported to the Senior Centres). Upper school children would be bussed to school with their indigenous peers.
In addition a number, especially of older children, were travelling on service buses with LEA bus passes.

While the number of immigrant children in the schools continued to increase, the proportion of NES children within the 'immigrant' group and within the school population as a whole decreased for a number of years up to 1975 (Figure 1.8). The proportion then began to increase (Figure 1.9) with an increase of new immigrants to the city (Figure 1.10). In November 1975, 32% of First school children (5-9), 22% of all immigrant school-age children and 73% of Pakistani/Bangladeshi children on entering the system, were NES [1]. Eleven Language Centres were operating to cope with this (1 Senior, 1 Junior, 2 Primary, 7 Infant), catering for 1,711 children [2]. By 1978, they were catering for 2,343 children [3]. Some spent only one term in a Centre to develop their language

---

competence but most spent from 4-6 terms before they were dispersed to mainstream school.

Most of these children lived in the inner wards of the city (Figure 1.3). Dispersal was necessary because there was a shortfall of school places here as, apart from the Language Centres, there had been very little increase in the number of inner city school places since the beginning of immigration. At the same time, the strict quota of 33\(\frac{1}{3}\)% immigrants in these schools was unrealistic unless children (white) were to be bussed in from outer city areas. The Authority considered this to be 'politically impracticable' so there was an increasing number of inner city schools with over 50% immigrants on roll (Figure 3.2) and the LEA ideal of "balanced groups" [1] was difficult to maintain.

The Educational Services Committee of the Council on November 16th 1976 re-endorsed the dispersal policy following an initial Language Centre schooling as educationally desirable:

"Schools have to be built on the foundation laid by Centres and if the concentrations of the children of immigrants in many schools are too great, the basic help given by the Centres will be wasted because the continuing needs of these children cannot be met. Nor can the needs of the English children remaining in these schools be met." [2]

It was also seen at this time [3] as socially necessary for the multiracial community as a whole:

"To avoid the development of predominantly immigrant schools which would lead to separate development of ethnic groups, reinforcement of living in tightly-knit communities, lack of knowledge of the total multiracial environment and eventually dual standards, a perpetuation of inequalities and a tendency to second-class citizenship." [4]

In practice, increasing numbers of Asian children were being taught apart from their peers for many of the early years of schooling in Centres, or were in inner

[1] CBMDC (1976) op.cit. p.19 & 20. 'Unbalanced groups' are those 'groups in excess of a certain percentage (of immigrant children) or so small as to be swamped by indigenous children'.
[2] ibid. p.18
Figure 3.2 Table showing proportions of children of immigrant parental origin in the Bradford (CB) schools 1971-1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CBMD Directorate of Educational Services Annual Reports op.cit.

city, high immigrant concentration schools. The Chief Special Services Officer considered that:

"in the predominantly immigrant school .... it would be much more difficult for the child to acquire good pronunciation, idiomatic usage, good constructions and ability to think in English and to gain a full understanding not only of the way of life of his new country, but of the parts of his education which depend on the correct use and understanding of the medium of instruction. His reading and written work would not progress so well without the example of English children's work for comparison."

[1]

The policy was rapidly becoming impracticable if only one group of children were to be subject to dispersal, but to abandon the policy was seen as unwise and unjust by the administrators at that time.

Opposition to the Policy

In 1976, the Authority stated that:

"Dispersal has never been a controversial issue in Bradford. No immigrant organisation has opposed it and many parents have welcomed it."

[2]

Certainly it had never been a controversial issue. Educational welfare officers and


[2] CBMDC (1976) op.cit. p.18. After the report was presented to the Council a footnote had to be added to record opposition of the Muslim Parents' Association which had 300 members at the time.
liaison teachers had done an effective job in persuading the Asian parents of its necessity. Subsequent to this 1976 report, however, criticism became more overt. Teachers in a predominantly 'immigrant' Middle school attempted to assess the wishes of Asian parents about their children's schooling. Through a questionnaire given by Home Tutors [1] mothers were asked what they knew about their children's schools, how much contact they had with them and their feelings about bussing. The exercise revealed much ignorance on the part of the mothers about the schooling but a preference for local schools for their children. The issue was taken further through a meeting of liaison teachers (January 1977) and then by the Bradford branch of the National Union of Teachers (NUT). This led to a strong anti-bussing lobby in the local NUT which put a motion before a General Meeting on March 1st 1979:

"The members of the Bradford NUT consider our local authority policy of bussing and dispersing the children of Asian parents as racist and demand the ending of it. We demand a system that caters for the needs of all our children, and one that respects a parent's right of choice. Further we call for an immediate injection of resources into the inner city schools." [2]

The motion was accepted by an overwhelming majority at the meeting [3], though not by the required 100 members, so it was put to a complete membership ballot (2,000) and marginally lost. However, the pressure group continued to develop an antibussing campaign alongside members of the Asian communities. Dispersal was discussed by political groups and supporters of the campaign were, on the whole,

[1] M Meredith and C Gorton (1977) "Questionnaire to ascertain the views of Asian parents on some aspects of First school education", January. 'Home tutors' were voluntary language teachers who visited the homes of Asian women.

[2] General meeting of the National Union of Teachers, Bradford Association, held in the Library Theatre, 1.3.1979. Motion proposed by Sue Strutt, Drummond Centre, seconded by Alex Fellowes, Southfield Centre.

[3] Quoted as a 4:1 majority in a report "Uproar but bussing goes on", Telegraph and Argus, 7.3.1979. There were initially about 150 members at the meeting but this number had reduced to 120 by the time the vote was taken. The vote of about 90 for the motion was not adequate to be binding on the whole Association.
from the political left wing. For instance, the local Communist Party passed a
motion disapproving of the policy in March 1977. A motion against bussing was
passed by the Bradford Metropolitan District Labour Party in June 1979 [1],
though only one Councillor had been prepared to speak out against bussing in the
Council, which was still firmly in favour of the policy [2]. The Joint Tenants' 
Association queried the financial outlay [3] and two local community associations,
Thornton [4] and West Bowling [5], voiced the concern of white parents when it
became apparent that, through lack of accommodation in local schools, their
First/Middle school children too might be 'bussed'.

Criticisms of the policy began to emerge from the Asian communities.
Councillor Hussain, while ultimately supporting the policy of dispersal for its
"tremendous social, cultural and educational benefits, ..... preventing the creation of
ghetto schools" [6], listed the disadvantages of bussing and suggested adjustments to
the policy. The Indian Workers' Association (IWA) backed by the Asian Youth
Movement (AYM) [7], Teachers Against the Nazis (TAN) [8], Campaign against

[1] This issue had been raised twice in council by Independent Labour Councillor,
Brian Rhodes, with no backing. Telegraph and Argus, 31.3.1979. Allerton
East Branch, Labour Party sent an anti-bussing resolution to Bradford West
constituency (January 1979). It was passed and sent on to CBMD Labour
Party, who passed it and referred it to the Labour councillors. It was
raised in the Council in July 1979, see "Labour about-turn on bussing",


[3] Telegraph and Argus 27.11.1976. Also Councillor Brian Rhodes' question in
the Council, reported 15.12.1976 Telegraph and Argus quoting cost of bussing
as £42,000 to the ratepayers and CBMDC (1976) op.cit. p.24.


[5] West Bowling Community Association meeting in the Community Centre

[6] "Bussing Asian children 'is preventing creation of city ghetto schools''", Telegraph

[7] Asian Youth Movement: a group of young black people which grew from the
Association of Indian Youth.

[8] Teachers against the Nazis: a left-wing political group affiliated to the
Anti-Nazi League, the nucleus of which in Bradford was the teachers who put
the anti-bussing motion to the NUT Bradford. See "Campaign to fight
bussing scheme" Telegraph and Argus 27.2.1979.
Racism and Facism in Bradford (CARAFIB) [1]. Bradford Trades Council and Bradford Community Relations Council (CRC) [2] organised a petition against bussing which was signed by 1,570 people, claimed as representative of Asian opinion [3].

This was happening at a time when nationally a strong Anti-Nazi League was developing to counter the rise of the National Front (NF) as a political force. It was in a climate of NF provocation. In 1976, Mr Merrick of the NF had made a complaint to the Race Relations Board, not upheld, of discriminatory practice in Bradford against white children, supposedly held back by immigrants in their schools. In 1977, Professor Hawkins of York University was asked by the Community Relations Commission to make a preliminary investigation of the situation but found no negative discrimination. In 1979, the new Commission for Racial Equality pursued talks about a formal investigation into the LEA policy after reported racial discrimination under the 1976 Race Relations Act. They focussed particularly on the registration of children and on their dispersal for social as well as educational reasons. No formal investigation was undertaken but the LEA presented a discussion document to Headteachers proposing an adjustment of the system to bring it in line with the law, while still allowing dispersal as a means of coping with the potential disadvantage of Asian children. It requested that the educational need of each child should be carefully evaluated through tests backed by a teacher assessment. A child should no longer be subject to dispersal who

[1] Campaign against Racism and Facism in Bradford: a popular front group formed on March 19th 1978, bringing together a wide variety of people to work towards racial harmony, including church and political groups. See "Bussing harms schoolchildren claims CARAFIB" Telegraph and Argus 7.4.1979. The group functioned for about 18 months, effectively.
was:

"fully integrated and will no longer need special help to achieve equal educational opportunity either with English as a second language or to rectify any previous lack of educational experience."[1]

A meeting of E2L teachers was called to discuss ways of operating these proposals [2]. A Schools Officer told the meeting that 'individual need must be judged as the ability to fit into the next school without extra help', but included 'social fit' as part of the requirement. The teachers unanimously refused to take on the assessment of children's individual needs for dispersal when this would be subjective and only for particular ethnic groups. Many of these teachers were already feeling inadequately trained for the work they were being asked to do [3] and declined this responsibility for implementing an effective allocation policy.

The policy was reviewed and bussing phased out from the school year 1980-81, to be followed by the phasing out of Language Centres. This was not without misgivings by many members of the council. Councillor Jack Barker (Chairman of Schools Panel) was quoted as saying:

"This move has come about because of the effect certain people have had on the Commission (CRE) and I wonder whether these people have wisdom on their side." [4]

The Council's Educational Panel decided that from September 1980, parents of Asian children of all ages would be given as much freedom as possible in choosing their child's school [5]. Separate catchment areas for Asian children would no

[2] Meeting of E2L teachers at the T F Davies Teachers' Centre 22.11.1978, one of a series to 'review the Authority's policy on the education of the children of immigrant parental origin'. Attended by 50 teachers, Mr Knight (Director), Mr Rouse (Immigrant Education Advisor), Mr Bendall (Chief Special Services Officer), Mr Roper (Chief Schools Officer).
longer be drawn, although all children who were bilingual would be assessed for special provision. Some form of bussing would continue to be necessary because of the short-fall of inner city school places in the immediate future. Children in the inner city schools would continue to be disadvantaged in terms of old buildings and inadequate play facilities [1] until such time as central government funding was released for replacement schools. This was the beginning of a new phase of positive Council action in support of the Asian communities. In December 1981 an all-party Council Policy statement on race relations was adopted (A4.13) declaring Bradford to be an Equal Opportunities employer and with a commitment to 'improving race relations in the city'.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that Bradford, in pioneering 'immigrant education' in Britain, acted with concern for the needs of the Asian children. Much money and effort was put into the special educational measures for teaching those children who spoke English as a second language. In working out the policy, the LEA stimulated thought and practice on the education of minority groups throughout the country.

However, the policy was aimed exclusively at helping the Asian child to fit into the English school system. It was designed and evolved with little consultation with the Asian parents. Because of the language barrier, communication between administrators of the school system and Asian parents was difficult but little provision was made to overcome this. Further, it has been argued that Pakistani parents, with their experience of schooling in the homeland would not have expected to be involved in planning the education of their children (see Chapter

2). The Authority had not considered it necessary to overcome these hurdles and, in fact, had required conformity to the system provided, using Educational Welfare Officers and Liaison Teachers to tell the Asian parents what was expected of them by the schools. This absence of an instituted method of enabling feelings and wishes of one group of parents of children in schools to be heard (Asian) as clearly as those of the majority group was racially discriminatory, in effect an example of institutional racism.

As the policy focused on language provision it painted a picture of children 'unable to cope with school without help' who 'needed the example of English children's work', a picture of inadequacy linked with skin colour in the assumptions of the policy makers. This stereotype of 'less able' black children fitted a racial prejudice endemic in British society, a heritage of the Empire. It potentially fed low expectations of the children in school and could fuel a self-fulfilling prophecy. From this perspective, the policy could be described as potentially racist.

When the policy came under pressure of increasing numbers, its racial undertones became more apparent through its contradictions. The Council was willing to disperse the Asian children, but not white children, to maintain the quota. The aim of the policy was 'integration' of children in 'balanced' groups but in 1971 the policy was adjusted and segregation rationalised as a means to its end. At a time when people were becoming more politically sensitive to racism in society, the Asian parents lost confidence in the policy and campaigned against it. Language teachers, who were feeling inadequate in face of the issues presented, were ready to support them.

In the three subsequent chapters a more detailed look at the policy and its bias as implemented in practice will go some way towards explaining this loss of confidence from the Asian communities. There will be clarification of some of the grounds on which the policy was described as 'racist' by the Bradford National
Union of Teachers, some local councillors and many members of the Asian communities.
CHAPTER 11  THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRADFORD'S DISPERSAL POLICY IN 1977

It has been shown that from 1965 Bradford City Council took positive action to provide for the perceived special needs of the E2L children. In 1977, this action was a dispersal policy and English language teaching in special centres and through the E2L teachers (second-phase language support) in schools. The procedures used to administer the dispersal policy included central registration of 'immigrant' children, a language assessment test, central allocation of the Asian children to schools or centres. A medical examination was given in association with the policy to the children who had been out of the UK in the previous twelve months. These procedures as practiced in 1977 will be described in this chapter.

It will be shown that the administrative procedures were racially discriminatory under the 1976 Race Relations Act. They were reported as such and in consultation with the CRE, minor adjustments were made to them, prior to the dispersal policy being phased out from September 1980. The special language teaching provision continued, with plans for the language centres to continue to the mid-eighties and mainstream E2L for as long as it was required.

The Registration of Children of Immigrant Parental Origin

From 1965, the Bradford Education Authority had a system for registering 'coloured' children for school. In 1965, forms supplied to headteachers for the registration of 'children of Commonwealth immigrant parents' already in their schools on July 15th requested information on 'half-Asian' and 'half-negro' children [1] as well as on children who had two parents from India, Pakistan or the West Indies. It was stated that an 'other Commonwealth countries (specifying)' category was not to include children of immigrant parents from Canada, Australia

[1] These were not categories listed by the DES, 1963-1973.
or New Zealand. When the DES abandoned the census of immigrant children in 1973, after criticism that its definition of children to be counted was unacceptable and irrelevant, Bradford had only abandoned the 'half-Asian/half-negro' categories. While the DES restricted its figures to children whose parents had been in Britain for less than ten years, including those from Hungary, Malta, Poland etc., Bradford only counted black children, seeing these alone as E2L speakers.

Bradford continued to collect these statistics as a base from which to claim central government grant aid. By 1977, the census included a few non-Commonwealth registrations, three children from Iran and three from Italy in the under-five age range and children from Egypt, Chile, Iraq, Iran and Sudan in the schools [1]. Children from Pakistan were categorised as Commonwealth immigrants, although Pakistan had withdrawn from the Commonwealth in 1971 [2]. 'Commonwealth immigrant' was used as a racial term, referring to all black children.

From January 1965 to September 1980, all newly-arrived black children from overseas, from other towns in the UK or children born in Britain to immigrant parents from countries of the 'New Commonwealth and Pakistan' were registered at the LEA office. In 1977, white children newly arrived from overseas (except Irish) who had been absent from the country for twelve months or more, were also registered, though not those who came from other cities in the UK [3].

Weekly lists from the ports of entry, via the Home Office, to the Area Health Authority (AHA) informed the LEA of the names and addresses of those

---

[2] The subsequent year's statistical report was entitled Annual Report on the Education of Parents from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. It excluded figures of children on school rolls from non-Commonwealth countries, except Pakistan, including those whose English was minimal or virtually nil on admission.
coming into the country en route for Bradford. A letter would be sent to immigrant parents, asking them to register their children for school by calling at the Educational Welfare Office [1], bringing 'a passport or birth certificate for each child' [2]. Lack of response to this would be followed by a visit from the Education Welfare Officer (EWO). Weekly birth lists of all children born in the city were received from the AHA. From these, a clerk compiled a list of Asian-named children and 'as far as possible' those of African and West Indian parents too. A black parent taking a child direct to school for admission (the practice with indigenous parents) would be directed by the headteacher to the LEA office to register the child.

In 1977, four EWO's were concerned with registration, three of them Asians. Between them, the team understood or spoke most prevalent languages of the Indian subcontinent, except Bengali. I asked the senior officer if any of the team understood the East European languages and he responded:

"No: but that is not our responsibility. The white ones are dealt with over there." 10.1.1977.

Clients were categorised as 'commonwealth' (black) and 'non-Commonwealth' (white) immigrants for registration purposes.

All children registered in the 'Commonwealth' immigrants category were required to submit themselves for a language assessment test before they could be allocated to schools [3]. Those from overseas were medically examined too, and parents asked to consent to immunisation and any other treatment considered necessary for the child before the examination [4]. Two registrations in this

---

[1] CBMDC Directorate of Educational Services (1977) Form ref. E7/TR/GB
[2] A narrow interpretation of the DES ruling (see [1] p.185) could have been used to exclude Pakistani children from school during their first year of stay in the UK. Bradford did not use it thus.
category were made in my presence (10.1.1977).

Case 1: A youth from Pathan (Pakistani, non-Commonwealth) had come to join his family, including Bradford-born siblings. An EWO checked his passport to establish the legality of his residence and gave him an appointment date for the school clinic six weeks later where he would be medically examined and tested for English language competence. As he was seventeen, over the school-leaving age, the LEA had no statutory duty to place him in school [1], though he could have applied to enter a sixth-form, or the college, if he had the necessary academic qualifications. Pressure on places was great at the Senior Centre at the time and he would have been unlikely to have been accommodated there, thus the language test was superfluous. The passport inspection was, in fact, illegal since an EWO has no statutory rights to make this check. The medical examination, while it may have been to the benefit of the person examined, was racially discriminatory - given to one category of immigrant only, the black.

Case 2: A Gujarati-speaking father came to register his three children, all Bradford-born, who had spent the previous two years in Leeds schools. They were required to take an English test before allocation to school, though not to be medically examined as they had not been out of the country.

In 1977, children in the 'non-Commonwealth immigrant' category were required to submit themselves for medical examination prior to entry to school (an adjustment to the original policy), though not for language assessment [2].

[1] DES memo to LEA's, 1973, stated that it was not necessary to provide schooling for children admitted as visitors for less than six months, but instructs LEA's to admit to school children 'likely to be in the country for twelve months or more'. Bradford's policy was to find places for 'Commonwealth' immigrants (including children from Pakistan) even if parents were in the UK for under a year. This was not necessarily the case for 'non-Commonwealth' immigrants (e.g. those from Iran).

Case 3: A family registered in this category in my presence (10.1.1977) had returned three days previously from Germany, where the father was in the British forces. The children spoke English with Yorkshire accents and had been born in Bradford. In fact, the mother had already arranged with the Headteacher for them to be admitted to a First school. The registration clerk told her:

"Keep them off school until they have had their medicals and then we shall probably be able to arrange for them to go to the school you want." 10.1.1977.

An appointment was made for them to see the school doctor ten days later at an extra clinic that had been pushed into a tight schedule with a long waiting list [1]. If passed fit, the children would be in school within three weeks.

If registration were positive action under the 1976 Race Relations Act to ensure that those children who spoke English as a second language were given help appropriate to their educational needs, then the categorising of children according to their parents' origins would have been irrelevant, since E2L children could occur in either of the categories used. The procedure was initially developed for recording black children. The omission of the 'half-' categories and addition of the immigrant category later to rationalise the procedure did not avoid the racial discrimination of the initial procedure. It underlined it. It was an expression of racism since the black children were placed in a lower status category than the white. Only the 'Commonwealth' immigrant parents were expected to sign permission for their children to be immunised, investigated and treated at the discretion of the doctor, prior to presenting their children for examination. The waiting time for them was longer than for the 'non-Commonwealth' immigrants prior to allocation to school because of the language test or because of preferential treatment for the white children.

[1] There was a four-six week waiting period for medical examination in the six-month period up to January 1977.
The LEA recommendation to the EWO's that no credence should be given to sworn affidavit or National Health Service medical card evidence of birth date for the children, but that a passport should be used if no birth certificate were available, was more likely to affect the 'Commonwealth' immigrants. It put the registration officer in a position to check the immigration status of the individual [1], with implications both for the children of illegal immigrants and for the visitor/settler status of those legally resident, affecting allocation to school. It gave him powers beyond his statutory duty.

The registration of black children had relevance more for the notion of 'balanced groups' in a dispersal policy, for social adjustment, than for language support provision. As such, it could be argued that it was most 'helpful' (DES Circular 7/65) for the white children and therefore an institutional form of racism.

**The Medical Examination for Children of Immigrant Parental Origin**

As routine, all British school children have a medical examination during the first year in school, occasional tests for eyesight, hearing, head lice and regular checks on their health in general. In 1977 in Bradford, those who had been out of the UK for twelve months or more were required to have a medical examination before entry to school. For all but the pre-school tests, treatment would then be carried out concurrently with school attendance unless a child were carrying a readily transmitted infection or unless hospitalisation was necessary.

The pre-school examination was developed initially for all black children, when registration began in 1965. Its introduction was from a fear that diseases like smallpox and tuberculosis would be introduced by the incomers. An outbreak of smallpox in the mid-60's, which caused the death of a Bradford doctor, seemed to justify this. In 1965, the medical examinations gave the

following findings:

"1. Number examined: 3026
2. Number with worm infestations (six different types): 551
3. Number with moderate or severe anaemia: 100
4. Skin testing for tuberculosis was carried out and the children with relatively high degree positive results were X-rayed. Where considered desirable, children were vaccinated against tuberculosis, 20 cases of pulmonary tuberculosis were detected in Asian children and one case in a West Indian child; there were seven cases of non-pulmonary tuberculosis." [1]

The statistics collected through the years showed the fear to be unfounded [2], but in 1976 the council recommended a continuance of the policy to enable 'such ailments as anaemia and worm infestation to be detected and treated; for protection to be given against tuberculosis .... and for other immunisation procedures to be instituted.' [3] By 1977, however, the category of children being required to be medically examined had been modified to exclude those born in the UK and include all children arriving from residence overseas of protracted duration [4].

In 1977, 'non-Commonwealth' immigrants (white) were told:

"With reference to the admission of your child to school, I have to inform you that children of parents coming from overseas should be medically examined prior to entry to school. ..... When the medical officer considers your child fit for school you will be notified from this office the school he/she should attend." [5]

The requirements of 'Commonwealth' immigrants (black) were more stringent:

\[ \text{[1] City of Bradford Education Committee (1967) Children of Commonwealth Immigrant Parents} \]
\[ \text{[2] From September 1975 to March 1977 there were six cases of tuberculosis in the schools, three of these in Asian children (PI from the school doctor).} \]
\[ \text{[3] CBMDC (1976) op.cit. p.29. At the medical examination made in school during the child's first year, no stool check is made unless worm infestation is suspected. Any infestation will be treated while the child continues to attend school. There are no comparable statistics for the number of non-Asian children with worms in 1965, nor for the varieties of worms found. No routine immunisation for tuberculosis given in the first year at school for white children either.} \]
\[ \text{[4] City of Bradford Education Committee (1968) The Education of the Children of Commonwealth Immigrants.} \]
\[ \text{[5] CBMDC (1977) Medical Appointment form, op.cit.} \]
"All children of Commonwealth immigrant parents should be medically
examined prior to entry to school, and assessed by a qualified teacher on
ability to speak and understand English." [1]

For these children, parents were asked to supply a stool sample and to consent
prior to the examination for him/her:

"a. to be immunised against certain diseases if the doctor
   thinks it necessary;
   b. to have any investigations carried out in connection with
      the medical examination;
   c. to be given such treatment as may be required." [2]

Children were seen at the School Clinic by one of the three white women
doctors involved. They were weighed, measured, their eyes tested and general
health assessed. Each child had a tuberculosis sensitivity test and the stool sample
checked for internal parasites. The two latter tests required a return appointment,
two weeks later, for vaccination, medication or referral for a chest X-ray as
necessary. Allocation to school would be made after treatment was completed.

The doctor whom I saw at work (9.3.1977) was forbidding-looking but genial.
Her attempts at communicating with the Asian children in their mother tongue
were creditable but not very successful:

"Doctor: 'Mou kholo !' - no response.
   Father: 'Open mouth' - child opens." (9.3.1977)

Usually the instructions were reinterpreted into Punjabi dialect by the accompanying
father or 'brother'. In one examination of Bangladeshi boys, the well-meaning
Urdu from the doctor caused great confusion, until their companion volunteered to
translate from English into Bengali. The teenage Asian boys seemed to be
discomforted by the examination more than the girls, presumably because the
doctor was a woman, but especially when examined in the presence of a sibling.

The wall of the consultation room held a cupboard-full of worm medicines
and an instruction sheet for the treatment of hookworm, large roundworm,

pinworm, whipworm, threadworm, tapeworm. A dose of medicine was given on the return visit to deal with infestation for some children. For other children, a course of treatment was prescribed and the procedure for administering it carefully described to the accompanying adult. Where relevant, children were referred on to dentists, opticians, skin specialists, speech therapists.

The LEA was to be commended in showing concern for the health of the immigrant children, particularly for those coming from a situation where health care had been difficult to obtain because of paucity of provision or of poverty of the immigrant family. Asian children, for instance, may well have been more susceptible to tuberculosis infection living in the damp British climate, often in low quality housing. The statistics show the incidence to be marginal, however, and at a level that could have been picked up by the doctor on the routine medical after entry to school for the First school children or the similarly routine tuberculosis test given to all Middle school children. The practice of singling black children out for this treatment bears more relation to host community fears than immigrant communities' needs. The inclusion of white immigrant children in the procedure was a response to charges of racism rather than to white immigrant needs.

It was argued by the LEA that the pre-school medical examination was necessary to ensure early treatment of deaf or partially-sighted children. Particular concern had been expressed about 'the number of handicapped children born to Pakistani parents' (CBMDC 1978). However, most of the Asian homes would be visited by health visitors, on the birth of new babies into the home. As with non-immigrant families, the families and the family doctor could be alerted to health problems with small children in the home (the extended family system frequently bringing more than one family unit together in a home) through this procedure. Other problems would be picked up in the first year of school by the routine medical examination. Special provision for one category of child would
seem to be unjustified. Again the practice was more a response to host community fears and especially to a prejudice against marriage of close relatives [1] assumed by the LEA to be responsible for the incidence of physical handicap.

The LEA also justified the medical as a useful procedure for checking the age of a child coming from a country where birth date records may be inaccurate. The doctor, or subsequently a Headteacher, may query the birth date of a child because it does not seem to fit with observed physical and behavioural development. On the basis of external features, such as body hair and voice, with the help of dental X-rays where appropriate, a doctor may reassess the child’s age for educational purposes [2]. I was told:

"This reassessment happens in about ten cases a year. The child's age has usually been underestimated, with the parents wanting the child to stay on at school. I am reluctant to reassess the children at a higher age since this might deprive them of schooling. More children could have an incorrect birthdate. It is difficult to assess, if children come from a deprived background." School doctor 26.6.1977.

Again the number of children involved was small and marginal in an intake of about 500 new immigrants of compulsory school age registered for school in a year (Figure 1.10). It cannot be seen to be for the welfare of the child if it curtails the time in school against the parents' wishes. It can be invidious if, through a reassessment of birth date for educational purposes, a child is deprived of security benefits on leaving school because he/she has not reached the birth certificate age accepted by other social agencies.

While the pre-school medical examination may be of benefit for the health of the immigrant children, there is no statistical evidence to suggest that it is more


necessary for the immigrant children in Bradford than for the rest. It has been argued that the institution of the medical examination on registration was more a response to host community fears than to immigrants' needs. While ostensibly benevolent in intent, it subjected black children in a discriminatory way to an experience that was often traumatic in a new country and, for those of school age, delayed their entry to school or language centre for several months in practice. It was justifiably seen as a further example of institutional racism. An inclusion of white immigrants in the procedure in the 1970's compounded rather than removed an injustice.

The Pre-School English Language Assessment of Black Children

In 1977, English was the only medium of instruction in County schools in Bradford. Children newly arrived from overseas, children from other towns in the UK (if they spoke English as a second language) or children born in Bradford of New Commonwealth or Pakistani parents had to demonstrate their English language competence before they could be allocated to school. Most of these children would be designated non-English-speaking (NES) and allocated to Language Centres initially.

Children registered as newly arrived from overseas were given an appointment for an English test at the same time as their medical examination appointment, both to be carried out at the school clinic. In the 1976-77 school year, this category included 499 children of school age, mostly from Pakistan and Bangladesh, but including 27 children from other countries, such as Egypt, Iran, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Mauritius and Yugoslavia [1]: Most of these were entering the UK for the first time. Some had been before, some born in Bradford, and were returning after a trip to their 'home country'. Most were allocated to a Language Centre

once they had been passed as medically fit. Shown as percentages in the LEA report, the statistics given in Figure 3.3 give an inadequate picture of the size of the educational task to be achieved. Only about 100 children, a fifth of the total including 50 Pakistanis, were allocated directly to schools. In the subsequent year the figure was 91 out of 804 [1].

Children speaking English as a second language and arriving from another town in the UK where there may have been little, or inadequate, language support work in the schools, received a language assessment at the clinic too, though not the medical.

**Figure 3.3 Table showing the language assessor's recommendations for allocation to school or centre, of children arriving from overseas in Bradford in 1976-77 (shown as percentage of total children in each category)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin of the Child</th>
<th>Assessor's recommendation</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language Centre</td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>92.0%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians from Africa</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Commonwealth countries</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CBMDC Directorate of Educational Services (1977)

The Education of Children of Immigrant Parental Origin

One teacher (a white woman) was responsible for all these tests. She had been teaching in Bradford since the early 60's and had visited Pakistan to become informed about the schooling there. The test was conducted in a small office. The tester, at the interviews I observed (9.3.1977), sat behind a desk, with files, forms and a pile of well−thumbed Peak English books [2] before her and moved

briskly through a regular routine. She was formal and abrupt, but not unkind with the children. She told me:

"I call the parents in with the children to increase their confidence. Of course, they come to me after the doctor. They are sometimes upset when they come in."

Language Assessor 9.3.1977

There was form-filling involved, collecting such information about the child as might seem useful to subsequent school/centre placement: origins, home language, number and age of siblings, previous schooling ('Was it in a mosque school or in a real school?'[1]). The form already had a medical comment and the tester listened for any speech defect in the child that would then be referred back to the doctor. Most of the space on the form was for an 'ability' report, but the overall bias of the testing was towards allocation to the language centres.

Case 4: At an interview conducted in my presence (9.3.1977), a mother from Gujarat brought her four Punjabi-speaking children, ages ranging from 2 to 7 years. At least one of the children had been born in Bradford. The mother was accompanied by another young woman who interpreted for her. The small room was over-full and the smallest boy attempted to shunt chairs around it, emptied the dregs out of my teacup, swished books off the desk and generally caused mayhem. Meanwhile, the oral/aural English of the two older girls was being assessed. The test routine was consistent:

"What's this?    - Ball
What's this?    - Kursi (chair)
What's this?    - Man
What's this?    - Larka (boy)"

The assessor flicked her biro from picture to picture, firing a quick succession of questions, accepting English or Punjabi answers without prompting. Little time was

[1] In Pakistan, the Mosque school (muktab or madressa) is where the children learn to recite the Q'uran. National ('real') school is where a general academic course would be pursued, including the learning of English language in the higher grades (see Chapter 2).
spent in gaining the child's confidence. The official form-filling and the general rumpus in the room weighed against the child's being at ease for the test. No LEA interpreter was available and it was not made clear to the mother or the children at the time that this was to be an English assessment test. There was a strong bias in the whole procedure towards Centre allocation. All children interviewed in my presence on that day were assessed as having no competence in understanding, speaking or reading English and were allocated to language centres to begin their schooling. The Centres were, in effect, the real places of assessment of language competence. Children could, if inappropriately allocated, be moved on to school after about six weeks.

Children registered as of New Commonwealth and Pakistani parents but born in Bradford would not be called for medical examination, unless they had re-entered the country within the previous twelve months. They would be allocated automatically to Centres on reaching school age, unless steps had been taken to alter this.

For children who had been to a multiracial nursery school in Bradford for two terms, the Headteacher could recommend an allocation direct to school for those with an adequate grasp of English. Some may have been assessed to be ready for school by a Health visitor, or other professional visiting the home. All of these children would then be tested at the school clinic for an ability to converse in simple sentences and use English language structures. One of the Centre Headteachers was responsible for all of these tests; she said:

"I am looking for a standard of spoken English similar to that of a child's on leaving an Infant Centre. The interview is as relaxed as possible to gain the child's confidence and to enable him to speak. I frequently ask the parents to leave the room so that the child is not distracted." Headteacher of a centre 7.2.1977

The number of children dealt with in this way was small (10-15 a year by 1977) and they were rarely found to have an adequate language competence for school.
Again the bias was towards Centre allocation initially.

The LEA assumed that all children who spoke English as a second language would need special educational provision, unless they demonstrated otherwise. The test was seen as a preliminary sifting for allocation to Language Centres. The Centres themselves were part of the policy for 'positive action' towards the equality of opportunity in the school system.

It was administratively convenient for the language assessment of children from overseas or of bilingual children from other towns in the UK to be made concurrently with the clinic appointment for a medical examination. From the newcomers' perspective, however, following long immigration procedures for many of them, it would not be an encouraging introduction to British schooling. Conducted in the medical environment and in a clinical manner, it would seem like yet one more hurdle to surmount to be 'fit' for life in the UK. Even the local Asian children who had begun to acquire a competence in English in the relaxed bilingualism of home or street were taken into the medical atmosphere of the clinic for assessment of an educational need.

The assumption that English was the only appropriate language for schooling in Bradford was scarcely challenged before 1977. As before in British history [1], the language of the minority group was being under-valued, an issue of political importance in terms of human rights and educational provision. The Asian child's introduction to the Bradford school came with questions about his or her foreign status (passport checks), physical well-being (the war against worms and a medical comment on the language assessment form) and personal competence (with a bias

[1] The 1870 Education Act banned the use of Welsh in Welsh schools, even in the playground. Similar treatment was given by the French to the Bretons, Norwegians to the Lapps and to slaves in the New World (who were punished by death for the use of their mother tongue). However, the Bullock Report (1975) A Language for Life, Chapter 20, makes positive recommendations for bilingualism and multiculturalism.
towards an assessment of lack of competence in English) and with an approach that devalued the child's home culture, especially the language. White assessors were categorising black children according to whether they could meet the cultural requirements of white society for entry to schooling. The black children were being required to meet standards of language competence on which white immigrants were not routinely assessed — a further example of institutional racism.

**The Allocation of Children who Speak English as a Second Language to Centres or Schools**

The 1944 Education Act states that:

"In the exercise and performance of all powers and duties conferred and imposed on them by this act, the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principles that, so far as is compatible with provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents." [1]

This statement on parental rights was re-affirmed by the 1980 Education Act. However, with the dispersal policy for black parents in Bradford much of the right to choose the mode and place of education for their children was taken over by the LEA. The LEA policy required the schools to aim for 'balanced groups' of children. The groups in a particular school were 'unbalanced' if they contained 'immigrant' children 'in excess of a certain percentage or (were) so small as to be swamped by indigenous children'. [2]

At primary school stage, most LEA schools are non-selective, taking any child from the immediate neighbourhood of the school. Parents are free to approach the Headteacher of the school of their choice and to ask for their child to be admitted. At secondary stage, LEA policies vary. In an area of selective schooling, parental choice may be secondary to the child's attainment test score. In areas of comprehensive schooling, admittance would be refused only if the

[1] The Education Act 1944, Section 76.
school were full or if the child had a special educational need that the school could not supply. In the latter cases, 'special schooling' would be offered. In practice, this has been offered to children who are slow learners, deaf, blind, physically or emotionally damaged, though opinion is changing on the value of this segregation [1]. 'Special school' allocation is made only after careful educational assessment of the capabilities of the child.

In Bradford, all the mainstream LEA schools were comprehensives and children were admitted to schools by parental choice in a neighbourhood catchment area. For Middle and Upper schools, where the catchment was broad, parents were allocated places for their children on a 'three-choice' basis (Chapter 4). It will be shown that, in 1977, the Asian children were excluded from this policy of precedence of parents' choice in admission to school, because of their special need as E2L speakers.

The NES Asian children were allocated to Language Centres by a Schools Officer after the English assessment test described above or on name-type alone. The allocation was associated more with bussing routes than with proximity to the centre. Though most infant children were sent to a neighbourhood Infant Centre, Junior and Senior Centres had city-wide catchments. A list of names of children allocated to each Centre would be sent to the Headteacher with a copy of the child's medical report and English assessment [2]. Then parents were notified of the decision and given details, where necessary, of the special bus that would take the child to the Centre [3]. The letter was written in English, but a liaison teacher would visit the home to ensure a degree of communication between home and school.

[1] Comprehensive schooling moves away from this practice as do the recommendations of the Warnock Report (1978) and subsequent Education Act, 1981 (Special Educational Provision).
[2] CBMDC (1977) Form Ref. E7/TR/GB from the Chief Special Services Officer
Careful educational assessment followed allocation, with the child remaining at
the Centre for, on average, three terms and then transferring to school on the
recommendation of the class teacher through the Headteacher. In 1977, it was the
responsibility of the Schools Officer to allocate a school place to the child.
Parents were rarely asked for a preferred school, though siblings were normally
allocated to the same school. I was told:

"Most parents don't realise that the child is being transferred
until the child goes home talking about the new school it has
visited. The letter arrives later, detailing the school and
the bus, if any." Infant Centre Liaison Teacher, February 1979 [1].

Liaison teachers did have some influence on allocation; the teacher quoted,
unofficially asked the parents whether they wanted a local school for their child or
were prepared for the child to be bussed, then personally expedited the preferred
choice through the LEA:

"I ring up the Immigrant Affairs Officer and tell her who is going into
school. I usually manage to place about 25 out of the 70-80 a term. I tell
her if I have any refusals from Headteachers and the reasons and she may
twist their arm. After that she will ring round schools to find out what spare
places are available and allocate the children to these as rationally as
possible."

Infant Centre Liaison Teacher, February 1979 [2]

Some liaison teachers felt, through knowing the schools, that it was not always
in the child’s interest to place him/her in an unwelcoming school and used their
powers of persuasion to avoid this. Pressure on school places in the inner city
was such, however, that this was not always possible.

The Asian children with a competence in English who were placed directly
into school at five were also allocated places by the Schools Officer rather than
through a parent’s application to the Headteacher. At this stage though, even with

[1] Infant Centre Liaison Teacher, February 1979, Information on Centre/School
Allocation of Asian Children, personal information prepared for a CRE
enquiry.
the dispersal policy, they were most likely to gain a place in the local school.

As part of the dispersal policy, Asian children were allocated to Middle and Upper schools on one of the three choices indicated by parents (Chapter 4). A different zoning system was used, however, from that used for non-Asian children, so that proportions of E2L children (as categorised according to Asian-name only) could be controlled at the level of a third of a school's population. The assumption was that all children with Asian names would require special provision and the discriminatory dispersal was thus justified:

"The educational reason for this is to ensure that there is no undue concentration of immigrant pupils in any particular schools. If this were to happen it would seriously affect the particular school's ability to provide the necessary range of options to allow all pupils a balanced education. It is also considered essential for the continued language development of the immigrant pupils that they be placed with larger numbers of indigenous pupils in their Upper schools. All Asian pupils are theoretically subject to the dispersal policy. They are not assessed individually." [1]

This meant that the Asian child was less likely to gain a place in the school of the parents' first choice than the non-Asian child (Figure 3.4) and more likely to have to travel further to school.

**Figure 3.4** Table showing the degree of parental choice obtained in the allocation of children to Upper schools in 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allocation of children to Upper schools as a proportion of the total Upper school allocation</th>
<th>Asian-named</th>
<th>All children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First choice</td>
<td>64.93</td>
<td>86.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second choice</td>
<td>23.07</td>
<td>8.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third choice</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against choice</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CBMDC Directorate of Educational Services, Schools Division

See also letter to Councillor McElroy (Appendix A.4.3).

[1] Letter from the Chief Schools Officer 12.10.1977 in response to questions from Councillor McElroy, Appendix A4.3.
For Asian children, dispersal as well as E2L provision was seen as 'positive action' (Race Relations Act 1976) to meet their 'special educational needs'. While it is accepted educational practice for special schooling provision to be made for 'special educational need', there is also a right of appeal against LEA allocation which few Asian parents understood. Few knew of the right to ask for a pre-allocation test for their children on reaching school age, or in allocation to Middle or Upper school. Asian parents were not encouraged to take up a right of choice of school on transfer from the centre. Making this information widely available and encouraging the uptake would have made the dispersal policy more difficult for the LEA to administer, but it was not really seen as a valid or necessary requirement. Thus for Asian parents, freedom of choice of school places for the children was more limited than that of non-Asian parents, even within the categories of 'special educational need'.

It was accepted LEA practice to make allocations for special educational need only after careful educational assessment of the individual child except in the provision of E2L. As already described, the E2L children entering the school system at five, or coming into the system from outside Bradford, were assessed. Those moving from First to Middle school and from Middle to Upper were not individually assessed but came under the blanket dispersal policy categorised by their Asian name-type. Direction of children to school in this way was, in effect, racially discriminatory under the Race Relations Act 1976.

Headteachers were able to reject a request for an Asian child to be allocated to their school, even where there were places on the roll and/or where siblings were already in the school. Liaison teachers, as the main link between school and home, were aware of this but made themselves party to these discriminatory practices by avoiding 'unwelcoming' schools in admission requests. By colluding with racial prejudice they, with the Schools officers, were perpetuating institutional
racism in the school system.

A preliminary investigation of the situation by the CRE (1978–79) showed up the inadequacies of the dispersal policy and some changes were made. A letter from the LEA Immigrant Affairs Officer, February 1979, acknowledged the importance of respecting parental wishes on allocation from Centre to school. The letter said that where bussing was involved and older siblings were due to leave a non-local school at the end of the school year, then 'it may be possible to try to move children to schools nearer home to avoid bussing expense if parents are willing.' [1] Further adjustments were made for the school year 1979–80 so that, in theory, the dispersal policy applied only to those whose English language required further special provision. Phase two E2L teachers were allocated to the schools according to the number of children needing specialist help and the differential catchment areas were abandoned.

Summary

To summarise, aspects of the procedures for administering the dispersal policy have been shown to be racially discriminatory against blacks, and thus illegal under the 1976 Race Relations Act. For instance, categorisation for registration was by skin colour and allocation to school was made on the grounds of Asian name-type rather than on specific educational grounds. The pre-school medical examination caused inconvenience and sometimes humiliation. It was done more in response to the fears of the white community than for the needs of the immigrants. There was a general devaluing of the culture of the incomers in the approach to language assessment, lack of interpreters, no provision of mother-tongue teaching for E2L children, so that they could be accepted directly into school. These procedures and the value judgements on which they were based, presented a hostile

environment to the immigrants, compounded by the trauma of a language assessment made in the clinic in association with a medical examination, the long wait for allocation to school, the dominant role of white assessors. For the child and his/her parents this would be seen as a further test of fitness to join the white society, probably following on from extended immigration procedures in the Indian sub-continent. Subsequently, the limitations on the black parent's right to choose a school for his child compared with that of a white parent, in order to meet the LEA requirement of dispersal, extends the racial discrimination.

It would have been simpler to send all children of school age arriving from overseas to a reception centre, an aid to culture shock anyway, and select out from there those who were already equipped for mainstream school. This would have involved no sense of failure or inferiority and give the Centre a neutral status. Children speaking English as a second language and born in Bradford would be better served by multiracial nurseries.

The allocation policy was called in question as racist under the 1976 race Relations Act by the Commission for Racial Equality since it was administered on grounds of Asian name rather than educational need [1]. A proportional limit of Asian children in schools had been more a demonstration of the existence of racial prejudice than effective positive action to satisfy educational need.

---

[1] Since 1979 the LEA has amended its policy considerably. Choice forms have been introduced at the point of children leaving language centres. In 1980-81, 85-90% of children were able to go to the school of their parents' choice. Bussing was phased out to end in 1984. More simplified arrangements were made for the registration of E2L children, with parents enrolling their children at the nearest Language Centre, or asking for a pre-entry English test. Children coming into the city from overseas or from another area in the UK were still sent to the clinic, possibly to have a medical and language assessment test, prior to allocation to school. Parents were informed of these new arrangements through the local Press (Telegraph and Argus, 27.11.80) and through Area Health Authority clinics and local cultural organisations.
The procedures were devised to implement a dispersal policy that was intended to be 'positive action' for the advantage of black children and young people. The goodwill of the LEA was plain through its willingness to adjust the detail of the policy where racism was pointed out and ultimately to perceive the in-built racism of the whole policy in the context and abandon it. The initial tinkering with the policy, including white as well as black immigrants in the registration procedure for instance, on the whole undermined and compounded any injustice rather than reduced it.

The practice of dispersal itself, facilitated through 'bussing', and its effect on children in school will be described in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 12  THE BUSSING OF CHILDREN IN IMPLEMENTING THE
DISPERSAL POLICY AND ITS EFFECTS, FROM
OBSERVATIONS IN TWO FIRST SCHOOLS

In order to maintain the dispersal policy, Asian children were allocated to
schools away from their neighbourhood and transported to them by special bus. In
1977, there were 24 special buses, carrying 1,672 children to 70 schools [1]. Most
of these children were under nine years old, about a quarter of the Asians in the
age group. Other Asian children were travelling to Middle and Upper School by
service bus with, or without, a free pass. It has been shown that initially all
'immigrants' were liable for bussing but that under changing public opinion and
CRE pressure the requirement was applied more selectively to children needing
extra E2L support from 1979 (Chapter 10).

As the areas of highest immigrant settlement in the city were the three inner
wards (Manniningham, University and Little Horton), the bussing was from inner to
outer city. The journey was rarely more than three miles, though as each bus
called at a number of schools, it might take up to an hour [2].

Bussing is a term that has come to be used, in the context of schooling, to
describe the controlled movement of children by specially chartered buses, from
areas of social and educational 'deprivation' to more advantaged areas [3]. The
aim is to spread the children from these areas more evenly around the schools.
In this way, the disadvantaged child is to receive the extra social and educational
help that he is seen to require to give equality of opportunity in society with his

report of the situation in November 1977, p.9.
[2] e.g. a bus left Green Lane at 8.45am for Daisy Hill Middle School, Haworth
Road First school and Sandy Lane First school, stopping to pick up more
children on Lumb Lane, at Fairfield Garage on Toller Lane, Kensington
Street and Duckworth Lane. The journey of four miles took about 40
minutes.
[3] In Boston, USA, an attempt was also made to move children from
advantaged areas to disadvantaged ones to complement the movement out of
deprived children and to ensure a social mix.
more advantaged peers.

It happens to Roman Catholic children who, at their parents' wish, are collected by special bus from the age of five from a wide catchment area to attend RC schools. It happens to the children of well-to-do parents who are collected from Baildon by special bus to attend the independent Bradford Girls' Grammar School. It happens to village children who are provided with a special bus to take them to a central school. In these situations, it may be regretted but it is accepted. In Bradford it was practiced to move children from the areas of social and educational deprivation. It happened that these were also areas of high concentration of 'black' settlement, that bussing was across a colour line. It was seen as a method of contriving racial integration and reacted to with anger and overt violence by some parents and their children, black and white. In the UK and USA the term 'bussing' now carries a negative value connotation.

In Bradford, the term 'bussing' was avoided officially, though the movement was, in practice, across a generalised class and colour line in respect of the population settlement. I shall argue that this movement placed physical and emotional difficulties on the Asian child that could not be justified by the educational outcome.

The Physical and Emotional Impact of Bussing for the Asian Child

The LEA provided supervision on a special bus for any child under the age of twelve allocated to a Centre or 'Special school' outside the home area. To help the NES children, these buses were marked with special symbols, as well as numbers or letters, for identification. For instance, one bus had a 'black ball' in the window! However, the hundreds of small Asian children that waited each morning for their special bus still had the trauma of distance from home, the weather, hazards of the road and, occasionally, the fact that buses did not turn up, to contend with:
"...on Duckworth Lane they were waiting with their mothers or fathers, smaller brothers and sisters in the fog for the 9.00am bus to come. Again opposite the flats in Green Lane they were waiting in groups, as every morning at the respective pick-up points ... the bus with the white ball or the blue ball .... Mothers wave them off. One child runs down the middle of the road after the bus she has missed. It waits for her at the junction. Senior citizens (guides) usher their charges onto another bus. A tearful child clutches a bag of crisps in one hand and her mother in another. Others play on the low wall, jumping up and down." 22.9.1976.

"The snow is very deep around Green Lane school; drifted up into knife-edged dunes and floating in swathes across the road. The special buses are picking up on the main road. Muffled huddles of little children stomp through deep piles of snow to avoid the spray from skidding cars. The elderly guides hover anxiously. The buses have not come and the local school bells have gone already." 16.3.1979.

"Yesterday morning the bus which picks up immigrant children ... failed to turn up ... These young kids, tiny frail things, most of them only about five, were kept waiting in the cold for the best part of an hour before their escort sensibly sent them home at twenty past nine. One immigrant parent, however, paid for a taxi to take his child to school."

Councillor Mahon, 6.1.1977 Telegraph and Argus.

Sometimes the special buses were diverted to 'more important' assignments:

"Silver Jubilee Visit to Elland Road, Leeds, 13th July
As many Heads will know, HM the Queen will be visiting Elland Road on 13th July. 9,000 children from Middle schools in the District are to be transported to Elland Road for the event and this will inevitably put great strain on the normal bus services operated by the PTE. In view of this Schools Panel have agreed the following arrangements for that day:—
First and Primary schools — will remain open as usual. However, there will be no special immigrant buses running on that day." 13.6.1977 Newsletter to Schools.

Sometimes the children arrived late at the pick-up point and missed the bus. Of 37 children interviewed at an inner city Middle school [1], half could remember going on a bus to First school; of these, five were confident that they never missed the bus, the rest said that they would walk to school or try to catch a service bus if they did. Several of these children (and several of the younger

[1] See questionnaire (Appendix A4.5). The interview was given to all children who heard a mother tongue other than English at home, including East Europeans, at the outer city First and Middle schools and to the 8-9 and 9-10 age groups respectively at the inner city First and Middle Schools.
children interviewed at the outer city First school [1]) volunteered the opinion that their parents would be very cross if they did miss the bus, so walking was preferable to confession. At the outer city First school, of the 47 children interviewed, 22 said that they would try to get to school by walking (1–3 miles), by car or by service bus. It was clear that special bus transport to school out of the neighbourhood was an obstacle to attendance, though not an excuse for absenteeism.

Figure 3.5 uses data from the school registers of the inner and outer city First schools studied for the two school years 1975–76 and 1976–77 [2]. The data shows the absences recorded for the children according to name-type category, with the 'bus children' isolated as a separate group, set against an average total of children in each group across the two-year period [3]. This will give an estimate of the relative numerical importance of the absences on the total school roll [4].

[2] Permission was obtained from the Chief Schools Officer, 29.12.1976 (Appendix A4.6) and the two Headteachers concerned.
[3] Absences were marked in half days (school sessions) but totalled here as days. A bus child missing the bus would probably have missed a whole day of school, especially the younger children.
[4] Figure 3.5 shows the possible number of days attendance at the two schools in the two years by pupils. The fluctuation in the number of pupils has been accounted for on a termly basis, therefore the total number of possible attendances is generalised and inflated to a small extent, while the actual number of absences is accurate. Absences were discounted:
a. where pupils were marked with several weeks absence and then noted as 'left'.
b. where it was obvious from notes in the register, name type and length of absence that the child had gone for a protracted visit to Pakistan or India.
c. where prolonged hospitalisation would have biased the statistic (one case).
d. where pupils were starting several days late at the beginning of their schooling at the request of the school.
Absences were not discounted:
a. for religious holidays in term time (Muslim children in particular).
b. for 'summer holidays' in term time (white British children). A more precise analysis would have required the study of absence notes etc. which were not available. I am confident that the statistic thus presented gives a fair picture of the situation.
Figure 3.5 Table showing the distribution of days' absence from and attendance at two city First schools according to the school attended, the name-type of the pupil and whether the pupils are local or 'bussed' children, in the school years 1975–76 and 1976–77 (totalled)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Years 1975–77</th>
<th>Inner city First</th>
<th>Outer city First</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local AN pupils</td>
<td>Local NAN pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local AN pupils</td>
<td>Local 'Bussed' AN pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Row totals</td>
<td>Row totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absences fe</td>
<td>4739.94</td>
<td>5809.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>798.29</td>
<td>1382.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.09</td>
<td>34.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>267.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>130.03</td>
<td>13412.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.09</td>
<td>12.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.09</td>
<td>12.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50320</td>
<td>61535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8498</td>
<td>14143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14751.33</td>
<td>143095.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50519.05</td>
<td>61979.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8516.71</td>
<td>14751.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143095.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55,309</td>
<td>67,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,315</td>
<td>16,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>156,508</td>
<td>305,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ^2 = 486.96  DF = 4  P = <0.001

A comparison of the observed and expected data shows that the association between absence and name type according to school attended is, in this instance, highly significant. The Asian children who were bussed to the outer city First school were absent 12% of the time, significantly more often than expected and more often than their Asian peers at the inner city First school. This was despite the fact that the absence rate was higher overall at the inner city school. The local Asian children at both schools show a similar absence rate.

Figure 3.6, showing the absence rate for the categories as percentages, points up a particular difference in the non-Asian local populations. The higher absence rate of the NAN category at the inner city school can be related to the working class nature of the catchment, while the particularly low absence rate of this
category at the outer city school relates to its middle class catchment. The bus children were being transported into a very different neighbourhood from their own.

Figure 3.6 Table showing a relative absence rate for each category of school pupil (as in Figure 3.5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Years</th>
<th>Inner city First</th>
<th>Outer city First</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-77</td>
<td>Local pupils</td>
<td>Local 'Bussed' pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pupils</td>
<td>pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence Rate</td>
<td>9.02%</td>
<td>8.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.23%</td>
<td>12.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This loss of school time through absence represents a considerable educational disadvantage for the Asian children bussed out of their neighbourhood.

Further, the Asian children are more likely to have absences from school in frequent, short (1–3 half-days) spells. Figure 3.7 shows the absence pattern of one age group at the two schools for the two years. The observed data for the Asian children is inflated by absences for the religious festival of Eid that occurred during term time [1], but even allowing for this factor, it can be seen that the Asian children lost many odd days of schooling, especially the bus children (11.5 incidents per child compared with 5 incidents per child overall).

Bussing reduced the flexibility of the social situation in which the child was placed in relation to school. A child could miss the bus, or the bus could come late and the child would return home tired of waiting, and so a whole day of

[1] In the year 1975-76 the holiday fell on October 7th. At the inner city school all of the 112 Asian children recorded as being on the school roll were absent on that day. At the outer city school, 23 of the 45 Asian children were absent. Some of the bus children and some of the local Asian children were not Muslim and would not be celebrating Eid. In 1977-78 it fell on December 2nd. At the inner city school 127 of the 140 Asian children were absent. At the outer city school 40 of the 68 Asian children were not in school on that day.
school would be missed unless alternative transport were available. A mother would be more likely to keep a child at home who was unwilling to go to school, or was not completely well, if there were a long journey involved, where a local child could be taken to school late. Frequently, Asian children, especially the boys, were kept at home to act as interpreter for their mother for a visit to the clinic, the doctor, or to some local authority office. For this, a child going to a local school might miss half a day but a bus child would miss the whole day as there was no special provision for bussing in the middle of the day. Again the bus child was placed at an educational disadvantage compared with local children. Furthermore, the teacher could begin to build up an image of the child as unreliable or disinterested in school if frequent absences were recorded.

Figure 3.7 Table showing a pattern of absences according to their duration in half days of one age group of children (4+ to 6+) through the two school years 1975–76 and 1976–77 at two city First schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absence pattern in half days 1975–77</th>
<th>Inner City First</th>
<th>Outer City First</th>
<th>Row</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Local.</td>
<td>AN Local.</td>
<td>AN Local. AN 'bus'. NAN local. Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NAN Local.</td>
<td>NAN Local.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in each category (2 years totalled)</td>
<td>(20) (634)</td>
<td>(26) (522)</td>
<td>(4) (91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(128)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(8) (472)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(42) (920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(180)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(35) (2639)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(194)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(119)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(37) (906)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(68)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(821)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(45) (435)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Incidents</td>
<td>(896)</td>
<td>(129)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(686)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1448)</td>
<td>(1448)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3980)</td>
<td>(3980)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in percentages, based on number of observed incidents (in parentheses)
To add to these absences was the regular loss of school time at the beginning and end of the school day, where the bus child had to accommodate to the school and bus timetable. At the outer city First school studied, the school day started with a bell at 9.00am. The bus children were rarely there to hear it. The following are typical excerpts from my research diary:

"Day 1
The 'bus children' arrived at 9.00am. 6.9.1976.
Day 2
Got into the class before the bell went. Children came in, one with mother with a query. Talks to teacher. Register taken. Sweets collected. Writing books got out to do copy writing. 9.07 bus children arrive - Reis, Nazra, Changaz, Zakia, Mazhar - dinner money in, books out ..." 7.9.1976.
Day 3
Arrived at 9.05am with the bus children. The other children had already entered class. Mr —— did not register the class until all had arrived. 8.9.1976
Day 4
9.00am marking the register done by Mr ——; Mr —— in a year Head's meeting. 9.05am Dinner money taken. Iqbal arrives and Shahida. Zulfecar absent? Mrs —— takes a group for phonics, including Sami. 9.10 Zulfecar arrives and goes to join Mrs ——." 9.9.1976

Sometimes the bus was much later than it had been during this particular week.

Perhaps more important than the actual amount of school time these children were missing was the way in which the lateness accentuated their difference. Frequently, the school day was clearly underway on their arrival. In three of the four classes described, major class business - taking the register, dinner money collection - had been completed. At one of the outer city First schools, the Headteacher took account of this and ensured that any corporate class activity, including the school Assembly, did not begin until the bus children were in class, but the Headteacher in the particular school of my study was unprepared to accommodate the children in this way.

At the end of the day, the bus children missed time again. The bell for the end of the day rang at 3.30pm but the bus could be waiting for the children any
time between about 3.20pm and 3.45pm, having to collect children from another
First school too, and then from a Middle school later. Each time the call for the
bus children [1] came in the classes I was observing, it interrupted a favourite part
of the school day - storytime. The following observations were typical:

"Day 1 Class A
Storytime - Dr Seuss 'The Cat in the Hat', Sameer's favourite, he chose. All the Asian children (4) sat in a group in rapt attention... In Mrs —'s class, the call came at 3.23pm: 'Bus children please' and Jasvinder dashed out. By the time I followed him 33 children were lined up by the gate, with a Nursery Nurse in charge - all Asian except for two West Indian sisters. They then waited for five minutes for the bus to arrive. They were supervised on the bus by a driver and an elderly couple. The bus went off to — First school, did not appear to pick up children from — Middle School, and was at — Middle to pick up waiting, unaccompanied children at 3.40pm. (The — Middle school bell goes at 4.00pm). 6.9.1976

Day 2 Class B
Storytime. Very ably conducted. The story of the sparrow, the elephant and the crocodile. Call for the bus children came at 3.20pm just before the final climax of the story. Children from other classes had been collecting outside since 3.15pm. The bus arrived at 3.25pm. 7.9.1976

Day 3 Class C
Storytime - 'The owl that was afraid of the dark'. Noel is chattering and not listening ... very disruptive child. 3.15 bus call. Three file out (Asian). The class continued with a discussion of constellations and then the final chapter of 'The owl...'. 3.43pm The bus returned past the school gate after picking up from — First school. 8.9.1976

Day 4 Class D
Storytime, 2.30pm. Nadeem (a hyperactive child who has a short concentration span) rushing around, bumps into another child, who cries. Nadeem is reprimanded, so he retires to his chair to suck his thumb. Decide to do music together with Class C. Nadeem and Nasir went to sit with Iqbal and Zulfegar although that was the side of the cupboards that most of the girls went. Nasir joined in the singing but Nadeem disrupted the concentration of Iqbal and Zulfegar ... Mr — had to go for a staff meeting so the children went back to their respective classes for a story. 3.15: call for the bus children. Nadeem has been sitting quietly prepared to listen to the story. 9.9.1976.

Day 5
Bus-time. It was waiting for the children at 3.20pm. They were hurried up."

In that week, the bus children had been called out of class, on average ten
minutes before the end of the school day. While the total amount of time missed
was small, in aggregate over the year it was considerable. For the Middle

[1] This call had formerly been 'immigrant children', but was changed through some sensitivity to the racial connotations and the inaccuracy of the term.
school children, whose school day finished at 4.00pm and who were collected at 3.30pm, the time loss was greater. Again, it was not merely the time loss that was of educational importance to the children, but the quality of the time lost in terms of classroom activity. These children were missing the corporate activities of the school day, a factor that could contribute to their being and feeling outsiders in the situation. Educationally and emotionally, storytime was an activity that the E2L child could least afford to miss, since it was a time for the teacher, through story, to familiarise the children with new words that would in time become part of their oral and written vocabulary.

On special occasions this early leaving could be particularly unfortunate. At the Christmas party (15.12.1976) at the outer city First school, for instance, excitement grew towards the climax when Father Christmas arrived at the end of the day. The children were assembled in the Hall for the occasion and their names were called out one by one to receive a present. Bus children fidgetted anxiously, one eye on the clock, as the time ticked by and their name had not been called. Their presents were given out in a final rush as bus time was called. Or on Sports Day at the school (14.7.1977), when the final event was a 'flat' race in which everyone competed and everyone received a chewy toffee as a prize. By the time the race was called, the bus children had gone. They had been ushered off to queue for the bus at 3.05pm, climbed on it and watched this final event from the bus windows before they were eventually borne away on their journey.

The bus children were at a further disadvantage to local children in the school in that they were often denied the opportunity of partaking in extra-curricular activities, frequently timetabled after the end of the school day. Their parents were less likely to be involved in school activities, because of the distance from school, or available when needed if a child was sick at school.

The term 'bus children', though racially neutral, was not so in practice but
stood for the stereotyped image of the 'dark stranger' (Peterson, 1963) who came late, went early, and was often missing from school. In the eyes of the teachers and non-teaching staff of the school, it could become a generalisation that was applied to all black children in the school and thus was not used neutrally:

"We have over 70 bus children now, you know – because we have the room..." Headteacher. Outer city First School. 9.3.1977

At the time this was said to me, there were 40 Asian children attending the particular school by special bus [1]. There were, however, about 70 black children in the school, including the children of local Asian and West Indian parents.

Bus children were seen as those that differed in dress, language, religion, diet and social customs from the 'normal'. They were identifiable by their skin colour and categorised by this even where other differences did not coincide, as we found when our own newly fostered eight-year-old of Asian parentage, Peter [2], started as a new boy at the outer city First school studied. The children mistook his speech impediment for a foreign language. Non-teaching staff shepherded him out of class early with the bus children and gave him school meals without the meat on them [3]. Teachers were generally unaware that there might be difficulties in relationships arising from this stereotyping. This incident with the Headteacher on the first day demonstrates:

Peter's first day at school
"Accompanied Peter ... to school. Agreed with the Headteacher that Peter should go into class G ... five minutes after arriving — came to say that some boys (white, middle class) were calling Peter 'nigger'. Told them to take no notice as it was a very silly and unkind way of greeting a new boy. Reported the matter to his class teacher ... he said he had never heard it in school. Remarked to the Headteacher on the way out and in the hearing of the boys that had been taunting 'And we don't want any of this name-calling, do we ?' She looked bemused and when I explained, said 'Oh, but that sort of thing doesn't happen here' and then 'Fancy them calling one of your children that when they know that you have had others the same'."

26.4.1976 Outer city First school.

[1] The number was increased but not until the summer term.
[2] Peter was born of an Indian mother, but brought up in Local Authority care until we adopted him in 1977.
[3] School meal provision for Muslim children, see Chapter 15.
During my period of observation I noticed black children in the school were subjected to subtle harrassment from the other children. The staff appeared to ignore this but, in fact, were unaware of its happening.

To explain what was happening I described the following incident observed to the class teacher in whose class, with her presence, it had occurred:

Class F: milk time
"An Asian boy and a white boy were chosen to give out the milk. The Asian boy hesitated at one table as the boys (white) refused milk, and gave to Adiba — these boys later accepted milk from a white boy. The Asian boy tried another table, giving milk to the white boy in green. He pushed it across to another who returned it again, whereupon Jason said, 'Take it. Pakis are just the same as people.' Green jumper child reluctantly accepted it, pulling a face, and carefully wiped the bottle, an action copied by two others on the table with 'Paki-contaminated' bottles. A discussion ensued, low key, for some minutes as to whether there were dangerous germs on the bottle. Eventually, Jason said 'When I give out milk with a Paki, I shan't give you any and then you'll have to take it from him.' 7.9.1976

Her response was to disbelieve me. With the Head's permission, I issued a general request to the staff for them to tell me of any racial incidents or comments of which they had been aware in the school. I received only one report [1]. The Headteacher was very defensive and no encouragement was given to clarity of observation. No problems were allowed to surface. Passing me in the corridor, the Head said:

"I hope the work is going well and that you are getting some positive results. They (the bus children) are integrating well, aren't they." Headteacher, Outer city first school. 9.9.1976

This defensiveness of professionals confronted with racism was unfortunate since positive action could have begun to break down the racial prejudice that young children acquire from society and to build more realistic and harmonious

[1] The incident reported involved my own adopted daughter (Pakistani father), who had been seen to 'blow on the milk straws given out by a Pakistani boy, to get rid of the Paki germs'. I reported this in an article published by The Guardian 24.11.1978, along with more general comment on teachers' limited awareness of the issue of racism, bias in teaching resources etc. and was immediately challenged with a libel action through the NUT, although the school was unnamed.
relationships for those who are to live together in the cities of the future. Even in the 'forbidding' social situation of this school I was able to stimulate intergroup co-operation and positive integration with little effort:

Dinnertime
"I 'played out' first, waiting to go to third dinners with Rita. Was immediately joined by an Asian girl (bus) and some children who had been in Toddlers Club. They began to play horse. I showed them how to do wheelbarrows and they copied, changing partners and mixing Asian and white. The group and the excitement grew and as the boys joined in, they developed a more physical game with me – Cowboys and Indians, stabbing me. Next the group formed into 'Ring-a-ring-a-roses' and from that into 'Farmer's in the dell'. I followed. An increasingly large circle of children was involved until practically the whole playground was joined in. Eventually the Asian children were choosing the white and vice-versa. We were saved by the bell ... for dinners 1. The staff had been looking out (from the dining room)."

Outer city First school. 10.9.1976

The co-operation required an aware catalyst, gently inviting mutual respect for persons by giving it (good Primary school practice). With defences and stereotypes down in the joy of play, an idyll of racial harmony ensued ... for a few moments. The hope of the bussing policy was that this kind of happening would become habitual through contact of the groups. Without the teacher awareness of racism, this was a false hope and in fact, intergroup education through contact was far more effective in the inner city First school where all the children were local, as a comparison of a day in the life of the inner and outer city First schools studied will demonstrate.

The Learning Environment: A 'Day' in the Life of a First School. 1976

The following descriptions were based on field work observations but are composite to the extent that the observations made were from more than one day [1]. The aim was to invoke an impression of the school that went beyond statistical analysis to the import of the situation in which the Asian children find themselves and that breathed life into the institution.

In addition both schools were seen in action on regular visits.
The Inner City School
"We treat the children as individuals here" Headteacher

The school is in the area of highest concentration of Pakistani settlement in the city and caters for five to nine year olds. It is in a large Gothic-style stone building, opened as part of the Bradford School Board plans to cope with the rapid increase of population at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1902 it was the show-school of the city. In 1976, the building stands as firm and vast as ever, housing an Infant Centre downstairs and the First School at ground level on a site that slopes steeply down to the mills, and then the shops of the city centre.

The external appearance is daunting. The building has high windows. It is surrounded by high railings. A tall boiler chimney belches smoke down on the children chattering in the yard on a dull November morning. Across the street queues of more chattering children wait impatiently with their mothers or older brothers for the special buses that will take them to their designated schools on the outskirts of the city.

The roads are busy and the air heavy with petrol fumes, but the greyness of the area is just relieved by an occasional tree and the somewhat incongruous adjunct to the school of a stark, green field that provides a summer play area. (Young scholars can be seen on a fair day circulating the field with a waste bin, picking up paper, coke cans and broken glass, to ensure that their schoolmates can enjoy the grassy patch in reasonable safety when the sun does break through between the flats and the chimneys. Their reward will be a boiled sweet from a large bottle in the cupboard behind the Headteacher's desk!)

At 'in time' the children clatter up the stone steps and issue into a vast echoing hall. They diverge from the mass and disappear into doors at intervals around the hall's perimeter. The walls of the hall are adorned gaily with patterns, paintings and 'best writing'. The lofty dark blue ceiling fades into light blue walls and is crossed by white rafters, to which climbing ropes are looped. The platform of boxes at one end is almost hidden behind a profusion of potted plants. The atmosphere is warm and happy.

The children, this time in orderly lines, re-emerge and converge for Assembly, in a sea of faces shaded from pallid pink to deepest ebony. Most wear long trousers, shirts and jumpers or bright shalwar and kameze. A few wear grey short trousers or 'school skirts'. There are about 300 children on the roll, all of them born in this country. The parents of six of them come from India, 114 from Pakistan, and 32 from the West Indies. Just under 50% of the children are from indigenous British families [1].

The children sing:

"Morning has broken, like the first morning,
Blackbird has spoken, like the first bird..."

[1] Such an analysis is always an approximation to the reality, since there are many movements in and out of a particular school. The population of the inner city school was particularly variable. From September 1975 to July 1976, for instance, 123 children were admitted to the school and 61 children left to go to other schools (excluding the two classes of nine year olds who left for Middle school).
They sing with enthusiasm, except for those in the front row who do not know the words and those in the back row who are more interested in other things. The Headteacher impressed upon them the need for caring for one another:

"Who has younger brothers and sisters in the school?.. Three were left behind yesterday at the end of the day, uncollected."

They are asked to care for their possessions, and for the buildings by wiping their feet:

"What are mats for? ... Come up here Julie and tell everyone."

The Headteacher announced a giant jumble sale to be held in school. The children clapped and cheered ... it meant new clothes for many of them. The children file out again.

The nineteen teachers are dedicated and enthusiastic in their support of the school, for all its problems. The school structure shows an awareness of the particular social and educational needs of the children it must care for. Nine out of the eleven teachers asked [1] had been to extra training courses, designed to inform them of cultural differences in the home life of the children and about the special educational needs of children with English as a second language. Two teachers are involved solely in giving language support and extra help with reading to the children who need it. One of the probationer teachers was herself a Pakistani immigrant educated in Bradford. One class functioning as a transit class for six to eight year olds, caters for children whose English still needs extra attention and also for those who are having difficulties in coping socially with school life.

Teaching methods varied from teacher to teacher, but the work is geared to individual standards of achievement, though presented fairly formally in some classes. The basic teaching aid is the workcard, designed to suit the child's age and ability. One set of work cards had pictures of Pakistani mothers, fathers and children to illustrate the task. The emphasis is on attainment of literacy, with readers about Peter and Jane, Janet and John, that have served generations as they falter through phonics. They are still serving a more varied clientele. The dog-eared library books can be found in any school, anywhere in the country.

The classes vary in size. The younger children are socialised to school in classes of about twenty. The older children are taught more formally in classes of thirty-six. A positive effort is made to affirm rather than ignore a child in his difference, on an individual rather than a group basis. The Headteacher said:

"We treat the children as individuals here. It is you people, doing this sort of thing (research in Peace Studies) who force us to separate them out into types."

At midday the hall is transformed by long dining tables. In the building...
which provided the first Schools Meals Service in the country, about 190 children and their teachers sit down to eat together. Eighty of the children eat a non-meat meal and 110 of them eat a meat meal; 90 of them get it free. A hyperactive, chattery, eight year old called Trevor described the dinner time procedure:

"You line up in the hall and the teacher calls out 'All those who like meat' and they go and get their dinner. Then he calls out 'All those who like egg' and they go."

The meat-eaters were soon off to collect their ham and potatoes. This group included some Asian boys in a hurry to be out to play. The egg-eaters meanwhile were sitting in rows on the floor. Intermittent scuffles broke out as one line invaded another. Most of the Asian children were in this group, though many white children seemed to prefer egg too and sat waiting – sometimes to be with a friend.

After dinner, the children explode out to play in a raucous rabble. The boys play 'cops and robbers' or football, the girls skip or run. They choose friends of their own sex rather than with regard to ethnicity [1]. The Pakistani boys or girls were more likely to be seen in distinct groups, calling to one another in Punjabi; relaxing from the demand to speak English in school. The children respond readily to the warmth and interest of caring adults. The 'dinner ladies' each trail a dozen children as they parade the playground, the timid ones sticking closely to them throughout playtime. The conversationalists come, chatter with Yorkshire accents whatever the colour of their skin, or source of their ethnic roots, and move away again.

The afternoon at school is free and relaxed. The younger children paint, make themselves sticky with glue and boxes, dress up, play games. The teacher is informally in control. The most popular corner of the classroom is the Wendy House, with its cooker, pots and pans, dolls. Black and white children play together.

And yet – the rooms in which this idyllic scene of racial harmony is enacted, emptied of children an hour later, will be indistinguishable from any other classroom in the whitest suburbs of the City. There was a black doll in most of the Wendy houses, but more white dolls. There was a saucepan, but no chapatti griddle; a top hat but no turban. There were many books with pictures of white children, few with brown.

The teachers said:

"Well yes, but there are few suitable ones on the market. They're difficult to obtain. We've no money."

Occasionally they said:

"Well yes, I hadn't thought of it like that."

[1] cf. A Henderson (1973) A sociometric study of ethnic integration and choice of friends in some Bradford schools. Grouping according to sex was seen to predominate over that of colour at Primary school.
As mothers waited outside the school gate, and as the older children remembered to collect their younger brothers and sisters at 3.30pm, playmates from the outer city schools were climbing into their special buses. Their mothers and brothers were just getting ready to come out to fetch them home.

The Outer City School

"Pakis are just the same as people." An eight-year-old boy.

This school, on the residential rim of the city, with 'highly desirable residences' to the north and a high status Metropolitan Council housing area to the south of its site, is within strolling distance of farms and of a magnificent view of the Aire Valley. It too caters for five to nine year olds, but a nursery class is included in the complex of single-storey, flat-roofed buildings. This nursery class prepares the children to be passed into the main school.

The school building, a light, airy brick construction dating from 1937, has been added to through the years as more private housing has been developed in the area. A series of prefabricated classrooms has gradually encroached on the ample grassy surround to the school. New wet weather playgrounds have been laid down, but a long railed field remains, adequate to accommodate the 560 children, their parents, siblings and friends, with room to spare, on Sports Day.

At five to nine, well-dressed white mothers with toddlers and prams converge on the school from all directions. They linger a while, gossiping, as their off, Vring, neat in skirts and white socks or in short grey trousers, respond to the bell. A school uniform is prescribed, but few wear it. The mothers turn to look as the bus arrives. Thirty-two children tumble out, the girls with bright shalwar under their anoraks and the boys in smart long trousers.

The classrooms are warm and gay, the walls adorned with art work. The children come in and settle down with their writing books while their teacher is talking with a mother. The register is called. Dinner money is collected. The bus children come in. Their classmates look up and down again to the copy writing they are doing. The newcomers look around, acknowledge their presence to the teacher, and follow suit.

It was 10.15am, before the two small West Indian girls arrived. They had missed the bus and walked three miles out of the city. These two had been admitted to the school (following several older sisters) at their parents' request and were allowed the special concession of using the free bus since they were aiding the dispersal policy. They come smartly dressed in school uniform.

There have always been a few local children who give this school a sprinkling of brown faces. Asian families who have settled in the adjacent owner-occupier estate, show much interest in and enthusiasm for their children's education. They visit the school on open days, for the Sports Day, for the Harvest Festival. This has only recently become a school to which children have been dispersed in any number. Of the children categorised as 'immigrant' within the school, twenty-four are from the neighbourhood, with parents from the West Indies (4), India (9), East Africa (4) and Pakistan (9). Apart from the two West Indian girls, all the bus children are Asian, three having Indian, and the rest Pakistani parents.

There are no bus children in the Nursery, or in the Reception classes in the
school. The Centres cater for them. Most of them have come from the Centres into the school at seven. Since June 1976, an extra part-time teacher has been employed at the school to teach English to the children who speak it as a second language. Up till then the E2L children had had to compete for time, in the normal classroom situation and with an average class of thirty.

The 'immigrant teacher' (teacher of E2L) withdraws small groups of Asian children from their classes during the morning, to give them intensive language practice. She has her own base in the cloakroom vestibule of a classroom block, fitted out with shelves for her equipment, and tables and chairs. The 'reading teacher' too withdraws small groups but she goes round to visit the classes.

The 'immigrant teacher's' first class files in, eight seven year olds. Some of them climb over the tables to reach vacant chairs, knocking coats and shoe bags off the hooks as they go. The lessons are short, sharp and fun; games and pictures to widen vocabulary. The teacher uses a large scrapbook of pictures to stimulate conversation:

"What are they doing?"
"They're eating their breakfast."
"What are they eating?"
"They're eating cornflakes."
"Oh, now! What are they wearing?"

An isolated picture of Indian ladies in saris causes embarrassed giggles. (Perhaps the children are so used to the norm of pictures of Peter and Jane, Janet and John, and cornflakes to illustrate lessons that this intrusion is anachronistic: perhaps they recognise the picture for what it is — a take-off of India under the British Raj in the guise of a tea advertisement! Perhaps the giggles were because the children were all of Pakistani parents and the sari is foreign dress to them in any case). The teacher looks nonplussed. She says:

"Pictures of their sort are so hard to come by."

Several of the twenty-two teachers at this school were graduates, unusual for a First school staff. Of the fifteen questioned [1], five had first degrees. Only three of them had been on courses subsequent to their training that dealt with a teacher's problems in a multiracial city, and five of them said that their college training had given them courses to create awareness of the special needs of children being schooled in a multiracial community.

The teaching is enthusiastic, talented, relatively free and informal. The school is exceptionally well provided with educational resources. A sponsored Litter Collection and School Clean-Up Campaign for school funds "urgently needed" raised £217.47, enough to buy a stone polisher among other things. The attainment of the children is high, the social class intake is high. The headteacher is an enthusiastic modern mathematician and puts an emphasis on numeracy, which she encourages her staff to share.

[1] At the outer city First school, the 22 staff (including two part-timers and the Head) were invited to respond to the questionnaire op.cit. Appendix A4.7. 15 did so.
At midday the school becomes a chaos of children going in all directions, some for their coats to go home, some to 'play out', others to queue outside the dining room for 'first dinners'. The dining accommodation is extremely cramped for such a large school. The school kitchen staff produce about 370 meals a day. As the queue files in, the 'dinner lady' takes out the Asian children and puts them one at each side of the long tables, by the centre gangway. This 'makes it easier for the servers to give them a dinner without meat' (that is, with the meat left off, just vegetables). Today it is egg salad for all and the exercise is superfluous, but happens nonetheless. Wahida eats her dinner in silence, never looking up from her plate, except to sneak a look round at her big sister further down the room. The other children chatter noisily, dropping into silence once to thank the Lord for their food.

After dinner, these children 'play out' while others take their places at the tables. Saira and Wahida reunite and wander round the playground hand in hand. Other small Asian girls circulate in ones and twos. The Asian bus boys form a rowdy gang, charging across the playground in a mock attack — on no-one in particular — back and forth. Other children play in small school class groups, girls with girls and boys with boys on the whole.

The bell goes and the children surge back into afternoon school. Again, the routine is free and relaxed, painting, modelling, dressing up. The black doll does not seem to be part of the normal Wendy House equipment at this school.

After playtime, the children gather on the floor, around the teacher's chair, for perhaps the happiest time of the day in a First school. The story this time is of "The Owl who was Afraid of the Dark". The children are transfixed as the teacher squawks, fizzes and gesticulates his way through a chapter about fireworks and stars. At 3.15pm a Welfare Assistant pokes her head round the door and calls "Bus children". Three get up and file out. The class continues with their discussion of constellations and then goes on to listen to the final chapter of the book.

By the time the bell went at 3.30pm, the bus children were on the special bus, in the care of two elderly guides, and on their way to collect more children from another school. By the time I reached home, fifteen minutes later, the same bus was passing our gate. From both decks hands waved in delight. Mothers or older brothers will be waiting to pick the children up at the inner city dropping points in half an hour.

The teachers said:
"It gives them a chance to learn the ways of the country they are living in."

At the inner city school, with the minority group children in the majority, relaxed, racially-mixed friendship groups were formed. While children often showed preference for those with whom they identified culturally, there was no obvious exclusion of children through ethnic or racial difference. Living and working together consolidated friendships.
At the outer city school, while there was mixing of local Asian and white children, the bus children were separate and there was a greater tendency for racial division. Prejudice was overt, if unintentional, demonstrated both in the children ("Pakis are just the same as people") and in the teachers ("Pictures of their sort are so hard to come by"), even in the positive efforts to counteract it. Bussed out of their neighbourhood, the Asian children arrived as "dark strangers", readily stereotyped as a problem group that needed to be integrated. The stereotype was extended to all the black children in the school.

Thus dispersal was emphasising racial difference and promoting separation rather than supporting racial harmony. This polarisation could only be creative towards racial harmony if teachers were aware of the issue and taking responsibility as mediators and reconcilers between the groups, through respect for difference and a positive promotion of individual worth. In such an atmosphere there would be a chance for the child's individual, special needs to be met.

At the inner city school, with small classes and teachers who both showed an awareness of their pupils' social and educational needs and were prepared to increase that awareness through in-service training in their own time, there was a good chance of these individual needs being satisfied. At the outer city school, there were much larger classes and a competitive, high-achieving atmosphere, geared to a white middle class norm. The teachers were academically highly qualified, but professionally less sympathetic towards their own need to learn in this particular educational situation. The 'immigrant' children received little positive treatment but were expected to catch the 'better education' by being in the school.

A specialist language teacher was a recent addition to the outer city school. She came to the task with no special training for it and some lack of confidence
in her qualification [1]. The way in which the language support work was
organised marked the children off as an out group, and their work situation was
cramped and inconvenient. At the inner city school there was more understanding
of language development and of the need for all children to receive help, with
specialist E2L teachers working in visible partnership with the class teachers.

Teachers in neither school saw racial difference as an 'attribute' to be
considered in planning for satisfying individual need:

"I find that in a deprived area such as this where the
general level of achievement is low and the proportion of
immigrants high, we tend not to notice whether children are
immigrants or not.
However, when I taught in a suburban school containing in the
main bright indigenous children, the few immigrants who were
placed in my class were real outsiders — culturally, socially
and educationally. I could have used expert help — particularly
in compiling a language development programme."

Deputy Headteacher, Inner City First School, 1977

Looking around the walls at the art work and visual displays in the evening
when the children had left, one could only have guessed that any of the children
had coloured skins by the names on the drawings. There were patterns, fire
engines, fairytale figures and animals on the walls, but no brown faces. Looking
through the readers, the impression was the same (Dixon, 1977; Priestwerk, 1980).
If the children were 'treated as individuals' then they were individually trained to
acculturate to a particular norm by a systematic denial of the validity of any but
middle class white culture in the school. At the inner city school, the Asian
children were those most likely to show a talent to succeed in the exercise! At
the outer city school, they were not really expected to reach this norm, but rather
to be unnoteworthy within it, family difference being blamed for lack of 'success'.

However, the inner city school, for all its shortcomings, did offer a learning

[1] The E2L teacher had been out of teaching for a number of years and had
had no specialist E2L training. She was given a brief induction course after
she had been in the school for a term.
environment in which social/racial integration was possible. It was a neighbourhood school with a positive approach to the educationally disadvantaged child. The outer city school to which Asian children were bussed to promote racial integration, made their 'strangeness' part of a status differential and failed to provide the equal opportunity that the children required to compete with their peers. Although materially well-endowed, even with E2L support, the learning environment of the school was such that it did little to encourage confidence to learn in the Asian child. Pettigrew (1971) has argued that such status differential is detrimental to the development of good interpersonal relationships as it reflects a wider societal designation of the black person as inferior. Further, research suggests that the teacher expectations of such a low status group may well have had an added retarding effect on the achievement of the Asian child (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968).

Adding to this the physical discomforts, dangers of bussing small children to school, both for them and for their parents, and the disadvantages of distance from the community of the school, both geographically and socially, the policy of dispersal could only be justified if there were positive educational gains for the black child. The fact that the bus children at the school studied lost more school time through absence than their peers, and experience of the situation suggests that this can be generalised to other schools in the LEA, must indicate a potential educational disadvantage. While there was little empirical evidence available in the LEA on relative attainment of bussed children with peers, since the dispersal policy was not based on research, such evidence as was available in relation to the schools studied is set out in the next section.

Evidence of Educational Benefits for the Asian child from 'Bussing'

During the Seventies, the education debate turned from a Plowden preoccupation with disadvantage (Government, UK; 1967) to a popular
preoccupation with 'standards'. The 'Great Debate' (Government, UK; 1977) seemed to accept this evaluation and Bennett (1976), by apparently demonstrating that children progressed more quickly by traditional than by 'progressive' teaching methods, endorsed it [1]. Some teachers, feeling threatened by this, reacted defensively, especially where they were responsible for E2L children. The Headteacher at the outer city First school said that she was considering testing her infant intake because:

"We must protect ourselves with this 'Great Debate' going on about standards. As teachers, we know that they are coming in less qualified but we need to be able to demonstrate this."

9.3.1977

The criteria on which she based this estimate of 'less qualified' were the ability to recognise colours and recite nursery rhymes. Both criteria were culturally biased and E2L children would be at a great disadvantage in such a testing. The earlier such testing was done, the more the likelihood of the E2L child having a low score; partly because of the dual language difficulty, but also because these children entered the mainstream late from centres, many were dispersed away from their local school, and had a difficult social task to accomplish settling into school. It would be important that the child should not have to be assessed at this point.

In fact, there was an LEA system for First schools by which all children were tested for reading progress in the year in which they attained the age of seven years. The test took place in the late Spring term (April–May) and a Burt (re-arranged) graded word recognition test was used. By June schools were expected to send a return to the Schools Remedial Teaching Service with the name of any child who showed inability to read at least 11 words on such a test. The Remedial Service teachers were aware of the poor prognostic value of this for the Asian children:

"The only thing about the Asians is that many of them are coming from Centres which are concentrating on other things, school routine, socialisation etc., so that you may find that their reading ages are behind because of this. We have no further records so we don't know whether they catch up."
Senior Remedial Teacher. January 1977

It will be argued that any such test of language competence, and this particular one is culturally biased from the outset (Haynes, 1971), has potential for fuelling racially prejudiced comparisons between groups and affecting teachers' perceptions and expectations of certain groups of children. Given in the dispersal situation, the test underlines an attainment difference that relates in general to the skin colour of the child.

The following tables are based on data of returns to the Remedial Service of this 6+ screening [1] for the years 1973–77 from the inner and outer city First schools studied. Figure 3.8 shows that, while there was no significant difference demonstrated between the numbers of the Asian children whose names were listed as unable to read at least 11 words on the Burt scale at the two schools, the situation at the outer city school would need further investigation. A third of the Asian children there were listed.

At the inner city First school, while many more children were listed, the proportion of the Asian children was far less (Figure 3.9).

[1] The data from the returns was extracted by the Senior Remedial Teacher, A B Smith, in agreement with the Area Advisory Teacher, J E Arnold, and categorised by him according to the sex and name type of the child. Using his data, I interpolated the data for total pupils in the relevant years from my information from the school registers of attendance at those particular schools. The data mismatch is marginal.
Figure 3.8 Table showing the number of Asian children's names returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in an outer city and an inner city First school in the years 1973-77

Asian-named pupils:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remedial Teaching Service</th>
<th>Outer City School</th>
<th>Inner City School</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6+ Screening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names Returned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>37.10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>32.14</td>
<td>19.88</td>
<td>23.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names not Returned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>43.10</td>
<td>123.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>67.86</td>
<td>80.12</td>
<td>76.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 3.53 \quad DF = 1 \quad P = 0.065$

Figure 3.9 Table showing the names of pupils, according to name type and sex, returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in the years 1973-77 at an inner city First school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remedial Teaching Service</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6+ Screening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names Returned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>18.36</td>
<td>14.12</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.0071</td>
<td>0.0010</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.78</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>18.28</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>20.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names not Returned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>72.64</td>
<td>55.88</td>
<td>74.24</td>
<td>74.24</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.0018</td>
<td>0.00026</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>80.22</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>80.72</td>
<td>77.42</td>
<td>79.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.56016 \quad DF = 3 \quad P = >0.05$
A comparison of the observed data and frequencies expected under a null hypothesis shows very little difference between the two. This school includes a special ESN(M) unit for slow learning children [1] and has about 50% E2L children. About a quarter of the 6+ age group were listed. The Asian children were performing on a par with the non-Asian children. Many of the children here needed remedial help, both Asian and non-Asian, so there was less likelihood of remedial help being linked with skin colour and thus fuelling a stereotype.

At the outer city school, a similar analysis of the data shows a significant association between the name type of the child and the proportion of names returned. Figure 3.10 shows that, while only 12% of the population were listed (a percentage considerably lower than that for the inner city school) 32% of the Asian names were listed.

Figure 3.10 Table showing the names of pupils, according to name type and sex, returned or not returned to the Remedial Teaching Service for the 6+ screening of reading ability in the years 1973-77 at an outer city First School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remedial Teaching Service 6+ Screening</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Names Returned</td>
<td>fe 3.29</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>24.77</td>
<td>29.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fo 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$ 8.97</td>
<td>8.42</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.0054</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$%$ 33.33</td>
<td>31.03</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>12.03</td>
<td>12.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names not Returned</td>
<td>fe 23.71</td>
<td>25.46</td>
<td>178.23</td>
<td>211.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fo 18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$ 1.38</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.0076</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$%$ 66.66</td>
<td>68.97</td>
<td>93.10</td>
<td>87.97</td>
<td>87.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 25.283$  $DF = 3$  $P = <0.001$

[1] The ESN(M) unit caters for about 12 children per year, aged 6–9, and draws from a wider catchment than the school itself.
In this outer city school, most of the Asian children listed were bus children. In 1975, for instance, four of the five Asians' names were bus children who had come later into the school from Centres. In 1976, all five of the Asians were bussed in. While discussing the list with the Headteacher, I was given individual reasons why the non-Asian children were struggling with their reading — illness, absence, home background. For the Asian children, it was a blanket assumption — "They came late, therefore they are failing".

This ready generalisation and the fact that I had taught one of these small Asian children the rudiments of reading two years earlier at the Centre (I knew that there was no reason for her to be failing through lack of ability) led me to check more closely the situation in which these children were being taught to read in this school. Of the five children listed in 1976, four had been placed with a group of children a year older than themselves on entry to the school, three of them entering in January and the other in March [1]. Of the January entrants, two were moved during the year to another older age group class and one into his age group. With this insensitive grouping and the trauma of three class moves in a school year, it is hardly surprising that the children were struggling with their reading. The liaison teacher responsible for the placings told me that the Head 'didn't used to like immigrants but seems to have been making room for a lot of them recently'. (7.3.1977) The Headteacher was obviously using the bus children to fill up spare places in her classes.

At the inner city first school too, Asian children came into the school late and at a pre-reading stage. There, however, the change was less traumatic. As local children they were familiar with the school and with many of the children

[1] The children in this school were normally placed in horizontal not vertical class groupings. The information about movement was available in the school registers.
there. They were in a situation of numerical majority and not marginalised like the bus children in the outer city school. The difficulties of being bilingual Asian children were balanced by the educational disadvantage of the inner city working class white children (Wedge and Prosser, 1973) and no differential attainment between the groups was apparent to be translated into a racial stereotype. This situation offered more potential for the E2L child to develop a confident bilinguality.

It seemed to me that the dispersal policy, designed to alleviate educational disadvantage, was in this situation underlining and exaggerating it. The bus children at the outer city school, and by implication all the Asian children, were being marked out as a minority who were "failing". Furthermore, in this particular school they were being used for the convenience of the school and placed in classroom situations where their 'failure' must have been apparent to themselves and to others expecting them to meet a teaching group norm. This is a bad atmosphere for developing language confidence and any retardation at this stage would have long-term effects on schooling. Assessment of the Asian child in comparison with English-speaking peers was inappropriate because of the different starting points, but it was being used at the outer city school to 'protect' the teachers, worried about criticism of 'standards'.

In the process of delivering the questionnaire to the sample of children in the First and Middle schools of my study, (Appendix A4.4 and A4.5) I developed the questions on home language, to make an assessment of the use of English outside school. I was able to cross-check the responses to some extent, where siblings were also interviewed. It was apparent that much English was used in the homes, mostly among the children and least likely to be with the mother. English seemed to become the medium of communication of the street and between siblings from about eight years old (Appendix A2.10). The pressure to learn the status language
English by usage ('rubbing off') seemed to come as much from bilingual peers as in 'a naturally English speaking environment'.

I found no evidence in this situation to support any argument for the positive educational advantage for Asian children of "bussing" them away from their home district nor for black children in general. While it was recognised by the LEA that the outer city First school studied was not very sympathetic to the immigrant children, thus one can assume that the emotional impact of bussing there may have been more detrimental, it was also recognised that there was much language support needed for Asian children in all the schools to allow them equal opportunities with their English-speaking peers. This was so, even in a First school that was considered to be coping most sympathetically with the multiracial school in general and 'bussing' in particular (pp. 218-221).

Good educational reasons can be put forward for a healthy community-building effect of a social and racial mix in schools but, certainly in the First school studied and, to varying degrees, experience shows this in many First schools in the city, the practice found was not supportive of the theory. Furthermore, sometimes from necessity and sometimes for educational reasons alone, parents may opt to send their children to schools at some distance from home. They may send them because of a particular school's specialism, a special school for children with particular handicaps, a ballet school or a selective grammar school. They may have some personal preference for or link to a particular school. Roman Catholic parents may send their children to an RC Voluntary Aided school. This is seen in law as their right and responsibility, a right strengthened under the 1980 Education Act. Here, the tacit support of the Asian parents was more a measure of limited options and information than positive choice.

The only facet of 'balance' that had been addressed by the dispersal policy was a racial one and the only group bussed the black children, hence the means
were discordant with the desired end.

Summary - The Disadvantages and Advantages of Bussing in Bradford's Policy

In analysing the effects on the children of social and educational constraints that the Bradford policy for the education of the children of immigrants places on parental rights, it is particularly important to clarify the advantages and disadvantages of bussing since its advocates and adversaries can both claim good educational reasons for the practice. These, as I perceived them, are listed below.

Disadvantages

a. Eligibility for bussing in this situation was racially determined. There were those in the city who saw bussing as 'not a question of race' [1] but they should look to the history of a policy set up for 'coloured' children. In 1977 both the Adviser for Immigrant Education and the Senior Registration Officer acknowledged that ultimately a decision to register a child for subsequent possible allocation to language centre and for bussing was made on skin colour. Also, until September 1979, Asian name was sufficient reason for dispersal of a child away from the home area contrary to the parents' choice and without establishing educational need for that dispersal. An investigation by the Commission for Racial Equality in 1979 assessed the Bradford situation as racially discriminatory while applauding the educational effort made to support the children with special language needs. Bussing for strictly educational need could go some way towards avoiding this charge.

b. Bus children missed time in school because of the bussing, through lateness, early pick-up and absence. Teachers were not always compensating for this and the children often missed out on important parts of the school day. It has been argued that the high absence rate shown for bus children in the outer city First school cannot be attributed to lack of motivation to attend

school on the Asian child's part but rather to the difficulties of the journey and of distance. A lack of incentive to attend an unfriendly place, or a school where the dinner was inappropriate and there was no option to eat sandwiches or return home for a meal, may have been a contributory factor. The bus children often missed special times in school too, such as the after-school clubs and parties.

It could be possible to rationalise the bus service more to reduce the distance travelled for any child and to synchronise more closely with school times. Schools could be encouraged to deal with the situation more sensitively.

c. Bussing reduced the possibility of Asian parents being involved in their child's schooling in the Bradford situation. The families were mostly in the low socio-economic groups and travel costs were a financial burden. Asian men frequently worked in jobs that ran on a shift system, so found it difficult to attend parents' evenings. Asian women may well have been inhibited from travelling to an unknown neighbourhood because of religious constraints or because of a limited command of English. The children thus lacked the support of their parents at school and the parents were unaware of any cultural conflict and stress that children may have been being placed in. As one Asian Councillor saw it:

"The parents of these children are unable to keep regular contact with the school. They experience difficulties in supervising the departure and arrival of their children, so the bussing policy causes strain, stress and hardship for both children and parents." 19.12.1978 [1]

This stress could have been reduced with sensitive handling on the part of the

school by a flexible approach to visits from parents, provision of interpreters and facility for the teachers, or representatives of the school to visit the homes [1].

d. The bus children came as strangers to a neighbourhood that was not necessarily sympathetic to them. The policy was designed in part as a response to this assumed hostility in the receiving group and from a desire to encourage harmony through contact. These bus children could be easily stereotyped as a group because of their difference in skin colour, dress, language and customs from most of the receiving group. It was unrealistic to expect such an outgroup to be the initiator of tolerance and racial harmony.

As one Asian parent saw it:

"The children being bussed, when they go to school, sit together and they do not mix with other children. We have been told by the children who are being bussed that the white children think they come from 'jungles' and it was white people who taught black people civilisation and culture."

Black children in schools are often bullied by white children. We are told that because black children are a minority in every school, they do not move freely. They stick together." [2]

These observations were borne out by my own. The bus children made friends among themselves, friendships that began in the home area, were developed on the bus journey, and cemented by any rejection from the receiving school. Whisked away by bus in the evening, they could not easily develop friendships with local children.

This outgroup position may have had a detrimental effect on the children's English language development. It is easier to speak in a language that is not the mother tongue when there is a feeling of self-confidence, of

[1] In some schools, the liaison teacher did provide this facility in part.
being accepted and having the assurance that what is said is valued. These conditions were less likely to be met in the outgroup situation. This places a particular responsibility on the teachers in the school to create a positive, valuing and accepting atmosphere for the bus children and to face the issue of prejudice in a creative manner. It should be the responsibility of the LEA to ensure that teachers are adequately trained for the task.

e. "Bussing" cost money that could have been spent on in-service training for teachers and on extra school staff for language support work with the bilingual children. This cost factor was unfortunately used as a political gambit in Bradford, with the National Front supporters suggesting that the Asian children were being given educational privilege at the expense of the ratepayers who needed little encouragement to anger over the issue [1]. In fact, bussing could more realistically be seen as diverting money away from inner city needs to outer city where the need may have been less acute.

f. "Bussing" gave a false, cosmetic impression of racial harmony and integration:

"We've tried to care for all our children ..." 
"It's grand to go to the schools and see the children all together." Councillor Doris Birdsall, Chairman of the Education Committee. 27.1.1979 [2]

While the above statements may indeed have been true the results may have been illusory, given some of the Asian parents' comments. 'Bussing' could lead to an evasion of the real needs of the families. These would need to be met by coming to terms with the inner city deprivation, institutional racism and personal prejudice that made 'bussing' seem a relevant option in


[2] Speaking in the television programme People to People BBC2
Advantages

a. The children 'bussed' were mostly speaking English as a second language. The geographical concentration of these children's homes in the inner city area meant that without some kind of redistribution of intake, schools in the inner city would have been receiving an increasing proportion of second-language speakers. The bussing out of the Asian children was seen as a means of offering them a more natural English-speaking environment in which to develop their language competence. Thus the work of the teacher in the language centre would be consolidated and extended for the child.

While it was an advantage for a child needing to learn English to be in an English-speaking environment, when that was the medium of instruction in school, school was not the only constituent of the environment. The language could be picked up from television in the home or from peers and passers-by on the street and learning would be consolidated providing school were giving structured guidance. It has been shown to be of positive advantage (Rees, Fitzpatrick, Sharma and Nasser, 1981[1]) for the bilingual child to be encouraged to use both languages in school. The circle of friends with whom the bilingual child can converse in a mother tongue was reduced by the 'bussing' policy, though not necessarily the amount of time spent using it. In practice, because of the isolation from parents, there was little opportunity for bus children to use their mother tongue with adults in school, adding to the sense of strangeness and unacceptability.

Thus, as a reason for 'bussing', the language environment can be seen to be of importance but a 'naturally English-speaking' classroom is only part of the consideration. Classroom language related to school work was English in any of the County schools. Teachers in inner or outer city schools had a similar competence in spoken English. While there may have been more necessity for informal conversation between peers to be in English where the second-language speakers were in the minority, the outgroup position of these children may have been inhibiting to a natural exchange. Conversation tended to be utilitarian and reduced by social distance. There was no research evidence in Bradford to suggest that the mixing helped the E2L-speakers' competence in English. Such evidence as there was suggested that literacy might be retarded.

The advantages of the 'naturally English-speaking environment' can most readily be tapped at Upper school level, when the children have a greater competence and confidence in their second language. At this stage of schooling children were mixing from a wide catchment in any case.

b. It was suggested that, by bussing, children with a special educational need could be distributed around the schools so that no school was dominated by these needs to the detriment of any child in the school. This may have been valid provided all schools were given adequate specialist staff to cope with the special needs, or that all the teachers were given in-service training so that they could meet the needs. In Bradford this did not begin to happen before the mid-seventies in respect of the bilingual children and till the eighties for the broader, post-Warnock, special educational needs category (Education Act 1981). In practice it often meant that the children with special language needs could be passed over even by a well-intentioned teacher, sensitive to racial prejudice. Some teachers would pride themselves on treating the
children 'all the same' when what was needed was a respectful recognition of diversity. Bussing for special language need would still require central allocation, in practice, of children from a particular racial category since this was broadly coincident with bilingualism in Bradford [1]. At the First school stage then white children could be in the position of meeting only those black children who were struggling to achieve in school. In a society where there was acknowledged racial prejudice, there would be a grave danger of exacerbating false expectations of white and black groups and of damaging relationships. Assessment for dispersal would remain a problem too.

c. It was argued benevolently that 'bussing' allowed Asian children to take advantage of the 'better' educational environment of some of the outer city schools [2]:

"Bussing is preventing the creation of ghetto schools in this city. Almost all the British Asians live in the inner city areas. Almost all the schools in the inner city areas are old buildings which are congested and have less accommodation and facilities by nature of their structure and location. They are less suitable to fulfil modern educational needs and demands. So whatever good intentions we have, whatever resources we allocate ... whatever pupil–teacher ratios or whatever modern facilities we try to provide, it will be an impossible task to prevent the creation of ghetto schools in Bradford if bussing is abandoned." Councillor Hussein 19.12.1978 [3]

Inner urban disadvantage with regard to schooling was very real. The bussing out of a selective group of children was cosmetic at best.

[2] This has been the particular argument of the bussing controversy in the American situation (Mills 1975) backed by research evidence of success. Only recently have the more positive benefits of the Headstart programme of compensatory education become apparent too (Cottle 1979).
d. An advantage claimed by Bradford local authority for bussing was that it would ensure ethnic and social mix, to:

"provide the conditions in which harmony in the multi-racial, multi-cultural city of the future might be encouraged." [1]

While the aim may have been highly desirable, in my opinion it was unsupportable that this should be pursued by racist means. If racial mix in school was desirable for all children, then all children should be eligible for "bussing". This had never been considered as a possible option by the Council because it was feared to be 'political dynamite'. [2] 'Balance' can be achieved to some extent by pursuing a policy of zoning or variable catchments for the schools.

Research shows that conflict rather than harmony is most likely to ensue from the engineered mixing of groups of unequal status unless there is some very strong, over-riding task orientation in which all are engaged together (Pettigrew, 1971). Mixing alone cannot reduce polarisation of groups in schools nor later in society. Other factors, such as the minority group's wish to intermingle with those of a different cultural tradition, the willingness of the majority group to receive the mixing without a desire to dominate and control, the practical possibility of housing dispersal, economic pressures to interdependence or independence, need to be addressed too in a wider policy. Schools cannot educate for the society that adult citizens are failing to bring into reality. It is 'racist' to expect the black recipients of positive action against discrimination to be agents of it too.

[1] CBMDC (1976) Education in a Multiracial City, p.20
[2] This was demonstrated when a proposed merger of Manningham and Whetley Middle schools was proposed. It was dropped in November 1976 because of strong parental opposition, from parents whose white children would have been allocated to the Manningham school sited in the centre of the major Pakistani settlement area of the city. This protest had vociferous support from the Conservative councillors of the area.
e. It has been claimed that 'bussing' Asian children was of benefit to teachers in outer city schools, whose awareness and understanding of the needs of second-language learners would be sharpened and whose eyes would be opened to the needs of all children growing up in the multiracial society. Teachers faced with a multiracial class had been stimulated to ask for help and advice, but it was incumbent on the LEA to provide in-service training for the teachers, not on the Asian parents through their children. Children in all-white classes were growing up in a multiracial society too. It was the responsibility of the teacher to be aware of the special demands that this might make.

f. The ultimate argument for bussing in Bradford was that:

"There just aren't enough places in some schools around the inner city for the children who live in these areas and the government will not let us build new schools as long as there are schools with empty places nearby."

Councillor Arthur 22.3.1979 [1]

There was a shortfall of about 1,000 school places in the inner city areas in 1977:

"If there were no dispersal at First school level, then Grange First would be oversubscribed by 50%. Then the white parents would be fighting for places and there would be racial hatred."

Adviser for Immigrant Education 18.1.1977

If 'bussing' was necessary to use the school accommodation effectively, it did not need to be done on racial grounds. If the real reason for 'bussing' in Bradford was that it avoided racial hatred, as the Adviser's comment suggests, then again it could be seen as a cosmetic measure that was allowing the root cause of a problem to be passed over. A certain re-arrangement of catchment areas and judicious use of mobile classrooms could have reduced the conflicts that might have arisen. A bold anti-racist policy could have

been more productive in the long term.

'Bussing' was a means to a policy end, that of the dispersal of children among schools to create 'balanced groups'. These groups were seen as educationally and socially desirable. It has been argued that since the only facet of 'balance' that was addressed by dispersal was a racial one, the end was inappropriate and, therefore, the means too. It has been further argued that bussing was underlining educational disadvantage with no research evidence to show that a dispersal policy was alleviating it. Furthermore, it was across class and colour lines in the community, with an adverse, stereotyping effect on black children in a racially prejudiced society.

'Bussing' as part of a dispersal policy could be a positive response to disadvantage if the dispersal were to schools with specialist teaching staff, in this case with training to give support to second language speakers. It will be shown in the following chapter that this was not part of the original conception and in 1977 second-phase language support was in a rudimentary stage of development. 'Bussing' as part of a dispersal policy could be a creative contribution to a more comprehensive policy of social and educational mix providing the schools and their staff were geared to a positive multicultural approach to education, but further observation suggested that this too was lacking, even at the Upper school level where comprehensive co-education with wide catchments for the schools was the norm.
Conclusion

The evidence I gathered in Bradford suggested that 'bussing' was a burden for both children, their parents and the schools, as practiced [1]. It was particularly inappropriate for the very young children. It was never more than cosmetic as the root issues of racism and bilingual education were not addressed by the policy.

The educational advantages of dispersal remain unproven in my opinion. It is assumed to be good for the children from the viewpoint of the liberal, middle class white values that direct the established political system. The Asian parents were told that it would be good for their children if they wanted them to succeed in society. Until the late '70's they accepted this. The change came because Asian parents saw a failure in the claims of the liberal policy. It was meant to aid 'integration' but the bus children remained outsiders. It was meant to hasten academic achievements but the Asian children still predominated in lower band teaching groups in Upper schools, and gained a higher proportion of external examination passes at the lower CSE level than their peers. Black school-leavers were more likely to be unemployed and less likely to gain further education or university entrance [2] than their peers. Thus the inconvenience and insecurity of dispersal for the child was not seen to be having positive advantages in the educational and employment results even after ten years of the system.

At the same time at several inner city schools, teachers seemed to be more aware of the needs of the Asian child. Despite the size of the education task faced in these schools, the problem was eased because the number of children with similar needs in a school attracted specialist teachers. The size of the need

[1] This evidence was made available to the LEA (Adviser for Immigrant Education), councillors, the CRE (Hugh Dent, Regional Office, Manchester) and local community groups, through personal discussions, letters and articles in the Telegraph and Argus and a position paper (see Appendix A4.8).

CBMDC (1979) District Trends, p.28
justified special provision of equipment, relevant textbooks, attempts at a multicultural curriculum with a positive acknowledgement of the culture of the minority child. This enhanced the child's confidence in learning and using the second language. It is probable that dispersal in fact reduced such special educational provision in the city as a whole. Where the Asian child was in a small minority, even if the special language need had been recognised, the experience in dealing with it, and the resources, may have been missing, or if there, they may have been misused [1]. It is understandable that Asian parents were often less enthusiastic than the planners about the benefits of dispersal, particularly for very young children.

The major educational arguments for the dispersal of Asian children, and hence 'bussing', were related to the need for them to acquire a facility in English to allow them equal opportunities in school to their non-Asian peers. A further aspect of 'immigrant' education to be considered then is the special language teaching provision complementary to dispersal, described in the following chapter.

[1] For example, the misuse of staff funded under Section 11, LGA 1966, as generalist rather than specialist teachers (pp.156 and 258).
CHAPTER 13  SPECIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROVISION IN BRADFORD
FOR THE CHILDREN SPEAKING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

It has been shown that the initial policy, designed for providing for children speaking E2L, involved reception classes for the older children and dispersal to a 'naturally English-speaking environment' for the rest (Chapter 10). It will now be shown that, although the policy developed with experience through time and was ahead of practice nationally by 1977 the teachers were still feeling inadequately trained to cope with the situation and little was being done to alleviate the outgroup situation of the newcomers. This is not to decry the very considerable efforts that the local authority was making to provide for the children, but to demonstrate the shortcomings of a policy that was reactive to the educational problems that the newcomers were posing without at the same time facing and seeking to redress the underlying issues of racism and cultural dominance in the host community that were constantly undermining these efforts.

In November 1977, there were 10,764 ‘immigrant’ children on the rolls of the City schools (18.2% of the total). There were twelve language centres in operation catering for the 2,264 non-English speaking children. Nine of these were taking five-year-olds, the majority of whom had been born in Bradford:

"Children are prepared at these centres for transfer to schools as soon as it is considered that they are capable of taking part in the curriculum after having received a crash course in English as a second language and general education for a British type of education. The centres provide facilities for observing and assessing the children's educational needs." [1]

The special classes that had been attached to the Upper schools, with two exceptions, had been merged with the mainstream by this stage, having been phased out by mid-1976. One exception was a class of Asian girls at

Carlton-Bolling School. The girls would have been stopped from attending school, through their parents' fears over co-education, if the class had been integrated. The other was a mixed-age class at Eccleshill School [1] of children who had entered the system very late from a Centre and their school experience was considered to be too limited to allow integration. This latter was not a particularly successful venture in the view of the class teacher:

"It's a 'third' form but all ages and children are sent out into the 4th year where possible. But in practice the children tend to leave. They get disenchanted, feel slighted. Thought they had finished with the Centre atmosphere." 13.5.1976

By 1977, all the Upper schools had E2L departments as part of the curriculum provision, with two or three teachers allotted to each.

Apart from this special provision in Centres and at Upper school level, the authority was still relying on dispersal for the Asian children to ensure 'that their continuing linguistic and other educational problems can receive adequate attention' [2]. Schools with a relatively high proportion of children presenting 'particular educational problems' were allocated additional staff out of a pool of 85.8 (full-time equivalent) teachers designated for the language support role. However, with a third of these allocated to the twelve County Upper schools and ninety-one of the 161 schools having at least 10% of their children of immigrant parents, this meant a fairly thin spread of expertise. 'Expertise' would perhaps not have been a description used by these teachers of their specialist competence. Minimal in-service training was available. The Adviser responsible for in-service training for E2L staff at the time was of the opinion that provision was adequate, on the evidence of lack of take-up for offer of special training classes for the teachers. One Head of E2L in an Upper school had felt the lack of training acutely, and so volunteered to run classes in direct method language teaching for the Authority

[1] This class was subsequently moved to Fairfax Upper School.
himself. The classes were advertised in the teachers' weekly news bulletin, but only 15 teachers took advantage of them in each of two years. My experience was different. I was involved in organising a similar course for the School of Peace Studies in 1979 [1] using the same teacher as leader. I offered spare places to LEA teachers and was inundated with requests to join the course. I had 133 enquiries from teachers at all stages of schooling and working in centres, over 100 of whom actually applied to join the course. Most of them said that they were doing a job in which they felt out of their depth with so many second language speakers in the class. They wanted formal help and informal support from others with experience similar to their own [2]. It seemed to me that this response to the course offer articulated a general feeling of frustration among language teachers of both Centres and schools. They felt under pressure and were beginning to recognise that they could be more prepared to help the Asian children about whose future and educational development they were deeply concerned. It also pointed up the anxiety of class teachers receiving the children from centres, often without any specialist staff support.

[1] A course in English as a Foreign Language teaching for students who were going to Palestine to teach for a year as part of the undergraduate course in Peace Studies. Eventually, 20 students and 40 teachers from Middle and Upper schools were accepted for three classes run for 20 weeks through the Spring and Summer terms. All but two of the teachers completed the course (the one dropped out at the early stages because of the heavy time commitment required, the other was a supply teacher who gained a post out of the district). In addition, over 60 First school and Infant Centre teachers were asked to wait for a course more appropriate to their needs to be organised in the Autumn term by the new Adviser for Multicultural Education. See Appendix A4.9.

[2] From a questionnaire given to the 40 teachers on the course; of the 26 respondents, most put the need for gaining support and experience from others high on their reasons for applying for the course. Half pointed to a lack of local authority training provision. See Appendix A4.9.
Teaching English in the Centres: First-Phase Language Development

The first teachers of English to the Asian children had no special E2L training for the job, but were selected for their interest in and support for the task in hand. As has been stated, the first senior Centre was set up as much for teacher training as for language teaching (p. 164). The number of children entering the system needing special language teaching was consistently high (at about 600 newcomers from overseas annually as well as those born locally, Figures 1.10, 1.11). The movement of teachers out from the training centre was never adequate to cope with the need. Centres proliferated and from 1971, E2L children of all ages of statutory schooling were included in this provision. The Authority continued with its practice of training teachers on the job in the Centres, hoping that they would then move out, with expertise, into mainstream schooling. This did not happen to any great extent in the first ten years of the policy. Indeed, attracting well-qualified teachers to the Centres, teachers who could cope with this extra responsibility, was not easy. At one Infant Centre [1] in 1977, five of the nine class teachers were probationers and this pattern was repeated in other Centres. The Headteacher explained:

"There is no career structure in the Centres, so experienced teachers are not prepared to come. Those who haven't got a job will take this. Only one of the five selected to come here from choice. There is a feeling that anyone is suitable for the job if they have the right attitude to children. With plenty of young teachers looking for jobs, this does at least leave some choice for the Head." 7.3.1977.

Few of the staff appointed to the Centres had specialist qualifications in E2L. At the junior Centre, only two of the thirteen members of staff had certificated qualifications for E2L [2] and at the Senior Centre, although the staff were highly qualified academically, six of the eighteen with degrees in linguistics, their training

was not necessarily appropriate to the needs of the young children they were expected to teach. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that a constant concern that I heard from the teachers in the Centres was of their lack of training for the task in hand.

The physical provision for the children in Centres, in terms of teaching hardware and teacher-pupil ratio, was good. There was no lack of equipment. In Green Lane Infant Centre, March 1977, for instance, with 161 children on roll, there were ten teachers (including the Head), two additional teachers for home-school liaison work, with six nursery nurses and two part-time welfare assistants [1]. Teaching took place in small groups of 6-8 children much of the time. At the Senior Centre there were twenty teachers to 200 pupils on roll in January 1977. Accommodation was not always ideal, with most of the Language Centres in the old Victorian inner city schools that would have been closed but for the influx of newcomers. Two new buildings had been opened for Centres by 1977, however, using money from the central government Urban Aid fund.

The English language teaching in the Centres was highly structured. Even in the Infant Centres, where the teaching atmosphere was informal, the children were withdrawn for small-group, intensive structured language work, based on a logically developed scheme (Keystone, Appendix A4.10). Children were sat in a circle and asked set questions in a repetitive fashion round the ring. This linked with the rote learning practice of the mosque school. It was fascinating to watch children at the Senior Centre, aged 13, sitting in their desks rocking backwards and forwards intoning:

"I like Peter.
I like Jane.
I like Pat the dog."
Ladybird Keyword Reading Scheme

[1] The general teacher-pupil ratio for First schools was 1:29, no home-school liaison worker and only a nursery nurse where there was a pre-five class.
just as they would when learning to recite the Qu'ran. This formality was later abandoned with the younger children following the work of Joan Tough (Tough 1973, 1976, 1977), in favour of a more direct method of language teaching using the environment and listening to children's readiness for language. It persisted in the teaching of the older children.

By the mid-Seventies it was accepted that the curriculum of the Centres was as much about preparing children for life in the English school system, as for English language teaching. The Infant Centres, for instance, were set up to be "'pre-school' establishments where children were to be prepared socially and linguistically for coping in the multiracial learning situation" [1]. The Junior and Senior centres concentrated as much on improving the pupils' standards in general school subjects as on teaching English. A minority of the teachers saw it as their duty to make little Englishfolk of the Asian children, as the home economics teacher at the Senior Centre:

"You have to teach them so much more than an English child. You have to show them how to wash up. If you left them to do it, they would do it under a running tap. I steer clear of making chapattis. They can learn that better at home. I think that as they are in England, it is my job to show them the English way of life. We do chocolate crispies, flapjacks and rock buns. I avoid savouries because it's a bit awkward." 16.6.1977

However, most of the teachers showed empathy with and respect for the children's home culture and were supportive of it. They were aware that the mainstream school would be less supportive and offered the children a guided transition to English school customs, such as eating with a knife and fork, changing clothes for PE and the traditional English school celebration of Christmas, with streamers and Christmas tree for all.

The Centres tended to be more responsive to the Asian communities than

schools. A Muslim Education Trust teacher visited the Senior Centre to give Islamic teaching before school. Some of the Infant Centres celebrated Diwali and Eid, with the help of Asian parents. Several teachers voiced an anxiety about the middle class white image portrayed by most of the school books in use. On the whole, however, though there was higher sensitivity than in the schools, their respect for cultural difference did not extend to a positive multicultural curriculum [1].

One particularly valuable part of the Centres' work was their home-school liaison. When the Infant Centres were opened in 1971, the local authority also appointed to each one a teacher/social worker whose responsibility it was to cultivate the link between home and school and with the welfare agencies such as Social Services, Area Health Authority, Education Welfare, Schools Psychological Service and Community Police. In 1975, the name was changed to 'liaison teacher' [2]. By 1977, they were attached to each of the Centres and to a very small number of schools.

The role of liaison teacher was firstly to be a teacher, sharing in the normal teaching load of the Centre and gaining knowledge of the children in the classroom, and secondly liaison, to visit the homes of the children, to facilitate social/language teaching groups for mothers and toddlers in the Centre, and to liaise on transfer of children from Centre to school (Garvie, 1972).

It seemed to me that this home-school link was the most promising development for the city school system from the 'immigrant education service'. Most of the teachers involved were compassionate, imaginative and creative, with much more tolerance for class and cultural difference than colleagues, on the

---

[2] This change of name came about partly because of professional objections from social workers and partly because of the Bradford Metropolitan District requirement that these personnel were qualified teachers. See also Chapter 16.
whole. Some positive bridges were being built into the community. My observations from an afternoon spent with one such liaison teacher, attached to the inner city Middle school will suffice to describe this outreach at its best [1]:

The Infant Centre Liaison Teacher 9.3.1977

We set off, she with a fistful of cards, down the school playground to call on Turon's mother. We had to check that she knew about an appointment at the chest clinic that had been made for her son, who has a weak heart. We met her as we were on our way. She was a small round Bangladeshi woman with betel-stained teeth. The liaison teacher spoke with her in Urdu which she seemed to comprehend well enough and better than English. Apparently, she had been of service on occasions interpreting in her mother tongue Bengali for the liaison teacher. So we didn't visit her home. She lived in a rented Council house—unusual for an Asian, but she had no husband living with her.

The next call took us back up the playground again and two hundred yards across to the main shopping street. We entered a shabby shop front into a neatly set-out interior with bright rolls of cloth lined up along the shelves on the wall, the corners of the cloth swathed back to show its pattern. An ageing woman came through with small children around her skirts, staring. She was told firmly that Musserat must be collected from school on time in the evening; too often she was left behind when all the other children had departed. This was repeated in Punjabi to ensure that the woman understood and she replied in that tongue, saying that her husband was in Pakistan and there was not always someone to mind the shop.

We walked through the once beautiful Southfield Square, allowed to rot while the Council decided whether it was to be renovated or demolished, to the picturesque but distinctly decadent Laburnum Terrace. Laburnum hung over a high wall in defiance of the desolation around. We called in at the corner shop, one window of which was boarded up to cover a hole in the glass, to remind a woman about a language class.

On down a cobbled alley, we called in at the back house of a terrace, through a clean-swept yard. We were to invite Arshad's father's new wife to the English class too, but she was out in town, with Arshad to interpret for her in the market. An older boy invited us in uncertainly. He said he had been on a visit to the hospital and thus was not at school. The tiny parlour was smart and clean, garish to English eyes, with tin peacocks on the wall, a Pakistani calendar and posters of Jinnah and Bhutto.

The next visit was up the hill to one of the larger terrace houses. Down under the basement window a mother sat at her sewing machine. We climbed down the litter-strewn steps into a damp room that again was painted clean and had a Jinnah poster on the wall. Bashir's father limped to meet us. He was out of work, with four children to be supported and two of his brother's children in addition. Bashir's mother sewed for a Pakistani clothing

firm - 'homework'. We sat down and after suitable introduction had been made, were given boiled milk tea and biscuits. Bashir's father told us a long, sad tale about the expense of his repeated visits to Pakistan where he is responsible for his sister and her children. His oldest son is to come to England soon, though they are having difficulty in getting an entry permit for their daughter. Struggles with the Immigration Officers, however, were not new to them. His wife's entry was held up in 1970 because Shafiq, only a toddler of four, had told the officer they had two rooms in their house when in fact they had nine. All this he told in passable English with an occasional word aside to the liaison teacher in Punjabi. We listened, sympathised, reminded the mother about the English class at a nearby community project base, and left.

We went to see if Abid was at home. He had been allocated to the outer city First school of my study but when the Headteacher saw that he had eczema and the scars from a former smallpox infection, she refused to accept him, the liaison teacher said. So she had negotiated a place for him at one of the local First schools. There was no reply from Abid's house and we returned the half-mile to school.

The liaison teacher got books and toys to interest the small children waiting for their older brothers and sisters to finish school. Waiting with them were fathers in one part of the school hall and mothers in another. The teacher talked with them in Urdu.

When books and toys were packed away and even Musserat had left for home, we too prepared to leave. As we were leaving, a man approached the teacher speaking in Gujarati asking about the English classes for unemployed men and women. She told him in English that they were held on four mornings a week at the Youth Centre - signalling the direction down the playground and repeating the information with accompanying signs and gestures to explain. Then another man came up with a letter from the DHSS which she patiently read and explained to him. And then we went home.

The liaison teacher's function was to enable Asian families to 'fit in' to British society, with medical checks, school allocation and attendance, punctuality. The English language classes for the mothers enabled them to be supportive in this role. The injustices of stress, poverty, immigration controls and prejudice they observed but were not reported on. The liaison teachers were well respected in schools, but tended to be used in their perceived role for 'dealing with problems' rather than for developing dialogue between home and school.

This dialogue was not generally well developed, partly because the schools and Centres were not as outgoing and welcoming as their 'missionaries', the liaison teachers, and partly because of the different expectations of schooling from Asian
Despite criticisms of the special language provision, Bradford was well ahead nationally in this sphere. By the time the Community Relations Commission reported to the Bullock Committee [1] in 1972 on the relatively poor performance of immigrant groups from the New Commonwealth in linguistic skills in English, Bradford had already been making special provision for these children for ten years. And yet, Asian parents were not convinced, in my experience, of the value of the special provision being made for their children. At one parents' meeting at the inner city First school (pp.336-341), they were asking questions such as:

"Why are our children kept in Centres for so long ?
Why are they sent to the Centre if they can speak English ?
Why were the Polish and Hungarian children not sent to Centres ?"

24.1.1977

The underlying fear of all these questions was one born out of the experience of racism and of black children 'failing' in a competitive school system. The fear was expressed in a criticism of the language Centres and of the dispersal policy. A greater openness of the schools to the parents could have exposed points at which this criticism was valid, where change could have made the language teaching methods more effective. A healthy collaboration between teachers and Asian parents could also have been supportive to the teachers who were finding difficulties in making the necessary language and cultural bridge between their own educational experience and the situation of the newcomers.

Teaching English as a Second Language in the Schools:
Second-Phase Language Development

The DES Circular 7/65, concerned with education of the children of immigrants, stated:

"There is a danger that some children who quickly acquire fluency in spoken English do not in fact understand as much as they appear, and may

find difficulty in absorbing new ideas expressed in English ... Many children may require occasional special help throughout their school lives." [1]

In the 1972 DES survey of the 'Continuing Needs of Immigrants', Bradford was not only the Education Authority with the most comprehensive provision of language support for children learning English as a second language, but also the only Authority to have 'clearly accepted the need for special second-phase provision at the secondary level and ... consciously evolved an official policy in this field' [2]. One or two other Authorities showed themselves to be aware of some of the issues involved, but had then 'taken few identifiable practical steps to help meet them' [3]. The key elements seen in the Bradford provision, apart from Language Centres, were dispersal of E2L children into 'a naturally English-speaking environment' and additional staff in some schools [4]. This seems to justify the statements in 1977, by both the Chief Schools Officer and the Adviser for Immigrant Education, that Bradford had done more than most authorities for the children of immigrants. What does not follow from this is the officers' rider that if these children were still under-achieving, then they were to blame: "They haven't learnt the language". This is a far more complex issue.

It will be shown that, particularly in the second-phase work, teachers were feeling inadequate to their task. Furthermore, little had been done in the schools to alleviate the outgroup situation of the newcomers and to boost their confidence to use the second language.

Dispersal of E2L children to a 'naturally English-speaking environment' was a policy that affected the Asian children differentially from their peers, in particular at First school stage. The suggested 33 1/3% limit on the 'immigrant' intake meant that many of the inner city Asian children were bussed to schools away

from their area from the age of about six. Their acceptance onto school rolls was
dependent on the efforts of the liaison teachers and on the 'goodwill' of the
Heads.

The Headteachers at this time were given no special training to prepare them
to receive the children sensitively, nor to enable them to cater for the children's
needs. The occasional in-service training courses were voluntary. Awareness of
the special needs of E2L children was patchy. Some Heads had a very positive
approach to the children, others did not.

At the outer city school of my study, the school registers [1] showed that the
bussed children were being fitted into any available class space, regardless of the
age of the children or the educational level of the groups. The teachers were not
coping with providing tasks to match the needs of the Asian children. These
children, who had been used to and needed much individual attention, were
struggling. Some were placed with children at a much more advanced stage of
language and reading development and must have felt daunted by the struggle to
keep up with the class and the expectation upon them to 'integrate'. Confidence
was being undermined both in the teachers who received the newcomers as
'problem' children and in the children labelled as such. If the children then
presented themselves as withdrawn, dull and slow, or naughty and lacking in
concentration, this should be seen as a product of the situation in which they
found themselves as well as of the child's ability or state of mind.

The 'naturally English-speaking' children were to be the main teaching
resource, and their language to 'rub off' on to the Asian children. Placed in an
insecure outgroup situation, the chances of this happening effectively for the Asian
children were reduced. The teachers were not trained to help the E2L children

[1] Information collected in process of the analysis of absences, 1975-1977,
see p.231.
with their particular language needs or, if trained, were not always wisely deployed.

At the inner city First school for instance, in response to my question: "Do you give the Asian children any structured language help, as a continuation of the Centre work", the Head said:

"No, I believe in free expression before correction and cultivation is given, otherwise there is a danger of stilting."

Headteacher, Inner City First school, September 1976.

In this school where 50% (about 180 children) were speaking English as a second language, limited vocabulary hampered free expression in English anyway and the children were prompted against speaking in their mother tongue, so this was a chicken-egg situation. There was an allowance of 1.5 members of staff above the establishment, paid for through central government funding (Section 11 LGA) to cater for the E2L children. In 1977, the full-time E2L teacher had a class responsibility, with a group of children, half of whom spoke English as a second language. She was not fully free to cater for the wider E2L needs of the school. The Headteacher justified this on the grounds that all children in this school needed 'language development' (Bernstein's 'restricted code' theory, 1966) and all teachers were equally responsible for this. Further, that as the specialist teacher was a probationer, she needed classroom experience to pass her probationary year. This response was well-meaning but specious. The specialist teacher's successor continued in the class teaching situation the following year and she was not a probationer. While all teachers certainly should have been responsible for the language development of the children, including the E2L needs, none had been given any special training to meet this latter need (even the probationer appointed as the 'specialist'. She just happened to be Asian and bilingual) I was told:

"We have problems here far worse than those of the immigrants. To give special treatment to immigrants, over that which is required for the more needy, would be racism."

Headteacher, Inner City First school, September 1976.

And yet Section 11 funding had been established for a very specific purpose, to
meet the linguistic and cultural needs of Commonwealth immigrants. In choosing to divert this funding to other issues, however worthwhile, the Head was undermining the positive action intended through the funding.

When I first visited the outer city First school in 1976, while there were 40 of the 520 children speaking English as a second language there were no staff, additional to establishment, to provide any extra help, nor trained to advise on teaching methods or materials for the children. While in 1972, Bradford may have been seen as ahead of other local authorities in this provision, the actual input was very limited. It was not until 1979, with a new Adviser for 'Multicultural Education' that the in-service training of all teachers was re-assessed, a programme of support for E2L teachers was established and a policy of language development across the curriculum was promoted. Later (1982), courses on the wider issues of curriculum development for a multicultural society were established, training initially Heads and senior staff in all schools. Dispersal and reliance on the 'naturally English-speaking environment' was then gradually phased out.

In 1977, there were 85.8 (full-time equivalent) teachers for allocation to those schools with greatest E2L need. Each of the twelve County Upper schools had an E2L department, with two or more members of staff. The 50 or so Middle schools had 13 full-time and four part-time staff to share between them. This left the 100 First schools, where the need was most acute, 30 of them with over the $33^{1/3}\%$ limit considered desirable, with 60 (full-time equivalent) teachers employed to give E2L support. Thus the 'additional help' was thinly spread, much of it from part-time teachers or shared between more than one school. Most of these teachers, myself included, went into the job with no special training, many of them married women returners. For instance, at the outer city First school, a part-time language teacher was appointed in June 1976. A trained Primary school teacher returning after a break bringing up her own children, she was still feeling
very unsure and working her way into the job by trial and error in September.

She said:

"I feel there should be a teaching pack available for those in First schools with Asian children, with suitable material to use with them." September 18th, 1976

She had to wait until the end of September for her two-week 'orientation' in-service course. Thus the 'additional' staff could not be described as specialists on appointment. They struggled to gain the expertise that, as became apparent, was a necessity.

These teachers were, however, seen as the person in a school to whom all 'immigrant problems' were referred. They tended to take on a role of pastoral responsibility for the black children. At the outer city Middle school, for example, all the black children were marked on the base group lists with "IMM" beside their names, even those with white English mothers in English-speaking families. The language teacher spoke of these as "my immigrants, but they don't all need my help". The isolation the teachers felt in being given responsibility for the pastoral as well as special language needs of the black children was acute. They felt that they had been saddled unfairly with a responsibility that should properly have been a whole school and LEA concern.

There were other factors too, leading to feelings of isolation. They were frequently working with groups withdrawn from the mainstream classes. The language work done in these withdrawal groups was rarely linked into the subject matter and pattern of classroom work. Part-time E2L staff were not readily available for staff meetings and curriculum discussions. These teachers were supporting the work of others but with limited support in return.

The professional status of the E2L teacher was low, most of them being paid at a Scale 1 Burnham salary. Rarely were they in positions of responsibility in the school hierarchy, even in the Upper School E2L departments. While employed
and paid for work 'attributable to differences' in language or custom [1], they were often expected to 'cover' for staff absence in other classes or departments. Then the special language work had to be abandoned, and was effectively devalued. In Upper schools they had to fit into an inflexible subject timetable. The E2L teacher could be involved teaching a variety of subjects, sometimes part of a social studies or mainstream English course, but often as fill-ins with low attainment groups or with lessons of games, swimming, etc. Teachers in schools where the E2L timetable was organised by the English department were particularly resentful:

"We had hoped to keep a clear timetable to allow us to move around lessons, giving English support, but the timetable organisers insisted on filling us in with a full timetable at the beginning of the year; ... games ... commerce ... remedial maths." 11.5.1976

Some teachers felt that this broader timetable was good:

"Teaching a general timetable gives a yardstick for a balance of standard through the school. The English children accept the teacher more and the immigrants better if they are not separated. They are accepted better by the staff too, giving the E2L staff a legitimate say in school affairs. It eases work with the year heads who will accept estimates of the E2L staff as to standard." 7.5.1976

The assets were seen in terms of evaluating standards, alerting all staff to the special language needs of some children that should be catered for throughout the curriculum and 'keeping your hand in' at other subjects. These somewhat outweighed the negative perceived need to be accepted as a 'proper' teacher. That factor was there, though often not voiced. Since the required acceptance, support and understanding could have been gained through other means, if Heads and senior staff had recognised the need and been prepared to take the necessary positive action, this broader timetabling was a questionable use of Section 11 funding. The assets listed could have been gained through team teaching or E2L

[1] The category of work to which grants under the LGA 1966, Section 11 were applicable.
support work happening not in withdrawal groups but within the mainstream classes. Individual tuition could then have been given to those who needed it by specialist E2L staff working in a variety of classes alongside the class teacher.

One effect of the low status of the E2L teachers was that they took on the pastoral role with which they had been labelled and, despite grumbling, tended to be very possessive about it, as shown by the outer city Middle school teacher who spoke of "my immigrants" (p.260). Through this, they gained a status that met some of the need for recognition, but that was spurious in terms of the functioning of the school system to the long-term benefit of minorities. Alongside and reinforcing this was the perception of black children as different in kind from the rest. The language teacher's comment "Pictures of their sort are so hard to come by" (outer city First school, April 1976, p.222) placed the difference in the children rather than in their educational need.

The teaching of the Asian children in withdrawal groups could be quite destructive personally and educationally for these children. The methods of selection varied. At the outer city First school, the selection was done by the Headteacher on a very arbitrary basis - essentially skin colour. At the Middle and Upper schools it was seen as a 'remedial' problem associated with 'objective' testing.

At the outer city First school, the children were taken in groups of 8–10 to a dark, cramped cloakroom that was their 'classroom'. The sessions lasted for around 20 minutes, two or three times a week on a set timetable. This meant a break from the work in hand in the mainstream class. Time was spent moving about the school, or lining up and waiting for sessions. Sometimes the classteacher forgot to send the group and they were late. The children seemed to enjoy the sessions, however. They were benefitting from working in a quiet, secluded environment for a brief period, out of the struggle of the classroom and back to
the small group or individual tuition they had been given in the Centre.

By the time the children reached the Upper school stage they were more self-conscious about this separating and even resented it. Teachers commented:

"This is a reception class, parallel to the mainstream. It is a 'Third' form but all ages and children are sent out from it into the 4th year of school where possible. But in practice the children tend to leave. They get disenchanted, feel slighted. Thought they had finished with the Centre atmosphere." 13.5.1976

"I used to withdraw two or three at a time for language work intermittently from integrated studies which is taught on a term basis. Now I go in and work with the class, because they resented being taken out, felt they were missing out on something and losing, while the others thought they were being favoured. Now I have a table at the back of the class as a base." 7.5.1976

"The group refused to come to me in the 4ths, saying 'They're all coloured children; we don't want to come." 11.5.1976

Particular difficulties were perceived by the teachers who were dealing with the E2L children along with slow learners in a 'remedial' class (the group that showed lowest attainment in each year of an ability banded school). This kind of streaming tended to produce lowest classes that were predominantly black, a fact recorded more widely in Britain by the NFER survey of LEA's in 1970 (Townsend and Brittan, 1972):

"There is a clustering of immigrants in the lower streams of secondary schools. Although lack of proficiency in English is a major cause of this, the fact that immigrants from, say, Italy and Cyprus are much more evenly distributed across streams suggests that linguistic difficulties are not the sole cause of any differences between distribution of immigrants and non-immigrants." [1]

This arrangement encouraged and allowed the opportunity for labelling the immigrant/black child as dull. As a consequence the children could be given an educational programme that was not necessarily appropriate to their intellectual potential. While Townsend and Brittan (1972) noted that many Headteachers saw

an upward movement to more even distribution as pupils progressed through secondary school, Coard (1971) blamed the British school system for 'making the West Indian child subnormal' and had less confidence in the opportunity for movement. My own observation of the banding system in the Bradford Upper schools tended to confirm this.

Streaming was to be found in six of the twelve Upper schools in 1976. In one, the E2L teachers were actually known as Immigrant/Remedial teachers. In two, the teacher commented that the way traditional remedial teaching was organised was holding the Asian children back, for instance:

"It's usually bedlam if all the children are here. Asian children feel badly about it and expect more discipline. This is a general remedial group with a variety of problems to be considered, the behaviour difficulties – social, ability limitations – intellectual, and language difficulties – cultural. There is very little chance of doing anything constructive unless there is a high absentee rate. The Asian boys are in this group because their English needs support, not because they are slow learners." 30.4.1976

The six Asian boys (Year 5), on this occasion, were being taken through a guided comprehension and reading lesson by the teacher. Meanwhile, the three white children, whose reading ability was below that of the Asian boys, were occupied, the girls copying out a poem and the boy doing nothing.

The labelling, the low motivation to learn that often characterised the white children in these groups, the lack of contact with other groups to stimulate learning, were all mentioned as factors that were holding the Asian children back. The E2L teachers, on the whole, showed a limited facility in teaching methods to cope with such varied needs within a group.

One school, however, aware of the injustice that can follow from a streaming system, carefully structured the remedial work so that it was selective and constructive. The school information booklet for parents states:

"We are aware that a number of children have a definite need of extra help to overcome certain learning or skill difficulties."
This can refer to basic reading and writing, but it may refer to a mechanical writing difficulty, or a number block, or a problem with spelling, and it does not always happen with the least able children, but can be a stumbling block right across the ability range. To remedy means to put right, and we have a withdrawal system by which a child with a particular difficulty is withdrawn from normal lessons, in whole or part, and given concentrated special attention.

There is a similar provision for those children who do all their learning in what is to them a foreign language, and not the one they speak at home...” [1]

In most Upper schools though, E2L teachers wanting to work with children across the ability range have been constrained by the timetabling and by the examination pressure on the quicker learning children. Some comments from Grinter (1978) demonstrate this:

"In 4th and 5th Year options, E2L staff were allocated to lower band option time only. If 3rds came for E2L they came instead of all their language and English lessons. Therefore no child likely to achieve CSE English was seen by the E2L staff."

In this respect E2L did not have a comparable status to French or German in the schools. And further:

"There were five students who had obtained some 'O' Levels but not English Language. These were all considered candidates for further academic study by several departments in the school ... Only an unexpected reduction in the E2L intake at the school in September 1977 allowed some E2L staff time for these pupils."

While the ideal might have been to work alongside the E2L children in any lesson, the E2L departments rarely achieved this.

The teaching aids for E2L were good only because of the commitment of the teachers who were involved in actually producing most of their own material, some of which was available nationally as the "Scope project". The physical amenities for group work were usually poor. At the outer city First school, groups were taught in the cloakroom lobby of a terrapin classroom. At the inner city First

school, the base was a corner of the vast echoing hall where acoustics were so poor that more effective listening could be developed out in the street! At one Upper school the base was in the main thoroughfare through the school; at others there was a small room designated for the work; others had no base for the E2L work and teachers with piles of books moved from vacated classroom to vacated classroom and had nowhere to store resources and display work or visual aids.

Despite the drawbacks of the language policy, it was generally agreed by the Upper school E2L staff that Asian children who had progressed through the mainstream school system gained a language competence appropriate to their peer group by school-leaving age. Only those who came late, from the Senior Language Centre, did not and, in fact, these were generally seen as 'not coping':

"those who come through Middle school find it easier to integrate; those from Centres go into the lowest academic streams - their English regresses at first. They are nervous and use their own language for confidence." 5.5.1976

This sort of comment was not seen as an indicator for change in the school system. The children were to bear the responsibility for 'integrating' and for 'coping'. In general one would expect the children who had been in the school system longer to be 'coping better' and research evidence confirms this (Essen and Ghodsian, 1980; Verma [1]). However, one could also expect this would be seen in a more even distribution of Asian and non-Asian children in the Upper school teaching groups than my research showed. There is the expectation on the child of integration and an intimation of a feeling by the teachers that school may be alienating that child. There is little attempt by the school beyond the E2L department to resolve the alienation, articulated as, for instance:

"Asians generally underachieve. I see language teaching as a problem in learning rather than a linguistic problem. The child is switching off and needs motivating." 5.4.1976

"Asian children cannot cope with creative work because their

use of language is limited for imaginative writing and they lack the school experience that could develop this." 7.5.1976

A response by one school was to extend the Asian children's range of experience of English culture by visits and trips out so that they might 'succeed' (in the culturally-biassed external examination papers, pp.116-119) and 'cope' with school. There was very little evidence of a positive appreciation of the child's own culture.

While Bradford had made considerable strides in recognising the language needs of the E2L children in school and allocated money and staff resources to meeting them, the second phase language policy could have been more effective if steps had been taken in two directions. Firstly, the E2L teachers needed support and a recognition of the broader implications of their work. They were already perceiving and articulating some of the issues of concern but had a low status and weak voice themselves in the school system. If their contribution had been more highly valued (publicly supported by the Headteacher for instance) and their work integrated with the rest of the curriculum it could have been a catalyst for change. At the same time, many of the worries about teaching competence, often linked to status, would have been resolved. Secondly, school needed to make a positive recognition of the Asian children's cultural norms, including their competence in a mother tongue, to increase their personal respect in the school situation, so that the confidence to use and develop their second language was not restricted. Both steps would have required a more flexible school timetabling structure and a willingness on behalf of the school staff as a whole to listen to alternative perspectives on educational practice and to accommodate changes benefitting the minority group. While neither of these steps was taken, the schools continued to collude with racism and to deny access to equal opportunity in education for the Asian child.
Conclusion

While Bradford had done considerable pioneering work in the field of providing for the needs of second language learners in the school system, especially in implementing some home-school liaison, it has been shown that by focussing on the Asian child and his/her language and culture as the problem, the policy had taken little account of the receptivity of the schools to the Asian children and the training needs of the E2L teachers as factors in the effective language teaching. There was a need to boost the confidence of the language teachers through support groups, in-service training and an effective voice in the school decision-making. There was a need to boost the confidence of the E2L children through a positive approach to their cultural difference as a contribution to the 'normal' whole school curriculum and ethos, so that they were encouraged to use, extend and practice their second language. In focussing only on the child, the victim of racial discrimination, the language support policy and its practice in the schools, despite good intentions, colluded with racism and perpetuated it institutionally. Racism that is perpetuated by institutions such as schools, which are slow to change, through stereotyped assumptions, a defensive professionalism and Inertia, militates against the perception of the real needs of the immigrant communities by those in positions of power.

Up to 1977 there was no option for schooling in anything but English within the Bradford County school system [1]. Some 'foreign' languages were taught at Middle and Upper schools, but not used as a medium of instruction. At both of

[1] A small pilot project was commenced in 1978. See C A Rees, F Fitzpatrick, S Sharma, S Nasser (1981) Report of the Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project. Bradford LEA was, in many ways, more progressive than other English LEA's in accommodation to minority languages in school. By 1980, she was employing peripatetic Urdu teachers in Upper schools and considering an extension of the mother tongue pilot project as a valid educational means of introducing the Asian child to English. Most of the minority language teaching was still being organised by voluntary bodies (supplementary/mosque schools), however.
the Middle schools, French was taught as a foreign language. No Asian language was taught in either school, though Urdu would have been particularly appropriate to a high proportion of the children on roll. French, German, Russian, Spanish and Latin were taught in the Upper schools. At two of them there was an arrangement for some pupils to take Urdu and Gujarati as an 'O' level subject through teaching at Bradford College in school time. Each year a handful of pupils took advantage of this. At First school, the occasional storytime in Punjabi was the only activity in which the Asian child's language was used as a medium of instruction.

The Bullock Report (1975) pointed out the importance of bilingualism as an asset to national life:

"Bilingualism is of great importance to the children and their families and also to society as a whole .... The school should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and whenever possible should help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother-tongues. The school that really welcomes its immigrant parents must also be prepared to welcome their languages, to display notices and other material written in them, and even adopt some of the rhymes and songs learnt by the young children at home." [1]

The inner city Middle school did translate notices home to parents into Urdu and showed most willingness to accommodate to language difference of all the schools visited. One Upper school did so too. Only the Centres ensured that an interpreter was available on the staff to cope with language difference of visiting parents and children in difficulty, though.

Society's racial prejudice was reflected in the administrator's lack of awareness and foresight, for example in condoning the shortfall of school places in the inner city and the dispersal of black children to unwelcoming schools, in underestimating the need for in-service training of teachers. It placed the minority groups in a position of racial discrimination through the very policy that was designed to alleviate it. Racism perpetuated through the 'normal' functioning of a respected

institution, such as a school, was not perceived by the administrators and so not addressed.

The intentions of the LEA were good, pioneering in advance of national policy. A racial mix in schools would be an ideal, but if it can only be obtained by 'bussing' across a colour line then it is counter-productive. The colour line reflects an underlying social stratification which affords higher status to a white than a black skin in Britain; it reflects white racism. Extra English language support for the bilingual children was good, but dispersal as a means of supporting E2L development cannot be valid positive action under the 1976 Race Relations Act if it is a hidden reflection of white racism.

The following two chapters will describe the extent to which the 'normal' functioning of school had been adjusted to accommodate racial and cultural diversity in Bradford. The first (Chapter 14) will describe accommodation to racial and cultural diversity in the context of the school curriculum, the teaching aids used and values promoted. The second (Chapter 15) will look particularly at the LEA and school responses to requests from the Muslim communities to alter practice in Religious Education and School Assemblies, in rules relating to dress for school and for physical education, and in provision for school meals.
CHAPTER 14 ACCOMMODATION TO RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CURRICULUM OF BRADFORD SCHOOLS, 1977

This chapter will describe the extent to which schools had been directed by the LEA, or had chosen, to change their atmosphere, aims, objectives and practices to accommodate the racial and cultural difference of the newcomers.

It has been argued that Bradford's dispersal policy, while intending to broaden educational opportunity, and accomplishing this to some extent, was racist in practice since all Asian children by name, rather than by educational need, were subject to it. While seeking to redress the educational disadvantage of the E2L child, it perpetuated institutional racism, since there was little attempt to assess the cultural bias in the normal functioning of schools, nor to offer a major teacher in-service training programme prior to 1979. In fact, many of the teachers funded under Section 11 grants were being used to alleviate wider disadvantage than that concerned with issues related to culture and language difference. These factors may have been contributing to the alienation from the school system that was becoming apparent in some of the lower achieving Asian children at Upper school stage. They need to be considered seriously as contributors to the lower attainment of Asian children as a category, compared with their non-Asian peers, demonstrated in the external examinations (Chapter 6).

The LEA practice for teaching English as a second language has already been described (Chapter 13). This chapter will focus on changes perceived by 1977 in other aspects of the school's curriculum, the teaching aids used and values promoted. In a city with 15.9% of the school population "immigrant" in 1975 (November), increasing to 18.2% by 1977 (November) (Figure 1.7), some accommodation to the influx of children with racial and cultural difference from the indigenous population could be expected.

I visited about a hundred classes during the period of my fieldwork, 1976-77, watching teachers and pupils at work. I looked for the kind of input that could
modify attitudes of children to one another (breaking down stereotypes held) and to themselves (building self-esteem for minority and majority alike, not of one at the expense of the other). I looked for an equity of respect for cultural difference as demonstrated by the teaching material and information promoted. In addition, I looked for evidence that all children were being prepared for the inequality and disadvantages of society in a positive fashion that would enable them to perceive political options and make effective choices to promote their own life chances while respecting the needs of others. Racism is related not just to attitudes and feelings, but also to the real choices that people can make for their lives.

While there was much variety within and between schools in the City, the description takes observations from all the Upper schools and is offered as a fair representation of practice in the 13-16 stage. The First and Middle schools visited, a pair in the inner city and a pair in the outer city, could be seen to represent poles of a continuum of awareness of the issues of teachers of children 4+ to 13. The inner city schools were, on the whole, more obviously accommodating to the cultural difference of the newcomers than the outer city schools. What was most significant was that even in the 'most aware' schools, very little curriculum development or change in the general ethos of the school was in evidence at all. What change there was, was described as 'for the immigrants' rather than as an appropriate development in education for all children.

The LEA Advisor for Immigrants agreed with this assessment and directed me to look at one particular First school at which he described the provision as 'exceptional and not representative of the city'. I have described this school separately to give an account of the possibility of development that is perceived (pp.282-287). The development at this school happened as a result of an intensive input of resources and school-based training in co-operation with the Schools Council and National Foundation for Educational Research, working in a limited
number of multiracial schools throughout England on the theme Education for a Multiracial Society, 1973–76.

In the education literature over the past decade, the terms multiracial, multicultural and multiethnic have been applied to 'the education of immigrants' and later to the whole school curriculum loosely and often interchangeably. In the early 1970's the term multiracial was applied to schools with a high proportion of black children ('immigrants') on roll (viz. Organisation in Multiracial Schools, Townsend and Brittan, 1972). It was later used to describe the curriculum in such schools, (viz. Education for a Multiracial Society: curriculum and content, Schools Council/NFER, 1973). By the late 1970's, this was replaced by the term multicultural education, a term that was also used to refer to E2L support and to some teaching designed to reduce racial prejudice in 'all white' schools too (viz. Multicultural Education: views from the classroom, Twitchin and Demuth, 1981). This late '70's approach was defined thus:

"Multicultural education is that which values cultural pluralism; rejects the idea that schools should melt away cultural differences on the view that school should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead multicultural education should be orientated towards the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programmes rooted to the preservation of cultural alternatives."

Statement from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (quoted in Holmes, 1980).

As the political implications of 'multicultural' education became apparent (potentially a move from monoculturalism to cultural pluralism in County Schools) through the action of radical white and minority group pressure, government sponsored documents promoted a new term multiethnic (viz. Ethnic Minorities in the Inner Cities, Cross 1978 and Multi-ethnic Education: the way forward, Little and Willey, 1981). The new term purported to be scrupulously 'fair' by including the plethora of ethnic groups that make up our social entity, Welsh, Scots, Latvian etc., but initially obscured the racial connotations that had transferred from
multiracial to multicultural. In usage it quickly became another euphemism for 'education for immigrants'. I shall refer to permeating a school system with multiracial principle, as part of a need to develop appropriate education for a multicultural society. This confronts the racial issue and accepts as a basic premise that we are living in a multiracial society with cultural variety.

The Situation In General in the City Schools

The data presented here was of the overt curriculum intentions of the teachers involved, expressed in words (sometimes written as a syllabus), actions and materials used in class.

In the First schools observed there was no overt policy to promote cultural pluralism. There were no LEA guidelines on the issue, nor particular school policies. Rather, there was a "we treat them all the same" approach [1]. As the concentration was on basic literacy and numeracy, evidence of accommodation to racial and cultural difference would most likely be found in the readers, workcards and visual aids used. In the autumn of 1976 at neither of the First schools studied did the books reflect other than a middle class white image. The readers were all of the Ladybird, Jane and Peter variety [2] or about the 'Happy Trio' Jane, Dick and John [3]. At the inner city school, with a school population that was 75% black and the other 25% working class white, this represented a depressingly false world to the children struggling towards literacy. The 'free' readers and library books did nothing to redress the imbalance. At the inner city school none of the teaching material offered an image of society as multiracial [4].

[1] Here the word 'same' meant in effect 'like the children who were in school when the black immigrants came'. By implication, the presence of the newcomers would make no difference to what was considered appropriate in the curriculum.
[2] W Murray, Ladybird Keyword Reading Scheme
Even the 'thank you book' that I donated to the school in gratitude for allowing me entry, disappeared without trace [1]. At the outer city school, where the book provision was more prolific, only in one class did I see a few books that offered cultural variety. There the six-year-olds could thumb through Legends of the World and Angelo and Toni. In this class one white child had produced a Blue Peter book in similar travelogue vein. The teacher used it at storytime with woeful ignorance: "I think this is children in school", she said, pointing to a picture of monks at prayer (6.9.1976).

In neither school was there any appreciation shown of this white western bias and its possible relevance for the children in school. I asked the teacher at the inner city school whom I assessed as most skilled professionally, whether she thought it might be appropriate to use Nippers [2] or Link Up [3] in school, but she was scathing of 'working class language readers': "we don't have to sink to their level". By the summer of 1977, I did notice some workcards being made from the Ladybird Sunstart series [4] at the inner city school, but beyond that and the very few black dolls among the majority white ones in the 'home corner', there was no concession to the multiracial society. There was nothing to indicate to a visitor to the school after 'home time' that most of the children in that school were black [5]. The outer city school did not even have the occasional black doll in the 'home corner' to allow some normality to that colour of skin.

[1] S Lyle (1977) Pavan is a Sikh
[2] L Berg (1972) Little Nippers Readers. These used the language and portrayed the situation of the white working class child. See also Berg (1976) Reading and Loving for the philosophy behind the programme.
[3] J Reid and J Low (1973) Link Up Graded Readers for First and Middle schools. These made use of words and situations surrounding children in everyday life, for the initial reading development. They were illustrated with scenes reflecting the multiracial nature of the community.
[4] Ladybird Sunstart Readers have a Caribbean setting.
[5] A probationer Pakistani teacher did produce a spectacular 3-D collage of a minaret-ed mosque, prayer carpet and beads that was displayed on the Hall wall in the spring of 1977. It was still there, dusty and untouched, two years later as a splendid token of what could be !
The situation in the Middle schools was similar. There was no policy of curriculum reassessment in a changing society. At neither school was there a selection of books that gave a multiracial image. One teacher from the inner city Middle school told me that she had 'grabbed' the book that I donated to the school, for her class [1]. She said, "There's not much of that kind of thing in our school." In this case there was some awareness of the need but it was through the initiative of individuals in the system. As year tutor in Year 1, this teacher had seen to it that the readers were in keeping with the multiracial principle to some extent. There was little money to be allocated for new books however.

Any multiracial image from the visual impact of the classrooms at these Middle schools came as much by accident as design. Children's work displayed at the inner city school was on the local community, but even that was ambivalent, as my notes suggest:

"Project on families ... my family, the community, the family of man ... with the relevant pictorial and visual aids ..." 22.9.1976

"Visual aids: family drawings. Jackie and Michael (West Indian) colour themselves alright, but Asians tend to leave the skin uncoloured. Both Parveens draw blonde-haired grandmothers. Parveen draws a blonde Auntie, too. Her mother is English." 22.9.1976

At the outer city school I was impressed by a display of library books in one of the year base areas, books concerned with skin and hair - all types, until I returned a term later and saw the same display there. Even the token efforts of the E2L teacher had made no impact:

"I'm trying to encourage a bit more awareness of the multicultural thing, a Muslim prayer in Assembly occasionally, and to get a few more relevant pictures up." 27.9.1976.

The one picture of a black person on the walls was that of an African

negro with tribal markings. The wall display in one year base that had been the product of the previous term's topic on the Olympic games (28.9.1976) managed to portray international athletics without a single black person's photograph [1].

In the Upper schools there was diversity between the schools themselves and between the approaches of the subject departments within the schools. Several of the English departments seemed keen to seek out reading material to suit a working class and/or northern teenage image, but the multiracial image was strictly for the E2L departments:

"We search for suitable relevant Bradford material for English children but not for immigrants. They would have to be private readers to take home, related to their home experience, because they wouldn't be of interest to the other children."

Upper School English teacher, 1.4.1976

The man who made this comment, an excellent professional in many respects, was typical of his colleagues in the racist assumptions that were being made. He assumed 'immigrants' to be of less importance than English children in his implications that they did not need 'relevant' reading material. He assumed that they were not part of 'relevant Bradford material', stereotyping them as different from some supposed norm. He assumed that any material related to the home experience of the immigrant could not be of interest to English children, though not the reverse.

In six of the twelve schools, the E2L departments were equipped with some general reading books (other than those specifically designed for E2L structured language work) that showed cultural diversity and were illustrated with brown faces as well as white. Mostly, they were from the Children's Book Trust, New Delhi.

[1] This was made more poignant by the fact that, at that school's Sports Day the following summer, I was told by a teacher, in mocking admiration of the athletic skill of one of the Afro-Caribbean girls: "Of course, we have Sonia Lannerman in our house", 30.6.1977 - Sonia Lannerman being an internationally famous black British sprinter, a winner whom the black girls in school were no doubt already admiring.
flimsy paperbacks but with good colour illustrations of stories set in the Indian sub-continent [1]. For the Asian children, most of them firmly rooted in inner city Bradford, these must have conveyed mixed messages, but used sensitively they could be affirmative, as this teacher's comment shows:

"In the Thirds I have a backward Chinese child. We have been doing a Chinese fairytale. We acted it. He grew 6" taller."

Upper school E2L teacher. 11.5.1976.

On the whole, though, the E2L teachers felt that this back-home image was inappropriate:

"Scope [2] is not much good for this stage because there is too much oral language development, and putting situations back into Asian cultural experience 'back home' doesn't help in learning our culture which is what they need. They need to be safe in the culture of the English school situation before they can appreciate their own culture. The immigrant children don't choose Indian and Pakistani stories from the shelves. I use simplified English classics as in Lamb's One Hundred Stories."

Upper School E2L teacher, 7.5.1976.

Thus, the books available that had a multiracial, multicultural impact were not seen as 'relevant' in school by the children or the teachers. But the teachers, as with the one quoted above, may have imputed, by the choice of 'relevant' books, a value status to 'our culture' (English) above that of what is presumed to be 'their culture' (Asian). The Asian children were expected to learn to act and choose appropriately, adopting the school culture, if they were to achieve. For instance, in one fourth year class that I visited, the teacher was taking seventeen Asian girls through some comprehension exercises for the CSE English examination. She said she thought very highly of the particular book in use [3], stories with very Western social relationships, 'mother-in-law problems', teenage defiance of

[1] Children's Book Trust, New Delhi, published stories with titles such as Marat Mouse, Little Tiger, Big Tiger, Mahagiri, Shobana, Ashok's Kite.


authority etc. The girls were being trained to give the 'right' answers, that is, those that the examiner would expect. They were not only having to learn the language but also the English cultural idiom to go with it, so it was hardly surprising that the teacher also found them 'lacking in imagination' (pp.95-96).

It was only in the E2L departments that much teacher sensitivity was displayed to the issue of cultural relevance in the teaching material. Their ability to affect the wider curriculum was limited, partly because of the low status of the department in the schools (Chapter 13), but also because of limited availability of more appropriate resources:

"We are attempting to build up a library, a Community library to be in the school, and looking for books aimed at or written by minority group representatives. There is a lack of specific reading material for low reading age teenagers, anyway – it is not available."

Upper School E2L teacher 5.4.1976

The sensitivity that was displayed was only towards finding material that might encourage the minority group children themselves. There was no evidence that the teachers perceived a possibility that a multiracial principle through the choice of school books, by implying normality to the image, might have broadened the experience of all children. It might have developed a respect for difference that could allow some equity of value to more than one culture, and hence to the experience of people of the culture, and prepare children for the multicultural society.

Upper schools were less likely to be using the walls for displays of the pupils' work and for educative, stimulus material than first and Middle schools. Looking round the corridors and foyers where displays were likely to be mounted, apart from two exhibitions of CSE artwork (awaiting assessment) which did reflect the different cultural backgrounds of the entrants to an extent, only three schools showed a picture of a brown face. Of these, one display was in the special wing of the school for physically handicapped children; in another the Headteacher had
a positive policy of presenting a visual multiracial impact. As with the books, it was just the E2L departments that celebrated cultural variety in their wall displays, but then only in five of the schools.

While it would be possible to teach a syllabus that took a positive approach to racial and cultural difference without books and visual aids, the lack of any school or LEA policy on developing respect for diversity and confronting prejudice and stereotypes was evidence of lack of any real awareness in the schools at the time of a need for change in curriculum for a multicultural society.

I looked particularly at Art and Home Economics in the Upper schools as subjects in which accommodation to cultural difference in the pupils would be most overt. Only in one school, with leadership from the Headteacher, was there the beginning of movement towards curriculum reassessment. In 1976, in all others, I found a similar assumption about the 'rightness' of white western norms and the need for the children to be acculturated to these. From the Art teachers, for instance:

"The artwork of the Pakistanis remains 'childish' longer, crude use of colour, very little sense of colour harmony - but it responds to instruction .... They are becoming more westernised." 20.5.1976

"When the lesson is an instructive one, no cultural difference is apparent except that Asians seem to have difficulty in grasping western concepts of perspective and pictorial space. The Pakistanis are apt to produce copies of Asian cinema posters." 20.5.1976

"Ten years ago they (Asians) did patterns and used strong pastel colour, but now they are increasingly westernised and do Kung Fu pictures." 5.5.1976

Some saw the Asian child's use of pattern and colour as different but not necessarily inferior or lacking in imagination, but none of the Art teachers appeared to be making an attempt to explore particular art forms that would draw
on the cultural experience of the minority. All 'taught' the children to draw the human form [1] and to use perspective.

From the Home economics teachers there was no evidence at all that the well-developed cooking and sewing skills of many of the Asian girls were being appreciated or used to contribute to a broadening of the scope of lessons. I was told that the Asian girls enjoyed English cookery and liked to take rock buns home for the family. Two of the Upper schools had run an "Asian Cultural Evening". The girls and their mothers had taken over the Home Economics department facilities after school to prepare the food - as a special effort, not as part of the curriculum.

In practice the city schools were taking little advantage of the cultural diversity that the school population presented and missing an opportunity of developing mutual respect for difference that should be a basis for a healthy multiracial society. Guides, information booklets and courses to help with curriculum development in this direction were available at the LEA Teachers' Centre, but the impetus for change was in the hands of the teachers themselves. The take-up was making no impact on school life in general. The E2L teachers, those most closely in touch with the Asian children, were beginning to perceive a mismatch between the mainstream school diet and 'their children's' needs, but they were isolated from most policy discussion. In one Upper school only, where the Headteacher was leading the initiative, was there any effective discussion of appropriate education for a multicultural society [2]. On the whole, implicit assumptions about western superiority were the foundations of a curriculum for all. This was the 'hidden curriculum' of the schools and the value presented to the Asian child.

[1] This would be strictly disapproved of in the traditional Muslim community, and most of the Asian children were from Muslim families.
[2] This school is referred to in the case study pp.393-400 and in Appendix A1.
The Outer City First School Involved in a
Schools Council/National Foundation for Educational Research Project, 1977

Finding nothing encouraging in the curriculum in respect of school accommodation to the cultural and racial diversity of the pupils (beyond the teaching of English as a second language) in the schools of my particular survey, on the advice of the LEA Advisor for Immigrants I visited the school reported below. He described the provision at this school as exceptional and not representative of the city. He admitted that it had developed in this way because of co-operation with the Schools Council/NFER project Education for a Multiracial Society, 1973–1976.

That project aimed to help teachers in First and Middle schools to develop a curriculum that was relevant to the needs of children who were growing up in a multiracial society:

"To promote in pupils respect for and more positive attitudes towards their own and other national ethnic groups." [1]

The project team, after assessing curricula needs in a particular locality, worked alongside teachers in specific schools, implementing change in the curriculum and resources used to support it or encouraging the setting up of local teachers' working parties to develop resources relevant to their needs. The project was ready for publication in 1978 [2], but not actually published, and then in an amended form, until 1981 [3]. The original report was criticised as 'too anecdotal, too long and overweighted', with some doubts expressed as to the examples given and deductions drawn from them. There was also a major difference of opinion between the researchers and the sponsors as to the policy implications of the research. The project team proposed a 'permeation' of the school curricula with a

multiracial element, with ethnic groups being encouraged to keep their language and culture. The sponsors were unsympathetic to this and asserted that teacher representatives and most teachers believed that ethnic minorities should be integrated or assimilated into society as much as possible.

I visited the Bradford First school in the project in 1977. It was in the middle of a council housing estate on the outskirts of the city. The twenty-year-old brick building spread its single storey classrooms across a broad site, surrounded by playing fields and rented housing with some owner-occupied dwellings among them. It was a neighbourhood school with a Middle school next door.

Three hundred and sixty children were on roll, two of them Asian children from the locality, and 51 'Bus children', mostly Pakistani Muslims. A third of the children in the school were on 'free dinners' pointing to a fairly low socio-economic status of families of the school population overall. There were fourteen full-time teachers, one half-timer and two nursery nurses. The Headteacher had been in post for nine years.

The Headteacher had formerly taught in an inner city school and had developed her strategies for teaching in a multiracial situation on the basis of that experience. She insisted that a 'multicultural curriculum' was necessary for all children and had been encouraged in working this out in practice in conjunction with the Schools Council/NFER team. The school day had been timetabled around the bus times, so that all the children began and ended the day together. An ethnic mix had been engineered in the 13 school classes, each class of 30 children having 4 or 5 'immigrants', so that the bus children had opportunities of making friendships with the local children. Children had been bussed to this school as part of the LEA dispersal policy for seven years and the school September intake of local children was purposely restricted to leave room for late-comers from the
Centres during the year. The Head felt that the bussing policy was a bad one but as there seemed no immediate alternative to it, then the school receiving the children had to ensure that they were well accommodated in their special need:

"The First school is the right place for them to start to mingle .... Their language should be English, because they are going to have to compete in English in society. The best way to avoid race riots is to give the children an equal chance for a job."

Headteacher

Once the school bus had arrived and the Asian children filed into their classes, a whole school Assembly was held in the Hall, a visible community solidarity. Only on Mondays, when dinner money was collected, was this ritual omitted. The Assembly was used as an opportunity to endorse a positive approach to cultural difference and to stimulate interest in objects and issues, an interest that the teachers were encouraged to develop in the children later. For example, on the day of my visit:

"The children waited attentively for the Head to begin. She drew their attention to the beautiful Spring flowers on display. Bright yellow daffodils nodded their response ... The children sang a song and received injunctions about care of clothes and shoes. They were asked to admire some Indian dolls on display, that had just been received from the Schools Museum Service. To me she said: 'This is a bad day for you to come. We don't usually have lovely dolls like that on display. It just happened that the museum stuff arrived this morning.'"[1]

For most of the Asian children, English language support was given by the class teacher. The E2L teacher gave extra help with reading development. There were many books on display around the school that reflected the multiracial environment of the place. Jigsaws in the cupboards had pictures of black children on them. There were work folders on the Eid and Diwali festivals:

"It was four years before I dare try to celebrate Diwali.

[1] The Schools Museum Service is available to all schools in the LEA. Artefacts are ordered a term in advance.
I was afraid I might offend someone, afraid of making a fool of myself."

Headteacher

For a Diwali display one class had done a project on light. They built a model of a dam in a Third World country that brought light to the city. Candles had been lit to demonstrate this and to celebrate the festival. The Headteacher said:

"The children accept all this now without fuss, naturally and with no giggling. Once they did a role play of a market in the Gambia. I took the children to another school to show this. The children there laughed at us. I'd never do that again."

Headteacher

All the children changed for PE and danced a complicated routine around a maypole with intensely serious faces. Asian children queued patiently for the non-meat meal at dinner time, which on this occasion had been delayed.

At dinnertime I enjoyed the company of two five-year-old Asian girls. Both chatted in clear, concise English. Kalsoom recounted her daily trip to 'the mosque' ('it's a house really and we sit on chairs'). Both were eating a non-meat dinner provided as an alternative to the meat meal. They said they didn't eat meat at their house [1].

Unit 5 (8–9 year olds) put on a special display for me:

Pakistani School, Miss
A Pakistani boy selected five boys from the class to be his 'class', set up a blackboard and selected a wangy cane to punctuate his movements and instructions. He taught his 'class' to greet him as he entered the room: Salaam Aleikum. They learnt to count in Punjabi, mistakes being reprimanded with consummate authority – and a stick! The medium of instruction was Punjabi and the white children never flinched, repeating 'ek, do, tin'.
A short dance (rather un-Muslim) was then performed by one of the girls.

[1] If the child had been asked whether she ate gosht (Urdu for meat) she would probably have said yes, with the assumption that it would be halal (allowed for Muslims because of the religious rites performed at the slaughter). The word meat, being English, implied haram (forbidden). Only a very few of the Asian children came from vegetarian homes (usually Hindu).
The Iced Lollipop Man

A group from the same class then presented a role play on the lollipop man, a familiar figure around the estate, and pursued their imaginary salesman out into the street.

Here a sensitive encouragement of the use of drama was obviously developing the children's 'sympathetic imagination' (Parekh 1981) and was an enjoyable experience [1]. The confidence of these children before a stranger, in offering their particular ethnic contribution, was remarkable.

The teachers were very supportive of the work of the project:

"Working on this multi-racial approach has put a new slant on my own thinking and attitudes. I've had to gain more knowledge of the children's backgrounds."
Teacher

The Headteacher spoke favourably of a highly co-operative staff and their general emphasis on 'loving' the children. The children came freely to her in my presence and spoke with a familiarity and trust. I observed her concern in action:

"A bus boy had been off sick and returned, but was still unwell. Will your Mummy be in if I take you home? Will she answer the door? Sit down in the foyer a little while and then I'll take you." [2]

One member of staff had special responsibility for home-school liaison, with a salary allowance to cover this. She forged links with the Centres for the Bus children and went into the homes of local children. The Head said there was regular contact with several of the Asian parents. There was a positive approach to the Asian child and to the prejudice that could be voiced by the majority:

"At dinnertime, one girl came away from a table just joined by three Asian children (non-meat eaters), holding her nose: 'There's an awful smell there'. Ms —— said: 'Where? I think I'll have to go and smell. It's boiled egg, you silly billy. Don't you know the smell of boiled eggs?"

---


[2] A mother in purdah may not answer the door to see a teacher, even a female teacher.
A single visit to any school can be most misleading, but the confidence that the Asian children here were showing could only have been based on careful nurture. The attempt to display a relevant multiracial image to the children in school was genuine. The adjustment of the school times to accommodate the city's bus service was rare and welcoming to the 'bussed' children. It was a happy school with well-meaning teachers like many others in the city. These, however, had been sensitised by the research project to a wider perspective on their responsibility to the rising generation of children.

The results of the Schools Council/NFER input were showing positive effect.

Discussion

The issue that emerged as crucial in the debate about education for immigrants in the 1970's was that of curriculum change - content and process. The brief description of the history of schooling in Bradford (Chapter 1) plotted the development of the curriculum to a broad 'liberal' education with relevance for a modern world, that had roots in a classical tradition that had held sway in the Public schools. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), son of the great headmaster who had already introduced modern history, science and languages to the curriculum at Rugby School, was a formative thinker in the development of the contemporary school curriculum. He saw the secondary school as a place for the middle classes in particular to acquire 'culture' through 'a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world' [1]. However, the value of culture was not in the mere acquisition of knowledge, but in its application to living in a changing world, 'turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we now follow staunchly but mechanically' [2].

[1] Arnold, M Culture and Anarchy Preface p.x
[2] ibid (cont. ) p.x
'Culture' was a necessary basis for science:

"To have the power of using, which is the thing wished, these data of natural science, a man must, in general, have first been in some measure moralised: and for moralising him it will be found not easy, I think, to dispense with those old agents, letters, poetry, religion. So let not our teachers be led to imagine, whatever they may hear or see of the case for natural science, that their literary cultivation is unimportant." [1]

Comprehensive education attempts to apply this as an educational philosophy for all.

The aims of curriculum change have been categorised as transmissionist or transformist (Jeffcoate 1976 [2]) and I have referred to policy for education more generally with these terms. There is a tension between the political conservatism that would transmit that which is considered to be best in the tradition in order to strengthen the status quo and retain social equilibrium, and the pressure for education to be a force for socio-political change, using insights from that which is best in the tradition to transform the status quo towards some ideal future. Historically one could cite the nineteenth century expansion of the curriculum to include science and modern languages in the wake of industrial development as an example of the former and the extension of the right of education for literacy and numeracy to all (1870) prior to the universal franchise (1918–1928) as an example of the latter. Paulo Freire, contemporary educational philosopher, makes similar distinctions between 'banking' and 'problem-posing' education. He argues that:

"Whereas banking education anaesthetises and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality." [3]

---

The objectives of curriculum change are held in the further tension of differing perceptions of the dynamic for change in society affecting the focus of policy. For Arnold, the education proposed was for the enlightenment of the middle classes, so that they could be effective leaders of a broad-based industrial society for the working population, leading it to increased prosperity for all. This perception of change from the top was part of the motivation for selective schooling. The grammar school tradition gives special reward for academic achievement that has been the entry to positions of leadership in society. Such policies tend to come from the educational philosophy of the political right wing. For Freire, the education proposed was a 'pedagogy of the oppressed', to enable the underclasses to be in charge of their own life chances, solve their own life problems for a more equitable distribution of wealth. This implied an increased prosperity of the poorest with a probable decrease in privilege for the more affluent. It tends to be the educational philosophy of the political left wing.

The definition of aims and objectives for curriculum change has been further complicated, since the Sixties, by the pressures of a 'global age' (Ward, 1966). Jet travel, radio and television have reduced the possibility of even English insularity. This is acknowledged in central government documents:

"Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society ..... must reflect the needs of this new Britain.

We also live in a complex, interdependent world, and many of our problems in Britain require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know about and understand other countries."

Education in Schools: a consultative document HMSO 1977 [1]

The model of multicultural society envisaged was not one of separate development,

[1] This was the key educational discussion document of the decade issued as a Government Green Paper, that addressed the issues of core curriculum and standards in schools.
but more of respect for difference within a unity of political values and beliefs. A model of separate development would concentrate more exclusively on the phenomenon of culture, each group maintaining its own religion, culture, language, mores and customs:

"As individuals they meet but only in the market-place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society with different sections of the community living side by side but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere there is a division of labour along racial lines." [1]

This was the classic model posed by J S Furnivall (1948) researching in the former Dutch East Indies. The favoured model was one of democratic pluralism (viz. Alexis de Tocqueville's critique of American society, 1840), a model of social organisation in which there is a balance of power between competing and overlapping religions, ethnic, economic and geographical groupings. Each group has some interests which it protects and fosters and each has some say in shaping social decisions which are binding on all groups that make up society. Common to all groups is a set of political values and beliefs which serve to maintain the social system by accommodation and resolution of conflicts through the appropriate channels. The danger of this social order lies in its centralisation and, as de Tocqueville warned, the 'gentle tyranny' [2] of its paternal administration. The key to self-determination within such a model is in the nature of the balance of power between the competing groups.

The Government policy has been to promote a 'multicultural' curriculum, though with little consistent attempt to define its aims, objectives, process of implementation or content. Circular 7/65 (1965) suggested to LEA's that some teaching about the Commonwealth was desirable (see p.155); the 1969 Select Committee suggested that the National Foundation for Educational Research should

[2] A de Tocqueville (1840) Democracy in America See Book II, Chap.6 "Despotism in democratic nations".
undertake research into 'multiracial education' funded by the Schools' Council, though the report was vetoed when it was presented [1]. The National Union of Teachers subsequently submitted new proposals to the Schools' Council for projects on 'multi-ethnic' education [2], which covered an ambitious programme of research including curriculum content itself ('urban studies'), identification of good practice, teaching E2L, initial and second phase, and mother tongue teaching.

Multicultural education became an umbrella term to cover a variety of pragmatic accommodations to the presence of New Commonwealth immigrants in schools - E2L, mother tongue teaching, the provision of non-meat alternative school meals, a multifaith Religious Education and a look at the Eurocentric bias in history and other curriculum subjects and racial bias in textbooks - with a confusion as to the aims and objectives. This confusion is not confined to the British situation, as Masemann (1980) points out, but similar diversity of definition, concept and practice can be seen in USA, Canada, Hawaii and Fiji too. Definitions of multicultural education in most of the countries studied (Bodnar et al, 1980) focus on the education system as an instrument for the development of cultural identity and the maintenance of cultural pluralism as a context for the child's growth in self-worth, that is on the psychological/attitudinal aspects of discrimination rather than those of status. They are transmissionist in the wake of immigration for cultural groups new to the country but hope to be transformist in the sense of building new communities. This is assumed to provide a secure base from which to compete with equal opportunity in a democratic society. Its supporters would hope that 'unity in diversity' and equal opportunity can co-exist (Masemann, 1980).

[1] The original report was vetoed by teacher representatives on the Schools' Council because they felt teachers were unfairly criticised. See "Race and Teachers: the Schools' Council study" New Society 16.2.1978. The report was published in a limited form by the Schools' Council in 1981.

Almost before the faltering practice had opportunity to develop a firmer theoretical base, it was attacked by critics from the right and from the left. Right-wing criticism was concerned with tradition, social cohesion and standards in education, though multicultural education was too ill-defined a threat to have spawned much articulated criticism from the transmissionist perspective of curriculum development by the end of the Seventies. The left-wing critique came more promptly. Stone (1978) rejected the notion that black children had a low self-image, or that reinforcing cultural identity would lead to improved school performance. She drew on the writings of Gramsci to support her thesis that equality of opportunity would be achieved through formal academic methods and a traditional (though 'liberal') curriculum. The objective would be social and political change and thus was transformist. Downing (1980) argued that 'Black Studies' could become 'an excuse for not providing properly for black children's education in other subjects' [1] and Mullard (1980) saw the multicultural curriculum as a political response based on racist assumptions that black people pose a threat to the order of the liberal, democratic, capitalist society. Multicultural education for these critics was diverting money, political energy and academic effort into seemingly radical studies as a method of social control of black pupils. Carby (1980) also saw multicultural education as a practice of political containment with black children being encouraged to discover their culture at the expense of understanding the political and economic struggles of black people and the discrimination facing them in Britain. The kind of multicultural education that they were attacking tended in practice to be 'Black Studies' courses or some other discreet course in cultural diversity that marginalised the concerns of black people. The implication of these criticisms was that there was a need for a transformist, anti-racist curriculum but that the nature of that curriculum was ill-defined by the end of the

1970's.

The Government commissioned NFER/Schools Council report (1978) focussed on the effect of racial prejudice on all pupils, and the supposed effects of this in terms of under-achievement and discrimination on the life chances of black pupils. One remedy was seen to be a 'permeation' of the whole curriculum with a 'multiracial principle'. Cultural diversity should be represented through the curriculum because Britain is a multiracial society and its varied citizens have a civil right to the acknowledgement of this. The curriculum should reflect reality (Jeffcoate 1979). A Black Asian Studies programme [1] or teaching about race relations [2] may be an element of this, but not the totality of change. Where the researchers wanted to give a clearer message about a transformist, anti-racist curriculum it was blocked by the sponsors and the report was eventually published in an adjusted form in 1981.

Two British writers attempted to provide some theoretical framework for the curriculum for a multicultural society in the Seventies. The first was the Development Officer of the NFER research team, Robert Jeffcoate (1976 and 1979). In his 1976 paper, Jeffcoate offered a Bloomian classification [3] for objectives of multiracial education in both cognitive (knowledge) and affective (attitudes, values and emotional sets) spheres but suggested that they were 'primarily affective, about attitudes and dispositions, and only instrumentally cognitive' [4]. His approach to curriculum development was transformist in that he

saw the function of formal education as 'to bring about desired changes in children ... to have acquired certain identifiable knowledge and skills and developed certain identifiable attitudes and behaviours by the time they leave school' [1] in order to support the development of skills for building a just multiracial society, but he did not address the power dimension adequately.

Jeffcoate offered the following justified criteria for the selection of learning experiences for a multicultural curriculum:

1. An insular curriculum, preoccupied with Britain and British values, is unjustifiable in the final quarter of the twentieth century. The curriculum needs to be both international in its choice of content and global in its perspective.

2. Contemporary British society contains a variety of social and ethnic groups; this variety should be made evident in the visuals, stories and information offered to the children.

3. Pupils should have access to accurate information about racial and cultural differences and similarities.

4. People from British minority groups and from other cultures overseas should be presented as individuals with every variety of human quality and attribute. Stereotypes of minority groups in Britain and of cultures overseas, whether expressed in terms of human characteristics, lifestyles, social roles or occupational status are unacceptable and likely to be damaging.

5. Other cultures and nations have their own validity and should be described in their own terms. Wherever possible they should be allowed to speak for themselves and not be judged exclusively against British or European norms." [2]

This carefully thought-out selection was based on classroom experience as well as on research. It seems to assume a starting context of equity for the variety of social and ethnic groups and omits reference to status and power differential, that might affect the way in which the cultural validity might be received by the learners. This led him to argue later (Jeffcoate, 1979) that 'young white racists have as much right as anyone else to expect to find attentive adult ears at school' [1] ibid. pp. 7-8 [2] ibid., p.5
[1], relying very much on the challenge coming from peers rather than the teacher. He saw the most effective form of challenge that the teacher can offer as concerned with an attack on institutional racism by 'the development of unambiguously multiracial policies for curriculum and organisation even if in the short term they actually generate more manifestations of individual racism' [2].

The second writer, Williams (1979), produced a model for analysing the stated aims of a multicultural curriculum. She offered three types: technicist, moral and socio-political. The technicist aims to develop equality of opportunity for all children and is concerned primarily about the underachievement of black pupils. Curriculum change is seen in terms of the extent to which it can improve basic skills and curriculum development has a compensatory element in it. Williams cited the conclusions of the Redbridge study (1978) as an example of this approach [3], black parents demanding more effective education for their children in the three 'R's. She classed Jeffcoate as a moralist, aiming to diminish prejudice and discrimination and promote positive attitudes. The curriculum emphasis of his approach was on new materials, chosen or developed with a consciousness of bias and experiential learning methods. She saw the Stenhouse project (1975) and the NUT (1979) document as further examples of a moralist stance. The third, socio-political approach, for Williams, implied a shift in the values of society to a belief that the development of a plural society, where relatively separate but equal groups will emerge, is an acceptable aim. Those who promote this approach will wish to permeate the whole curriculum with a multiracial principle to develop a multicultural perspective and enable children to develop the necessary skills to fight for their political rights in such a society. She cited Bagley and Coard (1975) as

exemplars of this approach [1]. This latter categorisation seems to me to be rather tenuous, though Coard (1971) has certainly demonstrated his anger at the injustice he sees West Indian children suffer. In their research report Bagley and Coard. found a low level of knowledge of cultural information about the West Indies in West Indian children in three London schools, and a substantial extent of self-rejection that correlated with being seen as behaviour problems in the classroom. They concluded that:

"the teaching of 'Black Studies' would almost certainly be a beneficial addition to the curriculum of multi-racial schools...... Essentially, in multi-ethnic classrooms, children should learn not only to be secure in and magnanimously proud of their cultural heritage, but also to know and respect the cultural heritage of their fellow pupils." [2]

It seems to me that there is a marginalisation of the issue here to the needs of only those in multiethnic schools and an inappropriate specification of Black Studies as the mode. Williams' model however is a valuable one for analysing curriculum aims in a multicultural society.

The problem with using such models, it seems to me, is that they focus attention on curriculum change divorced from the broader considerations of the aims and objectives of schooling itself (transmissionist or transformist) and of the political objectives of the society it is serving. These political objectives may be the assimilation of pupils into an established class structure or integration into a reformed or more radically changed power structure where racially and culturally different groups are accorded equity of respect for preferred difference. The latter would require an access to power that allows a democratic co-existence perceived by all groups as just.

The issues are further complicated by confusion around working definitions of

the terms racial prejudice and racism as related to that multiracial society. It is difficult to evaluate curriculum content and strategies unless the aims and objectives are clarified in relation to a presumed social context. I would argue that, if schools were rigorous in this clarification then the choice that Jeffcoate leaves to them will be academic, that is whether:

"The school identifies its target group as a handful of disturbed prejudiced personalities, the product of loveless or authoritarian childbearing or whatever, or whether it defines racial prejudice as a social norm with a describable history and causation which will have left its imprint to varying degrees and in different ways, on all children." [1]

Both aspects need consideration in inter-relation. The racial prejudice of individuals can be seen as a factor in the racism of society, in those structures and behaviours that intentionally or unintentionally perpetuate racial inequality.

The policies for the education of the children of immigrants to Bradford in the Sixties were about assimilation, the newcomers being taught the English language so that they could more effectively fit into the established social structure and receive 'all that is best in the tradition' (Chapter 10). The intention was to facilitate equality of opportunity, however, the practice did not address the inequalities of race and class that were already established as part of the social context, rather it reflected and reinforced them. Nationally, Bradford pioneered the teaching of English as a second language [2] and in this sense promoted curriculum change. However, the close link between the E2L and the remedial English language groups, in a school system in which status was accorded by examination success through an English language medium, helped to give the subject – and the learners by implication – a low status position (Chapter 13). It

[2] There were schools teaching English as a foreign language in England but only as a second language in isolated instances with Italian and East European immigrants prior to 1965. In Wales, many schools are bilingual, teaching in Welsh and English.
has been argued that this was exacerbated by bussing (Chapter 12). In a society in which racial prejudice was endemic, this brought racial and cultural difference together to fuel a stereotype of the low-attaining black child apparently that was supported by correlative data of low achievement relative to white peers (Chapter 6).

In the Seventies, both national and local policies shifted in the light of this experience towards a policy of appreciation of cultural diversity. Documents from the DES and LEA suggested that curriculum change to accommodate a respect for this diversity could contribute towards equality of opportunity for all [1]. The suggestions for curriculum change were focussed particularly on the black or ethnic minority child's need, thus multicultural education was perceived as appropriate for schools in multiracial areas. The practice aimed to address the inequalities of race; to be transformist. In effect, its critics from the political left maintained, it tended to divert action from real change to affect life chances and was a policy of containment. It was a variation on the assimilation policies of the Sixties.

The rationale for much of this attempted curriculum change was, in Williams' (1979) model, moralist. It focussed on prejudice, self-image and attitude in the child. Jeffcoate's work with the NFER/Schools Council project was informed by the research findings of David Milner (1975) whose work was replicating some of the American research that had informed the Civil Rights movement of the Sixties (Goodman, 1964; Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1964; Secord and Backman, 1964) much of it from a psychological perspective. The theory supporting it was that children's social identity is achieved within the context of their own group, through the attitudes of their parents and those whose company they keep. These will have already developed a group attitude relative to others in society, thus children acquire prejudices towards other groups at the same time and in the same

way as they acquire the values, ideals and positive attitudes of their own group. In a society where there are groups of unequal status, but at the same time the lower status group are led to expect to achieve a higher status and to expect to attain the same rewards as the higher groups, a competitive element is introduced into the social interaction. There will be tension as one group sees its aspirations and identity threatened by the other. The 'superior' group will offer, and enable its children to attain, a positive self-image at the expense of the 'inferior' group. The inferior group may accept ('internalise') this demoting evaluation of itself. Thus the stronger group will increase its advantage by using, rather than co-operating with, the weaker. The consequence may be feelings of deprivation in the weaker group and aggression, unless the group is protected by strong inner cohesion ('a tightly knit community'). The outcome would be perpetuation of actual inequality of life chances. Legislation to protect against this kind of discrimination would not be easily enforceable since it will tend to be manipulated or mediated by the stronger group.

The subtle effects of this hierarchical situation can be seen particularly where groups differ racially. Goodman (1964), working in the USA, found that children could recognise major physical differences between racial groups by the age of three, and could categorise people with confidence by seven years old. However, when asked to demonstrate that they could identify their own physical group (in response to the instruction "Give me a doll that looks like you") there was a tendency for a significantly higher proportion of black children than white to make identification 'errors'. She argued that:

"The relative inaccuracy of Negro misidentification reflects not simple ignorance of self, but unwillingness or psychological inability to identify with the brown doll because the child wants to look like the white doll." [1]

This basic observation was confirmed by Milner (1975) in Britain. Milner found, by modifying the method a little, that among a 7-8 year old sample of white and black children, on a test of actual identity ("Which doll is most like you?"), 48% of the West Indian children and 24% of the Asian children 'misidentified' and chose the white doll, and on a test of ideal identity ("Which doll would you like to be?"), 82% of the West Indian children and 65% of the Asian children did so. He argued that:

"A much higher proportion of the children than simply the outgroup identifiers have a positive orientation towards the outgroup, have a desire to be like them, but may be inhibited from expressing this by the fiction involved in saying they are like them in the identity test." [1]

A follow-up study a year later showed a consistency in the extremes (those children who had identified as black or white on either test) but inconsistency with the middle 50%, more now identifying black. A black tester could probably have stimulated more inconsistency (viz. Hawthorne effect, Canady 1936). This offers not so much proof of misidentification in the black child as a demonstration of conflict.

It was the experience of the NFER researchers (1973-1976) that teachers were on the whole reluctant to accept that children were affected by skin colour difference and had to involve them in the research to demonstrate the issues:

"As the result of observation and some research I became aware that prejudice did exist among the children in my school — I should have said quite firmly before my participation in the project that this was not so." Headteacher [2]

Nationally, Brittan's survey (1976) showed that at least a fifth of the teachers were opposed to the introduction to the curriculum of lessons on the culture and country of origin of the immigrants, although two-thirds thought this would be

---

[2] R Jeffcoate (1979) op.cit. reports three such experiments, Chap. 1
helpful, especially those in schools with a high ethnic minority representation. Only 46% agreed that a school should adapt its ways 'to accommodate different traditions of immigrant pupils' [1] and there was little recognition by teachers of the need for specialised teacher training or the kinds of curriculum changes that might promote good multiracial education. Widlake and Bloom (1979), investigating the use of teaching material for multicultural education in Manchester [2] noted considerable opposition to such programmes in general, similarly Giles (1977). Lack of documentation of good practice in a multicultural situation was seen as one reason for this.

The effect of the NFER project's work in Bradford was not only to sensitise the teachers of the school in which the work was done to the need for attitude change but also to alert the LEA to a direction in curriculum change and to materials that could be used to give positive outcomes for the confidence of the black children in schools. It has been shown that in Bradford, in the preceding decade, curriculum change to accommodate cultural and racial difference in schools had been very limited, except in the provision of E2L. Most of the accommodation had been negative — allowing children to withdraw from Religious Education and swimming for instance, rather than making these activities appropriate for all. In the social context, I would argue that conservatism in the schools, with racial prejudice, allowed the newcomers, stimulators of the change, to be seen as the problem and blamed for the change. The NFER initiative that alerted the LEA to the value of positive curriculum change was moralist, thus the black children were seen as those needing help and health. The paternalism of the LEA was enhanced and the teachers' attitudes were unchallenged. This

[2] This was material that had been devised by the Centre for Urban Educational Studies, ILEA.
diverted attention from the fact of the global change that was making a multicultural education good sense for all in a trading island.

A report on an in-service training conference mounted by the Authority in 1973 showed that some teachers were becoming aware of the need for social health for an attitude change that started with themselves:

"We have to recognise that there is a conflict between the school and the society in which children live .... Prejudices exist between the different cultures and also between people of the same culture. All societies are built on discrimination and on exploitation of one group by another. Generally, the minority becomes the scapegoat .... The schools have a responsibility to work towards a more tolerant and healthy society.

In order to attempt to do this, teachers must begin with themselves .... look at their own attitudes and prejudices about housing, close relationships like mixed marriages and the children of such relationships, and also at political, social and economic factors which influence their decisions in such matters. Unless their prejudices can be resolved, they cannot advocate with sincerity a multi-cultural society." [1]

My own work with the authority led me to concentrate on this need for in-service training of teachers from 1977, initially focussing on attitude change but increasingly developing racism awareness workshops that were moving more towards the socio-political approach [2]. The aim of the workshops was to raise the consciousness of teachers to the institutional (images, curriculum content, prejudiced attitudes of decision-makers) as well as the personal biases and pressures that were working to the benefit of some groups in society more than of others:


"We are damaged with a false white-centredness. We teach our children that Columbus discovered America and in the same lesson describe the inhabitants of that country coming to greet him. We dodge the dilemma of matching the high ideals we hold of humanity, equality and fraternity with the documented facts of racial disadvantage by denying the endemic nature of racial inequality in our social structure and thus stunting both our ability to act towards equality of opportunity and our human dignity. A social structure is at once impersonal and yet empowered by persons. In Britain today, the racial group that has dominance in decision-making is white." [1]

This was moving the issue of curriculum development beyond the affective domain of emotions, psychology and prejudiced attitudes to approach the political context of power, hierarchy and status in an historical perspective. The objective was racial justice.

Research on the teaching on the issue of race in the previous decade had demonstrated it to be of limited value, whether with adults or with children. Miller's study (1969) on race teaching given to male apprentices attending a liberal studies course as part of their day-release training, showed a course designed to reduce racial prejudice actually increasing it. Stenhouse's Schools' Council Humanities project on race [2] ran into problems with teachers, despite the 20% swing towards more favourable attitudes that use of the teaching material eventually showed (Parkinson and Macdonald, 1972; Verma and Macdonald, 1971; Bagley and Verma, 1972, 1973). Bagley and Verma (1973) could only sum up the project as

[2] Schools' Council (1970) The Race Pack: Humanities Curriculum Project. Stenhouse (1971) "The Humanities Curriculum Project: the rationale". Stenhouse, who directed the project, had a difference of opinion with the Schools' Council over the materials to be used in teaching. Teacher representatives on the Council allegedly vetoed the report because they felt that teachers could not be expected to handle such sensitive material. Support for the project ended. The Social Science Research Council funded a continuation of the work which was finally reported in 1977.
'moderately successful' however. The courses reported by Miller and Stenhouse (1975) were both designed for attitude change but, it seems to me, did not place the information given in an adequate historical context for the learners to assess causes for discrimination and accept responsibility for change in a personally non-threatening way. Neither were the teachers trained to interpret racism to the students. The development of 'anti-racist' education sought to redress this omission through introducing a notion of equity into the respect for difference that was part of multicultural education, through placing contemporary race relations in its historical and global setting and through alerting teachers to the need for change in school structures, relationships and teaching strategies to develop a force for changing the assumptions that make society racist. As black people were implicitly and explicitly pointing out (for example through the minimal requests to Bradford LEA from the Muslim communities p.307 and pp.336-341), racial justice required change in white people, not as responsible for what has happened in the past but in a shared responsibility for what can happen in the future. Willingness to change will possibly avert an enforced and probably less comfortable change that will come because a global force for change in race relations is in motion (Tinker, 1977; Brandt, 1980).

By 1977, Bradford had made only limited moves towards positive curriculum change in schools, towards fostering a political will for change that could have directed policy in schools or to listening to the needs of Asian parents and taking positive action to ensure that these were met. Therefore, LEA policies for E2L teaching and dispersal, perceived as positive action for equal opportunities in the school system, were undermined when they met a negative accommodation to the cultural diversity and socio-political status of Asians in the schools. There was
very little training that would enable staff to understand the background issues effecting curriculum development and no discussion of racism. While equal opportunities for access to the school system were potentially improved, I would contend that equal opportunity for success was not, because very little change was being expected of teachers.

The possibility of change was there however. Several initiatives for change were developing in the white community. Some E2L teachers were attempting to raise questions about education for a multicultural society, though with little effect from their low status position. A Headteacher in an Upper school made visible impact (Appendix A1). The work developed through the Schools Council/NFER project showed that with leadership and support, there was a willingness to learn and change on the part of teachers, though professional anxiety about competence. Evidence from the project First school suggests that the emotional gains for the minority group could be great. Thus if teacher working parties were set up with funding for developing materials and syllabi, and appropriate in-service training courses with a clear antiracist (transformist) perspective, were initiated, it would be reasonable to assume that these would have spin-off for academic attainment of the children in school. If these initiatives were linked to broader political strategies for local, national and global change, then there is a possibility of beginning to reassess white privilege and to redress racial injustice.

All those in positions of power to make decisions about society’s institutions, the white policy-makers and practitioners, can block pressure for change. As the next chapter will show, by 1977 the LEA had demonstrated only a minimal willingness to listen to the requests of the majority Muslim Asian community in
Bradford and little facility to respond to their attempts to alter practices in schools.
CHAPTER 15 THE LEA RESPONSE TO THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES' REQUESTS TO ALTER PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS, IN 1977

The previous chapter described the very limited accommodation to racial and cultural difference in the curriculum and teaching materials in Bradford schools in 1977. However, there was indication of some awareness of a need for change by some teachers. Discussion was underway nationally that could be preparing the ground for a more appropriate curriculum for a multicultural society. What was often lacking was the willingness to listen to a black perspective on the need. This chapter will give some indication of the problems black people were having in being heard.

Initiatives for policy change in schools have not only come from the host community. This chapter addresses the requests that had come from the Muslims in Bradford, by 1977. The Muslims were by far the largest religious minority in Bradford and their requirements for an appropriate cultural and religious context for the education of their children most at variance with the provision they found. They asked that Muslim girls over 11 should not be compelled to attend co-educational schools (Appendix A3). The LEA reorganised its school system to an almost totally comprehensive, co-educational one between 1964 and 1976 (Chapter 1) and would not consider this request, but told the groups that 'they should approach the Department of Education and Science about building a school for themselves' (Councillor Birdsall) (see p.321, note 1). Other requests were agreed to:

a. that the children should not be obliged to attend school Assemblies and should be withdrawn from Religious Instruction.

b. that adjustments should be made to school rules about dress to comply with the cultural/religious requirement for modesty.

c. that 'demoralisation' of the children should be avoided, particularly in relation to foods they were expected to eat.
The Muslims were not asking for alternative provision at this stage, but just for recognition of their legal rights (a) and respect for issues on which they differed from the cultural norm of the school system (b and c). These requests for changes were supported by non-Muslim Asian groups, too.

The LEA agreed to this in theory, but it will be shown that the new directives to schools (Local Administrative Memoranda - LAMs) were little changed from those issued ten years previously. The practice in the schools altered little as a result. The following sections describe accommodation made in respect of Religious Education and school Assembly, in rules relating to dress for school and for physical education and in the provision of schools meals. There is also a description of a meeting held with Muslim leaders in 1977, ostensibly to discuss subjects of common concern.

The Practice in Religious Education and School Assemblies

The 1944 Education Act requires that:

"The school day in every county school and in every voluntary school shall begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance. .... Religious Instruction shall be given in every county school and in every voluntary school." (Section 25)

That this worship and Religious Instruction should be 'Christian' was an assumption rather than a statement of the Act. There was the proviso that the collective worship "shall not .... be distinctive of any particular religious denomination" (Section 26) and that Religious Instruction shall be:

"in accordance with an agreed syllabus adopted for the school ... and shall not include any catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination".

In 1976, Bradford schools were expected to follow the 1966, West Riding Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education. This was a radical syllabus for its time, in that it moved from the experience of the child towards an understanding of religious and moral issues rather than directly from The Bible to doctrine and practice, as
most did. However, it still focussed on Christianity with a brief mention of 'other religions', Islam and Judaism, for the information of the Christian child. Bradford Educational Services Committee sponsored a supplement to this syllabus in 1973, containing information to extend it to allow a multifaith approach (Guide to Religious Education in a Multifaith Community). In this way it was hoped to meet the needs of all children in the school system. The booklet was circulated to schools, but the initiative to use the material was left to the teachers.

Denominational instruction was available in school time in voluntary schools, Church of England or Roman Catholic, for instance. These schools were not obliged to follow the local agreed syllabus and would normally be using a specific diocesan one. Jews and others of 'minority' faith in Britain have been accommodated in the state school system with a right under the 1944 Education Act of withdrawal from Religious Instruction and worship:

"If the parent of any pupil in attendance at any county school or any voluntary school requests that he be wholly or partly excused from attendance at religious worship in the school, or from attendance at Religious Instruction in the school, or from attendance at both religious worship and Religious Instruction in the school, then, until the request is withdrawn, the pupil shall be excused such attendance accordingly." (Section 25).

Minority faith Religious Instruction could have been given to the child in school by arrangement with the LEA and at the parents' expense, by withdrawal from school, providing it did not interfere with attendance at school sessions [1] or in session time if it were impossible for parents to make alternative arrangements.

Here, the immigration of Asian families to Bradford, particularly Muslims, began to pose a problem for the schools. Large numbers of children could be withdrawn from Religious Education if their parents were informed of their rights. The LEA was reluctant to encourage this. The issue was raised in the first report from the Director of Education to Headteachers on The Education of

[1] They may receive this at the beginning or end of the school morning or afternoon sessions.
Children of Commonwealth Immigrant Parents (1965). Thus:

"It may be worthwhile drawing the attention of Head Teachers to the provision that if a parent requests that his child shall be wholly or partly excused from attendance at religious worship or at religious instruction, or both, he must be so excused. Such a request to have effect, however, must be a specific one from a parent and it is suggested that it should be required in writing. There is no need for a parent to be asked whether he wishes to have his child excused: any initiative in the matter should come from him. In the majority of cases, immigrant children should attend religious worship and instruction without any parental objections." (my emphases) [1]

This put the responsibility for discovering both the reality of the situation in school and the statutory rights on the 'immigrant' parent. The 'specific request' for withdrawal in writing was a further hurdle to be overcome by a person who was probably not fluent in spoken English, let alone written. Ten years later, the directives to Headteachers showed an apparently more open approach, instructing them that parents were to be informed of their rights to withdraw children 'in the original letter of allocation' [2]. The allocation referred to was to the Language Centre. It was presented in the following form:

"I have to inform you that arrangements have now been completed for your child to attend the centre or special class for immigrant children at .... on .... Will you please see that he/she commences attendance on that date. If you wish your child to be excused from morning assembly or from religious instruction, will you please make your wishes known to the Headteacher." [3]

By 1976, no Centre had a religious school assembly. The whole school meeting was for social purposes, communication of information, or for a shared educational experience. Centres did not give formal religious instruction in session time [4]. Thus the parent's request at this stage would have been irrelevant. There was no indication that the 'specific request' should be in writing, thus the chance of the request being passed on to further stages of schooling was reduced.

[4] At some, a Muslim teacher came for Islamic Instruction sessions before or after school.
Parents, thinking that they had made the relevant provision for the child's spiritual welfare at this stage, were justifiably angry when they found out that this was not so. Mosques took a lead in providing parents with a duplicate draft of a suitable letter of request and the issue was a very legitimate complaint from the Muslim Parents' Association in 1974 [1].

In the schools I visited in the process of this research [2], the Religious Education curriculum was chiefly concerned with Christianity, although the LEA in theory supported a multifaith approach (Bradford Educational Services Committee, 1973). The Asian children accepted this bias, rarely offering an input from their own religion. A typical impression gained by teachers of Asian children's interest in their religion was:

"When asked, they give the impression that they don't know much about it." 14.5.1976

The children's experiential knowledge of the religion may have been difficult for them to communicate in their second language, English, but also for them to offer in an environment that was less than supportive of religious difference. This

[1] After repeated requests to the LEA from the Muslim communities that their children should be protected from the 'permissiveness' of the co-educational comprehensive schools, through single-sex schooling provision, supported in this by other Asian groups, the Muslim Parents' Association was formed to co-ordinate political pressure for change on the Authority. It focussed particularly, and perhaps unfortunately, on the case of Kalsumbanu Patel, whose father Abdullah Patel was an initiator of the group. Abdullah Patel had refused to allow his daughter to attend a co-educational Upper school to which she had been allocated. In January 1974, Muslim leaders from London, Manchester, Preston and Blackburn spoke at a protest meeting convened by the Union of Muslim Organisations of the UK and Eire in Bradford. The Muslim Parents Association was formed as a response to this. According to the Guardian (16.1.1974, p.12) it claimed a membership of 3,000, but local information suggests that it initially enrolled 700 members, 250 of whom were parents prepared to withdraw their daughters from school (Telegraph and Argus 1.1.1974 S. Nasar "A threat to Muslim way of life").

See M Iqbal (ed.) (1975) Islamic Education and Single Sex Schools for a Muslim view on appropriate education for Muslim children that was endorsed by the MPA.

[2] I visited two First, two Middle and 12 Upper schools in all for the observations recorded here.
incident from my own teaching experience will illustrate:

"I had arranged a visit to the local church (Anglican) with six children. The vicar was to show us around. Five of the group were Muslim, and the other a Christian child who had been baptised at the church and whose name we found in the register in the big church safe. We were allowed to ring the church bell. I said, "This is the way Christians are called to prayer. How do you call Muslims to prayer?" Hameed, standing in the church, went through the Call to Prayer ("Allahu Akhbar ...") in a high clear voice. The rest of us listened respectfully.

"It was our custom for one of the language groups to report back to the whole school Assembly the next week about any interesting trip or happening. This group agreed that they would tell the rest of the children about the church visit and that Hameed should recite the Call to Prayer. When it came to the time, he wouldn't do it, so we made do with a tape recording of the Call to Prayer and of the church bell tolling. Afterwards, I asked him, why and he said "No, Miss. They would have laughed. School is for English things."

Inner City First School, October 1977

I found no formal religious education in either of the two First schools observed, though Christian education was implicit in preparations for the major festivals, Christmas and Easter. School Assembly was held regularly at the inner city school, with a religious song and a prayer. The practice was clearly Christian but no Muslim children were withdrawn. It was accepted as perfectly reasonable for about 150 Muslim children, among others, to clasp their hands before them in an action of Christian prayer, while rocking as though reciting the Qu'ran and chorusing 'Amen' to a prayer offered through the Lord Jesus Christ [1]. At the outer city school, the assembly for worship was only held once a week and cancelled, though scheduled, on the day my visiting coincided with it. The one special assembly that I did attend, for Harvest Festival, was also Christian in practice, though with a fleeting reference to 'other religions' (p.439). The provision in both cases neither met the requirement of the 1944 Education Act nor safeguarded the religious integrity of children from 'minority faiths'.

The two Middle schools showed more apparent clarity in approaching the issue

[1] See the films 'Multicultured Swap Shop' (1979) and "Anglo-Saxon Attitudes" (1982), BBC TV.
of Religious Education. At the inner city school, topics were introduced under the broader heading of 'Community Studies'. This encouraged interest in the variety of religious faith, a positive move to avoid the need for children to be withdrawn. There was no school worship. Assembly happened once a week and was a strictly utilitarian occasion to share news about the school community and neighbourhood events. All attended. The 1944 Act stipulation on worship was ignored, a move to avoid the need for children to be withdrawn from the whole school Assembly. At the outer city school, the ethos and Religious Education was clearly Christian but provision was made for the right of withdrawal from timetabled sessions and Assembly to be possible. School Assemblies were held on four days a week. Two of these sessions were designated 'religious' and were Christian in practice and content. Muslim children could wait in the access area to the Hall, reading, while their peers filed in for the occasion. They were excluded behind a curtain when worship started and frequently disturbed proceedings with their chatter and giggling. The other two Assemblies were designated 'secular' and all attended. Here too, the Act was, in this case partially, ignored for the perceived benefit of the children of minority faith. There was no attempt made to offer a positive alternative for the Religious Education of the children of minority faiths.

At all four schools, the one big celebration of the year was at Christmas. As the following extracts from field notes will demonstrate, it was at this time that the Christian context of the schools became particularly explicit, even in the inner city Middle school. The Christian festivities involved all, whatever their faith:

1. Christmas at the inner city First school, 15.12.1976

Assembly, held under the tall Christmas tree with its lights blazing, with Christmas friezes around the wall of the Hall, was in a festive setting. The worship which included two carols "The Holly and the Ivy" and "Once in Royal David's City" followed by a prayer to Jesus 'to be our dear Saviour' was distinctively Christian. General Christmas arrangements were announced - 'parties tomorrow, the pantomine, performed by the staff for the children and their parents, on two evenings'.

Then the children were told that something very special was going to
happen. Mrs Khan's friend had come to show them something. They were to stand very still, with their feet firmly fixed on the floor, and be very, very quiet. Mrs Khan's friend came in with a kestrel held high upon his wrist. The children watched spellbound and a bit frightened as it fluttered. They listened as he told them in soft Bradford-Asian English how he fed the bird and flew it. They stood so still as it was taken out, turning their heads to watch it go, but not their feet.

The Christmas Concert was in the afternoon. The children, chattering and wriggling in expectancy, lined up on the polished floor of the lofty hall, smallest at the front. Each class was to present an item and at intervals during the concert, small groups of children were hustled back into their classroom to emerge as shepherds and kings or toys and soldiers.

As each item began, a hush descended on the school and rapt attention was given to the performances of youngest to the oldest. The little ones sang a song about 'Beffle'em' and acted out the Christmas story. The traditional Nativity tableau was there. There were carols that were sung with enthusiasm, the children rocking to the music.

About half of the programme centred around the Christian Christmas story. About half of the children were from Muslim families.

There were items portraying Christmas fun, Father Christmas and presents, offering a prospect of plenty in which even these children, some so poorly dressed, would soon share briefly. They celebrated a festival of giving in which the Asian children too will expect to share.

The older children dramatised the story of the Pied Piper. Mumriaz played the part he was, a lame boy hobbling to keep up with his friends.

The climax of the concert was a gym display by some of the older children. They had been trained after school by the teachers. The children swung and tumbled across the limited platform space, landing with mighty thumps. A small dark-skinned lean boy with droopy shorts, beside a large flabby-thighed white girl with straggly blonde hair and an inner city pallor, stood beamingly proud of their contribution and of their schoolmates' acclaim.

2. Christmas at the outer city First school, 16.12.1976

I spent the morning making Christmas cards with the seven-year-olds. They had free choice of subject with lots of cards around to copy from if necessary by this time. It was incongruous to see Muslim children choosing to draw a Nativity scene, but understandable, considering the cultural emphasis.

The classrooms were decked out with snowmen, stars and Father Christmases. Rudolf the reindeer made replicated appearances.

The party was in the afternoon. All the children were in their best clothes. Some of the girls wore long dresses. All had made fancy hats. The Asian girls were reluctant to join in the games at first, but soon all were together in the excitement.

The tea was set out in the dining-room. It was served by mothers who had volunteered their help. There were no dinner ladies to direct the children. The Asian children tended to separate out in a row on a table to themselves. As the tables filled up, more children joined them and there were not enough spare places for total separation.

All got exceedingly excited, especially in the singsong that was organised while they were waiting to go to the Hall to meet Father Christmas. The singing switched from secular songs to religious carols and back again.

In the Hall there was a nervous hush of expectancy as they waited for Father Christmas to arrive. He came with a bulging bag of promise on his
shoulder and caught up in his cotton-wool beard. One child squeaked and began to cry. The rest buzzed and nudged one another.

Father Christmas called each child by name to hand them a present. The bus children sat sneaking anxious looks at the clock as the time ticked by. Their names hadn't been called. A welfare lady popped her head round the door: 'Bus children please'.

The Asian children stood up, filed towards the door and finally received presents in a rush as it was time to go. The door swung to again, and Father Christmas continued to call out each child by name.

3. Christmas at the inner city Middle school. 17.12.1976

I spent the morning helping first-year children to make paper hats for their party the next day. They had made place mats to set out on their desks and the rooms were hung with streamers.

I served the Christmas dinner with the kitchen staff. The choice was turkey with potatoes and brussel sprouts, or fried fish. There was plenty of turkey left over. Even the meat-eaters preferred fried fish! The second course was pineapple jelly and ice cream, with a tangerine for each child, more widely acceptable than the traditional English Christmas pudding. The kitchen was short-staffed, so I helped with the washing-up too.

In the afternoon there was to be the festival of Christmas carols and readings. The children whose parents did not want them to go to the festival for religious reasons, were excused by bringing a note from home. Duplicated notes had been sent out in English and Urdu within the previous fortnight to this effect. Thus Muslim children could opt out if their parents took responsibility to send the note back.

All the senior citizens that the school children visit and care for in the neighbourhood were invited. They were collected in the school minibus and taken by the liaison teacher and some of the children in the Community Studies groups concerned to the church where the Festival was to take place.

The Festival was to be held in the nearest church, a very High Anglican one as it happened. Its spire rose dark and forbidding above the grey rooftops of the council houses beside it, but dwarfed by the rising chimney of the mill nearby.

I walked down to the church with a class of nine-year-olds. Ginger-haired Vincent was walking with me. When we arrived at the door of the church he held on to my hand and hung back.

"What's the matter?", I said.

"I'm scared. I've never been inside a church before. My mother didn't want me to come but I cried and my dad said 'Let him go'."

We went in, holding hands, through the vast creaking wooden door.

The church is incredibly awe-inspiring, not in its beauty, but in its dark, dusty loftiness. There are statues of saints high in the rafters and icons and banners around the walls. A candle rack at one side of the nave holds candles for the penitent to light and burn beneath the statue of Mary.

A row of three Muslim boys in front of me sat huddled in the pew with their anorak hoods pulled up over their heads. I whispered that it was custom for boys to remove hats in church, not like in the Mosque. They ignored me, except with their heads downcast, one mumbled:

"My dad says Allah will strike me dead if I look at idols."

The Festival fumbled on with a certain zest and jollity that was difficult to maintain in the cold, damp surroundings. The programme was various, from a congregational 'Once in Royal David's City', through spirituals about
Mary and the baby, sung by the West Indian girls, to a short play by the drama group portraying a family thrown out by the bailiffs and going for help to 'Share' (the charity 'Shelter'). This latter seemed such a painfully immediate problem for many of the children in that dark cold church, that the flickering light of the candles scarcely warmed their solemn faces.

A retiring collection was taken for War on Want and the children tumbled out into the wan December afternoon to disperse to their homes or to return to the warmth of school and the party that had been organised for the Senior Citizens.

The Hall was bright and the spread was ample. There were sandwiches, cakes and biscuits made and brought by the children and the staff. Low tables and easy chairs from the staff room had been set in the welcoming comfort around the Hall. The old people were eased into chairs and pressed with the gamut of tea, buns, raffle tickets and home-made calendars, by their excited chattering hosts.

The Asian girls in their satin kamezes, the West Indian girls in woolly hats and the white girls in platform shoes, whisked around the room, in bright self-confidence. The boys served with gentlemanly charm until nothing but crumbs was left among the dirty tea cups. The tinsel on the Christmas tree bobbed and sparkled in approval.

After the last little old lady had been safely returned to her terraced home, the school settled back into its greyness. A smell of urine wafted through the dark corridors and the constant hum, of the traffic was lightened only by the rustling of the litter as it rolled across the yard in a gathering breeze.


The school was decked for Christmas. The foyer was wreathed in streamers of crepe paper, green with gold discs hanging from them, exceedingly elegantly. The children from Unit 1 spent some of the afternoon cutting out angels to decorate the classroom. I worked with the slow-learning group on the BBC 'Cloudburst' material, workcards, sheets of pictures and a comprehension exercise. The teacher was too busy to help them, sorting out costumes for the Christmas Festival.

I watched the dress rehearsal of this impressive spectacle. The movement group, in leotards and flowing nylon cloaks, provided the backcloth and the angels. It was staged on the variable box dias in the centre of the Hall. There was music, speech and the Christmas story simply told in mime. The visual impact was important and the costumes were sophisticated and beautiful. The kings were splendidly and dramatically attired.

The rehearsal was halting and the Headteacher, guiding proceedings, was getting irritated at the many mistakes. It was to be staged for two nights for the parents to attend. On the night it would obviously be an evocative act of worship.

The Deputy Head said of the Festival:
"We've got everything. We've even got immigrant kings."

Of the kings referred to, one was a Muslim doctor's son, born in Pakistan. He wore his flowing robes and crown with incredible regality. The other was a Bradford-born child of West Indian parents. He was stripped to the waist and clothed in long knickerbockers, attended by a similarly half-naked little black boy. There were two brown angels too, two Asian girls, talented members of the movement group.

Shafaquat told me that he didn't come to the Christmas party on Friday
evening because of the bus journey - he was a bus boy. He usually came to school with his older sister but his dad was away in London and his sister had told his mum, 'Don't let him go or someone might get him'. His sister wouldn't have been allowed to go out at night unchaperoned. The Deputy Head said:

"Only one little immigrant boy missed the party, but I think he lives rather a long way away."

"You should have been here for the party last week. The tables looked really beautiful."

These four descriptions could be used to show the tactless insensitivity to the 'immigrant' child that I found in the outer city schools in particular, the tokenism of the 'immigrant kings' and the marginality of the 'bus children'. That ingredient was there. What was overriding, however, was that in the four schools (and in the Upper schools, too) even the more aware inner city Middle school with its relaxed multiracial atmosphere, the dominant school celebration, the one that marked the school as a community, was Christian. The only other religious festival universally celebrated in schools was Harvest. This latter could easily have been an occasion to acknowledge a diversity of faiths, but that too was essentially a Christian celebration.

Festivals of religions other than Christianity were not acknowledged by any of the schools I visited [1] in any positive way. Asian children stayed away from school on the relevant Holy days (p.210) and the LEA accepted the parents' right in this (Education Act 1944, Section 39). At best this passed without comment in the schools:

"We turn a blind eye to the fact that they take a holiday at Eid"
Upper school Headteacher, 13.5.1976

"They are absent at Eid and no comment is made"
Upper school teacher, 20.5.1976.

"At Eid, the Asians don't come to school and nothing is said"
Upper School teacher, 1.4.1976

Often it was met with disapproval, especially at the inner city schools where, on

[1] Festivals such as Eid (Muslim) and Diwall (Hindu/Sikh) were celebrated by parties in some of the Language Centres.
the Eid celebration at the end of the Ramadan fast, so many Muslim children were absent that the timetable had to be abandoned. The relevance of the festival to a particular religious group was often misunderstood, and absence from school, far from being seen as a minority group’s right, was decried as a ‘waste of public funds’ or generally as lack of parental support for schooling:

"The Hindus and Sikhs make no fuss. The Muslims try to take two or three days off."
Upper school teacher, 11.5.1976

"They don’t come in when it’s Eid (Pakistanis). The Indians cash in on it."
Upper school teacher, 30.4.1976

"A day is allowed, any more is disapproved."
Upper school teacher, 7.5.1976

In an Authority where it was acknowledged that a multifaith approach was appropriate in Religious Education, only in the Upper school was there any consistent intention to introduce information about religions other than Christianity. However, at this stage the impact of Religious Education in the curriculum was marginal. The requirements of the 1944 Act were accommodated through provision of a broad civics, ethics, moral education course, lost in integrated social studies or humanities courses or confined to one teaching period a week in Year 3. Most schools had some multifaith element in the curriculum for some children at some stage in their school life. Only four seemed to make a positive attempt to acknowledge the variety of religious allegiance of their pupils through the curriculum. One reason for this gap between intention and practice could have been lack of information or insecurity on the part of the teachers: One teacher voiced it thus:

"I include comparative religion, especially Islam .... but about the multifaith syllabus, we have no agreed aim at the moment. We have Owen Cole’s book [1] in the staff room, but not all teachers are keen and don’t cover it because of lack of knowledge." Upper School, RE Teacher, 14.5.1976

Another reason was undoubtedly the specific Christian religious commitment of most of the RE teachers, which, it was often felt, excluded teaching about non-Christian faiths:

"The Head of RE is not interested in other faiths. A part-time Moravian minister teaches some RE - you can't blame him for not teaching other faiths."

Upper school language teacher, 20.5.1976

There was some hesitancy about the cultural 'rightness' of the confessional approach to Christian Religious Education in a multifaith situation:

"Mr —— was worried to impress on me that the classroom is not the place to evangelise. He said: 'We don't have any trouble here from them (Asians) because I give an objective study'."

14.5.1976

"I've never done a full-bred Pakistani for 'O'-level ... The Muslim children are no problem, once they've got over the idea that I'm not trying to convert them. They are much better than the white children in many ways. They say their prayers five times, which is more than the others do. I don't know anything about it but ....."

Head of RE Department at an Upper School 20.5.1976

"They (Asians) don't usually complain but take what is given to them. They are not often difficult ..."

Head of RE in an Upper school 1.4.1976

The little work that was being done on a multifaith approach to RE, except in one instance, was seen to be 'for the Asians' benefit', and mediated from the viewpoint of the dominant Christian culture. Only in one school, where the Headteacher encouraged a positive approach to cultural diversity and the new RE teacher had been allowed time from the curriculum to visit other schools to assess their practice and to make contact with religious leaders from all faiths in the City, was there a move in a different direction.

It is difficult to make any general comment on school worship in the Upper schools. The practice was varied. In seven schools the worship was always Christian in content; in four, teachers said that they had used prayers and readings from other faiths. Most, for various reasons (not least because the Assembly Hall was too small to accommodate the whole school), did not have the statutory daily
act of worship. Only a minority of the non-Christian children took the option to withdraw from Assembly. It was generally felt that 'inertia kept them in'. There was no positive alternative option, except for Muslim children in one school where the visit from the Imam [1] coincided with Assembly. He gave an Islamic studies session but it was attended by only a small number of boys and no girls.

On the whole, then, while Religious Education had a low profile in the City schools and the school Assembly was not always the collective Christian act of worship that the 1944 Act intended, there was a pervasive background of Christian culture and information. The right of withdrawal from RE lessons or Assembly was seen as 'a problem', as were any children from minority faiths who might wish to take up this right or might require a more multifaith approach to RE. Parents of Muslim children, in particular, were anxious about the effect of the 'Christianising' influence in school on their children but at the same time unwilling to mark them out as different by insisting on withdrawal. Also, if they approached the Headteacher concerning their statutory rights they might be dissuaded from withdrawal by being told that the Assembly, for instance, was not religious. 'It is not religious, we only have a prayer and a hymn', was one of the classic comments I received.

The Muslim Education Trust, in the Spring of 1976, was sending teachers into six of the Upper schools to instruct the Muslim children, though not to Middle or First schools. The teacher usually went twice a week for about half an hour, either before morning session, during the lunch-time or after school. The general impression gained from teachers in the school and children was that the visits of the 'mosque teacher' fitted uncomfortably into school life. The time he spent was short and the groups small, about 60 Muslim boys out of a total Upper school

[1] Imam - Muslim priest/teacher at the mosque who went into the school twice a week to give Islamic instruction 'by arrangement with the LEA and at the parents' expense', as provided for under the Education Act 1944.
population of over 1000 Muslim children. The Muslim Education Trust did offer a service to the school children that was appreciated by Asian parents, however, giving prizes to young people who had learnt their religious lessons well and encouraging the children to become skilled in debate about their religion and knowledgeable about the culture.

The whole area of explicit values education through Religious Education and school Assembly is fraught with controversy nationally. The Christianity of English culture is poorly presented through education in school, though its presence in county schools even is supported by law. Pressure from some of the churches to make this more effective is countered by pressure from non-religious groups to remove the compulsory nature of its inclusion. Locally the Council of Churches had been asking for more appropriate Religious Education for the multifaith society against the background of growing secularism since the early 1970's. The presence within the national community of increasingly assertive religious minorities challenging the Christian religious dominance was also part of the Bradford scene. From the mid-1960's, the Muslims in particular had asked for separate religious instruction for their children and for respect for associated cultural requirements of modesty in dress, single-sex education [1] and allowances for special diet in school.

[1] The first meeting of the Muslim Parents' Association reiterated requests to the LEA that had been presented from the mid-1960's and presented Bradford Educational Services Committee with the following five-point demand:
"That Moslem children should not be obliged to attend school assemblies, that Moslem girls over 11 should not be compelled to attend mixed schools; that all Moslem children should be exempt from attending religious instruction classes; that the 'uncivilised exposure of the bodies' of Moslem children and all actions 'encouraging demoralisation' of Moslem children should be avoided". Quoted in the Guardian 7.1.1974 "Moslem back protest". Four of these five demands were agreed to by education officials, but on the issue of mixed schools, the Chairman of the Education Committee, Doris Birdsell, said:
"It was made clear that we cannot provide single-sex education. They were told that if they considered it to be necessary, they should approach the Department of Education and Science about building a school for themselves." The Guardian 8.1.1974, p.6.
The requests culminated in the aggressive stand of the Muslim Parents' Association through Abdullah Patel and Riaz Shahid in 1973/4 [1]. The LEA received the concerns but made no change to the status quo, thus increasing frustration and anger.

This was an area of city life that was ripe for new curricula formulations to arise [2], where the exuberant creative possibilities of sharing traditional or community celebrations [3] could capture the hearts and imaginations of communities, across the racial and religious divides, opening them out of constraining prejudice in common concerns. It is not an area for assimilation and compromise but for appreciating shared values while respecting differences and working towards contemporary expressions of these in cultural practice.

By 1977, the LEA had made very little attempt to respond to faith community needs in this area. While supporting a multifaith RE syllabus and the child's statutory rights of withdrawal from Assemblies in theory, little was done to


[2] The social, political situation in Bradford had many similarities to that pertaining in Northern Ireland, where the Irish Council of Churches (Protestant) and Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (Roman Catholic) working in co-operation, had produced a 'Peace Education' programme, Free to Be as a school and adult education programme for the situation. That programme began by affirming the child/person, moved on to showing him/her in relationship with others in an interdependent community and then introduced discussion of issues of conflict, justice and peace, moral assessment and possibilities for conflict resolution. This was one of the inspirations for the new Bradford agreed syllabus for Religious Education adopted in July 1983. A new post of Education Adviser for Religious Education and Humanities was created in September 1982. I was appointed to the post.

[3] In June 1977, to celebrate the Jubilee of Elizabeth II, the inner city First school studied held a Carnival (Appendix A4.11)) that will serve to demonstrate the possibilities of such community-based celebration. The Interfaith Education Centre, Bradford, opened officially in March 1985, embodied this hope.
promote this in practice [1]. Much of this can be blamed on 'inertia' rather than bad intent, in a curriculum 'subject' that had become increasingly marginalised and ineffective in a secular society despite the bold compulsion of the 1944 Education Act. The Muslims had attempted to gain support for a voluntary-aided school without success.

**Rules Relating to Dress for School and Physical Education**

School uniform, an inheritance from the public school and grammar school tradition, was adopted by the comprehensive school in Bradford in 1964. It was not designed with a multiracial school population in mind. It will be shown that the dress that children were expected to wear in school and the special clothes required for physical education were, in effect, racially discriminatory in two respects: in the group identity that they were supporting as the norm, and in equality of opportunity to take advantage of the whole curriculum of school.

School uniforms have been justified because they offer the children some group identity (Reynolds et al, 1976, 1977), a belonging to the school. Most Bradford schools had a uniform in the mid-seventies, though the wearing of, it was not always compulsory. My experience was that the Asian families, or more widely, the families of black children, had no objections to the wearing of school uniform. In fact they were supportive of the idea, seeing it as the mark of a 'good school'. Dress can be an asset to group identity, engendering community spirit and supporting commonly held values (as shown by the teenagers' jeans, the

[1] In November 1976, when 17.4% of the City school population were classed as 'immigrant' (CBMDC The Education of the Children of Immigrants 1976, p.3) most of these being non-Christian, a 'service for members of Bradford schools to mark the beginning of the new academic year' (Appendix A4.12) was held in the Anglican cathedral. The Act of Commitment was specifically Christian; all readings were from the Bible; the collection was for Christian Aid; the closing hymn was "At the name of Jesus, every knee shall bow". While no child would have been compelled to attend, a large proportion of the schoolchildren were obliged not to attend because of inappropriate provision for them. There was no alternative.
Scottish kilt or the Pakistani girl’s shalwar, kameze and dupatta). If this is the purpose, however, the dress must be acceptable to those involved in the group. School uniform that had been traditional in English schools since 1944 was not always appropriate in the multicultural situation of the Seventies.

The Muslim communities, in particular, with their religious requirements for modesty of dress, found the school dress inappropriate. The boys wore the traditional shirt and grey trousers of school fairly readily, though rarely the short grey trousers stipulated by some First schools. The uniform met the requirement on men to be covered from navel to knee at all times. For the girls, however, required to have their arms and legs completely and loosely covered and the head covered in the presence of men, the traditional uniform was not appropriate.

The norm for school uniform was the clothing of the dominant community. While the LEA accepted a need for accommodation in this respect, the approach was to dissuade rather than encourage any deviation from the expected norm, as the following quotation from an LEA directive shows:

"Parents insisting that their daughters should wear national dress should discuss the matter with the Headteacher. There should be no objection to national dress being worn in the school colours if the Headteacher thinks this is desirable.

If parents resist such a suggestion, then the matter may be referred to the office. If efforts fail and the parent insists that his daughter wears national dress not in the school colours, it should be permitted but it does not mean the child should necessarily wear accompanying jewellery." [1] 1966.

The effective discrimination derives more from the tone of this directive than from its allowances. A discussion took place between some LEA staff and members of the Pakistani Women’s Association in 1966, leading to agreement about a modified form of school uniform in school colours for Asian girls:

"a long-sleeved blouse and tie, with a V-shaped dupatta or scarf over the

[1] City of Bradford Education Department (1973) Directives with regard to children from overseas – a collation of directives from the LEA, this one dated 3.2.1966, C/PB/JM.
blouse, a skirt and a shalwar or pair of slacks worn under the skirt."


The tone of disapproval of these concessions is still apparent in a Local Administrative Memorandum (LAM) published ten years later:

"School Uniform
Children may be requested to wear the school uniform. For religious reasons girls may wear shalwar (traditional trousers) or slacks in white or school colours beneath the uniform. If parents insist that their daughters wear national dress, Heads should discuss it with them. There should be no objection to national dress worn preferably in the school colours. Jewellery should not be worn." [2] 1977.

There was a persuasion towards conformity and assimilation implicit in the directives rather than a respect for diversity. 'National dress' was given a status that was clearly subordinate to that of 'school uniform', both terms having an assumed definition that was relying on a stereotype norm.

This negative attitude to diversity of dress, in particular with reference to the dress of Asian children, both endorsed and reinforced negative approaches to Asian dress in school. At one Middle school I saw a very mature young Muslim woman of thirteen wearing her dupatta over her head in school. The Asian girls rarely wore these in school, but if they did they would leave them draped around their shoulders. The teacher eventually removed it to her shoulders, saying, "Take it off your bonce and show us your lovely hair". After a while the girl sneaked a look round to the teacher and lifted it back, first halfway and then full, onto her head (inner city Middle school 24.9.1976). I asked the teacher later why he had done this and his response was that he really objected to the girl wearing it in school.

In the school year 1975-76 all the city Upper schools had a school uniform in theory. In practice enforcement varied. Five out of the eleven Upper schools that catered for girls expected the Asian girls to wear skirts. The rule was

[1] City of Bradford Education Department circular 17.11.1967
justified on grounds such as:

"We've never treated them any differently, so they accept it."
14.5.1976

"There are no concessions for Asian children. They don't expect it."
7.5.1976

In four of these, the Asian girls would wear trousers or shalwar under the skirt, as agreed with the Pakistani Women's Association, but one school would not tolerate that even:

"Uniform rules are very strict. Asian girls are not allowed to wear trousers. There are no shalwar allowed either. One Asian girl gets away with it but the PE woman chases them and makes them take them off."
Teacher, city Upper school 20.5.1976

The Asian community's response to this was essentially to avoid the particular school. There were only 26 girls on roll (1210 pupil population) at the time whose families had origins in the Indian subcontinent, despite the fact that it was conveniently placed for access from the major areas of immigrant population. Another was to devise means of beating the system. On a day in early summer that I visited the school, for instance, one Asian girl was wearing knee boots and a very long skirt, another was wearing thick woolly tights. These instance some of the explicit prejudice against cultural diversity of dress that were the expression of a much more extensive implicit prejudice shown, for instance, in the LEA approach through its LAMs.

This broader implicit prejudice was at work on the children from the time they arrived in mainstream school. The Asian children, tumbling off the bus at the outer city First school (p.221) were seen as odd. Their teenager sisters had capitulated towards conformity as far as they dare, wearing a tunic to cover their curves and 'cords' or 'jeans' to be like their English peers. The teachers could, with justification, say that the girls preferred it that way. But then the option offered by the dominant culture was in no way an equity of respect for difference, nor even a positive, supportive approach to agreed variations on the traditional
uniform norm.

School uniforms have also been justified because, in providing some conformity of dress style, they are expected to hide social class difference and are to be a symbol of the equality of opportunity of access to education in the comprehensive school, enabling each child to compete with peers on individual academic merit free from any stereotype of expectations that dress may fuel. This could be seen as a rationalisation for social control that refused to take account of societal constraints on success in school, while acknowledging their existence. These constraints continue even if equality of access to education is assured. Teachers were at least tacitly aware of this. As one Upper school teacher ingenuously remarked to me:

"There is a general lack of uniform in the B stream and below. Those who feel some pride in the school from better class homes wear uniform."
26.3.1976

The control element was apparent to children who, by a refusal to wear the uniform or an essential unit of it, demonstrated their challenge to authority or alienation from the system.

In my observation, Asian children were more likely to aspire to wear the uniform. For instance, at the inner city Middle school it was the Asian boys who wore school blazers and badges rather than their peers. However, it was also the Asian children for whom wearing the uniform was most problematic, particularly from the point of view of culturally required modesty. As has already been pointed out, the school alienated the children from itself through the dress norm required.

In some aspects of school life this led to an effective denial of access to education. Physical education (PE) is an important part of the English school curriculum, an aspect of the development of the whole child, but for Muslim children especially, the dress requirements and conditions under which the activities
were carried out meant a silent refusal to participate through absence from school by some and requests for withdrawal by others. The act of changing clothes for PE itself was a trauma for the young Asian children coming into Centres and school. I was told by teachers at one Infant Centre that the children were not expected to undress for the first couple of lessons, they just stand and watch the others. The teachers said, "Naturally they soon come round because they want to join in the games." The parents were told to supply the children with underpants so that shalwar or trousers could be removed with dignity. The children quickly learn conformity but I cannot forget the sight of one seven-year-old at the outer city First school running out with her classmates for PE, struggling with both hands to keep her long vest pulled down over her knees. Participation involved considerable capitulation to alien cultural norms.

The LEA was sensitive to these difficulties, particularly with respect to swimming. A directive in 1966 stated:

"If parents, on religious grounds, object to daughters attending mixed swimming classes, the Headteacher should automatically exclude the girls. Objection should be made by the parent to the Headteacher and it should be made clear to the parent that no alternative arrangements can be made." [1]

A later memo (1977) showed a softening of the situation with:

"Heads are requested to make alternative arrangements wherever possible." [2]

The LEA had agreed an appropriate dress for Muslim girls for PE with the Pakistani Women's Association in 1966. Safety was the keynote:

"There should be no objection to ordinary PE dress in an all-girls' school. In mixed schools, Headteachers are asked to accept that girls may wear a species of tights (not loose shalwar) with long-sleeved blouses.

If an element of danger arises with a particular exercise due to this dress, then the girl should stand aside or carry out

[2] CBMDC (1977) LAM op.cit., p.4
some substitute exercise." [1]

A later amendment to this directive (1977) suggested track suits as an alternative to tights [2].

While the LEA acknowledged a cultural issue where dress was concerned, there was a mismatch of concerns. The prime concern with Muslim parents was for the modesty of their girls [3], while that of the LEA was for safety. While I saw plenty of concern for safety in PE and swimming on the part of the teachers, I saw no appreciation of the issue of modesty, which placed a heavy responsibility on the Muslim children if they were to retain cultural integrity, for instance:

"A pretty girl in purple shalwar and kameze stood soberly on the side of the baths watching her classmates splash and scream as they dived in and out of the turquoise water of the pool. She had been refused permission to swim by her father, a member of an Islamic missionary group. According to the Headteacher, this was the only instance of refusal in the five-year history of the school. The father had been invited in to see the swimming lesson and was not disapproving but felt that he must provide an example of good practice." 10.6.1976 Inner City Middle School.

At this school, the Head pointed out that swimming was only a compulsory part of the curriculum for 9–11 year olds. For the 12–13 year olds, swimming was optional so the Muslim girls in puberty could choose not to partake. All the swimming was mixed, however, so this was to miss the point to an extent. The conditions provided for swimming by the school would have been inappropriate for girls, however modest the swimming attire, with mixed swimming and the possibility of a male instructor. The father protected the child the best way he could by asking for withdrawal but took responsibility for denying her the opportunity to learn to swim in school. The school effectively subverted the protection, however

[3] While the Qu'ran requires 'modesty' of both male and female, the Muslim families' anxieties were focussed on the requirements for girls. I was given no evidence of boys being withdrawn from mixed swimming lessons because of the immodest display of girls in swimsuits.
unintentionally, by allowing the child withdrawn by her father to observe the lesson with 'semi-naked' children, including boys.

The lack of clarity of understanding shown by the LEA of the issue of Asian girls' dress requirements was repeated in the approach of many teachers at the secondary school stage, most of them seeing it negatively. They said:

"We had some trouble with swimming. They had to wear leotards. But not now." Teacher, outer city Middle school 29.9.1976

"One girl has posed a problem, wanting to wear trousers for PE. The Asian women came up, partly because they thought it was mixed PE. She was suspended because she wouldn't do PE and swimming. She is back now but not doing it." Teacher, Upper school, 5.5.1976

"PE: Formerly the Asian girls didn't do it; now they've been through the system, they're no bother." Teacher, Upper school, 30.4.1976

"Swimming is mixed. There is no concession for the Asian girls. They are usually absent on that day, with or without an excuse."
Teacher, Upper school, 7.5.1976

Even in two schools where the clothing issue was approached with flexibility, the teachers who spoke to me about the situation reported that shalwar can be worn 'if necessary' (1.4.1976 and 14.5.1976) betraying a negative rather than positive appraisal of the situation. It was generally felt by teachers that 'the problem' was only with the minority of Asian children, however. Perhaps this inner city Middle school Deputy Headteacher saw the matter with more clarity:

"Ghulam arrived, with dupatta around her head, clutching a scrappy note on exercise book paper, that looked as though it had been written by herself, asking that she might be excused games and that she might stay with the liaison teacher for the day. She wanted to be allowed to stay in at playtime and to be excused from swimming for the week. The previous day she had had a doctor's note saying that she had tonsilitis and was to be excused from school for one day only.

If the school insisted that she did games, in fact, she would merely stay away from school as she had done so far this term..... Later she was missing from school.

The Deputy Head queries, "What are we doing to these children ?"
23.9.1976

The young children, especially those who had gone through the system, were
quickly acculturated to English school life on the surface. They accepted customs in school that ran contrary to their home culture, and even delighted in the freedom to do so. Their parents frequently had a limited knowledge of the school situation and the rights that the LEA, however grudgingly, had accorded them. The onus for both change and for discovering 'rights' was left with the minority group. In effect the children either missed out on an important part of their education through absence or withdrawal or they bore the brunt of the discomfort of a mismatch between the expectations of home and school. Most likely these examples of nonconformism represented a much deeper and more widespread mismatch between home and school for the Asian child. There was inadequate dialogue between home and school to allow for a constructive compromise.

Thus the rules relating to dress in school were racially discriminatory in that they encouraged a conformity that required the minority group to assimilate the customs of the majority. They may seem to have offered an equality of educational opportunity for all in their sameness, but there were minimal concessions to minority community requirements for the Asian girls in PE and swimming. Focussing the 'problem' on the Asian child's ability to conform diverted from the fact that the problem centred on the way in which a facility was provided in school. While adjustments were made to school rules that met the Muslim cultural/religious requirement for modesty in many instances, their effectiveness to support the cultural difference of the child was undermined through lack of appreciation by the LEA of the importance of these adjustments to the communities. The respect shown for the difference was inadequate. Girls in particular were denied opportunities.

The Practice in the Provision of School Meals

The LEA agreed, in 1974, to pay particular respect to the foods that Muslim children were expected to eat in school, to avoid 'demoralisation'. For the
Muslims, the issue was one of inappropriately prepared foods ('haram' - forbidden) according to their food laws. The LEA interpreted the request as referring to abstinence from meat, as will be shown, and thus continued to fall short of the Muslim expectations. Furthermore, little attention was paid to the situations in which the Asian children were being given school meals and the discriminatory practices that had developed.

In Bradford, in the mid-1970's, more children stayed for a midday meal in school than went home to eat. No provision was made for special buses to take the "bussed" children home for midday, so these children had little choice in the matter but to stay for school dinner. The original LAM on this read as follows:

"Special Buses: These are not provided at lunch time. If parents make their own arrangement at lunchtime they must ensure that the children return in time for the afternoon session. Otherwise, the children will stay for school dinner in the normal way. Any religious objections by the parents regarding certain foods should be respected. Children may bring their own packed lunch but it is hoped in time that they will join in school dinner." [1]

This placed the onus on the parent to make alternative, or 'abnormal', arrangements for the child compulsorily placed in school, often at some distance from home, whose religious dietary habits were at variance with those of the school/Local Authority provision. In the mid-1960's, no positive alternative was offered by the LEA, though by 1967 Headteachers were told that:

"Muslim children should be informed if pork, ham or bacon is on the menu before the meal begins." [2]

This directive demonstrated the lack of sensitivity shown by the Authority at this stage to the real requirements of religious observance for the Asian communities. The Asian groups were varied in their religious dietary habits. Muslims certainly

[1] City of Bradford Education Department memo to Headteachers: Special Buses 2.7.1965 C/PB/SEB
would not eat pork, nor would they, under strict observance, eat any other meat that had not been ritually slaughtered to make it 'halal' ('allowed' – acceptable from a religious viewpoint). The Sikhs also had special requirements for the preparation of food and would not eat pork. Hindus were usually vegetarian and would certainly avoid beef. For a strict Muslim, the taboos would extend to the use of animal fat in preparing (for instance frying) the food or to use of animal gelatin, also to a strict separation of cooking utensils used for haram and halal food. Ten years later, only a minimal advance in understanding was shown:

"Religious objections by parents regarding certain foods should be respected and children should be excused from these foods if such objections are received or if the children themselves refuse to eat them. If requested, the school catering service will provide an alternative non-meat menu. Where this is not possible due to the smallness of the numbers, additional quantities of vegetables etc. will be provided on request." [1]

The intention was for an alternative provision. The practice did not necessarily meet the intention, sometimes because the Headteacher concerned discouraged it:

"The children from the First school share the dining room with us. The Asian children often come and eat meat – a good thing too. Their parents wouldn't like it but, why not? It is better for them to get used to such things from the beginning." 27.1.1977

Sometimes through absence of complaints from parents, the children ate the meal provided for all but without the meat. The LEA deemed this adequate:

"This situation has been checked with the Medical Officer of Health. They are getting a balanced diet. They get the protein in other ways, by having an extra helping of pudding or something. Immigrant children are quite prepared to accept the dinner without meat. They even start eating meat often, with or without parental permission I don't know. Should one dissuade them in their ignorance if it is against their religious custom?" Advisor for Immigrant Education 1976 [2]

While the onus was still on the parent to object to inappropriate provision, it was the Headteacher in liaison with the Authority's catering staff who had

[1] CBMDC (1977) LAM op.cit., p.4
[2] Telephone conversation 6.5.1976 with the Advisor for Immigrant Education, who was of the opinion that the situation was improving markedly: "We have to look into this. The Chief Meals Supervisor was bloody-minded about it but the Director of Education put pressure on her." Halal meat was eventually made available for meals in some schools from September 1983.
immediate responsibility for change.

At the outer city First and Middle schools that I observed particularly, no children were allowed to take a sandwich meal but neither was a non-meat alternative meal offered for the Asian children, despite the fact that each school had its own kitchen, the meals being cooked on the premises. The Heads saw this as quite justified in the excuses that they gave:

"An alternative is not possible because we have family service."  
Deputy Head, outer city Middle school 27.9.1976

"It is not possible to provide a non-meat alternative. We could only do it if we had a cafeteria service."  
Headteacher, outer city First school 29.9.1976

Thus, in both schools the system of serving the meals was allowed priority over the appropriateness of the food itself for the children. The children concerned were mostly bussed out to these schools from the inner city so they had little option but to take what was offered to them. The Head of the Middle school 'was anxious about it' 29.9.1976, and the Deputy Head said:

"I always see that the immigrants get extra vegetables if they want to. I don't think it is right that there should be no alternative. If they are dispersed, they should have a choice." 27.9.1976

Meanwhile, on one day that I ate dinner there, (29.9.1976), the Muslin children made do with a double helping of potatoes and a few vegetables strained out of the 'haram' meat gravy of the day. Despite being aware of the discrimination involved, neither of the senior staff in this school had attempted to change the system, apparently rating their family table service, Western table manners and emphasis on 'politeness' higher than the religious restrictions of their pupils. At the First school, dining conditions were exceedingly cramped, with the kitchen staff under pressure, serving 300 meals to three sittings of children in an hour and fifty minutes, but, again, the will to serve an alternative was absent, not the facility. The cramped conditions were made a justification for the Asian children being placed separately, one at the end of each bench on the long tables 'for ease of
serving' the meal without meat on it. This segregation was done by the 'dinner ladies' on the basis of skin colour rather than diet – the child still had to accept or reject the meal. The segregation still occurred on one occasion when I was present when the meal was egg salad for all until the idiocy of it, halfway through the second sitting, dawned on one of the ladies directing the children and segregation was then less strict.

At the inner city First and Middle schools, far fewer children had a school dinner, the Asian children being free to choose to go home at midday as they lived locally. Both of these schools did provide a non-meat alternative for the children who stayed. The meals were cooked in the nearby central kitchen and transported to the schools in containers. A generalised count of the proportion of non-meat meals required by the schools was made at the beginning of the term and the system worked well enough to allow a certain amount of choice. At the First school it was highly organised, with children seated on the Hall floor in lines awaiting the dinner call. As Trevor told me:

"We line up in the Hall and then the teacher calls out 'All those who like meat' and they go and get their dinner. And then he calls 'All those who like egg' and they go." 14.6.1976

While this second group contained a noticeably large number of Asian children, there were a few Asian boys in the first group and many white children in the second group. One consideration in the decision as to which group to join was obviously the fact that meat eaters go out to play first! Very occasionally, the non-meat eaters went first. The teacher, with supreme realism, said:

"It's more difficult this way. There are so many who would eat the egg, especially if they didn't have to wait. It's a long time to have to sit and wait like this." Inner city First School 2.5.1977

In 1976, all Upper schools were serving a midday meal for the majority of their pupils on a cafeteria system, with a choice of about six main dishes on the menu, including a non-meat choice. This latter was usually selected by the Asian
children. Some schools, thinking to accommodate cultural difference, offered a rice and curry alternative but the meat was not 'halal' and the taste lacked delicacy. I was advised by an Indian boy:

"Don't have the curry, Miss. It's awful."

Thus, across the Authority, the situation was one of resigned tolerance by the Asian communities to the school meal system and a general lack of knowledge of the real needs of the Asian children by those whose responsibility it was to provide. It was at the outer city schools that I found the least choice for the children and the most prejudice against their needs. At the First school the practice was particularly unfortunate. The tolerance of the Asian parents was partly a measure of their ignorance of what happened in school but more protectiveness in an awareness that the children bore the tension and distress of the situations they were placed in. There appeared to be very little real communication of need between LEA and parents on this issue.

Meeting of Muslim Leaders and Members of the LEA at an Inner City First School, 24.1.1977

This was the first of meetings recommended by the 1976 LEA working party report to be held termly, and the only one to be held in fact [1]. I attended the meeting, held at the inner city First school of my study. It was held with little apparent enthusiasm for the exercise from the Education Authority. One member of the working party told me:

"They had to do it to fulfill the requirements of the working party report because someone had said something about corporal punishment. (an Education Welfare officer) rang me to try and get me to get some parents there."

There was, however, an impressive attendance of administrative officers - the Director of Educational Services, the Chief Special Services Officer, the Adviser for Immigrant Education, the Principal Welfare Officer. When I asked why, I was

told by one of these:

"Well, if we don't they say we fob them off with minor officials and don't take them seriously."

The Headteacher of the school in which the meeting was held saw the reason for it as "to try to elicit their (Muslim leaders) co-operation since all the money being spent on immigrant education must not be wasted." [1] While the meeting, according to the recommendations of the working party report, was to be to discuss 'subjects of common concern' to the local authority and Muslim representatives, this meeting was in fact strictly structured and carefully engineered around the specific concerns of a particular First school as seen by its Headteacher. This was a constant point of conflict throughout the meeting with the Asians present.

After a brief summary of the previous meeting by the local Educational Welfare Officer (a Pakistani), the First school Head took over. He saw schools as 'trying to provide a caring attitude' and so he was worried at the reports of corporal punishment in the mosque. He felt that it was his duty as a headteacher to be aware if the children had been punished, of tiredness or of illness and to ask why this was so if he was not satisfied.

The response to this was for one Asian parent, Abdullah Patel of the Muslim Parents' Association, to ask why so many children were kept in Language Centres for so long. There then ensued a vehement discussion of the Local Authority policy on Language Centres and of the quota system for Asian children in schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asian 1</th>
<th>&quot;Why are our children kept in Centres for so long?&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>&quot;The average length of time in Centres is four terms. Sometimes up to two years for the slow learners.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adviser</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian 2</td>
<td>&quot;Why are they sent to the Centre if they can speak English?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adviser</td>
<td>&quot;They are individually assessed and they must have an adequate structural English.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asian 3 "What can you expect from a four year old child even if he speaks English? This didn't apply to the Polish and Hungarians".

Adviser "No, because the money was not available then."

Asian 4 "You are using your resources to the wrong end. Separation is bad because they speak their own language together."

Headteacher "I'd like English provision made at the age of three."

Nursery Headteacher "My child of 5+ is in a class of 43 while your children of 4+ are in classes of 20."

Asian 4 "It is not helping our children."

Asian teacher "My daughter who was sent to a Centre at 5 did better than the son who went into school at 9. Some children are sent on to Upper school within some weeks."

Headteacher "Those going through the complete system in this country do better than those who don't. Those whose parents speak English before them are at an advantage."

Asian 5 "Centres are very important to our community as long as they (the children) don't stay there too long."

Headteacher "I agree, but I would like children to enter at the age of three. The economic crisis doesn't allow it."

Asian 6 "The young ones are no problem but the older ones ... Usher Street is no good because they are talking all the time in their own language. I went to Karachi University and had to learn Urdu in six months."

M.E.T. teacher "My children went straight into school for six months and then to private school. They picked up the language very well."

Headmaster "The accommodation is not enough for all the small children."

Asian 7 "If Centres were not used as such, they would provide the extra school accommodation."

Headmaster "If Green Lane Centre was used as a school, it now caters for 150, for five years, it could only take one class each year."

Education Officer "We'll discuss dispersal etc. later. Keep to the agenda on this school."

It had become obvious that the meeting was not open to discuss subjects of
'common' concern, but was an agenda imposed by the LEA upon the Asian members. More than that, a meeting understood by the Headteacher to be about his own school and the problems that he saw, was being used by the Local Authority to demonstrate apparent willingness to enjoin discussion but by Asian pressure groups [1] as an opportunity to raise general grievances.

The attendance of young children at the mosque was to be discussed. The Deputy Head from an inner city school reported that from things that children at his school had said to teachers they appeared to spend long hours at the mosque and to suffer corporal punishment [2]. He said:

"The children spend less time now than they did a year ago. In 1977 the average time spent in the mosque by 40 older ones was 7.2 hours, while in 1976 it was 9.2 hours a week. I understand that some have their religious instruction at home, which reduces the average hours spent.

"I have also been told that some children do not go to mosque because of the beatings. The children say that they are punished not only for being naughty but also for not being able to learn."

The Headteacher complimented the fathers on the time and care given to the children. He was pleased to note that he had not seen so many punishment marks recently and less falling asleep in school than last time (June 1976). An Asian parent [3] responded with:

"What is the local authority doing about religious instruction in schools? When we have education in mosque we are criticised but when we ask for it in school, it is not done."

Again the discussion was moved by the Asians from the specific problems seen by the Headteacher to the general grievances felt. The following increasingly heated interchange ensued:

First school
Headteacher
"First school RI is generally moral instruction."

[1] In this instance the Muslim Parents' Association and Muslim Education Trust.
Teacher from Muslim Education Trust [1] "We cannot cope with education for Muslims in all the schools."

Asian 1 "The same teacher is used to teach comparative religion. This is not suitable."

First school Headteacher "Children here have a wide variety of religions."

Head of Girls Upper school "There is a fear of Christianising in school. The religious education is comparative but Ms. is a committed Christian. What else can I do? Muslim girls run Assembly for a week in each half term."

Asian 2 "You can invite Muslims from outside once or twice a week."

M.E.T. teacher "We go into school but time is not given. We are told to go after school hours but we want Assembly time in the morning."

Asian 3 (M.P.A.) "Bar all Muslim children from Assembly and RI."

M.E.T. teacher "Yes. Certain Heads are not listening to our genuine complaints. Children should not be forced to join in. Schools say 'We cannot find someone to look after the children then' ." "Parents must be informed of rights in a language they understand. It has not been done yet. There is a danger of conflict because children are keen to learn anything."

First school Headteacher "You are welcome to come into our Assembly at any time."

Asian 2 "I object to "the prayer" that everybody says. The Muslim Education Trust teachers can come in if the Head is willing."

Asian 4 "In the Common Market countries, Germany and France, Muslim teachers are provided and paid by the Government, for example in Copenhagen with only 5,000 Muslims..."

M.E.T. teacher "We are not allowed to use the school visual aid facilities."

Asian 4 "Some teachers are very prejudiced and the material is very prejudiced."

No authoritative response was given to these complaints by LEA officers.

[1] Mr Malik, a local estate agent, who also gave lessons to Muslim boys on the Islamic Way at two Upper schools and the Senior Language Centre.
Two other matters were raised by the Headteacher on the agenda, the extensive holidays taken by Pakistani children in school time and lack of punctuality in arriving at school. Neither of these raised much discussion. Both topics were approached by the Head from the point of view that this was a waste of time and resources. "If you want to get the best out of this school..." The Director of Educational Services, W R Knight, summing up, said:

"We are very sensitive to the needs of Muslim parents, but mostly it costs money. Mr —— has pointed out where he thinks life in this school could do more for your children. Much in this meeting has been beyond his concern and more that of Middle and Upper schools ....

"There is a danger in rousing public interest over the money aspect of Muslim education because of the large amount of finance put into English as a Second Language teaching. Please don't suggest that the system is entirely wrong. We're not convinced and not disposed to try experiments in this economic climate...

"Mr —— doesn't disagree with you teaching your own beliefs but points out there is very little time for RI in English schools. But in order to do the best for all the rest Mr —— hopes children will come to school willing and able to learn or he will not be able to give them the best he can ...

"Mostly in school we are concerned to get an awareness of religion, rather than any specific belief. Children in Europe may be taught their own religion and mother tongue in the schools, but they are children of ephemeral labour. It is more important here to absorb the feeling of the country in which you are living."

The meeting was an example of administrative containment of conflict. The Headteacher had been asked to convene the meeting, but in fact it bypassed him, as the Director observed. It bypassed him because his concerns were not the common concerns of the group assembled. There was in fact no parent of a child at that school present at the meeting. The concern of the local authority administrators was to be seen to be willing to meet but there was little willingness to change. The concerns of the Muslim parents and teachers were about Local Authority policy on the language teaching and religious training of their children, but demonstrated a fear of acculturation to the dominant English culture. Dialogue was non-existent.
Conclusion

It has been shown that there had been some shift in the tone and policy directive of LEA Administrative Memoranda between 1966 and 1977 but that this had been minimal and had led to little effective change in practice towards a positive accommodation to cultural and religious difference in the provision of Religious Education in school, appropriate dress for school, PE, swimming, etc., nor to adequate provision for Muslim food rules to be respected at school meals.

There had been some provision, but of a kind that could be termed 'negative' action. For instance, the legal right of withdrawal from school worship and Christian Religious Education had been endorsed, and a local right for Muslim parents to withdraw their girls from swimming on religious grounds has been recorded. However, this was denying the Asian child a part of the curriculum that other children received as of right, according to their need. Furthermore, the initiative to ensure that provision was made was left with the parent. The LEA had taken little positive action to make these parents aware of any situation from which they might wish to withdraw their child. That the withdrawal from school worship and Religious Education would only be given in response to a written request in some situations, placed further constraint on a parent who may have been illiterate, or not literate in the English language.

This negative accommodation to difference was thus a denial of equal opportunities. It was racial discrimination as it affected the black communities.

more than the white. There was very little evidence in 1977 of a positive attempt by the LEA to approach an equity of opportunity for Muslim children \[1\], for instance, to have Muslim worship in school, or even a multifaith Religious Education. Where there was alternative provision by the communities, as with the Muslim Education Trust input to schools, this facility was poorly attended, but then from the young person's viewpoint, the issue of status of the alternative in the eyes of the school authority and the attitude of their peers to it would need consideration. In this city, there were many voluntary aided Roman Catholic or Church of England schools, but requests for a voluntary Muslim school were given no encouragement (Appendix A3).

There was continued pressure for Muslim children to accommodate to mainstream provision, with the 'negative' LEA option being classed as a 'problem' by teaching staff. By association, the children who chose it became the problem. There was added pressure when teachers failed to perceive the full reasons underlying requests for differing practice, as with the issue of dress for PE and swimming where the Muslim requirement for modesty had been given limited weight as a reasonable criterion for change.

It was the children who bore the tensions of deviating from the 'norm', a norm perceived as such by those 'in authority' in school and based on a pre-1960, mainly white, Christian societal standard. Parents who appreciated this may have encouraged their children to conform, or responded to the children's wishes to do so, rather than expected them to stand out as 'odd'. This was more likely in a society, as in Britain, where racial ridicule of black people comes easily to the dominant group.

There was a general lack of dialogue between teachers, LEA and parents.
The meeting described, pp.336-341, was representative of the kind of interchange occurring. Real dialogue could have allowed not only more parents to know about the situation of their children in school and increased the possibility of group pressure for change and protest at injustice, but also have given opportunity for the LEA to learn more of the real needs and perceptions of parents so that a constructive compromise – a change in the norm – could have been a possibility. The school meal situation, with Muslim children being effectively required to stay at school for the midday meal in many schools and yet being provided only with 'haram' food, is a case in point. It was not only Muslim children who found the school meal system inflexible. A more positive approach to difference could have led to change that was relevant to all children.

While, by 1977, the LEA had made moves to acknowledge the need and agreed to the limited changes that Muslims were asking for at the time, in practice little changed. The LEA had taken no action, beyond sending LAMs to Headteachers, to ensure that changes and the reasons for them were appreciated by staff. The responsibility for insisting on these changes was still left with the minority group. The Muslims, in fact, were justified in feeling that their requests had been ignored. The 'ineffectiveness' of the Muslim requests for marginal change in school practice described in this chapter is indicative to me of the importance of two factors in a strategy for change. Firstly, there is the need to activate a political will for change to happen, to be able to use political power. Secondly, there is a need to gain respect within an institution, to be able to use influence (moral, persuasive power). Together, these may move mountains!
The following chapter will assess the extent to which the 'black voice' was enabled to be heard from within the school system in 1977, through the teaching staff.
CHAPTER 16 SCHOOL STAFFING AND RESPECT FOR RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN BRADFORD SCHOOLS, 1977

It has been argued that much of the schooling policy in Bradford that was introduced as 'positive action' may be undermined by what is, in effect, institutional racism. While there is special E2L provision in the schools, racial and cultural difference in school curriculum and custom is at best tolerated rather than celebrated. Educators and administrators, by accepting this as a reasonable norm, are in practice denying the real importance of ethnic identity to the minority group child. The child must become skilled in a cultural duality and home-school liaison has not developed as a dialogue that would enable parents to fulfil an appropriately supportive role.

One means of alerting the schools to the needs of black and Asian pupils would be through black teachers or other black LEA staff. They would have an understanding both of British schooling and of the racial and culturally different needs of the children from their own experience of being black or culturally different from the majority. They would have status in both school and minority community and could facilitate dialogue and influence change. Black teachers would also provide role models for the children to aspire to and admire. Bilingual teachers could bring experience to bear on E2L needs and offer lessons in community languages. Home-school liaison teachers could then perform a valuable service in providing an effective communication link with the Asian family.

These aspects of school staffing will be addressed in this chapter. It will be shown that, by the mid-Seventies in Bradford, the number of 'ethnic minority' (the term used in 1977 for black: Asian and Afro-Caribbean) teachers was very small and that such as there were, were mostly teaching E2L. It will also be shown that the liaison teacher's job was more about explaining the school's requirements to the Asian family than listening to their needs.
Ethnic Minority Staff in Schools

It has been stated that there would be benefit to the Authority from ethnic minority staff. There would be benefit because of their particular knowledge and experience (a fluency in Asian languages might be a particular asset), their position in the Authority but also in a minority community from which dialogue could be facilitated and possibly for their potential as role models (Goffman, 1969) for the children to aspire to or to admire. The 'respect for cultural diversity' in a policy could be endorsed by actual cultural and racial diversity of those in positions of authority to implement it.

At the time of my initial fieldwork there were very few black teachers in Bradford schools and most of these were in the 'Immigrant Education Service'. There was only one at the First and Middle schools I observed out of a total teaching staff of eighty-seven. In the Upper school system, in which an increasing proportion of the children were Asian-named, in 1975 13% (Figure 2.5), only ten out of over 800 staff were not white and of the rest very few could claim ethnic minority status in terms of family roots and bilinguality (East European, Finnish, German). Six of the black teachers were employed as E2L teachers, a job with low status in the school system (Chapter 13).

In the LEA administration there were two black Education Welfare Officers and several black members of staff in the 'Registration' department (p.184). One of the EWO's had a responsibility for liaison with the immigrant community and the other for checking school attendance of children in the main area of immigrant settlement in the city (Manningham). Black people were employed, in effect, in tasks that involved the 'policing' of their own communities.

There were no black education advisers or higher ranking officers, those
responsible for creation of policies [1]. There were no black Headteachers in schools or Centres [2]. For black children, authority figures in school were all white. On the whole, black people that were employed in schools were cleaners, cooks and meals supervisors. I found little evidence that teachers were concerned about this, of the effect that it might be having on the children. There was no perceived need to compensate for this particular skew of the social image.

The Bradford situation was no different from that pertaining elsewhere in the country, whether in terms of the proportion of black teachers or of their status in schools. The 1977 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration [3] recommended that statistics should be collected of the numbers of black teachers in schools and training, as these were not then available. A limited response from ten LEA's to enquiries by Little and Willey (1981) showed that there were a disproportionately small number of black teachers, especially those of West Indian origin, in the schools, probably 800–900, most of them in London. Replies from the schools showed that those few that there were, were most likely to be employed in schools with a high ethnic minority intake. While several LEA's and schools expressed a desire that this situation should change [4], in fact most black children will complete schooling without having been taught by a black person. A survey reported by Ray (1978) of 102 immigrant teachers, in London 1976–77 [5], showed that those who were able to get jobs were mostly employed in 'ghetto' areas (94% in schools that were in Social Priority Areas and/or which had a high proportion of immigrant children on roll). Most remained on the lowest pay scale,

[1] Several such appointments were made, including an Advisor, after the Council Equal Opportunities policy was introduced in 1981.
[5] U Rai (1978a) "Immigrant teachers who find it's temp work or nothing", TES, reporting statements by R R Ray, Secretary of the Society of Immigrant Teachers.
60% on Scale 1 Burnham, though their experience varied from 4.4 to 7.4 years' teaching in England and overseas. Only 7% were on Scale 3 salaries or in more senior posts. Most (73%) of these teachers were graduates. He pointed out that immigrant teachers sometimes had to make 100 applications to get a job at a time when employment possibilities in the profession were good. When successful they were frequently used as a second-class workforce, being placed on the supply pool rather than allocated to a school. A small study by Gibbes (1980) of 27 West Indian origin teachers in London schools showed that half were on relatively low scales of pay inspite of considerable classroom experience. Many had made more than 200 attempts to gain promotion [1].

This lack of black teachers had been identified as an educational issue by 1977. Brittan, 1976, showed that over 75% of teachers held negative stereotypes about the ability and behaviour of West Indian children and suggested that West Indian teachers in schools could help to dispel this stereotype. In a report to ILEA (1977), Holberton suggested that the presence of more black teachers could contribute to an improved self-image of the black child in school and possibly affect achievement with these models of black people fulfilling responsible roles in society. Contributions to the Select Committee study of the Educational Needs and Attainment of West Indian children were endorsing this [2]. Four years later (Government (UK) 1981 Rampton Committee) the interim report of the committee was calling for more black teachers and 'access courses' to enable ethnic minority people to train for teaching [3]. It was seen as important for all in the school

[3] The first such access course was set up by North London Polytechnic in October 1978 (TES, 2.6.1978). See also the report of the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 1980.
system, not just the ethnic minority children, to see black people in authority if racial prejudice were to be countered and racism tackled.

Such acknowledgement of the need for change, or even a positive desire for change, required activating by a political will to change, backed by resource provision for the change to be enacted. In Bradford in 1977, the people in position to select staff for schools, local councillors, education administrators and advisers, school governors, heads of schools, were almost exclusively white. The situation had potential for racially biased selection, a bias that seems to have been functioning, given the small numbers of black staff. There appeared to be some prejudgement on the ability of black teachers to meet the selection requirements, as the following typical quotations from my research notes will demonstrate:

"We would like black and Asian teachers in the schools but we can't find ones of the right sort. Their spoken English is not good enough or their qualifications are suspect."
Immigrant Education Adviser, 1977

"The Head was impressed that I wanted to stay to school dinner. He suggested that I should help out on playground duty. He said he liked people who 'talk properly' to be with the children whenever possible."
Inner City First School 18.5.1976

"Mrs ——— (Asian teacher) needs a lot of support. I've been getting involved (laughs). She needs it too. You can tell the kind of background she comes from. Her approach and expectations are very formal."
Headteacher, Inner City First School 17.9.1976

There were real problems for black and Asian teachers who had gained their qualifications overseas both with the DES rulings concerning the acceptance of these qualifications for teaching in the UK and with the expectation of the teachers concerning teaching methods and approach in school. With political will, these problems could have been faced through access courses. The criticism that the accent of black teachers (or anyone else) might detract from teaching competence can be more a product of majority prejudice than minority ability. Children learn to cope with dialects. Inaccurate syntax through interference from a first language
other than English rarely reduced communication in school, though it could encourage grammatical mistakes in written English. On this issue one must take account of Rai's opinion that:

"If an immigrant teacher cannot be understood even after doing his teacher training in this country, it reflects on the British system .... Surely the administration should do something about running an English language course simultaneously." [1]

If change were desired, it could have come through a properly resourced policy for equal opportunities in employment [2].

There could have been good arguments for a black teacher being employed because of special cultural knowledge through experience in two cultures (for those for whom this is a qualification). If such teachers were chiefly employed by the Immigrant Education Service, in effect 'to serve their own people', the advantage was restricted. The cultural experience of the black teacher may have been useful for easing the integration of the black child into school but it was also of value in informing the ignorance of others about cultural difference, gaining respect for diversity, mediating between home and school and countering the pressure for conformity to 'white' norms that could be damaging to the home-school relationship for the ethnic minority child. Essentially, however, much of this was within the capabilities of any caring teacher and should have been part of the professional responsibility. If schools were to look only to the ethnic minority members to take on the task of rooting out institutionalised racial prejudice, given the small numbers, the speed of change would be slow and the chances of change from a minority power base limited.

Furthermore, while there may not necessarily be greater empathy between black pupils and black teachers than between black pupils and white teachers, it

has been argued that, in a society in which racism is institutionalised, the black teacher in school may be an important status symbol to affirm the black child in the possibility of advancement to positions of responsibility in society. However, the issue of more black teachers in school is basically an issue of justice. To make it an issue of psychology only would be to collude with racism. The low proportion of black teachers is a demonstration of the discrimination that is functioning. Those in decision-making positions, involved in selecting staff, have a responsibility to combat the institutionalised racism that fuels discrimination. Increasing the number of black teachers in school would be but one move in a concerted effort towards societal change, for 'tokenism' in this area alone could make 'exceptionalism' a virtue, placing even greater demands for achievement on the black child.

**The Role of the Liaison Teacher**

When the Infant Centres were opened in 1971 (p.170) the LEA also appointed to each one a teacher/social worker whose responsibility was to cultivate the link between home and school and with welfare agencies such as the Health Department, Education Welfare Office, Schools Psychological Service and Police Community Relations Department. By 1977, these qualified teachers were appointed to all Centres and to a few mainstream schools. Only two of these were black, but in that all had a direct contact with Asian homes as part of their job, they could listen to a black perspective and enable it to be heard.

The task of the liaison teacher was firstly to become established in school as a teacher, taking a share in the timetable and in the normal duty load, gaining knowledge of the children in their learning situation. Secondly, it involved visiting the children's homes, forming clubs for mothers and toddlers, liaising on transfer from Centre to school and perhaps advising on employment and career prospects for the older young people (Garvie, 1972).
At the time of my research there were liaison teachers at all the Centres I visited and at both of the inner city schools, though not at the outer city Middle and First schools. Only one of the Upper schools had a liaison teacher attached. The amount of time spent in the classroom varied from an average of two sessions (morning or afternoon are counted as one session each) in the Centres to several periods of French teaching in the Middle school and five sessions (i.e. half-time) with remedial reading groups in the First school. These teachers showed much empathy for the Asian children and their families, a good knowledge of cultural diversity, and sometimes were able to communicate in Asian languages. The following extract from field notes gives a fair impression of the contacts, skills and commitment involved: [1]

The Middle School Liaison Teacher 25.9.1976

She said:

"We'll walk first and then we'll take the car. I'm following up some absences. I don't always bother unless I know they're habitual truants. I send about twenty slips a week into the EWO's [2]. They visit about 20% in that week and the rest hang on. I might visit in desperation. There are other reasons as well as truanting for visiting most of these".

25.9.1976

We went first to a small house in a long terraced road almost backing onto the school. We were politely ushered in by a small Pakistani boy whom I recognised from the days when he was the tiniest boy in the Infant Centre where I had taught. Mother was at home, but spoke limited English. Arshad avoided responding when asked what he was doing at home. We had come to see Sairabanu who had fallen at school while skipping the day before and knocked herself out. The liaison teacher had taken her home and then to the hospital for a check-up. Today Sairabanu looked pale but not unwell.

Our next call was on Paul, a white boy, who was always missing on Fridays. He was missing.

We walked back through the shops and past the flats to more terraces of back-to-back houses on steep cobbled streets, unkempt with

[1] See Chapter 13, pp.253-254, for a description of an Infant Centre Liaison Teacher at work.

[2] An 'absence' slip is usually made out for a child who has been absent from school without a parent's note for three consecutive weeks. It is the Education Welfare Officer's job to visit the parents to find out the reason for absence and check up on truanting.
make-do-and-mend repairs. Julie had gone to hospital with her aunt, said her mother, a white woman married to a Pakistani Muslim. She was just leaving for work. Whether the hospital visit was for Julie or her aunt, or an excuse for something else, was not explained. We moved on.

We bumped into the EWO in mid-swoop. She had just been trying to raise an answer from a house where she knew a family of young children was locked in. She had been called because one of them was truanting, but knowing that they all had head lice and were in 'moral danger' too, she was off to call in the Social Services.

We found Julie's sister at her aunt's. The aunt was out. Julie wasn't there either, but Nasreem, a pale sickly child with a blood disorder, was looking after two small babies, one a brother and one a cousin and thus was not at school.

Now we returned for the car. The catchment of the Middle school spreads wider than that of the Centre. In a large terrace house down by the railway, Zeenat lived with her voluble mother. The mother spoke no English but that did not stop her flow of conversation and with wild gesticulations, encouraged by the occasional word of Urdu interjected by the liaison teacher (who was understanding only occasionally the vague gist of what she was saying), she torrented on. The mother occasionally threw a remark to Zeenat's aunt who sat quietly sewing at the machine. Two small children played around our feet. Zeenat glumly looked on. She had mouth ulcers, but the bottle of medicine fetched from the doctor on Saturday stood on the shelf barely touched. We had come to ask for Zeenat's father's social security number so that the liaison teacher could arrange for free dinners for Zeenat. We retired without it.

We returned to the rows of back-to-backs again, those under the shadow of the mill. We were checking on a white English child, habitual truant. We went through a ginnel and round to the back terrace. The door was opened a crack to our knock and a small fair-haired timid-eyed child peeped out:

Teacher: "Not at school today? Is your mum in?"
Child: "No. She's at the pub."
Teacher: "When did she go?"
Child: "At 11.00."
Teacher: "Have you had any dinner?"
Child: "No."

It was now half past two. The child closed the door and we went on a few houses down the street, to collect newspaper from an elderly couple. The school children here, as part of their school programme, visited senior citizens in the community, organised a party for them at Christmas, invited them to their carol service. The senior citizens reciprocated by collecting paper to sell for school funds and for Community Association work. This last visit was cheery. The elderly white couple lived in a spotless front terrace that had been their home for many years, now surrounded by not-so-spotless neighbours.

This teacher also ran a Saturday morning English class, with a crèche organised by
the schoolgirls, for mothers in her patch. It was not well attended but a handful of Pakistani women, a Bangladeshi, a Persian and an Estonian went regularly. There was some reciprocity, with the women preparing special food for school functions, especially for parties at Eid and Christmas.

The liaison between Centre and mainstream schools was relatively weak. The liaison teachers rarely had time to follow up children once they had been placed in mainstream, though one Senior Centre liaison teacher, worried that the top class of the Junior wing was being pushed out to school more quickly than normal because of pressure of numbers, began visiting the children in school regularly and noticed 'a marked improvement in their English speaking' (liaison teacher 16.6.1977). Sometimes a liaison teacher would support parents in an appeal against an allocation to Centre or school (see p.199) but essentially the job was to ease the child through school and health service administration, not to challenge it.

Liaison teachers were in a position to provide a line of communication from the Asian home to the school and the administrators of the system, through which policy could be moderated to the benefit of the minority groups. Several of them did, in fact, play a political role in this way.

Some positive bridges were being built into the community by individual liaison teachers and those on their school staff whom they had inspired but this was through individual initiative rather than LEA policy. The LEA record on consultation seemed poor. An officer reported:

"In the early days we tried to contact parents of Asians and meet the leaders of the community on a number of occasions. Mr Dhaliwal (liaison officer) and the three immigrant welfare officers are now used to explain to parents rather than to consult them. Bear in mind the difficulty of consulting parents who know nothing of the English education system." [1]

At a First school parents' meeting, set up ostensibly for consultation under the

[1] Personal interview with the Chief Special Services Officer, CBMDC, 1977.
recommendations of the 1976 Working Party report [1], Asian parents met Officers who refused to be consulted and came with a clear agenda of instruction [2] about the unacceptability of corporal punishment in the mosque and 'extensive' holidays overseas in term-time, when the Asian parents wanted to discuss religious instruction in school and 'holding Asian children back in language Centres'. The Bradford Infant Centre project, claimed as a 'Headstart' initiative [3] unlike that in the United States of America did not include as policy 'parent education', though some liaison teachers developed it, neither did it set up parents' Advisory Committees, for teacher-parent dialogue to develop and for parents to become involved in the decision-making with regard to their children in school. Thus opportunities for consultation were not taken.

It would seem that the home-school link through liaison teachers could be one of the more positive elements of the LEA policy for the education of the children of immigrants, providing it were used to build bridges into the communities and to encourage Asian parents to become involved in school. A research report of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow primary schools (Dickinson, Hobbs, Kleinberg and Martin, 1975) showed a clear relationship between family backgrounds and educational and language attainments. Among the factors found to be positively correlated with test performance were the amount of English spoken in the home and the extent of parental voluntary contact with school. Conversely, it showed ethnic conservatism militating against a child's success in a British school. If Asian parents were made aware of this, they could then make more informed choices.

[1] CBMDC (1976) Education in a Multiracial City
[3] The American Headstart programme, from which this took a name, had already been underway for fifteen years. It was a programme of compensatory education for the children of socially disadvantaged families. See Zigler and Valentine (eds) (1979) Project Headstart and also D Peters (1978) "Parents into the mainstream" TES p.16.
about their children's future. If schools took note of the implications, then a positive affirmation of the value of cultural difference might be seen to balance the effect of cultural traditionalism. It was the liaison teachers initially, going into the Asian homes, who could have developed the dialogue to mutual advantage of child and school in Bradford.

Conclusion

An under-representation of black teachers in Bradford, especially of Asian teachers whose bilinguality and cultural experience could have been of particular value in the schools, was not only poor practice but also unjust, reflecting an underlying racial discrimination. Their presence in larger numbers could have supported the development of understanding of the particular needs of Asian children and have aided the dialogue between home and school. Meanwhile, the liaison teachers could be encouraged to take a more positive role in developing dialogue as a catalyst for change that showed respect for racial and cultural diversity between home and school.

Lack of perception of the racial bias in society that was militating against change, even if change were desired, would require a positive LEA policy of consultation and dialogue and a political commitment to equal opportunities in employment. Courses that encouraged access of black people to teacher training would be an essential part of the scheme.
CHAPTER 17 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BRADFORD POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN PROVIDING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SCHOOLING

At its inception the Bradford policy was racially discriminatory in that it was based on a registration of 'coloured' children. Subsequent modifications, using name-type rather than skin colour as a criterion for division, were no less racist in the context. Further adjustment to make educational need a criterion for dispersal essentially still applied to a racial group. It was potentially more damaging to the children concerned since the plan was to disperse only the slow learners or those requiring remedial attention. It was these children who would probably need most support from a local community. Furthermore, the labelling effect on the bus children, 'dark strangers' who were also 'dull', could be generalised to their Asian peers with detriment to all.

The principle of language support for the E2L children was positive action towards equal opportunities, in line with the requirements of the 1976 Race Relations Act though the low status given to it in schools detracted from this. There is now research evidence to suggest, however, that bilingual children benefit from some teaching in the mother tongue as well as of the mother tongue in school [1], even though English will be the dominant language of schooling in British society. There were indications following Beaumont (1975) and the subsequent Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project (MOTET) research, based at Bradford College (Rees 1981), that the policy should be developed in this direction [2]. The major drawback of the policy was that it was considered

feasible to focus on dispersal of the Asian children only as a means of making best use of limited resources, rather than attempt a general readjustment of school intakes. It presumed that the 'naturally English-speaking children' would be the major teaching resource and that the teachers could function adequately without extra training in what was a new classroom situation. Thus the implicit assumption on which the policy was based was that the Asian children and their needs, not the receiving institutions, were the problem in providing for equal opportunity.

As administered, it seems to me that the dispersal policy failed to meet its social ends too. Allport (1954) in his classic work on prejudice, pointed out that stereotypes could not be destroyed nor friendly attitudes developed merely by contact of different peoples. There had to be optimum conditions of contact for change to occur:

"Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e. by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of the sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups." (My emphases) [1]

In no way can the Bus children be said to have had equal status contact with the majority in the Bradford First and Middle Schools to which they are sent. Even at the Upper school stage, where many of the children, black and white, travelled to school by bus, the status differential was clear. The common goal was there in educational terms but the education that the Asian children were to acquire did not draw on their own cultural heritage to any great extent and therefore success in the common goal required knowledge about a British way of life as a medium for schooling. This demanded biculturalism as well as bilingualism of them. The goal may have been common but the task was greater

for the Asian children than for their peers. The institutional supports were there in theory — a positive multiracial approach and equal opportunities through the Race Relations Act — but in practice the social atmosphere for the Asian children was frequently hostile. They endured name-calling, rejection and misunderstanding. The dispersal policy was administered in such a way that differential status could give a feeling of relative deprivation to the Asian child that would be increased by being placed in classrooms with more favoured children. Such feelings fuel conflict, not harmony.

The effect that these pressures could have had on a black child's performance in inter-racial situations was not discussed. Irwin Katz (1968) who has done important work in inter-racial settings in the States, maintains:

"Low expectation of success is an important detrimental factor in the performance of minority children attending integrated schools. The evidence is strong that Negro students have feelings of inferiority which arise from awareness of actual differences in racial achievement, or from irrational acceptance of the white group’s stereotype of Negroes." [1]

His evidence was not conclusive, pointing to both positive and negative effects on Negro performance in inter-racial situations, and other research in the USA suggests that desegregation of schools could lead to an improvement in facilities in socially deprived areas. The work of Allport (1958) and Katz (1968) could suggest that, given the negative effects of integration, it is unlikely that the simple mixing of Asian and white children in Bradford would boost performance, but that other factors associated with dispersal might. For instance, again in the American situation, St. John [2], reviewing the evidence for the superiority of desegregation, suggested that the presumed superiority of the black child's performance in these


situations may be due to biased sampling as no adequate account had been taken of 'social class' integration and quality of schools. Taking this line of argument a little further, Milner suggested that this 'social class climate' (viz. Coleman report, 1969) and quality of school, may include factors such as immediate environment of the school, its buildings, proficiency of its teachers, their confidence and job satisfaction, teaching equipment etc., making the schools in fact superior learning centres. This may be the crucial element in improving the black child's performance in the desegregated schools – they were just superior schools. Thus, ideally, a policy of enriching the inner city schools and boosting the confidence of teachers in these and in E2L support work could not only make dispersal superfluous but in fact improve the black child's performance beyond that possible through desegregation. Pettigrew (1971), applying Allport's multidimensional approach to prejudice in a study of race relations in the USA, prescribes a mixed integration and urban enrichment strategy.

The American situation is not the Bradford one. However, by concentrating on the special language needs of the Asian children it is easy to overlook the problems of colour and status (Milner 1975) that they were also facing. Thus positive action to allow them a naturally English-speaking environment, ignoring these other factors, may have been putting them in a situation of increased vulnerability to white racism. It seemed to me that the educational worth of dispersal was not proven. It isolated a child from home and community support at a young and impressionable age. Children should begin their school life in familiar and sympathetic surroundings that can reflect the immediate needs of the community, should be able to make friendships with local children, and be involved in community life (these were points put strongly by white parents fighting for the survival of English village schools in the Seventies). By the time children reach Middle and Upper school age, they have enough confidence to face a wider
environment and hopefully enough self-assurance to weather rejection if it comes.

For all the good intentions of the councillors and education officers who administered the dispersal policy, it must be seen for what it was - in effect, a racially divisive policy. I would agree with Milner (1975), in his detailed study of the research evidence on children and race which concluded that:

"Policies like dispersal institutionalise the recognition of the disparity between races. They allow that white people's wish to remove immigrants from their neighbourhood schools is a permissible sentiment: by actually implementing this desire they confirm the immigrant's second-class status and officially endorse the prejudice." [1]

My observations therefore led me to contend that the inner city schools, local to the Asian children, although overburdened with the task of teaching many socially disadvantaged children, had most sympathy and understanding for them and at First school stage this was where the Asian children should be. There could be policies to relieve the inner city situation; an injection of money and extra teachers where the burden was greatest or a redistribution of school catchment areas to give a wider social mix to the intake.

Bussing children in from more socially favoured areas to achieve a 'balance', while it would harness parental pressure for improved facilities, was not an appropriate option because of the distribution of available school places and the population density. Under the rebuilding policy when the school system was reorganised from 1965-75, extra places were made available in the outer city. However, by the end of that period it was the inner city that was being recolonised by young parents with large families. It would have disadvantaged the young white children bussed in, in terms of familiarity with the environment and local friendships. Local councillors were not prepared to use such a strategy because of a fear of a white backlash. This underlines the importance of dealing with the basic issue of racism and of improving facilities in the areas of Asian

When 'bussing' began to be phased out in 1980, the inner city schools found themselves under increasing pressure. Building new schools where the children were became an urgent problem. The political awareness developed during the Asian-led anti-bussing campaign (pp.174–179) strengthened the community power base that would be an important force in ensuring that the needs of inner city children were fairly met and that the standard of educational provision in their schools improved.

The Bradford policy for the education of the children of immigrants was legally defensible since it was intended to give extra language support for the special educational needs of the E2L children. However, language was not the only hurdle they had to surmount to gain equal opportunity of real access to effective classroom teaching and certainly not the only hurdle to success. The cultural bias of school was also pertinent. There was a need for positive action to promote an equity of respect for racial and cultural difference and then to develop a curriculum appropriate for a multicultural society. This would require a defined policy of in-service training for the teachers and a supportive national drive for more appropriate initial training.

A lack of communication between home and school reduced the opportunity for the parents to appreciate the difficulties of children in school and thus reduced the potential home support. The opportunity for the liaison teachers to ease this communication had not been adequately developed. The dialogue with Muslim representation promised in the 1976 working party report had not been developed (p.336). A more positive LEA policy of parental involvement in school could support the Asian parent and be a force for change.

The racial and cultural difference of the pupils was at best tolerated. The creative possibilities of the contribution of this to the learning of all children was
not addressed. The children were allowed to opt out of the more peripheral activities of school routine, dress and diet norms, and religious observance, but expected to conform to the basic monoculturalism of the school ethos and curriculum. In school, the Asian child was being brought up to develop a critical individualism that was at variance with the communalism and 'izzat' ('honour', Saifullah Khan, 1975) of the Asian family (p.136 and Appendix A3). An anti-racist approach needs developing within the school system. This may demand quite radical changes in LEA administration, school structure and learning styles, in consultation between parents and professionals.

Single sex schooling will continue to be a live issue in Bradford as will the consideration of setting up a Voluntary Aided Muslim school (Appendix A3). Issues of cultural integrity would need to be assessed in a context of equal opportunity according to sex and race and some consensus policy arrived at for both the short term practice and long term aims. The 1980 Education Act strengthened the rights of parents to choose the type of state schooling they consider appropriate for their children. The LEA has a responsibility to facilitate an informed choice.

It can be argued that an inertia to respond to cultural difference of pupils in the schools could be due in part to the ethnocentrism of the staff. Racial prejudice is part of this for white people who have been socialised in a nation with a recent imperial past. The germs of racism are sown early in the white child (Jeffcoate, 1979) and its effects show early in the black child (Milner, 1975) in terms of choice of friends, self-image in school and life chances beyond. Most of the teachers I met were totally unaware of this. These were typical responses:

"Children don't notice skin colour difference."
"We have no racial problems here."
"They must learn the language."

The presence of black teachers in the schools could be supportive to the black
child. They could enable some of this hidden prejudice to surface and then it could be addressed. To propose that black teachers should be racial stimulants and models for all, showing white teachers the way forward is a proposal that many black people, as victims of racism, would fairly reject. It is probably necessary in the short term but could only be seen as fair as part of a broader strategy for change that included support for black staff.

To summarise, I have suggested that Bradford LEA should end the 'bussing' of Asian children to First school and improve the facilities for Nursery and school education in the areas of Asian settlement (the inner city areas), implement appropriate teacher training, both initial training and in-service, develop a dialogue with Asian parents to agree on the 'needs' of the children and then to implement the necessary changes in school practice (ethos, curriculum, and learning styles) appropriate to a multicultural society. Such would probably include the possibility of some single sex schooling at Middle and Upper schools. The appointment of more black staff would be a necessary aspect of this. These would be the elements in a broad strategy for change towards equal opportunities in the school system.

Also, my observations suggested to me that a concept of institutional racism was an appropriate tool for analysing the effectiveness of provision of equality of opportunity for the Asian child in Bradford's schools. It seemed to me that black teachers and researchers had perceived the real problem with more clarity than white had done so far since racism was a daily experience thrust upon them through discrimination in housing, schooling and job prospects. For example, Professor Giles (1977) in a survey of the situation in several London schools, concluded that treating one another as human beings was a start but not enough. He asserted that, as the bias in society was to support white privilege, in a multiracial society children must be helped to overcome racial prejudice as a social
evil. The problem was racism.

Racism as a concept is a tool that can be misused and intentionally or unintentionally turned against those whom it aims to support. Dr Stuart Hall concluded an address to the British Sociological Association, London, May 1978, with the following challenging statement:

"I want to insist that racism is not a set of false pleas that swim around in the head. They're not a set of mistaken perceptions. They have their basis in the real material conditions of existence. They arise because of the concrete problems of different classes and groups in society. Racism represents the attempt ideologically to construct those conditions, contradictions and problems in such a way that they can be dealt with and deflected at the same moment. That instead of confronting the conditions and problems which indeed do face white and black in the urban areas in an economy of recession, they can be projected away through race. Until the specificity of British racism, which has those real authentic material conditions at its roots, which does indeed address the real problems of people, which is not a set of phoney conspiracies generated in the heads of the ruling class, which has a real life at the base of the society – until we can confront a racism which is specific in that sense, we haven't a hope in my view of turning the tide." [1]

The insistence and rhetoric appear to be necessary to break through the barriers of misplaced goodwill, haste to deal with symptoms not causes and ineffective listening such as the Bradford policies have displayed. It seems to me that the key responsibility for policy change to confront the specificity of racism in that broad context lies with those with political and racial dominance, the white people in contemporary British society.

As white people, it seems to me, we are not only blind to the prejudices in which we are being nurtured but also deaf to expositions of them that do not accord with our self-concepts of national tolerance and fair play. The theory of institutional (in the British context, white) racism that I would support as a basis from which to develop educational policy does not imply that every white person has individual racial prejudice, though many will have, but rather that white groups ('majority group') in society hold the political power. They hold the positions

[1] S Hall (1978) "Racism and Reaction" in Five Views of Multiracial Britain, CRE, p.35
from which decisions on social welfare are made and are able therefore to retain any privilege they have in group terms, because of a subordinated position of black groups ('minority group', Allen, 1971). The concept of racism focusses attention for change on the privileged, dominant group rather than on the 'victims' (Ryan 1971) of their policies, the minority group. The former would need to accept change in their status of privilege if an open society, built on mutuality of interests and racial justice, were to be pursued. The concept of racism focusses on change in policies that have maintained the institutions in a form that perpetuates privilege. By naming the problem which damages both whites and blacks in society as institutional racism, it would be possible to address a policy for change that is not merely cosmetic but radically concerned with social structures. Such an 'anti-racist' policy would be concerned with the redistribution of power. Any policy for curriculum change or school allocation that would be transformist towards a racially just society would need to start by enabling teachers, administrators, councillors, school governors and ancillary staff to be aware of racism and require them to be committed to countering it. To this end, persuasion is part of the educative process, but direction is an ultimate political responsibility.

An anti-racist policy does not necessarily have to be racially explicit, providing the inexplicitness is not a cover for misguided majority group paternalism. Kirp (1979) argues for the benefits of inexplicitness while safeguarding the non-discrimination principle and the idea of tolerance underlying it:

"For Britain ... the need ... is to couple the considerable virtues of inexplicitness with both a greater willingness to incorporate non-white groups into the relevant decision-making and consultative apparatuses, and a recognition that discrimination – unequal treatment based on race – deserves more serious public policy attention than it has thus far received." [1]

This does imply the inclusion of black people as a power group constituent in the decision-making, rather than the more familiar specious model of 'consultation with

ethnic minorities' that has been more about telling than listening and heeding. To reach consensus along these lines is to call into being a very different society from the present, endeavouring to maintain pluralism and shared values, individualism and community action in delicate balance.

In the Bradford situation, consultation with Asian parents with a willingness on the part of the LEA to change direction may begin the process. Some form of dispersal of children from inner city schools would be necessary in the short term due to the mismatch of numbers of children and school places, but Asian parents could be given an equality of opportunity to place their children in schools of their choice that is comparable to that of other parents in the inner city. This would require some space allowance to cater for children who come into mainstream late from the Centres. In the longer term new school buildings would be necessary to remove the need for bussing the youngest children. Liaison teachers could have an important responsibility ensuring that the outcomes were just. Reception Centres would seem to be a continuing need and a pragmatic and valid means of helping newly immigrant children to become acclimatised to school and familiar with a British way of life so that they can relate to it. Language ability could be assessed at these Centres in a relaxed way rather than under the stress prior to entry to school. More Mothers' clubs, pre-school playgroups and nursery facilities would be an advantage to the Bradford-born children whose language was other than English. Here the children could begin to gain familiarity with English and also to gain confidence to move out of the sheltered family existence to what may be a less familiar environment of school. Language support in the mainstream schools would seem to me to be preferable to separate Infant Centres, providing it were delivered as part of the mainstream class activities and not only in withdrawal groups. The school should at the same time be developing a multicultural approach to the curriculum with the staff showing a respect for diversity. In a
school-based in-service training of teachers to this end, benefit could be two-way if members of the local community were invited to co-operate with the teachers in schools with an ethnic mix, where sympathy for change may be greatest, then these schools could serve as exemplars of good practice for schools who might be less perceptive of the need for change.

However, educational disadvantage does not disappear through enlightened teaching input, extra resources or anti-racist education policies. Disadvantage is built into the structure of society itself and transmitted from generation to generation:

"Schooling is linked to housing. If the underprivileged live together in the same segregated neighbourhood, their children will go to the same schools - and they will be slum schools for the underprivileged." [1]

While this writing by Rex (1973) has a Sixties ring about it, even in the post-Plowden Seventies the inner city schools were considered less desirable for teaching jobs, on the whole, the task more difficult, rewards hard won and community support less tangible than in the socially more favoured areas. This low status showed in standards of work expected from the children and the general level of resourcing with teaching aids. Authors of the 1976 Working Party report to the City Council appreciated this link. Their strategy was to commend dispersal of Asian children to school from inner city areas as a palliative measure and to recommend the housing panel to:

"take any steps which may be open to them to encourage immigrant families to move out of large, tightly-knit communities into areas where they will have opportunity to mix with indigenous families." [2]

While the social concerns may have been real, this revealed, however benevolent the intentions, the underlying racism of the dispersal policy. In other situations, "tightly-knit communities" would be lauded as an asset to social cohesion. Implicit

[1] J Rex (1973) Race, Colonialism and the City, p.85
in this statement was a perceived undesirability of large black communities. As Rex (1973) pointed out, dispersal of school children in such circumstances would exacerbate the situation:

"For, to declare that a child has to be moved to another school helps to emphasise, either that he is a problem or that his neighbourhood is a problem, thus drawing attention to his inferior status." [1]

Housing dispersal depends on job opportunity to a large extent, a relationship between cash and convenience. Job prospects depend on the economic structure of the city and how it is administered, and on central Government constraints on that. Jobs will be scarce if profits are to be maximised into the hands of a few for their benefit alone. There is always an abundance of work to be done but recompense would need to be adequately shared. Thus, the special educational needs of the Asian child were caught up in a wider concern. Black school-leavers, in a city where the unemployment rate was high, were disproportionately disadvantaged in comparison with their white peers in the struggle for a wage. Careers advice and New Training Initiatives [2] were of low relevance if all they offered was a more refined means of selecting out a favoured few from a biased system. School and parents would need to work together for the future of their children.

An ultimate aim could be to move towards a more participatory, local, social democracy (Bottomore, 1964), with dialogue and communal decision-making both on what happens in school and on combatting racism in society, set in the context of a celebration of racial and cultural diversity. It seemed to me that in the Bradford of the Eighties, there would be three particular constraints on any such move to openness through the school system: central government pressure towards

[2] The New Training Initiative: a Government-sponsored scheme to give a year’s compulsory skill training to all school-leavers who were not going on to further education after the statutory leaving age, September 1983; later called the Youth Training Scheme (YTS).
a firmer control of schools through financial constraints and a core curriculum, the natural conservatism of the indigenous white Bradford population, and a possible authoritarian exclusiveness of dominant Muslim groups in the Asian community. Any movement for change built in the confidence of the local community would need to bear these in mind. Schools could be pioneers of the anti-racist strategies in developing education for a multicultural society, enacting a hope that the sharing would begin to build that community confidence and mutual trust. From this seed for action, political awareness could grow with a wider involvement of people in local government to curb the manipulations of the more powerful and develop a stronger political voice for the disadvantaged.

Despite racism in society and flaws in the LEA policy, Bradford was open to change. Individuals in some schools, with community support, were taking positive action to be fair to the minority group children. The Council formulated an equal opportunities (race relations) policy in 1981.
PART 3 CONCLUSION

It has been argued that the Asian children in the Bradford schools in 1975–76 were attaining less success than their peers, despite a talent and motivation to succeed and potential, though possibly misinformed, home support. This was in the context of a generous LEA policy of positive action for the teaching of English as a second language and Liaison teacher support for Asian children in school from the early days of immigration to Bradford. Dorothy Kuya (1978), Ethnic Affairs Adviser for Haringey, London, is quoted as saying:

"There was a lot of research about black children in ESN schools in the Sixties, yet to my knowledge the situation hasn't adequately changed. Statistics identify the victim, not the situation that has produced the victim. They can only confirm what we know, that there is something radically wrong with the way black children are responding in schools. We are still running away from the problem." [1]

I have argued that the problem is 'racism'. Consideration has been given to factors in the implementation of the policy and in school that might be undermining the effectiveness of it. It has been argued that its implementation through racist procedures and the minimal accommodation to or respect for racial and cultural diversity may be acting to undermine Asian confidence in the policy and thus detract from its effect on the learner. It seems to me that a lack of perception of racism in society and its effects was reducing the policy makers' ability to take appropriate positive action to redress discrimination.

The preceding chapters have looked critically at the policy, not as an indictment of the work done, but to place it in a broader context of concern and to assess its interpretation in schools. Bradford Council was open to change so a clarification of the direction of change being achieved through the policy could

enable adjustments to be suggested to make the policy a more effective tool for the development of equal opportunities for all through the school system. The policy has been discussed (Chapter 17) and some general conclusions have been drawn as to what these adjustments might be.

The adjustments suggested (p.365) focussed as they were in the school system, would only be marginal unless the situation addressed were broadened from this to the context of the school in the community. A gradual redirection of responsibility for decision-making and power over personal life chances could begin to counter institutional racism. This aspect of political change is addressed in the following section (Chapters 18 and 19).
PART 4: RACIAL PRIVILEGE, RACIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE IN A
BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM
CHAPTER 18  THE CONTEXT OF CHANGE FOR THE BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

In this thesis, the Bradford school system has been observed in its historical context and the performance of the Asian-named children appraised in such a system, geared to external examination success. The LEA policy for the education of the children of immigrants and its implementation in the schools has been assessed in this local situation but against a national background of racially discriminatory policies and institutional racism perpetuating racial disadvantage in society.

Despite racism in society and flaws in the LEA policy, I would affirm the positive attempts that Bradford has made to treat immigrants with justice. I concluded that Bradford was open to change, the Council beginning to formulate an equal opportunities (race relations) policy and that individuals in some schools were taking positive action to be fair to minority group children. My contention was that if policies were to take explicit account of racism, as a basic theory of social structure, then the change could be developed in a direction that would lead more surely and clearly to redress the injustice of racial discrimination.

The aim of this chapter is to link the Bradford situation back into the national context of a state school system purporting to provide equality of opportunity for all. Four case studies of 'good practice' in Bradford schools will then be discussed in this context, with findings generalised to a theory of dynamic change towards racial justice and peace that can be relevant throughout Britain (Chapter 19).

Immigration into Bradford has a long history. There have been immigrants in the Bradford schools since the formation of an integrated national elementary school system in 1870. In the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church
catered for the majority of the immigrants (Irish) in voluntary-aided schools. These early immigrants were white. They took what they could, or wanted to, from schooling and merged into the mainstream of society, though even in modern Bradford the Irish, who came in poverty, are concentrated in the lower socio-economic groups (Richardson, 1976). Class continues to be a factor in the outcome of schooling in Britain (Halsey et al, 1980). The new wave of immigrants in the 1960's onwards came to an established national, comprehensive and co-educational school system in which attendance was compulsory. Most of these new immigrants were black (Afro-Caribbean and Asian). They also came in relative poverty. It was assumed that they too would merge in to the mainstream of society. The 'race riots' of Notting Hill in 1958 showed the fallacy of this assumption and elaborate national government policies for the dispersal of the black children among state schools followed, to encourage more rapid 'integration' and to 'keep the peace'.

The State has allowed white immigrants, on the whole, to fend for themselves. The new black immigrants have been the focus of a series of Immigration and Race Relations Acts (1962, 1968, 1971, 1976) attempting to regularise immigration, reduce racial discrimination and promote racial justice. The need for these Acts demonstrates the presence of racial prejudice (racialism) in the receiving community. Their emphasis on the responsibility for change being that of an individual citizen, twinned with the containment policies of positive action for the victims of racial discrimination, allowed racism in societal structures to remain unconfronted until the 1980's. The majority groups in Britain, those within whose power it is to control and direct political life and resources, are white. There is considerable literature to support the argument that black people, who have been victims of disadvantage (economic and social) on a global scale through colonialism, are now the target group of oppression in an intra-national (neo-colonial) situation.
in Britain (Blauner, 1967; Rex, 1973; Sivanandan, 1976).

The fact that black people in this country suffer disadvantage with respect to housing, employment and immigration legislation, has been well documented (Hill, 1967; Rose et al, 1969; McIntosh and Smith 1974; Smith 1977). This has been seen to be due to the initial cultural incompatibility and poverty of the immigrant and a fairly widespread attitude of prejudice towards black groups of the majority white population, linking in to a cycle of disadvantage:

"Prejudice against immigrants and especially against black people, is fairly widespread among the white population in Britain, although it is by no means universal. Prejudicial attitudes develop early in childhood, but can be modified in adolescence or adult life, given the right circumstances. Whether a person exhibits racial prejudice is to some extent influenced by the attitudes of his parents and by his patterns of upbringing, but to a considerable extent shaped by the attitudes he meets in school and in the community in which he lives. The extent and nature of his contact with people from ethnic minority groups, the attitudes and teaching at school, the mass media and legally enforced patterns of behaviour are also likely to have a major impact on how he feels about black people and how he behaves towards them." [1]

Literature debating the historical and psychological roots of this racialism has been reviewed [2]. It has pointed me to a conclusion, confirmed by observation of the situation in Bradford schools, that racial disadvantage should be seen not only in terms of individual behaviour but also as something that issues from the institutionalised structures of the country. The institutions are supported and perpetuated by people who would not see themselves as racially prejudiced, and some may not show on an attitude test to be so, but prejudice backed by institutional power provides a context for racism.

Most academic interpretations of racism as an institutional form come from America:

"Many people have the view that racism is an overt phenomenon which attaches to the individual. Racism has to do with personal

attitudes and wilful behaviour. This view can be contrasted to that which holds that racism does not reside only in the individual. More importantly, racism is a basic feature of the entire society, being structured into its political, social and economic institutions. Since it is institutionalized, all cases of racism do not result from the wilful acts of ill-intentioned individuals. It is in its most profound instances, covert, resulting from acts of indifference, omission and refusal to challenge the status quo. Thus, an individual need never have done anything that directly and clearly oppresses minorities, she/he need only have gone about business as usual without attempting to change procedures and structures in order to be an accomplice in racism, since business as usual has been systematized to maintain blacks and other minorities in an oppressed state. The institutionalized view of racism does not see it as a function of individual attitudes and preferences, then, but as a clash of group values and interests, namely the maintenance of privilege." [1]

It is not possible to relate research from the American situation directly to British schooling. There are considerable differences between the position of black people in America and in Britain, in relations between central and local government as they affect schools and in the legislative framework of society in general. However, it has been argued that racism was exported from Britain to America with the Pilgrim Fathers (Trost, in Hodge, Struckmann and Trost, 1975) and that its psychological and metaphysical roots are shared by white groups on both sides of the Atlantic. It is likely that these will be affecting people, and the institutions they perpetuate from a situation of dominance, in similar ways.

Very little academic work has been done in Britain on racism in the structures of society and its effects on race relations and such as there is, is from a generally Marxist perspective (Allen, 1971; Moore, 1975; Sivanandan, 1976). It was hardly registered as a 'problem' by white researchers until the time of the Rampton Report (Government (UK), 1981), since it had been obscured by the myth of British tolerance and fair-play (Richmond, 1955; Patterson, 1963). However, black writers have assumed it as the prime cause of discrimination in

education (Coard, 1971; Giles, 1977). Those who have attempted to adduce racism as a cause of under-attainment in school have found difficulty in establishing validity for their claim.

My own research experience led me to posit that racism was not readily reducible to statistics. This has led me to base my thesis on descriptive evidence of happenings in schools and of the nature of accepted structures of schooling. The NFER/Schools Council project, *Education for a Multiracial Society* (1973–76), used a similar research method to describe the "hidden curriculum of overt and covert racism" in schools. Its focus was then unacceptable, and the report was vetoed and only published in an edited version in 1981, after the Rampton Committee had published its findings. Thus the painful experience that black people wrote about in Britain (Coard, 1971; Mullard, 1973; Giles, 1977; Wilson, 1978; Kapo, 1981; Dhondy, 1981) had not been identified or discussed adequately as one of the inequalities of schooling.

It seems to me that there is enough corroboratory evidence available to propose that my analysis of institutional racism in the Bradford school system can be generalised to other parts of Britain. My analysis supports similar conclusions to those of other researchers on teacher expectations and attitudes (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Pidgeon, 1970; Coard, 1971) that black children in school may be suffering from a stereotypically low expectation of their ability in academic work. While the research of Rosenthal and Jacobson has not been adequately replicated, by 1973 Rosenthal had located 242 studies of 'labelling', using all sorts of subjects and situations [1]. Verma and Bagley report that 84 of these studies strongly support the detrimental effect of low expectations, seven times the number that would emerge by chance alone (Verma and Bagley, 1979). Much research work

has been done on bias in school textbooks and visual aids, with particular attention paid to the handling of race issues (Hatch, 1962; Hill, 1971; Glendenning, 1971; Dummett, 1973; Council on Inter-racial Books for Children, 1975; NUT, 1979; Hicks, 1980, 1981; Priestwerk, 1980) and on racial bias in the media (Hartmann and Husband, 1974). There is evidence at very least of some confusion among teachers as to what to expect of ethnic minority children, and the relevance of multicultural education (Rogers, 1973; Brittan, 1976; Widlake and Bloom, 1979). More teachers in schools with high percentages of black pupils on roll were in favour of change towards a multicultural curriculum than in those with a low percentage (Brittan, 1976). It was only in response to the Rampton inquiry that teachers' unions really began to take up this issue (NUT, 1980; NATFHE, 1981; AMMA, 1981) advocating special emphasis on initial and pre-service teacher training. The national lack of black teachers (Little and Willey, 1981) and the low career status of those in employment (Rai, 1978; Gibbes, 1980) is documented and was a particular cause for concern of that Rampton inquiry. Thus, there is ample evidence, nationally, to support my observations analysed as 'institutional racism' in Bradford.

While this thesis is concerned with institutional racism, it also sets out to be a 'peace study', (Appendix A5) with proposals for the future. Its concern is to suggest directions in which racial peace may lie for a school system committed to equality of opportunity for all, and the policies, staff training and community action that may be necessary to achieve this end. As such it is based on a philosophy of education that sees schools as potential agents of change, transforming the status quo, as well as carrying a responsibility for handing on cultural tradition (p.288).

Research involving anything so wide in compass as a school system, with its multiple inputs of structural and situational difference, including myriad inter-personal relationships, is fraught with difficulty in its complexity. Some
relatively narrow-based research projects have shown a considerable school effect on achievement as measured by internal examination results. From the United States of America, the International Educational Achievement (IEA) survey to study school influences on attainment across twenty-two different countries (Postlethwaite, 1975) showed substantial differences between schools despite the use of standardised achievement tests which, used alone, would minimise school effect (Brimer et al, 1977). Others found a less optimistic outcome for the role of schools. Jencks (1972) after analysing a mass of statistical evidence in America, concluded that:

"equalising the quality of High Schools would reduce cognitive inequality by one percent or less." [1]

and Bernstein predicts that: "Education cannot compensate for society" (1970). Some British researchers were more hopeful. Davis (1977) showed that the proportion of children obtaining six or more passes at GCE 'O' level ranged from 6% to 32% among comprehensive schools in one county in England, not all of which difference could be attributable to social class variations in the intake. Rutter et al (1979), from a relatively broad-base of information about twelve secondary schools with similar intakes, concluded that schools:

"can do much to foster good behaviour and attainments, and that even in a disadvantaged area, schools can be a force for good." [2]

Rutter's research has been criticised for not taking into account the Primary schooling the children received, the interest the child's family showed in the education he/she received, nor the curriculum itself. However, it did show that in terms of pupil behaviour, school attendance record, examination results and delinquency, in the twelve schools there was considerable divergence of outcome for sixteen-year olds from the similar intakes at eleven. It postulated that the

differing outcomes were related to the differing teacher management of classes. Good outcomes correlated with well-prepared lessons, continuous activity, firm but unobtrusive discipline, open relationships, with staff acting as models of good behaviour in this respect. They correlated with consistency in school values, with high expectations of success for individual pupils, stability in class groupings, responsibility devolved on pupils whenever possible, and a pleasant atmosphere around the buildings (plenty of potted plants and no graffiti). This limited counter to Bernstein's pessimism endorses the hopes of many teachers that not only skills can be developed and information gained through school, but also the attitudes of children can be educated to form a foundation for a more just society.

The influx of immigrants and the changing patterns of industry that have attracted them have proved a creative milieu for social change in Bradford. Bradford has pioneered child welfare, comprehensive schooling, Middle school development and 'immigrant' education (Chapter 1). Ultimately, however, the extent of change from the pioneering moves has been limited by established national norms. The reorganised County school system, though comprehensive in intake and curriculum, was still dominated by the status of the GCE external examinations, themselves very much controlled by the demands of the universities. The aspired-to national norms of equity of school provision, as formulated in Parliamentary legislation, fall far short of the practice in evidence in society. In 1973, Wedge and Prosser found that one in six socially disadvantaged children were to be found in the 'remedial' classes in school, while only one in sixteen of their socially advantaged peers were so placed. Thus, while the 1944 Education Act promoted education for all according to 'age, ability and aptitude', the children
from lower socio-economic groups are apparently 'born to fail' [1]. In 1977, with a national school system almost completely comprehensive, 2.6% of the fourteen-year-old age group were placed in Independent schools, being groomed for the 70% of highest status jobs in the country, the proportion then held by those who had had a Public school education (Reid, 1977). The constraints on any attempt to develop schools as agents of change are strong, since they both display institutional inertia and are only one of the institutional structures that perpetuate societal norms. As has already been stated (pp. 67, 146 and 373), change will need to be part of a societal movement.

The Asian immigrants came to Bradford when the schools were under pressure from reorganisation, ultimately to a three-stage comprehensive system by the mid-seventies. Their coming placed extra demands on the system at a time of heavy financial constraints nationally. By the time the reorganisation was complete, Britain was into an economic recession, with firstly no-growth and then reduced budgets for education. Despite this, Bradford put much money and effort into provision for the newcomers. The policy was to concentrate on the provision of special tuition in English language, to enable the Asian children to compete with their peers in the county school system. The fact that in 1977, fifty percent of the black school-leavers had no job to go to while only one in seventeen of their white peers were in this position (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, District Trends 1978) shows that whatever 'good' schools may do in terms of examination results and a child's behaviour, it is only one step towards racial justice in society. External examination results alone do not correlate with a child's life chances at sixteen. There is statistical evidence to show that black

[1] P Wedge and H Prosser (1973) Born to Fail was a report of disadvantaged children up to the age of eleven years, based on information from the National Child Development Study, a longitudinal survey of progress from birth to maturity of all those born in one week in March 1958. See also P Wedge and H Essen (1982) Children in Adversity.
people are frequently more highly qualified (in terms of certification) than white people in similar status employment (Smith, 1977) but yet are disadvantaged in the job market. This is one expression of institutional racism.

It has been argued that institutional racism has resulted, not in lack of provision for the young black people in Bradford, but in provision undermined by a lack of respect for racial and cultural diversity (Chapter 17). Provision for the newcomers has been made on the basis of the cultural assumptions of the dominant group, with minimal consultation with minorities. Partly because of an ignorance of cultural difference and partly through socialisation into norms of thought, attitude and behaviour that have been inherited from distorted black/white relationships in history (Chapter 8), the administrators and teachers provided a schooling for the Asian children that lacked empathy with the children's socialisation and failed to make adequate compensation for the inequality of opportunities for employment, promotion and further education in society. The Asian children in Bradford continued to be in a situation of relative deprivation to their white peers. The administrators and teachers are not held to 'blame' for what has happened in the past when the distortions were developed. However, they do have a responsibility for enabling the intellectual growth of all children in the schools to its highest potential. To this end they are responsible for objectifying the constraints on the realisation of this task and for challenging rather than colluding with them for the sake of the children, if schools are to be agents for change, rather than replicators of the stratifications of society. The task requires an understanding of the nature of racism in society (or of any other structural constraint of class, age, ethnicity or sex that may also be working to defend the privilege of some groups in society over that of others) and a confrontation of its effects. It assumes a philosophy of education that sees schools as places where children can develop and grow to their potential, rather than as
places where they are to be 'schooled' to preserve the 'order' of society or to fit the status quo.

I offer four case studies of schools in Bradford working, within the constraints of the school system to greater or lesser degrees, towards change in society. They could be seen as four models of the use of institutional power to devolve privilege, increase racial justice and promote peace.
CHAPTER 19  FOUR CASE STUDIES OF SCHOOLS IN BRADFORD
WORKING TOWARDS CHANGE IN SOCIETY WITHIN THE
CONSTRAINTS OF THE STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

These case studies could be seen as four models of the use of institutional power to devolve privilege, increase racial justice and promote peace. I shall analyse these in terms of effective and affective influence. Effective influence, I shall define as the power to take decisions that affect the life chances of groups in society. It involves a rational (cognitive) political will for change, an act of 'mind' and will – to use a dualistic mode of description. Affective influence, I shall describe as the power to sway the decision-makers and thus bring about change 'in effect'. It involves an emotional (affective) response through the rational, an act of 'heart' and desire. Herein lies a weakness of the dualistic metaphysic since it appears to allow a perception of the possibilities of independence for the cognitive and affective, which has influenced much Western thinking in this mode; it seems to me, inappropriately so. The effective and affective interrelate. However, in terms of power exercised over groups in society through decision-makers in the institutions, there can be a blocking, intentionally or not, of the free flow between the two, to retain a privileged position. The decision-makers here I would see as the majority group in society, in Britain generally white people. The decision-makers may or may not be listening to (willing to hear) the minority group; may or may not be open to (able to hear, through miseducation, misinformation, misperception) the minority group; may or may not be empathetic to (appreciative of, sensitive to) the minority group. Therefore, I have identified four ways in which institutional power, in pursuit of racial justice, is being used to devolve such privilege as resides with the majority (power) group in terms of a facility to make decisions on race issues:–

1. The power group, without consultation (listening) gives facilities to the
minority group; it has effective influence. (white paternalism, usually 'deracialised' races, 1984)

2. The power group, having heard about minority needs and sympathised (affective) with them through understanding (cognitive) has had affective influence brought to bear on the decisions about the facilities that are given to the minority group; it has more effective influence, in that the outcomes are more in line with minority group needs. (Charitable racism, Memmi, 1974; benign racialisation; Miles, 1984)

3. The power group is effectively changed by the affective process, (viz. 2) empathises with the minority group, invites consultation, organises a redistribution of advantage and enables effective change in the institution; it initiates a dynamic for power-sharing that may support effective change that is responsive to the needs of majority and minority. (Antiracism)

4. An intermediary, empathetic to the needs of majority and minority facilitates the dynamic, through stimulating dialogue and democratic participation, encouraging majority support for minority decisions and generally acting as a catalyst for change. (Peace making, Curle, 1971)

These four ways are not discreet, neither do they necessarily have a hierarchy of effectiveness, but might be necessary complements to one another. They may all be active concurrently in an institution through the same person at any one time or at different times, or through a variety of people at any one time. Their goal would be the increase of racial justice and promotion of peace.

A school ministering to a need perceived by the administrators of the school system

Bradford's policy for the education of the children of immigrants from the New Commonwealth countries and Pakistan espoused equality of access to education in a meritocratic society. It could be perceived working at its best in the outer city Middle school observed:

The school is newly-built and well-endowed with teaching resources, run on progressive lines, in a pleasant residential area of the city. Fifteen percent of the children on roll in 1977 were non-white, most of these Asians.
Two-thirds of the non-whites were of local families, living in a middle-class housing area. The rest were bussed out from the city centre. The school was seen as educationally and socially desirable by their parents.

Attainment level in the school is high and the local Asian children achieve well. The bus children were struggling [1]. A part-time language teacher was available to help with English as a second language, supernumary to the school's staffing establishment. The cultural accommodation was nil. One teacher said to me:

"We even have immigrants in our nativity play this year."

Another said:

"You will be interested to hear that ________ (Pakistani boy) was by far the worst behaved child we had at Stainforth (school study week in a Youth Hostel) last week. He didn't want to do the chores; didn't even want to get his books or dress himself. In fact he made no effort at all .... If they are going to want to integrate they really should make some effort."

The school staff demonstrated a very low awareness of racial prejudice. The deputy-headteacher carried a school list on which each black child was marked "IMM" (immigrant) beside his/her name, including those born in Britain. She said that this was 'to enable the language teacher to pick out her children' (whether they spoke English as a second language or not [1]). The language teacher, who perceived the extent of cultural accommodation that the Asian children were being expected to make, was wary of 'putting the matter too strongly to the staff for fear of giving offence'.

The privileged white locals could afford to be tolerant and to accept the minority groups since no change was expected of them. The local Asian children owed their success as much to their family position (middle class, socially successful as instanced by their home in a 'white' area, a family that could be supportive in

[1] The information for this is limited but I have no reason to believe that it is unreliable as an indicator. On the analysis of the reading age on entry to school at 9+, 1977, according to name type, of the eleven Asian children out of an intake of 97, the five local children had reading ages above their chronological age by an average of six months, five of the bus children had reading ages that were considerably below their chronological age with an average underattainment of seventeen months. The other bus child, a teacher's daughter, had attainment five months above her chronological age.
giving them the social skills necessary to acculturate to a British school) as to the LEA policy of bussing and language support. These children could respond, with advantage, to the competitive, individualistic learning methods.

This is a model of a one-way approach to racial justice. Extra resources were added to the school to boost the opportunities of the disadvantaged child, a technicist model of a multicultural curriculum (Williams, 1979). The school remained little changed by the 'immigrants', except in having an E2L teacher on the staff. The 'racial harmony' that the dispersal policy was to promote was there in a negative mode only. There was very little mixing between the black and white children. The Asian children were making friends across the colour-line with partially-hearing children [1], if at all. That is, they were relating to children who were already marginalised in their friendship patterns because of their disability. The burden of change was placed on the minority group children, particularly the bus children, the most disadvantaged, economically and socially.

Thus, the LEA policy, while allowing a minority of the minority success in competition with their white peers, was encouraging the gap of disadvantage to widen. In the liberal, progressive tradition the school was a channel of social mobility and change governed by the meritocratic principle that 'good' (IQ plus effort) will 'up' in modern society. It eased access to equal opportunity in schooling.

[1] This school had a special unit for partially hearing (PH) children, who integrated with the mainstream for most of the school functions. At playtime it was noticeable that these children circle the school playground on the edge of groups and were rarely invited to join in (cf the situation with the black children at playtime at the outer city First school (p.223). One particularly gifted PH child said that his friends were 'all the daft ones' (another PH boy, a West Indian boy, a boy from a remedial group). Several of the black children who said they had white friends named PH children among them, a general indication of the social marginalisation of both categories.
Summary: **One-way approach to racial justice** (see 1. p.386)

A school ministering to a need, eases minority group **access** to equal opportunity in schooling:

\[
\text{SCHOOL} \quad \text{helping} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{MINORITY GROUP}
\]

(Giving/controlling)

\[\Rightarrow \text{focus of change}\]

**A school facing racially prejudiced attitudes in children and staff**

The nature of decision-making in the British school system is such that, within the framework of an LEA policy, individual schools can vary in their approaches to new situations. Having been unable to find any positive accommodation to the multiracial, multicultural nature of the school population (except for E2L support work) in the two First schools that I had observed in 1977, I asked the LEA Adviser for Immigrant Education to send me to a school that was different. He offered not a number of possible schools but one only (p.282). This school had been the city school selected to take part in the Schools Council/NFER project *Education for a Multiracial Society, 1973–1976* [1]. As a result of the research impetus it was now facing up to the racial and cultural prejudice mediated through the school structure and developing processes to respond to it:

The school experimented with 'permeating' the curriculum with a multiracial principle and making accommodation for cultural difference with respect, at the request of the research team.

The day started when the bus children arrived, with a celebratory Assembly to which the Asian children contributed, often a culturally-specific part. Cultural and racial differences were noted and respected. The particular contribution of the Asian child's home culture was offered as a learning resource for all in addition to the dominant English cultural input to the school ethos. The school teaching aids reflected the multiracial make-up of the school population and of the city/country.

There had been a basic change of outlook affecting school ethos and practice. A need had been seen and responded to for in-service training for the

---

teachers to expand their knowledge and expertise. There had been dialogue with parents of minority group children and efforts to ensure that the majority group parents were informed of the changing ethos of the school.

The aim was to be aware of prejudice. The response was a willingness to change shown by the children, with leadership from the staff who were themselves changing their outlook, curriculum and teaching resources.

This is a model of a two-way approach to racial justice. A positive approach was made to the LEA dispersal policy. Extra resources were added to the school and at the same time the staff perceived a need to tackle prejudice head-on in themselves and in the structures of school. All children were valued, not despite their difference, but with a positive appreciation of the difference and respect for the contribution that each was thus able to make to the learning situation.

Since the whole staff had accepted responsibility for tackling the disadvantage of the minority groups, the whole school had gained creatively in the process, particularly in 'sympathetic imagination' (Parekh, 1981) each appreciating the strengths of the other. The school had avoided the tokenism that mars most attempts at multicultural education. The minority group children demonstrated great self-confidence in school. Research would suggest that the high expectations that the teachers held of the children would improve their performance in school tasks (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Rutter et al, 1979), especially if similar concern and expectations were shown at later stages of school [1]. The teachers were learning from the children and their parents. This was the beginnings of a co-operative learning institution, rather than the 'expert'-dominated one that is the norm in Britain. The school seemed a very happy place to be. It took a national research team, firm management, in-service teacher training and minority community co-operation to implement the change, a change that would need constant attention as new teachers joined the staff.

The school structure itself was only marginally changed. The response to

cultural diversity represented an improvement of the content of what was being taught and of the teachers' attitudes to children and curriculum, rather than any radical change in the method of teaching and school outreach, a moralist model of a multicultural curriculum (Williams, 1979). This model shows an affective approach to cultural diversity, rather than a political awareness of the structural implications of prejudice and disadvantage but, nonetheless, effective changes. The changes were isolated within that particular school. The Headteacher said:

"The children here accept the displays for Diwali, and so on, without giggling. We did a role play about marketing in the Gambia once. I took it to another school, using their children, and they laughed. I wouldn't do that again. The children take time to get used to strangeness."

For her the lesson, like the changes in her school, was addressing ethnocentrism rather than racism. It provided the children with a good foundation from which to confront racism, however.

The LEA policy, in the hands of an aware Headteacher, with sympathetic staff, eased minority group success in school by affirming their cultural identity and endorsing self-respect. There was a considerable input of teaching resources (research time, in-service training for teachers and materials) to support these gains. Access to educational opportunity was being broadened for all the children, because of the reciprocal cultural input from the Asian children.

Summary: Two-way approach to racial justice (see 2, p.387)

Goals are redefined. A school facing racially and culturally prejudiced attitudes in children and staff eases both access to equal opportunity and success for the minority group in schooling:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>Sharing (Giving and receiving)</th>
<th>MINORITY GROUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(→ focus of change)
A school facing social disadvantage by a redistribution of advantage

It has been argued that it is not so much the prejudice of individuals that perpetuates racial disadvantage, but racially prejudiced attitudes that have become institutionalised in the structures of society (Chapters 8 and 17). This institutionalised racism defends the advantages white people have already, regardless of the intentions of the people involved. Thus, practices that concentrate on personal prejudice and are not directed at the structure of disadvantage in the schools (monolingual, monocultural, competitive institutions) can only partially alleviate the disadvantage of minority groups. They can, in fact, 'project away' the disadvantage (Hall, 1978, p.366).

One of the city Upper schools (Appendix A1), led by the Headteacher (later with the support of a staff 'Multicultural committee') addressed itself to this disadvantage perpetuated through the school structure, in what can be described as a three-way approach to racial justice. Changes were made through positive action (Race Relations Act, 1976) to share out the opportunity for a child to achieve success in the system, geared as it is to public examination standards, in the light of sociological theory about equal opportunity and the effects of racism:

This inner city Upper school has second phase language support for those who needed it. The staff were encouraged to face the bias in the curriculum and change it to celebrate the cultural difference of all minority groups (including white ethnic and 'class' minorities) and to reflect this in the visual aids, books and teaching content. Home school links were forged through teacher visits to the homes, Parent/Teachers' Association, cultural evenings and an ethos of openness.

The school teaching group structure and timetabling were fluid enough for pupils to take such examinations as they were prepared to do with encouragement. Beyond that, by a simple manipulative redistribution of advantage from 1975, the teaching groups were organised so that the E2L pupils were allocated to those groups suited to the upper limits of their attainment range, in the confidence that their motivation and high expectations would be adequate aids to success [1]. In outcome, all gained in examination success (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2) with a higher proportion of entrants' examination passes at GCE 'O' level than at CSE, compared with the other city Upper

**Figure 4.1** Table showing passes at GCE 'O' Level and CSE according to name type and sex of the entrants at the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and the other County Upper schools, Summer 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>CSE</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of preliminary study</td>
<td>19 (10.41)</td>
<td>53 (30.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rest</td>
<td>81 (89.59)</td>
<td>243 (265.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( f_e \) in parentheses \( \chi^2 = 388.77 \) \( DF = 7 \) \( P < 0.001 \)

**Figure 4.2** Table showing passes at GCE 'O' level and CSE according to name type and sex of the entrants at the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and other GS Schools, Summer 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>CSE</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of preliminary study</td>
<td>19 (15.37)</td>
<td>53 (35.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The other GS schools</td>
<td>55 (58.63)</td>
<td>119 (136.28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( f_e \) in parentheses \( \chi^2 = 134.48 \) \( DF = 7 \) \( P < 0.001 \)
schools, even in comparison with the GS schools [1]). Any other outcome would have been unacceptable to those in a position to influence decisions on school organisation (the teachers, administrators and the most articulate white parents).

The school is characterised by a deep commitment from most of the staff to the welfare of the children. This is expressed in time and effort spent 'beyond the call of duty'. There is a strong, informed lead from the Headteacher [2].

This shows a three-way approach to racial justice. It goes beyond sharing and attitude change at a personal level (though that is included in it) to action that is redistributive of privilege (in terms of school 'success' measured by external examinations). The school was practising a socio-political model of a multicultural curriculum (Williams, 1979). This demonstrated effective equal opportunities (Coleman, 1966). At this stage of its development the school policies were still liberal and reformist, though with a more radical conception of the interests of those being served than in the first model (p.387). There was a sharing community (cf. p.392) with a positive contribution from the children and from those with decision-making authority within it. The senior staff were contributing in two ways. They used the power (effective influence) of their positions for firm management of the school structure, responsive to the interests of the minority groups, and they used the 'affective influence' of their example to persuade the majority of the staff to a consensus on this action [3].

The Asian pupils, while still showing relative under-attainment in comparison with their peers, did better in the GCE 'O' level examinations and as well in CSE overall (Figure 4.1), and in comparison with the other GS schools (Figure 4.2) as

[1] GS = Schools with Grammar School antecedents, see p.83.
[2] K Thomson (1978) "Multiracial purpose in the classroom" lists three aspects to developing a multiracial policy: organising a child-based school structure, taking every opportunity to base specific parts of the syllabus in multiracial contexts, implementing a policy of staff awareness, knowledge and commitment. See Appendix A1.8.
Table 4.3: Tables to show the passes in GCE 'O' Level and CSE examinations by entrants according to name type in the Upper school of the preliminary study (Appendix A1) and other County Upper schools, Summer 1976 in (a) English Language and (b) Mathematics.

### (a) English Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>CSE</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>NAN</td>
<td>AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of the preliminary study</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.58)</td>
<td>(62.61)</td>
<td>(37.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other County Upper schools</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(32.42)</td>
<td>(566.39)</td>
<td>(337.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$f_e$ in parentheses $\chi^2 = 69.78$  
DF = 3  
P = <0.001

### (b) Mathematics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>CSE</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>NAN</td>
<td>AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of the preliminary study</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.13)</td>
<td>(56.03)</td>
<td>(21.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other County Upper schools</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(93.87)</td>
<td>(518.97)</td>
<td>(195.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$f_e$ in parentheses $\chi^2 = 35.83$  
DF = 3  
P = <0.001
Asian–named pupils overall in the other city Upper schools in 1976. The school was similarly effective in Maths and in English (Figure 4.3). By 1978, the Headteacher could affirm that 'the Asian children perform on a par with indigenous children'.

The school's policies were seen as radical by LEA advisers and officers but the school was selected with confidence to host visitors from the DES enquiring into the 'problems' of teaching in the multiracial society. In 1974, a team looking into urban disadvantage [1], generalising from the positive action it saw in this school, suggested that Bradford might be being too generous to 'immigrants' at the expense of other disadvantaged groups (i.e. a policy of 'positive discrimination'). In 1979, Her Majesty's Inspectorate pronounced the school 'truly multicultural' and in their inspection report complimented the school on its caring, friendly atmosphere. Perhaps the most telling comment came from the newly appointed LEA Adviser (Asian) for Multicultural Education, October 1981, who on his first visit to the school said:

"It's an amazing place! They like Asian children here."

The pupils would seem to have been gaining in competence and confidence from the ethos engendered.

The racial dimension was faced in the school in terms of both allocation to teaching group and classroom teaching. It was beginning to be seen in its socio–political context, though still with some ambivalence as to the way forward. The school Multicultural Committee, 1981, reported:

"A multicultural approach necessarily forces the issues .... it must include a subsumed anti-racist ethic .... race and racism must be broached (in the classroom) for two reasons especially: firstly, because the vacuum caused by avoiding rational discussion about race is being filled by irrational racist propaganda of the far right .... Secondly, though for teachers their pupils' colour or race makes no difference to the way they treat each child as an

[1] An enquiry team from the Centre of Advice and Information on Education and Disadvantage, 1974, led by Sir Alec Clegg, with Professor Alan Little.
individual, for most black pupils it does make a difference. In the world outside school they are aware of the cultural differences between their families and those of their white friends and they are made to feel inferior by people who are prejudiced against them because of their colour and do not hesitate to show it. The conscious or unconscious inference a child may draw from a teacher ignoring his colour is that it is a subject too terrible or disgraceful to talk about." [1]

'This statement itself, showing an awareness of the 'difference' made to black pupils by racism but not of the complementary difference that this must be making to white pupils, demonstrates white racism in the most well-intentioned group of teachers. However, it also shows an awareness of the need to face the topic head-on and a willingness to learn. In class, the black children may well have been enabled to make an anti-racist (corrective) contribution to their teachers' prejudice, given the ethos of the school.

The school structure was in process of review. It was open to change firstly by the permeation of a multiracial/cultural principle in the school and secondly by attention given to racial status through a manipulation of the teaching groups in the examination options. The staff were encouraged to listen to the pupils, whose experience fulfilled 'the teachers' information needs in some aspects of the curriculum. This moves the teacher–pupil relationship towards dialogue (Freire, 1972) and away from the traditional transmissionist relationship. The process had brought the institution to the point at which in 1981 it was realistic for the Headteacher to itemise two major areas of school organisation that needed considering in detail:

"to define the objectives and strategy that will allow us to concentrate on:
(a) How children learn, and the implications for general learning and teaching.
(b) Increased participation in decision-making, and the implications for the organisation and teaching approach of the school." [2]

The content of the proposals for consideration were affective (a) and political (b). Both focussed on the school structure for their outcome. It had taken an informed Headteacher, a sympathetic staff, good backing from a developing multicultural advisory service, minority group support, and much hard work to reach this stage. This case study would seem to endorse Rutter's conclusion that 'schools can be a force for good' (Rutter et al, 1979).

In a society in recession, there was no guarantee that the children thus schooled would find their life chances improved in terms of employment and socio-economic rewards, nor that black children would find their chances improved relative to white children when they entered competition with them for scarce resources outside school. What this type of schooling could be doing was improving the sympathetic imagination (Parekh, 1981) of the white children and the political awareness of all. Then the relative disadvantage of black groups would be perceived more painfully, and articulated with more clarity as a grievance, in the 'real' world which they find by-passing their interests. In such a climate, 'riots', such as those of Lewisham and Notting Hill, 1977 or Brixton, Toxteth and Bradford, 1981, were not unexpected [1]. The way through to justice was not by reversing the process and returning to a concentration on controlling the behaviour of the individual, but in positive social policies for the eradication of disadvantage. Action for change in school required a continuity with action for change in society.

Here, the school staff under the leadership of aware senior staff, backed by the children and their parents, were taking a policy lead that was a pressure for change on the LEA policy itself and was initiating a dynamic for power sharing that could enable broader changes in society. There was a modelling of positive action towards redressing minority group disadvantage, through consultation, a

redistribution of advantage, and shared decision-making.

Summary: Three-way approach to racial justice (see 3, p.387)

A school facing social disadvantage approaches minority group access to equal opportunity by a redistribution of privilege and thus affirms success in the system, but because of effective consultation initiates a dynamic for change in wider society and the potential for change in minority group status.

SCHOOL ← Power sharing (Empathy and Parity) MINORITY GROUP
(→ focus of change)

A teacher in a First school engaging in dialogue

At the inner city First school that had previously been the subject of some of the observations for this thesis, while teaching the children, I was working for change in the institution itself. At the same time I was forging links between school and community so that the one might be more responsive to the other (Thomson, 1981a). The aim was to facilitate a four-way approach to change for racial justice:

I worked as a part-time E2L (Section 11, LGA funded) teacher for the LEA, with 'language development' as my brief. My aim was to see what one skilled teacher could do to enable children from a variety of racial and cultural backgrounds to develop 'according to age, ability and aptitude' in school.

I worked with small groups of nine-year-olds. Some spoke English as a mother tongue and were monolingual. Others were bilingual with English as their second language, a variety of community languages making up the 'first language' list. Language development (in English) proceeded through the medium of the children's particular interests, with the community as textbook. An attitude of respect for people in their difference and a valuing of their self-expressive contribution to the learning situation was the means of progress. The group work was conducted whenever possible in an environment in which some of the children were in a position of knowledge that was beyond the experience of the rest of the group, including the teacher. Thus, they were the experts in that situation. From this starting point, they were enabled to initiate respect for cultural difference in school, sharing the learning at a school Assembly, for instance.

Race and culture difference were confronted explicitly.

The experiment was exceedingly popular with the children. The group moved from sharing to empathy. It was relatively unthreatening to the 'authority' of
the institution (school) itself since it was seen as a marginal activity and received as such by the rest of the staff. This had the advantage of allowing me room to experiment and manoeuvre. My hope was that it would bring change to the school by stealth. It was seen and noted by LEA officers who, as a consequence, initiated two advisory teacher posts to support a multicultural education service. These posts were used to introduce and encourage the use of resources of relevance to the multiracial nature of the school population and to develop in-service training. It was picked up by the BBC for a series of documentary training films [1].

Above all, the knowledge and experience gained has been acknowledged in the LEA and by elected members of the City Council as a reasonable base from which pressure for change can continue to be exerted, linked as it has been to research. Thus my personal lines of influence on the school system were not severed when I resigned the teaching post.

This was the beginning of a four-way approach to racial justice, structured to enable the 'real' interests (Lukes, 1974) of the children to emerge. We built sharing groups, in dialogue with the local community around topics of immediate relevance to the lives of those involved in the dialogue:

Paul came to school with a badly grazed knee, complaining about the rubble that the builders had left on the road behind the flats. He had skidded and fallen off his bike. As a group, we went to see where it had happened, why it had happened and what the builders had been doing. The builders had constructed a tarmacadamed play area for the flats (which the children pronounced 'good'). They hadn't cleared up well (which they said was 'bad'). In my role as teacher, I suggested that they might like to say thank you to the relevant people for the good and request that the bad be put right. I booked an interview for them with a local councillor whom I knew was Asian. The children interviewed him using a tape-recorder, grilled him about refuse disposal in the alleys which were always dirty and asked for the play area to be properly cleaned. It was.

The language development was happening in a naturally multiracial environment in which the authority figure in this instance was black. He was a person through whom the children could feel empowered to voice opinions and hopes for the community in which they were living – a start in democratic participation. The episode was reported back to the school at Assembly and no doubt to parents at home.

As a teacher, I used the authority vested in me by my position to link the

[1] BBC TV Continuing Education (1979) "Multicultured Swap Shop"
school more firmly with the community and to involve the parents more closely with their children's learning:

The children wrote a 'book' about our language work out in the area. It was an anthology of all the writing and drawing done in a term, about the visits and the pictures, brochures, tickets and other paraphernalia that the children had collected on our travels. With prior arrangement through the children, I took the book into the home of each child who had contributed to it. This gave me an opportunity to listen to the anxieties of the parents for their children and gave the children a chance to show off their contribution to the book. For many of the parents it was quite an insight into what goes on in school ('very different from when we were at school'). Some of the parents who had not been into school to enquire about their children's work before did so after that. They began to share their interests with the teachers.

The group work was a bridging exercise between home and school, firstly taking the school to the home before expecting the 'home' to become involved in school. In this inner city area, white parents might only expect to come to school when summoned to hear of a child's misdemeanour. Most of the Asian parents would expect the teacher to take responsibility for teaching and see a visit of themselves to school as interference. Complaints would be made directly to the 'office' (to LEA administrators), perhaps via the Mosque with the Muslims.

The children, through the influence of their group identity, brought community support to the school and special knowledge related to their background:

Shahida said we could go to visit her home; her Mum was always in and her Dad would be there because he worked nights. After I had checked out the arrangements with father, we went. On the doorstep Patricia refused to enter the little terrace house:

"It smells and there are idols in there."

The group rushed her in but her Irish Catholicism held her fearfully just inside the door. The parlour was full of little brothers and sisters. There were the notebooks in which big sister had been teaching them their English alphabet. There was a calendar on the wall, with Jinnah smiling from it. An iridescent peacock was the only other ornament – no idols. Eventually Patricia joined with the others crunching the pieces of apple that Shahida's mother offered us in hospitality. Patricia asked about the peacock, just to reassure us. We told the others at school how Shahida was teacher for her brothers and sisters. Shahida's father was very complimentary about the good work the school was doing. Would I like to give his older children private tuition after school? He'd pay me well. I declined. The children chattered on the way back to school about what was the same in Shahida's house as in theirs and what was different. It did smell of curry – like Akram's.

They had been learning about cultural difference through experiencing it in a
relaxed enough way for prejudices to be aired, discussed, then reappraised.

The outcome was a more democratic involvement of the community in school. The white working class families were enabled to develop an understanding of the situation of the black working class families through their children. Racial and cultural prejudices were exposed and examined. This reduced the chance that groups would develop stereotypes on the misinformation about others that could encourage scapegoating in times of pressure. The aim was for political will to be released to challenge the institutions of society that perpetuate injustice rather than for it to be dissipated in intergroup distrust. For the children, I hoped that through a sympathetic, self-affirming teaching method, language development was speeded up to redress some of the disadvantage of inner city schooling.

The activity as a teacher in school was only one aspect of a broader personal strategy towards political change. Lines of communication were also developed with councillors, community groups, the media, the CRE, along which information was passed or through which contacts were made that had bearing on political action.

This case study shows how a curriculum relevant to the life experiences of the children can be built. It was multicultural, reflecting the community, with the "benefits of inexplicitness" (Kirp, 1979). The concentration was on basic skills: literacy (ability to communicate clearly through the written word), numeracy (ability to communicate ideas through mathematics), oracy (ability to communicate ideas through well-ordered speech - the medium being English in this instance), empathy (ability to respect oneself and through this to respect others), and observation. A concentration on such skills rather than a fossilised subject content of a curriculum would seem to be most appropriate for a school curriculum in a rapidly changing society, since subject content and emphasis may quickly lose relevance. Within the structures of established schooling, the learners were placed as nearly as possible in an 'apprenticeship role' in the community, learning from experts, as opposed to an
'isolated' existence in school with teachers the sole source of expertise. Democratic participation in society's functioning was seen as an important objective for learning the skills towards self-determination and creative interdependence. The children learnt through collecting information and appraising it, debate and decision, participation in their own learning schedule and community involvement (loving, enjoying and respecting one another; appreciating the value of handwork as well as headwork). The focus was immediate and local. This example is a microcosm of the possible. It could be multiplied and with cross-communication the outreach could be global, with the teaching facilitating rather than regulating the interaction between world and student, a problem-posing approach to learning (Freire, 1972).

Summary: Four-way approach to racial justice (see 4, p.387)

A teacher engaging in dialogue between home and school, easing success of children in school and access of the community to affect schooling in the direction of their real interests; potential for redefining the aims of education with racial justice as an objective; raises minority group status; facilitates a dynamic for change:

```
SCHOOL ← Empathy/Power sharing → MINORITY GROUP
     Democratic participation
     Dialogue
```

(→ Focus of change)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIVILEGE RETAINED</th>
<th>PRIVILEGE SHARED</th>
<th>PRIVILEGE SHARED</th>
<th>PRIVILEGE SHARED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A SCHOOL MINISTERING TO A NEED</td>
<td>A SCHOOL FACING RACIALLY PREJUDICED ATTITUDES</td>
<td>A SCHOOL FACING ATTITUDES :: AN SOCIAL DISADVANTAGE</td>
<td>A TEACHER ENGAGING IN DIALOGUE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power group: no change in attitude</td>
<td>Power group: undergoes affective change.</td>
<td>Power group: undergoes affective change and dynamic for power sharing initiated.</td>
<td>Power person: open to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure: marginally changed</td>
<td>Structure: marginally changed; adjustment of teaching aids</td>
<td>Structure: purposefully changed towards redistribution of school success. Adjustment of teaching aids and curriculum</td>
<td>Structure: potential for change stimulated by catalyst teacher acting as a bridge school/community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping</td>
<td>SHARING</td>
<td>ENABLING</td>
<td>FACILITATING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2L support given. The most advantaged in social class terms show most talent to succeed and to take up provision. Increases divisions in minority group.</td>
<td>E2L support and sharing of cultural difference</td>
<td>E2L support: multi-cultural curriculum; change in external exam. opportunities. Happy children, relatively successful in terms of the system increases life chances for the minority</td>
<td>Language development work in English as a bridge-building exercise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eases ACCESS to equal opportunity in schooling.</td>
<td>Happy children: mutual tolerance</td>
<td>Affirms SUCCESS in the established school system but with a dynamic for change towards improved life chances for the minority</td>
<td>Community involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through policy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potential for real interests to emerge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 20 DISCUSSION: APPROACHES TO RACIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE IN A BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

The four case studies (Chapter 19) show ways in which the school system can use the power vested in its staff, LEA administrators, teachers and non-teaching assistants in schools in dialogue with the community, to promote racial justice in a society where white group privilege is the norm. I will argue that it is only when this power is focussed on changes in the structures of the school, and LEA policy-making itself, that there will be any real change in the balance of justice and in the life chances of black children.

Bradford's policy for the education of children of immigrants from the New Commonwealth countries and Pakistan espoused equality of access to education in a meritocratic but unequal society. Its aim, to support the English language development of the non-English speaking children, helped these children to compete with their peers on a more equal footing. Those who for particular reasons of birth and social/cultural accommodation could most readily change to suit the school system benefited most. Most schools remained unchanged by the presence of the immigrants, with the addition of a few supernumary staff for immigrant children in some schools. Its objective has been assimilation, effectively a one-way approach to racial justice.

It is possible to argue that the outcome of this one-way approach to racial justice will be to support the formation of black élites. These may well become "a class of coloured collaborators who would in time justify the ways of the state to the blacks" [1], co-opted to the 'bourgeoisie'. The undoubtedly able young people who benefit from this policy as it stands will provide a reservoir of 'token' black people to serve the needs of the professions, local government and civil service in a few years' time. Frustration might set in if and when they find

difficulty in progressing beyond the lower ranks of their occupational hierarchies as
statistics suggest they might (Smith, 1977; Reid, 1977, 1978). In the long term,
while the composition of the groups holding political power in society and making
decisions for it may be changed marginally on racial lines, power and privilege
itself will not have been redistributed more widely.

This approach has been typical of British schooling in practice. Education is
'given' to those who are able to receive it, the nature of the gift being defined by
the 'expert', the privileged who is holding power. It is the kind of British
schooling that Asian immigrants experienced in the Indian sub-continent in the days
of the Empire. It is seen currently at its most persuasive in the British grammar
school tradition. The liberalising effects of the 1944 Education Act and
comprehensive reorganisation are only thinly disguising this antecedent pattern
(Chapter 1). The curriculum is aligned more to the requirements of the
institutions of society (e.g. the universities, large-scale industry) and their need to
select out children to take responsible positions of power to retain the established
order in society, than to the life experiences and requirements of the children
themselves. It is an agent of socialisation and ultimately of control of deviance.
Children are not schooled to challenge the accepted social norms. As voting adults
they will behave, in general, as though they support them.

In order to clarify what seems to be happening in the Bradford situation, as
an exemplar of a British school system, and to facilitate generalisation to other
situations, I will link the model proposed in the preceding chapter, of ways of
working towards change in an institution to Lukes' (1974) study of power and the
literature on 'non-decision making' (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970). This will then
be used to support further generalisation and policy proposals for approaches to
racial justice and peace.

In his study of power, Lukes (1974), after work by Dahl (1961), Polsby (1963)
and Wolfinger (1971), describes a 'one-dimensional' use of power, which complements my one-way approach to racial justice:

"a focus on behaviour in the making of decisions on issues over which there is observable conflict of (subjective) interests, as seen as express policy preferences, revealed by political participation." [1]

The decision-making is based on observable conflict of interests and overt behaviour. In terms of the Bradford case study of a school ministering to a need perceived by the administrators of the school system (p.387-389), the overt behaviour was the Asian child's schooling, the conflict of interests was in the language of instruction. English language tuition was given to the non-English speaking child, in order that he/she could benefit from the established institution of school. Bussing was a means to this end (policy preference, the outcome of political participation).

In this situation, the immigrants were not actually involved in political participation, so assumptions as to their interests (policy preferences) were made on their behalf by white politicians. While there was no complaint, it could be assumed that their interests were being met. Other writers have argued that such lack of observable conflict, or political inaction on the part of the minority group, merely indicates that the population has had 'the wool pulled over its eyes' or has been prevented from voicing or even recognising its 'real' interests. Bachrach and Baratz (1970), for instance, developed the concept of 'non-decision-making'. On the one hand those in powerful positions may simply fail to respond to demands by minority groups, thus avoid taking what may be an unpopular decision. They may use a 'blind eye' technique and refuse to acknowledge awkward demands, or set up a committee of enquiry and smother the demand with paper and boredom. On the other hand, the minority group may fail to press a demand because they anticipate a polite refusal or fear what may happen to their children if they do

speak out. The reality of pressing a case may or may not have the anticipated outcome but the perception/aura of the power group is effective in preventing action.

It is clear that decisions taken only on the basis of observable conflict of interests as perceived by political participation (Lukes' 'one-dimensional' use of power) do not allow for interests to be met that may be unarticulated or covert, nor for the fact that people might actually be unaware of their own interests or mistaken about them. It is based on a liberal conception of interests – that an individual will tolerate change in their circumstances, even give up freedoms, for the sake of the community as a whole (Rawls, 1972); but it may mislead. Power can be exercised in this way within the dominant social structure to limit decision-making to issues acceptable to the majority group. This may happen by default, through ignorance and/or prejudice or be engineered through a conspiracy. A one-dimensional use of power reproduces the bias of the system. Thus, such an approach to racial justice will make little positive change in society.

Some schools in Bradford were beginning to develop ways in which the Authority's policy could be augmented to increase its effect on change in the system. One school (pp.390–392) saw a respect for cultural diversity in addition to E2L teaching as a way forward. Change in staff attitudes and curriculum content was promoted on the intuition that 'the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society' [1]. The presence of the Asian children changed the ethos of the school to some extent and all were affected by it.

Multicultural education, interpreted in this way, may be seen as an affective approach to learning but not necessarily an effective, relevant, experiential and...

more efficient mode for teaching the basic skills. It is harshly criticised by Stone (1981) for its basic premise that black children, because of the dominant white bias of the schools, can develop low self-images that are affecting their level of performance in school. She saw any lack to be in the teacher's competence and curriculum relevance, rather than in the black child. She criticised multiracial education as a 'myth' that promotes the idea that the child's needs are being catered for while undermining the very real aspirations of black children and their parents for social mobility through schooling. Further, she saw a danger in its being used to give teachers access:

"to aspects of pupil personality that should be private, extending teacher control of areas of pupil personality which are unnecessary for instructional purposes." [1]

The criticism was not without substance, though Stone's thesis was based on a limited review of multicultural education projects in schools, concentrating particularly on the 'Black Studies' courses (pp.292–3). A multicultural approach in school that focuses on cultural difference with the exclusion of facts of racial disadvantage certainly could be used as a means of perpetuating that disadvantage in a false appearance of fairness. An affective, sympathetic personal approach to cultural difference is an inadequate basis for racial justice.

In the Bradford school described as facing racially prejudiced attitudes in children and staff (pp.390–392), the policy was articulated on the basis of observable conflict of interests and overt behaviour (one-dimensional decision making (Lukes, 1974)) but it was extended by inclusion of the perceived cultural interests of the Asian children and their parents in the decision-making process. On the whole, the school policy-makers were articulating the 'cultural interests' for the Asian groups, but beginning to venture out from the confines of 'safe',

traditionally acceptable decisions in terms of the school system, into areas of 'risk' involving experimentation with responses to possible needs of the Asian communities. These would previously have been areas of 'non-decision' (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970), because unheeded and unarticulated. The concept of non-decision-making has been widely criticised from a positivist perspective because of the problems encountered in observing a negative phenomenon. Parry and Morriss (1974) have suggested that it should be abandoned on the grounds that, to the extent that non-decision-making practices are observable, they should be understood as specific types of decisions. The tactics adopted by power groups to delay or avoid awkward decisions are observable for instance. The fact that nothing is done, though an issue has been raised, is observable. It may signify a decision not to decide and this could be investigated. However it has helped to clarify issues of concern to democratic participation in social and political change.

In the school situation above, potential issues were being identified which, but for the beginning of dialogue with Asian parents, would not have been perceived as issues, although they could have been observable points of conflict of interest. Here the decisions were being made from a wider perspective, in which the 'non-decisions' that confine the scope of decision-making were taken themselves as decisions that can be observed. Lukes' 'two-dimensional view of power' could be used to describe this, which:

"allows for consideration of the ways in which decisions are prevented from being taken on potential issues over which there is an observable conflict of (subjective) interests, seen as embodied in express policy preferences and sub-political grievances." [1]

Looking at a school policy in this way begins to reveal the less visible (covert) ways in which a system may be biased in favour of certain groups and against others. It reveals potential issues that could spawn observable conflict. It

[1] S Lukes, op.cit., p.20
gives a lead into the ways in which the policy can be reformed. Such an
approach to racial justice, however, may lead to a containment rather than a
resolution of racial conflict that is in the real interests of the minority group.

Lukes' analysis here focusses on situations where the mobilisation of bias can
be attributed to individuals' decisions that have the effect of preventing currently
observable grievances (overt/covert) from becoming issues within the political
process. In fact it may be more productive to view bias in terms of group
propensities rather than individual actions. Parry and Morriss (1974), discussing
'non-decision-making' theory, argue that the mobilisation of bias in an
institution/power system is not conscious or deliberately manipulative action but an
endemic tendency in favour of the powerful and privileged to the detriment of less
powerful interests, contained within the very structures of ruling:

"It can be difficult for certain demands to penetrate the system and be fully
recognised as issues. But this does not mean that the powerful have to be,
or can be seen to be, consciously acting to thwart such demands. They may
be unconscious beneficiaries of the bias which does not have to be consciously
mobilised by the system. Nor do the various élite groups have to act
conspiratorially. One of the consequences of élite consensus is to confirm
élite position without the necessity of any display of power in a causal sense."
[1]

The bias may be unconscious, non-deliberate and non-conspiratorial, but its
beneficiaries are nonetheless also its originators and perpetuators. In the school
referred to as a model of a two-way approach to racial justice (pp.390-392) the
staff benefitted from the happy, multiracial atmosphere of the school, the LEA
from a showpiece example of 'good practice' and the research from positive
experiment results. This, it could be argued, gave an aura of racial harmony that
could deflect from the real issue of racial justice. This dynamic can be perceived
as implicit in most multicultural education policies which, through lacking a clear
focus on racism, may miss many policy implications.

[1] G Parry and P Morriss (1974) "When is a decision not a decision ?" p.332
in I Crewe (ed.) British Political Sociology Yearbook 1.
Multicultural education, supported in the '80's by the main teachers' unions (NUT, 1980; NATFHE, 1981; AMMA, 1981) and in the Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (Rampton Report, 1981) will become a force for change towards racial justice to the extent that it can be recognised that the bias it has to address goes beyond personal preference to group dynamics and political power interests. It cannot avoid being value-based and affective in its thrust, but the positive anti-racist feelings engendered will need to be endorsed in action for racial justice or the racist ones will be perpetuated by inaction. Thus multicultural education can help to move a school system from a containment of racial disaffection towards an alleviation of racial disadvantage through success in schooling. Little and Willey (1981) acknowledged this as a need to a limited extent and recommended that the DES, LEA's, schools, parents, community groups and professional associations should give:

"Guidance on identifying and countering direct and indirect discrimination in the education system against members of minority ethnic groups, and on combating any form of racialist activity in schools." [1]

They do not include teacher training institutions under the same recommendations however. This would seem to indicate that they are not seeing the issue as one of long-term political change vis-à-vis groups in society, but a more immediate problem of some individuals. The Rampton Report was clearer in the real focus of the issue, naming it racism, but had difficulty in articulating what this was or producing research evidence for it, and thus struggled for credibility.

The minority groups in Bradford (especially the Muslims) were not asking for the schools to bolster the self-image of their children but rather for them to refrain from tampering with the strong cultural integrity that the children brought

with them [1]. The more strident demands were not for a multifaith approach to religious education, or even for the negative right of withdrawal as a preference, but for Islamic instruction in schools by suitably qualified Muslim instructors, on a par with the teaching of Christianity, as a defence against the secularism of school (Attas Al-, 1979), a much more basic anxiety about structures of society. The challenge to accepted British school practice in terms of cultural difference for Muslim children revolved not only around issues of modesty (school uniform, dress for PE and swimming; p.323-331) and sexual permissiveness (co-education, sex education) but also around the appropriateness of basic practices and curriculum subjects in school. The demands came from an alternative view of the aims and objectives of school and a fear of loss of cultural integrity through accommodation. A multicultural school would need to heed this.

Cultural pluralism need not imply separatism nor a total denial of difference. Allport (1958) offers a subtler process of accommodation:

"what is needed is freedom for both assimilation and pluralism to occur according to the needs and desires of the minority group itself .... it can come about with minimum friction only if we take a relaxed and permissive attitude towards the process." [2]

The key is the freedom of the minority group to take the decision. However, the 'relaxed attitude' implied both dialogue and an element of delegation of majority power to the minority group to manipulate resources, if real options are to be achieved. The dialogue allows covert behaviour and unarticulated conflict of

[1] In this situation the black child would benefit from information about black 'heroes' or from the particular contribution of black teachers as role models in developing 'black consciousness'. Basically 'black consciousness' directs itself to the black person and his/her situation. Black people are perceived as oppressed both by the institutions of the external world and through an internalising of the values of this alienating world, the white value system's assessment of themselves. The white person's contribution to this consciousness-raising would be greatest in absence. See the writings of Steve Biko, for example, in "Black Consciousness and the Quest for True Humanity", B. Moore (Ed.) (1973) Black Theology.

interests to become overt and part of the decision-making process. The delegation of power over resources allows a redistribution of privilege.

One school in Bradford, facing social disadvantage by redistribution of advantage within the confines of the policy, was beginning to develop means of enabling this redistribution (pp.393–400). The aim was to give an equal opportunity for success within the examination orientated school system as well as access to its sphere of competition through language competence. The inequity of society was acknowledged and certain positive compensations were made with this in mind when selecting children for teaching groups. Douglas (1964) showed home background as an important factor in the child's academic achievement, with a middle class child more likely to achieve success (in terms of examination qualifications) in school than a working class child, but it has also been shown that children will rise to the expectations of their teachers (Rosenthal, 1968). In this school, adjustment was made for class and colour, in addition to their Middle school records, in placing children in groups and teachers were encouraged to have high expectations of all children. The examination results in 1975 and 1976 compared very favourably with other schools in the city where this adjustment was not made. The middle class white children did not do less well, but the Asian and working class white children showed creditable attainment, in terms of examination success. The school policy was one of reform, positively promoting justice in this limited area, but it was setting up a dynamic for more wide-reaching change in the school system itself. The staff were working hard to develop a structure responsive to the overt and covert needs of the Asian child, with a multicultural education 'designed to lead the school as a whole to being a more caring, relevant and reliable environment for all pupils.' [1]

The way racial justice was being approached in this school could also be described in terms of Lukes' three-dimensional view of power, which:

"allows for consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of policies, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions. This, moreover, can occur in the absence of actual, observable conflict, which may have been successfully averted - though there remains here an implicit reference to potential conflict. What one may have here is a latent conflict, which consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude. These latter may not express or even be conscious of their interests but ... the identification of these interests ultimately rests on empirically supportable and refutable hypotheses." [1]

This goes beyond the one- and two-dimensional views of power, which are committed to behaviourism and concrete decisions/non-decisions which, put into practice, reproduce or marginally reform the institution. This three-dimensional view acknowledges that the bias of a system can be mobilised, perpetuated and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen, nor the intended results of particular individuals' choices (including negative choices, non-decisions) but a bias sustained by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups and practices of institutions perpetuated by inaction (viz. Parry and Morriss, 1974).

The school policy was developed, acknowledging the fact that these inactions may involve thought patterns or indoctrination, by reducing the 'mythology, prejudice and the viewpoint of sectional interests'[2] in choice of curriculum content. Staff attempted to balance their influence over wants through control of information by developing consultation with the community. The power group were aware that, because of their own socialisation, whilst willing, they may still be being ineffective in enabling the real interests of the minority groups to surface as a source of conflict. Lukes takes the discussion beyond that of Bachrach and Baratz (1970) to attempt to describe a third dimension of power that could be seen to be being accommodated in decision-making, that of the real interests of the minority group.

**Figure 4.4** A Three-Dimensional View of Power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONFLICT OF INTERESTS</th>
<th>NO CONFLICT OF INTERESTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observable</td>
<td>Latent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(overt or covert)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POWER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>Inducement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouragement</td>
<td>Persuasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: S Lukes (1974) *Power: a radical view*, Fig. 1, p.32
Whilst Bachrach and Baratz identified non-decision-making power with grievances which were denied entry into the political process in the form of issues (i.e. if men feel no grievances, they have no interests that are harmed by the use of power). Lukes sees this as inadequate:

"To assume that the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by definitional fiat." [1]

Thus consensus may be 'the absence of articulate opposition' rather than 'the presence of unanimous support' (Altshuler, 1965). The school above encouraged dialogue and the articulation of interests that could demonstrate latent conflict. It focussed on outcomes and moved these towards justice, though no grievance was articulated or intended within the former structure. This has revolutionary potential.

Lukes' three-dimensional view of power goes beyond a positivist analysis of power to a subjective one [2] based on some supposition as to what an individual would do in some kind of notionally perfect world. However, I use it as a tool to organise reality, to set some parameters to a broad compass of interdependent pressures, realised or not, real or imagined, for change towards a fairer society. It can be used to link a psychological perspective on personal behaviour to a sociological approach to group interactions and political practice (Fig. 4.4). Those in authority, with power to act, can be open to 'influence' by minority group members (those without formal power to act) who are encouraged to identify and articulate their 'real' interests 'exercising choice under conditions of relative autonomy' (Lukes, 1974). This exemplifies an ideal of democratic participation, in which normative judgements of a moral and political nature that have to be made, are made in response to this minority articulation of interests rather than on assumptions by the dominant community on their behalf, though the

policy may be administered by members of the dominant community. It requires decision-makers in that dominant community to be open to examine their own prejudices and the bias and inertia of the political system and to be willing to initiate and support change. It requires a willingness to listen and respond to a minority voice but further, to develop forums where dialogue on equal status between groups is possible.

To summarise, the first case study (p.387) showed a school interpreting the LEA policy in such a way as to reproduce the situation of racial justice that was already established through a one-dimensional view of power. The second case study (p.390) showed a school marginally reforming the situation of racial justice by concern that affective change, a change in the values of school, should happen as a result of contact between clients and staff. A two-dimensional view of power sought to ensure that covert interests could become overt in practice in school. The third case study (p.393) showed a school interpreting the LEA policy radically to focus change on the structures of school itself and hence demonstrate the value change in curriculum, teaching groups and examination achievement. The school policies were reformist in that, while attempting to redress racial discrimination, they were not addressing the hierarchical, meritocratic education ladder and any injustice in terms of life chances inherent in that. However, their broader perspective, involving consultation to enable real interests to emerge, meant that their contribution to change in racial justice in terms of success in schooling had potential to stimulate more revolutionary change in the racist structures of society through encouraging democratic participation of minority groups. The fourth case study (pp.400-404) showed a search for a catalyst, to encourage the identification of 'latent conflicts' and 'real interests' of the minority group, to facilitate that change in values and structures of society, through schooling, that could be more revolutionary. The method was through bringing school and community more
closely together, to elicit both overt and covert conflict of interests and a clearer awareness of real needs. In dialogue, thus, the community could put effective pressure onto institutional inertia through those with authority vested in them (decision-makers, privileged, power-holders, the Authority) who could respond by providing appropriate services.

It is this open interaction that I would refer to as dialogue — talking, listening and action from either side of a potential conflict of interests. My understanding of dialogue has been affected by two writers in particular, Reuel Howe, a teacher in a Massachusetts Theological Seminary and Paulo Freire, an internationally experienced academic and consultant in education. Both write from a Christian perspective. In writing about dialogue, Howe (1969) acknowledges a debt to Martin Buber, and describes its dynamic in interpersonal relationships. He writes:

"Every man is a potential adversary, even those whom we love. Only through dialogue are we saved from this enmity toward one another. Dialogue is to love, what blood is to the body. When the flow of blood stops, the body dies. When dialogue stops, love dies and resentment and hate are born. But dialogue can restore a dead relationship. Indeed, this is the miracle of dialogue: it can bring relationships into being, and it can bring into being again a relationship that has died.

There is only one qualification to these claims for dialogue: it must be mutual and proceed from both sides, and the parties to it must persist relentlessly. The word of dialogue may be spoken by one side but evaded or ignored by the other, in which case the promise may not be fulfilled. There is risk in speaking the dialogical word — that is, in entering into dialogue — but when two persons undertake it and accept their fear of doing so, the miracle-working power of dialogue may be released." [1] (my emphases)

Freire writes of dialogue in terms of mystery, but sees it taking the persons involved into social and political action:

"As we attempt to analyse dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: the word. But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constituent elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed — even in part — the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis*. Thus to speak true is to transform the

world." [1]
(Freire's footnote: Action + reflection = word = work = praxis;
Sacrifice of action = verbalism;
Sacrifice of reflection = activism).

Here he is using a theological concept, "When all things began, the Word already
was .." (Gospel of St John, Chapter 1, v.1; New English Bible), referring to the
creation of the cosmos by primordial Being, God. The writer of St John's gospel
expresses his theology through the philosophical terms of the Greek Gnostics,
speaking of a higher knowledge, the 'true word'. Freire borrows the mode, which
gives an elitism, even an arrogant air to Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed for
those who are unfamiliar with its roots. For Freire then, the essence of dialogue
is God and the love that Howe writes of is a personal relationship with others
through God [2]:

"Dialogue cannot exist .... in the absence of profound love for the world and
for men .... Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue
itself .... because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment
to other men. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is
commitment to their cause – the cause of liberation."

Ultimately he is preaching commitment, in a religious sense, though he sees the
teacher as an enabler of political action to shake off oppression in a worldly sense,
not an 'other-worldly' sense of the stereotype missionary. Freire contends that
there is an acceptable domination in dialogue, 'that of the world by those who
enter into dialogue .... for the 'liberation of men'. However, it seems to me that
a true dialogue would need to be more symbiotic, one of stewardship rather than
conquest, while acknowledging the basic dependence of humanity within the

[2] Freire is writing from a Christian theological stance - in Jesus, 'the Word
became flesh and dwelt among us' (Gospel of St John Chapter 1, v.14) in
order that people might apprehend the true nature of love and thus both God
and full humanity. There are contact points with other major world faiths,
with the Muslim in the revelation of the Qu'ran to Mohammad, for instance.
One particularly beautiful book about dialogue in a theological dimension is K
Klostermeier (1969) Hindu and Christian in Vrindaban, in which Hindu and
Christian begin to understand one another through the sharing of the Christian
concept of 'the word'.
universe. It is part of conscientisation [1].

Another international educationalist, Adam Curle, using psychological rather than theological language, strives for a transcultural exposition of what is basically a similar approach to social change, relating a theory of personal awareness and identity to social action. This is described fully in his book Mystics and Militants (1972) but summarised as a discussion of affective education in Education for Liberation:

"Whereas the militant and the mystic both wish to change society the former tries to do so by direct intervention, the latter through self-purification.

At a higher level of development, the mystic and militant modes merge in the person of such men as Gandhi. I believe that this coming together of the outward and inward activist is of supreme importance in moving society towards peace. Institutions may certainly be changed through many types of revolutionary action, but without the mystical element the old ills are likely to recur under any new dispensation. Unless the actors are relatively free of negative emotion, and the particular manifestations of it associated with the belonging-identity and competitive materialism, fresh institutional arrangements alone cannot afford protection against rapacity and exploitation. And without militant action of some sort the spiritual evolution of the mystics is not able to bring about the material changes necessary to peace.

My concept of awareness includes as an inseparable element the sense of social involvement, sensitivity to social injustice, empathy with suffering, and in general the capacity to relate warmly to other people." [2]

Both educationalists are articulating the need for the emergence of the learner's true self through education, whether in realising the oppressive constraints of societal structures (Freire) or the oppressive restraints of ingroup relationships (belonging-identity, Curle). The means, dialogue, is to be empowering to both parties in a relationship and 'must not serve as a crafty instrument for the

[1] P Freire, op.cit. "The term "conscientisation" refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality. See Chapter 3" (Translator's note). p.15.

The method of learning is through dialogue. For a critique of Freire's concept of 'conscientisation' and its translation as 'consciousness-raising' in the West, see P Berger (1974), Pyramids of Sacrifice, pp. 135-58.

domination of one man by another' [1]. Thus, it would be irresponsible for a teacher to open up a child's sensibilities in this way in an institutional structure that is incapable of dialogue, as Stone (1981) appreciated. For both Freire and Curle, the importance of the spiritual dimension was assumed, if peace were to be the outcome.

My intention (p.400) was a conscientisation of the adults relating to the school, while enjoying the company of the children. It was a two-way activity once the lines of communication had been set up and dialogue developed as Freire would define it. It was informed by a Christian commitment. The aim was to offer information that might aid political participation of minority groups in civil life and, partly through information received in return, affect majority decision-making to move the school system towards racial justice.

My contribution to the minority group was limited to opening up discussion on topics such as bussing, school qualifications and external examinations, representation on governing bodies, membership of parents' groups, mother tongue teaching/community languages and black teachers. The initiative for consequent action was with the minority group, dialogue as catalyst. Observable praxis was initial, partial and even with issues 'successfully' faced was not necessarily effective in redistributing of power. By 1980, the anti-bussing campaign achieved an end to bussing but had not achieved the improvement in nursery provision and school building in the inner city to complement the change. That would take a much longer campaign, meanwhile the inner city schools were increasingly crowded and the teachers under extra stress. More money and effort had been put into researching the teaching in mother tongue with a small number of children as an aid to accommodation to school – which the Asian parents did not want – than into offering Urdu and Gujerati (community languages) as modern language options.

[1] Freire, op.cit. p.62. This is the philosophical, theoretical basis of Gandhian 'satyagraha' too; see J Bondurant (1958) Conquest of Violence.
at Middle and Upper school — which they did want though the balance was changed by 1983. Thus minority group pressure for change was tempered by the pervasive power of the majority community and its sluggishness in opening up to real dialogue. Actual change in the black child's opportunities vis-à-vis the white will be minimal and marginal unless their articulated interests are backed by power delegated by the majority and in directions generated by the minority, the authority mediated through the majority directed by the influence of the minority.

Meanwhile, black self-help groups were setting up their own institutions to meet their needs. Mosques and temples ran language classes as well as religious instruction classes. West Indian parents set up a Saturday morning supplementary school to support their children's work in basic school subjects. Some projects received grants from local or central Government funds, but on the whole it was the groups already disadvantaged materially within society, the minority groups, who were funding the projects that they perceived necessary for their children to have equal opportunity to majority children in society. The situation was racially unjust but the activity itself was praxis (Freire) and creative. The group action contributed to developing political awareness, increasing potential for pressure on and influence with groups with authority. The provision itself was culturally more appropriate than any that the established school system was equipped to provide in the short term. Further, although the ethnic specificity of the projects weakened the possibility for concerted pressure, especially when they were constrained to compete with one another for limited funds, the actual praxis was an enactment of the reality of racial discrimination in society and as such a demonstration to the white power group of the myth of racial integration.

The minority group contribution to the task was vital. It has been argued (Chapter 17) that institutional racism is demonstrated more in omission of provision than in the provision itself. Therefore I analysed situations of inaction in order to
find a pragmatic action that would be redistributive of power between racial
groups. The problem I faced researching the situation of the Asian children in the
schools from a perspective as a member of the dominant group was my own
difficulty because of an ethnocentric bias [1] in perceiving the real needs of the
minority, hence a focus on listening, not only for previously unarticulated interests
but also for interests of which the person or group was unaware because of a
partial knowledge of the reality of a situation. I acted as communicator. My
approach to racial justice sought to broaden and increase the lines of
communication with those involved in schooling and their influence on change in
the system. A more difficult problem was to assess how far one can assume the
minority group, as victim of racial injustice and inequality, even given a
majority/minority consensus on the nature of racial justice in a given situation,
would strive for it. The safeguard would seem to lie in a political activation of
the widest possible group through dialogue to encourage the broadest possible group
consensus in civic life (viz. de Tocqueville, 1840), or alternatively to move towards
small, semi-independent co-operative communities with a loose network of
inter-communications around minimal shared values (viz. Furnivall, 1948). The
former is a more likely model than the latter in the complexity of contemporary
society. The balance of power between racial and cultural groups is crucial.

While a member of the majority group can take limited initiatives in the
conscientisation of members of the minority group, it seemed to me that a more
valuable contribution to affect the balance of power was the dialogue with those
with whom one shares common cultural assumptions, racial group and power

[1] ibid. pp. 30-1. "No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant
from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for
their emulation models from among the oppressors." Freire suggests that
change in 'systematic education' requires political power, but that as an
interim measure 'educational projects' should be carried out with the oppressed
in the process of organising them to gain that political power.
position. The aim of the dialogue was to facilitate the delegation of power or of its use in serving the real needs of the minority. There were limits to the extent that change in school alone could promote racial justice, since it was but one of society's institutions that affect the power balance. Freire pointed to the dialectical relationship that exists between school and society, however, and proposed a search for spaces still free for praxis which can serve as starting points for effort aimed at politicising the educational institutions for movement towards justice, or by-passing them if they are too rigid to change.

My particular focus was on the teachers, firstly to be supportive to their teaching and a source of stimulus; secondly to facilitate their opportunity to perceive, understand and accept responsibility for an anti-racist approach to their work and in society. A priority then was to encourage the school community to face the facts of racial difference directly, challenging statements such as "children don't notice skin colour difference", "we treat them all the same here", "to talk about colour difference is divisive", and "we have no racial problem in this school" with alternative viewpoints and discussion openers. Racism was a word that was exceedingly difficult to use effectively, being readily rejected as a political slogan of the left-wing, but once race was established as a topic for discussion, then the history of black/white relationships and the perpetuation of status differential in school was open for debate too.

I developed a workshop routine [1] for small groups of white people, using

[1] The first workshop was based on J Katz (1978) White Awareness. Subsequent workshops were developed using some of the Katz material, but modified to suit local conditions. The workshops aim to combine affective learning routines with information input in order to develop strategies for action against racism within the institutions in which participants are involved and more widely through political responsibility.

effective structured learning experiences, designed to encourage adults to be open to their racial prejudice in order that, in facing it, they might also be enabled to perceive the institutionalisation of such prejudice in the structures of society and in the school system in particular. Racism was defined as the perpetuation of a cycle of injustice in society, with roots in an imperialist, colonial past; as a social disease [1]. From this premise, attacking it is for the benefit of all, in both multiracial and all white communities in Britain, since all are damaged by domination:

"Domination reveals the pathology of love: sadism in the dominator and masochism in the dominated." Paulo Freire [2]

Racism awareness workshops and race relations training have been accepted practice in the United States of America for some years. J H Katz and A Ivey (1977) "White awareness: the frontiers of racism awareness training", Personnel and Guidance Journal. See N Peppard (1980 "Towards effective race relations training" New Community:

"Sensitivity training", 'attitudinal training', 'consciousness-raising' or 'awareness training' ... The need for it is widely accepted in the US and it is a standard aspect of training at all levels. Some particularly interesting work has been done in the US by (among others) the Commission on Civil Rights, the military (through the Walter Reed Military Academy and the Defense Race Relations Institute, Patrick Air Force Base, Florida), the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, whose anti-racism programme is part of the mental health programme, the American Council for Inter-racial Books for Children and by some American universities." p.102.

British groups have been developing them since 1978: the ad hoc group meeting originally under the sponsorship of the Movement for Colonial Freedom (Liberation Journal), including Dorothy Kuya, Adviser for Ethnic Affairs, Haringey, Rev. Basil Manning, Co-ordinator of the North Lewisham Project, Jane King, Centre for Information on Education and Disadvantage, and Tuku Mukergee, Southlands College, London, later independent as RAPU: see the British Council of Churches and Catholic Institute of Race Relations filmstrip (1981) The Enemy Within: a group attending a workshop organised by Fellowship of Reconciliation, April 1978 initiated my own work and that of Rev. Tony Holden at the Zebra Project, Bow Street Mission, London E3, see T Holden (1980) Black Consciousness and White Liberation.

[1] See J Katz and A Ivey, op.cit. p.485; a report of the relevant research in South Africa; H J van der Spuy and D A F Shamley (1979) The Psychology of Apartheid. It is conceivable that racism in Britain will have similar, unresearched effects.

Freire claimed that the structure of dominance cannot be broken from the top of a power structure, through the 'oppressors', so he addressed himself to the oppressed. Curle (1973) writes more for the oppressors, with the implication that all need to be freed from the oppression of 'the system' – the exploitative network of institutions that have arisen through competition, imperialism, capitalism, class and political structures that centralise power [1]. His remedy is a 'counter system' of co-operative, egalitarian, democratic groupings (a supportive network) that will weaken the hold of the system:

"I have no patience with those who maintain that the society cannot be changed unless the economic system is changed and the economic system cannot be changed unless the labour unions are changed and the labour unions cannot be changed until the law is changed ... Changes are brought about by people why try to influence the segment of life they are involved with strengthening the relationships and institutions that promote the counter-system ..." [2]

In my experience pressure for change from both majority and minority community would be necessary for change in racial justice to happen. Movement would be most effective when the focus of pressure for change is on the institutional structure. My concern, then, was (viz. Curle) to suggest a pedagogy for the oppressor that 'would make it possible for the real strength of affective education to be directed towards transforming the social setting which neutralises so much good contemporary work in education' [3]. I would call this 'peace education' [4].

[2] Ibid. p.11.
[4] A series of articles in Peace News, 1982, were some of the earliest British writings on contemporary peace education. G Kent "Educating the Middle Classes" Peace News 2164, p.14, offers some guidelines for peace education that mirror my own perceptions. He sees it as:

1. Demonstrating the nature of the social structure.
2. Examining explanations of dominance.
3. Examining justifications for dominance.
4. Destroying rationalising myths.
5. Altering values.
6. Working to invent and to find new social structures and new courses of action."
There were several interim outcomes for the majority community from this personal initiative for change (p.400), not least of which was that the children concerned enjoyed the teaching. Additional personnel were employed by the LEA as Advisory teachers for multicultural education, in part in a response to the case study. There was change in curriculum and resources to take account of racial and cultural diversity at the school involved. It has had national influence on teacher training through the documentary films made by the BBC [1]. The integrity of the project and the way in which it was conducted influenced local policy makers, both politicians and LEA officers. It gave me an insight into a creative strategy for the devolution of privilege and social change. In dialogue I found that personal integrity was a paramount value, a willingness to serve a key motivator and persistence a necessity. The mode of openness required in relationships was risky and often painful. It was empathetic and vulnerable. The method, of probing into the system through omissions or 'free spaces' (Freire), encroaching from the margins on the central power point rather than engaging in confrontation, seemed to be a most effective strategy for aiding the initiation of a more fundamental dynamic for change, that culminated in the Authority's Equal Opportunity (Race Relations) Policy, 1981 (Appendix A4.13).

I would conclude that the four-way approach to racial justice outlined was a valid strategy for social change from a majority group initiative in contemporary society. Through action and reflection (praxis) the dominant group could become more fully aware of the injustice in power relationships in society. Through dialogue individuals could hear and understand what the less privileged were saying, empathise and become vulnerable. With a willing co-operation of majority and minority together, it was possible to probe the 'free spaces' (Freire) in the social

structures, infiltrating with a counter-system (Curle) demonstrated in its methodology, that can grow as the more racially just society envisaged. This brings with it risk, especially if the pedagogy is successful, for there are always those who may not be a party to the consensus, with power to close the spaces and eliminate the infiltrators/would-be liberators! Hence, I feel it is of importance that my particular case study is on-going, the research informed by action still probing and stretching the possibilities for peace.
CONCLUSION

Work on this thesis was begun with a commitment to developing an understanding of the situation of the Asian children in Bradford schools that could be enlightening for those concerned with status differential and its effect on schooling more generally. My concerns were for the perceived lower educational achievement of the Asian children, on average, in comparison with their peers, and with the situation of the Muslim girls in particular in a competitive co-educational school system. My investigations led me to observe that the Asian-named minority groups came into a hard-pressed, financially poor city of the Sixties and Seventies. They entered a school system that was in the throes of reorganisation, which, despite the idealism of the 1944 Education Act and a commitment to comprehensive education, still retained the competitive, traditional nature of the former selective Grammar schools. While the LEA may have been conscious of a need to consult with the Asian parents about the schooling of their children, little dialogue in fact happened, partly because of the communication barrier, but also because of the pressure of the educational problem the influx of immigrants posed. Policies were developed that were reactive to this situation rather than proactive towards future need. With this lack of dialogue with and knowledge of the Asian communities, little attention was paid to the appropriateness of policy responsive to the situation.

Within the competitive school system, some children were more likely to succeed than others, dependent on home background. The Asian children came into the English medium school system with a basic language handicap that would disadvantage them in the competition. The policy makers attempted to remedy this, but this remedial approach was itself feeding a stereotype of limited ability that linked into 'colonialist' perceptions and expectations of black people. The Asian children, taking time to catch up with their peers, were too easily allocated
to lower attainment teaching groups in the Upper schools and then achieved less external examination success than their peers, passing examinations at a lower rate and of lower status. They were a visible, low achieving group because of their colour.

With more information and foresight, the LEA could have taken heed of the fact that the Asian families were potentially very supportive of their children's schooling. The Asian children themselves showed motivation to succeed, being more likely to take the examinations for which they had been entered than their peers for instance. The higher than average staying-on rate in the sixth forms, for the Asian boys especially, was partly a response to a need for more time to gain examination passes, but also a measure of the importance of this to the families. The intimations that when they did stay on to take advanced level examinations they were no less successful than their non-Asian peers could have been seen as encouraging. Further intimations that some schools were more successful than others in enabling examination success for the black children was also pertinent. As it was, the children's handicap at the start of school did not seem to be being overcome in terms of the eventual examination credits on the whole, despite the remedial language policies. The administrators tended to put the responsibility for failure on the Asian children, to 'blame the victim'.

The special policies developed to enable the Asian children to learn English in order to share with equity in the schooling provision, while promoted with good will, suffered from the racist assumption inherent in British society. By 1981, there were plenty of government recommendations about 'immigrant education' but few directives and little finance to support new policies to this end. Bradford, despite her poverty, made generous provision for the newcomers within the constraints of her perceptions of their need, leading nationally in this area of educational development. However, the dispersal policy was administered using
criteria for selection for bussing that related not to a child's educational need but to a racial category. The desire to form 'balanced groups' for the better integration of a multiracial community could have been commendable as a move towards social equity if it had been based on a more equitable criterion.

Thus in the way the policy was administered its racist assumptions were clear: the initial registration of children by skin colour, discriminatory practices in the medical examination, language assessment and allocation to language Centres and schools. However, the LEA was open to criticism and willing to adjust the policies when it became clear that they were unjust. Many of the initial adjustments to the administration of the policy were cosmetic, often compounding the injustice. Ultimately, under pressure from parents and some of the teaching force, the bussing of the younger Asian children as a category was phased out and language support strengthened in the schools where the bilingual children were concentrated.

It seemed to me that it was not that bussing of Asian children to school, for purposes of what was in effect social engineering, was seen as intrinsically bad, and parents could have been encouraged to support it under favourable conditions, but rather that the practice as administered in Bradford was denying the younger children the needed support of a local community base, fuelling a stereotype of the black child as requiring remedial treatment and enabling their disadvantage to become a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. The onus for accommodation and change was focussed on the child. The child was even expected to be teacher.

Bradford pioneered the teaching of English as a second language, nationally. The very formal language learning in time developed into a more flexible, appropriate mode. The pioneers made false starts that others could build from. Under the financial constraints, however, the excellent input of a dedicated teaching staff was inadequately supported with in–service training, teaching resources
and status. This was not unexpected given the climate of racism that I perceived as affecting the institutions.

The monocultural school system had difficulty in coping with the cultural difference of the newcomers. The immigrant culture was clearly of great importance in the family attitudes and practices that were brought to this country, as instanced by their protectiveness of the women for instance. In fact, at the time of my survey, Asian teenage boys in the schools outnumbered the girls two to one, girls remaining behind in the mother country for the better protection of their womanhood. The teachers (with the exception of some of the E2L teachers) saw their responsibility more in terms of aiding assimilation than in developing respect for cultural difference. Therefore, the teaching aids and curriculum at best ignored the presence of the minority groups, at worst downgraded their customs, culture and achievements. Asian parents showed little awareness of the difficulties their young people were facing, since there was only limited opportunity for them to become familiar with British schooling in Bradford. The development of liaison teachers was a promising initiative but not, on the whole, a practical aid to dialogue.

The LEA's record of consultation with the Muslim groups, the majority Asian community, was not good from the Asian point of view. While there had been meetings to discuss appropriate school dress for girls, the possibility of single sex schooling, withdrawal from Religious Education and special diet provision at school meals, there was little sympathy for the Muslim demands, minimal concessions were preferred to an attentive listening to the needs. Directives were issued to Headteachers going back to the mid-Sixties, but by 1977, only minor changes from the monocultural norm had been achieved. There was 'negative' allowance rather than positive action. Initiative was left with the minority to insist on change and adjustment. The children bore the brunt of this.
There were certainly signs of development for change towards an appropriate schooling for a multicultural society that could deliver more effective equality of opportunity for all. With an end to bussing and a group of Asian parents politicised in the campaign it was possible that the facilities for education would be improved. The need for more relevant initial and in-service teacher training as a stimulus to change in school practice and teaching resources was becoming a priority. The necessary dialogue with Asian parents was still undeveloped. The appointment of more black staff to the schools was problematic but an intention of the Council’s Equal Opportunities (Race Relations) Policy in 1981. However, my observations in Bradford led me to conclude that while the Asian children may have shown a relatively lower attainment in school than their peers, and that this needed attention, the special measures for language support and cultural accommodation brought in by the LEA to promote equal opportunities in education could be only marginally successful while they focussed on altering those who were, in fact, victims of racial discrimination perpetuated through the institutions of society, including school. The perceived race of the child was as important as the language and culture. A clearer perception of the structures of racism would enable the policy-makers to create policies that focussed on those institutions which were perpetuating it, breaking the cycle of injustice that was the social context for the black child—given the political will.

Racism is deeply rooted in British history and handed down as culturally endorsed norms. In a society where competitive individualism is applauded and upwards social mobility an aspiration, the extra hurdles placed on a black person’s mobility were not only denying an equality of life chances but also building a legacy of frustration in the black citizens that was ultimately damaging to the health of the community as a whole as well as of individuals. The lack of equality in life chances was demonstrated by the 'colour indicator', the Asian
children and their achievement, in the school system. The damage to the health of the community was shown in part by the lack of minority group protest about this, but more by the white community's non-perception of this as an issue requiring change from itself.

Perceiving this led me by analysing initiatives for change in the Bradford schools, to focus on white privilege and power in society, and on modes of redirecting this to the advantage of all in positive racial harmony that is 'peaceful' (Curle). While society is constantly on the move and attitude change always a possibility, deeply ingrained prejudices and assumptions will need to be both apprehended and comprehended for a clear move towards racial harmony in society. The harmony will need to be based on an active consensus as to what is racially just in society if it is to be long-lasting and a basis of peace.

It seemed to me that the movement towards peace, in the context of the Asian minority groups in the British school system, would be through racial justice as a part of a wider societal move in this direction. It would be achieved through a redistribution of power to decide on life chances of our children through school from the few to a wider community in democratic participation in civic life. The policy-makers would need to develop a true dialogue with the community, especially the minority groups within it, to enable latent and overt conflict of interests to be discussed, new policies be devised that carry a broad consensus. If such policies were implemented effectively to promote racial justice, then it would be perceived as of advantage to all. Minority groups would need to be supported to develop a stronger political voice. Decision makers in the majority group would need to develop systems for devolving power.

The change in school required a teaching force that was aware of the nature of racism, a training that enabled attitude change, willingness to reassess curriculum and practices and a restructuring of school in a positively anti-racist manner.
However, the teachers would need support from the LEA in in-service training, resource provision and recognition of their work. The individual teachers and schools that were already working with empathy for minority group needs would require particular encouragement and affirmation from senior politicians and officers of the Council since their good practice is built on an openness to change that leaves them particularly vulnerable to challenge.

The policies for the school system would need to focus on the injustice of white privilege, to challenge the kind of schooling given, its aims and outcome. Recruitment and selection policies would need to face the desirability of the employment and training of more black teachers so that children have models to encourage them and the system can be more demonstrably fair. The constituency of school Governing bodies and the implications that this has in local political representation would need to be assessed.

The school as a reflection of the real needs of its diverse community could be a challenge to the perpetuation of the privilege that white people can maintain. However, as racism itself is societal, change in the school system while affecting other aspects of social life, cannot be the mediator of justice alone. Improved and fairer employment prospects for all, social mixing in a community that shows respect for cultural difference and a positive media image of minority peoples would need to be addressed in cohort with change in schools.

Local policies link into a national and global dimension which also perpetuates white privilege, thus local attempts to change will be more likely to be successful if central control is held loose or loosened by local government's flexibility. However, through a respect for diversity and an awareness of racism, strategies must be found for local policies to affect the broader global power structures in a move towards racial justice and world peace. Ultimately this points to a need for a higher political awareness and involvement of citizens in their own future.
This links back into a responsibility for the schools and their facility to 'educate for peace' and responsible citizenship, but in concert with their community. The higher political awareness could be enhanced by parental involvement in school management or local authority area management structures where citizens can perceive their personal impact and thus the relevance of involvement. A strengthened bond and interdependence between school and its community could be a fertile seedbed for praxis (Freire), reflection and action, the essence of dialogue.

I would suggest that a most potent ethos for the development of dialogue would be a religious one, since the spiritual dimension of dialogue and context of its practice for me is fundamental. A multifaith city like Bradford where issues of race and religious difference coincide could provide a pioneering model of faith communities working together for justice because of love for their children, activated by a perception of social change from a theological perspective of hope for the world. The mystical traditions of religion suggest that the interpretation of love in action for justice demands a toleration of the other person that prescribes sharing, not assimilation or domination, and interpersonal, intergroup, interdependence. The militant traditions of religion affirm that peace will come through sharing too, in struggle, from 'a profound love for the world' in the hope of a future for our children. The two are one. Society's failure to perceive that in a nuclear globe would be frightening.
CODA

Harvest Festival in the Outer City First School October 1978

The topic this year was 'water'. Posters, displayed all round the Hall, appeared to be more the product of teachers' skills than children's but they were very colourful. They showed the value of water in the Creation: in nature, for hydro-electric power, through drought and irrigation, for cleanliness, in 'other' religions. Science apparatus set up for experiments in volume, solution, pollution, stood along the side benches.

The service was a festival of song and dance, recitation and recorders by the children, rhetoric by the staff. Each class came in turn with their piece. A goodly few rows of parents lined the back of the Hall, including some Asian parents from the locality. A collection was taken for the Lord Mayor's Cancer Appeal.

As the children told the biblical story of Creation in dance, outside the Hall windows, the heavens darkened. Noah came on in his wellington boots and, with family in plastic macs, told the story of the Flood. Parents, English and Asian, clapped. The firmaments without joined in with thunder. A rainbow was spread across the playground.

Lost in other thoughts, I became aware that the eyes of one member of staff were fixed upon me. I was made conscious that I had missed the bit about 'other' religions. Now the focus was on the water of baptism in Christianity.

The occasion was delightful. Each child had a part to play. The choir sang sweetly throughout. At the end we all sang together.

The Headteacher called to me afterwards: "The rainbow was a wonderful seal of approval for all our hard work, wasn't it?"

To me it had seemed more like the comfort to tears over the 'innocence' but ignorance of the celebration. It was a bow of hope for the possibilities of the future but a warning of despair to endure in the deluge to come.
APPENDIX: A1

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A CITY UPPER SCHOOL IN BRADFORD:

made to assess the usefulness of a statistic of the school population, categorised according to name type (Asian or non-Asian), in demonstrating the relative talent to succeed in school shown by Asian minority group children in comparison with their peers.

Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. Introduction</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.1 The situation of the Upper schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2 Allocation of pupils to the City Upper schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3 An ecology of the City according to social class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4 Choice of school for the preliminary study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.5 Categories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 A study of a City Upper school pupil population to show the</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distribution of pupils in Years 3–5 and in the sixth form in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1975, according to name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Hypothesis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 A further analysis of pupils within the sixth form according to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 A study of a City Upper school pupil population to show allocation</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to teaching group band in Years 3–5 in September 1975, according to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Hypothesis 1 – allocation according to name type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Hypothesis 2 – allocation according to sex and name type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 A study of a City Upper school pupil population to show the</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possibility of trend in the allocation of pupils to teaching group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band, from years 5 to 3 in September 1975, according to name type and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Hypothesis 1 – Year 5: allocation according to name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Hypothesis 2 – Year 4: allocation according to name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Hypothesis 3 – Year 3: allocation according to name type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 A study of the intake year (Year 3) of a City Upper school</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in September 1975 to take account of the social economic group of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fathers of the pupils</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 The distribution of the pupils in social groups according to name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type and sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 The allocation of the pupils to teaching group band according to name type, sex and social group

4.3 Conclusion

5.0 Conclusion to the preliminary study of a City Upper school

6.0 Implications for further research

7.0 Further tables: to show a comparison with other Upper schools

8.0 Multiracial Purpose in the Classroom
An address by the Headteacher of this school to a NAME meeting at Bradford College, 28 November 1978.
0. Introduction

The Bradford school system is divided into schools for three age groups of children. First schools are for the 5–9 age range; Middle schools for the 9–13 age range; Upper schools for the 13–18 age range.

0.1 The situation of the Upper schools

There were twelve Upper schools within the City of Bradford [1], excluding Independent and Roman Catholic schools [2].

Each of the Upper schools had a comprehensive ability intake. Each catered for children from the age of 13 years to school leaving age [3], with sixth form provision for those who wished to continue their education beyond the statutory school-leaving age. There had been no 11+ selection in these City schools since 1963, comprehensivisation being introduced in September 1964. All but two of the twelve schools were co-educational in 1975, though three of the schools were single-sex until 1973, 1974 and 1975 respectively. The two remaining single sex schools shared a campus and were co-educational for some of the sixth form work. All of the Upper schools were in new, or partially new and purpose-built, buildings. The first of these was opened in 1956 and the most recent in 1975.

0.2 Allocation of pupils to the City Upper schools

Parents of children in their final year of Middle school were asked, by the Directorate of Educational Services administration, to select three schools from the

---

[1] The designation City of Bradford here refers to the City boundary as it was in the former County Borough Area, before Metropolitan reorganisation in 1974.

[2] There were very few Asian children in the senior Independent (selective) and Roman Catholic Upper schools in the City, hence they were excluded for the purposes of this study.

[3] The statutory school-leaving age was 16, but the permitted leaving date is affected by the child's birthday in relation to the official leaving days in the school year and may be before the child's 16th birthday.
twelve in order of preference for their children. A child would normally be allocated to one of these three chosen schools for the following September. In the allocation of school places consideration was given to parents' choice, the geographical relationship between the child's home and the school chosen (giving a loose catchment zoning) and, for the Asian-named children, the percentage of Asian children in the school [1]. Experience suggests that parents tended to choose the nearest school for their child, though Asian parents would show preference for single sex education for their girls.

In the transfer to Upper schools in September 1975, altogether 3580 pupils were allocated places. An analysis of the choices and allocations indicate that the following degree of parental choice was achieved:

- Parents who received their first choice: 80.75%
- Parents who received their second choice: 11.43%
- Parents who received their third choice: 4.83%
- Pupils allocated against parental choice: 3.09% [2]

0.3 An ecology of the City according to social class

A study of the social geography of Bradford (Richardson 1976) showed that, in 1971, only 14.8% of the economically active population were in the professional, managerial and intermediate social class groups (Classes I and II) against a figure of 22.8% in England and Wales. Over four-fifths, 84.4%, of the economically active population were in the manual worker and low social economic classes.

---

[1] This was stopped for the school year 1979–80 by recommendation from the Commission for Racial Equality.

[2] Bradford Metropolitan District Directorate for Educational Services memo to the Schools Panel, Transfers to Upper Schools in September 1975 E6/EMS/PM supplied by the Chief Schools Officer. I subsequently demonstrated that the Asian-named pupils only received a 65% degree of allocation to the school of their parents' first choice.
Figure A1.1  Social class distribution of economically active males, Bradford (Census 1971; Social class RG(SE)70)

Social class 1 and 2 as a % of active males

- 20+%  - 10-14%
- 15-19%  - 5-9%

Social class 6 as percentage of active males

Key letter to ward
A Allerton
B Bolton
C Bowling
D Bradford Moor
E Eccleshill
F Great Horton
G Heaton
H Idle
I Laisterdyke
J Little Horton
K Manningham
L Odsal
M Thornton
N Tong
O Undercliffe
P University
Q Wibsey
R Wyke
S Clayton

The position of the City Upper school of the preliminary study
--- Approximate spread of this school's catchment area

Source: Ivan Reid (1977) Social Class Differences in Britain (modified)
London: Open Books, p.73
compared with 72.5% in England and Wales [1].

A slightly differently categorised social class distribution of economically active males is shown in Figure A1.1 (Reid, 1977) using a social economic group classification RG(SE)70. In Bradford as a whole the distribution of economically active males by social class on this classification was:

1 3 per cent
2 9 per cent
3 16 per cent
4 41 per cent
5 22 per cent
6 10 per cent

As the map shows, these figures hide a variation between the areas. While in Bradford as a whole about 28% of the economically active males were placed in non-manual classes and 73% in manual, the ward differences were quite substantial. In Heaton the percentages were 44 and 56 while in Manningham and University wards together they were 12 and 88, indicative of some sort of residential segregation [2].

Since the Upper schools were all ringed around the outskirts of the City, rather than in the City Centre, the catchment of each included both outer and inner city children. It covered areas of old, relatively cheap accommodation in the inner city stone terraces of nineteenth-century houses, pre-war and post-war Council estates and outer city areas of newer owner-occupier housing estates. Each comprehensive school potentially had a social mix of pupils that reflected that of the City, but there would have been some higher social class bias in the intake of the three schools in the Heaton and Allerton wards. These happened to be the schools that also drew a high proportion of the children from 'immigrant' families who were concentrated in the Manningham and University wards though, especially

[2] I Reid (1977) Social Class Differences in Britain, p.72
as two of the schools were single sex.

0.4 Choice of school for the preliminary study

The school chosen for a preliminary study was selected for ease of access to the schools lists and back-up information [1]. It had been co-educational for one year when the lists were analysed. Thus children in the 15+ age range had begun their Upper schooling in two single sex schools. This factor will have been relevant to the choice of some of the parents for that school for their children at the time, especially for the parents of Muslim Asian girls. The school catered for 366 of the 3580 children allocated to Upper schools in September 1975. It had 1282 pupils in an age range of 13–18 [2] on roll. The intake to the school, or its constituent schools, had been comprehensive since September 1964. The catchment area of the school was mainly the three inner city wards of Great Horton, Little Horton and University, with part of Wibsey (see Figure A1.1). Thus the catchment was from families of which a relatively low proportion were in social economic groups 1 and 2 while a high proportion were in group 6, compared with that of other City schools.

It was in new buildings on the edge of the old part of the City [3].

[1] My husband, Keith Thomson, was appointed Deputy Head at the school in 1972, his eighth year of teaching in Bradford. He was appointed to the Headship in 1975, on the retirement of both the Headteachers of the constituent single sex schools that made up this comprehensive co-educational school in 1974.

[2] The names on the roll of a large city comprehensive school show additions and deletions week by week. The list was of those children registered in September 1975.

[3] The first section of this building was opened in 1968 with 522 boys on roll. The second part was opened ready for the girls to join in September 1974. In that year, Year 3 and the sixth formers were taught as co-educational groups, while Years 4 and 5 remained in single sex classes. By September 1975 only Year 5 was taught in single sex classes.
0.5 The categories

The purpose of this preliminary study was to assess whether a statistic based on name type alone (Asian name/non-Asian name — by reference to the last name, father's name or surname by which the child is known at school), a device used by the LEA in the administration of its dispersal policy, would be an adequate indicator of relative difference in a talent to succeed in school and a possible guide to causal factors.

The Asian name category covered a variety of national, ethnic and social groups of people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and East Africa. It referred to children who had spent varying amounts of time in the Bradford school system, some coming directly from overseas and already of school age but possibly with no previous schooling.

An in-depth study of the performance of these children against their social and ethnic background would have been informative, though this was not planned as such a study. Performance in school has been shown to associate with many factors, such as 'IQ' (Burt, 1961, 1975), social class (Floud et al, 1956; Halsey et al, 1961, 1980; Reid, 1977, 1978), parental support (Douglas, 1964, 1968; Peaker, 1967), sex (Barker Lunn, 1972), ethnicity (Taylor, 1976; Ghuman, 1975; Driver, 1980; Verma, 1975, 1979), any of which can be used to provide an in-depth study of attainment.

Without dismissing the relevance of any of these in considering the performance of children in school, particularly the biases associated with sex and class (the latter a form of ethnicity since partially culturally defined), this study was a preliminary to field work planned to take a broad view of the impact on the school system of the LEA policy, staff and pupil perceptions and performance according to 'race'. 'Race' was seen as a category defined on the assumption that:
"organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races." [1]

The statistic was planned to monitor the situation of relative success in schooling according to race, rather than investigate its causes, though it might aid the latter. The category 'Asian-name' (AN) covered most of those children who were non-white in the Bradford schools in 1975. In November 1975, the percentage of 'children of immigrants' to all children on roll in the city schools was 15.4%. These 9491 children, aged 4 to 16+, were described in the LEA records as follows:

"Country of origin of child and/or parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan and Bangladesh</td>
<td>4675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>1460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Asian</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Commonwealth</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'Other Commonwealth' category had been introduced to the records in 1973 as an attempt to rationalise the data collection, but it was still essentially a category for black, rather than white Commonwealth immigrants.

While most of the children listed were 'black' [3] 83% of them were Asian-named. The statistic would thus compare the majority of the black (AN) children on the school lists with their peers, most of whom were white (NAN) (though this latter category included 338 black children of West Indian parental origin in Upper schools in 1975, 2.7% of the population). The category 'Asian-name' also covered most of those children who spoke English as a second language in the schools. In November 1975, 21% of the Asian children in school

were registered as non-English-speaking [1]. Only 2% of the West Indian and 'other Commonwealth immigrants' were so registered [2].

The categorisation was not absolute because of the occasional 'Anglicised' name and the possibility of inclusion of East-European names (e.g. Cohen converted to Kahn) in the Asian-name category but it seemed appropriate to the purpose of the study, especially as it was 'in use' by the LEA.

1.0 A study of a City Upper school population to show the distribution of pupils in Years 3–5 and in the sixth form in September 1975, according to name type and sex

1.1 Hypothesis: There is no association between the number of pupils in Years 3–5 and in the sixth form in September 1975 and the name type and sex of the pupils.

A comparison of the observed data and the frequencies expected under the null hypothesis showed that there were fewer Asian-named (AN) boys than would be expected in Years 3–5 but significantly more than expected in the sixth form ($\chi^2 = 9.51$). There were fewer non Asian-named (NAN) girls than would be expected in the sixth form. For the other cells on the contingency table (Figure A1.2a) there was very little difference between the observed and the expected data.

The association between the number of pupils in Years 3–5 and the sixth form in September 1975, and the name type and sex of the pupils was shown to be significant [3]. The null hypothesis can be rejected at the 1% level of statistical probability. There were twice as many AN boys as expected in the sixth form. The chi-squared value for this category was responsible for well over half

---

[1] NES: Non-English-speaking in the teacher's opinion to the extent that he or she cannot follow the teaching appropriate to his/her age group.

[2] Afro-Caribbean children who speak a 'patois' at home were not considered to be speaking English as a second language by the Bradford LEA.

[3] I have used the description of the statistical significance of probability levels as set out in R Langley (1970) *Practical Statistics.*
Figure A1.2 Table showing the distribution of pupils in Years 3-5 and in the sixth form according to their name type and sex, in a City Upper School in September 1975

(a) the observed data ($f_0$), frequencies expected under the null hypothesis ($f_e$) and chi-squared values for each contingency ($\chi^2$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years 3-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>97.64</td>
<td>77.08</td>
<td>448.79</td>
<td>474.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_0$</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>1098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>16.36</td>
<td>12.92</td>
<td>75.21</td>
<td>79.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_0$</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>1282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 13.22$  DF = 3  $P = 0.01$

(b) the observed data as percentage of the row totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Total pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years 3-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>41.89</td>
<td>43.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form</td>
<td>8.15</td>
<td>13.05</td>
<td>34.78</td>
<td>44.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total pupils</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>40.87</td>
<td>43.21</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the chi-squared value for the table as a whole, showing the particular significance of this group of pupils in the total distribution pattern.

From figure A1.2b it can be seen that the AN pupils were 16% of the total number of pupils on the school roll. While there was approximately the same number of girls as boys in the total school population, there were more AN girls than AN boys. The AN girls were 56% of the total number of AN pupils.

There was a higher proportion of AN pupils in the sixth form than in years 3–5, the AN pupils being 21% of the number in the former, but only 15% of the latter. The proportion of AN girls as a percentage of the total pupils was similar for the upper and lower parts of the school, dropping only slightly in the sixth form. The percentage of NAN girls, however, dropped from 42% to 35% in the sixth form. The number of AN boys as a percentage of the total doubled in the sixth form, while that of the NAN boys varied little.

Conclusion

There was an association between the number of pupils in Years 3–5 and in the sixth form in September 1975 and the name type and sex of the pupils. Firstly, assuming that the ratio of girls to boys, 1:1 in the total population of this school, is typical of all schools in that it reflects that of the general population, then this school showed a disproportionate number of AN boys, lower than would be expected, in the total [1]. Secondly, while a smaller proportion of girls than

[1] The extent of the imbalance between the sexes in the numbers of children in the Asian community cannot be shown from this data. What appears as a low proportion of AN boys in this data is of little significance, while the number of Asian girls is. The proportion of Asian girls in this school is significantly high in relation to the proportion on the total Upper school roll. This is because the school was in two single sex schools until 1974. The constituent girls' school was one which Asian parents chose for their girls because of this and to which LEA administrators allocated Muslim girls for whom single sex schooling was deemed desirable. Single sex education for Muslim girls was an overtly contentious issue in the years 1973–76. The ratio of boys to girls among the Asian pupil population in the total Upper school population was 2:1.
boys is found in the sixth form, the number of AN girls almost reaches the
frequency expected and the number of AN boys is almost double the frequency
expected. This latter observation suggests that there are factors motivating the AN
pupils to continue their education beyond the statutory school-leaving age that are
motivating their NAN peers less strongly or not at all.

1.2 A further analysis of the distribution of the pupils in the sixth form

Figure A1.3 shows that most of the AN pupils were in the first year of the
sixth form. They formed 29% of this Year. About half of these Lower Sixth
Form pupils would have been repeating examination subject courses at GCE 'O'
Level in which they attempted, but did not gain, an adequate standard in Year 5,
or adding extra subjects to those already passed at this level or in CSE [1].
Some pupils would have been studying for certificates in the GCE 'A' Level
examinations and would continue into the second year in the sixth form to
complete their courses.

Figure A1.3 Table showing the number of pupils in the first year
(Lower) and second year (Upper) Sixth Forms, according
to name type and sex, in a City Upper school in
September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower sixth form</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper sixth form</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total pupils</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] Additional information supplied by the Headteacher
There were no AN girls in the second year of the sixth form in this school and only four AN boys. This suggested that out of the 29% of the Lower Sixth Form with Asian names, few would have been following GCE 'A' Level courses, though this would need to be confirmed by further research.

1.3 Conclusion

The AN pupils were 16% of the roll of this school. Two points emerged in a consideration of the distribution according to name type and sex, the disproportion of Asian girls to Asian boys and the disproportionate representation of Asian pupils in the sixth form.

In fact there was a considerable over-representation of Asian girls in this school compared with most others in the city. The school had only been co-educational for one year in 1975 (see note 1, p.451).

The higher proportion of AN pupils in the sixth form as compared with their number in Years 3-5 could be related to:

a) their having difficulty in passing public examinations in Year 5, especially as most were shown to be in the Lower Sixth form and few in the Upper Sixth form where pupils follow GCE 'A' level courses. They may have needed to stay on at school to gain qualifications more than their NAN peers.

b) a high motivation to obtain certificates, even if it meant staying on at school beyond the statutory leaving age, perhaps to add extra CSE or GCE 'O' level passes to those gained in Year 5. They may have wanted to stay on at school more than their NAN peers to gain qualifications.

c) some cultural factors which make school attendance desirable above any alternative.

An in-depth analysis of public examination results that is beyond the planned
scope of this study would be required to adequately assess possibilities (a) and (b) (but see Chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis for further exposition of this). A fact that may have contributed to Asian pupils having difficulty in obtaining public examination passes was that of allocation to teaching group. Most Upper schools taught their pupils in ability-banded groups. The Asian children, who were often coping with an English language handicap in the school system, may well have been grouped with low attaining children in teaching groups and not have been expected to compete in public examinations, or only have been expected to compete in a few subjects, most probably at the less demanding CSE level. Thus a study of the allocation of pupils to teaching group band by name type (2.0) could be informative in explaining the high number of Asian pupils in the sixth form. It could show a relative talent to succeed in school according to name type.

An assessment of cultural factors that may have made school attendance beyond the school-leaving age desirable for Asian pupils would also involve field work beyond the scope of this study (but see Chapter 7 of the thesis for further exposition of this).

2.0 A study of a City Upper school pupil population to show the allocation to teaching group bands in Years 3-5 in September 1975 according to name type and sex

The analysis that follows was of pupils in the first three year groups in the school, aged 13 to 16 years. Thus it involved the children under the statutory school-leaving age on September 1st 1975.

The pupils were divided into two categories by name type, AN (Asian-named) and NAN (non Asian-named).

The school teaching groups were divided into two broad bands, in consultation with the Headteacher (reluctant to accept examination orientation as an adequate
criterion for evaluating either children or their education [1]). Band A accommodated pupils who were, or would be, being prepared particularly for CSE and GCE examinations. Band B accommodated those pupils who would not be expected to compete in external examinations because they were considered by teachers to lack the ability to attain success in them, or who would be expected to compete in only a few subjects, usually at the academically less demanding CSE level.

This division was chosen because it could be generalised to other Upper schools in the city and set against an examination standard that was external to the city school system. It was chosen also because public examination passes were popular criteria of success both of a particular school and of a child within the schooling system [2].

2.1 Hypothesis 1 There is no association between the allocation to teaching group band in Years 3–5 in a City Upper school in September 1975 and the name type of the pupil.

A comparison of observed data and frequencies expected under the null hypothesis (Figure A1.4a) showed that only 65 AN pupils were to be found in the A band, whereas a frequency of half as many again would be expected. With a

[1] It has been shown in the main body of the thesis (Chapter 6) that this examination success was the criterion of evaluation commonly accepted. It should be noted that by September 1976 the new Headteacher had reorganised the school structure so that the pupils were divided into mixed-ability registration groups, each child being on an individually computed timetable to allow a maximum choice of subjects through fluidity of grouping. The kind of analysis done here would not have been readily possible for this school in subsequent years. The criterion for division was valid for this study however.

[2] The so-called Great Debate activated with Shirley Williams as Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1977 was very much concerned with school 'standards'. See Education in Schools, a consultative document, Cmnd 6869 HMSO (1977). Any such talk of standard requires some objective mode of assessment and the public examination system was used in this capacity.
Figure A1.4 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands, according to name type in a City Upper school in September 1975

a) The observed data, with frequencies expected under the null hypothesis in parentheses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>65 (98.43)</td>
<td>590 (556.57)</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>100 (66.57)</td>
<td>343 (376.43)</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 32.13  DF = 1  P < 0.001

b) The observed data as percentages of the column totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
chi-squared value of 32.13 for the table, the observed data was certainly significant, suggesting that there was an association between the fact that the pupils had an Asian name and the allocation to teaching group.

It can be seen from Figure A1.4b that, while approximately 60% of all the pupils were in the A band, only 39% of the AN pupils were in the A band.

The hypothesis that there was no association between allocation to teaching group band in Years 3–5 in September 1975 and the name type of the pupil in this city Upper school can be rejected at more than the 0.1% level of statistical significance. The fact that the AN pupils were over-represented in the B band meant that these children were less likely to be following examination orientated courses than their NAN peers in the total population.

A further refinement of this hypothesis could be made based on the knowledge of my teaching experience that girls tend to achieve higher school success rates in early puberty than boys of a similar age. They are, consequently, more likely to be allocated to A band teaching groups as they move from Middle school into Upper school.

2.2 Hypothesis 2 There is no association between allocation to teaching group band and the sex and name type of the pupils in Years 3–5 in a City Upper school in September 1975

A comparison of the observed and expected data and the chi-squared values for each contingency cell (Figure A1.5) showed the weight of statistical significance to be in the columns denoting the AN pupils. These four cells accounted for over three-quarters of the total 35.74 chi-squared value of the table. An under-representation in the A band and over-representation in the B band was more marked for the AN boys than for the AN girls. This suggestion of an association of sex, as well as name type, with banding was further supported by
**Figure A1.5** Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands according to sex and name type in Years 3-5 in a City Upper school in September 1975

a) The observed data, frequencies expected under the null hypothesis and chi-squared values for each contingency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Band</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>59.06</td>
<td>39.37</td>
<td>274.41</td>
<td>282.16</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B Band</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>39.94</td>
<td>26.63</td>
<td>185.59</td>
<td>190.84</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>8.87</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column totals</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>1098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 35.74 \quad DF = 3 \quad P = < 0.001 \]

b) The observed data as a percentage of the row totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Band</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>46.12</td>
<td>43.97</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B Band</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.09</td>
<td>9.48</td>
<td>35.67</td>
<td>41.76</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column totals %</strong></td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>41.89</td>
<td>43.08</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the relatively high chi-squared values for the cells in the NAN girls column. There was a certainly significant association of allocation to teaching group band and the sex and name type of the pupils.

The sex factor was displayed clearly in Figure A1.5b. The NAN boys, who were 43.08% of the total population, were 43.97% of the A band. The NAN girls, who were only 41.89% of the total population, were 46.12% of the A band. The AN boys, who were 6.01% of the total population, were only 3.66% of the A band, showing the over-riding importance of the name type factor. The AN girls, while 9.02% of the total population, were 6.26% of the A band showing a compensating sex factor.

Forty-one percent of the Asian girls were in the A band compared with 36% of the Asian boys. Sixty-six percent of the non Asian girls were in the A band compared with 61% of the non Asian boys. Therefore, for both name type categories a higher proportion of the girls than of the boys was in the examination orientated teaching groups.

The hypothesis that there was no association between allocation to teaching group band and the name type and sex of the pupils in Years 3–5 in this city Upper school in September 1975 can be rejected at more than the 0.1% level of statistical significance. While the name type factor appeared to be dominant, the sex factor was apparent in the higher proportion of girls than boys in the A band in both name type categories.

Comment:

It is interesting to note that the association between allocation to teaching group band and the sex of the pupils was not apparent if the total population was categorised only in terms of sex and not also of name type in this particular school. The over-representation of girls in the A band compensated for the under-representation of AN pupils in that band to some extent, especially as there
was a smaller number of Asian boys than would be expected in this school (Figure A1.6).

**Figure A1.6** Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands according to sex in Years 3-5 in a City Upper school in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>343 (61.4)</td>
<td>312 (57.9)</td>
<td>655 (59.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>216 (38.6)</td>
<td>227 (42.1)</td>
<td>443 (40.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>559 (100.0)</td>
<td>539 (100.0)</td>
<td>1098 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.24 \quad DF = 1 \quad P > 0.05 \]

Observed data as percentages of the column totals in parentheses.

2.3 Conclusion

The Asian children were less likely to be in examination-orientated teaching groups than the non-Asian children. Since there would have been a difference of curriculum between the teaching groups this would have affected the children's chances of subsequent external examination success. A sex factor was observed, with girls more likely to be in examination-orientated teaching groups than boys, but less significant than the name type factor.
3.0 A study of a city Upper school pupil population to show the possibility of a trend in the allocation of pupils to teaching group band from Years 5 to 3 in September 1975 according to name type and sex

This preliminary study of one school was made using the school roll for only one year in the life of the school, September 1975 and the ensuing school year. Further research would need to be done, using name lists from former years before any generalisations about the pattern of distribution according to name type, sex and teaching group could be made with confidence. However, a rough estimate of the generality of the pattern of distribution, or any trends that might be shown, could be made by studying each of the Years 5 to 3 separately, these representing a 13+ intake for three consecutive years 1973 to 1975.

There was a difficulty in categorisation. In September 1975, Year 5 still retained the structure of the former single sex schools. The boys in the year group were divided into three large (35 pupils) A band teaching groups and three smaller B band groups in the ratio of approximately 4:3. The girls were divided into four large groups (32 pupils) and three smaller groups. I was advised by the Headteacher to take only three of the large groups as parallel with the three boys groups. The ratio of A band to B band girls on this basis was 1:1. To have added the fourth group would have given a ratio of 2:1 and have included in this a large number of girls who were considered to be marginal CSE candidates.

3.1 Hypothesis 1 There is no association between the allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 5 (age 15-16) in September 1975 with their name type and sex.

A comparison of the observed data and the frequencies expected under the null hypothesis (Figure A1.7a) showed that there was less than half the number of AN pupils expected in the A band and that the AN girls were particularly poorly represented. There were more NAN pupils than expected in the A band particularly among the boys, but the chi-squared value for the NAN cells accounted for only a fifth of the total chi-squared value of the table. There was certainly a
**Figure A1.7** Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 5 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975

a) The observed data, frequencies expected under the null hypothesis and chi-squared values for each contingency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Band</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>19.74</td>
<td>16.01</td>
<td>82.16</td>
<td>81.09</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B Band</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fe</td>
<td>17.26</td>
<td>13.99</td>
<td>71.84</td>
<td>70.91</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>7.99</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column totals 37 30 154 152 373

$\chi^2 = 27.29$  DF = 3  P < 0.001

b) The observed data as percentages of the column totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column totals %</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>21.62</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>56.49</td>
<td>62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>78.38</td>
<td>70.00</td>
<td>43.51</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Row totals % 100.00 100.00 100.00 100.00 100.00
significant association of allocation to teaching group band in Year 5 September 1975 with the name type and sex of the pupils. Approximately a quarter of the Asian pupils only were in the examination-orientated teaching groups while over half of the non Asian pupils were.

In this year group, the girls were more significantly under-represented in the A band in the AN category and less significantly over-represented in the A Band in the NAN category than the boys. Therefore, a sex factor, though masked, showed a consistent pattern in the two name type categories with the girls being less well represented in the A band than the boys, though a reverse pattern from that observed in the school population as a whole. Among the Asian pupils, 21.62% of the girls and 30.00% of the boys were in the A band. The comparable percentages among the non Asian pupils were 56.49 and 62.50.

The hypothesis that there was no association of the allocation of the pupils to teaching band group in Year 5 in September 1975 with their name type and sex can be rejected at more than the 0.1% level of significance. The Asian pupils were significantly under-represented in the examination-orientated teaching groups. The girls in both name type categories were less well represented in these groups than the boys.

3.2-Hypothesis 2 There is no association of allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 4 (age 14-15) in September 1975 with their name type and sex

A comparison of the observed data and the frequencies expected under the null hypothesis (Figure A1.8a) showed that there was only about two-thirds of the number of AN pupils that would be expected in the A Band. The AN boys were particularly poorly represented, but the sample was statistically small in the total population. There were more NAN pupils in the A band than would be expected, with the boys being insignificantly over-represented but the girls more significantly
Figure A1.8 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 4 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975

a) The observed data, frequencies expected under the null hypothesis and chi-squared values for each contingency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>17.70</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>98.64</td>
<td>102.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>10.30</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>57.36</td>
<td>59.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 13.70 \quad DF = 3 \quad P = < 0.01 \]

b) The observed data as percentages of the column totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>30.77</td>
<td>71.79</td>
<td>59.88</td>
<td>63.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>69.23</td>
<td>28.21</td>
<td>40.12</td>
<td>36.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals %</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
so. There was a significant association between allocation to teaching group band in Year 4 in September 1975 according to both name type and sex.

3.2 Hypothesis 2  There is no association of allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 4 (age 14-15) in September 1975 with their name type and sex

A comparison of the observed data and the frequencies expected under the null hypothesis (Figure A1.8a) showed that there was only about two-thirds of the number of AN pupils that would be expected in the A band. The AN boys were particularly poorly represented, but the sample was statistically small in the total population. There were more NAN pupils in the A band than would be expected, with the boys being insignificantly over-represented but the girls more significantly so. There was a significant association between allocation to teaching group band in Year 4 in September 1975 according to both name type and sex.

There was approximately 44% of the AN pupils in the A band compared with 66% of the NAN pupils. This showed the important association between name type and allocation to teaching group band. However, Figure A1.8b showed that while 50% of the AN girls were in the A band, only 30.77% of the AN boys were there. Also, while 71.79% of the NAN girls were in the A band only 59.98% of the NAN boys were there. Thus an association of sex and allocation to teaching group band was also demonstrated, with the girls more generously represented in the A band than the boys in each name type category. The two highest chi-squared values for individual cells picked out these two factors as they affect numbers in the B band. They showed, firstly, the over-representation of the Asian boys in this band ($\chi^2 = 3.73$) and, secondly, the under-representation of NAN girls in this band ($\chi^2 = 3.11$).

The hypothesis that there was no association of allocation of the pupils to
teaching group band in Year 3 in September 1975 and their name type and sex in this city Upper school can be rejected at the 1% level of statistical significance. The Asian pupils were significantly under-represented in the A band and the boys, in both name type categories were less well represented there than the girls. This pattern was similar to that for the total school population.

3.3 Hypothesis 3 There is no association of allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 3 (age 13–14) in September 1975 with their name type and sex

A comparison of the observed data and the frequencies expected under the null hypothesis (Figure A1.9a) showed that while there were fewer AN pupils in the A band than expected, there were not significantly fewer. There were more NAN girls in the A band than expected but fewer NAN boys, though again the difference between observed and expected data was of very little significance.

The two highest chi-squared values for individual cells of the table were showing the association of allocation to the B band with a lower than expected frequency of NAN girls ($\chi^2 = 1.49$) and allocation to the Band band with a higher than expected frequency of AN boys ($\chi^2 = 1.33$). This was a similar pattern of significance to that pertaining to Year 4 (Figure A1.8a).

The data showed that the association of allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 3 in September 1975 with name type and sex was probably significant with a pattern of distribution similar to that in Year 4.

Approximately 53% of the Asian pupils were in the A Band in this year compared with 64% of the non-Asians, demonstrating the relevance of the name type factor in the allocation. However, Figure A1.9b shows that while there was 55.88% of the AN girls in the A band there was only 47.83% of the AN boys. Also, among the non Asian pupils, 68.67% of the girls were in the A band but
Figure A1.9 Table showing the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in Year 3 according to name type and sex in a City Upper school in September 1975

a) The observed data, frequencies expected under the null hypothesis and chi-squared values for each contingency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>$f_e$ 21.27</td>
<td>14.39</td>
<td>93.85</td>
<td>99.48</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$ 19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$ 0.24</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>$f_e$ 12.73</td>
<td>8.61</td>
<td>56.15</td>
<td>59.52</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$ 15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$ 0.40</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 5.47$  DF = 3  P = < 0.05

b) The observed data as percentages of the column totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>Row totals %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>55.88</td>
<td>47.83</td>
<td>68.67</td>
<td>60.38</td>
<td>62.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td>44.12</td>
<td>52.17</td>
<td>31.33</td>
<td>39.62</td>
<td>37.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals %</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
there was only 60.38% of the boys. Thus, for each name type category the girls were more generously represented in the A band than the boys, demonstrating the relevance of the sex factor.

The hypothesis that there was no association of allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 3 in September 1975 with their name type and sex in this city Upper school can be rejected but only at the 5% level of significance. The Asian pupils were under-represented in the examination-orientated teaching groups and the boys in both name type categories were less well represented there than the girls.

3.4 Conclusion

In testing the hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 it became apparent that while the Asian pupils were consistently under-represented in the examination-orientated teaching groups, the significance of this under-representation statistically decreased from Year 5 to Year 3. Thus it has been increasingly less significant with each subsequent 13+ intake from 1973 to 1975 [1]. While there were in fact more Asian pupils in Year 5 than in Year 3 the number in the A band was lower.

In assessing the difference of pattern in the sex distribution between the bands, with girls being more generously represented in the examination-orientated teaching groups in Years 3 and 4, but the boys in Year 5, account must be taken of a difficulty in categorisation of the A and B bands for the latter Year (see p.461).

The division into teaching groups in Years 3 and 4, within the limits of teaching class size, was consistent for boys and girls. Here the more generous representation of girls in the examination-orientated teaching groups can be

[1] Movement of individual pupils between the two bands that have been categorised was possible, but in fact minimal.
considered to be significant. It was necessary to demonstrate the association between sex type and the distribution of pupils in teaching group bands in addition to the name type factor for the purpose of displaying a trend, since the relatively large number of Asian girls in the school weighted the variables in the statistical analysis.

Thus, there is a difference in the degree of association of allocation of pupils to teaching group bands with their name type and sex in Years 3, 4, 5 in September 1975 in this city Upper school. The under-representation of the Asian pupils in comparison with their non-Asian peers in the examination-orientated teaching groups decreases in significance from Year 5 to Year 3. Even though there were difficulties of categorisation of the bands in Year 5 an alteration of the category division would not decrease the significance of the association of allocation with name type, nor the pattern of distribution. The decreasing significance of the AN factor could be demonstrated to be a trend however.

Comment:

The data appeared to show that in this school the Asian pupils were increasingly less disadvantaged as far as allocation to examination-orientated groups were concerned with each successive 13+ intake over the years 1973 to 1975. One of the reasons for this will have been the positive discrimination the Headteacher made in support of the Asian-named children who were using English as a second language and, in particular, the careful allocation to teaching groups that made an allowance for the language handicap. As Deputy Headteacher in the school for over two years before taking the Headship, he was able to direct policy to a certain extent. He was responsible for merging the two single sex schools and took over as the two Heads of the single sex schools retired after the merger. He was responsible for organising the teaching groups for the year 1975–76.

An LEA administrator, seeing these figures, remarked that they demonstrated
that "Their (the Asian pupils) English is improving and the English as a second language policy is taking effect". That was a possible alternative or additional deduction.

4.0 A study of the intake year (Year 3) of a City Upper school in September 1975

i) to show the distribution of pupils according to their name type, sex and their fathers' social economic group.

ii) to show the allocation of pupils to teaching group band according to the pupils' name type and their fathers' social economic group.

A survey of social class background of school children, unless each home is visited and the father questioned, is difficult. School record cards do not usually carry adequate information. The children's response to questioning on the matter may be vague. For instance, even for teenagers, a response to the question: "What does your father do for a living?" may be: "He works in the mill", which is totally inadequate, or "He is an engineer", which may be no less so since it may refer to anything from a car mechanic to a bridge designer. For the purpose of this study, I asked the Headteacher of the school to categorise the pupils in the intake year of 1975 [1] according to the social economic group of their father using school record cards and a personal knowledge of the children and their homes. The social economic groups used were as follows:

[1] Collecting social class data is a far more lengthy and complicated process than collecting names from school lists and it was only feasible to do this for a relatively small sample of pupils. I chose the year group that was a co-educational comprehensive intake, allocated to teaching groups under the aegis of the new Headteacher.
P Professional, executive, managerial (equivalent to occupations classified under social classes I and II (RG70)

S Non-manual clerical and service worker and skilled manual worker (equivalent to occupations classified under social class III (RG70))

M Partly skilled or unskilled manual workers (equivalent to occupations classified under social classes IV and V (RG70)) and unemployed.

This was a relatively easy task with the non Asian-named pupils but for the Asian children, the social rating of the father was an uneasy fit, when the whole cultural situation of the family was seen, in relation to that of those pupils classified in the same group who were non-Asian. It seemed to me that the exercise was of limited relevance in a cross-cultural situation such as this one since the aim of such groupings is such that:

"Ideally each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar."

(Classification of Occupations 1960 OPCS London: HMSO)

In the OPCS classification this similarity is assumed to be determined by employment status and occupation.

For the Asian-named pupils, while most come from families in the M category, the home was usually owned by the family, not rented as that for the non Asian-named pupils under that category would usually be. Thus, there was a cultural/social difference, correlating with other cultural differences such as those of home language and religion, according to name type within the M category. Further, the Headteacher confirmed my own experience that there was a difference towards school and study according to name type within the M category that
affected application to study and relative achievement of the pupils. In Bradford in 1975 it was still common for an immigrant father with higher education to be in a manual, unskilled occupation. Language ability for one thing would bar him from occupations more in accord with his educational level [1].

4.1 The distribution of pupils in the intake year of a City Upper school in September 1975, according to their name type and sex and fathers' social economic group

**Figure A1.10** Table showing the distribution of pupils in Year 3 according to name type and sex in social economic groups P, S and M in a City Upper school in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social group</th>
<th>AN girls</th>
<th>AN boys</th>
<th>Asian %</th>
<th>NAN girls</th>
<th>NAN boys</th>
<th>NAN %</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been shown that the catchment area of this school had a high proportion of families with a low social class rating compared with the City as a whole (Figure A1.1). This table shows 43.5% of the non Asian pupils in the year group in the M classification and 79% of the Asian pupils in that category.

[1] A social background survey of Year 5 of this city Upper school was made in September/October 1977 by researchers from Leeds University (J A Glossop, The School of Education Regional Research Unit in Education and Mr McKenzie of Leeds Polytechnic). Most of the 369 pupils involved in it will have been the Year 3 pupils of this study. The survey classified the pupils as follows:
4.2 The distribution of pupils in the intake year of a City Upper school in September 1975 by name type and the social economic group rating of their fathers according to allocation to teaching group band

The Headteacher of this school, well aware of the association that has been shown between social class and attainment in school (Douglas, 1964; Halsey et al 1961, 1980), adjusted the teaching groups to give all children optimum opportunity and encouragement for entry to external examinations. He paid particular attention to the pupils who spoke English as a second language, not using Middle School attainment as necessarily a reliable measure of the child's ability to be compared with that of the English mother tongue speakers. Further, he gave particular support to pupils from homes that could be rated as 'lower social class'.

The pattern of allocation of the pupils to teaching group bands in September 1975, according to name type and the social economic group of the father of the pupil is shown in Figure A1.11.

Hypothesis There is no association between the allocation of pupils to teaching group band in Year 3 of a City Upper school in September 1975, and the name type of the pupil and social economic group of the pupil's father

A comparison of observed data and frequencies expected under the null

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers' Occupation</th>
<th>Professional Executive</th>
<th>Supervisory</th>
<th>Skilled unemployed</th>
<th>Manual unemployed</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relative frequency (%)</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute frequency</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was observed that three-quarters of the fathers were in the lowest two groupings. In fact this proportion would have been substantially higher had the occupations of all the fathers been recorded. Seventy-six observations were missing, 20.6% of the total. The majority of school absentees are from homes that would be classified under the lower social classes. The absolute frequencies observed in this survey accorded roughly with my own statistic taken two years previously. The Professional/Executive group can be equated with P, Skilled manual/Supervisory with S, and Manual/employed/retired with M (Figure A1.10).
hypothesis (Figure A1.11) showed that there were fewer pupils in the A band than would be expected whose fathers were allocated to the M category for both name type categories. However, this association of under-representation according to social economic group M and allocation to the A band was more significant for the NAN than the AN pupils. It also shows that there were more pupils in the A band than would be expected whose fathers were allocated to the P/S categories for both name type categories. This association of over-representation according to social economic groups P/S and allocation to the A band was more significant for the NAN than for the AN pupils.

Figure A1.11 Table showing allocation to teaching group band in Year 3 according to the name type of the pupils and social economic group rating of their fathers, in a City Upper school in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name Type</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Non-Asian</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social economic group of father</td>
<td>P/S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>P/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>26.90</td>
<td>99.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>12.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>18.10</td>
<td>67.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>18.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 72.67 \quad DF = 3 \quad P < 0.001$

The pattern for over/under-representation was reversed in the B band. The two highest chi-squared values for the contingency table showed the relative under-representation of the NAN pupils whose fathers were categorised P/S in the B band ($\chi^2 = 18.42$) and the relative over-representation of the NAN pupils whose fathers were categorised M in the B band ($\chi^2 = 14.16$).
The association between allocation to teaching group band and the name type of the pupil and social economic group of the pupil's father was highly significant. The null hypothesis can be rejected at more than the 0.1% level of statistical significance. It has already been shown that the association between name type and allocation to teaching group band is probably significant for Year 3 of this City Upper school for September 1975 (Figure A1.9). It is now further shown that the association between the social economic group of the father and allocation to teaching group band is significant. The significance of this social economic group factor was more important for the NAN than for the AN pupils, however.

4.3 Conclusion

This school's catchment area can be said to have a relatively low social class rating in relation to that of the other City Upper schools (Reid, 1977). The observed data for the intake year in 1975 showed that only 6.8% of the pupils had fathers whose occupations were in the P category (cf. social classes I and II). This could be compared with the 14.8% of the economically active men in classes I and II for the city as a whole (Richardson, 1976).

The proportion of AN pupils in the lowest social economic group category, M, was very high, almost twice that of the NAN pupils. This would have been fairly typical of all the city schools. Most of the AN families in Bradford would have been classified in classes IV and V (RG70), a high proportion of the wage-earners being in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. However, two points should be considered. Firstly, the Asian minority groups were newcomers to the country and economically relatively mobile at this stage in the history of the immigration, so this was possibly a temporary situation. Secondly, classification by occupation does not necessarily correlate with the same socio-cultural conditions within the families for the AN and NAN categories. Thus a cross-cultural comparison of pupils by the
social economic group of the father in this way had limited validity. The information supplied from the experience of the Headteacher of this school suggested that it may have been limited especially when drawing inferences about home background/class and school performance (viz. Douglas, 1964).

The association between social economic group of the father and allocation to teaching group band for the pupil has been shown to be more significant for the NAN than for the AN category in Figure A1.11. It could be inferred from this that the AN pupils were showing a relatively greater talent to succeed in school, despite the depressive factor of low social class, than the NAN pupils. They were more likely to be in the A band from the M group than the NAN pupils and less likely to be in the B band from the P/S groups. However, the Headteacher made allowances for the language handicap of the Asian children who spoke English as a second language in allocation to teaching groups on entry to the school. In this, the school was probably atypical in the city. This could have been contributory to the relatively lower significance of the association. This type of analysis was inadequate for separating the relative difference of association between language and class as factors in the allocation to teaching group band for the Asian pupils. The further cross-cultural element in the comparison would have made such an analysis of little value except as a descriptive tool.

5.0 Conclusion to the preliminary study of a City Upper school in September 1975

This study showed some facts and relationships in respect of this school's pupil population but it also gave some guide as to the usefulness of the categories used for further research on the school system as a whole (6.0).

5.1 The Asian pupils were 16% of this school's population in September 1975.

There were fewer Asian boys in this percentage than would be expected.

5.2 A higher proportion of Asian pupils than would be expected were in the Sixth
form, particularly of boys.

5.3 The Asian pupils were consistently under-represented in the examination-orientated teaching groups in comparison with their peers, both in the total Years 3–5 population and in each of those three year groups separately. In effect, they were less likely to be found in teaching groups with a high school attainment than their peers.

5.4 A trend in this school, over the years 1973–75, suggested that this difference in allocation of pupils to teaching group band according to name type could be decreasing. The Asian pupils were more evenly distributed among the different academic attainment groups in Year 3 in a pattern more comparable with that of their peers.

5.5 Girls were more generously represented than boys in the examination-orientated teaching groups, in the total population of Years 3–5 and in Years 3 and 4 separately. This was so for both name type categories, though sex type was a less significant factor than name type in the distribution.

5.6 The children from higher social class families were more likely to be found in the examination-orientated teaching groups, whether Asian or non-Asian, and the children from lower social class families in the B band teaching groups. However, it was significant than a higher proportion of the Asian pupils whose fathers were in the low social economic group M were to be found in the A band and a lower proportion of those whose fathers were in the higher groups P/S in the B band, than of the comparable category of non-Asian pupils. It was difficult to separate out the limiting effect of factors related to language and of social class in this situation. Of all the city schools this one probably demonstrated the optimum situation for Asian children to show a talent to succeed in terms of the expectations of the school system (i.e. as judged by external examination results). They were given every opportunity to enter for
the examinations through being in examination-orientated teaching groups whenever possible [1]. In fact the school structure allows a large proportion of all pupils to enter for external examinations [2]. The subsequent examinations results justify this [3].

6.0 The implications of this preliminary study for the direction of further research

The use of the Asian name type category in the statistical analysis of this school roll has given descriptive information about the Asian minority group children's distribution and teacher-assessed potential talent to succeed in the school system, in relation to their non Asian named peers. The description could be refined by use of a further categorisation according to sex of the pupils, which has been shown to be associated with allocation to teaching group band and with numbers of pupils in the sixth form. A categorisation according to the social economic group of the pupil's father is of limited value for the reasons stated in 4.3. A statistic of the total Upper school population according to name type and sex would be possible to collect. This would give descriptive information on all the children in the 13-18+ age group at school in the City. The social economic group factor, shown to be significant in allocation to teaching group band, would be omitted, but at least catchment area variations in social class of the families would be generalised and a city pattern emerge. This pattern could be descriptive of racial and mother tongue differences between the categories. The analysis

[1] The AN percentage of the Asian population in the A band in this City Upper school was 39, compared with a percentage of 27 for the nine City Upper schools analysed. (See A1.12).

[2] The percentage of the total school population for Years 3-5 in the A band in this City Upper school was 60, while that for the nine City Upper schools was only 45. (See A1.12).

[3] In the summer of 1976 the pupils in this school gained 1.81 GCE 'O' Level passes per entrant compared with 1.37 in all other City Upper schools. The Asian pupils' Maths and English results were good in relation to those from other schools too. (See A1.13-A1.15).
would be inadequate to separate these factors.

A whole city study of the Upper school rolls in September 1975 would give
the following useful descriptive information:

i) The proportion of Asian minority group children in the Upper schools and the
   ratio of boys to girls.

ii) The proportion of Asian children in the sixth forms. If a similar situation of
    a high proportion of Asian children staying on into the sixth form is found in
    all the city schools as is found in this one, then the following inferences
    could be drawn:

    a. that the Asian pupils were highly motivated to take advantage of
       the school system and possibly that they needed the extra time to gain
       basic school leaving qualifications.

    b. that the social class factor, in respect of staying on at school beyond
       the statutory leaving age, was correlating differently with the AN pupils
       from the way it has been shown by previous research to correlate in
       the situation of white children (Douglas, 1964; Halsey, 1980).

iii) A comparison of the degree of under-representation of the Asian pupils in the
    examination-orientated teaching groups in this school with the rest of the City
    Upper schools, given that the Headteacher in this Upper school discriminates
    in favour of the children who speak English as a second language in allocation
    to teaching groups considered suited to their ability to pass examinations in
    the CSE and GCE. Such a study would involve a careful observation of each
    school and its teaching group structure in order to categorise the groups
    according to their examination orientation.

iv) A trend study of the allocation to teaching group band for the intake years in
    the Upper schools of 1973 to 1975.

The study of allocation to teaching group band in the City Upper schools in
September 1975 could be complemented by an observation of the GCE 'O' level and CSE examination results for the summer of 1976. This would give a description for one year not only of the Asian child's opportunity to follow examination courses, but also of success in the examinations themselves in comparison with the non-Asian child. A control for social class would normally be used in such a survey, but its value would be limited in such a cross-cultural study for the reasons stated in 4.3. The data would be insufficient to describe the situation of relative performance from one year to another. It would not be adequate alone to use for a causal analysis of relative attainment of one group to another.

A survey of the Upper school population in this way, according to the sex and name type of the pupil would provide a quantitative base from which further qualitative analysis of the situation of the Asian minority group children within the school system could be pursued. It would not be an adequate tool alone to weigh the relative importance of the factors of social class, mother tongue and race in the performance of the Asian child in the school system in relation to their peers. It would give a description of the total 13-18+ school population divided according to the factors of mother tongue and race which approximately coincide in Bradford with the AN categorisation.
7.0 Further Tables: to show a comparison with other Upper schools
(School A: the school of the preliminary study)

**Figure A1.12** Table showing the pattern of allocation of pupils to teaching group bands in Years 3-5 in nine County Upper schools (including School A) according to name type in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Band</td>
<td>B Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine County Upper schools</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was 39% of the Asian pupils in School A in the A Band, compared with 27% of the Asian pupils in the total, nine school (see Chapter 5) population. There was 60% of the total school population in the A Band of School A, compared with 45% in the total nine school population.

**Figure A1.13** Table showing the GCE 'O' level (grades A-C) and CSE (Grades 1-5) passes per entrant in School A and other County Upper schools, in Summer 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' level</th>
<th>CSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other County Upper schools</td>
<td>3386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>4051</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure A1.14  Tables showing the distribution of passes at GCE 'O' Level (Grades A-C) and CSE (Grades 1-5) in English according to the name type of the entrants at School A and at the other County Upper schools, in Summer 1976

a)  GCE 'O' Level English Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>10 (5.85)</td>
<td>98 (102.15)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest</td>
<td>26 (30.15)</td>
<td>531 (526.85)</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 4.01$  DF $= 1$  P $< 0.05$

b)  CSE English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>59 (30.51)</td>
<td>119 (147.49)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>26.60</td>
<td>17.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest</td>
<td>316 (344.49)</td>
<td>1694 (1665.51)</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>2188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 47.44$  DF $= 1$  P $< 0.001$

($f_e$ in parentheses)
Table showing the distribution of passes at GCE 'O' level (Grades A-C) and CSE (Grades 1-5) in Mathematics according to the name type of the entrants at School A and at other County Upper schools, in Summer 1976

a) GCE 'O' level Mathematics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>15 (13.89)</td>
<td>94 (95.11)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest</td>
<td>69 (70.11)</td>
<td>481 (479.89)</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.0026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.12$  DF = 1  P = >0.05

b) CSE Mathematics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>28 (17.45)</td>
<td>89 (99.55)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest</td>
<td>189 (199.55)</td>
<td>1149 (1138.45)</td>
<td>1338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.098</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>1455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 8.16$  DF = 1  P = <0.001

($f_e$ in parentheses)
A wider preamble first that is both depressing but has seeds of hope in it.

1. Locally and nationally consensus is that schools should solve the problems of society. Schools are under attack.
   - standards – the Green Paper, the Great Debate, the attack by the media.
   - hooliganism/vandalism/truancy/mugging, etc.
   - the call for discipline.

2. What are the facts?
   - We live in a rotting society – strains imposed by rampant commercialism and technology – adult and politically controlled – schools are battered by the sectional interests – the commercial exploitation of the young, the declining standards of the media typified by the new 'Star', the lottery mania, the inner urban neglect and breakdown of community solidarity typified by building societies' red lines and the Wakefield Road subways, the increase in family breakdown with many schools having over 40% of their children not living with the two adults who conceived them, the technological Gadarene gallop fuelled by protective legislation and inspired by microprocessors that will ensure structural unemployment, to be met by special measures for the young rather than by a purposeful review of the working life of the old. Statistically significant correlation between this neglect, and the rise of the Fifth Estate in the establishment – the power of the Breweries!

3. What is being done to redirect the purpose of schools, to redefine their role and to remove the stress? What national and local recognition is there of the great efforts to inspire confidence – none. All there is is a tampering with a system that is irrelevant for most of the children in it.
   - The APU and local assessment are sops to the status quo and history fixed public who misread the problem and continually look over their shoulders.
   - We argue about the 16+ or GCSE and openly admit that it is designed to ignore 40% of the school population.
   - We are concerned about University domination of the 6th Form curriculum and then dissipate our efforts on N&F proposals that ignore the needs of the majority of those in the 6+7 years – there is little recognition in the world of work of the demand to look at these needs in terms of CEE and City & Guilds. External society has much to answer for, particularly as its record of acceptance of CSE is so mean.
   - Three areas of concern have been allocated Bullock treatment – that is all teachers are responsible for them – reading, careers guidance and counselling, multiracial education, and we all know how difficult it is to convince teachers of these roles with the minimum of retraining and current staffing ratios.
   - The cries for the use of corporal punishment and uniforms from distorted PTA's and emasculated-politically governing bodies on the one hand, and professional associations on the other who take an attitude on a par with leeching as the most effective medical approach, in their cries for corporal punishment (NAHT* say 'right to use physical punishment to suppress badly behaved children in the interest of the well behaved'), suspension and the provision of off-site units, all indicate clearly that society expects schools to serve the needs of the adults in society, including the staff in the schools. It is conveniently forgotten that schools are for children, and they are the only reason why adults turn up.
4. There are remarkable strains in schools, caused by the divergence between the expectation of adult society and its actual performance. Staff in schools work much harder now than before and are expected to be involved in far more roles. Interestingly enough it is a testimony to their effort that narrow criteria indicate success with rising standards at all levels, despite the Daily Mail and an enormous increase in examination entries and success. The social services would be hard pressed without school help.

5. However schools are still at odds with three main groups of children within them, and there is no evidence that comprehensive schools are meeting the needs, even those that attempt to be more than a grammar and secondary modern school under one roof. The failure lies in the mood that predominates outside schools. I refer to three disadvantaged groups.

- working class kids – only 1 in 5 make Higher education, compared with 4 out of 5 for Registrar Generals top 2 managerial middle class groups.
- girls who perform worse than they should, particularly in mixed schools; as the power house of the future community this is serious neglect.
- black kids whether Asian who perform on a par with indigenous children only to find that is not enough to gain employment – as the Leicestershire CRC report clearly shows, or Afro-Caribbean with low teacher expectation, stereotyping and gross unemployment, particularly for the boys, as shown by our own evidence in schools and the Redbridge report. They can't all play for West Bromwich, and one suspects that then at 35 they won't be able to open a DIY chain or become mine host at a local pub. The route for most lads is through the classroom – not the changing room.

If a child happens to fit any two of these groups, working class and black, and even all three, then society doesn't want to know.

6. So what do we do in our schools particularly in Bradford, but it must happen in all schools, in Wimbledon, Harrogate and Penzance, as well as Walsall, Enfield, Southall, Liverpool and Bradford. In our case the Trends Document suggests that a third of the school population will be coloured by the mid-eighties and, in many schools, changes in dispersal policy apart, it will be much higher. A certainty of the situation however is that most staff rooms will be completely Caucasian and that in-service provision will be inadequate, even if the need is recognised and, additionally, most teachers living elsewhere will have little knowledge of the real lives of their children. The only bright light is the role to be played by Section Eleven teachers, the supernumerary E2L ones, and it will probably be more important for them to affect staff policy, awareness and commitment, both in their narrower trade and in the vital need for multiracial input. This is the role of teacher training and one despairs at the emphasis given to it – not all students can go to Edge Hill or Bradford College.

7. It is not enough to take the aerosol approach, though it does help – by this I mean the indiscriminate spraying of multicultural phenomena about the school fabric and calendar. The odd reference to Eid, the occasional piece of reggae or reading from the Koran, the poster on a forthcoming event are not enough. They help, but the level of self-esteem growth is low, unless the same emphasis is seen to be important in the rest of school life. The school meals service, the library and the same emphasis on other events as on the nativity play will all help, and are areas where concern and effort must be seen to be important. But we are
talking about transforming the understanding that our children will have of each other when they leave school, the way they relate as employers, employees, school governors, counsellors and parents - it is their children who will be in our schools by 1990 and, if we have the same attitudes as we have now, then we are culpable of gross professional neglect.

We can't leave it all to the T&A — the only really committed institution in Bradford, and thankfully it is there. I would argue that the superficial lack of racial friction can be explained by that editorial policy, but the tension is there, the apathy is there and so is the conflict. It stalks school corridors after an NF march, it is rehearsed nightly in the pubs and clubs and it would be there at the family breakfast table if the parents and kids ever met at it. Talk to any group of white kids with the gloves off and they will give you all the arguments that would keep a comedian in material for a lifetime and bring a flush of delight to the narrow brow of an NF pamphleteer.

So, at last, it is all about the school curriculum and it's all about all children across the ability range, and not the so-called Newsom/Rosla child. What an impertinence that we gave them alone the civic awareness courses, ecology projects, the community services and the link courses, ignoring the JMB bound high ability pupils - the managers of the future, the employers, with their feet well up the ladder. Change is only affected if the managing director is committed as well as the cleaner and office boy.

You may ask me what we do at ———, as I have nailed my colours to the mast. The answer is, our best, and it is not enough. There are three aspects to developing a multiracial policy: one so organising the structure that it is child-based, rather than for the convenience of the staff and the governors report; secondly, taking every opportunity to base specific parts of the syllabuses in multiracial contexts and, thirdly, to implement a policy of staff awareness, knowledge and commitment.

We have achieved the first, to a certain extent, with all the children having individual timetables, so that specific needs can be met without involving another 29; the second point is simpler to develop in some areas than others. Thus we reject the concept of Black Studies aimed at self-esteem for one group — the answer lies in study areas available to all to increase understanding and to reduce mythology, prejudice and the viewpoint of sectional interests.

History — Modern World — with anti-Semitism, decolonisation and group rivalries, as opposed to 19th century or earlier.

Geography — basic skill course involving Caribbean, Indian Subcontinent and African Third World being developed as well as the UK.

Religious Studies — personal identification, awareness of others and multifaith. The nature of being. Uniqueness.

English — basic topic work in all courses, but race as a main theme in a CSE Mode III topic.

General Ed. course in 4th year, modular, with a Third World topic for all. Also 6th Form General Studies work.

* T&A: Telegraph and Argus — local newspaper.
Humanities Mode III CSE, with a prejudice content.

Library - use of loan schemes, for literature of mother tongues, for children and parents and an attempt to build up a proper selection of current Caribbean, African and Indian subcontinent literature.

Developments to come involve obvious areas such as Home Economics, Craft and Design and Art, but specific teacher competence is not so easy to achieve as in the less practical areas outlined. Teacher training and an obvious increase in the number of black teachers using their cultural heritage will be important here. The sciences and mathematics are not such an obvious area, but it is possible to involve problem solving achievement and examples from a wider base than we do at present.

The third aspect is far more difficult to achieve, in any school, and it relates to fundamental philosophy. It would be a salutary experiment to ask teachers why they teach what they do; and that includes me; the main concern has been how to teach it, with the assumption that there is an obvious content waiting to be organised. This is not the case and will not be so increasingly over the next ten years. The willingness to teach more able children in schools is not essentially because they are easier to teach; it is more than likely that it is because the content has been formalised by social practice and is obvious - this isn't the case with the less able and the thinking out and preparation is consequently more painful. It takes endless discussion and time to produce a simple checklist of the curricular ambitions of a school, and then even longer to convince staff that it must be the guiding criteria in all that they do. At the present time we are talking, and talking, and tonight is part of the process.

You will gather that I am not content with the ambitions and performance of our schools. I am even more dismayed with the attitudes and purpose of adult society which reduces the opportunities in schools. I believe there is a will amongst a large enough body of teachers to do something about it, but it involves sacrifice of time and effort, a shedding of protective principles that have not only consoled in the past but have been congratulatory, and the realisation that the most important resource in the schools is the mind and attitude of every child in it. If we cannot reach these minds and challenge these attitudes, then there is no future.

I should like to end by reading a quote.

Dorothy Kuya, who heads the National Committee on Racism in Children's Books, explained the misgivings felt by whites and blacks alike about statistics.

"Statistics identify the victim, not the situation that has produced the victim. They can only confirm what we know, that there is something wrong with the way black children are responding in schools. We are still running away from the problem."

K THOMSON
APPENDIX A.2 FURTHER STATISTICS

A2.1 Distribution of pupils among the County Upper schools in September 1975

A2.2 Allocation of pupils to teaching group band, September 1975

A2.3 The pass rate for GCE 'O' Level and CSE examinations in 1975 and 1976

A2.4 A comparison of the GCE 'O' Level and CSE examination results of AN and NAN pupils in 1975 and 1976

A2.5 A comparison between pupils' passes at GCE 'O' Level and CSE in 1976

A2.6 The relationship between pass rate and the antecedents of the school in GCE 'O' Level and CSE examinations in 1976

A2.7 A comparison of the pass rate in GCE 'A' Level Science and Arts subjects in 1976

A2.8 A comparison of the pass rates in Mathematics and English Language in the summer of 1975

A2.9 Results of GCE 'O' Level English examinations (10% sample) in 1978 and 1979

A2.10 Use of spoken English by Asian children, out of school
Figure A2.1 Table showing the number of pupils according to name type and sex on the roll of each County Upper school in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>f&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt; 56.51</td>
<td>110.86</td>
<td>554.69</td>
<td>572.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f&lt;sub&gt;o&lt;/sub&gt; 34</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 ) 8.97</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>54.72</td>
<td>107.35</td>
<td>537.13</td>
<td>554.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>1254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>7.49</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.58</td>
<td>101.18</td>
<td>506.29</td>
<td>522.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.75</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34.34</td>
<td>67.37</td>
<td>337.10</td>
<td>348.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.86</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.49</td>
<td>99.04</td>
<td>495.58</td>
<td>511.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>1157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>52.80</td>
<td>103.58</td>
<td>518.28</td>
<td>535.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.73</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>51.32</td>
<td>100.67</td>
<td>503.72</td>
<td>520.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.49</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.41</td>
<td>104.78</td>
<td>524.28</td>
<td>541.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>1224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64.27</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>55.94</td>
<td>109.74</td>
<td>549.12</td>
<td>567.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>114</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>60.26</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>31.33</td>
<td>61.46</td>
<td>307.54</td>
<td>317.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>55.55</td>
<td>108.97</td>
<td>545.27</td>
<td>563.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.65</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>5379</td>
<td>5556</td>
<td>12558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 343.89; \quad DF = 30 \quad P = <0.001 \)
Figure A2.2  Table showing the allocation of pupils in some County Upper schools to teaching group bands in years 3-5 according to name type and sex of the pupils and antecedents of the schools, in September 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GS</th>
<th></th>
<th>SM/C</th>
<th></th>
<th>Row</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>NANN Girls</td>
<td>NANN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_e = 133.78$</td>
<td>149.50</td>
<td>721.90</td>
<td>735.81</td>
<td>51.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o = 90$</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 14.33$</td>
<td>22.89</td>
<td>92.99</td>
<td>56.66</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% = 2.36</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>25.71</td>
<td>24.63</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_e = 164.22$</td>
<td>183.50</td>
<td>886.10</td>
<td>903.19</td>
<td>62.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o = 208$</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 11.67$</td>
<td>18.65</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>46.16</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>18.92</td>
<td>19.28</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 519.71$  DF = 7  P = <0.001
Figure A2.3  Tables showing the number of subjects sat in the CSE and GCE 'O' Level examinations according to whether they were passed or not passed in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1975 and 1976

To show comparability of pass rate O/CSE as an indicator of the norm $f_c$ in parentheses

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CSE</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed</td>
<td>8418 (8772.78)</td>
<td>10155 (9800.22)</td>
<td>18573</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>82.43</td>
<td>89.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not passed</td>
<td>1794 (1439.22)</td>
<td>1253 (1607.78)</td>
<td>3047</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>17.57</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>10212</td>
<td>11408</td>
<td>21620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 192.39$  $DF = 1$  $P = <0.001$

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed</td>
<td>3891 (3869.96)</td>
<td>4051 (4072.04)</td>
<td>7942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>50.17</td>
<td>49.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not passed</td>
<td>3865 (3886.04)</td>
<td>4110 (4088.96)</td>
<td>7975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>49.83</td>
<td>50.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>7756</td>
<td>8161</td>
<td>15917</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.42$  $DF = 1$  $P = >0.05$
Figure A2.4  Tables showing (a) the numbers of entrants and (b) the pass rate for the GCE 'O' Level examinations according to name type, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1975 and 1976.

fe in parentheses

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian-named</td>
<td>316 (307.46)</td>
<td>386 (394.54)</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 14.27</td>
<td>13.59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Asian-named</td>
<td>1898 (1906.54)</td>
<td>2455 (2446.46)</td>
<td>4353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 85.73</td>
<td>86.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>2214</td>
<td>2841</td>
<td>5055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.43$  DF = 1  $P > 0.05$

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN pupils</td>
<td>587 (478.99)</td>
<td>396 (504.01)</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 7.57</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN pupils</td>
<td>3304 (3390.97)</td>
<td>3655 (3568.03)</td>
<td>6959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 42.60</td>
<td>44.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not passed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN pupils</td>
<td>3865 (3886.04)</td>
<td>4110 (4088.96)</td>
<td>7975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 49.83</td>
<td>50.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>7756</td>
<td>8161</td>
<td>15917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 52.38$  DF = 2  $P < 0.001$
Figure A2.5 Tables showing (a) the number of subjects passed at GCE 'O' level (A-C) and CSE (2-5) according to the name type and sex of the entrant and (b) further according to the antecedent of the school, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'O' Level</td>
<td>181.63</td>
<td>376.88</td>
<td>1739.28</td>
<td>1753.21</td>
<td>4051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A-C)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>4051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>36.69</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSE</td>
<td>405.37</td>
<td>841.12</td>
<td>3881.72</td>
<td>3912.79</td>
<td>9041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2-5)</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>3787</td>
<td>3845</td>
<td>9041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.44</td>
<td>7.78</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1218</td>
<td>5621</td>
<td>5666</td>
<td>13092</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 89.53$  $DF = 3$  $P < 0.001$
## Figure A2.5 (b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>GS Schools</th>
<th>SM/C Schools</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>NAN Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCE</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'O' Level (A-C)</td>
<td>144.50</td>
<td>162.14</td>
<td>851.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.40</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>113.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.85</td>
<td>32.82</td>
<td>42.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CSE (2-5)</td>
<td>CSE (2-5)</td>
<td>CSE (2-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>322.50</td>
<td>361.80</td>
<td>1900.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>393</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.41</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>50.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84.15</td>
<td>67.18</td>
<td>57.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>2752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 536.78$  $DF = 7$  $P < 0.001$
Figure A2.6 Tables showing the number of subjects sat by entrants according to name type, sex and the antecedents of their school at (a) GCE 'O' level, passes A-C or grades D, E unclassified and (b) CSE, passes 1-5 or Failed, in the County Upper schools in the summer of 1976
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' Level</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>AN Girls</th>
<th>AN Boys</th>
<th>NAN Girls</th>
<th>NAN Boys</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>117.15</td>
<td>194.09</td>
<td>1103.96</td>
<td>1081.13</td>
<td>35.24</td>
<td>133.53</td>
<td>696.43</td>
<td>689.48</td>
<td>4051</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>677</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>15.89</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>49.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>31.36</td>
<td>43.99</td>
<td>52.25</td>
<td>52.53</td>
<td>36.62</td>
<td>46.10</td>
<td>47.90</td>
<td>48.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>$f_e$</td>
<td>118.85</td>
<td>196.91</td>
<td>1120.04</td>
<td>1096.87</td>
<td>35.76</td>
<td>135.47</td>
<td>706.57</td>
<td>699.52</td>
<td>4110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>1062</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>712</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D, E Unclass.</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>15.67</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>50.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>68.64</td>
<td>56.01</td>
<td>47.75</td>
<td>47.47</td>
<td>63.38</td>
<td>53.90</td>
<td>52.10</td>
<td>51.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>8161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 58.18$  \hspace{1cm} DF = 7  \hspace{1cm} P = <0.001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
<th>Column 4</th>
<th>Column 5</th>
<th>Column 6</th>
<th>Column 7</th>
<th>Column 8</th>
<th>Column 9</th>
<th>Column 10</th>
<th>Column 11</th>
<th>Column 12</th>
<th>Column 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11408</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.48</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>9.69</td>
<td>10.79</td>
<td>11.73</td>
<td>11.22</td>
<td>9.49</td>
<td>12.11</td>
<td>10.44</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>12.01</td>
<td>10.49</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>10.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.33</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.92</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure A2.7 Table showing GCE 'A' Level entries according to whether they were graded at A-E or at 'O' Level/Fail for entrants according to name type and sex in subjects in Science and Arts categories, in the County Upper Schools in the summer of 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'A'</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>AN Girls</td>
<td>AN Boys</td>
<td>NAN Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>63.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-E</td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>( f_e )</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>32.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'O' and Fail</td>
<td>( f_o )</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 4.65 \]
\[ DF = 7 \]
\[ P > 0.05 \]
Figure A2.8 Tables showing the entries sat in GCE 'O' Level
(a) Mathematics, (b) English Language according to
whether they were passed (1-6)* or not, and the name
type of the entrant in the County Upper schools in
the summer of 1975

(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'O' Level Grades</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>62.89</td>
<td>404.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>21.90</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>59.11</td>
<td>379.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>23.30</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 52.24$  DF = 1  P < 0.001

(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'O' Level Grades</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>95.60</td>
<td>679.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_e</td>
<td>63.40</td>
<td>450.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f_o</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>1289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.627$  DF = 1  P > 0.05

*Grades 1-6, 1975, were equivalent to A-C, 1976 and to CSE 1
Figure A2.9  Tables showing pupils graded A–C, D, E and Unclassified and not entered for the GCE 'O' Level English examinations in the 15+ age group (10% sample) of the County Upper schools, summer 1978 and 1979

(a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' level grades, 1978</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A–C</td>
<td>$f_e$ 6.91</td>
<td>57.09</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$ 6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D, E Unclassified</td>
<td>$f_e$ 8.09</td>
<td>66.91</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$ 9</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 0.247$  DF = 1  $P = >0.05$

(b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' level grades, 1979</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
<th>Row totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A–C</td>
<td>$f_e$ 11.12</td>
<td>79.88</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$ 7</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D, E Unclassified</td>
<td>$f_e$ 10.88</td>
<td>78.12</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$f_o$ 15</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 3.52$  DF = 1  $P = <0.05$

(c)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCE 'O' level</th>
<th>AN</th>
<th>NAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A–C</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D, E Unclassified</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not entered</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure A2.10  The use of spoken English out of school by a sample of Asian children from the outer City First and Middle schools and the inner city First and Middle schools studied, Bradford, March 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language to older siblings</th>
<th>Mother tongue only</th>
<th>Some English</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8+ years</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 (30.79)</td>
<td>72 (66.21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ to 8 years</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 (9.21)</td>
<td>14 (19.79)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 6.93$ \quad DF = 1 \quad P < 0.01$

(a) Table showing the distribution of children who use mother tongue only and those who use some English to their older siblings, according to whether the children are 8+ or 5+ to eight years old in some First and Middle schools, March 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language to younger siblings</th>
<th>Mother tongue only</th>
<th>Some English</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8+ years</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38 (49.10)</td>
<td>68 (56.90)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ to 8 years</td>
<td>$f_o$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 (13.90)</td>
<td>5 (16.10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column totals</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 21.19$ \quad DF = 1 \quad P < 0.001$

(b) Table showing the distribution of children who use mother tongue only and those who use some English to their younger siblings, according to whether the children are 8+ or 5+ to eight years old in some First and Middle Schools, March 1977

English spoken to mother 21%
English spoken to father 34%
English spoken to older siblings 68%
(including 48% of those under eight years old)
English spoken to younger siblings 54%
(including 64% of those who were over eight years old)
APPENDIX A.3 SINGLE SEX SCHOOLING FOR MUSLIM GIRLS IN BRADFORD, 1965–1977

Bradford 'took a gamble' (Corbett, 1974) in pursuing a co-educational policy at the time when increasing numbers of Muslim girls on the school roll were reaching puberty. There are strict Muslim social customs, referred to in injunctions in the Koran concerning male/female association after puberty [1].

As the history of the Bradford school system has shown (Chapter 1) the LEA planned comprehensive co-education in 1948. The first purpose-built comprehensives (Buttershaw, 1956 and Tong) were both co-educational and after reorganisation 1963–4 it was assumed that all new Upper schools would be developed on similar lines.

At this time the majority of Asian immigrants in the city were male. In the mid-Sixties there were few teenage Asian girls in the city. Even in 1975 the ratio of Asian boys to girls in the Upper schools was 2:1.

The Teachers' Advisory Council held a protracted discussed on co-education as a policy at their meetings from May to July 1965 [2]. The Director of Education:

"outlined the decisions which would have to be made in the light of the present situation and policy, development plans for the future, and expenditure which could be expected to be authorised by the Ministry. He spoke, too, of the problems created by the ever-increasing invasion of immigrant children of school age, problems which seemed likely to increase rather than to diminish. He suggested topics which the Council might like to consider in this field." [3]

The Minutes gave no indication as to whether the Director saw co-education as one of the 'problems' or not, nor of the 'topics' which the Council might like to

consider. The subsequent Council report on co-education [1] confined itself to arguments for its desirability as part of the basic philosophy of comprehensive education, its mode of implementation in terms of timing and accommodation and the protection of staff salaries with amalgamation of schools. There was no record that the cultural impact of phasing out single sex education was considered.

It took some years of rebuilding before the former single sex grammar schools, now with a comprehensive intake, were phased out. The co-education plan did not mature until 1975. By then all the Upper schools were in their new, or newly adapted, buildings leaving only one pair of single sex county secondary schools in the city [2], and these two shared a campus [3].

In 1975 the single-sex and former single-sex schools catered for the majority of the Asian girls (Figure 2.5), evidence of an Asian parental bias towards single-sex schooling for their girls. The LEA were aware of this bias. In 1973 allocation to Upper school accounted for:

"The need to avoid an excessive concentration of immigrant pupils in any school, coupled with the tendency for the parents of immigrant girls of this age, of whom there is an increasing number in the city, to object to co-educational schools." [4]

The parents' choice of single-sex school could not be granted for some of the Asian families, despite the fact that there were then still three girls-only schools:

[2] There were Direct Grant/Independent and Roman Catholic Schools, however.
[3] Subsequent moves to make these into one co-educational institution have been resisted. The resistance was mainly on the grounds that a merger would mean a take-over by the boys' school, since the girls' school Head was retiring in 1978 (PI). It was won on the grounds of 'parental rights' to have a choice in the type of schooling for their children and particularly that Muslim parents should be able to choose single-sex education for their girls. While these schools were taking a larger proportion of Muslims than any other in the city in September 1975, because of their geographical situation, they did not take children out of their catchment area. From 1980 the plan was to end the catchment of the schools well short of the city centre, thus excluding many of the Muslim children whose homes had previously been in the catchment. An 'inexplicit' retention of dispersal.

[4] City of Bradford Schools Officer Notes on Allocation to Upper Schools, April 5th 1973 ref. CCH/HB/BC
"Of the immigrant girls whose parents restricted their choice to Belle Vue, Bolling and Grange, 25 could not be given places at any of these schools." [1]

The 25 girls represented a quarter of those whose parents restricted their choice thus [2].

By the mid-Seventies, as the co-education plans matured, about 10% of the city school population was Muslim and 200 Asian girls were transferring annually to Upper schools. In 1975 only 1:8 of these were catered for in the single-sex school [3] as dispersal was in operation. In the opinion of the Guardian leader writer of the time:

"to force English people to send their children to co-educational schools against their will is unwise; to force Moslems would not only be unwise but unjust, because it rides roughshod over religious beliefs," [4]

Muslims request separate education for their girls chiefly on the grounds of 'modesty':

"Enjoin believing men to turn their eyes away from temptation and to restrain their carnal desires ... Enjoin believing women to turn their eyes away from temptation and to preserve their chastity; to cover their adornments (except such as are normally displayed); to draw their veils over their bosoms and not to reveal their finery except to their husbands, their fathers, their husband's fathers, their sons, their step-sons, their brother's sons, their sisters' sons, their women-servants and their slave-girls; male attendants lacking in natural vigour and children who have no carnal knowledge of women ..."

The Qu’ran Sura 24, vv. 30 and 31 [5]

By interpretation, extreme modesty of dress is required by Muslim girls except in the presence of close relatives. However, the custom is expressive of a deeper social issue in the Muslim community, the inadmissibility of Muslim teenagers developing sexual relationships outside the knowledge and control of the kinship group. There are fears that the marriage prospects of girls might be prejudiced.

[2] Estimated from data on the school lists, September 1975, pupils in year 5, and from information from the Schools Officer.
by mixing with boys in school in puberty:

"Young men here feel, maybe to preserve the peace of the family, that it is better to marry girls who have been brought up in South Asia, rather than girls who are educated here, who are described by some of them as 'fast', 'too independent', 'not modest', etc." [1]

In Pakistan, although there is mixed education in the cities, boys and girls do not mix. Seats may be left for girls in the front of classes. In Saudi Arabia, university lectures may be relayed by television for women in a separate room.

There were also questions about the usefulness of British secondary education for Muslim girls who need training for a role as 'queen of the home' (Qu'ran) and its relevance after puberty when more 'suitable' education can be given in the home. This may well be a cultural impasse that can only be resolved in time.

Wider considerations of the impact of western education for both boys and girls focus on a deeply felt conflict between the individualism of the west (especially in sexual matters) and the familial responsibility of the Asian, and the secularism of education in Britain for a Muslim for whom religion permeates the whole of life. The élitism of Christianity and its approach to Islam is given as further reason for separatism.

Their parents may feel that Asian girls, demurely dressed in shalwar and kameze, may have difficulty in handling the 'freedom' of school from a controlled family base:

"Their parents are very strict. They are always boasting about how they deceive their parents. They smoke because they know their parents wouldn't like it."
Non-Asian sixth-form girls, 29.3.1976

"We are educating them to rebel against their cultural system."
Male E2L teacher, co-ed Upper school, 5.4.1976

"They are in a difficult position, leading two lives (becoming Anglicised). It makes them seem devious."

The different emphasis of the male and female E2L teachers commenting on similar observed experience points towards the human rights issue of the education of girls in a 'sexist' [1] society. Peter Berger (1974) in a discussion of human rights, with reference to Third World development and political ethics, names 'modernisation' as the stress that is changing the fundamental character of traditional frameworks of meaning ('a revolution in the structures of consciousness') for ethnic groups:

"Modernization is a shift from givenness to choice on the level of meaning. Tradition is undermined to exactly the degree in which what previously was taken for granted as a 'fact of life' becomes something for which an individual may or may not opt. Consequently in any situation undergoing modernization, it is often unclear which of the two versions of the 'right to meaning' should pertain - the right to choose freely or the right to be left alone in the old givenness. This unclarity is not just in the mind of an outside observer; it marks the minds of those who are in the modernizing situation. It has often been remarked that individuals in the throes of modernization are torn, divided within themselves. A decisive aspect of this division is the ambivalence between givenness and choice. It is not difficult to seen that anomie is a powerful thrust under such conditions." [2]

The issue of single sex schooling for Muslim girls was made public in December 1973 when, after months of haggling with the LEA and with the national Department of Education, Mr Riaz Shahid returned to Pakistan with his two daughters because he had been unable to secure a place in an all-girls school in the city for his fourteen-year-old child. Another Bradford father stayed to fight. Abdullah Patel attacked Bradford's dispersal and comprehensive co-education policy as racially divisive. He was supported by Roman Catholics on religious grounds and Conservatives on grounds of parental rights, along with some radical 'freedom' groups (e. g. Bradford Black) who were marginally more concerned about coloured identity than women's liberation [3]. His daughter, Kalsumbanu, was also

[1] Experience of sexism (the cultural and political defence of privilege of a sexual group) is helpful in appreciating racism, since both have similar patriarchal structural roots, and are maintained by similar, often unintentional, strategies.
fifteen and had been allocated to the co-educational school that her brother attended [1].

In January 1974 Muslim leaders from London, Manchester, Birmingham, Preston and Blackburn spoke at a protest meeting convened by the Union of Muslim Organisations of the UK and Eire, in Bradford, called in support of Abdullah Patel. Two hundred men attended the initial meeting and agreed to present a five-point demand to the Bradford Educational Services Committee:

"that Moslem children should not be obliged to attend school assemblies, that Moslem girls over 11 should not be compelled to attend mixed schools, that all Moslem children should be exempt from attending religious instruction classes, that the 'uncivilised exposure of the bodies' of Moslem children and all actions 'encouraging demoralisation' of Moslem children should be avoided." [2]

Four of these five demands were agreed to by education officials, but on the issue of mixed schools, the Chairman of the Education Committee, Doris Birdsall, said:

"It was made clear that we cannot provide single sex education. They were told that if they considered it to be necessary, they should approach the Department of Education and Science about building a school for themselves." [3]

A Muslim Parents Association was formed in January 1974 which, according to the Guardian, claimed a membership of 3,000 [4] but according to local information initially enrolled 700 members of whom 250 were parents prepared to withdraw their daughters from school [5]. Opinion was divided as to whether the issue hinged on 'Muslim' education or 'single-sex' schooling. The Muslim Education Trust hoped that the Bradford protest would put muscle behind moves to set up Muslim schools, while others felt that separate schools would be divisive and advocated pressing for 'the choice we are constantly told parents in Britain have',

in this case of single-sex schools [1]. Others considered that the issue was based on a confusion of traditional Islamic practices and the teaching of the Qu'ran [2]. Meanwhile Kulsambanu stayed at home. She told me:

"By the time my father gets through with this I shall be too old for school. I did want to learn something of history and geography and these things."

Her father lost a fifteen-month battle with the city's Education Department [3] and no place was allocated for her in a single sex school, but still she remained at home, and he was prosecuted for neglect of parental duties (Education Act 1944, Sections 36 and 37). Before any appeal could be heard at a higher court, Kulsambanu reached her sixteenth birthday and Patel received a conditional discharge [4].

It is known but not officially substantiated that many other teenage Muslim girls have been returned to Pakistan, or merely withdrawn from school and sent to another town temporarily, to avoid co-educational schooling [5].

Following a policy of 'inexplicitness' (Kirp, 1979), Bradford seems to have allocated a larger than usual proportion of Muslim girls to the one single-sex school in September 1974 [6]. The administrators were sympathetic to the religio-cultural requirement of modesty for Muslim girls, and agreed that the girls should wear shalwar as part of the school uniform and be suitably covered for PE and games (Chapter 15). The Muslim parents were assured that any child may be

[6] Number of Asian girls in each year group at the single-sex girls' school, according to the school lists September 1975: Year 5 (1973 intake) 26/81 (14.3%); Year 4 (1974 intake) 38/178 (21.34%); Year 3 (1975 intake) 23/175 (13.14%).
withdrawn from religious education and assemblies. The LEA did not see itself as "encouraging demoralisation". The nub of the matter was really in this rather vague demand, however, and not readily either seen by the dominant group or allowed for. The "permissiveness" that the Muslims found unacceptable in the British way of life was the encouragement of a questioning of traditional morality in British schools that they were not wanting their children to be exposed to. Single sex education in a British school could not safeguard the child from this 'demoralisation'.

A Muslim school might have helped, though it would have other disadvantages in respect of 'modernisation' (Berger, 1974). The conclusions and recommendations of a report by the Union of Muslim Organisations of the UK and Eire were that a single-sex county school should be preserved where possible for the education of their children, but that a denominational co-educational school 'may seem feasible and compared to an average co-educational school more helpful' [1]. This showed some prevarication on the real point at issue, co-education or 'demoralisation'. A further recommendation, an extension of the concept of community colleges, called for special emphasis on:

"Islamic studies on the basis of single-sex annexes to educate Muslim girls specifically in the art of motherhood, child-minding and elements of teaching skills for use at home with their future children." [2]

This revealed the conservative element in the concern [3]. The LEA's insistence on no change in its co-educational, comprehensive school policy was given an unhealthy missionary zeal, seen as offering 'Moslem girls a chance of being

[3] S Rao (1974) op.cit. reports the opinion of Abdul Hameed of the Bradford Muslim Association: 'A girl's place was at home not at school or college ... the girls do not need education'.

liberated from the traditional domestic role of Moslem women." [1]

The Muslim Parents' Association (MPA) considered the possibilities of establishing a separate school for Muslim girls in Bradford. Government money would not have been available to fund a voluntary-aided school on these grounds [2]. An independent school would have been the only possibility [3].

Other cities with a sizeable Muslim population had not faced the same opposition to schools from Muslims as Bradford LEA. Mainly this was because single sex education for girls was available elsewhere. In Sheffield efforts were made to dispel parents' fears by showing them round the co-educational schools and ensuring single sex places for the daughters of those not won over. In Birmingham there was a conscious effort to retain some single sex schools within the re-organisation plan and to arrange places for Muslim girls in them. Though in Rotherham all single sex schools had been phased out without 'trouble' [4].

The size of the community and conservatism of the Muslims settled within a particular town would seem to be a factor in whether the issue is fought or not. In Bradford, the Muslim community was large and traditional, coming mainly from the villages of Azad Kashmir. In Abdullah Patel, Bradford had a fierce contestant to fuel and stoke the discontent to an inflammatory level. His daughter reached teenage at a time that many locally-born Asian children were coming to

[2] It could be for a Muslim (denominational) school for boys and girls, though attempts to set up a C of E school in Ealing were challenged as racially discriminatory and elitist (TES 19.5.1978) and proposals for a Jewish school in Bury, Lancs., were resisted by the LEA because of falling rolls and surplus places in other schools (TES 25.6.1982). The Yorkshire Committee for Community Relations offered a discussion paper on this issue, listing the benefits and disadvantages of the various options: The Education of Muslim Girls, September 1975.
    (1975) "Moslem schools 'backward step'" The Guardian 29.1.1975
The LEA have not been encouraging in such a move, and it was not achieved until 1984.
adolescence and at a time that the school re-organisation plan matured.

Bradford stood firm on its 'progressive' policy, risking the alienation of a sizeable proportion of the parents of its school children. It was feared that too much segregation of and separation for the Muslim girls would reduce their opportunities for further education and be racially divisive [1]. As this was a political move from dominance, it was important to persuade the schools to respect Muslim feelings over clothes, food and religious education as a confidence booster.

For the Muslim willing to come to terms with the open society, this may have been acceptable. For the more conservative, it would not. For such families, girls would continue to be returned to Pakistan (Jeffries, 1976) or withdrawn illicitly from school. These concessions were but tokens of goodwill and in no way altered the nature of the schooling itself.

A single sex girls' school could have relieved the conflicting cultural pressures on the girls and given them opportunity to develop a self-image and confidence that was not directed only by their brothers' 'care' [2]. Girls from a London school (but few Muslims) made their feelings plain:

"The coloured girls are vehement that they have a better chance to develop their work and emergent feminism in a school where their own brothers cannot exercise their traditional role of keeping them down as inferior." [3]

Meanwhile in Bradford, after Kulsambanu's 16th birthday, an uneasy truce reigned.

---

[1] The Irish situation with separate education for Protestants and Roman Catholics was seen as a demonstration of the possible harm that could ensue. The All Schools Together movement in Northern Ireland is working towards the phasing out of segregation in Ulster.

[2] The Qu'ran, while extolling the equality of men and women before Allah, does give 'men authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them', (The Koran, op.cit., p.360). An alternative argument was made by the CBMDC Adviser for Immigrant Education, 1977. He was concerned that the single-sex girls' schools had been the most notorious for Asian men's sexual soliciting: "I think they (the girls) are better off in a situation where their brothers are there to protect them." (Telephone conversation, 29.6.1977).

The LEA, distinctly irritated with the MPA, were wary of moves to fund a new school:

"They asked us if we had a spare school building, and then if we had a spare site. We need all the sites for our building. We are going to be very careful that the Muslims don't put up an Independent school and then expect us to fund it as a voluntary-aided one. The DES will not be keen on a new voluntary-aided building; anyway it will be a burden on the ratepayers." [1]

Addendum

By September 1980 Riaz Shahid had returned to Bradford and his second daughter had been allocated to the one single-sex girls' school in the city. The school Parent-Teachers Association graciously accepted the offer of this new parent to represent them [2], as a representative of the Asian community hopefully too, on the school governing body. Within a year, they were regretting that decision when Mr Shahid (with Abdullah Patel and his file of newspaper cuttings in the background) began to challenge the school's right to encourage the Asian girls to dance at a (women-only) cultural evening and to be involved in a school fair that had raffles and a tombola rolling [3]. He had found himself, while voicing some of their concerns, as unrepresentative of the Asian communities in Bradford.

The Muslim girls' school was a live issue again in the 1980's, though with less emphasis. A broader campaign was developing for a Muslim voice to be heard in the development of education policy for the city and linked with the city's Race Relations policy, 1981. A request was formulated to the LEA, at the instigation of Mr Shahid, for a group of five of the city schools (three First, one Middle and one Upper) to be developed as voluntary-aided schools and a

[2] In 1979/80 this school had 18.5% of its population Muslim girls. The LEA was encouraging schools' governing bodies to co-opt Asian members. In September 1980 no-one was nominated as school parent governor and Mr Shahid offered to take up the appointment.
considerable consultation process was set up in 1983, but the request was turned down. It failed to gain popular support in the Muslim community because such schools linked to racial difference, could have been very divisive and, given racism, damaging for the Asian children.
APPENDIX A.4

A4.1 Letter of authorisation to visit schools, 17 March 1976
A4.2 Letter of authorisation to analyse examination results, 7 June 1976
A4.3 Correspondence with Councillor J R McElroy, 8 July 1977, 12 October 1977
A4.4 Sample of children interviewed at two First and two Middle schools in Bradford, by ethnicity and sex
A4.5 Interview questionnaire (re A4.4).
A4.6 Letter of authorisation to use information from school registers, 29 November 1976
A4.7 Questionnaire for teachers in the First and Middle schools observed (re training)
A4.8 The Dispersal of Asian Schoolchildren A Position statement to disseminate information, 30 November 1978
A4.9 Responses to the questionnaire given to participants on the Peace Studies Palestine Placement Project Direct Method Language Teaching Course
A4.11 'The crowning of the Jubilee Queen at the Inner City First school', 25 June 1977
A4.12 'A Service for members of Bradford schools to mark the beginning of a new Academic Year', 19 September 1976
A4.13 CBMDC Race Relations: The 12 Point Plan
17 March 1976

Dear Head Teacher,

This letter is to certify that the Authority is aware of the research that Mrs Brenda Thomson is carrying out at the present time.

We trust her integrity both as a teacher with the Authority and as a respected member of the School Peace Studies in Bradford University.

The Authority has no objection to her visiting your school subject to your agreement.

Yours sincerely,

/Chief Special Services Officer
7th June 1976

Dear Mrs. Thomson,

Thank you for your letter of 19th May. I am interested to hear of the research which you are undertaking and we shall, of course, do what we can to help.

There are, as you will appreciate, certain provisos; for instance, that individual schools and children will not be identifiable in your ultimate findings and that if you need to approach schools, then we leave it to the headteachers concerned as to whether they feel able to co-operate.

However, in the first place, it would be as well if you could call in the office to discuss with me or Mr. Carlton how we can best help. Mr. Carlton deals with the day-to-day administration of public examination entries and results and could explain what records we have available here.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

for Chief Schools Officer

Mrs. B. M. Thomson,
37 Heights Lane,
BRADFORD,
BD9 6JA.
Councillor J R McElroy
38 Brantwood Oval
Bradford 9

Dear Sir

I should be obliged if you would ask the following questions of the Schools Panel on my behalf:

1. What is the Schools Panel policy for the allocation of children to Upper schools in the city?

2. Is there any difference in the catchment for the allocation of Asian children and non-Asian children to particular schools?

3. If there is a difference, why is this so?

I shall await your reply with the answers to my questions with interest.

Yours truly

Mrs B M Thomson

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES COMMITTEE - Questions to the Chairman (Councillor Arthur)

Questions by Councillor McElroy

1. ALLOCATION OF CHILDREN TO UPPER SCHOOLS

(1) What is the Council's policy for the allocation of children to upper schools in the Bradford Metropolitan District?

(2) Is there any difference in the catchment area for the allocation of Asian children and non-Asian children to particular upper schools?

(3) If there is a difference, why is this so?

Answer by the Chairman

(1) The Authority's policy is to allocate pupils to upper schools in accordance with parental choices as far as accommodation at individual schools permits. Most parents receive one of their three choices but every year a very small minority have to be allocated to schools not included in their three choices.

(2) Yes in certain cases.

(3) The Educational Services Committee has decided that the policy of dispersal of the children of immigrant parents shall continue to ensure that they shall receive the best possible educational opportunities at all levels including at upper school level.
12th October 1977

Dear Councillor McElroy,

I am now in a position to reply to your enquiry of 29th July on this year's allocation to upper schools. The answers to your questions were as follows:

1. What proportion of parents received each of the following choices of allocation for their children to upper schools in 1977:

   - First choices: 86.17%
   - Second choices: 8.69%
   - Third choices: 2.91%
   - Against choice: 2.23%

2. What proportion of Immigrant Parents received each of the following choices of allocation for their children to upper schools in 1977:

   - First choices: 64.93%
   - Second choices: 23.07%
   - Third choices: 5.76%
   - Against choice: 6.24%

3. It has been stated that there is a difference in the Catchment Area for allocation of Asian children and non-Asian children to particular upper schools in certain cases.

   (A) The following schools have different catchment areas for Asian and indigenous children:

   - Belle Vue Boys' and Girls'
   - Thornton
   - Grange
   - Rhodesway
   - Hanson
   - Carlton-Bolling
   - Tong

Councillor J. R. McElroy,
38 Brantwood Oval,
BRADFORD,
BD9 6QP.
The educational reason for this is to ensure that there is no undue concentration of immigrant pupils in any particular schools. If this were to happen it would seriously affect the particular schools' ability to provide the necessary range of options to allow all their pupils a balanced education. It is also considered essential for the continued language development of the immigrant pupils that they be placed with larger numbers of indigenous pupils in their upper schools.

All Asian pupils are theoretically subject to the dispersal policy. They are not assessed individually. As you can see from the figures provided in answer to question 2 it is possible to give over 90% of the immigrant pupils one of their 3 choices of school.

4. Is the difference in catchment area in the 'certain' cases for the allocation of Asian children to upper schools accommodating the choice of their parents or against their 3 choices?

This question is largely answered by the figures referred to in (2). If it were possible to ensure a dispersal by using catchment areas identical to those used for the indigenous pupils this would be done. However, because the immigrant community tends to live in certain areas rather than to disperse naturally to all parts of the city, some adjustment of areas is required to counteract the distorting affects of housing patterns.

I hope these details are clear. If they are not, please do not hesitate to contact me again.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
Chief Schools Officer
A4.4 Sample of children interviewed at two First and two Middle schools in Bradford, by ethnicity and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asian Muslim</th>
<th>Other Asians: Hindu/Sikh/other</th>
<th>East European Christian</th>
<th>Absences</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 8-9+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 5-9+</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12(10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13(7)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 12-13+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 9-13+</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2(1)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21(15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19(12)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers in parentheses refer to Muslim children not interviewed.

Total number of children interviewed = 161 (74 girls + 87 boys)
A4.5 Interview Questionnaire

1. Name
   Age
   School
   Address
   Class
   Ethnic Group

2. Who is your best friend? Where does he/she live?
   Which school does he/she go to?

3. Who is your best friend at school? Where does he/she live?

4. What time do you leave home in the morning, for school?

5. How do you get to school?
   Do you like coming on the bus? Do you ever miss it?
   What do you do if so?

6. Do you stay to school dinner? Do you eat the meat?

7. What do you like best at school (reasons)?
   What do you not like at school? (reasons)

8. What do you want to do when you leave school? (reasons)

9. What school do you want to go to next?

10. What time do you get home in the evening?

11. Do you learn Koran at home? at mosque?
   Which one?
   What time from till
   How often?
   How many chapters have you learnt?
   Is the mosque school different from this school? How?

12. When do you eat in the evening?

13. Have you any brothers and sisters? Older Younger How many?

14. What language do you speak to them? to your parents?

15. Does your father speak English? Does your mother speak English?

16. When did you come to Bradford? From?

17. Where did your father come from?

18. What is your father's job?

19. Respondent's previous schooling (Centre, First, Pakistan)

20. Have you been back to Pakistan (etc.)
   When? for how long?
29th November 1976

Dear Mrs. Thomson,

Thank you for your letter of 24th November on the possible use of school registers in your research into the Bradford school system. I am prepared to allow you to use the registers of and Schools for your research on the strict understanding that no reference is made to the individual records of attendance of specific children. Subject to the Heads receiving this assurance from you on my behalf, I hope they will assist you in your research in any way they can.

Yours sincerely,

Chief Schools Officer

Mrs. B. M. Thomson,
37 Heights Lane,
BRADFORD,
BD9 6JA.

Director of Educational Services: W. R. Knight
A4.7 Questionnaire for Teachers in the First and Middle schools

I am interested in the part that the Colleges and Departments of Education are playing in preparing teachers for their work in an increasingly racially mixed society, and in Bradford in particular. I should be grateful if you would fill in the following questionnaire to help me develop my research. The information as to name and school of the respondent is for my convenience. It will be treated as confidential. The questionnaires are not for publication as such, but the responses will be used in a generalised analysis in my thesis.

1. When did you train as a teacher?
   From ......................... To ....................

2. In which College or Department of Education did you train as a teacher?

3. What courses did the training involve which you consider particularly relevant to the mixed racial nature of the Bradford school population?

4. What courses, if any, have you subsequently attended which have particular relevance to teaching in the Bradford situation? (Please state the body running the course where possible).

5. In what ways have the courses listed in 3 and 4 been of use to you in your work?

6. Please give reasons for your answer in 5.

7. Please make any comments you wish overleaf, on the situation of a teacher in a city where the children come from both different cultural and different racial backgrounds.

Name ......................................

School ......................................
A4.8

THE DISPERsal OF ASIAN SCHOOLCHILDREN

The local education authority says that this is necessary:
1. because of the special educational need of children who speak English as a second language;
2. because balanced ethnic groups are an aid to social harmony;
3. because children have to be sent to resources (in this case accommodation/school places) as there is no money for a new building programme;
4. because of the downward spiral of disadvantage for inner urban children.

1. SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEED

a) The need is real, but there is as yet no proof that it either will or will not be best catered for by limiting the number of children with a particular need in a particular school.
b) This 'proof' could only be supplied by standardized tests. It is agreed that there is no culturally unbiased test (HAYNES 1971). The E2L teachers, when approached in consultation by the educational administrators about the allocation of Asian children to schools according to educational need, were unable to give any support to the officers in their perceived difficulty of assessing the children and were not prepared to take the responsibility of making an assessment on one group of children only upon themselves.
c) This need is being catered for by the Centres at the moment, and by the work of Second Phase language teachers. The language teachers are assigned to schools temporarily, not permanently, and could be moved to where the children in need are.
d) The policy suggests that the language teacher's work needs to be consolidated by the child being in a naturally English-speaking environment for as long as possible. According to my research 1975-78, at about the age of 8 children will converse in English with their English-speaking elders and their peers, whether they are in an inner-city or an outer-city situation. This conversation may be reduced for the bus children in the outer-city schools however, because of their social distance from their peers. Teachers in either inner- or outer-city schools have a similar standard of spoken English.
e) The policy suggests that the standard of education is better in the outer-city schools, thus dispersal gives the Asian child a "better" chance. This is a blatant indictment of teaching and resources in the inner-city schools and not supportable.

f) A quota system of children with special educational need in any school is not realistic. There is more than one kind of "special educational need". At present experience is that special need is more likely to be catered for in "special schools" (e.g. ESN(M)) because of the concentration of teachers' expertise and understanding of the nature of the child's problem.

2. SOCIAL HARMONY
   a) This is highly desirable. Research shows (PETTIGREW 1971) that conflict is exacerbated in situations of unequal status of groups. This difference is seen as a relative deprivation, and this will be greater in an outer-city situation, where there is a clearer class difference as well as ethnic and residence difference between the local and the bus children.
   b) If balanced groups are necessary for the good of all children, then all children should be eligible for bussing - for the good of all.

3. ACCOMMODATION DISTRIBUTION
   1. If bussing is necessary to utilise the existing school accommodation effectively, then-
      a) any parent should be given the choice of a near or far school on a three-choice system, such as operates for middle or upper school;
      b) due consideration should be given to the fact that children coming from language centres enter the mainstream late. Space should be left in local schools to allow their parents a fair choice too;
      c) all allocation should be done through the office, with adequate appeals' system.
   2. A more flexible system of mobile classrooms could be operated (viz. the middle school reorganisation), pending a new building programme of permanent schools in the areas of high-density population.

4. INNER URBAN DISADVantage
   This is very real, but the bussing of a selective group of children is cosmetic, at best. It does not face the structure of this disadvantage.

   BRENDA THOMSON 30-11-78
A questionnaire was given to the forty teachers who were accepted on the course, asking their reasons for enrolling. Twenty-six responses were received, summarised as follows:

I enrolled on the course:

(i) to learn more: because it looked interesting 18
    : because it was a direct method course 2
    : to keep up to date with method 2

(ii) because I felt the need: to gain from others' experience; to get support from others with similar problems 17

(iii) because of my lack of experience/training: the lack of local authority provision 12

(iv) for the certificate/qualification: as an aid to job prospects 9

(v) because of the increasing number of Asians/immigrants in the schools and their language problems 3

(vi) because the course was at Bradford University
to show my commitment to my job – twenty hours training in my own time 1
because there were no fees 1

Maximum 26
KEYSTONE

BRADFORD INFANT LANGUAGE SCHEME

CORE OF LANGUAGE
## Excerpts from KEYSTONG

### Core of Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Language</th>
<th>Decision Making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Identification (self and others)</td>
<td>14. Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imperatives</td>
<td>15. A...of...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Identification (self and others)</td>
<td>16. Another/Enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Identification (objects)</td>
<td>17. Some/All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Requests</td>
<td>18. Any/None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Qualifying Words</td>
<td>19. Anything/Something etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. It</td>
<td>20. This/That/These/Those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Present Continuous</td>
<td>21. Here/There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. And</td>
<td>22. Some/Different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Prepositions</td>
<td>24. Future Tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Identity Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Common to Both</th>
<th>Decision Making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Past Simple</td>
<td>26. Here/There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. By myself/yourself</td>
<td>29. Future Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Possessives (plural)</td>
<td>30. Present Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. It/Him/Her/Us/Them</td>
<td>31. Negatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Extension Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision Making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39. Let's all...You/I'll be a...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 40. I think ...
| 41. But |
| 42. With/Without |
| 43. How |
| 44. Time |
## Child or Other Adult

### UNIT 1 Identification (of self and others)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Child or Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My name is .......</td>
<td>My name is .......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What's your name?</td>
<td>What's your name?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### UNIT 2 Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Child or Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand up.</td>
<td>Stand up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't stand up.</td>
<td>Don't stand up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop ........ing.</td>
<td>Stop ........ing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Touch action verbs which are meaningful to the child at this stage: e.g. stand (up), sit (down), walk, jump, touch, point, stop, come, go, etc.)

### UNIT 3 Identification (of self and others)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Child or Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are you a boy or a girl?</td>
<td>I'm a boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I'm a girl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### UNIT 4 Identification (of objects)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Child or Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This is a ........</td>
<td>It's a ........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What's this? (What is it?)</td>
<td>What's this? (What is it?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's a ........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### UNIT 5 Requests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Child or Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you want a ........ or a ..........?</td>
<td>I want a ........ please.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can I have a ........ please?</td>
<td>Can I have a ........ please?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you want?</td>
<td>What do you want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which one do you want?</td>
<td>Which one do you want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thank you.
UNIT 5 REQUESTS

Guidelines

1 Politeness in requests is often indicated by stress and intonation and by facial expression and body messages rather than by actual words. These subtleties are difficult for a second language learner so we must make sure that the children habitually use the polite forms of the actual language. Be conscious of reinforcing "Please, Thank you, I'm sorry etc." whenever necessary.

2 Do not overemphasize "I want..." because of the impolite overtones. Stress "Can I have... please?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you want......?</th>
<th>Would you like......?</th>
<th>I need......</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I want.....please</td>
<td>I'd like.....please</td>
<td>What do you need?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can I have.....please</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td>Do you need......?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td>Which one/What do you want?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit 4 (revision of vocabulary)   Unit 14 (some)  Unit 15 (a...of....)  Unit 16 (enough/another)  Unit 17 (some/all of the)  Unit 20 (This/that/these/those)  Unit 9 (and)  Unit 42 (with/without)

Books

1 Do you want to be my friend?  Enc Carle  Hamish Hamilton
2 The Elephant and the Bad Baby  Picture Lion
3 Going to the Supermarket  Language Scheme Story  (Available from Mr. Leclerc
4 The Old Woman in the Bottle  T F Davies Centre for Teachers)

Songs and Rhymes

1 Please and Thank You  Language Scheme Songbook

Commercial Equipment

1 Shopping Shapes  Galt
The whole school was lined around the playground by the time I arrived. The staff were resplendent in red, white and blue and the children had made a creditable attempt to follow suit. They were hatted and streamered, waving little plastic Union flags, turning this way and that to see who was watching the carnival.

Two of the older boys, with Morris dancing bells strapped to their legs, were wearing brand new white shirts for the occasion. You could see where their white faces had been washed too.

The parade moved off with the Queen ahead, sitting grandly in the back of a Land Rover. Her big brown eyes nearly met the freckles on her nose. As the long line of children filed through the playground and out into the streets, the feeling of excitement began to mount.

There were mothers, dads, aunties, big brothers, lined up in the gutter, pointing and exclaiming as the children passed. There were little tiny children, black, brown, white, shooting under everyone's feet. Even the traffic stopped for a while.

Around the corner the same mothers, dads, aunties and big brothers reappeared to wave again, and gradually along the route more children joined in. Children came from the Nursery school and from the Centres and now, fully in the spirit of the occasion, mothers, dads, aunties and big brothers with a host of small charges, joined on the end of the parade. And so we filed back into the school playground and out onto the field, railed in between the mill, the road and the flats.

The presentation was suitably grand; a raised dais decorated with paper flowers for the queen and the dancers. From a loudspeaker the music of the dance occasionally emerged above the roar of the traffic. It was a brilliantly sunny day.

The Queen climbed from her carriage, head high and crimson cloak held up. She walked to her crowning followed by queens and kings and their attendants, brown, white, black from the other schools.

There was maypole dancing, Indian stick dancing and the Morris men. The field was crowded with chattering children, and parents with their prams. The railings were lined with onlookers. Even if it was difficult to see what was going on and even more difficult to hear, the happiness was unmistakable.

After the Queen had been driven away again in her carriage and the children had claimed their mothers and dads, the field was a litter of the festival that had been. The older boys helped me to pick up the crepe paper shaken from the streamers and the stars that had fallen from the hats. They were reluctant at first. A Pakistani boy called it disparagingly 'women's work' and went off to stack tables! Eventually, in a challenge of competition, they vied with one another to fill the waste bins with the multicoloured scraps.
B R A D F O R D   C A T H E D R A L

A Service for members of Bradford Schools
to mark the beginning
of a new Academic Year

at 11 a.m.
Sunday 19th September 1976
INTROIT

"I was glad"

(to be sung by the choir standing under the Tower, the congregation remaining seated)

I was glad when they said unto me: We will go into the house of the Lord.
Our feet shall stand in thy gates: O Jerusalem.
Jerusalem is built as a city: that is at unity in itself.
O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls: and plenteousness within thy palaces.

HYMN

226 'Ye servants of God'

All remain standing for

ACT OF THANKSGIVING

Reader: Thank you Lord,

for our life and health and strength and for new opportunities to learn and to equip ourselves to serve.

All: Alleluia, Praise the Lord

Reader: Thank you Lord,

for the wonders of the world we live in and for art and science to stir our imaginations.

All: Alleluia, Praise the Lord

Reader: Thank you Lord,

for the people we live among for our homes and families for the friends we choose and for all who befriend us.

All: Alleluia, Praise the Lord

Reader: Thank you Lord,

for all who accept responsibility on our behalf for members of government, local and national for volunteers in our community for staff in our schools and for all who administer them

All: Alleluia, Praise the Lord.
Reader: Thank you Lord,
for peace in our part of the world
that we have enough to eat
clothes to wear
and a roof to shelter us.

All: Thank you Lord for these and all
the other good things which we enjoy
Help us not to take them for granted, but
to use them so well that others may
share them with us.
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

All sit for
A READING from the OLD TESTAMENT

Proverbs 3 : 1-18

ANTHEM (to be sung by the choir)

The TE DEUM Stanford
(the words can be found on page 6 of the
Prayer Book)

All stand for
ACT OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Reader: We acknowledge our debt
to W.E. Forster, a man of our City
through whose work came public education for all

All: Yes Lord, Amen.

Reader: We acknowledge with gratitude
the beginnings, growth and traditions
of our own school;
And that so much has been handed
down to us
for which others have worked, used their
talents and made sacrifices.

All: Yes Lord, Amen

Reader: We admit our failure
to use properly these advantages
and that too often we have let down
our friends, and those who trust and
help us.

All: Lord, have mercy.
Reader: We acknowledge the loyalty of so many who have given us security and offered us stepping stones to wider service.

In return we must pledge our loyalty and be ready to serve so that we hand on to those who follow us an even wider door of opportunity.

All: Yes Lord, Amen

All sit for
A READING from the NEW TESTAMENT

St. Matthew 5: 1-12

HYMN 337 'Teach me, my God and King'

ADDRESS

HYMN 293 'Who would true valour see'

All remain standing for
ACT of COMMITMENT

Reader: Teach us to look forward with faith
Our faith in God for to-day is rooted in what God through Jesus Christ has already done.

All: We believe in one God
Father of us all, and Maker of heaven and earth.

Reader: Teach us always to hope for better things
Our hope comes from Jesus who has redeemed us so that we may become a new creation through Him who makes all things new.

All: We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ who has taught us to place our hope in God alone.

Reader: Teach us to receive and share the love of God
We can only love because He first loved us He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen.

All: We believe in one Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life through whom the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts.

HYMN 225 'At the name of Jesus' (omit verses 2 & 6)

(During this hymn a collection will be taken for Christian Aid)

THE BLESSING
RACE RELATIONS
THE 12 POINT PLAN
Bradford Council pledges itself to take all necessary steps as a major employer, provider of services and influence on public opinion to improve race relations in our city.

We commit ourselves to encouraging equal opportunities and fighting both racial discrimination and racial disadvantage with positive action now.

We also recognise we are a multi-racial, multi-cultural city and that every section of the community has an equal right to maintain its own identity, culture, language, religion and customs.

We believe these ties of culture and ethnic loyalty are an asset to Bradford and we promise to take them into account in planning our services.

The Council will:
1. Adopt an equal opportunity employment policy;
2. Make all employees aware of the part they play in promoting racial equality;
3. Keep ethnic records to check up on our activities;
4. Take into account the special needs of ethnic minorities when providing services;
5. Make sure all racial and ethnic groups have an equal chance to use our services and facilities;
6. Fight racial discrimination and encourage other employers to do the same;
7. Improve communications with ethnic communities and involve them when we make decisions which affect them;
8. Support our local Community Relations Councils;
9. Encourage ethnic minority self-help initiatives;
10. Seek government and Common Market money for special schemes for the ethnic minorities;
11. Speak out on national race relations issues;
12. Ask our Committees and Sub-Committees to consult with our Race Relations Advisory Group before making decisions on any policies affecting race relations.

City of Bradford Metropolitan Council

We are an equal opportunities employer
Dear Mrs Thomson

PhD Thesis Education of Asian Named Youngsters

In response to your query about the identification of schools that you used in pursuit of your PhD thesis, I can say that it will be in order to publish what you have prepared. The nature of the references are not such as to cause embarrassment and I am happy to approve this publication in view of that fact.

Yours sincerely

Richard Knight

*PERSONAL
Mrs B Thomson
Senior Adviser
Provincial House
APPENDIX A.5  RESEARCH METHOD: A PEACE STUDY

This study was designed as a 'peace study' in content and method as a contribution to the work of the School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford. It aimed to hold together peace research and peace action to assess how these could inform education for peace in the field.

It was based on the concept of peace as a positive quality of social life whose conditions for life and health embrace a mutuality in personal relationships that allows each individual to achieve his/her potential contribution to the community. Ideally, each individual would affirm each other individual as an equal as a human being (Buber, 1937), though not necessarily as having equal responsibility in the community. While there might be unequal power relationships (viz. mother-child) in the peaceful community there would be no 'inappropriate domination' [1]. The emphasis is on 'mutuality':

"mutuality in which one partner assists the other to achieve his ends and so serves his own." [2]

within which the actual balance of power may not be static.

The starting point of the study was unpeacefulness:

"A situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of the type of relations that exists between themselves (as individuals or group member) and other persons or groups." [3]

Its conclusion showed actions which were being taken and can be taken further to move the situation examined towards peacefulness.

The impeding perceived was mediated indirectly through violence in the societal structures which by discriminatory distribution of material benefits affected

---

[2] ibid., p.16
[3] ibid., p.1
the life chances of the groups in the community differentially. This structural
violence can be shown through its effect on relative infant mortality rates, for
instance, which may correlate directly with educational attainment and employment
prospects in the families. In this context Galtung [1] refers to uneven distribution
of resources and of the power to decide about their distribution. He focusses
more on the 'power to decide about their distribution' than on the inequality of
distribution per se, which might be mitigated by the positive quality of mutuality.
Thus for this study both 'peace' and 'justice' were conceived in terms of
relationships.

The unpeacefulness perceived was in the relationships between white people in
Britain and those whom they categorised as racially different, black people. In
categorising, a stereotype developed that was dehumanising to black people, a
situation of which the latter were often painfully aware. The white people, on the
whole, were perceiving themselves as tolerant, fair and unbiased. They were
unaware of the dehumanising effect on themselves. The white people had the
power to decide about distribution of resources in society. Their 'colour-blind'
justice was contributory to the 'alienating' situation [2] that the black people were
articulating, the facts of which were evident in statistics of racial discrimination.

The Nature of a Peace Study

From the definition of peace and generalised conception of 'a problem', I
listed five qualities that would seem pertinent to the subject matter of a peace
study (p.1). I will expand on these:

Research, pp. 167-191.
(a) A peace study would start at a point of unpeaceful relationships immediately experienced by the researcher.

This was appropriate to the aim of holding together peace research and peace action in order that one might inform the other. Also, it maximised use of the researcher's affective entry into the problem and her interpretative potential. It could be argued that this increased the risk of bias and would need to be neutralised with research techniques as far as possible. For the purposes of this thesis, the case study was of the Asian-named minority groups in the Bradford school system. Its ultimate focus for action towards peace was on the role of a middle-class white teacher. That, experientially, was the role of which I could have the fullest knowledge of real interests, it being culturally and professionally my own, and one in which I would be taking political action.

(b) A peace study would synthesise that experience with theoretical knowledge and recorded observation of the situation, and political action within it.

Initially, on correlating my experience of the white/black problem, as instanced in Bradford schools, with published theories of race relations, it seemed appropriate to describe the situation in terms of the racial prejudice of individuals that could be transcended through education (Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950). A study of the development of the policy for the education of immigrants and acquaintance with the people who were responsible for designing and administering the policy made a multidimensional theory (Allport, 1954) seem more fitting. Historical and sociological insights distanced the personal element in the causal relationship. On reporting my initial findings [1] to LEA administrators and making them available to members of the Asian communities involved in local politics, their differences in response according to whether they saw themselves as black or white led me to adjust the theoretical underpinning of my analysis again to concentrate more on

political theories, seeing racism as prejudice (unconscious), backed by
decision-making power. The sharing of the information at that stage was a
political act. It affected subsequent civic action [1] but it also tested out the
validity of the theoretical analysis.

A research project that aims to affect the outcome of a situation that is to
promote peace as well as describing it, needs to be in dialogue with the actors in
the situation in order to establish, through a testing of attitudes and behaviour, a
mutuality of needs. It should be informative about the direction in which balance
will be found.

c) A peace study would be integrative of knowledge; interdisciplinary around a
specific situation.

Since peace, by the definition used, relates to society in its wholeness [2] then
no one academic discipline can monopolise the insights into its achievement.
Placed side-by-side they might begin to approach an understanding of the
ramifications of it. A student of peace, method coincident with subject, might in
bridging the artificial divides between the disciplines, assist in intercommunication.
Linkages can be made, with subjects using different vocabularies to express similar
experiences and ideological stances to display the inside and outside of reality.

[1] In 1978, the LEA Advisor for Immigrant Education retired. A new 'Adviser
for Multicultural Education' was appointed with a change in job concept.
Before his retirement, the former Adviser acknowledged the reality of racism
institutionalised in the policy of the LEA. The Asian communities, with help
from some of the political left in the white community, mounted an
anti-bussing campaign in 1976-79. I wrote an information paper for this The
dispersal of Asian schoolchildren (A4.8) which was circulated through the
Campaign against Racism and Facism in Bradford group to Councillors, MPs,
and among the Asian communities. I also supplied information to a
representative of the Commission for Racial Equality on 25.11.1978 and
27.2.1979 at his request, during a preliminary investigation into the Bradford
situation.

[2] The Hebrew word 'shalom' describes a primary, affirmative, ultimate state of
wholeness. As such, it is closer to my definition of peace than the
Roman/Greek words pax/eirene that are our English cultural currency,
describing a secondary, fragile state of suspension in the primary state of
Lack of expertise in a variety of disciplines would only be a serious drawback for one who was frightened of being swamped by the enthusiasm of the expert or dominated by a specialism. I was fortunate in being able to use the University’s resources and to consult with historians, sociologists, political scientists, a social psychologist, theologians, educationists and statisticians in the early stages of my work [1]. My particular contribution was of professional knowledge and skill as a teacher, and personal knowledge of the Bradford situation.

At times it seemed to be necessary to use material that was graphic and emotive in the literary tradition to display facts beyond the quantifiable. A study of people, in an institution designed to aid their development as people, needed describing from the inside in relationship to perceptions and motivation – as well as from the outside – appearances and happenings.

(d) A peace study would have a future perspective, aiming to stimulate action for change.

The starting point was unpeaceful relationships. The aim was a peace study – an analysis of the present in light of the past in order that it may inform the future. The study would at least enable readers to formulate more adequate questions about the present so that policy could be formulated for positive movement towards peace.

My own action research, while assessing the present institutional practices for their contribution to racial peace, proposed an alternative, potentially more creative approach and actions by which it could be accomplished (pp.400–404). It did so, not expecting to determine the course of future events, but in the hope that the

openness might encourage the free flow of information. This could make each
more vulnerable to the need of the other and enable action for change towards
justice.

e) A peace study would be explicit in its value base. This study was based on
the faith that people care about themselves and others.

This confidence that people have the will to build relationships of mutual
benefit, that is the essence of the peaceful society, by definition allows the
congruence of means and ends. It prejudices the nature of the peaceful society,
or put another way, it will be a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is based on an
apprehension of the nature of the most precious relationships in personal
experience. For me personally, this value base was articulated in a Christian
theological stance: real peace is to be seen and understood in the revelation of
God in Christ [1].

This 'peace study', though using a case study of the Asian-named minority
groups in the Bradford school system as its medium, offered generalised outcomes
that could be applicable to other minority groups in any education system. It
searched for a prescription for the health of the human condition. It was analysed
from a religious standpoint that was culturally conditioned, but not culturally
exclusive:

"In the religious view of reality all phenomena point towards that which
transcends them, and that transcendence actively impinges from all sides on
the empirical sphere of human existence.

It was only with the onset of secularisation that the divine fullness began to
rccede, until the point was reached when the empirical sphere became
all-encompassing and perfectly closed in upon itself." [2]

To clarify this value-base was important to me, especially when engaged on that
which would be perceived as a 'secular' exercise in a secular society. We are, as

1975; (1975) Is Christian peace politically feasible essay: awarded Rheinhold
Schneider Peace Prize.
Berger says, in a situation in which 'transcendence has been reduced to a rumour' [1]. For me this denoted a reduction in our human creativity that spreads dis-ease:

"In openness to the signals of transcendence the true proportions of our experience are rediscovered. This is the comic relief of redemption; it makes it possible for us to laugh and to play with a new fullness. This in no way implies a remoteness from the moral challenges of the moment, but rather the most careful attention to each human gesture that we encounter or that we may be called upon to perform in the everyday dramas of human life – literally an 'infinite' care in the affairs of men." [2]

A peace study could struggle to express the mutuality of the sacred and the secular in the interpretative context of global humanity.

The Development of the Study

I was stimulated to the project that has been engaging me for over ten years by Bonhoeffer's question 'Who is Christ for us today?' [3]. In terms of the parable of the sheep and the goats [4] I wanted to seek out the attitudes and structures appropriate to feeding the hungry, satisfying the thirsty and welcoming the stranger here and now, in the 'penultimate', to use Bonhoeffer's phrase. I needed to find the language that would communicate the underlying theological assumptions to such a social action adequately in a situation where 'gospel talk' has poor currency in the popular image and minimal currency outside the academic discipline of theology in the seats of learning. I chose to work in the supportive structure of the new School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford.

Phase one in the quest was a paper to clear the theological ground of my thinking [5]. It was submitted towards a Master's degree and the evaluator's comment on it was:

[1] ibid., p.119
"OK. This is phase one I fully agree. But we have to devise social structure in which this force may operate..."

Phase two was case studies of action for change towards more peaceful relationships in society, from the actions of the initiators of the movement and their effects on the societies against whom they were enacted. Three of the case studies undertaken were of groups of people with a mission, acting it out through a foreign culture [1]. The Christian Missionary in West Africa preached the 'Holy Spirit' with colonial grace. The Jewish Kibbutznik carried a secular 'chaluzuit' from the shtetl of Europe to Palestine. The Humanist International Volunteer spread 'L'Amitie' with a paternal hand. A fourth case study was about pressure group politics in action towards the amendment of child care legislation in Britain [2], the politics of civic 'responsibility'. They all dealt with cultural imperialism and the problems of compromise and unintended outcomes that arise through 'inappropriate domination', whether of the peoples of West Africa or Palestine, or the children of Britain.

This study, as phase three, used insights from those studies about power and privilege to 'devise social structure'. The aim was to elucidate the nature of institutional racism in schools in Britain and to demonstrate ways in which it was being and could be combatted to move society towards more peaceful inter-ethnic relations. As it was a study of immediate social policy situations that were undergoing quite rapid change of emphasis, it seemed important to describe the development of the study.

This work was begun in January 1976 with an investigation into the theory of the nature of prejudice. The prior case studies had suggested to me that this


would be a fruitful starting point. Initially, I had some confidence, with Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) that the prejudice of individuals could be transcended through education. After studying research and opinion on ethnocentrism and the facts affecting the form and strength of prejudice in society [1], however, it seemed that the covert nature of much prejudice, damaging to the subject and object of prejudice and warping the understanding of real interests of both, would be less easily exposed. To change the form that prejudice takes in society would require 'social engineering' through laws, political will and education on the one hand, and a raising of personal awareness on the other. Since one can assume prejudice in the power group who are organising the social engineering, this becomes a self-perpetuating problem unless both aspects, the structural and the personal, are approached simultaneously. While prejudice might always be 'endemic to social life' (Davey, 1974) it could be exposed in its most dehumanising forms. Further, it seemed to me that since social systems in the West were dominated by white people, the primary problem was the attitude of white people themselves, an assured elitism reinforced by the power supremacy and material benefits. A secondary problem was the invidious attitude of white to black that proceeds from the first, was apparent in structures of discrimination and may be internalised by black people themselves (Memmi, 1974), with damage to self-respect.

I spent a day in each of the City's twelve Upper schools. Given a considerable experience of schooling in Bradford this was enough time to gain knowledge of the organisation and structure of specific schools and to make some more general observations on school ethos. I observed the performance of the Asian children in relation to that of their non-Asian peers in school and collected

information on attitudes, actions and school structures. I familiarised myself with
the timetabling and teaching group structure of each school in order to categorise
the groups for a banding study (Chapter 5) and thus quantify, what was a
self-evident fact to the casual observer, that there were more Asian children in the
lower attainment teaching groups than in the higher ones. At the same time I
collected school pupil lists for September 1975, descriptions of buildings, equipment,
staff, curriculum, language support work (E2L) and comments, volunteered mainly
by teachers though some from sixth formers, under twenty-two different headings
[1] to give me some indication of bias, preference and provision.

To assess whether the observed clustering of the Asian children in lower
attainment teaching groups was paralleled by their showing less talent to succeed in
terms of the examination orientation of schooling than their peers, I subsequently
made an analysis of the city's public examination results (GCE/CSE) 1975/76 from
lists at the LEA offices (Chapter 6). While I was collecting this data I also
familiarised myself with the LEA administrative machinery and talked with many of
the officers in the Careers Service, Special Services and Schools Divisions – about
educational development and policy, especially with respect to the Asian children.

Initially I was researching two questions:

i. Is there a difference in attainment between Asian children and their peers?

If so, how is it demonstrated?

ii. What are the assumptions behind the administrative policies and practices of
schooling against which relative failure might become apparent?

The difference in performance levels, in terms of teaching group banding and
external examination results showed in the data. It would have been necessary to

[1] Upper school topics: pupils, power, buildings and site, selection, staff, finance,
uniform, dinners, games, curriculum (especially art/home economics), festivals,
RE/worship, textbooks, sixth form, leavers (jobs/FE), E2L, exams, relationships
(pupils/staff), home school liaison, medical care, self-affirmation of the pupils,
achievement.
collect statistics for subsequent years, with more detail in respect of the social class of the entrant, the entrants' duration of schooling in the medium of English and more detail of the degree of examination success, with a random sampling method, for any closer analysis. For the purpose of this study the analysis was deemed adequate however because it gave a measure of the difference that could be seen physically in teaching group terms.

By the autumn of 1976, the opinions and attitudes that I had recorded from administrators, teachers and sixth formers (most of them white) showed two important strands. In their opinion:

i. The development of the Bradford school system was 'right', strongly orientated as it was towards a meritocracy through the public examination system. Comprehensive reorganisation was acceptable because it retained the potential of the Grammar school tradition for examination success to be available to a wider number of children. An occasional critical comment was received from white, left-wing teachers about the competitiveness of the system and the unfairness of the failure of some groups rather than others that correlated to social difference. There was no basic criticism of a system that had failure inbuilt [1], nor of the assumption that social mobility was desirable.

ii. Failure could be overcome by hard work. If the Asian children were 'failing', then they hadn't learnt the language. It was their fault.

In a society where racial prejudice against black people is an acknowledged part of social life (viz. Race Relations laws to regulate society's prejudice and bias) a combination of the 'failure' motif and blaming the victim of failure could lead to stereotyping of a colour group with an aggravating effect on competitive performance.

This situation for potential stereotyping posed further questions:

i. What evidence is there that an unfavourable stereotype is being projected by whites on blacks in the schools?

ii. What policies, practices and materials are there in the schools that

---

[1] The end product was assessed in examinations that were geared to test only 60% of the school population. Thus 40% could expect to be non-certificated school leavers. In fact 4 out of 5 school-leavers took at least one CSE certificate with them. (Statistics in Education 1976, Vol. 20).
might endorse potential black/white stereotypes?

iii. What evidence is there that the Asian children and their parents accept the assumptions of the 'rightness' of the school system conveyed by the majority group?

iv. What evidence is there that the Asian children lack talent to succeed in school?

To follow up this line of inquiry, it seemed appropriate, since the grouping by attainment was already apparent at the Upper school level, to look at the situation in First and Middle schools from which this developed. In the school year 1976–77 I made a special study of two pairs of First and Middle Schools, one in the inner city and one on the outskirts. Asian children were bussed in from the inner city area in which the school of study was, to the schools studied on the outskirts, thus the Asian intake of both came from a similar social milieu. Again I collected information on building, equipment, staff, curriculum and teaching aids, E2L work and school processes, under headings similar to those used for the Upper schools (p.547). In addition I observed the dispersal policy in effect. I collected comments volunteered by teachers and children. I gave an individual interview to each of the Asian children in the outer city First and Middle schools and each of the Asian children in the final year of the inner city First and Middle schools (189 in all) semi-structured around a questionnaire [1] to establish some evidence about their attitude to school and their home background. I gave a questionnaire [2] to all teachers at the schools for them to complete on a voluntary basis, concerning their initial and in-service training. I visited language centres, accompanied liaison teachers on home visits, observed newly arrived immigrant children in the LEA registration and reception procedures and visited

two of the city's largest Qu'ranic schools.

By Autumn 1977, in response to the four questions posed above it was evident that:

i. There was a certain amount of resentment from teachers, especially in the outer city schools, of the presence of the Asian children. They were seen as an imposition, an interruption to the smooth running of the schools, an 'extra' demand on hard-taxed teachers' time. At the inner city First school, the main assumption was that the children 'were all the same', a denial of difference that endorsed a 'white' norm. Only the inner city Middle school seemed to see positive value in the cultural differences of its children. That was an almost 'all-black' school, except for the teachers.

ii. The bussing policy was contributing to the resentment from the outer city school teachers and increasing the separateness of the Asian children rather than promoting racial harmony. In terms of school curriculum and teaching aids, accommodation to cultural difference was nil, except at the inner city Middle schools. This fitted with the 'we treat them all the same' attitude.

iii. Asian families' assumptions of the 'rightness' of the school system conformed with those of the majority community as far as academic success was concerned. There was criticism of the Christianising influence and 'permissiveness' of schools. The school discipline was seen as too lax. They blamed their children for failure.

iv. Children were seen reciting long passages of the Qu'ran, translating for their parents from English to community language, teaching their younger brothers and sisters and showing propensity for learning in a formal situation. An analysis of GCE 'A' Level results suggested that those Asian children who made it to this stage were competing well with their peers (Chapter 7) and there was enthusiasm for staying on at school. There was no lack of motivation to succeed.

At this stage I reported my findings both to the LEA through the Adviser for Immigrant Education and to the Asian communities through political channels, to test the accuracy of my perceptions. Theory and observation were tested through action. An anti-bussing campaign developed rapidly. The LEA, while persisting in its concentration on a policy of language provision for the E2L speakers, eighteen months later appointed a new adviser to fill a vacancy through retirement of the 'Immigrant Education' Adviser and renamed the job Adviser for Multicultural Education - a new emphasis to which the new person gave positive content at once. Just prior to this two Advisory Teachers for Multicultural Education were appointed, with a brief to go into the schools and encourage
attitudes and use of resources more appropriate to the multiracial nature of the school population. The research report directly affected policy and practice.

During the summer term 1977 I had concentrated my observations on the inner city First school, offering to teach there voluntarily one day a week. I began my language development work then (p.400) and visited many of the children's homes, looking particularly for any evidence that the stereotype of the Asian child as a 'problem' was being internalised by the children themselves, thus possibly affecting their attainment level in school. On the whole for the Asian children, there was a separation between home and school culture. School was 'for English things' (p.312). There was a reluctance to coalesce the two, though a willingness to talk about home culture at home with enthusiasm. My teaching focussed on bridging this divide and the children showed increased confidence in bringing home culture into school when they found it appreciated. I had no opportunity to evaluate any effect of this on attainment.

At the same time as I was working with the children, I was covertly working with the staff. The Headteacher invited me to become a paid member of the staff and I taught at the inner city First school for one day a week in September–July 1977–79, putting into practice some of the ideas of teaching attitude, method and content that it had seemed to me were needed in a school in a multiracial society.

Nationally, multiculturalism was being taken up as educational practice, though not backed by Government directives. It was at risk of becoming yet another power–group ideology for defence of cultural privilege by containment of the minority groups. I turned my attention more specifically to education of the education decision-makers – administrators, teachers – developing racism awareness work. Again, but this time as the policy of the decision-makers shifted, theory and observation were applied to action. The direction of policy shift had to be
made plain so that it could be focussed on the primary source of discrimination, as I perceived it, the attitude of white people themselves and the institutions they perpetuate. Three BBC TV documentaries were made and were used to put that point with increasing pressure as the change in race relations climate allowed [1]. The dialogue continued.

The Methodology of the Study

Current practice in most research into education has been to apply a positivist approach (Rutter et al., 1979; Bennett, 1976) counting and recording behaviour. This seemed to me to be inadequate for a peace study, since it placed more emphasis on appearances than perceptions. If peace is defined in terms of the mutuality of relationships and of positive promotion of health rather than of control and order, devolution of power rather than domination, then it is those unseen assumptions that are indicators of the health of the relationship as much as the external behaviour of the subjects. While some of the observed data might need to be collected in a form that allowed for quantitative analysis, much would need to arise more informally and to be interpreted through the skill/experience of the researcher to investigate the assumptions of the informant. The observer would need to 'become subjective (to see and understand the world as his informants do), to eventually become objective' [2]. The appropriateness of the more 'objective' approach to research on education policy or programme change has been questioned. Hamilton (1977) in assessing the evaluation of innovation in education, new study schemes, teaching resources and methods, found what he called the

[1] There is a purposeful progression from 'respect for difference' to 'respect for the use of power' to an appreciation of the institutionalisation of cultural difference endorsed by power, in the three BBC documentaries in which I was involved as a participant in with producer John Twitchin. Multicultured Swap Shop, 1979; Teacher: Examine Thyself, 1981; Anglo-Saxon Attitudes, 1982.
'agricultural–botany' [1] method wanting (using a method of deduction from null hypotheses derived from the experimental and mental testing traditions in psychology). Educational situations have a wide number of variables. For objectivity in research, these would need to be randomised by using a very large or strictly controlled sample. Bennett and Rutter attempted the former, with a large research team, coming up with very generalised results as to what 'good practice' might be, but with the interpretation of the data so open to challenge that the outcome did little more than bolster the morale of those teachers who saw themselves as conforming to the preferred practice. The procedure of strict control was rarely followed, since it was perceived as ethically unacceptable, and would be administratively difficult, especially if it were to be done so as not to hamper the originality of the subjects under study [2]. Educational situations are not static. Outcomes are dependent on the particular individuals involved at any one time and their perceptions change through the teacher–learner relationship and in dialectical relationship with society at large. A before and after study copes inadequately with questions of policy development or innovatory programmes, major 'problems' posed for educational evaluation.

It seemed to me that a more subjective research method was less likely to impose arbitrary restrictions on the scope of the study, and more likely be responsive to local variations. Hamilton offered a model of 'illuminative evaluation' [3] taking into account the wider contexts in which educational programmes function. It was more concerned with interpretation and description

[1] Many of the statistical and experimental techniques used in educational research were originally used in agricultural experimentation. See M Partlett (1972).
[2] A small experiment of this latter type has been conducted in Bradford to research the suitability of mother tongue teaching for the five–year–old Asian children (Rees, 1981) as a means to support their acquisition of English. It was effective but very limited.
than measurement and prediction, similar to the method of social anthropology.

It was a strategy rather than a technique, different evaluative techniques – observation, interviews, questionnaire and test data, documentary and background information – being used as appropriate for investigation.

While my own study had as a stepping-off point a quantitative analysis of the situation in the County Upper schools (Bradford former CB) in 1975–76 of the pupils according to name-type and sex, this was not in the 'agricultural-botany' tradition (assessing and measuring the field: viz. Trow, 1970) in order to hypothesise about relative 'failure' as such, but more to hypothesise on the ability of such a system to offer any alternative (viz. case study p.392). It provided a description of the observable fact that the Asian children were showing less talent to succeed in the school system than their peers at that stage in policy development. The drawback of using such a picture was that, in order to illustrate what administrators claimed to be seeing, the statistics painted from a stereotype with potential for endorsing it. Statistics can have as strong an impressionistic value as 'facts' in policy development. A more detailed analysis, including variables such as social class, ethnic grouping, length of time spent in school in Bradford, a finer categorisation of examination successes, would have developed an acceptable thesis on the failure of children but added little to a thesis on the failure of an institution and the interaction of the two. Thus it was low priority in terms of time/value as a contribution to this as a peace study. The statistical analysis followed a more subjective observation procedure to demonstrate that what 'they' (the administrators) were perceiving was true according to their educational ideology. It offered a base from which to develop a critique of the ideology.

The predominant qualitative technique used in the study was that of participant observation [1]. By participating in the daily life of the groups studied, the researcher was able to observe the social dynamics and interactions firsthand, providing a rich and detailed account of the setting. This approach allowed for a deeper understanding of the context and culture of the environment, which is essential for comprehensive social research.

[1] See R L Gold (1958) "Roles in sociological field observation" for a classification of the various procedures that go by this name.
I was able to watch what was happening while being part of it since my behaviour as a teacher and mother was congruent with the expectations of the children of an adult in the classroom and a comfortable role for me. For the teachers, it was helpful for them to be able to appeal to me as a teacher, a co-professional working alongside, as well as the academic observer [1]. An observer needs to be aware that his/her image will determine what is seen. It gave me a 'responsible' image that ameliorated any resentment of the researcher.

Several factors determine what data is obtained by the method. The observers' image from the viewpoint of the observed is only one. The social role ascribed to the researcher – what it was assumed the research was intending to find out and for whom – gives bias to information that is made available, especially that which is volunteered unsolicited. I attempted to make my own introduction as vague as possible, saying that I was investigating the disadvantaged children in the schools. However, the association of 'black' with 'disadvantaged' was so strong that this preamble was frequently ignored and I was introduced as someone who had come to look at 'the immigrants'.

I had to contend with the teacher who said: "I'll tell you something that will interest you ....", and then proceeded to itemise the misdemeanours of a black boy, and the switch of staff room conversation on my entry to 'the problem' of the second language speakers. However this selection of information by the informants was itself used as valid observational information and turned to advantage for the research. To cross-check that it was representing a real assumption about disadvantage, I observed teacher reaction to my technique of

[1] J Nixon (1981) "Beyond the teacherly perspective" calls for a radical democratisation of the research community along these lines. Teachers, understanding the 'learning milieu' (Hamilton, op.cit.) can contribute this expertise to the professional research; teachers turned professional researcher temporarily have much common experience through which to communicate and criticise their findings.
interviewing all the 'immigrants' (i.e. for this purpose, the children who had parents who spoke a mother tongue other than English). The category included children of Hungarian, Yugoslav, German, Ukranian and Polish families. The intrusion of white children into this category caused some affront at one school. As I was known as a teacher, it was assumed that I was researching for the benefit of the professionals rather than the children in the relationship, which gave me a fairly clear line on the kind of teacher–administrator assumptions that were being experienced by the children. As a mother in a multiracial family, I had much emotional commitment to the children, which showed in time. The easy relationship I had with children, black and white, in the stratified situation that I found, particularly in the outer city schools studied, meant that the behaviour of the minority group children to me was more responsive and self-promoting that to other adults on the school staff which, in time, affected teacher assumptions about my role. I was 'favouring' the minority:

"Eventually, no matter the size of the group he is studying, the observer is forced to face the problem of divided interests. He is 'asked' to answer the question 'Who do you speak for?' and it is an answer to this question which, in the interests of research, he avoids." [1]

At this stage in the development of the observation, the voluntary information output from the dominant group reduces if the researcher's position is seen as a threat to the interests of the teacher, though the minority group information input increases. When I reached this situation at the outer city First and Middle schools I withdrew and concentrated my work with the children at the inner city First school, apart from visits to the outer city schools to collect quantitative data and to attend special functions, Sports Day and Harvest Festival.

The researcher's ethnocentrism as a factor in the data collection and

interpretation was relatively easy to allow for, by declaring it, so that those who read the research can read it with an awareness of the kinds of bias that will be there, and can criticise the data collected more objectively. In cross-cultural situations I would give more weight to the validity of an in-group interpretation of actions and structures and their meaning for the group than to an outgroup one. Thus an Asian parent's opinion as to what Qu'ranic schooling was about, carried more weight than the First school teacher's opinion of it. However, by the same measure, a First school teacher's (white) view of what British schooling was about would be more relevant to what was in fact happening in the school than the Asian parent's. If the two conflicted, then through the conflict ethnocentric bias could be judged. For instance, the First school teachers who felt that the Qu'ranic schooling showed unkindness and uncaring parental attitudes had to be set against that of the Pakistani parents who saw the schooling as good for their children. Since it would be unrealistic to assume that Pakistani parents do not love their children, the conflicting perceptions revolve around what is good for the child and emerge as issues of suitable or responsible discipline for the child and exercise of authority in the adult. They connect into different ways of showing 'care' for the child. The opinions of the Muslim parents who saw the English school as 'permissive' were held in tension with those of the teachers who promoted individual responsibility as a training for group responsibility. An individual's responsibility to make decisions is intrinsic to the competitive society which the British educational system is perpetuating. The white person's ethnocentrism surfaced as different from the Asian sense of corporate responsibility [1] for which the Pakistani child is trained. Either may signify an appropriate mode of authority/domination within the group but conflicts arise when groups are perceiving actions from different assumptions. My technique was to be open and

encouraging of responsiveness, not criticising another's mode of thinking and acting through offering a variety of alternatives if asked to criticise, with my own ethnocentric bias as one of these and stated as such. Thus the participant-observer role engaged me in an educative function as well as one of recording.

In terms of practicalities, qualitative research methods produce vast amounts of data. Recording and organising can be a problem. I did not use a tape recorder because I wanted to assume an unobtrusive teacher role. Statements about feelings and events were noted as soon as feasible in a pocket notebook and typed up in duplicate so that they could be filed under topic headings within twenty-four hours, while the scenario was still fresh in my mind and could be elaborated on accurately. If I felt I needed to collect information that had to be recorded on the spot for accuracy, then I used the interview technique, with questionnaire and clipboard, recording only matters of fact and filling in matters of opinion and volunteered extraneous information after the interview. The children treated this as fun and were happy to help fill in the sheet. On the whole, just being around was most profitable, as Whyte found with his community study:

"As I sat and listened, I learned the answers to questions that I would not even have had the sense to ask if I had been getting my information solely on an interview basis." [1]

For instance, I learned about the naming of the minority group children. Tahir responded to that name when I called him to come and fill in the sheet with me. When I went to his home, his mother called him Tariq. I asked him why there was this difference and he told me that Tahir was his school name because that was what they called him there; the administrators had got it wrong in the beginning and his mother said it would be best to leave it like that. This was a pointer to the general inability of the school administration to cope with Asian-

naming systems, and the inherent racism of the unpreparedness of many to bother with accuracy, and a non-confrontational stance of many in the minority group.

I dated all entries in my records and took this dating into account when analysing the results later. Changing perceptions both of and from myself as observer were thus under scrutiny. Further, these could be linked chronologically with changes in local authority policy and with national trends. Whyte discusses this developmental potential in the analysis of his observations:

"I had assumed that a sociological study should present a description and analysis of a community at one particular point in time, supported of course by some historical background. I now came to realise that time itself was one of the key elements in my study. I was observing, describing and analysing groups as they evolved through time." [1]

As a peace study, this study was based on an assumption of change as an element in it. Thus, as has been noted, while changing relationships were scrutinised, and affected the kind of observation feasible at certain stages, they were recorded as positive contributions to the study, the dynamic between research and action.

It was also important to assess the notebook entries at the time for the extent to which the statements recorded could be considered to be a 'true' expression of the opinion of the person proffering them. For instance, was there any reason why the person should be lying (status, self-perception, ignorance) or telling a half-truth? Was the statement made on hearsay evidence or from actual experience(s)? How far could feelings the person might have for the person or thing named in the statement be prejudicing the issue? Thus corroboratory evidence for the truth of the statement or for incidents that could negative it were constantly sought. This affected the way a statement was used, not necessarily its inclusion in the analysis:

"Accepting the sociological proposition that an individual's statements and descriptions of events are made from a perspective which is a function of his position in the group, the observer can interpret such statements and descriptions as indications of the individual's perspective on the point involved." [1]

Incidence of similar individual perspectives on an event, policy or person can be accrued in a 'quasi-statistical' [2] fashion to suggest generalised perception, 'to probe into tangled complexes of relationships in search of possible 'processes'' [3]. For this research, the method allowed me to build up a case for 'racism' as a process in the functioning of the school system, where the evidence was of the absence rather than of the presence of provision. For instance, there was plenty of evidence that literacy in English was considered to be an important educational need for the Asian child, there was little perception that the books which were the medium of this literacy could be offering the reader a subliminal inference as to the kind of person who is expected to be reading them and thus is expected to read.

The method proved cumbersome when it came to presenting the thesis. It would be simpler to demonstrate what is than what is not! In order to demonstrate that which was missing from the school provision and the kind of teacher attitude that could positively encourage the minority group children if present, it seemed necessary to approach the situation from a width of information which inevitably left gaps and ran a risk of superficiality.


[2] A H Barton and P F Lazarsfeld (1955) "Some functions of qualitative analysis in social research". This term is used in reference to frequency distribution statements in social research that are 'based on a body of observations which are not formally tabulated and analysed statistically'. They see them as having an important 'exploratory' function.

The Analysis and Presentation of the Data

If the methodology of the research project for a peace study was problematic, in that it would seek to go beyond the positivist approach of the scientist to a more qualitative mode of allowing information to emerge, then so too was the analysis of the results. This was in part due to the nature of proof of the validity of the material, but also, as has already been intimated, to the fact that the material itself, once articulated and presented, could be both an agent of change and changed by the presentation. For instance, the predominance given to bussing in this analysis as an indicator of racism, since it was easily documented, provided a focus for anti-racist action but gave limited success. The 'real' interests in the scenario, those of the white ratepayers who would have to foot the bill for the new school building that would make the phasing-out of bussing a redistribution of advantage towards the minority group were not addressed. Bussing was phased out to avoid the overt expression of racism rather than as part of a positive policy of improvement for the black child.

That would seem to be a risk of the 'critical model' of social analysis (Fay, 1975) though its benefit was that it was responsive to the relation between knowledge and action in political theory that this 'peace study' was investigating. A positivist would claim that man can act in a situation to control phenomena through the manipulation of a particular set of variables but he would be assuming a political value framework to contain the action, for which the action he suggests would be the most efficient means to a desired end. He would concentrate on the cognitive, assuming the normative values or imposing them. Thus in the realm of politics, what is masquerading as science could equally well be described as ideology. The approach that I have taken for a peace study was one of openness that can take into account change and cultural conditioning of ideas and their emotional content. The policy outcome desired was not right or wrong but
mutually acceptable to the groups involved providing there was no inappropriate domination, that is providing they were aware of the way power was being used in their interests and accepted it positively. This does not denote the absence of ideology but a critical acceptance of it for pragmatic purposes.

The critical model of analysis attempts to integrate theory and practice in its account of theory. It is 'critical' because:

"it sees theories as analyses of a social situation in terms of those features of it which can be altered in order to eliminate certain frustrations which members in it are experiencing, and its method of testing the truth of a social scientific theory consists partially of ascertaining the theory's practical relevance in leading to the satisfaction of human need." [1]

It sees man as an agent of social change as well as acted upon. The contribution of the human agent as catalyst in the complexities of social life demands analytical theory that can work to open-endedness. Thus, the critical model of analysis takes account of the 'felt needs and sufferings of a group of people' [2] whom the theorists have come to understand from their own viewpoint as a first step in the theory construction. It recognises that many of the actions people perform are caused by social conditions over which they have no control:

"a critical social science is one which seeks to uncover those systems of social relationships which determine the actions of individuals and the unanticipated, though not accidental, consequences of those actions. The critical model is one which requires that its practitioners seek to discover quasi-causal and functional laws of social behaviour in particular social contexts." [3]

Thus it can take account of unconscious collusion of the authority/power group in a society with the status quo and the secondary effect that this will have in directing the behaviour of or causing feelings of grievance in minority groups, damaging (unpeaceful) as well as controlling. As it is built on the interconnection between theory and practice, systems can be uncovered in the dialoguing of the two:

[2] ibid., p.94
[3] ibid., p.94
"The critical model takes this hidden connection between theory and practice as one of its starting points and this means that it ties its knowledge claims to the satisfaction of human purposes and desires." [1]

Lukes's analysis of power [2] is in this way 'critical'. Freire's pedagogy of dialogue (p.420) is the instrument by which agents search for mutuality. Therefore, the 'quasi-causal' laws which are discovered are related to the felt needs and sufferings of the agents in such a way that:

"they show how these feelings can be overcome by the actors coming to understand themselves in their situation as the product of certain inherent contradictions in their social order, contradictions which they can remove by taking an appropriate course of action to change this social order." [3]

The laws and analyses are themselves educative.

Fay would seem to assume that these laws are educative only for the groups finding themselves oppressed by them – who feel the conflict as suffering. While the assumption does not 'blame the victim' in a conflict, it does expect the victim to be the one to work for change. I would argue that this perception is inadequate. Both groups in a relationship will need to be educated for change to happen if it is to decrease rather than increase dissatisfaction. For a 'peace study' aiming for mutuality, account would need to be taken of the needs (overt and covert) of the perpetrators of the social order that is a cause of grievance too.

I have argued for a theory of white racism, as a quasi-functional law of the effects of the structure of the British school system, which needs to be perceived as a root of racial discrimination. Dialogue across racial lines is an instrument for change alongside the white community's preparedness to correct the 'miseducation' on racial matters that it has assimilated as part of the white culture. This carries a 'conversion' element in the outcome.

[1] ibid., p.95
[2] This analysis was used to develop theories of change toward racial peace (Chapter 20).
The critical method itself does not see the dialectic as stopping short of conversion. Action is determined by translation, exposing the reality of the situation itself being an adequate stimulus to action; demonstration of the incoherence of the status quo, for instance, in a society like Britain that offers education according to age, ability and aptitude and tolerates a school system that is competitive, to reveal a rational way of going about getting what people really want, rather than what a power group wants, by providing an alternative to the 'real' needs that these contradictory ideas are intimating [1]; assumption that action in social change itself will decrease the illusions actors have about themselves, for example, self-help groups proposed as an antidote to feelings of powerlessness. Fay contends:

"It is the institutionalisation of free and uncoerced communication which is the vision that underlies the critical model." [2]

This analysis, in fact, expects non-violent responses [3] if it is articulating the truth.

A purely manipulative (positivist) use of knowledge gained from critical social science is not possible, requiring as it does the willing compliance of actors who have been 'enlightened':

"the results of the various manipulations recommended by the policy expert can only be judged effectively by referring to the opinions of the ordinary actors in whose name these manipulations are taken, and this is because the articulation of needs and their satisfaction can only be confirmed in the consciousness of the social actors themselves. According to the critical model, then, a 'policy science' can only proceed from the world of the social actors and must lead back to it." [4]

But it is at this point that the criticism of the 'critical' must again be made.

[1] viz. A Curle (1971) on 'alienation' (pp.14–15). People dominate others to affirm their own status in a 'belonging identity' and may be unaware of the grievance that this is causing in the dominated person/group.
[3] The essence of non-violence has been developed most effectively in political action by M K Gandhi. See J V Bondurant The Conquest of Violence (1965)
While manipulations may only be 'recommended', they are manipulations nonetheless, bearing an emotive as well as a rational component that emanates from the person of the expert and his informal authority/influence, if not from a statutory power base. In Lukes's scheme for instance, manipulation is placed within the area of conflict of interests [1]. Fay's expert is setting himself in a false position of impartiality. This position can be given integrity if it is made clear firstly that the same educative process is expected to happen, including manipulation, in reverse. Secondly, that an element in this process which will involve perception of a position of dominance, is a self-education towards openness of the dominant person - a movement from helping (paternalism) to enabling through sharing. The focus on the latter element would seem to me to be the most vital element in any Peace Study produced by a white, western person in the Judeo-Christian cultural tradition.

In the last resort Fay asserts that 'it is an internal - and decisive - criticism of any critical theory if it is rejected by the people to whom it is addressed' [2] - this would seem to suggest that the focus of the communication should be those to whom one can speak most clearly because of common cultural ties. This thesis has been presented in such a way as to address both the dominant group perspective on the situation in the Bradford schools and the minority groups perspective to give not only a sense of the necessary mutuality of interests but also an assessment of the potential constraints on a peaceful development of the situation.

[1] See Figure 4.4, Chapter 20. p.417.
Research Ethics

This research relied on the goodwill of those involved in the situation to allow intrusion into their world. In presenting the study I found, as did Whyte in his research on Cornerville (Whyte, 1943), that I could explain the school system best through telling stories of the individuals' actions and the daily happenings with it:

"I was building up the structure and functioning of the community through intensive examination of some of its parts — in action. I was relating the parts together through observing events between groups and between group leaders and members of the larger institutional structures ... I was seeking to build a sociology based upon observed interpersonal events." [1]

My role as a researcher in this situation was an extremely delicate one, since I also fulfilled other roles in respect to the schools studied. All of our six children attended the outer city First school studied, some during the time of the research, but over a period from 1969 to 1978. I was a member of staff at the inner city First school from September 1977 to July 1979. I was a school parent governor at an outer city Middle school, alternative for the neighbourhood to the one described, and later co-opted to the governing body of the local Upper schools to which our children proceeded. My husband was Headteacher at another city Upper school from 1975. Thus I had much experiential and neighbourhood knowledge of the schools studied that was gained outside the immediate parameters of the research project. The identity of the schools cannot be hidden from those with whom I live and work, and among whom I must defend the integrity of my work. (See A4.4.)

The schools were not named, however. Quotations from teachers and administrators have not been given in breach of confidence that was requested to be retained. Usually, they were the response to a direct question asked from the research situation. Where possible I have used public quotation, from the local press. The children were named but not easily identified. As a researcher, I was aware that I was using their contribution for an end that they were not in a

position to appreciate [1]. Ultimately, however, the researcher has to take responsibility for the selection and interpretation of statements and facts. While full reporting is necessary, an individual's privacy and professional integrity must be safeguarded.

While the intention of this thesis was to make information available to policy-makers in education in order that racial justice in Britain may be increased, one must constantly be aware that the information could be used for further political control of one group over another. In describing a direction of potential progress towards peaceful relationships, one is also describing the conservative reality and thus the cause of obstruction to these aims [2]. Therefore it is important that the information should be made available to minority groups as well as to those at present responsible for administering the school system. At this point professional and personal integrity are in conflict and the latter would be paramount. For this reason I would retain a right to vet access to the work, despite a danger of paternalism on my part.

Ultimately, as has already been argued, the validity of the thesis will be judged by its practical application, since as a peace study it was so designed.

[1] V Saifullah–Khan (1974) Pakistani Villagers in a British City addresses this problem in respect of a majority group researcher studying minority group situations in an appendix on method. T Asad (1973) Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter has articles which consider it in relationship to 'primitive' tribes and the colonial situation. In this thesis I was concerned with the black child’s 'minority' status.

The Future Perspective of a Peace Study

From a definition of peace that emphasises 'mutuality' in personal relationships and a positive quality of 'wholeness' (shalom) in political life and the ecology of the planet, then peace is an ideal to which mankind will be constantly required to strive, rather than an absolute of achievement. As part of a continuum from the past, this striving is in itself the datum of history. A peace study, therefore, would display a situation as it is, but in the light of its antecedents and with commitment to a prognosis of directions for and mode of change (Chapter 20). This is not to determine the course of events, but in the hope that the openness might evoke response and open lines of communication along which dialogue may proceed.

Much of Western thinking is based on ideological assumptions about 'progress' as not only developmental, but also 'improvement'. This is the myth of the equation of technological development to cultural progress that John Baillie (1950) calls 'a quasi-religious faith'. With the Western attitude of superiority to other cultures, in part due to the elitism of Christianity, dialogue has been damaged. Modern man's wits have been befuddled by the promise of technology. Science has replaced the Church of Christendom in political partnership with the civil authorities in the West in a new form of depersonalised responsibility, with war as its 'undeniable benefactor and patron' (Schneider, 1956). Questioning has been uninhibited, leading to the growth in scientific research as an industry and the accumulation of knowledge that can be transmuted into power. With secularisation, Western society has difficulty in taking benefit from a theological look at social structure, to its detriment. The concept of 'God' has been left fossilised in a Medieval interpretative context when the rest of the chain of being was long ago collapsed into a chronological rather than spatial sequence (Hogden, 1964). The basic Christian teaching (didache) is taken and called 'socialism' without the gospel
(kerygma) or gift of salvation that empowers the ethic (Thomson, 1975a). The propensities of individuals are elevated and the Judeo-Christian or Islamic doctrine of 'The Fall' omitted. History is interpreted as linear progress to a millenarian end, when the Judeo-Christian or Islamic religious interpretation sees it as constancy of struggle towards the apocalyptic Last Day when God, who created man in his own image in the beginning, will consummate that image in 'The Kingdom' at the end of history by the resurrection of the faithful. This latter is no doctrine of progress through history as improvement, but of personal struggle for justice and peace as a refining fire.

Reintegrating the sacred and the secular, it would seem to me that the 'quasi-religious' belief in progress does have a Christian element that is valid. That progress is not the doctrine of mankind's growth towards perfection, whether personal or political. In this, racism and assumed white superiority has its roots. It is to be found in Jesus's claim that he came to 'fulfil the Law and the prophets' (Matthew 5 v.17), allowing a new perspective on centuries of insight and understanding of mankind's dependence as part of the cosmological whole. This revelation could constitute an 'advance'. The Christian demands of compassion, though the will to do/be 'good' is no greater now than in centuries past, can be seen in a worldwide perspective which has become a global reality through the missionary outreach of Christianity in partnership with commerce and technology (van Leeuwan, 1964). In a global age, this encourages us to 'feed the hungry' in any corner of the globe or allows us to eliminate life on earth in a nuclear holocaust.

If an attribute of a peace study is its openness, a stimulant to dialogue, then the peace researcher will need to spend time examining his or her own value base and cultural assumptions through which data is being assessed and make these an explicit part of the study.
Peace, according to my own, Christian, assumptions, is always politically feasible (Thomson, 1975c) being the true state of humanity, and will one day be made actual — as a gift when mankind is ready to receive it.

An Assessment of this Thesis as a Peace Study

a. It should start at a point of unpeaceful relationships immediately experienced by the researcher.

A case study of the Bradford school system, certainly fulfilled this criterion for me as mother of children in the Bradford schools, teacher and later Education Adviser for the LEA, wife of the Headteacher of one of the Upper schools in the city. This had very positive advantages in terms of understanding and knowledge in the situation, and an ability to interpret happenings in schools that comes from a practitioner as well as an academic experience. Its most positive value was not in the analysis of the data as such, but more in analysing it in such a way as to be relevant for other practitioners in the field. Thus many of the conclusions about racism in the classroom have immediate teaching practice relevance (re: type of images presented to children); implications for direction of change in policy are made with a knowledge of the structural constraints that will retard such change, thus priorities can be suggested (for instance in teacher training in racism awareness as a priori for the multicultural curriculum in schools). This makes the study particularly concordant with the charter of the University of Bradford that would see the research work of the University as directly applicable to the situations of daily life [1]. This thesis is presented by a practitioner to share with practitioners.

---

[1] Charter of the University of Bradford, Statute 2:
"The objects of the University shall be the advancement of learning and knowledge and the application of knowledge to human welfare."
This approach has two disadvantages in terms of academic rigour. In fitting the academic model of argument to a clinical end, the mode of description has tended to be 'journalistic'. This seemed to me to offer clarity to the argument. It can be misunderstood as impressionistic and subjective. The implied subjectivity must be seen against the very background of experience that marks the competent clinician. Secondly, the intrusion of personal experience may seem arrogant, where no self-aggrandisement is intended. This is particularly so as the project was conceived as action research, theory being tried out against further experimental practice in schools and in interaction with the political community. It should be seen as intended, as a sharing of practical experience. It should be noted that this has the disadvantage of putting the researcher in a position of presenting herself for approval as the person acting in the situation.

It is no coincidence that the school that seemed in my analysis to be most adequately serving the Asian minorities in the city was my husband’s school. The research project was discussed in process. It came from a base of wanting change in the direction of an increase of justice for black children. He was in a power position to encourage and support the adjustments to attitudes and school structure that my investigations were suggesting. In Fay's (1975) terms it would be an internal, and decisive, criticism of my theories if they were rejected by the people to whom they were addressed. They are addressed to those who have power to make decisions on justice in society, with the encouragement of those whose interests would be advanced by the proposals. In the Bradford situation the adjustments were acceptable and became LEA policy prior to the presentation of this thesis. Implementation in practice takes longer.

A peace study is about change as well as an assessment of the status quo, and therefore I would argue in defence of an experiential approach, while acknowledging its drawbacks.
b. It should synthesise that experience with theoretical knowledge and recorded observations of the situation and political action within it.

The study data was used in the Bradford situation for political ends as well as to inform educational practice. Information was given to Asian groups and to the Commission for Racial Equality, after it had been made available to the LEA. The anti-bussing campaign made use of this. Data was successfully shared, with effect, to both minority and majority groups in the conflict. The minority group was allowed access to information that could be used through the informal, and possibly statutory, persuasive power of a statutory body that was external to the two immediate 'contestants' in the conflict. This put the researcher in a political position vis-à-vis the possession of knowledge. Impartiality in a political sphere is different from that in a 'purely' academic sphere in that power differential between groups must be considered a quotient. It seems to me that such political involvement can be defended in a peace study because it increases the openness of a conflict situation and encourages the possibility of dialogue. Change came without recourse to violence or legal authority in this case, and as such I would see the study as successful. It was only the beginning of a process of wider change that was necessary, in terms of inner city revival. The responsibility accepted by the researcher here goes way beyond the normal limits of academic accountability and is possibly unrealistic for most researchers. This element of risk could be argued to be a particular feature of peace research.

c. It should be integrative of knowledge, interdisciplinary around a specific situation.

The strength of this study is its width, from a practitioner's viewpoint, looking at the school system in Bradford in a wholeness, from ideological and historical roots, through social and economic setting to the minutiae of practice in particular
schools, offering a useful descriptive basis for policy proposals. The width posed problems. The most immediately obvious one was the length of the written dissertation, necessary to build up the thesis under these aims. It was difficult to avoid repetition and retain clarity of argument in such a substantial written account. The introduction of discussions on the data at intervals through the dissertation was seen as a means of keeping the thread of argument running through the work without undue repetition and recall of data.

A further problem was posed by the vast spread of the literature that could be considered appropriate to the field, and the impossible task of reviewing it in detail as would be normal practice in an academic presentation of a topic. This was tackled by using secondary reviews of research in the field of race relations (viz: Goldman and Taylor, 1966; F Taylor, 1974; M Taylor, 1981) as an introduction to the field but also through attempting a tutorial relationship with other academic departments in the University. The attempt to share on a formal basis with other departments in the University failed, after initial success, for reasons of University politics more than academic feasibility but informal sharing was helpful in certain instances (see [1], p.542).

Thirdly, there was a problem of attempting to bring together the terminology and assumptions of differing academic disciplines around a specific problem situation. Use of the word 'under-achievement' which has specific connotations in educational psychology, with relation to assessment by objective tests was open to misinterpretation in a thesis that was querying the relevance of those tests. Theological language was deemed an alternative but not inter-relating language system by one sociologist who therefore found no common ground for discourse between us. These problems of inter-departmental communication are part of the matrix of a peace study which is ultimately aiming to be integrative towards wholeness (shalom). They need not necessarily negate co-operation. They might
make close communication difficult, since the separate disciplines may need to be seen as contingent to the whole rather than as exclusive or alternatives. Inter-departmental problems were more a function of self-defence than the openness that is the ideal of academic discourse. The project fitted uneasily into the academic support available, but this is more a criticism of the potential support than of the aim. There is increasing precedent for inter-disciplinary, applied studies in a University setting (viz. Environmental Studies; Project Planning and Management Studies) and persistence in promoting this method of problem-solving as an ideal would be prudent in a global society. A problem may have many proposed solutions that are useable, but these may somehow miss the essence of the conflict of interests unless they are open to many-sided scrutiny.

The empirical base on which the analysis was based was a little tenuous because of the width of the study. Ideally, it could have been researched by a team working in cohort. This project could have been simplified by making a case study of one school as the database. The observations, being more idiosyncratic, would have had less relevance for policy proposals locally and the analysis of the situation less amenable to generalisation to the national school system.

Conclusion

This particular peace study, while it met its aims of experiential, politically activated research that approached a problem situation from a wide, holistic perspective, could have been better researched by a team of students sharing data from which the final interpretation (Part 4) could be made and which could be used as supporting data for the parts. Part 2 could then have been a more valid quantitative analysis of the Bradford schools' examination results over at least three years, to show the trend, on the grounds that it was not to be used as an end in
itself, but as a contribution to a wider assessment of the situation that took account of structural constraints including social class that supported the 'success' analysed. It could have been extended to a socio-psychological analysis of the language factor and of attitudes and their effects on attainment in the school system, developed in a post-colonial/neo-colonial situation. Part 3 is a project in its own right as an assessment of ten years of an LEA policy for the education of immigrants, but the effectiveness of the policy could have been determined more accurately if the language factor in the examination success of the Asian children had been isolated in the statistical analysis rather than assumed as the damaging factor. Part 4, with its qualitative observations on school practice, would then have been more extensively validated by Parts 1–3.

The Schools Council study (original report 1978) was accused of being anecdotal and was discredited because it did not attempt to back its description of racism with a quantitative base to its analysis, but used only the qualitative descriptive report. The Rampton Report (1981) offered a limited statistic that seemed as much to deny its challenge to the racism it reported in the school system as supported it. My own study was an attempt to bridge the two; to build up a wide base of evidence from which the structures of racism that are featured in academic argument can be seen in terms of effect in the school system. Its success, in terms of academic rigour, may be limited, but as descriptive of a reality for black people, now more clearly perceived by white, the contention that white racism in its perpetuation of privilege is at the essence of racial disharmony in Britain is supportable by this thesis.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

[Refer also to Chapter 3, pp. 53–67 and Chapter 8, pp. 138–147]

The initial focus of this review is on relevant research and literature on Bradford and its citizens, as this study was planned as an analysis of the local situation in order to provide information on the basis of which political action could be enjoined, whether for formulating local authority policy and practice in the schools or in counteracting it.

There is one comprehensive history of Bradford (Fieldhouse, 1978) from the Ice Age to the 1970's, written by a local headteacher with school children in mind as his readership. It is interesting and clear, but culled mainly from secondary sources. The chapter on education recounts the major events in the development of the school system and the personalities involved, applauding Bradford's reputation as a pioneer in the field of schooling. The brief reference to immigrants from India, Pakistan and the West Indies feeds on stereotypes:

"Registers were soon sprinkled with unpronounceable names from the East and romantic names like Nathaniel Parchment Hilton from the West. Traditional letters to teacher were enlivened by others starting "Good Morning Miss", or "Dear Sir, I most and respectfully beg you to grant Hussain live for one day"

[1]

Fieldhouse offers an optimistic view of race relations in the city:

"Happily children erect few barriers, and neither creed or colour prevented friendships from being quickly established." [2]

A more detailed history of education in the city (Parker (ed.), 1970) was published to commemorate the centenary of the 1870 Education Act, Forster having been a Member of Parliament for Bradford at the time. It was written co-operatively by the Director of Education, senior administrators, college lecturers, headteachers and school staff in senior positions in Bradford. It is a valuable record of information on the school system, much of it from primary sources.

The presence in the school system of children of Asian immigrants is mentioned only briefly in relation to Primary education and the development of the Special Services in the Directorate of Education:

"The influx of immigrant children has created one of the most difficult educational and social problems ever faced in Bradford. The Education Committee and the teaching staffs have tackled this problem with vigour and in the true tradition of their pioneering ancestors." [1]

It is essentially uncritical of policies and practice.

'Educational problems' was the theme of a paper by T F Davies (1966), then Director of Education, on the situation in the Bradford schools. He saw that an emotional atmosphere unfortunately pervaded the problems associated with immigration so that it was easy to exaggerate the difficulties:

"It is all too easy to blame immigration for our present ills of shortage of accommodation and teaching staff." [2]

There was no published research work on the Asian children in the Bradford schools specifically in 1976 when this project was initiated, apart from a very small study undertaken by the Schools Psychological Service (Peace, 1971). This aimed to investigate infant school progress, with particular reference to the language of immigrant children whose parents came from the Indian sub-continent, against a control group of children whose parents were not immigrant, in association with their concentration in the schools. It was found that there were significant differences between immigrant and control groups in terms of reading age, syntax, morphology and relevance of the language offered by the children in an interview situation, but that this did not correlate with the proportion of immigrant children on the school roll. Difficulties were encountered in the conduct of the research, both in giving the test and in scoring it, because of the cross-cultural element in

it. It was still used as one of the pointers to the infant Language Centre policy in the early seventies, however [1]. A further project, undertaken by the LEA (Beaumont, 1975), aimed to assess the feasibility of objective testing of language with Infant children who spoke English as a second language.

Thus such research as there had been in the Bradford situation was focussed on language acquisition and testing. Indeed, Bradford teachers had pioneered work on teaching English as a second language (Garvie, 1972(a), 1976).

Subsequently an information gathering and analysing project was undertaken to offer an understanding of the cultural variety of the family background of the children of Asian minority group families in the Bradford Infant Centres (Beaumont, 1974-76). It was to be a contribution to improving understanding where a stereotype of 'immigrant' may have evolved, but also to be of help:

"in understanding the reception child and accommodating him within the British school system." [2]

Other aspects of the situation of the Asian immigrant in Bradford had been subjected to research. Dahya's monograph (1974) is a valuable source of information on the details of ethnicity of some of the Asian minority groups in Bradford. Le Lohe (1967, 1975) analysed their voting habits and Richardson (1976) analysed the New Commonwealth immigrant groups, according to information from the 1971 Census, by class, residence and employment. Carter and Jones (1978, 1979) discussed the Asians' residential distribution and business involvement in the city and their relative exclusiveness. Butterworth (1967), in a research report for the churches on migrant workers in Western Europe, provided some background information on the immigration of Asians to Bradford and their situation. Hitch (1975) wrote a doctoral thesis on migration and mental illness

using case studies from Bradford, that provided updated and further information to Butterworth's, including reference to other ethnic groups in the city. However, it was another unpublished PhD thesis (Saifullah–Khan, 1974) that provided the most detailed social anthropological data.

Saifullah–Khan's study was an intensive one of a Mirpuri family in Bradford and its kinship network in other cities in Britain and in Pakistan. In the line of the cultural pluralist's school of race research she argued for an understanding of the Pakistani in Bradford that takes cognisance of the variety of Pakistani ethnicity. She showed the dominant community's classification 'the Pakistani community' to be over-simplified and stereotyped. She argued further that to understand the immigrant in Britain, his housing, employment and residential space, one must understand the society from which he had come and its constraints.

Saifullah–Khan only touches on the topic of the school education of the Mirpuri child in Bradford or Pakistan. She found that schooling was highly valued in the family she studied, more because of its examination orientation and the status and position that the obtaining of qualifications was seen to give, than for its 'educational' content per se. Much of the latter was seen as the responsibility of the home. She suggests that:

"the fact that education in Britain is not seen as a threat to the traditional family composition and relationships, to the traditional status hierarchy .... is due to emphasis on education as an instrument to better things and to the parents' lack of understanding of British educational methods." [1]

As this study has cross-cultural elements in it, considering the situation in the school system of children of recent immigrants of a variety of ethnic groups which the receiving society perceives as different, then it links with research work on prejudice. It does not claim to be a major contribution to that already heavily researched field. Reference to key works is appropriate, however.

A prejudice can be described as any attitude or opinion that is based on assumptions that have not been rationally tested (Allport, 1954). In usage the word normally carries unfavourable implications. In Britain of the 1970s and 80s, linked to assumptions about racial categories, racial prejudice or 'racialism' refers chiefly to skin colour groupings though the term is used to describe anti-Semitism and loosely to describe Anglo-Irish relations. Usage of the word 'racialism' in the race relations literature is not consistent. Rex (1973) for instance uses it to refer to both the racial prejudice and to racial discrimination. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term 'racialism' as synonymous with 'racial prejudice': a pre-rational attitude or opinion held about groups perceived as different in terms of skin colour. Racialism affects both groups in the relationship in their attitudes both to themselves and to each other. For me, it is that which P L van den Berghe (1967) describes as 'racism':

"Racism is any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races." [1]

I would retain the term 'racism' (see Wellman, 1977, pp.35 and 586) for action following on such a prejudice or for an institutionalised racial discrimination that might be fuelled and perpetuated by such racialism.

Allport's (1954) comprehensive study of the origin and nature of prejudice collected together and reported research findings that were mainly a response to the anti-Semitism of World War II and American White-Negro relations preceding the Civil Rights Movement. The work referred to the massive scientific research project on the 'authoritarian personality' (Adorno et al, 1950) and more descriptive studies such as that of Lippman (1922) who is credited with establishing the concept of stereotyping in modern social psychology. Allport himself argues for a

multi-causational approach to prejudice:

"help comes from historical, sociocultural and situational analysis as well as from analysis in terms of socialization, personality dynamics, phenomenology and finally, but not least important, in terms of actual group differences. To understand prejudice and its conditions the results of investigations at all these levels must be kept in mind." [1]

Of particular relevance to this study from that era of research on prejudice in the States is the work of Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950, 1964) because of their inferences that:

"better ethnic relations are possible within one society and that modern education, particularly the education of the small child, could be so improved that fewer of them would need to mature into intolerant adults .... that it seems possible to raise a generation which will be relatively free from ethnic intolerance is not only a hope but a real possibility and hence a great challenge." [2]

They emphasised 'rewarding contact' between individuals and groups as a means of decreasing prejudice and that it was subjective feelings of deprivation not actual hardship that correlated with intolerance.

In Britain, Davey (1974) made a considerable research input in this area. He related the growth of prejudice to the development of an ability to categorise in young children and thus saw it as endemic to social life. With Norburn (1980) and Mullin (1980; 1982) he investigated the extent of ethnic awareness among Primary school children.

Since the Asian groups in Bradford were also perceived as different in racial terms, according to skin colour, then this study has further links with the vast literature on race. In the early 1950's when relatively few non-white immigrants came to Britain, British research scarcely admitted the existence of colour prejudice. Gradually with the increase in the number of immigrants, 'race relations' was developed as an academic discourse, drawing on the theory of disciplines such as sociology, psychology and social psychology and later with a

clearly perceived political dimension.

Early studies such as those of Little, K (1948), Richmond (1955) and Banton (1959) pre-dated the major colonial immigration. Little, studying the Cardiff dock area in 1946, set out a colour-class hypothesis. He suggested that British society identified coloured people with the lowest social class and therefore social distance was maintained to protect social status. Richmond concentrated on the dockland of Liverpool with its settled non-white community. He found colour prejudice to be associated with status, insecurity and sexual jealousy. Benton's study concentrated on areas where contact with non-whites was rare and despite stereotyping, tolerance appeared to be the norm. Benton went on to develop a race relations hypothesis of 'the stranger'. He suggested that colonial immigrants were seen by the indigenous people as archetypal strangers both in appearance and behaviour, but in time they would be absorbed. His work was followed by that of Patterson (1963) in her study of West Indians in Brixton. She argued that, while colour marked out the group clearly and divided immigrant from 'host', it was the difference of experience that was basically divisive. In time the immigrant group, through adaptation, would be absorbed into the host society. Indeed, Paterson even suggests 'eventual assimilation' [1].

The Notting Hill and Nottingham riots in 1958 (Jephcott, 1964), and the settlement of the newcomers in rundown city areas, undermined this confidence. The non-white immigrants became scapegoats for the problems of inner city areas. The focus of research shifted from theory to policy [2] that would help adaptation of the immigrant to the host society, and a race relations industry was born.

Researchers, assuming that morality and reason would triumph in the end, set out to provide an informational base, a factual survey of a society with problems

(Banton, 1967; Rose et al, 1969; Deakin, 1970). The Institute of Race Relations study (Rose et al, 1969) was planned as 'a Myrdal for Britain while there was still time', to combat racial prejudice and thus racial discrimination [1]. A PEP report (Smith, 1977) again deals with facts and figures, this time of discrimination. While documenting discrimination, it clearly puts the blame on:

"a widespread acquiescence in the consequences of the prejudices of the few .... a widespread failure to prevent the prejudices of the few from expressing themselves in action." [2]

There was a confidence in the power of the law to control behaviour and within this, the implicit assumption of a British consensus on common values, the prerequisite for social integration.

This ethnocentric view of British society was later challenged by the SSRC Bristol Unit under Banton. The stranger hypothesis had worn thin with experience that denied the fact of assimilation in time. An alternative theory base of 'cultural pluralism' was posed for race relations in Britain. It still focussed on the ethnic minority communities (Jeffrey, 1976; Saifullah-Khan, '1974, 1977(a)) but with multiculturalism rather than minority adaptation as its policy for integration. The goal was mutual tolerance. This school of thought also concentrated on the prejudice and supposed cultural superiority of the majority community as the basis of racial disharmony. It was presumed that through education, this could be dissolved.

Another challenge to the ethnocentric view of British society came through a theoretical analysis that listened to the black experience itself (Coard, 1971; John and Humphrey, 1971). It took account of institutional 'racism', that was more

[1] While 'discrimination' can be defined as an act of differentiating, in this usage the term is linked with social status (stratification) and becomes a function of political and economic domination by groups. Thus an action or a policy of 'positive discrimination' is that which is designed to address the status differential between groups, or between individuals as representing groups, to the advantage of the lower status group.

than the prejudice of a few but was the coercive power of the majority community through social institutions, however unwittingly used, over the minority. In Britain, 'racism' refers to the domination of white groups over those whom they define as non–white. It is racialism promoted through institutional power (see 'white racism', p. 586). This power can defend the privilege of the former, because of the disadvantaged position of the latter. Dummett (1973) and Moore (1975) showed the way forward for white researchers to put their knowledge at the disposal of those fighting racism by exposing racist institutions. The theory was concerned with politics, that is hierarchy, status, power:

"any attempt to explain the structure and dynamics of race–relations situations in terms of the strangeness of the newcomer, of culture shock, or in terms of immigrant and host, is inadequate .... We would insist that without the power or stratification element there would be no race–relations problem." [1]

For Allen (1971) the stratification aspect was seen as a case of 'new minorites, old conflicts'. The 'minority' label (viz. Young, 1932) was used to refer to groups:

"whose members share racial or ethnic similarities that are thought to be different from or inferior to the characteristics of the dominant group, and as a result are treated differently and unequally." [2]

The class–colour connection was seen more as an accompaniment of poverty in a class–structured society than as a consequence of colour prejudice, though it could fuel a spiral of stereotyping and discrimination. The policy bias of such a theory was to show positive discrimination to disadvantaged communities (Little, A, 1978) since racial disadvantage was seen to co–exist with general social disadvantage. The outcome in the field of education was an expansionist policy that may have reduced actual deprivation, though research has shown that this has not decreased the gap of inequality between the privileged in society and the rest.

[2] S Allen (1971) *New Minorities, Old Conflicts: Asian and West Indian Immigrants in Britain*, p.10. See also D Young (1932) *American Minority Peoples*
A more explicit Marxist analysis would see intention rather than coincidence in this class-colour correlation:

"Race prejudice is a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatising some group as inferior, so that the exploitation of either the group itself or its resources may both be justified." [1]

This is a quotation from the classic work by Cox (1948) from the United States of America, but British academics have taken up the theme. Thus Sivanandan (1976):

"racism is not its own justification. It is necessary only for the purpose of exploitation .... you exploit by discriminating." [2]

He saw racism as a ploy of the state to defend capital in the early stages of the immigration, though later 'from the fear of the mass politics that it may generate in the black underclass ... in a time of massive unemployment and urban decay' [3] it was dropped in favour of positive discrimination:

"Racism dies in order that capital may survive." [4]

Thus, he saw positive discrimination and racism as alternative government policies to conserve state power and retain the capitalist status quo, depending on the economic state of the country.

Rex's analysis (1973) is less strident but again emphasises the political dimension of racism. He argued for an understanding of minorities that did not exclude them from the political process nor merely integrate them into the culture of capitalist individualism, but placed them within the mainstream of British working-class politics. His was a politically pluralist view of society. For Rex, race relations problems were primarily linked with the phenomenon of colonialism.

[4] ibid., p.367
and he offered a tentative theory of race relations thus:—

"Firstly .... Colonialism produces, in colonial and metropolitan countries alike, certain situations of a particularly harsh and exploitative kind, usually marked by a degree of physical compulsion which is unusual in the liberal-democratic and social democratic countries. Secondly, within this, racialism is marked by a closure on mobility and the allocation of roles according to the presence or absence of some external sign thought to be unalterable. Thirdly, such situations throw up, and are subsequently sustained by, racist theories of a more or less systematic, more or less sophisticated, but always implicitly deterministic kind." [1]

With Sivanandan, Rex saw race relations in the economic context of capitalist exploitation. For Rex, change could come through political parties, with an increase in the power of the political left. For Sivanandan it had to come through control of the means of production, being taken into the hands of the exploited provided they were not co-opted to the capitalist enterprise [2].

It would seem to me that both the cultural (social) and economic aspects of race relations are interconnected in the political. Both may be held in balance in a theory of white racism such as that developed by Wellman (1977) of:—

"culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities." [3]

The term 'white racism' has been used by American sociologists since the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's (Goldschmid, 1970). It describes a situation seen as damaging to both white and non-white groups. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote uncompromisingly:

"White America needs to understand that it is poisoned to its soul by racism and the understanding needs to be carefully documented and consequently more difficult to reject." [4]

In this context, then, the term 'black' refers primarily to a status group and only

[1] J Rex (1973) Race, Colonialism and the City, p.223
secondarily to skin colour.

In Britain, the concept of white racism has been tacitly acknowledged in academic literature (Grigg, 1967) but only more recently explicitly proposed as a theoretical basis for an understanding of race relations (Government (UK), Rampton Report, 1981). While 'black' may be acceptable as a political description for Afro-Caribbean and Asian groups, its usage is socially unacceptable by/for many Asian people. Thus there are problems of terminology and perception.

However, an approach through white racism takes account of discrimination that is not based even on an acquiescence in the prejudice of the few, but rather is a culturally sanctioned, rational response to struggles over scarce resources. In Britain, it puts the focus of study on the white community and its institutionally sustained privilege over those whom it defines as 'non-white'. This racism and its attendant potential for discrimination is pervasive. Wellman shows its presence throughout the class structure in America, though it may be demonstrated more overtly as racial prejudice in those of low socio-economic status who are most closely in competition with the racial minorities for social and economic resources. The concept is pertinent to the work of Rex and Sivanandan on colonialism, a black underclass, and the stratification in capitalist industrial society which offer a theory for the subordinated position of racial minorities.

The findings of research and literature specifically focussed on education and race relations are summarised in three studies (Goldman and Taylor, 1966; Taylor, 1974; Taylor, 1981). The relevant studies have been referred to at points at which they were applicable to the thesis discussion.

The work that most comprehensively linked the topics of prejudice, racism and education in school in the British context was that of Milner (1975). Milner's research replicated that of Goodman (1964) in the States, on the self-image of the black child. Both found that a high proportion of black children apparently
"misidentify" when asked to choose between two racial groups as depicted by dolls or to choose which of two pictures most closely resembles themselves. They further demonstrated, with Pushkin (1967), Brown and Johnson (1971) and Richardson and Green (1971) that racial awareness was present in very young children and a negative evaluation of black people developed and increased from the age of five. While Milner concentrated on the psychological aspects of race relations, these were set in a social context that took them beyond the personal to 'a climate of prejudice' [1], hinting at the institutionalisation of it.

Under the Race Relations Act 1976, Local Education Authorities were placed under 'a positive duty to ensure that facilities for education were provided without racial discrimination' (Clause 19), on the assumption that even if discrimination were removed overnight, the effects of past discrimination would still prevent minority groups from competing educationally and for jobs on a basis of genuine equality. The following educational practices could be listed as discriminatory, though maybe 'unintentionally' so (Clause 1(i)(b)):

"the imposition of a curriculum based on a cultural framework more familiar to indigenous pupils than to minority group pupils, refusing facilities in the school curriculum for groups to keep their mother tongue and cultural background, spending the library allowance of a multiracial school only on books which reflect white people and Anglo-Saxon countries ...." [2]

Positive action, in this context, allows for exceptional action in order that special needs of a particular racially disadvantaged group can be met in education, training and welfare (Clause 35). It aims to tackle racial discrimination and disadvantage and to promote equal opportunities for political, economic and social group advantage.

Much of the race relations literature and research of this period, as has been noted (pp.582–3) was focussed on policy change. The school system was perceived

as a key change agent, as it was one of the institutions that could maintain racial
states, for instance:

"traditional and accepted practices, policies and attitudes by taking a 'colour
blind' approach, perpetuate inequality and prejudice. If the race relations
aspects of education are not placed firmly on the agenda for authority and
teacher discussion, racism will reproduce itself of benign neglect." [1]

Therefore this study linked into literature on the transformist role of education.
Educational philosopher–practitioners such as Freire (1972a, 1972b, 1976) and Curle
(1973) describe the dynamic possibilities of education that might be a liberating
force for the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressor' too, taking a socio–political view of
the problem. Their methods were concerned with the raising of the awareness of
both personal and political constraints on action through dialogue. Freire saw
education as cultural action for freedom, engaged in opposition to a dominating
power élite. It was part of a revolutionary political process. Curle saw its aim as
ultimately towards personal liberation, but to this end, education itself needed
liberating from 'an improper servitude to a system which values it less for what it
contributes to the mind of man than for its service to his greed for power and
possessions' [2].

This study was itself initiated as an experiment in what a 'peace study' might
be [3] in the context of a British school of peace studies in a University that was
committed to the application of learning to human welfare [4]. It was based on a
concept of peace as a positive quality of social life and of a potential for personal
relationships where each individual would affirm each other as an equal human
being (viz. Buber, 1937), though not necessarily as having equal responsibility in

Implications of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976, p.8.
[3] See Appendix A.5 on Method
the community at any time. This is the value base of the definition of peaceful relationships proposed by the first Professor of the School of Peace Studies, Bradford, Adam Curle.

Curle (1971) considers the social and psychological background of situations of privilege and oppression (the political reality). On this basis of understanding he argues for a promotion of awareness of the balance of power in relationships between individuals and groups or political units to allow a mutuality of accommodation and reciprocity. While there might be unequal power relationships (viz. mother and child; 'genius' and simpleton'; rich and poor) there is no 'inappropriate domination'. The emphasis is on 'mutuality' in which one partner assists the other to achieve his ends and so serves his own [1]. The responsibility for acting on the awareness is ultimately personal but 'it is within the capacity of everyone to increase the number of peaceful relationships in which he is involved' [2]. Thus unpeacefulness is:

"A situation in which human beings are being impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of the type of relation that exists between themselves (as individuals or group members) and other persons or groups." [3]

The impediment need not be of overt physical domination, but may be mediated indirectly through educational structures which by discriminatory distribution of material and psychological benefits affect the life chances of members of the schools differentially and racially. This notion of indirect, institutional dominance approximates to Galtung's definition of 'structural violence' (Galtung, 1969, 1980). Galtung divides violence into personal violence, physical and psychological, and structural violence, by which he means uneven distribution of resources and uneven distribution of power over resources [4]. In such an 'unpeaceful relationship' the

[2] ibid., p.274
[3] ibid., p.1
'mutuality' is skewed in favour of the dominant group. Galtung calls the absence of physical violence, negative peace and the absence of structural violence, positive peace or social justice. The two together would constitute 'peace'.

A discussion of power therefore is basic to a political concept of peace. Lukes' radical analysis (1974) offers insight into the nature of power and authority/influence that takes account not only of an overt conflict of interests, but also of that 'most effective and insidious use of power' [1] to prevent such conflicts from arising in the first place. Thus he defines as latent conflict, that:

"which consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude. These latter may not express or even be conscious of their interests but .... the identification of those interests ultimately always rests on empirically supportable and refutable hypotheses." [2]

Such an understanding and attempted exposition of latent conflict and the communication of the results of the research is essential to Curle's concept of education for awareness [3]. It would seem to me that the problems of identifying either 'real interests' (Lukes) or 'inappropriate domination' (Curle) requires an interactive research method with the researcher involved in dialogue with the communities concerned.

Lukes' analysis extends the work of Dahl (1961), Polsby (1963) and Wolfinger (1971) who researched power situations from a behaviourist perspective on 'decisions' made, and also that of Bachrach and Baratz (1970) and Parry and Morriss (1974) who perceived that 'non-decisions' were also behaviours and therefore both measurable and important though unarticulated. Lukes' analysis goes beyond a psychological perspective on human behaviour to a sociological approach to group relationships and thus parallels the work of Curle and Galtung on peace.

A later recent, comprehensive work on authority (Watt, 1982) catalogues aspects of authority and its relationship with power rather than advances the discussion.

Lukes' analysis of power relationships is inevitably value-laden, especially when applied to a question of the 'real interests' of a group. For him, the radical analyst maintains:

"that men's wants may themselves be the product of a system which works against their interests, and in such cases relates the latter to what they would want and prefer were they able to make the choice." [1]

However, for Lukes, this identification of 'real interests' is up to the minority person or group 'exercising choice under conditions of relative autonomy' [2] for instance through democratic participation. The extent to which this happens will depend on the skills of dialogue within the community that allow the real interests of groups and of individuals in them to be heard, and on the political skills of the decision-makers that weave these into policy.

The aim of this review has been to give a broad, developmental scan of the field as a background to this thesis, rather than a detailed analysis of the contributions to the field. The latter is available in published collations of research (see the Bibliography, p.632).

[1] S Lukes (1974) op.cit., p.34
[2] ibid., p.33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Books and Pamphlets</th>
<th>594</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Journal Articles and Newspaper Reports</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. City of Bradford, Local Authority Memoranda and Reports</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teacher Training Documentaries, Television</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Some Selected Bibliographies of Works in the Field of Race Relations and Education</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS


Bardell, G S; Forrest G M & Shoesmith, D J. **Comparability in GCE: a review of thirty-four studies.** Manchester: Joint Matriculation Board on behalf of the GCE Examining Boards, 1978.


  *Social Class, Attitudes and Achievement.* Slough: NFER, 1971


Children's Book Trust, publishers of books in paperback for young children, New Delhi, India


Galton, F. Hereditary genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences, 1869.


Government (UK) Reports from Royal Commissions, Home Office etc. (selective)
See also Department of Education and Science:

Hadow reports -


Ministry of Education. The Nation's Schools: their plan and purpose.


Education for a Multiracial Society: permeating the school environment - illustrated from an infant classroom. Slough: NFER, 1974(a)

Education for a Multiracial Society: workshop - towards criteria for the evaluation of books in a multi-ethnic society. Slough: NFER, 1974(b)

Education for a Multiracial Society: reflecting the cultures of the children and their communities in the regular school curriculum – a project on communication by third-year juniors. London: Schools Council, 1975(b)


The Achievement of West Indian Pupils. Union evidence to the Rampton Committee of Inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups. London: NUT, 1980.


Parekh, B. The Indian Family. University of Hull, 1974 (Typewritten).


Taylor, M J. Caught between: a review of research into the education of pupils of West Indian origin. Windsor: NFER/Nelson, 1981.


Thomson, B M. "Real Peace is Jesus". Paper submitted for the MA degree, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, 1975(a).

A child is a person not a possession. Paper submitted for the MA degree, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, 1975(b).


Bussing in Bradford. Postgraduate seminar paper, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, PG/76/3, 1976(b).


2. JOURNAL ARTICLES AND NEWSPAPER REPORTS


Cookson, C. "Where have all the whites gone ?", *Times Educational Supplement*, 3 February 1978.


"To each according to his 1977 class", Times Educational Supplement, 6 January 1984.


Garvie, E M. "Language does not 'rub off'"*, Times Educational Supplement, 5 February 1971(a).


Hagedorn, J. "The language project that is the talk of Lancashire schools", Times Educational Supplement, 4 June 1982.


"Confusion reigns on 'grants for race-mix schools'", Times Educational Supplement, 21 April 1978.

"Union in race projects row", Times Educational Supplement, 10 November 1978.


Little, A; Mabey, C & Russell, J. "Do small classes help a pupil?", New Society, 21 October 1971.


McKay, M & Rock, D. "Divided they fall?", Times Educational Supplement, 10 March 1978.

Mather, I. "GCE: Sitting in with the markers", The Observer, 10 July 1977, p. 11

"GCE: pass or fail", The Observer, 17 July 1977.


Rai, U. "Immigrant teachers who find it's temp. work or nothing", Times Educational Supplement, 13 October 1978(a).

"How Bradford College became a place of hope for the 'Indian Englishman'", Times Educational Supplement, 3 November 1978(b).

"Life and slow progress of black teachers chasing career success", Times Educational Supplement, 17 November 1978(c).


3. CITY OF BRADFORD, LOCAL AUTHORITY MEMORANDA AND REPORTS

Listed in chronological order:

City of Bradford Education Department. File of the minutes of the Teachers' Advisory Council, Schools Division, 1964-1968.

City of Bradford Education Committee, Primary Education Subcommittee, Item No. 3. The Education of Commonwealth Immigrant Children, 23 November 1964.

City of Bradford Education Department, T F Davies, Director of Education. The Education of Children of Commonwealth Immigrant Parents. 2 July 1965.


The Education of Children of Commonwealth Immigrants, report on the position at February 1968.


The Education of Children of Commonwealth Immigrants, report on the position at March 1972.

City of Bradford Education Department. Directives with regard to children from overseas. SDS, March/April 1973.


_Certain Measures relating to Children of Immigrants and Other Children from Overseas._ Local administrative memorandum (Schools Division) No. 1/77, (Special Services Division) No. 4/77. 13 June 1977.


_The Education of Children of Parents from the New Commonwealth or Pakistan._ _The Education of Young Persons and Adults with Origins in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan._ Annual report showing the situation in November 1978, with appendices 1-5. Dated March 1979.

_The Education of Children of Parents from the New Commonwealth or Pakistan._ Annual report showing the situation in November 1979.


_District Trends._ Annual statistical report published by the Council. 1977–
4. TEACHER TRAINING DOCUMENTARIES, TELEVISION

Contributed to by the author as an outcome of this research.


5. SOME SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF WORKS IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS AND EDUCATION


Taylor, M J. "Caught Between: a review of research into the education of pupils of West Indian origin, Windsor: NFER/Nelson, 1981.


The Runnymede Trust, Bulletin with index. Published by the Runnymede Trust, 37a Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8PP.
6. ADDITIONAL REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 3 (pp.53 - 67).


“Creative subversion”, in mimeo, 1974.


Hall, S; Critcher, C; Jefferson, T; Clarke, J & Roberts, B. Policing the Crisis: mugging, the state and law and order. London: Macmillan, 1978.


Midwinter, E. Priority Education. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972


Addendum: THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL AUTHORITY POLICY CONCERNING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES (RACE) AND SOME ISSUES FOR THE SCHOOLING OF BLACK CHILDREN IN BRITAIN IN THE 1980's

There has been a considerable lapse of time between the field work research and writing up of this thesis on the Asian-named Minority Groups in a British School System and its final presentation. During that time I have been involved, as an Education Adviser, with Bradford Local Education Authority (LEA), 1982-1989, addressing issues of equality of opportunity, and planning and supporting the implementation of race relations policy and practice.

The data of the thesis is from the 1970's and has to be situated historically. This addendum to the thesis is a review of some of the research and literature in the field published since 1980, its relevance to the thesis and my reflections as a practitioner on this. I shall demonstrate that the issues raised and discussed in the context of the 1970's are still far from being solved. What is more, the strategies proposed on the basis of my research, and to an extent implemented in Bradford LEA, are still relevant. They are more difficult to promote following the changes being brought about by new legislation, including the Education Reform Act 1988.

This addendum is in four parts. I shall look first at the reality of the broad development of Local Education Authority race relations policies in Britain in the 1980's. I shall then focus on some issues for the schooling of black children, through the 1980's, with particular reference to Bradford and to my research: the
racialisation of policy discourse, curricula debates on multicultural and anti racist education, 'achievement' and 'under-achievement' in schools and the effects of allocation procedures. Thirdly, this will be discussed in relation to inequalities in society, reflected in and reproduced by education institutions (Chapter 3). Finally, I shall reassess the conclusions of my thesis in the light of this review.
The Development of Local Authority Policy concerning Equal Opportunities (Race) in Britain from 1970's to 1980's.

The earliest responses to what was perceived as the increasingly multiracial nature of the British school population were not couched in 'racial' terms ('deracialisation': Miles, 1982; Reeves, 1983). They were essentially moral exhortations to fairness and social harmony.

In Bradford in the 1960's and 1970's the response was formulated, largely in an enclosed professional arena, in 'technicist' (Williams, 1979), reactive directives for the management of a large number of non-English speaking children in the school system. It pivoted around special English language provision (Chapter 13) and 'dispersal' (Chapter 10) for educational and social reasons. Even after 'bussing' was declared discriminatory under the Race Relations Act 1965 (following a Race Relations Board enquiry into the practice in Ealing, 1974; see Killian, 1979) and challenged locally by black parents, Bradford continued with a modified dispersal policy. It was justified as 'positive action' in terms of the Race Relations Act 1976, providing for the specific educational need of the individual child (Chapter 12 pp.174-179). In 1979 the policy was deracialised, though the practice only affected black pupils as far as English language provision was concerned.

Towards the end of the 1970's some LEAs were developing a more proactive policy of 'multicultural education', still not racially explicit and largely concerned with language provision for minority groups. The first LEAs to take formalised policies through the local
government processes were Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and Manchester.

The ILEA policy paper, *Multiethnic Education*, November 1977, was launched on a teaching profession that needed some persuading:

"Many heads and teachers did not favour multiracial approaches to education, nor did they feel that children should be seen or treated any differently because of race or colour. Many schools with this philosophy were in favour of cultural assimilation as an educational goal." [1]

While it affirmed an 'unequivocal commitment' to all students, it was directed at the Afro-Caribbean minority:

"The Authority has done much to meet the needs of its changing population, but despite these efforts and the individual successes achieved, there is some evidence that disproportionate numbers of people from ethnic minority groups are low achievers in terms of educational standards, have low expectations and aspirations, and lack confidence in the education system which itself appears not to take advantage of the vitality and richness to be derived from a multicultural society." [2]

It had been precipitated by a concern about the 'underachievement' of black children especially the Afro-Caribbean and the disruptive behaviour of some in schools. Coard's (1971) classic paper, and Little (1975) and Mabey (1981), working with the results of an ILEA literacy survey (1968) and its follow up, brought to light gross injustices. As well as the apparent trend towards 'educational underachievement', it appeared that while 'immigrant' students constituted only 13.2% of the ILEA's primary and secondary school populations they were 23.3% of the students in the Authority's schools for 'educationally subnormal' (ESN) pupils. Furthermore, their teachers believed that 'a misplacement was four times more
likely in the case of immigrant children and that the methods and processes of attainment were the major reasons for this misplacement' [3]. This policy document did address racial matters, but barely touched the issue of racism as a contributor to inequality. Disenchanted black communities set up supplementary schools to help their children make good in the failure of the state system.

Managing local authority policy direction is no easy task, when the documents have to be negotiated through party political decision-making machinery. The ILEA brought all parties in behind their policy, but at the expense of the overt demands of black parents. The outcome was a 'benevolent multi-culturalism' (Gibson, 1976), focussing on equal opportunities as a policy for social cohesion; a liberal, 'compensatory' model premised on social/cultural deficit. Continued agitation by black parents and persistent 'underachievement' by Afro-Caribbean students in ILEA led to the setting up of the national Rampton Inquiry (1981).

In Manchester, the context was somewhat different. The LEA policy document *Education for a Multicultural Society*, was given Council approval in June 1980. It too was directed at all students and schools were encouraged to 'adopt a pluralist approach and to actively seek ways to use the minority cultures of one community (to develop) good relations on the basis of mutual respect for different cultures' [4]. In Manchester, with its long history of immigration, there was no dispersal of immigrant pupils nor were there reception centres. There was a heavy emphasis on language provision, with generous pupil-teacher ratios - a 'remedial' model. At the time
that the education package was being taken through the Council (late 1970's) there was considerable concern about the rise of the National Front and working class white racism. This alerted Members to the issues of wider social inequality and they inferred from these a need for education to provide equality of opportunity. The issues of the education of black children were combined with those of the white working class under the headings of 'disadvantage' and 'deprivation', ignoring any specific racial disadvantage. The Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage had also been established in Manchester then (see p.158). However by the time policy was translated into practice, it was the 'cultural understanding' (Gibson, 1976) model that survived. An Ethnic Studies Unit was established and ignorance about 'cultural minorities' was highlighted as a block to good race relations. A prediction that multicultural education would reduce prejudice and discrimination was a dominant theme - what Chris Mullard (1982) caricatured as the 'wishful thinking' approach to social change. This approach was condemned by the local Black Parents Association for not seeking 'to address the political culture of the inner city' [5]. Troyna and Williams (1986) argue that:

"it failed to interrogate those wider social and structural realities which circumscribe the life opportunities of black students and which constitute the main block to the realisation of equality of opportunity in a racially stratified society."

Both these latter LEA policies, while proactive in terms of 'education for a multicultural society', were reactive to community unrest. Their aim was to reduce conflict, but focussing on the
background and life styles of the ethnic minority communities rather than on change in the structures and processes in institutions. Neither Authority could acknowledge the extent to which their own provision exacerbated discrimination. Both, with Bradford, later moved towards a more explicit antiracist approach.

During the 1980's a growing number of local education authorities produced policy documents designed to remedy 'racial' inequalities and 'racial' differences in achievement. Bradford was early in the field. The Council adopted an all party statement on race relations in December 1981, committing the local authority Directorates to:

"encouraging equal opportunity, to reducing racial disadvantage and to eradicating racial discrimination" [7].

The Directorate of Education's position statement was published in August 1982, with an interim action plan (14 September 1982) requiring positive action in respect of staff recruitment and selection and an enhanced plan for ethnic record keeping. The Council brought in a comprehensive training programme for staff involved in recruitment over the next few years, with specially appointed 'race trainers'. The Council's Equal Opportunities policy was extended to incorporate other inequalities (gender, disability and special educational needs) in subsequent years.

The Education Position Statement on race relations was followed by Local Administrative Memoranda (LAMs) for schools on Provision for Pupils of Ethnic Minority Communities (LAM 2/82), taking account of cultural diversity and Responses to racialist behaviour in school
LAM 6/83), a codification of good practice and a tool for monitoring this. In Bradford, because most of the racial minorities are also religious minorities (Muslim, Hindu, Sikh), there is frequently commonality between racial and religious discrimination. A conference was set up to review the Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education in November 1982, a new multifaith syllabus published in July 1983 and an Interfaith Education Centre established in 1984 (formally opened in 1986). Halal meat (prepared according to the religious needs of the Muslim pupils) was made available for school meals in 1984. There was already a sophisticated provision of Community Language teaching in the Upper Schools, with some bilingual education for the youngest children, and the local authority was supporting community/supplementary schools for language development and religious instruction through government Community Programme Funding. A curriculum policy statement was in draft by 1982 and eventually published as Towards Education For All in July 1987. At this stage it was a reiteration of what was perceived and to an extent provided as good practice by a majority of the schools, following considerable consultation with, and inservice training of, teachers.

It has been shown (Chapter 17) that Bradford came to this from a principle of 'assimilation' in the 1960's, shifting towards 'integration' through a respect for cultural diversity in the 1970's (following the National Foundation for Education Research project work; Chapter 14, pp.282-287). This was partly in response to the demands of black parents. Both of these approaches focussed on the
local authority's perceived need to manage the children of immigrant parental origin, whether to disperse 'the problem' in the 1960's or contain it in the 1970's. The redefinition of 'the problem' in racial terms in the 1980's was not a break from this but sought to place the issues in a broader social context of inequality:

"The objectives that this authority now wishes to emphasise include many of those considered in response to the respect for cultural diversity and appreciation of general social and educational disadvantage. However, it wishes to place them firmly in a context which acknowledges the central, pervasive, influence of racism, amongst other inequalities." [8]

Bradford's declared policy aims for the 1980's were:

"i. To seek ways of preparing all children and young people, and members of society generally, for life in a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society;
ii. To counter racism and racist attitudes, and the inequalities and discrimination which result from them;
iii. To build on and develop the strengths of cultural and linguistic diversity;
iv. To respond (with) sensitivity to the special needs of minority groups." [9]

While the policy was for all pupils, it still had some focus on the needs of ethnic minority students as 'special'. It was attitudinal, exhorting respect for persons, but was set within the context of a broader social understanding of discrimination and a need for action. As articulated in Towards Education for All (1987) a 'socio-political' dimension (Chapter 14, p.295; see Williams, 1979) permeated the document, with teachers' attention called to concepts such as 'justice', 'racism', 'colonialism', 'resistance' and 'interdependence' to encourage and enable pupils to understand and question issues of inequality.
My own work in the authority helped to move the rhetoric towards practice (pp. 302-3) through introducing the notion of 'equity' into the respect for difference and setting the debate into a context of racial justice and action. I was translating what black people were already implicitly or explicitly pointing out, into a basic level of practice (p. 307; pp. 336-341). At the time the focus of my work was on teacher, and especially Headteacher, training; later it was in providing information to Council members informally, and formally through the Committee structure, to affect policy. I had a key input into the training programme for recruitment and selection of staff. I collated the Local Administrative Memorandum 2/82 (Education for a Multicultural Society: Provision for Pupils of Ethnic Minority Communities) and the Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education, 1983 (Religious Education for Living in Today's World) and was responsible for setting up the Bradford Interfaith Education Centre. I was a member of the inspection team that evaluated Drummond Middle School in the wake of Mr. Honeyford's early public writings (Foster-Carter, 1987).

In Bradford, then, the development of attitudes and understanding for a multiracial society was still perceived as a key educational aim, but in a political context: an equity of respect for difference. In this, Bradford was working out its own practice, in parallel with some of the other large metropolitan districts, within an ambivalent, non-directive national policy climate. As has been described (Chapter 9) the Department of Education and Science (DES) gave minimal lead. The LEAs that racialised their education
policies, emphasised a cross party agreement in Council, apparently
with a political consensus. In Bradford, under conservative control
at the time, it was made quite clear that this was a political
necessity for attracting the Asian vote.

The new 'racialised' policies from LEAs such as Berkshire,
Bradford, Brent, Haringey, ILEA, Manchester and Sheffield stressed
the rights of all citizens. They were accompanied by a more or less
real intention and activity for community consultation.

The Berkshire policy documents (1983) to which Bradford (1987,
p.15) acknowledged a debt, declared a focus not on the special needs
(as defined by Whites) of black students, nor on the ethnocentric
evaluations of different cultures, but on white power, racial
inequality and discrimination. There was the intention, borne out in
practice in bringing the document into being, of involving black
participation in decision-making. However there was still no
absolute disjunction with the moralist approaches of the 1970's. The
continuity was shown through the commitment to ensure that society
would become fairer and more equal and just, described thus:

"Racial Equality. There will be perfect racial equality in
Britain if and when Asian and Afro-Caribbean people participate
fully in society and the economy, and are therefore proportionately
involved in management and government at all levels, and are not disproportionately involved in menial work or
unemployment or under-employment.

There will be racial equality in education, it follows, if and
when Asian and Afro-Caribbean people are proportionately
involved in teaching and administration at all levels, in
higher and further education, and in streams, sets, classes and
schools leading to higher and further education.

Racial Justice. There will be perfect racial justice in
Britain if and when the practice, procedures and customs
determining the allocation of resources do not discriminate,
directly or indirectly, against ethnic minority people, and when these practices are on the contrary fair to all." [10]

This assumes that social hierarchy is 'fair' as long as the racial, and presumably gender, distribution is equitable.

For Brent, a direct relationship between schools and social inequality was assumed but strategies for adjusting the actual structures of discrimination were not specified. The documents carried a general exhortation towards a fairer society. The endemic nature of racism, internalised by teachers and administrators in the education system, was seen as the policy context and the focus was on attitude change and consciousness raising around race (racism awareness workshops). ILEA followed a similar path. The interpretation of racism was similar to that of Brent (a combination of discriminatory practices, unequal relations and structures of power, and negative beliefs and attitudes), the policy and practice focus was on equal opportunities, particularly the production of reduced-bias teaching materials, both for race and gender. In implementation, the policies were more about life styles than life chances.

Some of the LEA's (Bradford, Sheffield and Manchester) saw community consultation as a main plank of their policy. 'In Sheffield and Manchester, policy documents were written by officers and circulated to schools and local groups for endorsement. Troyna and Williams (1986) report that in 1984, Manchester circulated a draft document, to replace the 1980 statement, to 95 local groups but few responded. Bradford was more proactive, going out to local community
groups in mosques and other community centres, and requiring schools to respond on issues relating to provision for ethnic minority pupils. In practice, when LAM 2/82 was compiled, the amount of information in the responses was daunting. As the officer who pulled it all together, as much as anything it was my knowledge (gained through community experience and research) of the ethnic minority communities that actually gave it shape. At the time, it was certainly appreciated by many people in the Asian communities, so I assume that consultation and listening were validated.

Consultation in Bradford, though broad, was distinctly selective in its outcomes. Halal meat was acceptable, but voluntary-aided Muslim schools and, on the whole, single-sex schooling, were not (Appendix A.3). The Council could use the Muslim Parents Association's low general standing in the Asian communities (not publicly stated by Muslim elders) and the contrary demands of the Asian Youth Movement to maintain a comprehensive, co-educational education system. The Council's insistence on the maintenance of a shared experience in schooling in the district had its antecedents in the Bradford Charter 1917, and a commitment to comprehensive co-education from 1948 (Chapter 1). However, a racial ambiguity in the Council's response to consultation was made clear when Mr. Honeyford was not sacked (See Foster-Carter, 1987). As the headteacher of Drummond Middle School, in a 90% Asian neighbourhood, he caused offence to parents by what were perceived as racist comments and writings. A Drummond Parents' Action Committee was formed in March 1984, geared towards the removal of the headteacher, but it was not
until March 1985 that Mr. Honeyford was temporarily suspended for a term on full pay, and December 1985 that his contract with the LEA was terminated, then by an 'early retirement' deal on his terms.

Manchester's 1984 policy is interesting, in the light of the murder of a black child at Burnage High School (MacDonald report, 1989). There was a strong focus on racial abuse when the policy was being developed (Troyna and Williams 1986). Local educational institutions were required to report racist incidents and evidence of the development of antiracist curriculum strategies. [11] This high profile on antiracism was cited by the media as responsible for a 'white backlash' and to blame for the tragic murders. The MacDonald report, in fact, endorsed Manchester's policy and practice developments in dealing with racism. However, it challenged well-intentioned 'symbolic moral anti-racism' which, as put into practice at Burnage High School, had the effect of polarising groups within the school, rather than of combatting racism. The report challenged Manchester LEA to seek ways of combating racism, not from the top down, but by involvement of the whole community.

Troyna and Williams (1986) concluded that even the new antiracist policies were more about containment than real change, reflecting the ideological and practical concerns of white professionals and politicians rather than those expressed by black community representatives:

"The result: policy presentations which allow for the unacknowledged, selective legitimation of particular forms of pressure and a general agreement that policies are for the 'public good'" [12]
They contended that the policies were presented in a 'racialised' but depoliticised moral form, couched in terms of justice, harmony, citizens rights like the multicultural policies before them. The rhetoric of 'equal opportunities for all' lacked a critical appraisal of the role of individual attitudes in the creation and maintenance of social inequalities (Brent) or of clear links between institutional racism in school, life chances and achievable educational goals (ILEA). On the whole these new, racially explicit LEA policies still focused the need for change on students, teachers and the curriculum, not on the broader socio-political context of inequality.

Troya and Williams (1986), from the policy documents of the seven LEAs listed above, identified as common concerns, English (second language) teaching, support for the mother tongue and curriculum development, particularly through the use of Section 11 LGA funded staff. Implementation and monitoring were to happen through inservice training for teachers and the collection and collation of statistics identifying ethnic minorities (Dorn, 1983). They perceived an increasing tendency for these LEAs to employ staff (using Section 11 funding) specifically to develop an antiracist curriculum and/or to liaise between school and community, racialising but at the same time running a risk of marginalising policy in practice. This is consistent with my experience in Bradford at the time. They observed that most of the seven local authorities had developed a Council-wide equal opportunities policy, though the focus was more on education, the big-spender, rather than Council-wide and
within that Directorate on schools and curriculum, rather than on the administration and employment practices.

However, Bradford local authority had a much more stringent monitoring, and staff recruitment and selection policy than Troya and Williams gave credit for, with a requirement for the training of staff responsible for recruitment (headteachers, advisers, education officers, chairs of governors) that had considerable impact on practice. The improvement of selection practice, incorporating 'positive action' (Race Relations Act 1976) to appoint black staff, increased the proportion of black employees in the authority. It continued to have an effect on black recruitment beyond the changes with the Education Acts (1986, No.2; 1988), and the Local Government Act, 1987 (with constraints around compulsory competitive tendering) that reduced the local authority's powers in the direct selection of staff, particularly in schools. The increase in the actual number of black staff employed by the local authority has not been large, 463 (2.1%) in 1982 increasing to 831 (6.7%), excluding the Directorate of Education, in the first quarter of 1991/92[13]. Of the centrally-based LEA staff (full time and part time), 89 (15%) were black staff, in the first quarter of 1991/92 but nearly half of these were at a very junior level (Officer Scale 3)[14]. While Bradford has a better record than many local authorities for equality of opportunity in employment (Ouseley, 1990), the small number of black officers at senior levels is a pointer to a need for wider social action and national policy directives.
Troyna and Williams (1986) found little directive, antiracist policy, though Manchester had a staff code of conduct to be upheld through disciplinary action if necessary. Bradford alone had the temerity to tell headteachers what to do and to monitor it. As the person who had to deliver much of this policy directive initially and receive the headteachers' hostility as 'professionals', it is quite clear to me why other LEAs remained 'permissive'. It also goes some way to explaining why Mr. Honeyford could respond confrontationally to his critics, with almost full backing of the National Association of Head Teachers locally as well as nationally, even though many Bradford headteachers were not sympathetic either to the tenets of the stand he took or to his writings. Headteachers in the mid 1980's were beginning to feel the preliminary tugs of central government challenge to the relative autonomy they had enjoyed since 1944. In calls for greater accountability, schools were required to publicise their aims and objectives (1983/84). The headteacher's role shifted from being that of senior professional in the school to one of manager of an institution (Coopers and Lybrand, 1988) and later manager of a business enterprise (devolution of financial management to schools under The Education Act, 1988).

Bradford's approach from 1981-1985, certainly generated community involvement and raised hopes that at the end of the 1980's are felt acutely as disappointed. In 1991, Bradford Racial Equality Council is proceeding with legal action against the Local Authority for racially discriminatory employment practice. Already, the black communities have brought 32 cases against Bradford Council since
1986, many of which have been substantiated in Industrial Tribunals. The, now Labour-controlled, Council has responded with a new equal opportunities statement which says the authority 'is committed to equality for everyone whatever their gender, race, disability, culture or religious beliefs' [15]. The Directorate now have to come up with implementation strategies, but these are unlikely to bring radical change, given the climate of insecurity brought by the gradual disempowering of local authorities (Local Government Acts, Education Reform Act) and of economic recession.

It has been argued that, from the 1970's and through the 1980's, while most LEA's paid little attention to Equal Opportunities (Race) in their policy documents, an increasing minority did do so. At first, the policies in this small group of authorities were 'deracialised' and did not address the political culture of racial inequality and their part in this. The ILEA (1977), for instance, focussed its policy on 'multicultural education', and Manchester (1980) on generic 'disadvantage' to be addressed through cultural understanding. Bradford (1981) was early in a move towards racial explicitness. The new policies acknowledged a pervasive influence of racism and set out to challenge this. There was some focus on the redistribution of power (Berkshire, 1983) and the promotion of this by means of community consultation (Bradford 1981-85). However, there was selectivity in what was and was not 'heard' by local government that related more to the promotion of 'law and order' than to any real change in the basic inequality in social structures. Most of the policy was still broadly moralist and exhortational
(Troyna and Ball, 1985a), racialised but still depoliticised (Troyna and Williams, 1986).

Even in those LEAs that did racialise their education policies in the 1980's, the policies were permissive rather than directive and interventionist, except in ILEA, Manchester and Bradford to some extent. Where they were directive, they were challenged, with effect, by the 'professional' power of headteachers (e.g. Honeyford in Bradford). Most authorities followed the 'laissez faire' national policy 'lead'. National government devolved responsibility for 'racial harmony' to local authorities, which devolved it to schools, on the whole, where it was often devolved to individual teachers' preferences. It is not surprising, therefore, that as the 1980's progressed and the competitive, enterprise culture of the Conservative government became more entrenched, that LEA Equal Opportunities (Race) policies returned to the closet. This move into deracialisation again, usually under a generic 'equal opportunities' format, was hastened by the break up of ILEA (Education Reform Act, 1988), the murder of a Bengali school boy at Burnage High School in Manchester (MacDonald Report, 1989), the Honeyford affair (Foster-Carter, 1987) and Bradford's uncomfortable role as a 'Tory flagship' local authority under Councillor Pickles, 1988-90.

Following sections will review in some detail, the debates on race issues and practices that affected the schooling of black children in Britain in the 1980's.
2. Some Issues for the Schooling of Black Children in Britain in the 1980's.

Within the marginal change in local authorities in Britain towards more proactive policy stances on race, some issues have been hotly debated. Not least of those was the question of an appropriate education for a plural society, which was falsely polarised in terms of multicultural education or antiracist education. Looked at from the broad perspective of policy development, it could be argued that the considerable expense of verbal and literary energy expended deflected change as much as it facilitated it - another mode of 'containment'?

The literature and research on some of these debated issues will be discussed below: the value of racial explicitness in policy and practice; multicultural and antiracist education; the 'under-achievement' of the black child and its relationship to allocation procedures and school effectiveness. They will then be related to an understanding of society and schools as part of it, in effect, geared to reproducing inequality.

2.1 The 'racialisation' debate

It has been argued (Chapter 3) that in national and local social policy and practice in the 1980's, race was being treated in a similar way to class in the 1960's and 1970's. The surface issue had changed but the underlying inequality produced by socially endorsed structures did not. This has been described as the 'racialisation' of structural inequality, 'a politicisation of race', and as such as
an element in the reproduction of race inequality (Williams 1986). Williams refers to Miles's definition of racialisation:

"political and ideological processes by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or phenotypical characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the population can only be understood as a supposed biological unity." [16]

A risk of racialisation is that it latches into inequality in the status quo, and may reproduce it, if racial minorities are defined stereotypically as an educational 'problem'. Troyna and Williams (1986) note the coincidence between a change in perception of the influence of school and broader structural factors on the educational performance of students, and a trend toward racialisation of educational discourse. Race is taken on because the school cannot be seen to be failing, therefore it accommodates some of the minority group needs, for its own sake [17].

A second risk is that the singling out of 'race' can both confuse and diffuse the issue of social inequality. There is a necessity, identified by recent writers, to treat aspects of inequality, such as race, gender, class etc. together since they are so intertwined (Apple and Weis, 1983; Troyna and Williams, 1986; Taylor, 1987; McCarthy, 1990). These inequalities share similar characteristics in relation to the inclusion in or exclusion from power and decision-making of groups in society. Whether the characteristics work incrementally, in parallel (Troyna and Williams, 1986), or in a multidimensional non-synchronous manner (McCarthy 1990) is a matter for debate (see below pp. 65-68). Unless set in a
clear counter-hegemonic context, either approach can support conservative policies.

Troyna and Williams (1986), in their study of policies on race and education adapt Edelman's (1964) notion of 'condensation symbols' to describe such:

"symbolic stereotypes and metaphors which reassure supporters that their interests have been considered. But the symbols have contradictory meanings so that the proposed solutions may also be contradictory or ambiguously related to the way supporters originally view the issue." [18]

Equal opportunities is such a 'condensation symbol'. They ask whether LEA policies, in their 'racialised' rhetoric of 'justice' and 'equal opportunities' are really challenging racism in the way that they purport to. As has been noted previously, they conclude that despite the 'anti-racist' language of some LEA policies there is a continuity between earlier multicultural approaches, focusing on lifestyles, rather than life chances.

Reeves (1983), working in the field of political debate and declaration identifies two forms of racialisation. The first is 'discourse racialisation', the explicit use of racial categorisation and evaluation, which can be benign (the Commission for Racial Equality's collection and collation of statistics with a race component) or racist (the scientific racism of Jensen, 1981). In a benign form, discourse racialisation:

"reflects a growing awareness of and indignation at racial injustice. Racial evaluation and prescription is directed at refuting racism and eliminating racial practices." [19]
This could be conceived of as 'charitable racism' (Memmi, 1974) or 'innocent racism' but with the caveat that 'it is the innocence which constitutes the crime' (Baldwin, 1963). Secondly, Reeve defines an implicitly racialised form of this, which he describes as 'discoursive deracialisation':

"Justifying racial discrimination by providing other non-racist criteria for the differential treatment of a group distinguished by its racial characteristics." [20]

This can be seen in the immigration legislation of the United Kingdom (1962, 1965, 1968 and 1971) and the Nationality Act (1982), expected to be racially selective, but not described or rationalised in racial categories (see Chapter 2). Several writers (Troyna and Williams, 1986; Dorn and Hibbert, 1987) have pointed to the racist effect of Section 11 LGA funding in education - compensating LEAs for the problems of immigrants, rather than 'compensating' black people for the problems of racism [21]; compelling black people to become 'cultural experts' on terms dictated by white professionals [22]. It could be argued this 'discoursive deracialisation' is benignly demonstrated in the notion of the 'multi-cultural curriculum', though there are counter arguments (Stone, 1981) as to the beneficence.

Prior to 1981 Bradford Council's education policies used deracialised discourse, under a variety of euphemistic terms, such 'the education of immigrants', 'the education of children of immigrant parental origin', in a racist manner. I have argued that the allocation of children of immigrant parental origin to language centres and schools, and to teaching groups, in Bradford, 1965-80 (Chapters 10-12), was benign in intent but racist in effect. In the
period of the adoption of the equal opportunities, race relations statement, 1981 to 1988, racialised discourse was used with benign intention on the whole. In this period, control of the City Council moved between a hung Council and marginal Labour party control. Then it was acceptable for local authority officers to be overtly political on race issues. In 1988, a Conservative Council was returned (after the Honeyford affair and in the climate of partly politically endorsed inequality) with enough power and confidence, and the mayoral casting vote, to deracialise the discourse again. The current Labour Council (1990), under extreme financial constraints, has not returned a high priority to the issues of race.

David Kirp (1979) commended what he described as 'racial inexplicitness' in Britain's schools, as 'doing good by stealth'. His critics were less sanguine about the positive nature of such policies (Dorn, 1980). In my opinion, 'race' is a necessary dimension for the analysis of the status quo, though not a sufficient basis on which to formulate policy alone.

Also, the explicitness can be manipulated both for and against racial equality. For instance, in Bradford it was important to monitor recruitment and selection for employment within the Local Authority in terms of race, to demonstrate and monitor the racial inequality of treatment. New policy, and the training of staff in selection strategies and interviewing technique (1984-88), however, took a multidimensional approach to inequality. The fact that the training was, in the main, delivered by 'race trainers', was a clear statement about the importance of the issue in racial terms. The
2.2 Multicultural versus Anti-Racist Policies and Strategies

The presence of a highly visible (black), culturally diverse post-war immigrant population challenged the myth of Britain as a monocultural Christian country. Government documents showed vacillation in acknowledging this, espousing tolerance and practising discrimination, perceiving diversity but requiring 'integration'.

Towards the end of my period of field research, a key government publication, Education in Schools: a consultative document (HMSO, 1977), was attempting to reformulate the school curriculum values-base thus:

"Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society ... must reflect the needs of this new Britain."

The model of a multicultural society envisaged was of democratic pluralism (de Tocqueville, 1840). The objective was respect for difference within a unity of political values and beliefs (see Chapter 14, p.290). In fact, it is questionable whether the 'new Britain' had the political will to accept such a model. The key to self-determination within a democratic-pluralist state is in the real balance of power between groups. The 1980's decade of Conservative Britain showed an increase in central government power and decrease in that of local government (Ouseley, 1988; Ball and Troyna, 1989). For instance there was a move from a local property rate with central government support to raise finance, to a 'community charge' very much constrained by central government decisions in its level and the
flexibility of its use. Through the Local Government Act, 1987, many local authority services such as refuse disposal, parks maintenance, schools meals, were contracted out under a competitive tender, with economy and efficiency given a higher value than entitlement or respect for social/cultural difference. The financial market place became, increasingly, the arbiter of social values. The devolution of local authority power through Local Management of schools in which minority communities could take part through school governing bodies, was held in tight rein by central government through an assessed and monitored National Curriculum. The most recent working papers for this (History and Geography, 1991), are firmly ethnocentric and white British biased. The power of the LEA to intervene across a district in terms of specific local curriculum policy, to ameliorate a national bias, (particularly in terms of equal opportunities, poorly provided for in the new legislation) has been dramatically reduced because of the relocation of responsibility for curriculum with school governing bodies. The curtailment of teachers' inservice training budgets, except for directed National Curriculum implementation training, reduces further the opportunity to promote equal opportunities policies. In short, the potential for democratic representation through local government has been severely curtailed. As local competition in the new Britain is firmly based on financial means, the black minorities, already discriminated against in housing, education and employment, are disadvantaged in their facility to enter the competition and take power.
During the 1980's, however, the nature of an appropriate curriculum for education in a multicultural, multiracial society was hotly debated in the big metropolitan authorities both from within the 'deracialisation discourse' in terms of a 'multicultural' curriculum as contrasted to an 'antiracist' one and from the dissenting 'New Right' (Honeyford, 1984; Scruton, 1985), that would see either as political propaganda.

Definitions of the two terms 'multicultural education' and 'antiracist education' are neither distinct nor discrete. Grinter (1985) rather simplistically, asserts that multicultural education seeks reform within existing structures, thus confirming their legitimacy, whereas antiracist education seeks to transform them, but this contradistinction is too neat. What happens in the classrooms may not be recognisably different.

Multicultural education has been caricatured as the Three S's approach ('saris, samosas and steel bands', Troyna and Williams, 1986) - a marginalisation of the issue of race as cultural diversity, in a monocultural, external assessment-bound school system. Bullivant (1981), from an empirical study of multicultural education in six countries in the 1970's, specified three 'key assumptions' that exemplified the approach:

"a. that by learning about his cultural and ethnic 'roots' an ethnic child will improve his educational achievement;

b. the closely related claim that learning about his culture, its traditions and so on will improve equality of opportunity.

c. that learning about other cultures will reduce children's (and adult) prejudice and discrimination towards those from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds." [24]
The development of the idea of a multicultural curriculum in Britain, has already been described (pp.290-296). This 'umbrella term' [25] covers a variety of policies and practices, but most focus on the education system as an instrument for the development of cultural identity, that is on the attitudinal aspects of discrimination rather than those of status. Multicultural education policies and strategies are reactive, designed to manage the 'problems' presented by black children in schools, rather than proactive, to address the problems presented to the black children living in a racially inequitable society. They are transmissionist in the wake of immigration by culturally diverse groups, but hope to be transformist in the sense of building community in the new multiracial society (see Chapter 14, pp.287-290).

Not only is there a confusing variety of practices that have been lumped together under the term multicultural education, but also there are criticisms of it from across the political spectrum. These are succinctly described by Bhikhu Parekh:

"For the conservative critics, it (multicultural education) represents an attempt to politicize education in order to pander to minority demands, whereas for some radicals it is the familiar ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities." [26]

The Swann Committee (1985) highlighted two characteristics of multi-cultural education, one of these universalist, distinguishing this from earlier 'compensatory' models:

"firstly meeting the particular educational needs of ethnic minority children and secondly, the broader issue of preparing all pupils for life in a multiracial society." [27]
From the political left, the antiracist lobby decried this as focusing on the victims of a failing school system rather than on the structures and processes of the system itself. Dhondy (1987), Stone (1981) and Mullard (1982) saw multicultural education as a mechanism of control, dampening the potential for resistance of blacks, or Brandt (1986), saw it as 'the Trojan horse of institutional racism.' [28]. The analyses find echoes in some of the research on multicultural education in Australia (Bullivant, 1981; Rizvi, 1988) and in a transnational comparative work, where Bagley (1986) described it as 'little more than a masking ideology.' [29]

Criticism from the New Right is well documented in Gordon (1990). Scruton (1985), Marks (1986a, 1986b) and Honeyford (1984), claimed that multicultural education is both politically motivated and empty of any valid content: 'a myth.' They attacked, with a variety of partial truths. Honeyford (1983, 1984, 1988), for instance, denounced the Swann report (1985) as 'a utopian vision of imposed "cultural pluralism"'. He caricatured 'cultural enrichment' as according equal value to all languages and dialects (rather than an equity of respect for the speakers of those languages and dialects, and their needs - which was Bradford's policy). The New Right, firstly, saw little distinction between multicultural and antiracist educational programmes. Both, in the opinion of this group, were 'politically motivated', as opposed, presumably, to an apolitical school curriculum that is based on 'all that is best in the tradition' (Matthew Arnold) of apparently self-selecting facts. Both were charged with 'indoctrination' (a closing-down of argument,
as opposed to 'education', an opening-up of possibilities (Scruton et al 1985)). Secondly, some of the New Right claimed a scientific basis to the inequality in society, some people being born — and rightly so because of their (valued) 'abilities' — less equal than others.

Antiracism grew in response to increasing concern about 'institutional racism' [30], racial harassment and violent attacks on individuals at the end of the 1970's (Troyna and Carrington, 1990). Its hope was racial justice, focussed a redistribution of power. The establishment of the broad-based Anti-Nazi League (ANL) in 1977, stimulated subgroups in education to address the power dimension of schooling and explicitly, school as a site where racism is reproduced. While there was no common understanding of what an antiracist curriculum might look like, with encouragement from groups such as All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF), schools did produce antiracist policies that monitored 'suspension, ESN school placement, the nature and effect of streaming and banding'[31], addressing the 'hidden curriculum' of school.

The antiracist policies in school, also had clear strategic links with oppositional political action beyond school. In this broader context they were most clearly articulated by black writers (Stuart Hall, Pratika Parmar, Hazel Carby, Gus John, Chris Mullard) whose work both informed and reflected the struggle against racism in which they were engaged. In fact, Mullard et al (1983), observed that, however inexplicit the aim:

"the presence of Black groups, and the management of racism constituted the dominant contextualisation from which the
production of policy and practice in race and education developed." [32]

Brandt (1986), drawing on other black writers, Mullard (1982) and Carby (1982), asserted that anti-racism:

"must be dynamic and led by the experience and articulations of the Black Community as the ongoing victims of rapidly changing ideology and practice of racism." [33]

The oppositional nature of racism is both supportive of the cause for change, and disfunctional. It points to the active role that teachers must play in confronting racism, 'dismantle, deconstruct, reconstruct' [34].

"Antiracist policies challenge the existing cultural hierarchies, and the modes of access to them, by proposing to teach children about what is happening to them, by offering them alternative cultural hierarchies, and by giving them some indication of how these might be used to oppose the discrimination they will experience, or that they will collude in." [35]

It also allows for the criticism of 'indoctrination' from the New Right (Scruton et al 1985). Oldham (1987) argued that the virulence of this attack must be set in this context of counter-political action and a bid for stability of the established order [36]. It frightened off some teachers of good will who might otherwise have made a positive contribution to change for racial justice.

Troyna and Williams (1986) offer a typology of strategies for anti-racism. The first type, in line with the Swann Report (1985) assumes that racism is based on ignorance and misunderstanding about the life styles and cultures of ethnic minority communities. The responsive strategy is to give pupils knowledge (usually of the three S's variety and therefore this typology would seem to correspond to
what many writers would call multicultural education). In the Swann Report, on the one hand the Committee is claiming to be antiracist and responsive to need, on the other hand, a call for all-black schools was rejected, forcing most of the black members of the Committee to sign a dissenting statement [37], which brings into question the substance of that claim. The second, a radical strategy, is based on the contention that the ideology of racism and the inequalities which it generates are so widespread and fundamental to state power that collusion with the state in the development of anti-racist policies and strategies must be rejected. The cause is to be taken up in struggle and in separate development through community action and supplementary schools. This line of argument, which is close to my own basic position, is a costly one to maintain in terms of status in community and independent provision of resources. Gus John, who argued, with others, for this strategy is now taking time out as Director of Education in Hackney.

A third, compromise position, identified by Troyna and Williams, is that the state is not necessarily or inevitably racist. Change and reform are possible through balancing power. Ben-Tovim and colleagues (1982, 1986), who developed this strategy, identified the 'integrated state' or 'extended state': the formal institutions of national and local government and public life, and the informal or private institutions, including industry, commerce, financial institutions, trade unions, political parties, voluntary organisations [38], that worked together in a balance of power. The emphasis was still on struggle, with the mobilisation of counter-
power and or potentially a counter-hegemony. Bradford's policies in the early 1980's were essentially of this type. My concern, both in the 1970's and as an officer, was to mobilise and support community power, through consultation, pressure groups and the ballot box, as a counter-balance to the culture lag and institutionalised discrimination of local government practices. Others worked similarly through links with the Trade Unions. Nationally and locally, a redistribution of power towards racial justice became increasingly difficult as the 1980's progressed. There was a movement in the balance of power in the 'integrated state' from local to central government, on the one hand, and from the group (e.g. the circumscribing of trade union power) to the individual (e.g. the reification of competitiveness in a market economy), on the other. The values-base was tipped more towards self interest than caring citizenship or democratic responsibility. Power minorities were finding it increasingly difficult to change group life chances. The central state was determining the 'space' for struggle.

It is open to question whether even in the early 1980's local authority antiracist policies are, in fact, much different from multicultural ones in practice. Of the seven LEA's described above (p.11-17) whose 'racialised' policies were more interventionist and demanding, only Bradford, ILEA and Manchester required evidence of the antiracist response of institutions, ILEA with delivery dates and Bradford with regular monitoring. Troyna and Williams (1986) argued:

"Whilst the style of policy intervention might differentiate multicultural from antiracist stances, the nature of instructions to institutions has remained vague and general ... this suggests that whilst antiracist policies are more
prescriptive and proscriptive than their multicultural fore-
runners most still remain inexplicit." [39]

They saw these LEAs use of antiracism as implicitly one strategy for
achieving the multicultural goals of stability in schools: harmony,
justice, equality, truth and such 'good' things. It denoted a
mainstream educational subversion of antiracism, from its political
intent of redressing inequality, towards containment of discontent
amongst black groups. They argued that in the LEA, antiracism, as
well as signifying minimal deviation from earlier concerns for
'assimilation' or 'integration', offered few educational arguments
for change in all white schools.

In my experience, what actually happens in most classrooms with
a teacher working to antiracist principles, differs little from the
practice of one who has a multicultural approach. Gillborn (1990)
observed that while Brandt (1986) criticised some of the earlier
writers on multicultural education (Twitchin and DeMuth, 1981) his
'good' classroom strategies echoed theirs. A similar critique could
be offered for work of Gill and Levidow (1987). Again there is
confusion and, in the realm of practice, there may well be more
commonality between the multicultural and antiracist approaches than
the rhetoric would allow. It seems to me that the teachers' debate
and discussion in the 1980's released more heat than light and could,
of itself, be seen as a diversion, yet another inadvertent collusion
with the established order. Teachers spent energy criticising
colleagues who were trying to respond to the challenges presented to
them in the multiracial context, whether from the multicultural or antiracist 'camps', and gave energy to the anti anti-racism lobby.

The Swann report (1985) was an attempt to move the discussion into a more productive dimension, focusing on "Education for All" - a universal need for change throughout the education system; "synonymous with good and relevant education for life in the modern world." [40] The wrangling over multicultural or antiracist education had failed to engage the teachers in all-white schools who viewed this as 'not their problem' (Gaine, 1987). The Swann report asserted a need for curriculum change, and change in school structures and processes and practices, that was a challenge for everyone and relevant to each school situation:

"The kind of practices ... which, whilst clearly originally well-intentioned and in no way racist in intent, can now be seen as racist in effect, in depriving members of ethnic minority groups of equality of access to the full range of opportunities which the majority community can take for granted or denying their right to have a say in the future of the society of which they are an integral part." [41]

It also asserted the need to challenge both individual and institutional racism, though this was not made clear in the guide to the report, written by Lord Swann, which failed to use the word racism at all.

For some, the report was a charter for anti-racist reform of the education system [42]. For others, it continued 'the fiction that Britain has a balanced, liberal education system' [43] and it had little to offer for black people [44]. Given the subsequent developments in Education legislation, while there appears to be
validity to both, the latter shows more realism. Hatcher (1987),
dubbed Swann's approach the 'new multi-culturalism'.

Hatcher (1987) saw two perspectives for change in the education
system. One, the politically left-wing perspective of antiracism,
was based on a structural theory of racism and a class analysis of
education. This would be progressed through antiracist alliances
between teachers, black communities and labour movements (struggling
for a new Labour Government) and by building the growing network of
connections with various other groups struggling against oppression —
women's groups, peace groups. The other, the 'new multiculturalism',
he saw as being grudgingly adopted by the state as a necessary
modernising reform for liberal democracy. However, as it was still
(viz. the old multiculturalism), based on a presumption of individual
racist activity and institutional racism as culturally determined
'ethnic psychological captivity' (Banks in Banks and Lynch, 1986),
rather than political it was still a strategy for containment. For
Hatcher (1987), the 'new multicultur-atism', while offering positive
proposals (Lynch, 1986; Banks and Lynch, 1986) was based on an
attitudinal concept of racism and educational change that he saw as
incapable of achieving a radical redistribution of power. He
contended that it should be seen instead as a crisis response, of
British capitalism threatened by Black resistance, 'to recompense the
(state's) hegemonic ideology by incorporating in it a selectively
expanded cultural repertoire.' [45].

Gurnah (1987), described all official investigations and their
reports as inevitably geared to maintenance of the state and of
established privilege. He argued that both Lord Swann (1985) in respect of education and Lord Scarman (1982) on law and order, were, perforce, gatekeepers and caretakers of the complex state functions and policies, because of their place in the establishment. The policies they advocated were for 'containment' through moderate change. They were 'synthesisers of establishment objectives (which they shared) and the 'popular' will' [46]. While at some level they acknowledged black grievances they also managed to 'blame the victims' (underachievement of black children; disrespect for authority of young blacks) in the interest of social stability:

"inquiries help State institutions to update their language and avoid giving constant offence: Coloureds become black, and prejudice begins to give way to racism. The educational and legal institutions, which for so long stonewalled any black criticism, are asked to accept them and do something about them so long as that will not disrupt things too much, cost a lot, or threaten the system as a whole." [47]

Given the subsequent developments in Education policy and legislation while there may be marginal gains for minority groups from state commissioned enquiries and reports, this view of documents, such as the Swann Report, as central state confirming shows realism.

In conclusion it seems to me that, in order to understand the fervour of the debate on multicultural versus antiracist education in the 1980's, it needs to be seen in this context of the central state struggling for a new language to preserve its legitimacy. In the early 1980's, some national policy documents adopted the phrase 'democratic pluralism'. Meanwhile, central government, while talking of devolution of power, in fact, increased centralisation of policy and development in education through directed funding and a National
Curriculum, limiting the possibility of diversity at the school level.

In this situation of tightening central power, the multicultural/antiracist curriculum debate came in the wake of a pressure wave from the 1970's, generated by vocal black groups and local authorities reactive to the challenge of the apparent 'underachievement' of black children in schools. In classroom implementation the labels multicultural education and antiracist education were often conterminous. Writers, such as Troyna, Mullard and Hatcher trace policy links with reformist antecedents and the assimilation model of race relations. Black communities, themselves often colluded with this by fragmenting the 'race' category into ethnic components and thus reducing the 'political definitions of 'race' to a narcissistic celebration of culture and identity' [48] (cf. Willis's working class lads, 1977. See Chapter 3). Teachers, deflected into a debate about multicultural vis a vis antiracist education, using analytical energy that could have addressed the school system itself as a site of social reproduction and their part in this.

The reports of the official enquiry into the education of children of minority groups (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985), found the term multicultural education more palatable than antiracist education. But even that had its critics from across the political spectrum - a demonstration that the issue was more about political power than about educational philosophy (cf. the 'bussing' issue in
the 1970's, Killian, 1979). The power fulcrum was the threat of a white backlash; the preferred strategy 'inexplicitness':

"one helps non-whites by not favouring them explicitly. The benefits to minorities from such an approach are thought to be real if invisible - or better, real because invisible." [49]

This was apparently confirmed in Bradford, where Honeyford's stand against the 'racialised' local authority policy gained much support among the white population. It was used as a reason for the formal removal of specialist race and gender work in the LEA. In reality, it was not so much that an 'extended state' changed its mind, rather that the arm of the central state used the discomforting of the local authority to shift the balance and reassert its political will. While I have argued that antiracism could be seen as a way forward towards justice for all (p.304) through its very 'racialised' criteria and parameters it can be subverted to disservice to black communities, while central government is allowed to control the 'space' for struggle.

This does not seem to me to be a reason for abandoning the racial category, but rather to clarify the fact that the issue is about differential distribution of power, and will inevitably surface as challenge to vested interests. Any real move towards cultural pluralism, while recognising cultural differences with respect, must focus on the issue of power balance not on culture itself, except in so far as this perpetuates power elites.

Effective education for a multicultural society would involve awareness raising and thus take from the attitudinal approaches of multicultural education, and it would involve counter-political
activity. Its style would be a problem-posing 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (Freire, 1972), directed at understanding, proclaiming and countering structural inequality, taking power, alongside a 'pedagogy for the oppressors' (Curle, 1972) (see pp.406-430) addressing values, learning through listening and through building alternative, power-sharing school and societal structures.

2.3 Achievement and 'underachievement' in school, with particular reference to black children.

At the end of the 1970's, school 'standards' were a very live topic for debate. This was the period of economic recession following a world oil price crisis, only temporarily relieved in Britain by North Sea Oil. The rise in unemployment that was becoming a feature of national life was blamed on the schools, with supposedly falling standards of literacy and numeracy. Apple (1986) made the point that 'one of the tendencies of corporate economies when they are in crisis is to export the blame from the economy to the state' [51] (See Chapter 3) and its institutions. In this climate Prime Minister Callaghan delivered his Ruskin College speech on the education system. Schools, in his opinion, were failing in the goal of fitting children to take 'a lively and constructive place in society and also to fit them to do a job of work' [50]. The speech represented a scapegoating of the education system for the economic crisis and a demonstration of loss of faith in schools that sparked the so-called Great Debate and the early rumblings of the Education Act, 1988.
An education system in crisis was very sensitive to research evidence or minority group challenge that portrayed it as failing. The Black unrest in ILEA at the end of the 1970's met the official 'gatekeeper and caretaker' response (Gurnah, 1987) with first Rampton (1981), inquiring into the Educational Needs and Attainments of West Indian Children, and then Swann (1985) inquiring into the Education of Children of Ethnic Minority Groups (sub title). The complaints about failing schools were neatly turned into tomes on 'failing' students.

The issue of achievement in schools is a very complex one but crucial because of the role it plays in educational debate. It is related to a concept of equality of opportunity which:

"compares the relative chances of access to schools and qualifications which were, substantively as distinct from formally, open to the children of different social classes. In effect, taking the word 'equality' to have its normal meaning in common speech, the definition now shifts from equality of opportunity to equality of outcome." [52]

The assumption was that talent is distributed randomly in the population as a whole, and within different groups (class, gender, race/ethnicity) within the population. This approach to equal opportunities goes beyond questions of individual intent to group norms. Gillborn (1990) quotes Dorn (1985) as saying:

"it rests on collectivist and impersonal notions of justice and equality and is concerned with the structural exclusion of racial groups. It is concerned to look beneath the surface of formal treatment and identify the discriminatory effects of institutional practices." [53]

The Rampton report (1981), for instance, concluded that the Afro-Caribbean children "as a group are underachieving in our
education system." [54]. This conclusion was repeated in the final version of the inquiry's deliberations, the Swann report (1985).

Group differences in educational outcomes have also been used by the New Right to support arguments for supposed differences in ability, motivation and potential of groups to benefit from the school system (Flew, 1984).

Many researchers in Britain have looked at examination results at 16+, to assess equality of opportunity, and have come up with a fairly consistent picture of pupils of Afro-Caribbean parental origin 'underachieving' as a group in comparison with others and 'Asian' pupils doing marginally less well than 'white'.

In part of my own research I analysed external examination results, in 1976, for nine of the Bradford County Borough (CB) Upper Schools I collated the results of the Asian-named pupils as a group for a particular purpose — to provide a picture of the 'race' impact of the grouping and 'achievement' (the number of black pupils other than Asian in Bradford schools in 1975-6 being very small). While I did break the groupings down in terms of gender, I did not analyse the data in relation to class (for reasons stated, Chapter 4, pp.78-80) nor did I divide the Asian-named category by any religious/cultural grouping or place of parental origin. This had disadvantages in terms of an understanding of the detailed dynamics of the situation, but was deemed appropriate for the needs of the research at the time. I found that Asian-named pupils were less successful than their peers as a group. The full analysis was for one year only but the evidence, both from other researchers and from national
statistics (DES), suggests that the situation was generally comparable to other years and places. It was set in the context of a rand analysis of pupil allocation to examination-orientated teaching groups, that affirmed this. There were interesting observations in the detail of the analysis, the 'underachievement' being greater in the Arts than the Sciences for instance, and being particularly acute for Asian girls, except in Maths where there was no significant correlation between name type and pass rate (pp.111-116). English language acquisition must have been a factor here. Those, mainly boys, who 'survived' to take 'A' level examinations in the sixth form were performing on a par with their non-Asian peers (p.107). However, there was also some evidence to suggest that certain schools, those comprehensive schools that had been initiated as such or had been developed from former secondary modern schools, seemed to be enabling the Asian pupils to succeed more than other schools (pp.109-110). This points to interesting questions around the school effect on achievement.

Much of the British research has subsequently been analysed for bias (see P. Figueroa, in Craft, 1984). Criticisms have been that studies collapse 'Asian' scores into one category (Kysel, 1988), when there may be a broad range of attainment between Asian categories; that researchers have not taken account of socio-economic factors (Brown, 1984) and the over-representation of Afro-Caribbean workers in manual/working class occupations; or that the focus of many of the studies has been on inner city areas, with a high proportion of the population in the ethnic minority category. Troyna, (1984a),
also challenged the research in terms of the stereotyping 'deficit' model of black pupils achievement to which it lends itself. He emphasised the need for researchers to be more statistically sophisticated, in the use of group tests and teacher assessment, in the comparison of samples of varying sizes with due attention to sampling errors, in the use of dated material (most of the data on which the 1980's debates have been conducted was collected in the 1960's and 1970's) and to take into account the race of the tester (Hawthorne effect viz. Canady, 1936). Drew and Gray (1990), offered the first nationally representative survey in the field of school achievement of ethnic minority students. This showed a higher proportion of academically successful Afro-Caribbean pupils than others to date (Gillborn, 1990).

The concept of 'underachievement' itself has been criticised. Gillborn (1990) classified the criticisms with three approaches: liberal, the New Right and radical.

The liberal critique, perceives equal opportunities as a conservative goal. It is exemplified from the work of Jeffcoate (1984a), who argues that all a pupil's talents should be valued and acknowledged not just academic success. Therefore, the label 'under-achieving' is inappropriately applied to pupils because of the narrowness of its scope. There is much truth in this but it relates to the ideal world, not to an inequitable society in which the stereotype of Afro-Caribbean children's ability in music or sport is used 'as a side-track' (Carrington, 1983) through teachers' ethnocentrism. This approach could effectively channel pupils into
courses and activities that do not lead to the kind of qualifications recognised by employers as qualifications for jobs. Particular education certificates are important because necessary as an entry to the job market, even if not sufficient to guarantee employment, or employment at a level concomitant with the level of qualification (Gillborn, 1990).

The New Right approach on the other hand, caricatures equal opportunities initiatives as revolution. Flew (1984) contends that perspectives which link substantive achievement with equal opportunities are politically motivated attempts to attack 'White British Society'. He argues from the premise that differences in outcome could only be construed as demonstrating differences in opportunity if 'all members of the sets compared were equally able, equally eager and equally well qualified' [55] in whatever may be the 'relevant aspects'. Therefore, the label 'underachieving' is inappropriately applied to pupil groups because the achievement observed is a measure of the individual pupil's ability and motivation. For him relevancy does not extend to financial circumstances, level of school resourcing and the quality of teacher-pupil relationship. He provides a narrow definition of equality of opportunity as equality of access to education:

"the equality which justice always demands is not a substantial equality of outcome, either for individuals or for sets, but rather a formal equality of treatment for all relevantly like cases." [56]

He counters other approaches to equal opportunities by referring to individual competitiveness and differential achievement, while the
broader debate is conducted in terms of group expectations and outcomes. For the New Right, the language of Darwin, 'survival of the fittest', is related to 'racial' sets, denying the existence of institutional racism, 'blaming the victim' and protecting the established order.

The third classification that Gillborn identified, a radical critique, sees equal opportunities as a facade and 'underachievement' as a stereotype. Troyna (1984a) critically appraised previous work in the field. He argued that common notions of educational underachievement were unhelpful because they could act against change in curricula and teaching style. They reinforce racist images of the intellectual potential of Afro-Caribbean students. Gillborn (1990) quotes Troyna's contention that:

"the relationship of black pupils to society generally, and education in particular, are so profoundly and qualitatively different from those of their white classmates (and to a lesser degree, pupils of South Asian origin) that they militate against the use of inter-group comparison as a valid act or reliable measurement of performance. The results generated via this method therefore provide a particular and contentious conception of underachievement, one which ignores the pervasive influence of racism in the lives of black children." [57]

Troyna echoed an assertion by Bagley (1975) that, given racism, a rejection of school by black pupils may be a sensible response [58]. In doing so, he risked the trap of effectively 'blaming the victim' again, this time for low motivation to achieve. In fact research suggests that Afro-Caribbean young people are at least as motivated as their white peers, and frequently more so in terms of their attitudes to school and the amount of time spent on homework (Egglestone, Dunn and Anjali, 1986), and staying on rates to pursue
further study (Smith and Tomlinson, 1989) [59]. My own research evidence is coincident with this, the Asian pupils having a higher staying on rate into the sixth form and further education than their peers, and demonstrating a willingness and determination to succeed (Chapter 7).

However, Troyna's work (1988a) was seminal in challenging the stereotype of black failure:

"The greatest danger lies in the possibility that ill-conceived and poorly formulated studies will perpetuate the notion of black educational underachievement as a given rather than as a problematic that requires sensitive and systematic interrogation." [60]

Larger scale and systematic research followed, in particular the Youth Cohort study of Drew and Gray (1990) and that of Smith and Tomlinson, (PSI/Lancaster Study 1981-86) also reported in 1989. Both contextualised examination results.

Drew and Gray (1989, 1991) were using a large sample of data from a national youth cohort, 1985, not clustered in the inner cities. The studies allowed comparisons on the basis of social class, gender and ethnic origin. The categorisation combined all the Asian pupils, problematic because of the different cultural and political backgrounds within this population (Taylor and Hegarty, 1985), but offered a broad picture of the situation. Their findings confirmed much of the earlier research, but they did argue that more attention should be given to variations within the groups. Each of the variables addressed, social class, ethnic origin and gender, was found to correlate with variation in the examination scores, but the larger part in the variance remained unexplained by these three
factors. In their review of the major British studies post-Swann (1991) they note that later studies have increasingly corrected the weighting towards the pupil and socio-economic factors by highlighting the potential role of the school in inequality. They contend that it remains unclear, however, whether schools are the major contributing factor (Drew and Gray, 1991).

From my extensive fieldwork in Bradford schools, I built up a picture of the ways in which schools and teachers appeared to enhance the achievement of black children, using four case studies (pp.386-405). The evaluation was mainly 'illuminative' (Hamilton, 1977) rather than statistical, but it was notable that for the Upper School (Case Study 3), which had overtly addressed equal opportunities in policy and practice, through positive action in allocation to teaching groups, democratisation of school structures and real consultation with parents and the minority communities, there was examination result evidence for relatively high achievement of Asian pupils in comparison with that in the other Bradford (CB) Upper Schools. This was despite its mainly working class catchment area.

Subsequently, considerable research has highlighted the importance of this 'school effect' (Reynolds, 1976, 1989; Gray, McPherson and Raff, 1983; Rutter et al 1979; Mortimore et al 1988) but little data has been gathered in relation to ethnic groupings except for the study from the Policy Studies Institute (PSI)/Department of Educational Research at Lancaster University, (Smith and Tomlinson, 1989). This latter study was set up to follow the secondary school career of pupils in twenty urban comprehensive
so schools in four English LEAs, 1981-86, the sample specifically chosen to offer a wide range of school population types (cf. Drew and Gray's random selection in a national population). This too gave some similar patterns of 'underachievement' in examination results. However an analysis of achievement in terms of curriculum subject areas showed a complex situation. No ethnic group came out as overall successful. For instance, 'West Indian' pupils achieved relatively more passes in English than did both UK/Eire and South Asian pupils, yet attained significantly poorer results in Mathematics. The researchers concluded:

"the differences in exam results attributable to ethnic group are very much smaller than those attributable to the school level. In other words, what school a child goes to makes far more difference than which ethnic group he or she belongs to." [61]

A possible bias because of the particular sample chosen, focusing on variety, could be a factor to consider in relation to this research outcome.

Smith and Tomlinson (1989) also looked at differential rates of progress in school. They found Afro-Caribbean and Asian students made more progress than the white population. Their progress was in fact 'distinctly better than pupils originating from the UK, when allowance is made for social class and attainment in reading at the end of the second year' [62]. This point was taken and misinterpreted by the New Right. Ray Honeyford used it to contend that race and skin colour were irrelevant considerations in children's educational prospects (Honeyford, 1988). Obviously it is the actual examination passes, not the rate of progress in schools
that employers are looking for when selecting young people for jobs. While progress can be seen as a pointer to potential attainment in the young people, the life chances of young blacks are still depressed by the labour market.

An overview of the research literature relating to 'under-achievement' in British schools, particularly as it relates to black children, leads me to two observations. Firstly, it seems that, on the macro political scene, a state experiencing an economic crisis attempts to shore up its power by deflecting responsibility for failure ('underachievement') on to a constituent institution - the school system (and within that the teachers). The same education system, challenged by the relatively low examination success rate of some groups of pupils (e.g. black pupils) compared with other groups, passes the blame on to the pupils for 'underachieving' rather than assesses its own performance in enabling success. There is an issue of power conservation and legitimization of the established order here. Secondly, while much of the research shows a fairly consistent picture of black pupils 'underachieving' in school, the large scale statistical research on pupil success in examination results at 16+ points to significant differences between the results of groups, that are not explained by race, class and gender. The subsequent section will review relevant research on allocation procedures in the education system, as one aspect of this 'school effect'.
The black immigrant communities came to Britain with a great faith in the school system as the gateway to enhanced life chances. This was severely undermined by the reality of perceived unequal treatment for their children. The Afro-Caribbean communities, in London in particular, began to form pressure groups in the 1960's to challenge the high numbers of black children referred to schools for the educationally subnormal (ESN) (Hassan and Beese, 1981), and the high number of suspensions of black children from schools (Commission for Racial Equality, 1985).

Coard, a black writer and activist, in 1971, wrote a pamphlet entitled *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System*, which had a considerable impact on the confidence of the black communities in their challenging the inequality of the school system. It was still not until 1979 that Shirley Williams, Secretary of State for Education, set up the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (Rampton Committee, Interim Report, 1981). Coard's claim was that black children were more likely to be labelled as 'slow learners' or 'difficult' and then allocated to lower streams/teaching sets in schools, or to schools for pupils who are deemed educationally subnormal (ESN), than their peers. He laid the blame on culturally biased and inaccurate testing procedures and low teacher expectation. These opinions were backed up by an ILEA (1967) survey, which indicated not only that black pupils were over-
represented in ESN Schools, but also that many teachers who worked in these 'special' schools believed that this was due to misclassification. Tomlinson (1981), in a major research work on educational subnormality, endorsed these findings, noting that teachers believed that:

"a misplacement was four times as likely in the case of immigrant children and that the methods and processes of assessment were the major reasons for this misplacement." [63]

In research addressing 'underachievement', one aspect of school process to receive some considerable attention has been the allocation procedure whereby students are placed in schools or special units (Tomlinson 1981), to teaching streams (Jackson, 1964), particularly to teaching groups that determine the level of examination entries (Wright, 1987), and a related issue of allocation to subject options (Tomlinson, 1987; Smith and Tomlinson, 1989).

In her 1987 paper [64] Tomlinson gives information about the research literature in this field. Very little of it relates streaming or subject option choices to race or ethnicity. However, Barrow et al (1986), reporting on education in Brent, concluded that selection processes for higher level examinations favour middle-class pupils, placing both black and white working class pupils at a disadvantage, and that:

"subsequent dissatisfaction with the (education) system, with pupils' progress, and with disciplinary difficulties, can very frequently be traced back to the period of options and the disappointment experienced at that time. [65]

Homan (1986) intimated that one of the bonuses of John Loughborough, the virtually all-black independent school, for students and parents
was the greater expectation that pupils would be entered for GCE examinations. The Rampton report (HMSO 1981) referred to channelling of pupils of West Indian origin into CSE rather than GCE examinations. Wright (1984, 1987), suggested that the assignment to 'O' level or CSE classes in the schools she studied was based on teachers' perceptions of pupils' behaviour, more than on ability as measured by school tests. She also commented that as black children believed that the school structures worked against them, they saw little reason for trying hard (viz. Bagley, 1975; Troyna, 1984a), so that school procedures, including option allocation procedures, became powerful determinants of students' effort and performance.

Tomlinson (1987), from evidence for the PSI/Lancaster Study, reported that while 'ability' was the main criterion for allocation to options groups, the assessment of ability was largely based on teacher perceptions citing criteria such as effort, motivation and the 'right attitude' as performance indicators, as well as past attainment. Furthermore, that the option choices did not always provide the broad and balanced curriculum (DES, 1985) for each pupil that was expected of schools. In both respects, it was the Afro-Caribbean students who seemed to fare least well, and among the Asian students, the Bangladeshis:

"It seemed to be the case that, depending on the school, the composite effect of socio-economic group and ethnic origin would result in some pupils with equal attainment scores, but with differing physical and social characteristics, being entered for examinations at different levels." [66]
The study found that students who were rated as having 'poorer' behaviour on entry to Secondary School were less likely to be on 'O' levels courses than those rated better behaved.

This is a serious issue of unequal treatment. Life chances, both in terms of further education or job acquisition, and in terms of participatory citizenship, may be directly related to the type as well as the number of examination passes that a young person attains. Black parents, who were interested enough in their children's success in education to set up supplementary schools, appreciated this and focussed their teaching on enhancing literacy and numeracy. It was therefore, particularly unhelpful that schools with the higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils were also those which, in option booklets (Smith and Tomlinson, 1989), a key source of information about examinations:

"had attempted to simplify information for parents and pupils, but in doing so offered them less serious information than the rest." [67]

Gillborn (1990) warns that research conducted by quantitative methods alone (viz. Drew and Gray, 1989; Smith and Tomlinson, 1989) may mask some of the complexity of issues. Three examples of ethno-graphic studies will serve to demonstrate this, those of Gillborn (1990), Wright (1987) and Mac an Ghaill (1988).

In his own research at City Road Comprehensive School (1984-85), Gillborn observed the following situation that would not have been exposed in a purely quantitative survey of option choices and examination passes:
"Afro-Caribbean pupils were more likely than others to experience apparently spontaneous inquiries from teachers who wanted to know which subjects they had chosen. Such inquiries frequently turned into a challenge, with the teacher 'recommending' a different option (usually of lower academic status) ... this means that in fact they did not have the same opportunities as other pupils: Afro-Caribbean pupils had to fight harder to retain their high status choices. The fact that they were very successful in resisting such challenges meant that Afro-Caribbean pupils were not under-represented in high status subjects in City Road." [68]

In his experience, the Afro-Caribbean pupils were prepared to engage in the struggle against teacher-initiated discrimination.

Wright’s ethnographic and statistical survey of two multiracial comprehensive schools, 1982-84 (Wright, 1984, 1985a, 1987) also gave evidence of teachers' power to influence the achievement of pupils. She looked at a cohort of Afro-Caribbean girls and boys in the fourth and fifth years from both schools, and the teacher pupil relationships. These latter seemed to be typified by confrontation, the teachers challenging, subtly (and not so subtly), picking on the young people and 'putting them down' and the pupils, in response, answering back, demanding to be treated with equity:

"Vera: If the teachers have no respect for you, there is no way I'm going to respect them." [69]

An outcome to such perceived 'challenges to authority' was that the Afro-Caribbean pupils were labelled troublesome and badly behaved. The pupils were blamed by some teachers for overall difficulties in classroom behaviour; conciliatory responses from the pupils were rejected. The conflict was thus exacerbated:

"Errol: I try to keep out of trouble the best I can. If they (teachers) cause trouble with me I cause trouble with them,
It's as simple as that. If you are a troublemaker, right, and you're pretty intelligent, they still keep you down ... Because I want to get on I try to keep out of trouble." [70]

The Asian pupils seemed to fare better because they 'kept themselves to themselves' [71]. She found that for the Afro-Caribbean population there was a higher proportion of suspensions than for other groups in the schools [72], often no alternative education provision for pupils suspended for long periods, and frequent sending out of class. The educational experience was not only different but also curtailed for these pupils. Linking her ethnographic observations to a statistical analysis of examination results and allocation to teaching groups, Wright argued that the teachers' ability to assess the Afro-Caribbean students' work fairly was affected. The proportion of Afro-Caribbean students entering for and thus gaining 'O' levels, she described as dramatically lower than for the Asian and white students, even where, in one of the schools, the Afro-Caribbean students entered the school with an average reading age slightly above the whole intake for the year. The students themselves seemed to be resigned to this and relied on being able to retake the subjects in Further Education establishments.

Mac an Ghaill (1988), in two long participant observation studies, one in an all boys school and another in a sixth-form college, gave a detailed portrayal of black youth/white teacher relationships. He was able to demonstrate how a group of academically successful 'black sisters' challenged the stereotype of black under-achievement (viz. Fuller, 1980, pp.66-7), and also to show from their own experience, the classroom events and teacher
attitudes that created and colluded with it. He also showed how there was a very real discrimination against black youth, when qualifications were taken into account, in job opportunities. He observed that when this was commented upon by the black youths themselves, the very act of exposing the injustice was used by the white community, including teachers, to blame the complainers for 'having a chip on their shoulders'.

My earlier research in Bradford schools in the mid 1970's showed, similarly, that school selection and allocation processes worked to the detriment of black pupils as a group. Whereas Wright moved from ethnographic description to statistical analysis, I presented my observations firstly as a statistical overview of the situation in the Bradford Upper Schools and used this to raise the questions about structures of discrimination, to be explored by illuminative evaluation. 'Institutionalised racism', a term in use in the United States of America at this time, was not in use in 'white' academic circles in Britain, still set in the liberal tradition of British tolerance and fair play (pp.377-79). It was black academics (Giles, 1977; Hall, 1978) and community groups that were giving substance to the terms.

In my initial quantitative survey I was interested in the allocation of pupils to teaching groups in Upper Schools at 13+ (pp.86-99), as an important preliminary to a study of examination results. An analysis, generalising the groups into A band (those for pupils for whom teaching was orientated towards the GCE 'O' level or CSE examinations at 15+) and B band (those for pupils who were not
seen as having potential to pass the main external examinations or who would have been entered for a few CSE subjects only) (p. 86), raised questions about the relatively lower chances allowed to Asian pupils to enter for external examinations. This issue was not being addressed by research in the field (race) at the time. Neither has it really been taken into account since by the large scale statistical analyses of school examination results (Smith and Tomlinson, 1989; Drew and Gray, 1989).

In Bradford in 1976, allocation to teaching group at 13+ was chiefly by teacher assessment on the basis of Middle School record cards (no standardisation), backed up by group Mathematics and English assessments (both language based). Thus, pupils whose English language competence was relatively low, were allocated to groups less likely to be aiming for the qualifications that were important for access to further/higher education and jobs. In the Bradford context, this meant that Asian pupils, speaking English as a second language, were more likely to be allocated to the B band than their peers (p. 92). Teachers were of the opinion that there was enough flexibility in the system to redress misallocation of 'late development'. However, my observations did not support this. There was very little movement between the bands (pp. 88-90) and any such movement would have been increasingly difficult as curricula diverged.

A further question this raised for me was whether the visual impact of this disproportionate number of black pupils in 'low achievement' teaching groups, encouraged a spurious link between skin
colour and educational ability, in the perceptions of the teachers. I was told, on a number of occasions in Upper Schools, that Asian pupils 'lacked imagination' (pp.95-6) and came across many examples of assumptions about Asian pupils' competence based on very little knowledge (p.215). The trend, from 1973-75, seemed to be towards reducing the disadvantaging allocation to teaching group bands for Asian pupils (pp.97-8), but only in the one school where the headteacher had a clear positive action policy on race (pp.393-400) was the degree of association between name type and allocation to teaching group band minimal. This, and other research in the field at the time (Townsend and Brittan, 1972), suggested that racism as well as 'ability' was a factor in allocation. Following this, the analysis of examination results (Chapter 6) then denotes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

I argued that the initial allocation of children to schools and language centres in Bradford, with a dispersal policy in operation, was clearly based on racial criteria. Schools were required to aim for 'balanced' groups, the balance relating to the percentage of children of immigrant parental origin (but black pupils only) on roll (p.197). Within the school system, whereas allocation to a 'special' (ESN or other) school was only made after the careful individual assessment of a child, allocation to special Language Centres was made on name-type alone, or on a cursory language assessment (pp.192-7), followed by educational assessment in the Centre. Dispersal related to skin colour, in effect, and it was not until the policy
was challenged through the Commission for Racial Equality 1978, that it was more carefully linked to educational need.

Some of the problems arising from this for the children, particularly the youngest, were that they were having to settle into new schools twice within their first two years in the system, often travelling considerable distance to school, out of their familiar community and joining classes that were already formed into social groups. They were placed in school on terms controlled by the headteacher. In this latter respect, I observed some very bad practice in one school, where 'bus children', joining the school late in the year, were used to make up numbers in classes irrespective of the age/stage of their peers (p.231). There was not the individualised learning programme that would have been required to support the pupil in this situation. Very young children were floundering in a relatively hostile environment, with a higher absence rate than their non-Asian peers (pp.208-211).

The educational experience of those young Asian pupils was just not comparable with that of their peers, so comparative statistics of 'achievement' and 'underachievement' raises interpretation difficulties. The allocation to teaching groups of pupils at 13+ (Year 5 of my Survey) needs to be considered in this context.

Clearly school structures and teachers have power to influence the achievement of pupils positively and negatively. For the Afro-Caribbean students, Wright found, as had other researchers (Stone, 1981; Reeves and Chevannes, 1981) that schools were failing to enable them to attain the examination passes that they wanted for
The notion of 'underachievement' therefore may be more appropriately applied to the education system than to the pupils themselves. For Wright (1987):

"the nature of the education experience of black students, especially those of Afro-Caribbean origin, may be better understood in terms of 'educational disadvantage' or 'inequality' rather than in terms of 'underachievement'. In advancing this type of analysis, we are drawing attention to the structural and institutional realities within which the situation of the black student within the education system needs to be understood." [73]

Indeed, Wright argues, that as students subjected to disrespect and inequity in school will not attain examination results which reflect their ability, inferences drawn from comparisons can not only raise serious interpretation difficulties, but may also serve to 'reinforce processes which have given rise to observed differentials.' [74]

The evidence presented by the studies described above, is a challenge to the liberal assumptions about schooling, that selection processes are neutral, that 'ability' (rather than accommodation of pupils to social and economically related norms and values) is what schools focus on and that schools are actually organised to enable teaching and learning for equality of opportunity (Apple, 1979). There has been considerable British research recently that shows the effect of schools themselves on pupil outcomes (Rutter et al, 1979; Reynolds, 1985; Mortimore et al, 1988; Smith and Tomlinson, 1989). The research that does show pupil outcomes in relation to ethnic grouping, suggests that schooling is constraining the life chances of black pupils. However, to focus on which aspect of schooling is responsible for racial inequalities and injustices and so should be
subject to ameliorative policies could be a diversion from the real issue of social inequality itself. Williams (1986) argues that the societal structures, determinants and contexts of inequality are underplayed and the power of education to produce particular outcomes overplayed because it is in the interests of most educationists to exaggerate their own power, and of politicians to shift and deflect blame. Strategies for change need to encompass both institutional and societal spheres of action.

2.5 Above, I have reviewed literature on some key issues related to the schooling of black children in Britain: implications of the racialisation of discourse, the debate around antiracist approaches to policy and practice, the labelling of black pupils as 'under-achievers' and the institutional processes that feed this, particularly those related to allocation to schools and groups. It seems to me that ultimately, discussion on each of these issues hinges on the differential distribution of power, and how this is manipulated and conserved, by a political and professional elite, to maintain the established order, even when espousing change and professing commitment to equality of opportunity. In the following section this will be discussed in the context of theory of social and cultural reproduction (vid. Chapter 3).
3. Discussion: Understanding Racial Inequality in Education in Britain and Models for Redressing it.

Analysis of the data for this thesis was informed by theory on social and cultural reproduction, the school system as a site for this and school teachers and pupils as agents. In capitalist Britain this process of reproduction is energised and underpinned by inequality between groups and assumptions about its inevitability, to enable stability of the system to be maintained. Schools are structuring select knowledge and promote its acquisition in a way that endorses this. Any counter-hegemonic agenda - antiracism, antisexism or equal opportunities strategies in general - challenges the legitimacy of the state or state-supported institution to retain a privileged elite. It is therefore tolerated only to a level of containment of the pressure that the challenge places on the established order, through marginalising, diverting, or co-opting initiatives.

To understand racial equality, the dynamic of these processes and its implications need to be explored. The school system's relationship to central government and local authority on the one hand, is important. Troyna and Williams (1986), in their analysis of LEA race-related policies, emphasised that:

"What stems directly from LEA's failure to make explicit the relationship between education and inequality and between the local and national state is their reluctance to look in any detail at their own activities and responsibilities. Along with Dorn (1983) we note that none of the policies deals with the issues of allocation arrangements, procedures of referral to special education institutions or units, staffing ratios, expenditure of mainstream budget or suspension matters. However, each of these plays a major role in the reproduction
of racial inequality and can, by implication, also be made to work against its perpetuation." [75]

On the other hand, there is a dynamic relationship between the structural and institutional arrangements of school and school knowledge, and the constraints these place on educated and educator, and between the self-affirming agency and capacities of teachers and students to resist and transform these structures.

It has been pointed out (Chapter 3, p.61) that the analysis of the dynamic is not new, but 'race' as a focus group in educational policy making is. Williams (1986) argued that:

"the racialisation of structural inequalities and political ideologies and the mobilisation of struggles around the issues of 'race', have resulted in the substitution of 'race' for class in educational policy making" [76].

She was not saying that race and class were equivalent, or that race had simply become a way of understanding class experiences, but that by ignoring the history of class inequality and education, the understanding of racism, or the strategies to mount a successful anti-racist campaign were impaired. Strategies for change have mirrored those adopted to address class inequalities, that have already proved ineffective. In this section I shall review and assess two models for antiracist challenge to the established order: a multidimensional, additive/parallelist model (Troyna and Williams, 1986) and a multidimensional, multirelational/nonsynchronous model (McCarthy, 1990). I shall then look at the impact of the Education Reform Act 1988 on the education service, its constraining influence
on counter-hegemonic challenge and possible ways forward towards equal opportunities.

Troyna and Williams (1986), argued that successful antiracist action would need to be promoted in the context of understandings and strategies based on commonalities and alliances in a multidimensional, additive/parallelist model (viz. Apple and Weis, 1983). In schools this would involve the inclusion of anti-racist policies within wider equal opportunities strategies, anti-racist and anti-sexist guidelines mirroring each others' language (ILEA 1983 a, b, 1985). For instance, ILEA Policy paper 6, on sexual equality showed this approach, stating that the earlier paper on racial equality was its model:

"sex and race inequalities are therefore linked through the experience of discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping and powerlessness" (77).

Each inequality would be considered in its own right, however, since focussing on their unity, through a notion of educational deprivation/disadvantage could both subsume and deny conflicting political and economic interests between racial, class, gender groups. Intergroup conflicts would be inevitable because of a redistribution of limited resources, felt by other groups as deprivation and disadvantage. Schools would be a site of this. Williams perceived that:

"As long as one of the crucial tasks of schooling is to allocate individuals within an already determined and inegalitarian structure, then teachers will be seen as gatekeepers distributing scarce resources among competing groups." [78]
To promote equal opportunities, therefore, teachers and pupils, agents of social reproduction, would need to join together and turn outwards to address the central state. Williams saw unity as built on challenge to oppressive structures, such as monetarism and erosion of local control, largely outside the education service (viz. Sivanandan, 1983; Hatcher, 1985). Within this, anti-racist reforms needed the support of wider alliances:

"The struggle must be against both the conditions which reinforce the racialisation of structural divisions and those which perpetuate political and ideological processes defining marginal groups on the basis of 'inherent' characteristics such as colour." [79]

Troyna and Williams (1986), then saw the advocated wider alliances as broadly conceived equal opportunities strategies to mobilise struggle but not to subsume the specificity of the struggle of each involved group. They proposed alliances of autonomous groups held by mutual understanding and plurality of liabilities, through shared aspects of experience as 'raced, classed and gendered social subjects' [80] within but also across the boundaries of school or college. Anti-racist strategies would be part of this broad alliance because racial inequality is inextricably linked and reproduced in conjunction with a range of other oppressions, but it would need to be understood from within the historical context that produced them too. They quoted Stuart Hall:

"At the economic level, it is clear that race must be given its distinctive and 'relatively autonomous' effectivity as a distinctive feature. This does not mean that the economic is sufficient to found an explanation of how those relations concretely function. One needs to know how different racial and ethnic groups were inserted historically, and the relations that have tended to erode and transform, or to preserve these distinctions through time, not simply as residues and traces of
previous modes, but as active structuring principles of the present society. Racial categories alone will not provide or explain these." [81]

McCarthy (1990) offered a possibility of a more dynamic model, with cross referencing and sub-alliances within the broader framework, a model that seems to me to link more firmly with Hall's historical contextualisation. He argued that:

"Current mainstream and radical conceptual frameworks do not effectively capture the heterogeneous and variable nature of race relations in either the school setting or society. Theoretical and practical insights that could be gained from a more relational and synthetic method of analyzing racial domination in education - one that attempts to show in detail the links between social structures (whether they be economic, political or ideological) and what real people such as teachers and students do - have been forfeited." [82]

It also accommodates a need, that a number of researchers drew attention to (Troyna, 1984; Taylor and Hegarty, 1985; Drew and Gray, 1989) to take account of variations within groupings.

McCarthy offered an alternative, multidimensional but also multirelational approach to issues of racial inequality and minority achievement. His 'nonsynchronous theory' of race relations in schooling, rather than treating minority groups as homogenous entities 'takes into account the contradictory interests, needs and desires that inform minority social, educational and political behaviour and define minority encounters with majority whites in educational settings' [83]. It acknowledged the differential needs and experiences between black and white, but within this between working and middle class, between male and female ('contradictory location' Grant 1984), between the political right and left wingers. In contrast to the parallelist theorists' emphasis on reciprocity and
mutuality of effects, McCarthy argued that the intersection of race, class, and gender in the institutional setting of the school is systematically contradictory, or nonsynchronous, and can lead to the augmentation or diminution of the effectivity of race, or any of the other variables operating in the school environment [84]. He quoted Fuller (1980), whose study of West Indian girls at a working class High School in England showed them existing in a nonsynchronous relationship with their West Indian male counterparts and with the white working class girls (Chapter 3, p.60a).

In detail, my analysis of 'achievement' in the Bradford (CB) Upper Schools in the school year 1975-76, showed the value of this nonsynchronous relationship model. In the analysis of allocation to teaching group, while the Asian-named (AN) pupils were underrepresented as a group in the teaching groups orientated to the GCE 'O' level (A band), this was especially so for the Asian boys. For the examination cohort, in 1976, the performance was not consistent with this allocation when viewed in broad categories. While all AN pupils gained fewer of their passes at GCE 'O' level than their peers, it was the AN girls that gained a lower percentage of their passes at this level than the AN boys. For the non Asian-named (NAN) pupils, girls were doing better than boys at this level (p.104). In this study, the Asian girls did not mirror the high performance of the Afro-Caribbean girls in Fuller's study [85]. When the results were isolated according to subject categories (pp.111-140), while the AN pupils as a group were passing at a rate lower than would be expected if there were no association between name type
and pass rate, in English Language the AN girls showed a better performance than the AN boys (parallel to the data in the NAN category) but the situation was reversed for Mathematics, though of marginal significance. In the early 1970's, only a third of the Asian pupils stayed on into the upper sixth form (Year 13) to enter 'A' level examinations, and very few Asian girls. This study showed that, for these 'survivors' (viz. Halsey, 1980), there was no significant difference between their performance and that of their peers. In microcosm, this research raises questions about the intersection of components of gender, culture and historicity, within and across the race dimension in group relationships of inequality.

In a broader context, McCarthy's (1990) model can be used in understanding the intersection of oppressions, in the:

"need to go beyond the biological explanations of the conservatives, the individualistic and naively possibilitarian hopes of the liberals, and the almost cynical economistic position of the orthodox Marxists." [86]

It can accommodate the scenario that a new popular racism has been born, endorsed by the Thatcher politics and responsive to the threat of recession, that works across as well as within class lines, in a 'one nation' (but white) shibboleth (Gilroy, 1990).

Whatever the relationship of oppressions to one another, and I find that McCarthy's nonsynchronous model fits my experience more closely than Troyna and Williams's parallelist/additive one, alliances for change are increasingly constrained in a straightjacket of centralising legislation. The relative autonomy of local
government has been curtailed, and self-seeking competition is encouraged in most areas of the public and commercial life.

Structural decentralisation of education in England and Wales, has in the past permitted some autonomy to Local Authorities to develop distinctive educational policies and practices (Coeducation/single sex schooling; comprehensive/selective system; multicultural and antiracist policies). The Education Reform Act takes powers to redress that and to reduce the power of the Local Education Authorities, through a National Curriculum and testing, open enrolment, encouraging inter-school competition for pupils, the possibility of grant-maintained status for schools opted out of the LEA control and local management of schools with devolved budgets, controlled through school governing bodies. While offering a semblance of local self determination for schools, the government has designed a structure through the monitored National Curriculum and 'categorical funding' (Knight, 1987) that will ensure central direction and control. Market forces are to be allowed to direct change. Local Council Members and local authority officers 'have become agents rather than partners of central government' [87]

Ball and Troyna (1989) argued that the seed of this growth in centralisation can be traced back through the 1980's. Callaghan's Ruskin College speech (1976) [88] calling for 'accountability'; and the ensuing 'Great Debate' on education was part of a wider process brought on by economic crisis in the mid 1970's and recession. In such times of crisis the tendency is to 'export the blame from the economy to the state' [89]. Schools were blamed for failing to
provide the appropriately skilled personnel (Walker and Barton, 1986). In contrast to the Plowden era of the 1960's, when the economy was vibrant, teachers controlled the curriculum and innovatory techniques could be both promoted through official reports and funded, in the 1970's and 80's it became common wisdom that the Secretary of State for Education should take a more proactive, controlling role in the school system. Utilitarian concepts of education were in the ascendancy.

The Bennett report (1976), misrepresented as damning 'progressive' teaching methods, and the William Tyndale School inquiry (1975, see Auld 1976) apparently epitomising the disaster of teacher autonomy and student-centred learning have been cited in justification for control. It is interesting to note that the Sharp and Green study (1975) described the openness of 'progressive education' itself as enhancing the possibilities of social control. The 400 plus (Troyna and Carrington, 1990) new powers that the Secretary of State for Education took to himself in the Education Reform Act 1988 are the outcome.

The Education Reform Act (ERA) attempts through control of the curriculum and assessment procedures to impose forms of accountability and evaluation on professionals that have been likened to the 1862 system of payment by results (Chapter 1, p.12). A re-emphasis on academic subjects and vocationalism, a bypassing of LEAs and the involvement of non-educational bodies such as the Manpower Services Commission, Training Agency, Training and Enterprise Councils, in education decision-making and provision, the setting up
of City Technology Colleges and direct-funded, grant-maintained schools, would seem to make the re-emergence of a two tier education system inevitable. This stratification is itself a structure of direction and control for the poor, the marginal, the radical professionals. Add to this the increasing prescription of funding for education (Section 11 LGA, [90] Education Support Grants, removal of locally-determined categories from grants for inservice training of teachers, the threat of charge-capping), alongside the 'roll back the state' dynamic of a 'market economy' (Ball, Gulam and Troyna, 1990), and even the radical LEA is limited in its flexibility to make alternative provision in response to 'racial' pressure groups and local needs:

"Thus the state delegates 'the problem' to particular local authorities, while retaining financial and ideological control over the definition of the problem and its solutions. Thus 'race' has emerged as a fundamental element in the politics of inequality at both central government and local level." [91]

In terms of equal opportunities social class, race, gender, it could be argued that ERA has a 'liberal' (Jewson and Mason, 1986) approach, with 'fair' procedures. The consultation document, for instance, envisaged the national curriculum as:

"ensuring that all pupils, regardless of sex, ethnic origin and geographical location, have access to broadly the same good and relevant curriculum and programmes of study." [92]

The DES circular (5/89) following the Act states that:

"It is intended that the curriculum should reflect the culturally diverse society to which pupils belong and of which they will become members" [93].

Prior to ERA, the LEA's had power and 'moral authority' (Richardson, 1988) to promote education policies that were aimed at redressing group inequalities, though not all did so. ERA fragmented this authority by passing it to governing bodies. This militates against any consistent counter-hegemonic policy across an LEA [94].

Governing bodies under ERA are responsible both for the running of the school and for the curriculum. Within this responsibility is the implementation of the National Curriculum but there is little within the Act or the subsequent statutory requirements and non-statutory guidance for the foundation subjects so far described to encourage them to address issues of equal opportunities or racial and cultural diversity. There is encouragement to include 'gender and multicultural issues' as a cross-curricular dimension:

"The whole curriculum for all pupils certainly needs to include at appropriate (and in some cases all) stages: careers education and guidance; health education; other aspects of personal and social education; and coverage across the curriculum of gender and multicultural issues." [95]

There is no clear directive that the Swann Committee's concept of 'education for all' must be adopted. Indeed, Secretary of State for
Education, Kenneth Baker, in a speech at Manchester University, 17 September 1987, stated:

"there is so much distraction, variety and uncertainty in the modern world that in our country today our children are in danger of losing any sense at all of a Common culture and a Common heritage. The cohesive role of the national curriculum will provide our society with a greater sense of identity."

The programmes of study and statutory attainment targets (SATS) will control much of the content of the school curriculum. They clearly stress 'English' language, history and 'culture'. ERA did not, as recommended by Swann (1985), allow for an increase in the provision for the teaching of ethnic minority community languages, but demoted languages of the Indian subcontinent to a secondary status to 'European' languages. Neither did it, as recommended by the majority of teachers and the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, make the requirements for school worship more responsive to a multifaith situation. School worship, undefined in the Education Act 1944, is now defined as being 'wholly, or mainly Christian character' (ERA 1988, Section 7, para. 1). Any new Religious Education syllabus 'must reflect the fact that the religious traditions in the country are in the main Christian, while taking account of the teaching and practices of other religions' (ERA, 1988, Section 8, para. 3). An equity of respect for religious commitment, the aim of the Bradford syllabus (CBMC, 1983) is now more difficult to provide for within the law - assimilation is an overt policy.
In the late 1970's and early 1980's it was frequently individual teachers, and their grouping, such as All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) and National Association for Multiracial (renamed Multicultural) Education (NAME), who led initiatives in practice aimed at redressing inequality in the 1990's. While the National Curriculum prescribes the broad content of what is taught for 80-85% of the timetable, teachers are responsible for the methodology and there is opportunity here, particular in the context of the cross-curricular themes for antiracist activity. However, most teachers are currently under such pressure in implementing the National Curriculum and its assessment procedures, that there is little time to take the radical overview of the whole curriculum that this would require, nor the energy to encourage headteachers and governors to take this on. The requirements for testing each child and publishing the results discourage 'experimentation'.

The legislation, then, has important implications for inequalities of opportunity. These inequalities will be starkly displayed in the potential league tables of test results by school and local authority (Drew and Gray, 1991). If the current trend continues, with the most recent government policy statements suggesting a return to group testing for all pupils (normative approach) [97] rather than the individualised assessment programme (formative approach) originally proposed by the Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT, DES 1987c), then the return to the 1960's is complete and cultural/class bias and appropriate interpretation of results again become key issues in procedures.
A positive approach to racial justice in such a gloomy scenario would be to listen to Gurnah's (1987) advice. He advocated studying government documents and reports in order to have alternative strategic responses to them. He observed that experience from Britain's former occupied territories suggested that success only comes in the absence of sectarian squabbling, that mass action triumphs in the end and persistence pays off. The problem is to find appropriate rallying points for the broad alliances in the 1990's. These would need to make links between different forms of oppression (Troyna and Selman, 1989) and to tease out the intersections and complexities within these to enable a popular front counter-hegemonic movement to stay together.

The literature pointed to sites of potential racial resistance and contestation in the school system (cf. Willis, 1977; Everhart, 1983; Weis, 1985, see Chapter 3). Fuller (1980) noted the desire of the Afro-Caribbean girls in her study to prove their worth. They were anti-school, but pro-education and academic success was a means to an end. Mac an Ghaill (1988) recorded a similar response from the 'Black Sisters' in his study, carefully managing relationships with teachers so as to avoid the conflict that could lead to academic failure. Gillborn (1990) described informal, but highly visible groups of Afro-Caribbean pupils performing a 'protector' role for the younger Afro-Caribbean pupils of both sexes and criticising staff for racism. He described a range of possible responses, demonstrating 'resistance within accommodation' (Mac an Ghaill, 1988). In Gillborn's study, while Asian pupils experienced school in different ways
from Afro-Caribbean pupils, the relationships with teachers and white peers were still seen to be affected by 'racial' stereotypes. The Asian pupils showed similar resistance strategies, whilst generally accommodating to school value systems. Contesting racism would be one common rallying point for both broad groups.

McCarthy (1990) identified three interrelated spheres for such strategic action: state/society initiatives; institutional initiatives in education; and curricular and pedagogical initiatives in the classroom. In each, he saw differential, nonsynchronous needs of minority men and women, and urban working class youth of pivotal importance, directly linking race with issues of class and gender through the concept of oppression. Below are some suggestions for relevant action to counter inequality in the 1990's, in the three spheres.

The state/society sphere would be tackled through working with, rather than for minority groups in their struggle to be heard as they challenge injustice and demand a fair share of resources (jobs, housing, services). This requires engaging in local community action and politics. Community schooling could be part of the response, even perhaps using the government's Grant-Maintained school status as an initial way into this, a move proposed by Muslims in Bradford. Certainly, the enhanced power of governing bodies could be used to promote counter-hegemonic policy and practice in school and community to reduce inequality. I am not advocating community schools as romanticised in the 1960's, assuming a unified community, but the coming together of groups in mutually beneficial power alliances,
establishing political and institutional mechanisms which ensure the accountability of professionals and group representatives including local and national politicians. An understanding of the 'integrated' or 'extended' state (Ben-Tovim, 1986), as the field of struggle for the redistribution of power, is helpful here.

Ranson, Hannon and Gray (1987) propose a model of public accountability (as opposed to professional or market), with the wider community involved in the decision-making as citizens rather than as consumers:

"Consumerism is not citizenship. Nor can it achieve 'public choice'. A consumer expresses self-interest registered privately and with uncertain (though often malign) public consequences. A citizen, however, has a concern for the well-being of others as well as the health of society, and that both should become the subject of public debate in order to constitute a public choice." [98]

This implies more than the tokenist approach to consultation with black communities (Ben-Tovim et al 1986), rather a radical approach to community education, public participation and debate, with professional power directed to planning and pursuing policies arising from this debate - a strengthening of local accountability.

The institutional initiatives in education would link to this, with schools open to community involvement and sensitised to their own role in reproducing inequality. Firstly, this would be learnt through struggling to democratise decision-making in school, involving all members of the educational institution - students and their families, teachers and other staff, governors and associated local authority officers, local councillors and relevant others. In reviewing the national and international research on the character-
istics of effective schools; Reynolds (1989), cited 'site-based management' (Local Management of Schools) and 'parental involvement' among the eight key organisational characteristics of a 'good' school, and 'a sense of community' and 'collaborative planning' among the four key 'process' characteristics. Within the changes brought by ERA, there is potential to develop all of the 'good' characteristics locally but only where individual competitiveness is moderated by a concept of citizenship. Secondly, there must be concerted effort to retain effective, experience-based learning strategies targeted for individuals and not to capitulate to a restricted knowledge-based presentation of the National Curriculum and narrow, group assessment. Learning within mixed ability groups and the entitlement of a core curriculum, differentiated in its presentation to meet the variety of nonsynchronous individual and group needs would support this.

Within this curriculum, the content would need to go beyond the mere addition of diverse cultural knowledge (multicultural curriculum) to what Connell (1987) calls 'common learning' - a reconstruction of the curriculum from the standpoint of those 'carrying the burdens of social inequality' [99], moving towards social justice by taking the standpoint of the least advantaged (Rawls, 1972). Pupils would be enabled to 'reflect critically on the political framework of life in this country' [100], and develop the potential for responsible citizenship. What happens to the Anglo-centric content of the National Curriculum in this democratisation struggle will depend on the strength of the alliances that can be
built from 'grass roots' community contestation of hegemony to change the power balance in the 'extended state'. In the short term it would be subverted, governors and teachers using the broad curriculum to set a community-sensitive context for it.

My proposals relate to processes by which oppression can be reduced, potential means for redressive action to happen, rather than to practice, political structures and ends. I have sympathy with the opinion of West (1990) on empowerment, who suggested that catastrophe theory has much to commend it as a model for approaching social change, that is that:

"The repression or deprivation which has hitherto served only to reinforce apathy and conformity, suddenly and unaccountably provokes a riot or a revolution" [101].

Liberation, in this sense, will happen but it is very much dependent on interaction with the will and initiatives of others and is not controllable.

While counter-hegemonic challenge will be open to moves to marginalise, divert, co-opt and otherwise contain it by the reproductive forces of established order, ultimately these can only function to the extent that they are given legitimacy by the populace (e.g. the pulling down of the Berlin wall and the dismantling of USSR and other East European republics 1990-91). It seems to me to be important to be ready and building for alternative structures that will be more racially just, by developing processes that will enable them to survive.
4. **Conclusion**

In these concluding pages I shall look again at the conclusion of my thesis (pp. 431-8), based as it was on data from the mid 1970's, to assess it in the light of further practical experience in the field and of the preceding review of the literature of education and race in the 1980's. The questions that I researched, are still current, relevant and far from being solved. These were related to an analysis of the situation of the Asian children of immigrant families, in the Bradford school system from the mid 1970's to 1980, and their school achievement. The analysis informed an understanding of institutional racism, as a basis for developing strategies to promote equality of opportunity through school and in the broader societal context. I find that my conclusion and the proposals for action I would make on the basis of it now, though sharpened by the intervening years of experience, remains essentially the same.

For my original fieldwork, I took inequality observed as an element of the context into which the Asian pupils came into the school system in the 1970's. The Bradford School system, while a comprehensive one, was based on a highly valued monocultural selective Grammar School system that perpetrated a relatively narrow concept of achievement and content/mode of learning. The Asian pupils, most of them, came with a language difference from the majority which was disadvantaging in such a system. The language diversity in the Asian communities made a lack of consultation seem not only justifiable but rational by the education service policy-
makers, on an assumption that assimilation was looked for by the immigrants and expected by the 'host community'. The scene was set, therefore, for a policy, responsive to the needs of the established order, to manage a 'problem' presented to it. Policy-makers did not perceive the issue in terms of the Asian pupils' need to manage within the problematic situation of social inequality because it could not occur to them to ask, because social inequality was a norm. Furthermore the policy was managed on unacknowledged racial lines, with a false expectation - on both sides - of nonracial assimilation. The racial explicitness could not be overtly addressed with comfort because it challenged British self-notions of tolerance and fair play, on the one hand and Asian self respect and equitable self worth on the other. Therefore, differential allocation to institutions (centres, schools, classes), to teaching groups (examination-orientated and non-examination orientated) and hence differential 'achievement' at 16+ was to be expected in part as an outcome of this. In my study, the Asian (AN) pupils showed relative 'under-achievement' in relationship to their NAN peers, despite their motivation to succeed in school and the supportive, pro-education stance of Asian parents.

My proposal at the time was to raise awareness of the situation in terms of racism and a clearly stated racialisation of policy. This would at least allow the reality of the inequality of the situation felt by the Asian communities to be portrayed and it had potential to allow the issue to be discussed with a view to proactive strategy development for increased equity of opportunities.
At the time, parents could have been encouraged to support bussing for the educational good of their children if the onus of accommodation in the education system had been taken on by schools, teachers and administrators. In fact, given the apparent 'colour-blindness' of the administration (in practice an implicit race consciousness) the pupils were left relatively unsupported, often in quite hostile environments. Alongside the racialisation of policy discourse, I proposed the training of all teachers to enable them to manage the curriculum positively in a multilingual, multicultural context and also increased consultation with Asian parents so that real needs could be surfaced and then acted upon.

My involvement subsequently, as a senior officer in the LEA, supported and encouraged change in line with these proposals. There was progress towards a racialised debate, equity of respect for people in their cultural difference, inservice training for teachers in all schools in the context of the document Towards Education for All (CEMC, 1987) and some real consultation with community groups. The pressure group politics of the anti-bussing campaign, politicised Muslim citizens to gain some changes in schools for their children - halal meat for school meals, an acceptable multifaith Religious Education Syllabus, monitoring of racial harassment, a more rigorous recruitment and selection policy for local authority staff. They made some extra 'space' for themselves in the 'extended state' (Ben-Tovim et al 1986), albeit chiefly in a 'cultural' sphere.

I maintained in the conclusion to my thesis that a 'clearer perception of the structures of racism would enable the policy-makers
to create policies that focussed on those institutions which were perpetrating it' (p.435). In hindsight, while I still believe this as both possible and necessary, the reality in the 1980's was of limited gains which cost the local authority little. Though these gains remain, the space for manoeuvre was fairly swiftly closed in the backlash from the Honeyford affair. Mr. Honeyford seemed to me to have made himself available as a useful agent of central government's reassertion of its control even of the margins. Troyna and Williams (1986), argued that Ben-Tovim's antiracist strategy, with the concept of an 'extended state', is dangerous for just such a reason - the risk of token advances, no real change in the power balance and minority group frustration building up. This would indeed appear to be the case, though I would perceive the rise in frustration level as having positive energy for change (as shown in the Bradford Racial Equality Council's legal challenges to Bradford MDC for discriminatory employment practices). The risk is in the negative energy that frustration also generates.

I would continue to endorse racial explicitness for the discourse of strategy-making, not because I believe in any biological concept of racial groups, but because there continues to be a political rallying around 'race' and because of its broad correlation with issues of equity in Britain in the 1990's. At least in this paradigm the experience of black people is overtly addressed. The racial explicitness of the discourse may be manipulated negatively (e.g. the Honeyford affair), because it is difficult for the state to allow the threat of destabilisation, but it can also be manipulated
to the positive benefit of minority groups. Implicitness, while appearing to 'do good by stealth' (Kirp, 1979) enables collusion with inequality and can obscure its extent. It is also manipulative. It seems important to me that manipulation should be identifiable as far as possible (hence racially explicit monitoring of the system) even if this does fuel a potential stereotype. The concept of manipulation (viz. Lukes, 1974) provides a link between a psychological perspective on individual and group behaviour and a sociological/economic approach to group interactions and political practice (pp.416-419). It clarifies and strengthens an understanding of racism as a concept, endorsing the challenges that black people, from the reality of their experience, are making to the hegemony of the state. The challenges are not primarily about educational philosophy or practice but about political will. I have argued the stereotypical 'colour indicator' is of a flaw in the system (pp.138-40; 435-6).

The validity of this argument is supported for me by the way in which both multicultural and antiracist approaches to education were criticised from across the political spectrum and also by the fury of the debate, about an appropriate education for a multicultural society, from both multicultural and antiracist wings of a continuum in schools. The debate was essentially manipulative, frequently defending indefensible positions, and often confirming the 'New Rights' charge of 'indoctrination'. One of the indefensible positions, it seems to me, is an intimation that the linkage, with assimilation/integration aims for social harmony of the 1960's and
1970's, undermines the political 'purity' of the stance and hence its potential for counter-hegemonic change (Hatcher, 1987). While I agree that the focus must be on a redistribution of power, since its current inequity of redistribution allows oppressive dominance in decision-making and the accumulation of wealth for some to the detriment of basic life changes for others, I would see the continuity of the attitudinal thread not only inevitable but also of value. Without attitude change/awareness raising and change of personal as well as political will, any revolution could guarantee no more than a change in the constituency promoting hegemony and controlling resources - essentially different actors but a no change situation. An ethical as well as a political element is required. Hence, there is a need for a multicultural approach to education for today, if cultural pluralism is the expectation for Britain (vid. de Toqueville).

I am still of the opinion that the ideas for change, whether in the curriculum or in society's values system, will be heard by listening first to the 'oppressed' and then acting on this perspective. It will not be culled directly from official reports because their responsibility is to maintain law and order and to contain discontent. While the Swann report (1985) offered a view of a 'new multiculturalism' (Hatcher, 1987), taking a universalist approach to education for cultural diversity and attempting to address racism, in practice contentious aspects of it were marginalised (e.g. all black schools). The listening will need to be sensitive enough to encourage many ('non-synchronous', McCarthy,
1990), real needs to surface to give decision-making a broad information base. Increasing democratic participation, the taking up citizenship responsibilities, would be a way to ensure that an equitable consensus is achieved. My focus in the thesis was on the policy-makers who really need to listen. It addressed white privilege and power (Chapters 18-20) and 'modes of redirecting this to the advantage of all in positive racial harmony that is 'peaceful'' (p.436). I argued that such harmony would exist and be seen as just and peaceful only if it were based on an active consensus on what is racially just in society. This suggests a model of community consultation, cooperation and power balance that enables a minority need to be respected and provided for (providing it does not undermine the rights of others) the minority political voice to be heard and structures for power devolution across institutional divides and wider societal lines. This constitutes a personal hope, as well as a considered argument, that seems a far cry from the increasingly centralised state system of the early 1990's. It would lead me to point to two interrelated modes of progression towards the goal of enabling individual rights (each according to his/her need) within a context of group responsibility for the needs of others (responsible citizenship).

The first mode would be to target the state school, (possibly using the government's grant-maintained status to devolve responsibility to community, though the risk of co-option to the established hegemony would be great) but as an institution in organic relationship with its community. I would challenge the myth of
school as an 'a-political' institution, which it clearly is not, implicated as it is as part of the reproductive process of society. The school could be enabled, explicitly, to develop its broad curriculum, both 'hidden' and stated (within which the National Curriculum is accommodated) towards a content that is politically informed and balanced in a structure that is open and democratic. This is possible even within the constraints of the Education Reform Act. Governing Bodies (whose personnel also function in diverse groups in the 'extended state') are responsible for the curriculum. They could work with local communities, and with school staff and pupils, to enable school to be a shared resource and to address issues of allocation and achievement, flexibility of movement within the curriculum according to need and so forth, where the present competitive structure exacerbates inequality. Competition increases parental pressure for pupils to enter 'good' schools more than increasing pressure to make the local school accountable and 'good'. Teachers would need training and support. This could be enhanced by non-professional input of experience that could increase the everyday relevance of the curriculum. 'A strengthened bond and interdependence between school and its community could be a fertile seedbed for praxis (Freire), reflection and action' (p.438). Thus an alter-native, more egalitarian institution would be in process of being built, all participants being learners in the struggle to bring it in to being. The organic structure would have a potential resilience to contestation of its legitimacy that could build up from pupils, teachers, parents at many points and on many levels. It could also provide a trusted haven for new beginnings, when
alienation and tension had built up to 'catastrophe' level (West, 1990) in this or other societal spheres.

A second mode of progression towards a goal of responsible citizenship would be to encourage and create active learning foci through community action, in neighbourhood or special interest groupings. These may be voluntary, community initiatives seeking provision for local needs, by pressure group politics at a local or national level or by alternative self-reliant provision. They may be more formalised through trade unions, political parties or a Local Council forum. The emphasis would be on basic community groupings, politicisation of the discourse and democratisation of the action. Support could be engendered through networking with other groups with different needs and interests but similar modes of working and the intention to build a more equitable society ('broad alliances', Troyna and Williams, 1986; 'supportative network', Curle, 1973). The aim would be to enhance choice rather than to enter the narrowing constraints of competition for resources (falsely limited to ensure continued competitiveness).

One difficulty in developing challenges to inequality from 'grass roots' starting points (a 'pedagogy of the oppressed', Freire, 1972) is overcoming the 'internalisation' of oppression that can be blinding to real needs. Freire's approach was in 'conscientisation' through dialogue (pp. 421-4), both group with group, and in personal interaction with the political reality (dialogue as 'praxis'). A 'modelling' process of leaders working with rather than for the group is an enabler.
Positive features of this 'grass roots' networking approach are many. The groups would be self-energising because the action is local and results observed. Groups can use, or cooperate with, the old alliances of labour, law and order, etc. but are not dependent on them for structure or support. The network approach is about building up an alternative system rather than expending energy on breaking down the old. Although any group arises from an historical context, in the sense proposed here network groups are building anew rather than building on. What is unhelpful in the old will then wither. They came to birth with minimal institutional baggage and therefore they are flexible, freed up to be responsive to peoples' future needs. Networks are both very weak, through disagreement or poor communication links can be severed, but also very strong, with a multitude of linkages to hold a shape or direction. Destruction of part of a network does not destroy the whole, which can responsively reform.

The two modes of progression described above are interrelated, not alternative to one another. In targeting a state institution (the school), but acting from a counter-hegemonic values-base, linked to the supportative community action network described above, learning is sharpened through struggle. The school system is one arena for influence, where hegemonic conflicts of interest can be made explicit and dialogue developed (p. 425-6). Freire (1972) suggests that change in 'systematic education' requires political power, but that as an interim measure 'educational projects' should
be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organising with them to gain that political power.

Revisiting theoretical expositions of social and cultural reproduction has helped me to clarify an understanding of how society can be trapped in a cycle of inequality. Reading the literature of the past ten years on education and race has enabled me to put my own activity in Bradford, proposals based on the thesis, for movement towards racial justice, into context. It has clarified for me the risks of racialised discourse - further stereotyping, the targeting of racial minorities ('structural violence', Galtung, 1969; Camara, 1971) - and the extreme difficulty a democratically elected local authority has to maintain a counter-hegemonic stance that is at all radical. It has endorsed my decision to move to an alternative power-base, working alongside a local, inner-city community.

While, in this addendum, I have been critical of the current Conservative Government, I would not expect a Labour Party Government to be able to alter the social stratification to any but a marginal extent. Movement for a counter-hegemony would seem, by my argument, to emerge from a 'grass roots' initiative. It could result in new or renewed party political alliances. The focus of the thesis analysis was on white privilege, to identify the power behind racism, and my part in it as a white person. The proposals were concerning power and its appropriate use for more equitable social and economic relationships, particularly racial justice. It seems to me that the impetus for change in this respect comes from a values-base that is linked not to self-seeking or confrontational power group politics.
but to a notion of the common good ('commonweal' is the old English term), enabled through heeding the least powerful, standing alongside them, identifying with their interests and increasing their power to build alternative systems for the future.
NOTES TO THE ADDENDUM


[14] Source: Stuart Carlton, Strategic Development Officer, Directorate of Education, City of Bradford Metropolitan Council:

Local Education Authority centrally-based staff, 1991/92 1st Quarter

Full and part time 595 of which 89 (15%) were black

Salary profile (population 591)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Employees</th>
<th>Black Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officer Scale 3</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer Scale 4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Officer 1 - Principal Officer (PO)1</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO2 - PO5</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


B Troyna and J Williams (1986) op.cit. pp.110-111.

B Troyna and J Williams (1986) op.cit. p.100.


ibid. p.4.


B Troyna and J Williams (1986) op.cit. p.118.

See the statutory constitution of an Agreed Syllabus Conference, and the requirement for a positive vote to be recorded by each of the four Committees for a syllabus to be adopted. Education Act, 1944 and 1988.


C Bagley (1986) "Multiculturalism, class and ideology", p.57.


C Mullard, L Bonrick and B King (1983) Racial Policy and Practice, p.84.


ibid. p.121.


The New Right are using the term 'indoctrination' here as a 'condensation symbol', in the terms of Edelman (1964)
or Troyna and Williams (1986), for an unstated political purpose.


[41] ibid. p.28.


[56] ibid. p.16.

[57] B Troyna (1984a) "Fact or artefact: the 'educational under-achievement of black pupils", p.158-9, quoted in D Gillborn (1990) op.cit. p.120.

[58] C Bagley (1975) "On the intellectual equality of races", p.44.


[70] ibid. p.122.
[71] ibid. p.121.
[73] ibid. p.216.
[74] ibid. p.126.
[79] ibid. p.150.
[90] W Ball, W. Gulam and B. Troyna (1990) "Pragmatism or Retreat? Funding Policy, Local Government and the Marginalisation of Anti-racist Education" gives a
description (pp.83-91) of the effect of the Section 11 review on Manchester local authority.

[94] Baroness Hooper, commenting on ERA in a television interview 1988, spoke with the confidence of the New Right when she said: "If this leads to segregated schools, so be it".
[95] DES (1989b) National Curriculum from Policy to Practice, para. 3.8.
[96] DES (1987b) National Curriculum is key to better standards, para. 7.
[97] Lord Griffiths, an economist, was appointed Chairman of the Schools Examination and Assessment Council (July 1991). On his appointment he announced that he would be seeking a test that was simple to administer to a whole group of children. See "Griffiths goes back to pencil and paper" in Education 27 September 1991, p.242.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


"Creative subversion", in mimeo, 1974.


**National Curriculum is a key to better standards.** Kenneth Baker's speech to Manchester University, 17 September. London: HMSO, 1987b.


Government (UK) Reports from Royal Commissions, Home Office etc., (see also Department of Education and Science).


Hall, S; Critcher, C; Jefferson, T; Clarke, J & Roberts, B. Policing the Crisis: mugging, the state and law and order. London: Macmillan, 1978.


"Diary of a week at Drummond Middle School”, Times Educational Supplement. 13 April, 1984a. pp. 20- 21.


Midwinter, E. Priority Education. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972


Rampton Report, see Government (UK).


Swann Report, see Government (UK).


Troyna, B & Carrington, B. "Who's side are we on? Ethical dilemmas in research on 'race' and education", in R G Burgess (ed.). *The Ethics of Educational Research*. London: Falmer Press, 1989

**Education, Racism and Reform.** London: Routledge, 1990


