

The psychosocial history of black people
of the diaspora as a factor in the
underachievement of British pupils
of Afro-Caribbean descent

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ABSTRACT

In this study it is suggested that many of the learning difficulties of people of Afro-Caribbean descent in Great Britain are not only multi-faceted, including the results of such situated aspects as social class, school ethos, pupil-teacher relationships and differing degrees of racism, but multi-dimensional, being historical as well as geographical in its widest sense.

This work is intended as a contribution towards a theoretical framework of the sort called for long ago by Pettigrew (Pettigrew, 1964, passim), who suggested that the history of black people is often neglected in the search for an understanding of 'Negro personality'. Pettigrew was referring to American blacks, but the common linking experience of all black people of the diaspora and the strong sense of affiliation between a geographically separated people since the 'black pride' movement of the past three decades will be explored, with special reference to the old Liverpool Black Community as defined in the Swann Report (Swann, 1985, Chapter 15). Passing reference will be made for comparative purposes to other minority groups, for example, Jews, Asians and Hong Kong Chinese.

Understanding the relationship of British blacks and the 'host' society, with their interrelated past, not forgetting the wider geographical aspects of that history, may, as a prerequisite to remedial action to counter the underachievement of British black pupils in our schools, help teachers in their search for effective approaches. The question of black identity, now discredited, but once thought, in the manner of many researchers believing in single or limited factors, to be critical in underachievement, has been deployed against the historical dimension of the educational experience of Afro-Caribbeans and its legacy. This study seeks to open up these limitations, emphasising the importance of the group biography and adding the concept of a 'residual group memory'. In the search for the answers to the underachievement of these pupils, what began as a critical response to the elements of an essay by Loretta Young and Christopher Bagley (Young and Bagley, 1983), developed into something much more comprehensive.

The modes of inquiry are intuitive and nearer to those of the historian than the empiricist. In this study it is suggested that in considering only situated factors, many other important considerations critical to the present situation of black British pupils may previously have been missed.

Declaration

This work is original and has not been
submitted in support of any degree,
qualification or course.

.....R. H. Costello

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I dedicate this work to the memory of June Henfrey of the Faculty of Education and Extension Studies, whose work to bring about equality of opportunity for all people has been an inspiration to both colleagues and students.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Coard's paper "How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-normal in the British School system" publicised the question of what he felt to be misplaced 'immigrant' children in 1971, the issue becoming a symbol of the general under-achievement of West Indian children and a focus of the anxieties of many first-generation immigrants. (Tomlinson, 1982, p.100 after Coard, 1971). In 1973, the Department of Education and Science acknowledged the over-representation of children of West Indian origin in special schools in a letter to Chief Education Officers, and, in the same year, evidence from 16 official bodies was collected over the 'ESN issue' by the Select Committee of Race Relations and Immigration for their report "Education", to be followed three years later by evidence in the Committee's report, "The West Indian Community" (ibid)

Following recognition of the concern expressed by the West Indian community about the academic performance of their children in the Select Committee's Report, the Government set up an inquiry, not only into the needs of children of West Indian

descent, seen as the priority, but of all ethnic minority groups; in preparation for life in a multi-racial and culturally diverse society (Swann, 1985, p.vii)

The Committee's interim report "West Indian Children in our Schools", published on 17th June, 1981, concluded that West Indian children were indeed underachieving in relation to their peers and called for urgent measures to help remedy the situation. Less decisive, however, were the Swann Committee's criteria:

"In the absence of any nationally agreed definition of "West Indian" the Committee has dealt in its report with "children who are black, whose families come originally from the group of islands known as the West Indies, and who are generally speaking regarded as West Indian by teachers and the community at large. The report stresses that virtually all these children are British-born" (ibid, p.xvii)

The last sentence of this quotation is disturbing as it begs the question "when does a black child cease to be considered a West Indian or indeed an immigrant from any other 'black' country, and become British?" The Liverpool Black Community, to which special attention is paid in Chapter 15 of the Swann Report of 1985, is an old black settlement for whom this question remains

unanswered, many families being several generations old. Some four years before the Swann Report, the Race Relations Sub-committee of the Liverpool Teachers Association produced a pamphlet stating that it was...

"... an undisputed fact ... that black children in its city are underachieving in education..."(Swann, *ibid*, p.736)

At the time of the Swann Report, very few further education courses had black students and Liverpool black students reaching university were very rare indeed, virtually all blacks found in Liverpool University not being local (*ibid*, pp. 736-737). The disquiet felt by the Swann Commission regarding the fate of Liverpool Black children was strongly expressed in its report, in its estimation these children having fared worse educationally than any other group with the exception of travellers' children (*ibid*, p.733). Swann noted that very little progress had been made in investigating and meeting the special needs of Liverpool Black children, which may differ from those of immigrants, the former, as Swann comments, being "more closely assimilated with the 'majority' by ancestry, language, culture and length of residence than any of the others we have looked at" (*ibid*).

Some seven years after this initial focus upon the underachievement of children of Afro-Caribbean descent, with the exception that the notion of 'Black British' may have finally arrived on the agenda, the situation does not appear to have appreciably changed. Evidence for this can be found in a recent H.M.I. Annual Report which states that in secondary schools...

"...among particular groups of pupils standards remain worryingly low; the less academically able, pupils from some ethnic minority backgrounds and those in disadvantaged areas continue to underachieve" (H.M.I. Annual Report 1990-1991, January, 1992, paragraph 9)

"There was substantial underachievement by some groups of ethnic minority pupils in Key Stage 3 and GCSE. Of particular concern was the lack of success of Black British (Caribbean) boys and pupils of Bangladeshi origin" (ibid., paragraph 52)

In this study it is suggested that the common historical experience of all people of African descent, of the diaspora brought about by slavery, has a greater significance than national frontiers, be they American, British, or of the various former British colonies of the West Indies. There is already some demographic evidence supporting this view. In a study based on data collected as part of the National Child Development Study of the National Children's Bureau in London, Bagley found that when a less rigorous classification of ethnicity than both

parents born in the West Indies was applied, for example, children of 'mixed' marriages; those with parents born in Africa; or those for whom data on birthplace of one or both parents was missing, the patterns of disadvantage emerging in the data on the West Indian group were also seen to have emerged in the analysis of data for the larger 'black' group (Bagley, 1982, p.110). Similarly, when the team that compiled the Eggleston Report on the educational and vocational experiences of young black people examined claims by other researchers suggesting that pupils of Jamaican backgrounds might have lower educational attainments than other West Indian children, no significant difference was found between such groups (Runnymede Research Report, 1986, p.5). Not only do national boundaries fail to distinguish between this common ancestry, but some variables, such as living conditions, would appear to be less effective upon the achievement of black children of the diaspora than they might upon the dominant 'host' society:

"...even West Indian children born in Britain, and in relatively advantaged social conditions, have somewhat poorer reading, and higher scores on the measure of teacher-described behaviour disorder, than their white counterparts. Neither poor achievement nor teacher-attributed behaviour disorder can be fully explained by survey variables, and other factors such as the negative experience of multiracial schooling (Bagley and Coard, 1975), hostility of white children (Bagley and Verma, 1975) and teacher

inadequacy and even prejudice (Brittan, 1976; Tomlinson, 1979) have to be considered."(Bagley, op. cit., p.145)

In this study it is suggested that the missing 'umbrella' factor is no less than the unique history of black people of the dispersal; unique in that whilst other groups have endured persecution and discrimination, in the case of Jewish people, even longer, the forms the black experience have taken has been characterised not only by discrimination by skin colour, once again groups such as Asians and Chinese might be said to have suffered comparably, but by additional characteristics examined in the following chapters. The term 'umbrella' is used, as the group history of black people has itself spawned a myriad of contemporary situated factors; in our own time, too often studied in isolation. In the above quotation, Bagley clearly recognises the multicausal nature of learning difficulties faced by children of Afro-caribbean descent, whether born in Great Britain or the West Indies, a view supported in this thesis. Just how far this multiplicity of factors may range is shown in the following pages.

THE 'HIDDEN CURRICULUM'

For some time now, researchers have pointed to the existence of an all-pervasive "hidden curriculum" in schools, unacknowledged in current rationales for public education, but allegedly successful in the inculcation of values, political socialisation, inducing docility in targeted sections of society and, in some cases, because of its hidden nature, continuing to do so long after its original purpose has fallen into disuse (Vallance, 1973/74, passim).

Although still largely unmarshalled, a factor that may have hindered its academic credibility, there has been a considerable amount of research into racism in children's books. Highlighting this particular area of the curriculum as a factor in black children's learning, however, touches upon a whole wealth of evidence in other areas of the black pupil's experience suggesting that how black people are perceived by both themselves and society may also be the result of an "untaught curriculum", part of those more general influences both outside and inside school not only varying in intentionality, but with apparently varied target areas including sex role, social class and short term political purposes as well as the perpetuation of racist attitudes. How

pupils of Afro-Caribbean descent view themselves and how the dominant group in this country is seen to perceive them is examined in this study as a factor in their underachievement at school.

In order to begin to understand the hidden curriculum as it relates to black people, an interdisciplinary approach is necessary. In referring to a "hidden curriculum", the term might be recognised as including more than just the school syllabus, however, important. B. Parekh of Hull University, a member of the Swann Committee, suggested the idea of a far more holistic approach when he commented:

"First the debate is vitiated by what I might call the fallacy of the single factor, be it class, racism, West Indian family, West Indian culture, the school or educational system, to explain the fact of underachievement. This is obviously an inherently impossible enterprise. Not even a relatively simple natural phenomenon like the falling of an apple or the dropping of a stone can be explained in terms of a single cause... (Swann, 1985, p.69)

In her article, "An Interpretation of the Language of Justification in Nineteenth Century Educational Reform" a study of the history of educational rhetoric in the United States, Vallance investigates elements in public schooling considered by her to be increasingly hidden with the passage of time. In attempting to clarify her concept of the

hidden curriculum she suggested three dimensions along which investigations might proceed:

"[1] Hidden curriculum can refer to any of the contents of schooling including the student-teacher interaction unit, classroom structure, the whole organisational pattern of the educational establishment as a microcosm of the social values system. [2] Hidden curriculum can bear on a number of processes operating in or through schools, including values acquisition, socialisation, maintenance of class structure. [3] Hidden curriculum can embrace differing degrees of intentionality, and depths of "hiddenness" as perceived by the investigator, ranging from incidental and quite unintended by-products of curricular arrangements to outcomes more deeply embedded in the historical social function of education" (Vallance, op. cit., p.6)

To these terms of reference might also be added that other "curriculum" in existence beyond the confines of the school room; the out-of-school environment, certainly recognised by the Swann Commission (Swann, op. cit., p.vii). If a flexible approach to the study of the hidden curriculum as it relates to the education of black people is adopted moving freely between disparate disciplines, a truer picture of that "hidden curriculum" may be obtained. It would seem necessary to synthesize the results of such research, a step towards an holistic approach; making connections and linking data between aspects seemingly divorced from one another; drawing on a

variety of sources and not ignoring perhaps one of the most obvious factors, the long-term historical experience of blacks of the diaspora, curiously lacking in the Swann Report.

In spite of their inability to find the cause of causes of West Indian underachievement, the Swann Committee did realise the existence of "a complex combination of factors, operating differentially both in school and out of school." (Swann Report, op. cit., p.79). At Swann's suggestion, the Director of Research and Statistics at the Inner London Education Authority undertook a 'major study' to unravel some of the many issues involved, closely resembling a similar study suggested earlier by the National Foundation of Educational Research:

"A major in-depth investigation...to study and compare the relation between the performance of West Indian pupils, their family background and factors internal to school. The emphasis in such a study would be on home-school interaction and type, size and atmosphere of school, necessitating carefully matched samples for detailed study, focusing particularly on those children who were comparatively high achievers." (ibid., after Taylor, 1981)

This seemingly promising measure proved to be disappointing insofar as the scope of the methodology employed, however. In the Revised Research Proposal on "Academically Successful Black

Pupils", submitted by the Research and Statistics Branch of the Inner London Education Authority, July 1981, the main research aim of the study was stated as being:

- "1. What difference do the pupils' school and classroom experiences make to their success or failure?
2. What contribution does the pupil's home environment make to their success (or failure)?
3. What effects, if any, do peer influences have on success (and failure)?" (Swann, *ibid*, p.165)

Once again, this "major study" to "unravel further the many issues involved" (*ibid.*, p.79) concentrated upon situational factors, relying upon circumstantial evidence in investigating a deeply rooted problem; namely that of black people of the diaspora 'marooned' in Western society (1).

The worse aspects of black slavery, a shameful phase in world history, might well be considered by some to be better forgotten, if only for the mental health of sensitive black souls faced with the depressing effects of such a negative memory, were it

1. 'maroons', indeed being the term for West Indian slaves who managed to escape and live as free men and women. In such islands as Jamaica, maroons set up their own settlements in the fastnesses of mountainous regions.

not for the continuing nature of that legacy in the form of a residue of once more overt negative attitudes towards black people. It would seem to be not so much a matter of a collective "racial memory" of past treatment, but of a residual group history; factors still in operation in daily life. The curious amnesia relating to the history of blacks of the diaspora, though attributed to guilt on the part of whites by some writers (Williams, 1964, p.64), is much more complex in those blacks yet to be influenced by the "black pride" movement originating in the USA during the 1950s, as will be shown in Chapter Three of this study. Hauser suggests that some black individuals' own conception of their inferior status is confirmed by both their personal history and what they know of their race, all the black subjects in his research making it clear that they did not wish to speak of their own past, having a good idea of their group history of slavery, submission and "ever repeated degradation" (Hauser, 1971, p.111).

The ease with which examples of this memory lapse are to be found in even academic circles is disturbing. There is some evidence to suggest that the historical experience of Afro-Caribbeans is becoming increasingly hidden and sublimated with the

passage of time to be replaced by a tacit agreement upon the inferiority of black people.

THE I.Q. AND RACE CONTROVERSY

One of the most obvious examples of neglect of the historical dimension can be found in the I.Q. and race debate resulting from the findings of Jensen. In the early 1970s, Jensen published his views on race and IQ. His results were controversial, estimating the IQ gap between black and white Americans to be 15 points, a black mean of 85 and a white mean of 100, with a standard deviation of 13 and 15 respectively (Flynn, 1980, p.25). Jensen's view that the gap was due to genetic causes rather than environmental met with accusations of racism, but what was particularly interesting were the arguments put forward as a refutation of Jensen's findings. Twelve main hypotheses for the poorer performance of blacks were put forward by his critics:

"1. Hypothesis: The IQ gap is an artefact of the tests themselves... the content of the tests is culturally biased... blacks would do better if the tests were written in ghetto dialect and administered by blacks...

2. Hypothesis: The IQ gap has no larger significance - the tests measure nothing save how good blacks are at taking IQ tests...

3. Hypothesis: Black children are less motivated than white children on IQ tests...

4. Hypothesis: Black children have an unfortunate self-concept or low self-esteem which adversely affects their performance...

5. Hypothesis: The notion of competing with whites awakes crippling emotions in blacks; fear, anger, expectation of failure or humiliation, and IQ tests engender these emotions...

6. Hypothesis: Teachers expect black children to perform at a lower level than whites and this affects their scores on IQ tests...

7. Hypothesis: Black children receive less verbal stimulation from their parents and the parents often use an atypical and ungrammatical dialect - the result is language deprivation which handicaps them on IQ tests...

8. Hypothesis: Because of poverty, because of poor health, poor pre-natal care, higher rates of venereal disease, and drug addiction, black women provide a less adequate pre-natal environment for the developing foetus...

9. Hypothesis: Poor nutrition, pre-natal or post-natal, affects black intellectual development...

10. Hypothesis: American blacks are clearly below whites in socio-economic status (SES) and this, given all the environmental handicaps it entails, is sufficient to account for the IQ gap...

11. Hypothesis: Although each environmental variable may have a relatively small impact on IQ, all of them work to the disadvantage of blacks and there is reason to believe that collectively they explain the IQ gap...

12. Hypothesis: ... Social science is in its infancy, and we cannot as yet isolate the environmental variables which affect

IQs, but we can raise the mean IQ of deprived groups as much as 30 points by altering their environment; and this shows that the hereditarians must be mistaken" (Flynn, *ibid*, pp. 40-50)

The fact that the bulk of these criticisms enter into the nature-nurture controversy firmly on the side of environmental factors, a situated approach, demonstrates how easily the historical dimension can be forgotten; not only as it related to causality, but the part the present day legacy of that experience of black people plays in shaping their environment. Whilst some of these hypotheses are questioned in this thesis, four of the above, 3 to 6, do however touch very briefly upon the existence of another factor derived, as will be shown in this study, from the historical legacy of the black experience. That black children are less motivated; have an unfavourable self-concept; may not like competing with whites; or may be taught by teachers with pre-conceived notions of their performance, are arguments put forward as a refutation of Jensen's theories that contain a strong hint that many concepts born in the mists of time are still very much alive and may be part of the hidden curriculum affecting the achievement of pupils of Afro-Caribbean descent.

Jensen based his estimates on Shuey's review (Shuey, 1966) of 382 studies, testing both American school and high-school children including over 100,000 blacks (Flynn, *ibid*, p.25). What is worth commenting on about this survey is the fact that whilst American blacks scored lower than whites overall, Southern blacks scored appreciably worse than their Northern brethren. Although later contested by Pettigrew on the grounds of insufficient controls (Pettigrew (a) , 1964, p.10), in 1957 Grossack stressed the racial status of Southern blacks as a important factor in personality measures taken of the American population. Even at a superficial level of enquiry, southern blacks are known to have traditionally fared worse than those of the North, Shuey's figures, if anything, supporting the importance of the historical factor.

H. Eysenck, a Berlin born psychologist at London University, joined the Jensenist camp when he supported the view that obvious differences in education, socio-economic status, and other environmental factors did not appreciably affect the poor outcome of IQ tests for blacks. In his book "Race, Intelligence and Education", he expresses a strong suspicion of another factor, however, which, although an afterthought, supports once again the

hypothesis put forward in this study:

"For centuries the black man has been oppressed, enslaved, exploited, vilified, and held in contempt; those whose forefathers were responsible for these crimes, and those who still continue to deny the black man equality and justice, bear a heavy burden of guilt. If, as the data suggests, negroes in the USA show some genetic influence on their low IQs, this may very well be due to the aftermath of some of the crimes committed on their ancestors - just as the Irish show a similar IQ, probably because of the oppression they suffered for so many centuries at the hands of the English. The reasons for the present state of affairs can only be guessed at; the facts themselves are not really in dispute" (Eysenck, 1971, p.144).

Eysenck is perhaps being rather fanciful when he suggests that poor treatment of blacks may have had a long term genetic affect on the IQ of black people of the diaspora, displaying an astonishing ignorance of the necessary duration of any evolutionary process and possibly revealing himself to be a victim, like so many others, of the historical racist rhetoric which, ironically, whilst attempting to make a case for the historic servility of black people, hid the truth of the comparatively recent nature, at least in historic terms, of their oppression. This in itself exemplifies the importance of including all avenues of investigation, including the historical. Eysenck admits that he is

only guessing, for there is no proof, the likelihood being strongly in favour of any historical influence being firmly in the camp of his opponents, the environmentalists. Eysenck's concession to the nurture case is grudging, stating that:

..." if environmental causes are all-important they have certainly not yet been isolated, or shown to be so" (ibid, p.144)

The following chapters will perhaps throw some light upon this area. It is not the intention of this thesis to reopen the IQ and Race controversy. Rather it is an attempt to add the historical dimensions of the experience of black people of the diaspora to the debate as a factor in their underachievement. The problems of black pupils born in Great Britain or, indeed, of many generations such as can be found in Liverpool, are not those of language or culture, but the effects of their group history.

THE HISTORICAL FACTOR IN THE METHODOLOGY OF RACE STUDIES

Black Americans may have fared better than their British counterparts insofar as the study of their history is concerned. In his book "Black and White Identity Formation", Hauser acknowledges the

important historical and sociological studies of black Americans by such scholars as Dubois (1903), Phillips (1918) and Myrdal (1944), the last representing a departure from the most contemporary studies as, though dealing largely with historical and institutional facts, Myrdal touches upon Negro class structure and personality issues (Hauser, op. cit., p.14). This shift may have been portentous, however. Later psychological and social psychological studies of black Americans, such as those of Pettigrew (1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1965) Dreger and Miller (1960, 1968) (as cited in Hauser, op. cit., p. 16) include a range from doll studies, IQ score comparisons, to studies of "self-assimilation", Hauser believing much of this work to be incohesive and suggestive of a need for an overall framework. It is worth noting that he recognises the lack of a historical perspective when he complains:

"In several discussions Pettigrew proposes outlines of the theoretical framework he thinks will be required to account adequately for the social and individual psychology of American Negroes. He couches his proposed framework in the language of role theory which on the whole does not stress historical explanation. The papers emphasise the enormous variation in American Negro behaviour. He suggests genetic variables and situational variables which taken together, are said to account for the complexity. Although sorely needed, it does not seem that a "psychological theory of the American Negro is yet available" (ibid.)

Hauser is perhaps being a little hard in his criticism of Pettigrew, for although the latter may not have found the answers to a social psychological theory of a black personality, or even of American blacks, in his article "Negro American Personality : Why Isn't more Known?" he would appear to have asked the right questions; precisely those examined in this study. Pettigrew's tentative answers certainly point in the right direction:

"Why isn't more known about Negro American personality? Three answers to this question are: [1] the narrowness and "practical" orientation of many of the studies on the problems; [2] the methodological difficulties inherent in this research and the widespread failure to overcome these problems; and [3] the need for a broad social psychological theory of Negro American personality. The type of theory required must treat not only the unique historical and socio-cultural forces behind the group and the subtle reflections of these forces within the Negro's personality, but it must also specify the mediating mechanisms transmitting the interpenetrating effects of each of these sets of factors upon the other" (Pettigrew (a), 1964, p.18).

As Pettigrew suggests in the case of black Americans, difficulty in making progress in identifying the causes of academic failure in British black children may be methodological, due in part to neglect of the historical dimension of the "black experience" in favour of other modes of

inquiry (1). The variability of vogues in subject areas may well be the cause of the decline of history as part of the school syllabus, current investigations seeking solutions in the present, however inconclusive their findings may be. In his search for the answer to the riddle of Stonehenge, Hoyle, in our age of computers, concluded that this ancient monument was no less than a giant computer (Chippendale, 1983, pp.223-235). Constraints upon attempts to find the causes of academic failure may be no less, underlying the need to investigate all avenues of inquiry. A serious weakness may be revealed in evaluations based solely on situated empirical studies, with all their attendant problems.

This omission has shown very little sign of being rectified in more recent studies of black achievement. In his book "Beyond Underachievement", published in 1980, Driver sought the causes of variation in West Indian achievement in a single aspect of modern life; precisely the complaint of

(1) This association of the experience of American with British blacks is by no means random. In Chapter One on "The Origins of Tacit Agreement", it will be shown that a geographic aspect to how black people all over the world had come to be perceived by the dominant white society had developed towards the end of the nineteenth century to harden eventually into a tacit agreement upon the characteristics of black people and their inferiority

Parekh of the Swann Commission mentioned earlier (see p.8 of this study). Driver concluded:

"the writer observing a limited number of West Indian minority families, hypothesised that the sort of family household structures identified by Smith, Clarke and others in lower class communities in the Caribbean may have been transferred to this country when West Indian families arrived and settled here. Educational Statistics of achievement may indicate something about the incidence and character of these household role-structures...What is needed is a major study of West Indian and English family structures in order to establish such structural arrangements which cause children to perform in the way they do in school" (Driver, 1980, pp 50-51).

If the historical dimension is to be excluded from the methodology of studies relating to the education of British people of Afro-Caribbean descent, the missing factor may be no less than the whole area of causality, progressively adding to the bewilderment in the British schoolroom with the passing of time, a bewilderment shared by some investigators, not the least being the Swann Committee. The Swann Report certainly reflects a suggestion of confusion on the part of the Commission when it states:

"The Commission has, I (1) believe, done a valuable job in disposing of one suggested explanation for West Indian

(1) Lord Swann.

underachievement, namely low socio-economic status aggravated by prejudice and discrimination on the part of society at large. Harking back to Professor Parekh's list of possible causes, we are left with the alleged inadequacy of the West Indian family structure or ethos on one hand and a range of faults in the schools on the other. It would seem likely that the explanation for that part of West Indian underachievement which is not accounted for by low socio-economic status, must be somewhere in these areas, or in others not yet identified (Brief guidelines to the Swann Report, 1985. p.7).

Once again, like Eysenck, the Commission leaves an unanswered question in the last sentence of the above quotation, whilst at the same time pointing in a positive way to a need for further research into the situation, not only of "West Indian" children living in Britain, but all pupils of African descent; Caribbean, African or black British of many generations as can be found in the Liverpool Black Community.

In this study, then, the part played in British black underachievement by self-esteem, self-concept and identity are investigated by means of an often omitted aspect, the historical approach. The pioneer psychoanalytic thinker E. H. Erikson made some contribution to the recognition of the role of history in personality development in his theory of psychosocial identity. His examination of the manner

in which individuals live their lives whilst taking part in a given society's development reveals Erikson's conviction that the relationship between history and personality are of some importance. Erikson's theory highlighted the individual's personal life-history and membership of a group, nation or race with its own collective history, existing at a particular point in time alongside other groups (Young and Bagley, 1983, p.48) with all the potential threat of the possibility of what B. Holmes, in his theory of "Critical Dualism" called "asynchronous social change"; the hopes, aspirations and direction of groups or sections of society being "out of tune" with one another. (Holmes, 1981, p.76).

In his book, "Young Man Luther, A Study in Psychoanalysis and History" (Erikson, 1958,) Erikson wrote an interesting biography of the founder of Protestantism, Martin Luther, in the light of modern (or at least in 1958, the then modern) psychoanalytical thought. His intention was to demonstrate that the personality of an historic personage must be viewed within its particular historic context, such men and women being creatures of their time; shaped by their personal history, that of their group, and possibly by the greater social structure to which that group belongs.

This study, which emphasises the hypothesis of a collective group history, paradoxically reverses the above exercise by attempting to show that not only do the individuals exist as members of their group at a given point in time, their personality being necessarily affected, but certain elements in the past history of the group to which they belong remain as a residue, a legacy of former events, policies and motivations, in some cases, as mentioned earlier, long after their original function has been served, with no real relevance to the present, and often having no particular part in any existing ideology. Whilst Erikson sought to analyse Luther with the hindsight of modern man, this work examines the notion that British black pupils not only have to deal with their present, as a culminative point in history, their situated group biography, but outmoded assumptions still in existence, made all the more dangerous by their purpose in some cases being no longer remembered. The effect of these messages from the past conveying dictates from a long-dead era, the essence of a hidden curriculum taught to both black and white British pupils, may mean the delay of the demise of the racist ideology of a previous period, racism being very much a part of the everyday life of the black British child, but its original commercial

and political motives having long fallen into disuse, as seen in the following chapter (1).

In their article "Self-Esteem, Self-Concept and the Development of Black Identity: A Theoretical Overview", Loretta Young and Christopher Bagley sought to link various theories of how black children come to acquire a sense of identity, noting the neglect of self-esteem in the work of many personality theorists, including Eysenck (Young and Bagley, 1982, p.45). In this study, the role of history is investigated in the light of this and later analysis by other researchers. Young and Bagley's work on self-esteem and self-concept has now been superseded by other research centring upon the general umbrella term of 'identity', the root concept of 'global identity' being, nevertheless, particularly relevant to this study, integrating as it does both past and present experiences in ways which enable individuals to maximise their potential (ibid. p.41). Moreover, some researchers, amongst whom M. Stone is numbered (Stone, 1981), have long questioned the validity of psychological theories of

(1) In spite of racial xenophobia being in existence since Man's origin, in this study modern racism is seen as existing along a continuum originating in the race cult which evolved during the eighteen and nineteenth centuries.

identity, believing them to be merely shifting the onus of underachievement onto the shoulders of the black child, rather than the social structure and its reflection in the school system. It will be shown, however, that the part played by identity is by no means the only factor in black underachievement. This study reconsiders, amongst other tasks, the place of identity, under which self-concept and self-esteem are subsumed, within a whole framework of factors involved in the learning situation of black pupils. Before accepting the rejection of psychological theories by those researchers who now question the validity of self-concept and self-esteem as a factor, an open mind should perhaps be retained whilst relating those aspects of identity cited in this study to the history of black people of the diaspora.

By means of a historical approach, the situation of British children of Afro-Caribbean descent within the British education system is examined. Chapter One traces the role of education in the growth of tacit agreement on the inferiority of people of African descent from the period when slavery was at its height to the present day. In Chapter Two, the role of History is examined in the basic traditions of 'self' theory and their part in the learning

process. The mode of enquiry differs somewhat in Chapter Three. Three case studies of children of primary school age are presented to exemplify the experience of black pupils and illuminate issues of teacher attitudes, negative self-image, curricular provision and often hidden processes of education. Chapter four investigates home and parental factors, the beginnings of the black child's learning experiences. The educational implications of the onset of adolescence, a traumatic experience for most individuals in Western society and seen to be heightened in the black child of secondary age, are appraised in Chapter Five. The child's 'out of school' environment, so often erroneously called the 'home environment', a far narrower concept, and its role in the learning process is investigated in Chapter Six. Social class, in truth one of the strongest factors in the 'out of school' environment, occupies a chapter of its own, the relationship between race and class as it relates to the black pupil being analysed in Chapter Seven. To conclude, the 'global experience' of the black child within the British school system is considered, including the questions of identity, and the implications for the teacher are finally synthesised.

PART ONE

THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF THE

BLACK CHILD'S LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER ONE

THE UNQUESTIONED CONSENSUS: ITS NATURE AND ORIGINS

In order to cope with understanding new concepts calling for a whole new language, it has often been necessary to resort to using existing terminology as a springboard. The history of invention in most parts of the world is signposted by easily recognisable and often descriptive transitional terms ranging from 'thundersticks' (guns) of Native Americans to the 'horseless carriages' and 'magic lanterns' of Europe. This need for an underlying idea, a hypostasis based on that which is already known, to assist in coming to terms with innovation, is not confined to concrete invention, but is also necessary in internalising abstract concepts involved in the evolution of socio-political movements.

However helpful outmoded terminology can be, Furbank, in his book "Unholy Pleasure : The Idea of Social Class", makes the point that the use of outdated convenience terms can often be confusing to posterity, who may ascribe a literal meaning or at the least draw certain assumptions from them. Furbank suggests that prior to the 1820s, although the term 'class' was commonly in use, it did not

carry the same implications as later in the nineteenth century when, he suggests, the idea of a specific class 'cult' began to harden and take root in Britain:

"The concepts of 'ranks' or 'orders' etc., tacitly imply a rightness and divinely appointed necessity in social inequality. (Though, by the way, we must remember not to take this talk of 'ranks' and 'orders' literally or imagine, as is sometimes quaintly done, that everyone in 'old England' possessed an ascertainable rank). Now, in the 1820s most even of the opponents of parliamentary reform paid some lip-service to legal equality, in however attenuated a form. Thus there was a need for a less obviously tendentious terminology for social difference; and 'class', a 'value-free' term of logic, fitted the bill very neatly. Further, it may be held... that why this change of language took place just then is because it was at this time (not before, and also not later) that a middle class and a working class came into existence (and came into existence as a product of each other). (Furbank, 1985, p.6).

Furbank goes on to clarify the notion of a 'class' terminology superseding an older one. He points out that the term 'class' was already frequently used in the later eighteenth century, phrases such as 'of the lowest class', 'members of the operative class' and 'the middling class' being commonly used. The difference, Furbank suggests, is that in the 1820s, people began to speak of a 'class system', ascribing themselves - at least on occasion

- to a hierarchy expressed in terms of relative position or 'height' (ibid).

As in the evolution of the British class system, the modern concept of racism might sometimes be thought to have been derived from a 'natural order', inescapable and irrevocable, rendering attempts at any amelioration through our education system and political movements futile. Lorimer suggests that, on the contrary, the origins of modern racism also lie in the development of another cult; based on race (Lorimer, 1978, *passim*). Whilst xenophobia and racial prejudice undoubtedly existed prior to the mid-nineteenth century, Lorimer believed that negative attitudes concerning race did not begin to harden into a social 'system' until that time, which begs the question : as did Lorimer's dates for the origin of a race 'cult' or system of classifying humankind coincides very closely, in chronological terms, to those of Furbanks's 'solidifying' of the class system in Britain, to what extent are these historical developments linked, if at all?

Negative attitudes shown towards black people were by no means pathologically endemic to British society. They were not part of some natural condition inherent in Northern European societies,

they had to be manufactured. How and why negative attitudes were established by the rhetoric of the vested interests is not difficult to discover. What is more difficult to ascertain is how far was the original indoctrination to go and how long was it intended to last? To what extent were some elements simply coincidental with other reinforcing factors in British history (see p. 236) It may be impossible to answer these questions entirely in this study, but a brief examination of negative attitudes from the earliest language of justification for the poor treatment of black people to the growth of the still-present tacit agreement on their inferiority in contemporary British society, may help to throw some light upon what the hidden curriculum might be and how it functions.

FROM PLANTOCRACY TO PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC RACISM

The earliest language of justification was undoubtedly that of the slavers and the West Indian planters they supplied. Promulgating and sustaining not only a popular poor image of black people and the notion of their debased humanity, but in some cases that they were not human at all (Jordan, 1968, pp. 440-441), was essential to the commercial success of the Slave Trade, holding public indignation at bay

and strengthening the hand of the pro-slavery lobby in Parliament.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the education of the poor in Britain was viewed with suspicion owing to fears of Jacobin insurrection of the sort prevalent in France. As a counter to the atheistic revolutionary movement in Europe, while the suspicion of education remained, it was nevertheless a useful medium to combat subversiveness and impiety. (Sturt, 1967, pp. 4-5). The introduction of a modicum of religion, using education as a vehicle, was thought to be the answer, the religious question growing in strength and dominating the greater part of the nineteenth century (1). Although popular education in England and Wales, (though not in Scotland) would have to wait until Forster's Education Act of 1870, education with its religious base proved a useful medium to spread the creed of the Slave Lobby by use of biblical texts which appeared to give divine validation to their ideas. Education at the beginning of the nineteenth century may have not yet become universal in England and Wales but the movement for popular education could

(1) The influence of formal education will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

nevertheless be used to aid the spread of the image of black people as evil, dehumanised creatures. Notions based on the bible and its apocryphal embellishments, such as those of Best, a sailing companion of Frobisher, had been available from early in the days of the Slave Trade:

"As an example for contempt of Almighty God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should be born whose name was Chus, who, not onely it selfe but all his posteritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remain a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all those black Moores which are in Africa...." (Craton, 1974, p.167)

Part of the hypothesis put forward in this study is that once the stage of popular consciousness has been reached where notions held and views expressed are part of the stuff of everyday life, such imagery dies hard, its apparent death often leaving behind a dormant seed ready to sprout if nourished. The British Abolition of Slavery in 1834 may have had the potential to diminish the motivation for a language promulgating the inferiority of black people, but the time duration over which black slavery had taken place had already been long enough to produce its own "hidden curriculum"; a residue of past propaganda by both

governmental and commercial interests still reflected in common parlance. The period of time elapsing between the Abolition of Slavery (Betts, 1976, p. 4) and the dawn of the "new" colonial period in the 1860s (ibid., p. 162) was little more than a quarter of a century. With the onset of the "scramble for Africa" it was politic for new justifications to be found for the re-exploitation of African peoples. An entirely new language of justification was not entirely necessary, however. To a great extent, the old rhetoric had barely had time to die and could be revived and utilized with some modification as essentially the same message of the old plantocracy.

The "new" language for the perpetuation of racist ideas relating to people of African descent was to be the pseudo-scientific racism of the later nineteenth century, a more determined descendant of earlier attempts to "prove" the rectitude of prevailing attitudes towards black people by attempting to provide a basis in science, so typical of the Victorian age of discovery, to support and supersede the earlier religious justification.

Charles White, a Manchester physician, was an exponent of the pseudo-scientific racism that was to

gather strength during the nineteenth century. Working at the end of the eighteenth century, he shared the ethnocentricity of many of his countrymen already beginning to fall victim to the tacit agreement upon people of African descent. In an letter published in 1799 entitled "Account of the Regular Graduation in Man", White helped establish the idea of a racial hierarchy, Northern whites at the top and African blacks at the bottom, with all the gradations of humanity in between, usually ranked according to skin colour. (Fryer, op. cit., pp. 168-169) (1)

This idea of a 'racial hierarchy' did not really take hold in Britain until the middle of the nineteenth century when, as mentioned earlier, the idea of a vertical system based on social class had already begun to consolidate. In his discussion of the origins of the class system, Furbank (see p. 31) makes the interesting observation that the idea of a 'middle class' is only conceivable in cultures expressing a relative valuation in terms of height, a

(1) What is interesting about White is that in compiling his "evidence" of white supremacy, including measurements of skeletons and living individuals of relevant racial groups, he did not have to travel very far. White used Liverpool blacks, a still largely unrecognised section of British society, an apparently obvious source even before the nineteenth century. (Jordan, 1968, p.500)

concept he feels, judging from Aristotle's 'Politics' (which did not use the metaphor of height) could not have been possible in Ancient Greece (Furbank, op. cit., n. p.6). The extent to which both 'cults' of race and class might be the products, or at least aspects, of a single concept might be more fully adjudged in Chapter Seven, which investigates the relationship between the lower orders of British society and black people in Britain as two non-dominant groups.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the pseudo-science of phrenology, along with many other theories was used to reinforce the idea of white supremacy. The distinguished phrenologist Sir William Lawrence, writing in 1819 voiced the opinion of many intellectuals in the country:

"The inferiority of the dark to white races is much more general and strongly marked in the powers of knowledge and reflection, the intellectual faculty ... than in moral feelings and disposition ... I deem the moral and intellectual character of the Negro inferior, and decidedly so, to that of the European" (Fryer, op. cit., pp. 170-171)

As the notion of the inferiority of black people became part of popular imagery, changes in the class structure of British society relegated even blacks of high rank to the lower orders (see Chapter

Seven on Social Class). Formerly, black visitors or settlers of higher rank were by no means excluded from "polite society" so long as they conformed to social norms. The inference is that whilst cultural differences might well have been a possible barrier, racial discrimination, at least in terms of colour, did not harden until the mid-nineteenth century (Lorimer, 1978, p.107), even though, as Lorimer suggests, the idea was still being essayed prior to this time. Evidence in this respect is not without its surprises for modern observers, conditioned in their expectations of black people's experience, and for whom the blackness of the skin might be assessed as being more important than their social class in present-day society. An example of this inconsistency of treatment can be seen in the experience of a black American sea captain and trader, Paul Cuffee, who found that during his visit to Liverpool in 1811, whilst black slavery was still in operation in British territories (1), no particular disrespect was shown to him even by ex-slave traders (ibid, p.31).

After the mid-nineteenth century, the effects of pseudo-scientific racism, following on from the old

(1) Slavery was finally abolished in the British Empire in 1834

plantocracy rhetoric, and the search for "respectability" by the nouveau-riche descendants of the self-made entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution helped to contribute to the increased rejection of black people from British society, as seen later in this study.

One of the effects of the changes taking place in British Society was a development in the "group" feeling. The fact of social changes occurring concurrently with how black people were viewed influenced the particular form these changes took and helped to construct the machinery that would lead to the tacit agreement on the inferiority of people of Afro-Caribbean descent. In a class-orientated society, the search for respectability by the new middle-class caused the latter to seek points of similarity with the gentility. Often that relationship with the upper classes was nothing more than a common Anglo-Saxon ancestry and the colour of their skin. As the century progressed, this group was added to by the newly enfranchised working classes whose motivation may have been enhanced beyond that of the middle classes by their own poor circumstances and, in an age when hierarchy, be it racial or class, played such a part, the need to find somebody lower in that hierarchy.

Even as early as the mid-nineteenth century, when attitudes to black people were only beginning to harden, examples can be found of not only different classes grouping together within Anglo-Saxon society, but the group being extended further by the inclusion of non-Anglo-Saxon "races", in some cases such as the Celtic Irish, subject peoples themselves. Writing in 1850, the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox sought common cause with the Anglo-Saxon ruling class when he expressed the view:

"Can the black races become civilised? I should say not... By ascending the Senegal cautiously and rapidly... a thousand brave men on horseback might seize and hold Central Africa to the North of the Tropic; the Celtic race, will no doubt, attempt this some day. On the other hand, accident has prepared the way for a speedy occupation of Africa to the south of the equator by the Saxon race, the Anglo-Saxon" (Fryer, op. cit., p.174).

As we shall see later in this chapter, this greater group feeling was eventually to embrace all people of European descent the world over, the overriding factor being a white skin. The form this group feeling took, radiating from the individual in ever-widening circles, embracing, in order, the individual's peer group, his or her social class, regional differences, nationality, and race, is by no means a natural process of social development (see

Chapter Six). The nineteenth century concept of nationhood as an extension of the group, was felt by E J Hobsbawm to be far from being a natural or inevitable development in the evolution of societies. It was not, as he put it: "...a spontaneous growth but an artefact. It was not merely historically novel, though embodying the things members of some very ancient human groups had in common or thought they had in common as against "foreigners". It had to be constructed" (Hobsbawm, 1975, p.94).

EDUCATION: THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL CURRICULUM

The mid-nineteenth century also saw changes in the development of publicly-funded schooling in England and Wales. Popular education was increasingly being seen as something more than just the 'education of the poor'. The previously mentioned middle class search for respectability led to a desire for educational credentials. A far more comprehensive view of popular education was thus becoming apparent, the envisaged expenditure by the Exchequer justifying tighter secular control. During the transitional period of the 1850s, secular and bureaucratic elements had begun to be seen in such relatively new concepts as certificated teachers and school inspection (Marsden, 1989, p.509). Increased

secular control had the potential to carry hidden dangers, however. A cohesive national system of education might be used by those in power to exert influence over the minds of a nation.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a substantial expansion occurred in the educational system of developed countries, the age of nationalism also being the age of state education. (Hobsbawm, p.94). If education, as suggested earlier, was to be used as a means of social control, state education might become an even more efficient vehicle, not only strengthening the feeling of nationhood and imposing a national culture, but using one language of instruction capable of imposing the values of society uniformly. In 1870, the foundation of a national system of education was laid in England and Wales with the passing of the Education Act steered through Parliament by W E Forster. It must not be thought that the society of this time was entirely compliant or in any way oblivious to indoctrination by vested interests, however. Although enough schools had to be built and maintained for the instruction of every child in the three 'R's, they were only provided, for reasons of economy, where existing denominational schools were insufficient. The nonconformists were outraged at

the idea of children continuing to run the risk of imbibing Church principles, in Church of England schools (Sturt, 1967, pp.246-308).

As the era of state education ran concurrently with that of the new class system and the new colonialism, what had begun as a language of justification for the poor treatment of blacks had the potential to become a measured, better marshalled language for the perpetuation of the pseudo-scientific ideas of the Age of Imperialism. Although this more efficient vehicle might be described as "measured" and "better marshalled" implying a conscious indoctrination, it would be wise not to subscribe too strenuously to a "conspiracy" theory as degrees of intentionality and depth of hiddenness would alter with the passage of time, an important part of the hypothesis on which this study is based to be investigated later.

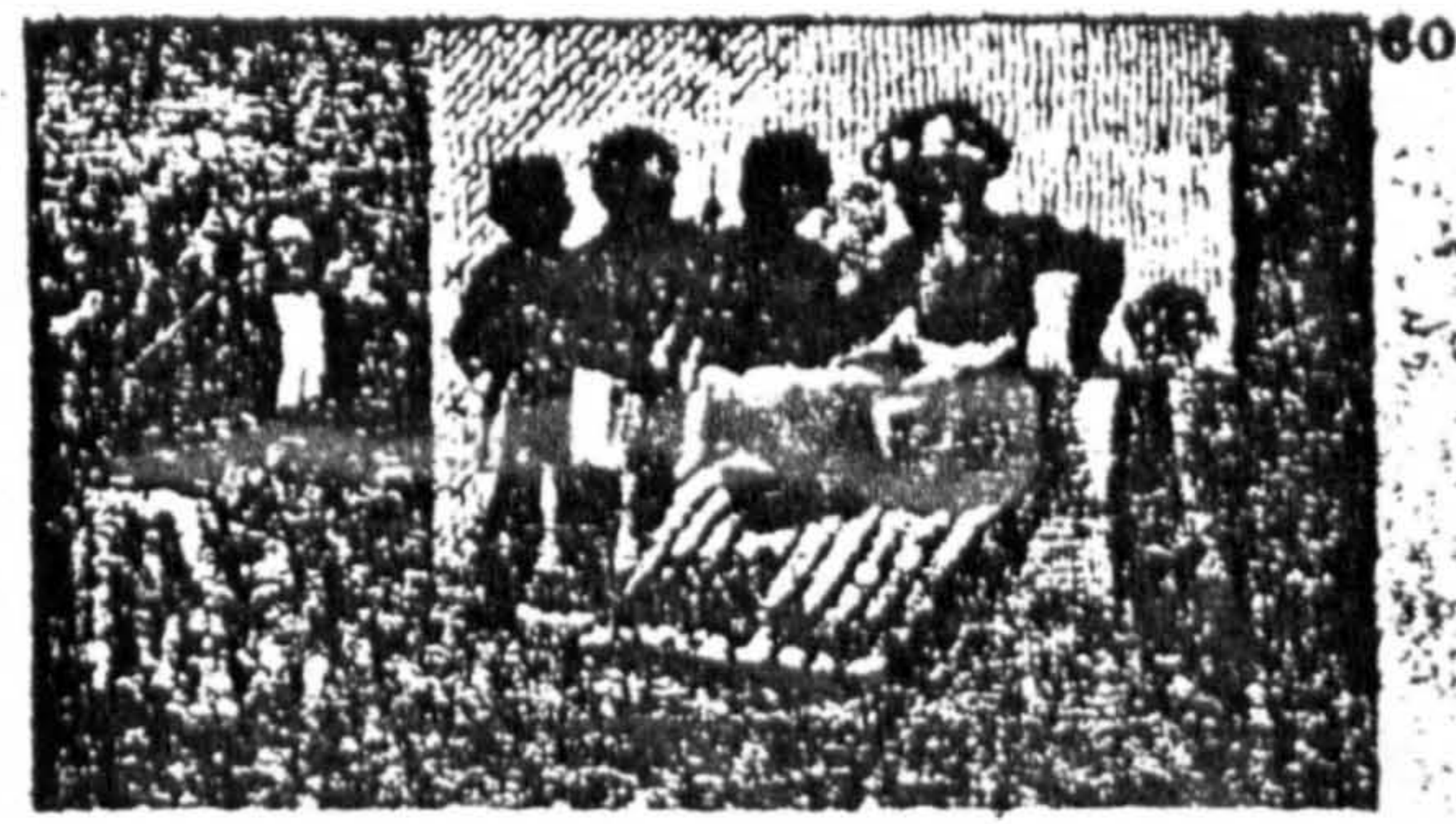
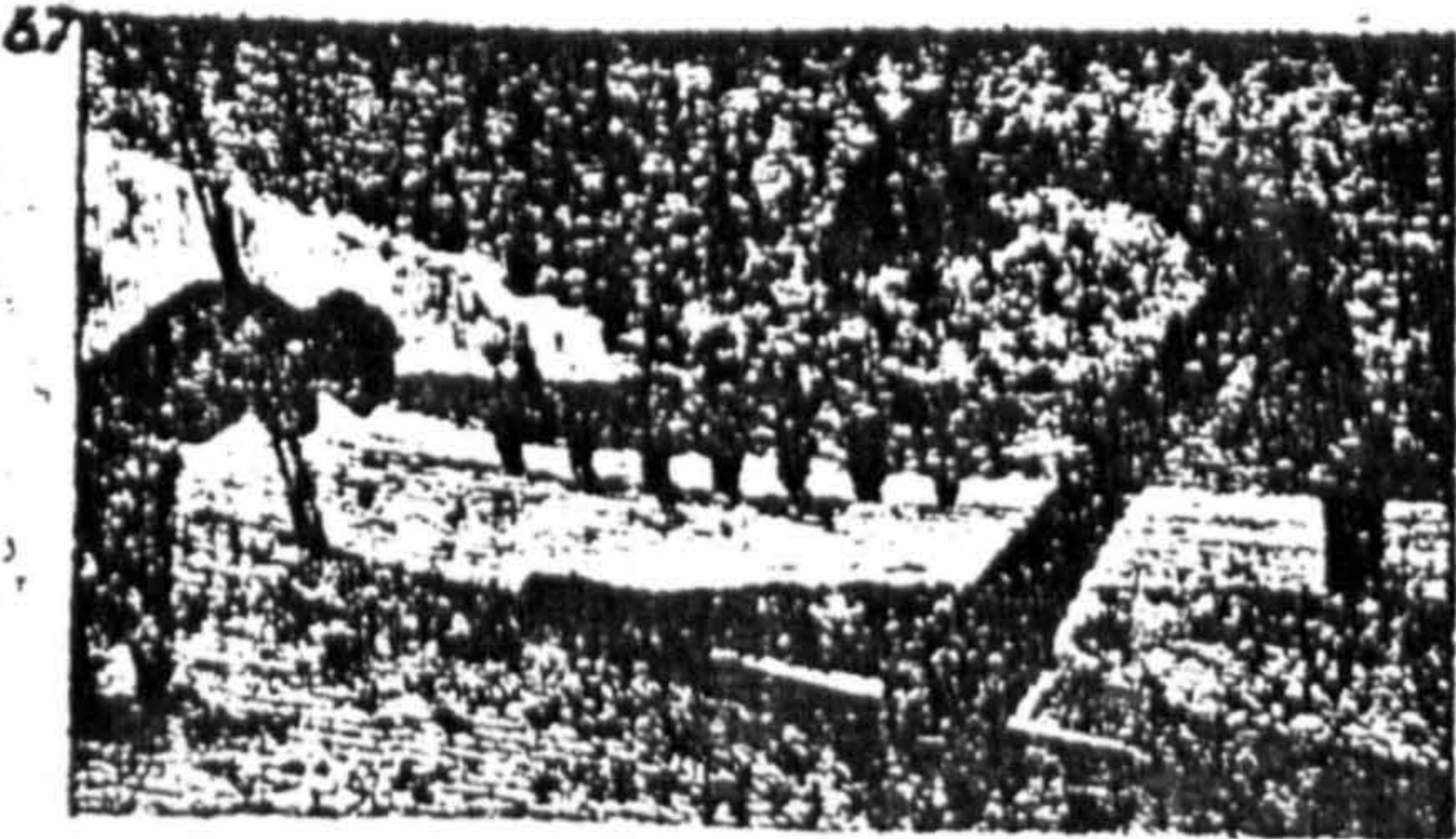
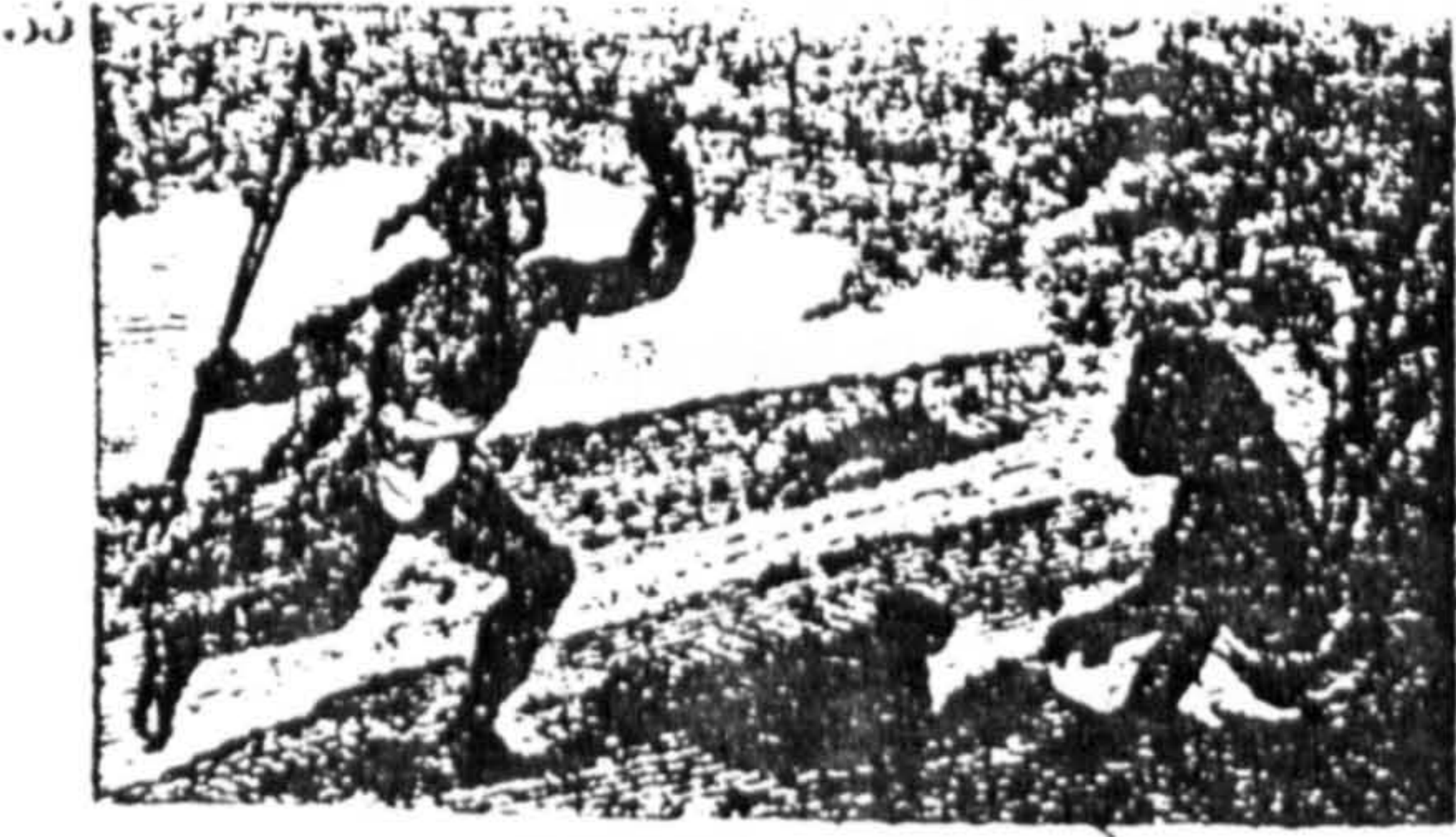
The emphasis placed upon the significance of history in this study is supported by Marsden, who believes this subject, along with geography, to be 'at the cutting edge' of the process of politicizing the curriculum content (Marsden, op. cit., p.509). Marsden defines the politicization of the curriculum as using it, and indeed, more informal channels of

education, to serve the interest of particular power groups, be they state, commerce, church, or perhaps even the educational establishment itself. He recognises that beliefs and values can be transmitted through both explicit and implicit techniques of indoctrination and that nineteenth century attitudes, values and curriculum content should be viewed in their historical context, including political influences, shifts in temporal and religious influences in education, world exploration, colonialism, and, as seen earlier, the burgeoning of the Victorian Age of Science and, in this context, its application to race (ibid). Marsden recognises that the information curriculum played a significant part in influencing the minds of children through the growing media and popular literature, itself a response to the increased literacy and available leisure nearer the end of the nineteenth century, (ibid).

Examples of children's informal reading spanning the nineteenth century reflecting prevalent British attitudes towards black people often provide an all too concrete illustration of those changes taking place in society. Literature depicting blacks available to children in the earlier part of this study was, perhaps predictably in an age when

distances took longer to travel, often aimed at adult and juvenile "armchair" students of foreign parts. An 1821 publication catering for this market "Scenes in Africa for the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-At-Home Travellers" did not portray its black subjects in a particularly disparaging way and, whilst victim to a certain amount of stereotyping, did not apparently set out to viciously misrepresent black people deliberately, a situation later to change drastically as the century progressed. (Taylor, 1821, Fig. 1).

By the 1840s, that mixture of individual reactions to black people suggested earlier in this chapter can be seen in another "armchair" traveller publication. What is worth mentioning is that this particular publisher, William Walker and Son of London and Otley Yorkshire, also printed and published school books including "Primers" and spelling books (Walker, 184?, front cover), these possessing the potential to influence schoolchildren both inside and outside the confines of the classroom.



Photograph of the people of the village of...

Photograph of the people of the village of...

Fig. 1

In "The Fireside Traveller Through Many Lands" the text is astonishingly simplistic in its stereotyping of black people whilst retaining a degree of empathy. The layout, consisting of a page for each nationality or racial group (the writer seems to be undecided about which constitutes either), is arranged so that the page for the "English" faces that of "Negroes". Even at this early date the message is clear, despite the comparatively sympathetic treatment (1). The ethnocentricity of the page on the "English" is strongly marked, the contrast between the subjects of the two pages very much in evidence to the reader (Walker, *ibid.*, pages unnumbered) (See Fig. 2).

Lorimer suggests the mid-nineteenth century to be the turning point in attitudes towards black people, but is wisely cautious in observing the variability of individual differences at this time (Lorimer, *op. cit.*, *passim*). In "Peter Parley's Annual" of 1852, the author is comparatively kind in his treatment of blacks whilst waxing positively venomous on peoples of mongolian race. Of blacks, he says:

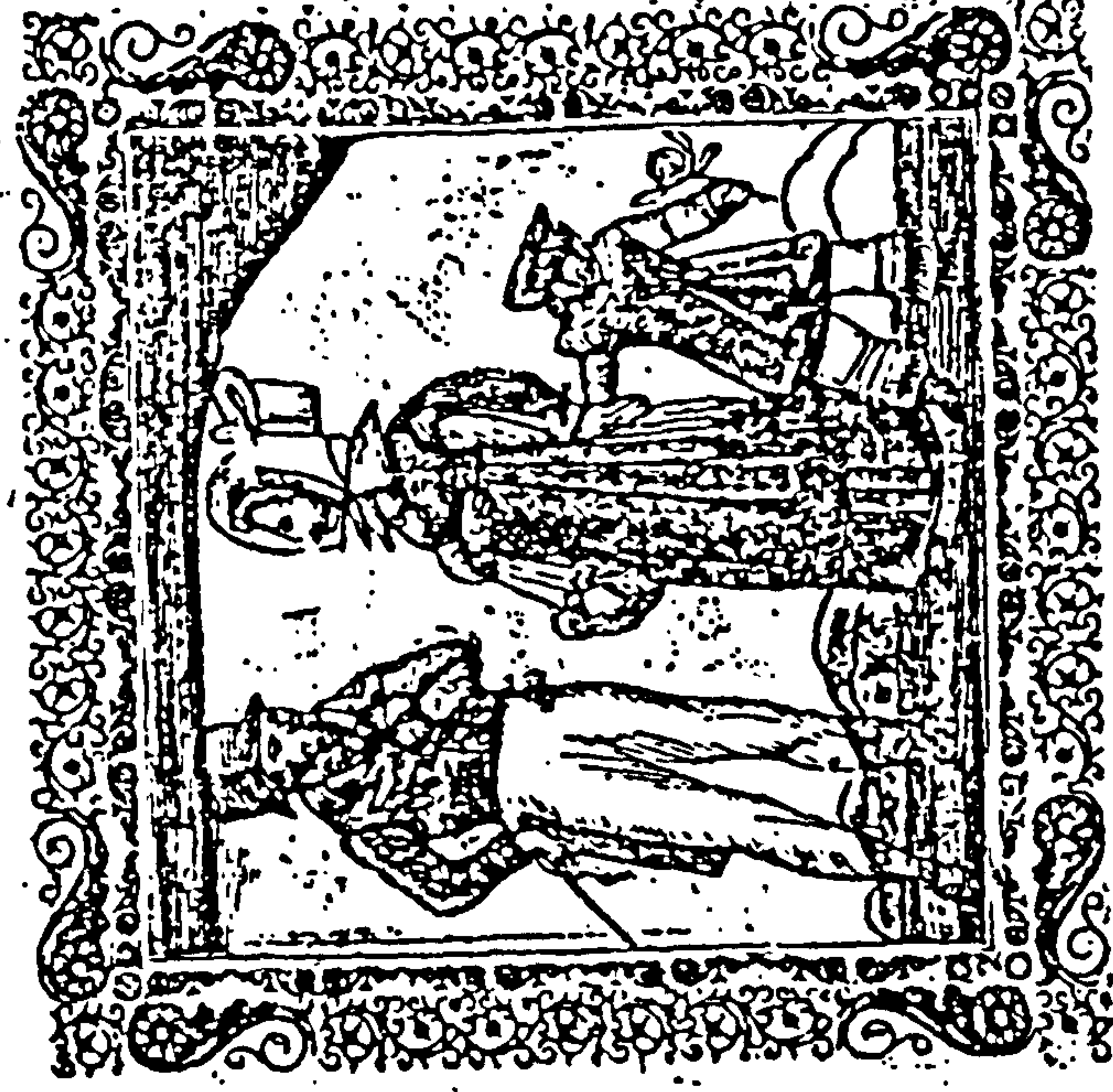
The moral and intellectual character of the Negro is said to be inferior to that of the European; but Peter Parley does

(1) Compared with later in the century, that is.



NEGROES.

NEGROLAND is in Africa. The inhabitants are of a black complexion, and idolaters. The men are generally tall and well-made, and of a cheerful disposition: the women are short and robust, performing the most laborious work. Their food consists chiefly of roots, herbs, fruits, cockles, and oysters; and their common drink is water. Their weapons are swords, daggers, darts, and bows and arrows. They are very fond of dancing, and often spend their evenings in that diversion.



ENGLISH.

The dress and manners of the English are plain and simple. They are distinguished by a love of their country, and generosity is a particular trait in their character. The manners and conversation of true Englishmen mark their sincerity and upright intentions. Although there are many exceptions, the generality of the inhabitants are good and honest, and probably in this respect superior to those of every other nation. Their attention to commerce, literature, and the arts, has raised them to the greatest eminence.

Fig. 2



not know how to admit this, as it seems to him that the race who tears the African from his native soil to make him a slave, who brands him, scourges him, and degrades him in every possible manner, for no other earthly reason than that of having the power, sinks as low in the scale of human degradation as nature can go..." (Peter Parley, 1852, P.49).

Although this quotation suggests a hint of European guilt for the slave past of black people, this feeling was not extended towards Asians. "Peter Parley" suggests that the acts of the latter's national heroes were of such a nature...

"...in comparison with which the greatest European murderers sink into insignificance. When the tribes of Central Asia have been united under one leader, war and desolation have been the object of the association. Unrelenting slaughter without the distinction of age or sex, and universal destruction have marked the progress of their conquests, unattended with any changes of institutions capable of benefiting the human race, unmingled with any act of generosity, any kindness to the vanquished, or the slightest symptoms of regard to the rights or liberties of mankind". (ibid, p.48)

From the days of slavery to the neo-imperialism of the early twentieth century, the particular causes to which authors were espoused must be considered. It is worth remembering this in comparing the following pieces of literature which show drastic differences in how black people are portrayed, but

nevertheless, having acknowledged that "The Children's Prize" is a missionary publication and "Father Tuck's Annual" is children's light reading, the deterioration in imagery during the nineteenth century is alarmingly revealed.

The August 1866 edition of the "Children's Prize" tells the moving story of a little Hottentot girl named Jejana, an astonishingly life-like lithograph etching of the child is shown on the cover. The date is significant, however, falling as it does within that period of transition covering the changes in how blacks were perceived following the Abolition of Slavery in 1834, the subsequent decline in British interest in Africa, and the revived interest in the late 1860s with the onset of the new imperialism. Through a drawing, Jejana's portrait is sympathetically executed and almost photographic in accuracy and, all in all, both the text and illustration suggests a degree of empathy; albeit with a little ethnocentricity, towards black people (see Fig. 3). Some thirty-four years later, "Father Tuck's Annual", published around the turn of the century, also uses ink and line, but the way in which black people are depicted is very different. In an illustrated story of a typical school day of black pupils, the caricaturisation is vicious, the facial

THE CHILDREN'S PRIZE

No. VIII.]

AUGUST 1866.

[One Penny.



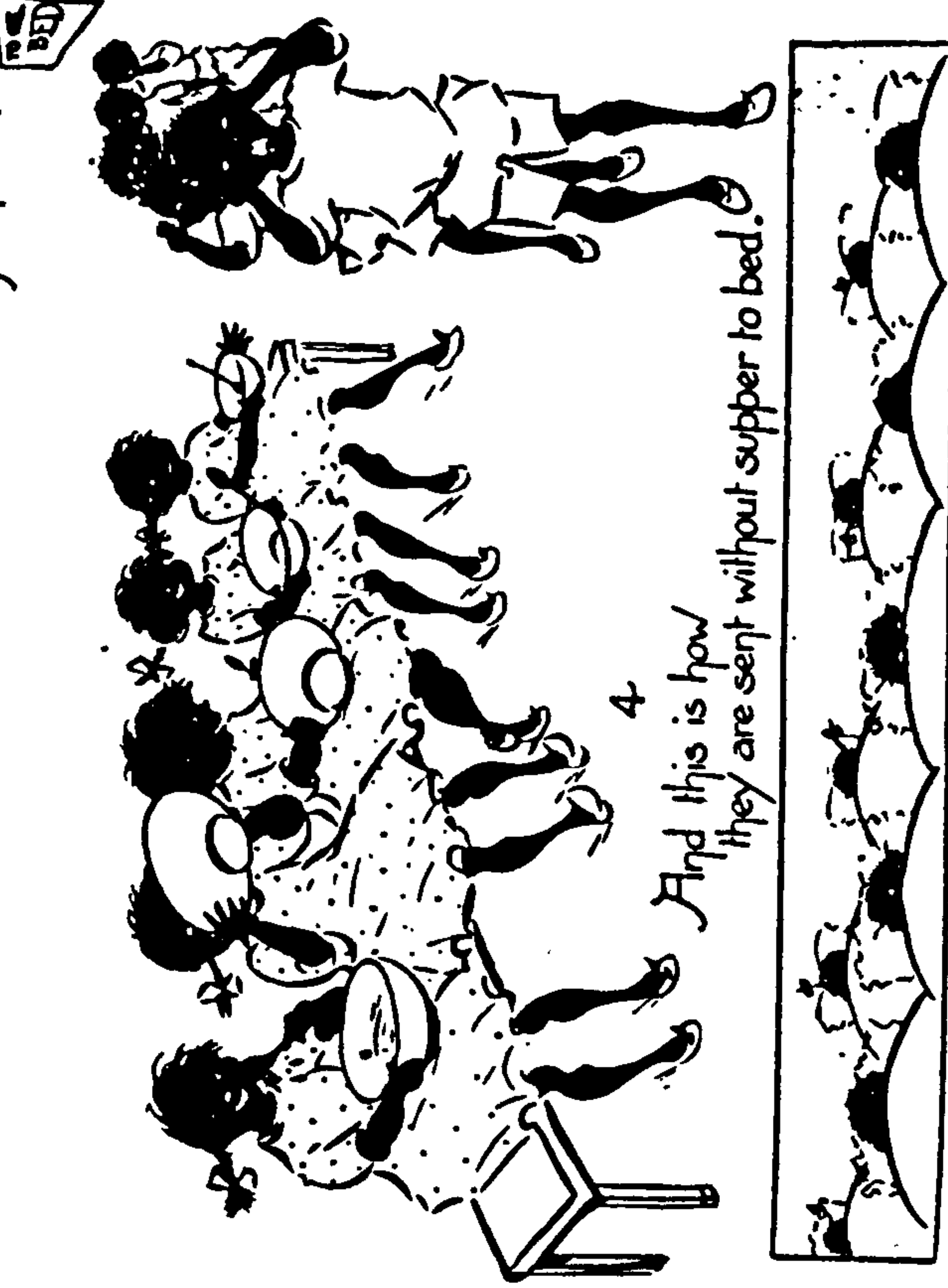
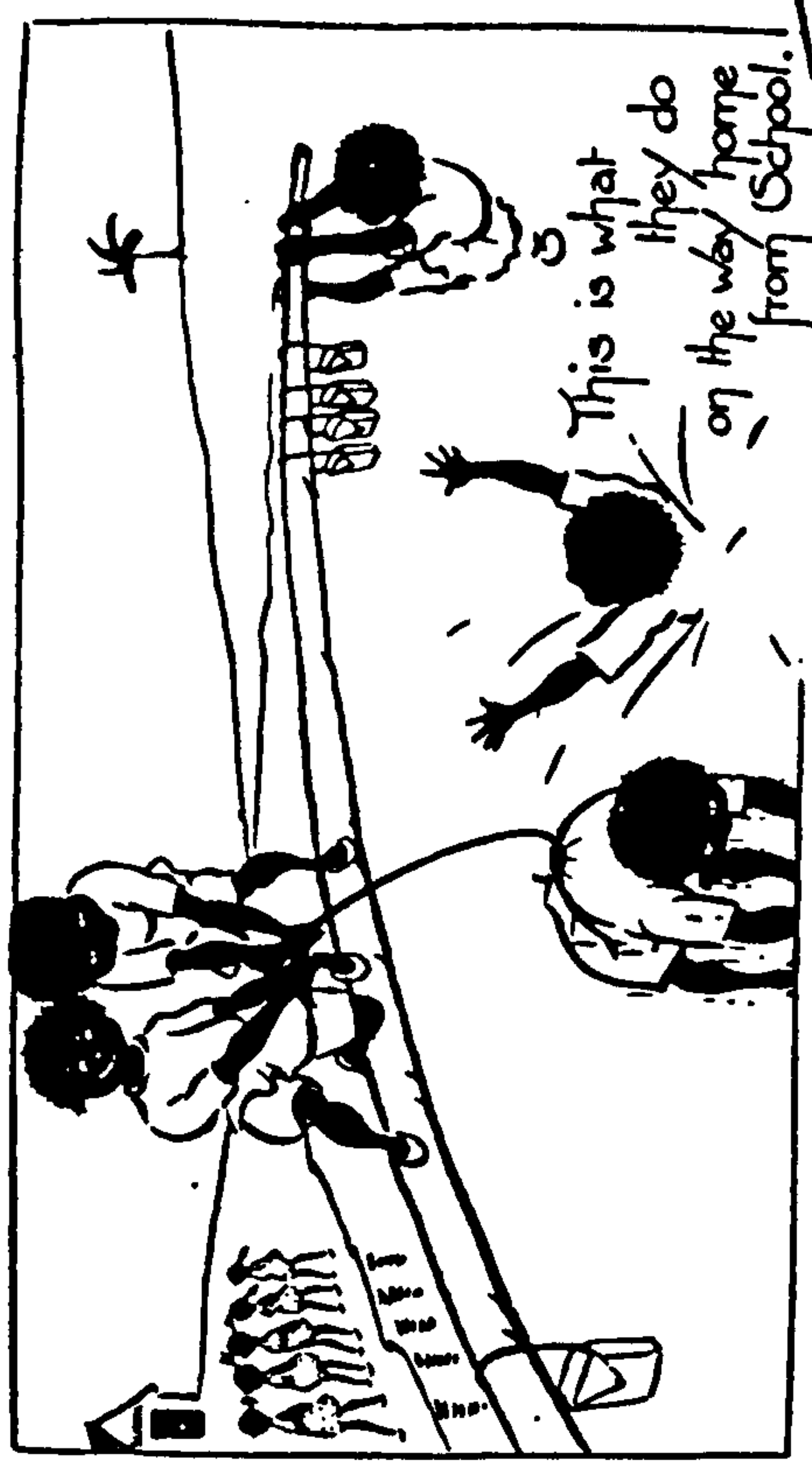
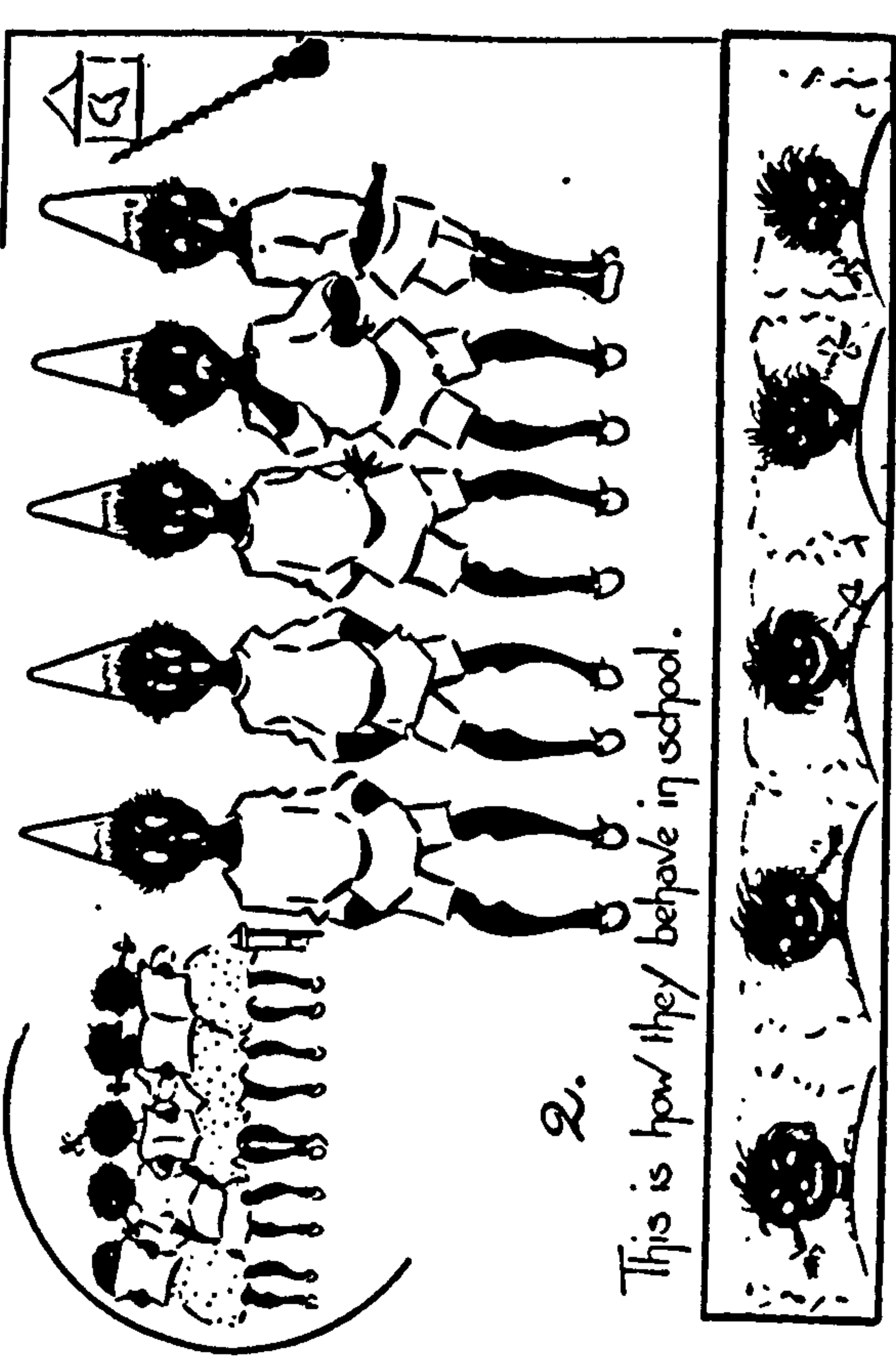
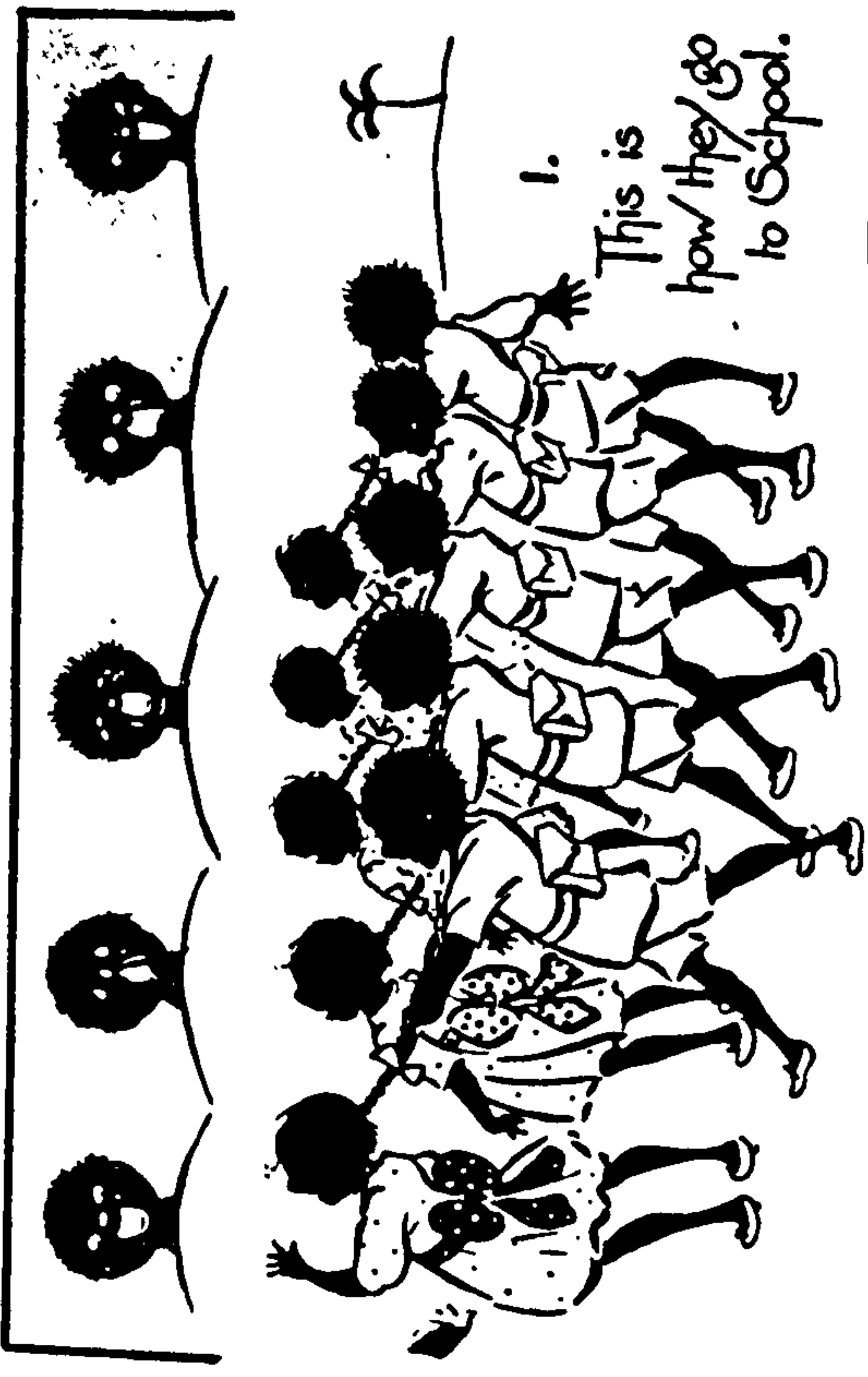
Little Jyana.

Fig. 3

characteristics of the children scarcely human (see Fig. 4). But the image being conveyed went a good deal beyond ridiculing the appearance of black people. Though humorous at first glance, the storyline not only diminishes the image of black people, but teaches a barely hidden message, namely that where there are blacks there is trouble; in this case trouble at school (Raphael Tuck and Son Ltd, 1900, pages unnumbered).

The effects of this sort of propaganda die hard. As it forms the basis of modern racism, any attempt to evaluate and find solutions to the situated presence of racism in today's society and how that may affect black pupils, without regard to the history of the development of attitudes, becomes impossible.

Marsden identifies three key components in the process of politicization and changing balances in curriculum-making at whatever stage of development. He notes that if a reasonable balance of power between each of these components; content, pedagogy, and social purpose, is maintained, a wider consensus of interested parties might be achieved. (Marsden, op cit. p. 510). Marsden's observations are



H. BURNHAM

Fig. 4

interesting as they offer valuable clues to when the hidden curriculum became hidden.

The early nineteenth century curriculum was blatantly lacking in balance insofar as content was concerned. Marsden points out that content reflects a selection from a nation's culture, hardly represented by the restricted curriculum of the time. The grammar school curriculum was dominated by the classics, whilst the elementary was stifled by utilitarianism. Elements in utilitarianism can be seen to have indirectly played their part in the development of attitudes towards race in the nineteenth century. Changes in the social structure brought about by industrialisation and the breakdown of feudal ties were met by the related philosophies of laissez-faire economics, whose chief exponent was Adam Smith and was primarily concerned with efficiency, and utilitarianism, whose aim was the 'happiness' of the greatest number (Gordon and Lawton, 1979, p.49). Both philosophies considered the minimum of government interference and legislation to be beneficial to the new social order with the exception of education, which had the potential to be a useful vehicle for the spread of their philosophy and, with the movement for popular education, possessing the maximum effectiveness.

Thus the seeds of a state machinery capable, if necessary, of inculcating, even inadvertently, a nation with beliefs so strongly implanted as to remain as an underlying theme in British consciousness long after their purpose had been served, were sown. Of the main leaders of utilitarianism; Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and James Mill, the last particularly believed that knowledge in itself had no value unless it served some social purpose (ibid.). As utilitarian thought was to gain in strength and recognition as the nineteenth century progressed, the influence of this particular thread is evident in the development of the hidden curriculum as it relates to race. The curriculum taught to children was based on the general utilitarian assumption that knowledge could be divided into that which is useful and that which could be ignored in education (ibid). The criteria, of necessity, were dictated by the prevalent popular thought influenced by the vested interests of significant power groups.

Pedagogy. a term used more widely during the later nineteenth century for the science of teaching, is the second key component identified by Marsden and was the efficient, in line with utilitarian thought, vehicle of delivery (Marsden, op. cit., p.510).

Whilst covering a variety of ideologies on the principles and practice of teaching, pedagogy has in particular exerted considerable influence on the elementary curriculum. One of the examples of the influence of pedagogy on the direction taken by curriculum given by Marsden is the catechetical teaching of the early nineteenth century which, though popular education did not exist until the last quarter of the century, was intended for the children of the urban masses (ibid). At the beginning of this chapter (p. 34), the use, or rather misuse, of the religious element to justify slavery, with the attendant by-product of the promulgation of poor attitudes towards black people in general, is mentioned. This was certainly reinforced by the catechistical pedagogy of the time, an unsubtle form of indoctrination during a period when the curriculum relating to attitudes towards race was by no means hidden and represented a clear case of the content relating to a particular issue being supported by the current pedagogy.

Whilst discussing her concept of the hidden curriculum in the nineteenth century United States, Vallance, cited in the introductory chapter of this study (see p. 8), notes that not only is the science of teaching, the curriculum content and, indeed, the

teacher, likely to be heavily influenced by the current, or possibly previous, social function of education, but even the academic study of the hidden curriculum is fraught with difficulties:

"The position that any given conception occupies...

(referring to the dimensions of the hidden curriculum discussed in the introductory chapter) (1)

... or other continuums will likely reflect the academic discipline from which the investigator comes and not infrequently, his or her political orientation as a critic."

(Vallance, op. cit., p.6)

Marsden felt the third component; the social purpose of education, to be dogged by similar areas of uncertainty regarding the motives and interests of those in whom the decision-making power resides:

"These can obviously be conceived both in narrow utilitarian terms, or may reflect broader values and aims. They can be interpreted in terms of aggregate social control or individual socialization of children. This element has self-evidently been the main triggering force for politicization of the curriculum, for politicization is part of social education. Social education provides the justification for politicization: 'The good cause'. It can be asserted, on the basis of much historical evidence, that promotion of social education in the curriculum, from whatever quarter, is not necessarily a benign force. It must not be thought, however, that it alone can take the blame, for the other two

(1) The words in parenthesis are mine.

components, content and pedagogy, also contribute to politicization."
(Marsden, op. cit., p.510)

Fears of the courtship of African interests by other European powers during the late nineteenth century did not differ greatly from similar political motives at the end of the eighteenth century. (Wadstrom, Vol.2, 1974, p.319, reprinted 1968). What did differ was the fact that the motives for a renewed interest in Africa after the 1860s had become hidden in a cloak of philanthropy as the power of the early overt rhetoric did its job and an even more persuasive hidden curriculum, both inside and outside school, took its place. The self-congratulating philanthropy that had begun to creep into attitudes towards blacks at the beginning of the nineteenth century was now developing into the full-blown national self-delusion of Britain's part in the white man's burden to farm the world and the sublimation of the underlying commercial and political reasons, echoed in the sentiments of Charles Kingsley in 1864 proclaiming:

"...the welfare of the Teutonic race in the welfare of the world', and though the German tribes that swept over the Roman Empire had no supreme general on earth, they may have had a 'General in Heaven'"
(Fryer, op. cit., p.182 after Kingsley 1864, p.338)

In spite of tangible political and commercial interests such as this playing a part in the development of the hidden curriculum relating to attitudes towards other races, often early evidence can be found of negative attitudes and images concerning black people being unconsciously absorbed by teachers and conveyed to their pupils. A possible example of this can be found in a recitation, meant as a warning to dirty children, written and used by the Froebelian-trained Louisa Walker. Louisa was, paradoxically, one of the London School Board's most progressive infant headmistresses at the turn of the twentieth century, demonstrating all too well the ease with which such rhetoric found its way into the curriculum and how even comparatively enlightened individuals could be affected:

"He shocks and grieves his parents
We all his state deplore
I tell him if he grows like this
He'll be a blackamoor.
His skin quite dark is growing
He's such a ragged figure;
The neighbours all begin to think
That he's a little nigger" (Marsden, op
cit, p.517, after Walker, 1900, p.98)

The inculcation of values insidiously imbibed by teachers by the end of the nineteenth century was every bit as strong as that of the more conscious propaganda of educationalists such as S.S. Laurie, who, writing in 1867, openly declared that history

was a waste of time unless it was used as a means of promulgating "knowledge of wonderful deeds done in the discharge of patriotism and duty...(bringing) "out in bold relief the grand characters... (who had) "gained the privileges we now enjoy"... (and had) "made it possible for England to grow into a mighty empire". (Marsden, op. cit., p.514 after Laurie, 1867, p.144).

THE CONCEPT OF A COHESIVE NATIONAL RACIST 'SYSTEM'

If as suggested, attitudes towards race developing the nineteenth century were at least partly brought about by the vested interests of significant power groups, there was no cohesive policy. If individual governmental ministers voiced racist views in Parliament, the implication of a well-co-ordinated racist conspiracy by 'the system' is doubtful. Any official governmental stance on racism would seem to have been as laissez-faire as in other areas of state intervention during the nineteenth century, any corporate race theory more likely to have been the result of the evolution of a popular tacit agreement influenced by a variety of factors, including changes class structure, commercial and political interests, and the effects of the pseudo-scientific racism of the Victorian era.

If, whilst acknowledging the presence of recurrent themes in what Barzun calls popular 'race-thinking' (Barzun, 1937, 1965 ed.[reprinted] pp.12-14, as cited in Husband, 1982, p.18), the existence of any concept of a fully-cohesive national policy is doubtful, any concept of individual members of society being polarised into 'racists' and 'non-racists' is equally suspect.

In his article, "A Campaign for Patriotism in the Elementary School Curriculum: Lord Meath 1892-1916", R Betts concurs with the idea of a possible laissez-faire attitude to other areas of British life beyond that of Adam Smith's 'laissez-faire economics' policy during the nineteenth century (Betts, 1991, passim). It comes as something of a surprise to find not only individuals, but institutions including the government itself, holding views of patriotism not conforming to the commonly held stereotype of popular jingoism at the end of the nineteenth century, when nationalistic fervour was at its height. Betts cites Lord Meath's campaign to have the Union Jack introduced into the classrooms of schools run by the London School Board. Inspired by a visit to the United States, Meath felt that the reverence paid to the American flag should be a model for schools in this country, pupils saluting it before lessons begin

each morning, whilst masters teach with a back drop of the nation's flag behind their desk, referring to it on occasion. The reply of the Chairman of the London School Board to Meath's letter suggesting this idea was decidedly cool, but he was not easily deterred from his mission:

"I should be the very last to wish to encroach for one moment on the time devoted to religious instruction, but is that really the only opportunity which could be found, during with the master could recall some inspiring memory connected with the flag, or recite some heart-stirring passage or poem, such as Tennyson's 'Defence of Lucknow' with its noble refrain "and ever aloft on the top most tree the banner of England flew! (?)" (ibid, p.38, after The SchoolBoard Chronical, 24 December 1892, p.741).

Although at least one member of the Board agreed with Meath, both "The Schoolmaster", the weekly journal of the National Union of Teachers, and "The Board Teacher", the monthly journal of the London Board Teachers, took a different line, clearly unimpressed by his idea. What is surprising, given the period, is the similarity of the reply printed in the "The Schoolmaster" to the sentiments expressed by protagonists of modern anti-racist education:

"...if we are going in for patriotism for goodness sake let it be of the right sort. Let the youngsters learn to cherish, respect and develop aright those great democratic institutions for the conservation of which their forefathers fought and bled, but don't let us have a

revival...of insular prejudice...and the bad old Imperialism which clave a Spaniard in twain to the Glory of God and His Majesty the King, and found popular expression in the doggerel:

"Two skinny Frenchmen, one Portugee,
One jolly Englishman's match for all
three'"

(Betts, *ibid*, p.39, After "The Schoolmaster" 24 December 1892, 1117)

This case demonstrates just one example of the lack of uniformity of attitudes towards race to be found, not only in present-day society, but even during the heyday of British Imperialism.

This difference in public opinion and the different levels of consciousness and purpose mentioned above should not imply a lack of general points of consensus. In discussing what race means to the 'everyday person in the street' today, Husband does not believe that the public are by any means all highly informed regarding the niceties of sociobiological theory, each possessing an articulate theory of race readily available to the enquiry. Rather does he suggest that 'race' is experienced by the contemporary population as a highly complex body of emotive ideas as a result of historical experience, with the emphasis being on its very diversity and flexibility. Husband cites Barzun (Barzun, 1937, [reprinted 1965]), who emphasised the ease with which people sustain their 'race-thinking'

by flitting from one proposition to another in a non-scientific, 'off-the-top-of-the-head' way. It is these common and spontaneous utterances that form the basis of tacit agreement, whose success lies in its apparent common-sense status (Husband, op cit., pp. 18-19). The very diversity and variety of 'race-thinking' helps conceal the 'hidden curriculum' in that it hides the general underlying assumptions that have emerged from past rhetoric to pass into the stuff of everyday life.

Whilst denying that racism is a uniform entity, Husband claims, citing Billig, 1978, Phizacklea, and Miles, 1980, that although to his thinking, ideology is not monolithic, this does not mean that there are no recurring themes woven into British consciousness. He feels that the flexibility and illogicality which Barzun identified in 'race-thinking' is not unique to racist thought. What Husband does note in British race-thinking is the frequency of cross-referencing to 'race' imagery throughout disparate areas of an individual's experience (ibid p.20).

This has considerable implications for the British teacher as it emphasises the salience of race still in existence in everyday society. As school is a microcosm of that society, this phenomenon is of

great relevance to the situation of British black children and a major underlying tenet of this study.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF RACIALISM:

Evidence to reinforce the notion of a natural order was added to by soldiers and civil servants returning from various parts of the Empire near the end of the nineteenth century, their own attitude in itself the result of a hidden curriculum both inside and outside the schoolroom. A collection of letters written by late Victorian soldiers serving abroad, rediscovered and published in 1986, may offer a glimpse into the popular consciousness of the time. An innate belief in European superiority runs through the majority of the letters, little effort being made to disguise the blatant racism. To be fair, the bravery of their non-white enemies, be they Zulu or Sudanese was often acknowledged, but they were invariably referred to as "niggers". The hidden curriculum led to an astonishing lack of feeling towards people of other races, the hierarchy, as exhibited by one British soldier in an otherwise loving and sensitive letter to his family:

"The next day we had to fight from six in the morning till five o'clock at night before we slaughtered the Dervishes...We

killed over 600, wounded and everything, but they did not live long when we went round giving them a poke...One chap who was riding next to me hit me on the back of my hand with the back of his sword... It festered, and I had a funny hand for about three days, but it is healed up now and I am ready for another man-killing job. It is nice to put a sword or a lance through a man; they are just like old hens, they just say 'quar!'" (Emery, 1986,p.96)

Children of all stations were thus exposed to a curriculum, by no means entirely hidden at this time, that taught by commission or omission the inferiority of black people. At the time of the anti-black riots in 1919, a Liverpool reporter wrote an account of a personal visit to the beleaguered black quarter:

"You glimpse black figures beneath the gaslamps, and somehow you think of pimps, and bullies, and women, and birds of ill-omen generally, as now and again you notice a certain watchful callousness that seems to hint of nefarious trades and drunkenness in dark rooms..." (Liverpool Courier, No. 23, 186 [11th June 1919] p.4, as quoted in Fryer, op. cit., p.302).

The very terminology of this report betrays the early indoctrination of the writer. "Somehow you think of..." and "seems to hint..." clearly reveals an individual whose early curriculum, both in and out of school, has taught him to expect that tacit understanding between the reader and himself on the matter of race, with little need for justification.

Ernest Marke, a Sierra Leonean visitor to Liverpool in 1917, was quick to note the effects of British education in Liverpool with regards to how his people were perceived when he spent some time in Wavertree, a suburban area of the city, as the guest of a chief steward of Elder Dempster Shipping Line (1). Marke, a devout Christian, attended the local church during his stay, occasionally assisting in the church offices. In his words:

"One evening, whilst serving at the altar, there was a slight commotion in the pews. A woman had fainted and she was being taken outside for some air. When she recovered; she told the people around her that she had seen a devil at the altar - me...But why a devil? Why not an angel or a ghost?(Marke, 1973, p.51, as quoted in Law and Henfrey, op. cit., p.30).

Previously mentioned factors, such as changes in the class system, the emergence of the race 'cult', and popular education, had, as we have seen, the function of solidifying attitudes towards people of other races and the notion of racial superiority. The self-delusion of racial superiority creates its own anxieties, however. Britons perceiving themselves to be members of a master-race carried not

(1) Both Marke and the Chief Steward were the survivors of a ship that had been torpedoed by the Germans (Law and Henfrey, 1981, p.30)

only the 'white man's burden' to oversee the spiritual and material welfare of 'inferior' races (Curtin, 1965, p.422), but the danger of their 'superior' blood becoming diluted by that of other less fortunate peoples through miscegenation.

Following the Boer War, alarm had been expressed at the inferior stature of many recruits from some of Britain's major cities (Sherard, 1905, *passim*). Urban geopolitical thinking of the time reflected both tangible aspects of urban pathology, such as health and housing conditions, and the popular paranoia resulting from the past racist rhetoric, Social Darwinism and the eugenics movement (Marsden, *op. cit.*, p.516). In February, 1904, the treasurer of the Anthropological Institute, Mr J Gray, gave evidence to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Gray, also the secretary of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association for the investigation into the physique of the population, believed that if 'alien degenerates' were allowed to settle in any number in this country, a reduction in the average national physique was inevitable. He held the view that if the 'inferior' race was kept isolated, segregated from the host society, the 'evil' could always be remedied by the expulsion of the degenerate aliens, in the last resort. Should intermarriage occur with

the native population to any large degree, however, the situation could be irretrievable. Gray felt 'the high position which the superior race has won by ages of progressive evolution might, in a few generations, be hopelessly lost' (Gray, 1904, p.141). Jews, particularly European Jews, settling in such inner-city areas as the East End of London were cited as being one of the main sources of danger to the 'superior blood-line' by Gray. Although he conceded that many immigrants might be of good character, albeit possessing what he felt to be a degenerate physique, Gray's general philosophy did not differ appreciably from that of Sherard, who referred a year later to:

"...The continuous pumping of alien filth from the kennels and ghettos of Europe. Asia and America into the East End of London through the sewage pipes of the steamship companies...The foreigners swarm in everywhere, and before the increasing and irresistible tide the unresisting Anglo-Saxons recede... Faces that were not with us at Agincourt peer at you from every doorway, from every window, as you tread these streets."
(Sherard, 1905, pp.65-67)

Neither Gray nor Sherard appear to have considered the current degree of black immigration to be a threat to the purity of the nation, but other immigrants much nearer in the racial hierarchy to the

Englishman were not ignored (1). In a survey of the population of the North East countries of Scotland, undertaken by Dr Hay and Dr Mackenzie in the closing years of the nineteenth century in connection with the Scottish Physical Education Commission, the average stature of children between the ages of 12 and 15 in Edinburgh was found to be 2 inches less than those of Aberdeen. Gray attributed the discrepancy to the fact that a considerable number of children in the Edinburgh slums were Irish (Gray, op cit, p.145). Although, to be fair, Gray did acknowledge that Irish immigrants settling in Scottish towns were of the lowest social class in Ireland, the prevalent popular philosophy regarding race is nevertheless evident in his conclusions. Gray's description of the racial types to be found upon the island of Lewis certainly follows the racial hierarchy theory; the blonde type being described as being of very good physique, whilst the dark type is presented as very small and of degenerate appearance (ibid. p.149).

(1) Colour was nevertheless a consideration, for in his evidence to the Physical Deterioration Committee, Gray mentions pigmentation surveys carried out by the state in Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany, the latter taking place about 1874 (Gray, op. cit., p.145).

Although, as mentioned above, Gray and Sherard pay no particular attention to people of African descent living in Great Britain in the instances cited, races lower in the hierarchy, including Afro-Caribbeans, figure largely in 'race-thinking' of members of the burgeoning eugenics movement. With the hardening of attitudes towards black people as the nineteenth century progressed, those influences shaping the opinions of the British public were to be found increasingly reflected even in views expressed by churchmen (July, 1968, pp 461-462). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the right of Anglo-Saxon might had become well ensconced in everyday life. Addressing the first meeting of the Liverpool Board of the Eugenics Society, under its new title "The Liverpool Hereditary Society" in 1920, the Rev. James Hamilton expressed his belief in the eminence of the British nation over others by virtue of inherited powers and "...its own great, common blood-stream, always differing more or less from all others" (Eugenics Review, Vol. XI, 1920-21, pp 76-77). He believed that if the British Empire was the product of national characteristics, then the source of that power should be kept free:

"...as far as possible from pollution, and especially from certain foreign admixtures...If, for example, the policy be continued of keeping an open door for every foreigner, and especially allowing

such alien and inferior breeds as Negroes, Chinese, and Japanese to enter, marry and settle down in great numbers, while young people of pure British blood emigrate to other lands, this country will in a few generations have so much foreign and undesirable blood in the national veins as cannot fail to have a deleterious effect on the national character, and, as a consequence, on all those national ideals, endeavours, and achievements which we value so highly in the present day" (Eugenics Review, Vol. XI 1920-21, pp 76-77).

Such rhetoric passing into common parlance was destined to reduce the quality of life for many visitors and settlers fitting the description of "inferior breeds" in such cities as Liverpool and Cardiff. Members of the Liverpool Hereditary Society clearly had such old multi-ethnic settlements in mind, for at the beginning of 1920 the complaint was made that:

"At a meeting of the Public Morals Committee of Cardiff which took place in February, the Rev. George Hopper stated that he had received several requests to solemnize marriages between white girls and men of colour, and had refused to have anything to do with these matches. Mr Hopper is a Wesleyan minister whose church is located in Bute Town, the part of Cardiff which is inhabited largely by aliens" (ibid, p.69).

What is interesting about this national feeling reflected in such new sciences as eugenics is that the latter represented a re-translation of the pseudo-science relating to race of the Victorian era,

itself a successor to the earlier racist rhetoric of the West Indian planters and as such embodying the idea put forward in this thesis of a residual group history; the residue of earlier ideologies whose original function may have been lost in the "mists of time".

The importance of understanding the influence of the past is integral to this hypothesis. It is evident that each successive wave of negative pseudo-science relating to attitudes to black people was, and is, very much the result of a hypostasis; not so much a new language of justification as a replacement for that which has gone before, but carrying with it the same message perpetuating the notion of the inferiority of people of Afro-Caribbean descent. One of the factors contributing to the existence of a residual group history is that once a particular rhetoric has served its purpose, the object or objects, in this case the British public, are virtually never "debriefed" in any way, both the redundant propaganda itself and its effects being allowed to linger as an undercurrent in the popular consciousness. It is this long abandoned dogma that survives in the form of unwelcome visitations to the present, shaping opinions and reinforcing the acceptance of negative imagery.

Negative imagery has not been confined to enslaved blacks of the diaspora. Having been established by the strength of the rhetoric and other factors discussed later, this negative view was also applied to free African blacks and has survived through the European colonial period to the present day in the form of openly repressive regimes in such states as South Africa as late as the 1980s and to a far more subtle degree, in Great Britain.

This geographical aspect of how black people all over the world had come to be perceived in Britain was matched only by the feeling of international unity among Anglo-Saxon and other European peoples (see p. 276) by the early twentieth century. During the closing years of the nineteenth century, a M.E. Sadler was commissioned by the British government office of Special Inquiries and Reports to investigate the education of blacks in the United States in order to ascertain how Anglo-Saxon America(1) treated her black subjects in comparison

(1) As homogeneity was openly cited as the goal of American public education in the nineteenth century, all people of European descent were anglicized, irrespective of their country of origin. The capacious cloak of white supremacy (described earlier in respect of Celts and lower classes of Anglo-Saxon society) providing a convenient guise for smaller white minorities (Vallance, op. cit., pp. 9-13)

with those of British colonies (Board of Education Special Reports, Vol.11, part 2, 1902, passim). This sort of relationship between countries believed, in the heightened racism of the time, to have a common heritage, was not uncommon. In 1920, Britain chose an American, Thomas Jesse Jones, to investigate education in West Africa with a view to establishing a system of industrial education (also the purpose of Sadler's visit to the USA (ibid.)). Later, the success of this mission was to lead to a second commission headed by Jones to repeat this investigation in British East Africa (Spivey, 1978, pp.112-113). This feeling of unity between "white" peoples and the geographical aspect of how blacks of both the diaspora and Africa were perceived led to a polarisation, of the very terms "black" and "white", conjuring up opposite ends of an unfortunately vertical scale.

The nature of racist thought altered, therefore, from being an overt ideology, 'respectable' in the sense that adherents might see no reason other than to freely admit to their philosophy, to an undercurrent in popular thought whose origins have either been forgotten or has become sublimated, hidden, perhaps woven into other reasons

for particular attitudes towards other races (1). Modern attitudes towards race would appear to have been influenced by a number of factors including changes taking place in the class structure of English society (only touched upon in this chapter, but enlarged upon in Chapter Seven); sublimated racism as represented by the religious justification at the beginning of the nineteenth century and, later, pseudo-scientific racism, and a popular and more efficient education system, politicized and possessing the potential to teach a hidden curriculum with varying degrees of intentionality.

(1) An example being the unemployment, poor housing, etc., of the British white majority, sometimes cited as being too great at any particular time to admit immigration from non-white countries.

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERACHIEVEMENT AND BLACK IDENTITY:

KEY CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CONSENSUS

Three factors usually associated with scholastic underachievement are: 1. Personality characteristics, 2. Home and parental variables, and 3. School factors; the last seen as simply adding to those first two variables already influencing the onset of underachievement (Butler-Por 1987, p.9). In this study the qualification is made (in Chapter Five) that what is sometimes called the "home environment" can refer to the child's far wider environment outside school. Similarly, it must be remembered that parental attitudes do not evolve in isolation; societal demands playing their part.

Of the main causes of scholastic underachievement, some of those associated with personality characteristics will be examined in this chapter, those not dealt with receiving attention in the following chapters with which they are closely associated. Butler-Por discusses the dynamics of personality characteristics under : (a) Self-concept (b) Locus of control (c) Need achievement and fear

of failure (d) Need affiliation, and, rather perversely (e) Fear of success (ibid p.18).

BLACK SELF-CONCEPT

M. Sarup is one of many researchers who question psychological theories and the notion of black identity as the cause of black underachievement. Sarup believes that educationalists shifting the 'blame' for underachievement from society to the black child may be obscuring what he feels to be the real issues. He feels that the emphasis upon self-concept and self-esteem perpetuates the deficit model of the black child, presenting the latter as a 'suitable case for treatment' rather than issues of power, class and racial oppression:

"by ignoring the social structure and its reflection in the school system, these theories are potentially very damaging to the education of the working-class and black child. The emphasis on 'self-concept' has thus become a way of evading the real and uncomfortable issue of class and privilege in our society". (Sarup, 1986, p.35)

The notion that black children's academic performance would be enhanced by an improvement in their self-concept and self-esteem has been influenced by three tendencies in education, Sarup

citing Kelly, Maslow and Rogers; a philosophy of education based on individual development and growth, and phenomenal sociology, stressing individual meaning and subjective experience as a means of defining reality (ibid). If self-concept and self-esteem are questionable as the cause of black underachievement, the case for them being nevertheless considered as a cause, part of a more global view, should not be ignored. One of the aims of this study is to give the correct weight to the question of the role of identity in the achievement of the black British child. Rather than discarding an outdated notion, identity will be seen to be just one of a range of factors relevant to black underachievement; work on self-esteem and self-concept, if not exactly having reached an impasse in terms of being seen as the cause of black pupil's academic difficulties, having long been superseded by research taking the search elsewhere, as mentioned above. Rather than abandoning Young and Bagley's concept of global identity, under which, as Erikson's (Erikson, 1955, passim), self-esteem and self-concept are subsumed, aspects still relevant to the underlying tenets of this study are considered in this chapter.

The hardening of attitudes towards black people (see p. 39) during the nineteenth century led increasingly to tacit agreement amongst white society upon their inferiority. This factor resulted in the true antiquity of black settlement in Britain being difficult to ascertain as the history of black people became lost or obscured, black individuals once varying in social class from the student sons of African rulers to freed black servants and slaves, retreating irrespective of former rank into equally invisible lower class white areas (Lorimer, op. cit., pp. 107-111). There is, however, a good deal of evidence of black people living in Great Britain for many centuries and of a permanent black settlement in the port of Liverpool since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century (Fryer op. cit., p.236; St James Old Registers 1801-1807, 1/1C, p.1; Law and Henfrey, 1981, p.19; Lorimer, op. cit., p.39) and in Cardiff since the 1890s (Little, op. cit., passim). Black Britons, in some cases undifferentiated from their white fellows by religion, culture or language, found themselves in an increasingly hostile environment, the progressive submergence of overtly negative expressions towards black people becoming more subtle, if anything, with the passage of time.

Black individuals faced with hostility within British society have had to devise strategies to deal or, at least, come to terms, with antagonism in their own way. The degree of success achieved by black individuals attempting to personally resolve their own problem of identity in a white dominated society, and the association of that resolution with academic attainment, is strongly linked, as shown throughout this study, not only with the situated dynamics of the interaction between both groups; Afro-caribbean and European, but their residual group history. In their analysis, Young and Bagley stress the importance of the social structure as a factor in the formation of identity, it becoming necessary for that of the black British child to take particular forms in order to cope with the society in which they live (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.41).

In her own study of primary school underachievers, Butler-Por found this to be a characteristic of all children's development, as they not only differ in their environment, but in their ways of coping with their problems (Butler-Por, op. cit., p.18). Rather appropriately with regards to this study of the special needs of

British children of Afro-Caribbean descent, she adds:

"Since teachers are likely to meet underachieving children with different personality characteristics, it is important that they become familiar with these traits, so that they will be able to recognise children's behaviour which may be the result of these characteristics, which usually reflect the lack of satisfaction of some important needs at home and which, when consistent, may be manifested in under-achieving behaviour" (1) (ibid).

These societal demands upon the black individual have considerable implications for the accurate academic assessment of schoolchildren of Afro-Caribbean descent. One means of protection against a hostile society historically resorted to by captive and ex-captive blacks is the black individual's reluctance to reveal what Hewitt calls the self "as an object to himself" to others (Hewitt 1976, p.81. Also cited later in this study by Young and Bagley). Citing an earlier work by Ames, Pettigrew exemplifies this in the lyrics of an old American Negro folksong, "Got one mind for white folks to see, 'nother for what I know in me..." (Pettigrew, 1964, p.7 after Ames, 1950, p.194). He suggests that this presents difficulties for white

(1) Or indeed, in the child's wider environment.

researchers eliciting responses from black people of all ages ranging from two-year-olds (citing Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1955) to college students (citing Whittaker, Gilchrist and Fischer, 1952), the subjects often reacting differently to black and white experimenters (Pettigrew, op. cit., p.7). In Britain the likelihood of black schoolchildren having own-race educational examiners is more remote than in the United States, but Pettigrew points out that even this measure is by no means a certain way of ensuring a truer response from black subjects. Other factors, such as the social class of the black interviewer, the way educated blacks are perceived by ghetto blacks, and even skin shade, are examined later in this study and may have a bearing on academic performance.

In exploring the basic traditions of 'self', Young and Bagley cite the interactionist theory of George Mead and his associates which suggests that the individual's acceptance of the ideas that he perceives others to hold about him on his own are an important factor in self-image. By assuming the role of others, the individual is developing ideas about him or herself similar to those people seen as significant or even as possible role-models (see p. 175) (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.42). Mead's

analysis of the self thus indicates that the individual's notion of identity is derived from interaction with others who evaluate him in different ways and is therefore social in origin. This idea has been developed by sociologists Webster and Sobieszek who suggest that the notion of the self is relational and specific, self-evaluation being certainly relative to the structure of the social situation. Their thesis is that the self is an ever-changing active processing characteristic of the individual and the particular situation and who those others may be is important (ibid, pp. 43-44).

Erikson pointed to adolescence, dealt with in greater depth later, as being a particularly important time for the individual, black or white, to receive the recognition of his community (Hauser, 1971 p.111):

"...we speak of the community's response to the young individual's need to be "recognised" by those around him, we mean something beyond a mere recognition of achievement, for it is of great relevance... that he be responded to and given function and status as a person whose gradual growth and transformation make sense to those who begin to make sense to him" (ibid, after Erikson, 1968, p.156)

Citing Cooley's theory, Butler-Por relates the child's self-concept to scholastic performance by likening the former to a mirror in which the self is shaped by all the reflections, whether positive or negative received from those individuals seen by the child as meaningful in his or her environment (Butler-Por, op. cit., p.18, after Cooley, 1909, passim). Drawing upon studies by Raph, Goldberg and Passow (1966), Fink (1962), Shaw and Alves (1963), and Gallacher (1985), Butler-Por points out that this self-image is carried by the child into school and with it all the psychological pre-requisites or hindrances to learning. Those children who have internalised negative responses for the greater part are embarking upon their school life with a weak psychological starting-point, having formed a low self-concept, and therefore having little belief in their own ability to master new skills, thrive generally at school or overcome school difficulties (Butler-Por, op. cit., p.18).

Young and Bagley cite Erikson's study, published in 1968, which stressed that the quality of the individual's self-value was also of great importance. Identification with role-models in the culture, often lacking for British blacks is involved in the search for integrity, Young and

Bagley feeling models for identification to be weak and goals vague within Western society (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.44). Hauser's study of American adolescents, carried out between 1962 and 1967 and published in 1971, reinforces Young and Bagley's opinion, suggesting that one of the dangers of the lack of positive role-models and "heroes" is the replacement of idealised figures with "anti-heroes". Those few positive role-models (particularly male roles) were often distant, usually beyond the scope of the average individual in reality, or cautiously admired, such as black football stars, a once-heard-of black bank president, or a black adult who may have helped the youngster but is himself faced with negative attitudes from the wider society which may have hindered his own success (Hauser, op. cit., pp.88-91). In a male dominated society, as Hauser points out, the black male child has less chance of finding a positive role-model in his own father. Though the father may have the respect of the child his family and his immediate community, his chances of success are limited by the greater society in which he lives, an example of the way in which the biographical self is extended into that of the family and the group, the group biography being an important element in this study.

In contrast to black children, in Hauser's study white children in Western society face an abundance of "heroes", their main problem being who to emulate, rather than finding them, and avoiding the negative models, the "anti-heroes" (ibid, p.93). Hauser found his white subject's fears of their anti-heroes to be centred on conscience and guilt, whilst black subjects exhibited a preoccupation with rejection and inferiority (ibid, p.94).

Erikson, whose model Young and Bagley use in their analysis, identifies eight stages in the development of ego:

"At each of the first seven stages, a particular problem must be solved before ego integrity is reached, in the eighth stage. Even in this eighth stage, however, ego identity is still threatened. The eight stages which unfold as the individual gets older are:

- (1) trust versus basic mistrust;
 - (2) autonomy versus shame and doubt;
 - (3) initiative versus guilt;
 - (4) industry versus inferiority;
 - (5) identity versus role diffusion;
 - (6) intimacy versus isolation;
 - (7) generativity, 'doing things' versus stagnation;
 - (8) ego integrity versus despair"
- (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.44)

Faced with what might be considered a threatening environment, historically derived from an overtly racist society, the possibility of the

child of Afro-Caribbean descent successfully completing any of Erikson's stages would appear difficult. With other ethnic groups it may be a question of degree, bearing in mind the historical existence in Britain of a racial hierarchy of attitudes towards all races dating from the nineteenth century and the fact that many, if not all, of the ethnic minorities have experienced prejudice from the British racial majority.

THE VARIABILITY OF GROUP EXPERIENCE

There is evidence to suggest that Asians receive every bit as much, if not worse, prejudice than Afro-Caribbeans in Britain today (Swann, op. cit., p.33) but, if anything, this only reinforces the importance of recognising the historical factor in British Afro-Caribbean underachievement. Bearing in mind that some individuals will be less affected than others, it could be that the effect of the situated incidence of prejudice as experienced by comparatively recently arrived Asians may not be as deep as that of the continuous and long-term group experience of Afro-Caribbeans whose negative experiences did not begin with their arrival in Britain (which in the case of Liverpool blacks could be two hundred years ago) but with the Slave Trade.

An analogy might be that of white individuals finding themselves isolated, or part of a small group, in a country in which the inhabitants are black. Though they may experience prejudice they may nevertheless be able to either consciously or subconsciously draw psychological strength from their own positive group biography (1). Such whites encountering situated prejudice may be approaching it from the historical standpoint of white superiority, which clearly differs from that of black individuals in Western society.

In the Swann Report, Parekh's comments strongly hint at the possibility of the above theory:

"...the debate is led astray by two false assumptions, namely that all West Indians fail and all Asians succeed... Thanks to these assumptions, some have argued that the reasons for West Indian children's underachievement cannot be found in the factors they share in common with the Asians... Thus racism, either in the society at large or in the school, is dismissed as an important factor on the grounds that otherwise we would not be able to explain Asian success... (The argument) is invalid because it wrongly assumes that the same factor must always produce the same results"
(1) (Swann Report, op. cit., p.69)

The evidence suggesting that Asians may be simply reacting differently to the same stimuli is strong. It is possible that Asian performance may be the result of more secure traditions, the incidence of situated prejudice, as suggested above, having less effect than historical. Although the group history of Asians also contains colonial oppression, the particular form that oppression took differs considerably. The original experience of black slaves in the West Indies and the Americas generally was designed to deprive them of their own language, seen as a medium facilitating rebellion; a family life, emotional ties making the sale of individuals more difficult; culture, art forms and even music, being seen as a means of communication possible only understood by the slave at their master's expense; religion, and education (Woodson, pp.1-2). In the Southern States of America, the plight of blacks of the diaspora was not confined to slaves. A law passed in Georgia in 1829 stated:

"If any slave, negro or free person of colour or any white person shall teach any slave, negro or free person of colour, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of colour or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping at the discretion of the Court; and if a white person so

(1) The Swann Report does point out that at least one Asian sub-group, namely Bangladeshis, achieve even less than Afro-Caribbeans (ibid., 66).

offend, he, she or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding \$500 and imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the Court".(Board of Education Special Reports, Vol.11, 1902, p.537)

The idea of producing a totally compliant black population devoid of initiative, will, dignity and skills considered superfluous to the needs of their owners (Walvin, 1971, p.19) did not end with the Abolition of Slavery in 1834 (in British Territories, though black slavery was to linger on until the 1860s in the United states and as late as 1888 in Brazil). Following Emancipation, black people of the diaspora were, to a large extent, left unprovided for in a society still reluctant to allow them any prestige in their black identity (Spivey, *passim*), a situation yet to be resolved, even amongst the secondary diaspora in what, as a result of the earlier "brainwashing" procedure, has come to be known as the "Mother Country".

In contrast, the degree of compliance required by British subjects of the Indian sub-continent was substantially less. The reasons for this were commercial and political. Asian education and experience differed from Afro-Caribbeans in that

since the early days of the East India Company, de facto rulers of India, as one Asian writer put it:

"...the overriding interest of the Company was trade and the profit motive, it did little to interfere with traditional Indian society or engage in military adventures, all of which cost money. It concerned itself only with providing the framework for stability required for trade to flourish" (Visram, 1986, p.3)

THE 'SOCIAL DISTANCE' THEORY

Situated studies by investigators of the Social distance scale, measuring the behavioural intentions of individuals towards members of various national and ethnic groups, may be guilty of a degree of methodological omission, if not amnesia, insofar as the historical factor is concerned. Park suggested this notion of social distance in 1921, to be followed by Bogardus in 1925, who found that the social distance between the English, white Canadians and other people of European descent, was slight, increasing with southern Europeans and reaching its furthest in Orientals and Africans (Burns, 1982, p.16). Examining white American students in a later study, Triandis and Triandis found the results to be similar, formulating two hypotheses that...

"(a) different cultures have different norms about social distance;

(b) within a culture, the more insecure and anxious a person is the higher the amount of social distance he will feel towards people who are not like himself."
(ibid., p.20)

In Chapter One of this study, it will be seen that both these hypotheses correlate very closely with the racial hierarchy theory and Lorimer's view of the English middle class (see p. 39), which was influenced by Little's hypothesis. Little recognised the socio-historical legacy of Britain's colonial past, as does this study, reinforced by the individual's psychological need for someone lower in the social hierarchy (Burns, ibid., p.21, after Little, 1947). He believed that to invite a 'coloured' person into one's home was "tantamount in middle-class circles to inviting the refuse collector to dinner" (ibid.), the individual losing status by his or her association. Banton refutes Little's theory because it does not account for British people's exclusion of non-white people in situations in which they are unlikely to be associated with them (ibid., after Banton, 1958). Little's theory still holds, however, if the hypothesis put forward in this study of a residual

group memory is accepted; attitudes continuing to linger long after their original purpose has fallen into disuse.

The fact of Afro-Caribbeans achieving appreciably less than Asians and other ethnic minority groups educationally (Swann, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3) may be influenced by their relative historical position on the racial hierarchy scale. The evidence in the Swann Report for a full analysis of the relative positions of the various ethnic groups scrutinised and their correlation with the historic racial hierarchy originating during the nineteenth century is insufficient, but that which exists provides at least an interesting glimpse of trends to be possibly investigated in future studies of black underachievement. In the Swann Report, in the majority of studies, including the School Leavers Survey exercises shown in Fig. 5, English whites and West Indians occupy positions that correlate with their places on the historic social scale, namely with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. Asian pupils appeared to Swann's investigators to be on a par with whites in terms of

TABLE 4. 'O' Level and CSE Achievement

	Asians		West Indians		All Other Leavers		Total School Leavers from 5 LEA's		All Maintained School Leavers in England	
	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82
No Graded Results (including those who attempted no examinations)	20	19	17	19	22	19	21	19	14	11
At least 1 Graded Result but less than 5 Higher Graded Results	63	64	80	75	62	62	64	63	66	66
5 or more Higher Graded Results	17	17	3	6	16	19	15	18	21	23
Total Leavers (Number)	466	571	718	653	5,012	4,718	6,196	5,942	693,840	706,690

'A' Level Achievements

18. Table 7 shows the percentage of school leavers achieving an 'A' level pass. 5 per cent of West Indian leavers in 1981/82 compared with 13 per cent of Asians and as compared with the 13 per cent which is the national average figure, obtained at least one 'A' level pass. The increase in the proportion of West Indian school leavers gaining this level of achievement from that recorded by the previous survey was statistically significant.

TABLE 7. 'A' Level Achievements

	Asians		West Indians		All Other Leavers		Total School Leavers from 5 LEA's		All Maintained School Leavers in England	
	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82
No 'A' Level Pass	88	87	98	95	88	87	90	88	87	86
At least 1 'A' level Pass	12	13	2	5	12	13	10	12	13	14
Total Leavers (Numbers)	466	571	718	653	5,012	4,718	6,196	5,942	693,840	706,690

Fig. 5

TABLE 5. English Language ('O' Level and CSE)

	Asians		West Indians		All Other Leavers		Total School Leavers from 5 LEA's		All Maintained School Leavers in England	
	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82
No Graded Result	31	28	31	25	30	25	30	25	21	18
Lower Grades Only	47	51	61	60	41	46	44	48	45	47
Higher Grades	22	21	9	15	29	29	26	26	34	36
Total Leavers (Number)	466	571	718	653	5,012	4,718	6,196	5,942	693,840	706,690

TABLE 6. Mathematics ('O' Level and CSE)

	Asians		West Indians		All Other Leavers		Total School Leavers from 5 LEA's		All Maintained School Leavers in England	
	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82	1978/79	1981/82
No Graded Result	38	33	47	45	40	32	40	34	32	27
Lower Grades Only	41	46	47	47	42	47	42	46	45	47
Higher Grades	21	21	5	8	19	21	17	20	23	26
Total Leavers (Number)	466	571	718	653	5,012	4,718	6,196	5,942	693,840	706,690

'O' Level and CSE Achievements in English Language and Mathematics

15. Tables 5 and 6 show the percentage distributions by broad level of achievement at CSE or 'O' level in English language and Mathematics. In English language, 15 per cent of West Indians achieve a higher grade pass compared with 21 per cent of Asians and 29 per cent of all other leavers in the five LEAs. These differences are statistically significant. Further, the proportions for the five LEAs are significantly different from the national average. However the table shows that the proportion of West Indian children achieving no graded result decreased between the two survey periods, matched by an increase in proportion achieving higher grades. These changes are also statistically significant.

17. The proportions achieving lower grade passes, just under half of all school leavers, did not vary significantly between ethnic categories or from the national figure. As a consequence, since only 8 per cent of West Indian children achieved higher grade passes, the proportion achieving no graded result also represented nearly one half of all West Indian school leavers in 1981/82, a proportion significantly higher, statistically, than the proportion of Asian or "other" leavers.

achievement, but other factors, both historical and methodological, may well have a bearing upon those results. Swann comments upon the lack of a common approach to classification of pupils from ethnic minorities by schools, making it difficult to base any firm conclusions on the data received relating to the relative performance of the Asian sub-categories (ibid., p.65). East African Asians, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and other Asians are grouped together for statistical purposes in the Report, some disquiet being expressed by Swann that Bangladeshis, to name one sub-group, are known to perform markedly less well than other groups (Swann, ibid., p.66). a fact that might well have been lost amongst the statistics of the greater Asian group. Another group, East African Asians, have historically occupied the role of 'middle-man' between East African blacks and their white overlords, their positions being not only sustained, for a while at least in the African continent, but upgraded with the passing of white rule. Whilst many East Africans have had to emigrate to Britain in the wake of black African nationalism, many may have nevertheless carried with them the comfort of a psychologically, and, indeed materially stronger group biography. Further research into the performances of particular Asian sub-groups may

reveal this group to be responsible for the comparatively high score of the greater Asian group.

Whilst such issues as how the legacy of the historic racial hierarchy might relate to the comparative success of Asian pupils and the academic failure of Bangladeshis as a sub-group have yet to be quantified, along with their relationship to other ethnic groups, Swann's comments upon the strong sense of ethnic identity of some other groups scrutinised, including Italians (Swann, *ibid.*, p.707), Ukrainians (*ibid.*, p.712), Turkish and Greek (*ibid.*, p.682), Vietnamese (*ibid.*, pp.728-729) and Chinese (*ibid.*, p.654) are perhaps worthy of future investigation. Particularly fruitful might be an investigation into the nature of that 'strong sense of identity' as exhibited by each group. It could be that a distinction might have to be made between the sort of confident self-sufficiency felt by those whose group biography offer them a strong psychological base, and those whose seemingly 'strong sense of identity' is merely an inclusivity resulting from a reaction to the exclusivity of the majority group (See Chapter Six,).

ACHIEVEMENT NEEDS OF BLACKS OF THE DIASPORA

McClelland suggests that all forms of slavery lowered the need for achievement. Having lost their African culture, languages and religion, blacks of the diaspora were placed in a completely dependent role; a pattern that severely depressed their need for achievement, their rewards coming from absolute obedience rather than individual initiative and enterprise (Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p.13, after McClelland, 1961, pp. 376-377). Pettigrew believes that the personality scars of slavery are still manifest in present-day society in the United States citing three studies indicating that lower class blacks have less need for achievement than lower-status whites (after Merbaum, 1960; Mussen, 1953; Rosen, 1959). In 1970, Bhatnagar made a study of the socio-personal adjustment of a group of 179 West Indian and a group of 76 Cypriot children in a London Secondary School, comparing his findings with a sample of 100 English children. He found that West Indian and Cypriot children scored considerably lower in terms of academic achievement than English children and West Indians scored significantly higher than both English and Cypriot children on non-academic achievement tasks (Green, 1972, p.29, after Bhatnagar, 1970, p.101). Bhatnagar felt that

two reasons for the non-academic achievement of West Indians might be that having failed in the classroom they might have a strong urge to succeed on the playground and also the strong tradition of games and sports in the West Indies might have some influence. Green suggests another variable, that of the future orientated nature of academic activity, success not always being immediately apparent and often disassociated from the activity itself. In contrast the non-academic activities of games and sport are usually rewarded immediately, the association with the activity being obvious. Green felt that important social psychological factors bearing upon the black child's level of achievement in both academic and non-academic achievement activities might have been ignored in Bhatnagar's study, as to wait for the reward of any activity demands a high level of psychological and emotional security (Green, op. cit., pp.29-30). In Chapter Five, it is suggested that the question of reward and punishment may be even more fundamental than this; reward itself as a motivation for academic attainment could be simply lacking in the society in which the black child lives (see p. 182).

In their article, Young and Bagley also examine the contribution of Maslow's self-

actualisation theory (Maslow, 1954, *passim*), a multi-factor theory which, like Erikson's, is arranged in a hierarchy of stages but loosely coincide with certain chronological age stages. Five levels of needs are identified:

- " 1. 'Physiological needs' such as hunger, thirst and warmth.
2. 'Safety needs' such as security, stability and order.
3. 'Belongingness and love needs' such as needs for affection, affiliation and identification (presumably this includes affection for, affiliation to and identification with one's own racial groups).
4. 'Esteem needs' such as needs for prestige, success and self-respect.
5. 'Need for self-actualisation, or self-fulfilment'". (1) (Young and Bagley, *op. cit.*, pp.44-45, after Maslow, 1954))

Young and Bagley suggest that people in affluent Western societies are likely to find lower needs and are more preoccupied with self-actualisation, that is, personal fulfilment. The authors draw attention to the work of Weinreich (Young and Bagley, *op. cit.*, p.45, after Weinreich, 1979), in addition to that of Bagley et al., (1979) as examples among many studies indicating

(1) The numeration of these items is mine.

difficulties in attaining the last three levels amongst West Indian children and adolescents in Britain (ibid.).

AFFILIATION NEEDS OF BRITISH AFRO-CARIBBEANS

The black pride movement of the United States had repercussions in the black diaspora all over the world. One of the reasons for its success may be the fact that it made at least some contribution towards fulfilling two of Maslow's levels of needs normally difficult for Western blacks to attain, namely those of "belongingness and love needs", in this case self-love, and "esteem needs", the revival of the memory of former black "heroes" being an integral part of the black movement.

In the old mixed-race British black community of Liverpool, the feeling of affiliation and common brotherhood with black people everywhere, in itself a hypostase of the earlier Pan-African movement (see p. 112) is more complicated. In Liverpool, a settled community (see p. 81) with a high rate of intermarriage between the races, people with the slightest trace of a black ancestry, in some cases not visibly apparent, now frequently identify with the black movement.

In answering the question "what is an African?", in his book "the Africans, a Triple Heritage", Mazrui is forced to adopt the stance of Lewis, a Western analyst of Middle Eastern affairs. When grappling with the question "What is a Turk?", Lewis concluded that part of the definition was the "sentiment of Turkish identity - simply thinking of oneself as a Turk" (Mazrui, 1986, p.99, after Lewis, 1961). In Liverpool, the exclusivity of white society may have led to an inclusivity not dissimilar to this sentiment. (1)

This manifestation of the "need for belonging" in many ways even more difficult for mixed-race people to attain, represents both unfortunate and happy aspects of the group history of black people. Prior to the Abolition of Slavery, people with the slightest trace of a "Negro" ancestry were considered eligible for sale in the slave markets (Tannenbaum, 1946, p.68). The motivation for this was twofold. Firstly, Britain's Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 made it increasingly difficult for new slaves to be procured in Africa; and secondly, the ethnocentricity of the time led to mixed-race people whose features and colour

(1) Commented upon later in this chapter.

approached that of Europeans fetching a higher price (Ransford, 1971, p.114). The effect of this resulted in the grading of mixed-race people, the lightest-skinned, nearest to the European concept of beauty, being thought by whites, and often themselves, as being the most desirable condition.

As Tannenbaum put it in 1946:

"One of the many consequences of miscegenation proved to be the inevitable differentiation between the mulatto and the pure black, a differentiation that differed in degree rather than in kind in the different slave systems. It not only produced social distinction in the colonial part of the population, but brought a part of the population closer to the master. Even in the British West Indies it was customary not to put mulattoes to work in the sugarcane fields, but rather to keep them as house servants and put them to learn skilled trades." Tannenbaum, op. cit., p.124)

Evidence of this secondary racial hierarchy (1) is still to be found in modern society, as seen in Chapter Six on the "Out-of-School Environment"; still possessing the potential to diminish the self-image of British black children (see p. 259). One of the happier aspects, as mentioned above, of the

(1)The primary racial hierarchy being that of the stratification of the various races, often based on skin colour, described in Chapter One (see p. 37)

black pride movement that has percolated through to Great Britain from the United States is the increased identification of Liverpudlians with the slightest trace of African ancestry with blacks of the diaspora as a whole, thus rejecting one of the unpleasant side-effects of slavery and the residual group history of black people. Less fortunate, however, is the fact that this, from another point of view, represents a further polarisation of the races, all too sadly reminiscent of the South African system of colour classification which can lead to obviously white individuals being reclassified as black, on the word of a vindictive accuser, in that society the most derogatory accusation that can be made.

BLACK SELF-ESTEEM

The importance of the notion of the self could not be stressed more by personality theorists such as Becker (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.45, after Becker, 1971) and Hayakawa (1963) (ibid), both believing the need for self-esteem to be the main motive and purpose of all human activity. Young and Bagley contrast this opinion with that of such psychologists as Eysenck (see p. 16) and Cattell who appears largely to ignore the basic concept of the

"self" (1). They cite Eysenck and Eysenck's book "The Structure of Human Personality" (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1969) which pays little attention to self-actualisation (self-fulfilment) and none to self-esteem and Cattell's "the Scientific Analysis of Personality" (Cattell, 1965) which, though incorporating a personal concept of 'self-sentiment', only formed a small part of his work. Young and Bagley do concede that in a later work, Cattell, with Gorsuch, did develop a complex theoretical analysis emphasising cognitive and self-actualising aspects of self theory (Gorsuch and Cattell, 1977) but note that what they call "the self, experienced introspected immediately acting self" (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.45) was largely ignored.

In analysing the distinction between self-concept and self-esteem, Young and Bagley suggest that the emphasis usually placed on the difference by scholars may be too great. The view that self-concept involves an objective or cognitive appraisal of the self, whilst self-esteem, on the other hand, reflects self-confidence as it involves an emotional appraisal of the self, may be an over simplification

(1) An omission commented upon earlier in the Introductory Chapter of this study.

as all self-conceptions are also expressions of self-esteem, Young and Bagley's argument being that as all self-descriptions not concerned with purely physical descriptions include some emotional loading (ibid.).

There is a good deal to support this view. The situation of individuals of African descent living within European dominated societies would appear to not only support Young and Bagley's argument but indicate that even physical self-description by black children are not without a similar emotional leading. Evidence of this is to be found in social preference tests and would indicate an element of self-denial in black school children. In a test undertaken in Pittsburgh in the United States, 32 photographs of black and white children were shown to children of both races in a school population with grades from 2 to 6. Based on research into attitudes towards black people, 12 common stereotypes were selected, each description paired with an opposite characteristic, such as "one of these children always comes to school dirty" and "one of these children is always neat and clean" (Radke, 1950, p.155). At each grade level, more undesirable descriptions were given to photographs of black children than to whites by both white and

black subjects, Radke suggesting an element of ambivalence on the part of the black children towards their own race. Similarly, black pictures were not attributed more frequently with a "good" description in a single case. Whites did not assign any undesirable characteristics to their own race at all (ibid, pp.158-160).

Tests such as this demonstrate the extent of the popular tacit agreement on how blacks are perceived in Western society, making it difficult to ignore the historical relationship between the two races. As Radke et al., put it:

"The data from the white children shows clearly their acceptance of the attitudes of their culture towards the Negro. The fact that so few undesirable characteristics assigned to the white photographs by the white children leaves open many questions regarding the frame of reference with which they view the Negro and white races". (ibid, p.160).

Young and Bagley's analysis of the concept of identity certainly accepts the importance of group identity in addition to personal identity. They quote Erikson's conception of identity:

"...a sense of continuity and social sameness which bridges what the individual was as a child and what he is about to become and also reconciles his conception of himself

and his community's recognition of him" (Erikson, 1959, p.1, as quoted in Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.46)

Young and Bagley also stress the importance of the groups acceptance within society in order to attain what Erikson calls "self-realisation coupled with mutual recognition". (Erikson, 1959, p.53 as quoted in Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.46). Later in this study, attention will be paid to the importance of the individuals needs to build what Young and Bagley call "an adequate life history (see p. 180) in order to achieve an identity to combat their surrounding milieu" (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.49). In accepting the idea of group identity, Young and Bagley also acknowledge the existence of a group biography transcending the life-span of the individual, thus accepting Erikson's belief that identity embraces "a complimentary of the past and future in both the individual and society" (Erikson, 1959, in Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.46) and supporting the main hypothesis put forward in this study.

Young and Bagley's analysis reveals a clear belief in the importance of the past, and collective, experience of the group:

"Identity can be both personal (as in the case of James, 1920) or personal

plus culture (in the case of Freud, 1973). Many people never have a clear grasp of their identity (and can be said to have relatively little 'ego strength', 'self-esteem' or self-actualisation'). The average white Englishman has, perhaps, in the past had a relatively undeveloped sense of ethnic identity, simply because he had no need to reflect on his ethnic position except in terms of superiority. It seems to us that many English people are now, in collective or cultural terms, enduring an 'identity crisis' because the old ethnic and imperial superiority has been lost, and English people are forced to reappraise themselves as simply partners in a multicultural society. The reaction of many English people seems to be a racist one -an adaptation of 'premature identity foreclosure', in Erikson's term; this is a search for 'a purified identity', as Sennett (1970) put it in his adaptation of Erikson's identity theory to account for problems in the wider social structure".(Young and Bagley, op. cit., p.46)

One of the problems of some interpretations of multicultural and antiracist education, its more recent counterpart, is that they too can often demand a more inclusive "purified" identity. For some children in such old black settlements as Liverpool, with its large population of mixed-parentage (and future areas of recent black settlement in Britain) the idea of isolating even several races and cultures for closer scrutiny in the classroom may be promoting stereotypes, or at

the very least, somewhat ironically, exclusive models in terms of race. The zealous antiracist teacher may be quick to "pluck out" offensive lines from school textbooks because of their stereotypic imagery, but may miss the point that the problem may not only be negative, but of exclusive imagery as it relates to children of mixed-parentage.

There is a difference between the stereotype and the exclusive, purified image. The stereotype of a particular race or people is an unduly fixed mental image which can contain many misconceptions. The purified image may be an essentially truthful image of that people, but has no place or little regard, for others who do not conform to these purified images, who may include not only children of mixed-parentage, but Christian, Asian and other religious convert groups (1). Such children may be thus denied an identity, paradoxically and alarmingly by schools with an allegedly strongly established multicultural and antiracist policy. Answers are not easy, as some groups, such as the 200-year-old Liverpool Black population, are yet to be recognised; their special needs only just on the agenda. Such children may be being denied an identity, or at the very least, its development hindered. It could be that a positive sense of

racial identity may have to be constructed, then deconstructed in some way to avoid any exaggerated counter-exclusivism against the wider society, part of a necessary process to be met and resolved.

(1) An interesting case of this purified identity arose at the end of the nineteenth century. Edward Wilmot Blyden, a West Indian, sought to inculcate a sense of racial pride into people of African descent. Blyden's concept of "negritude", a unique purified "negro" identity, originated as a counter to the doctrine of white supremacy and heightened patriotism of the time. What is intriguing is that Blyden had received only a Western education and, rather than scrapping the concept of superiority, merely reversed it. A notable example of his idea of a purified "negro" identity was when he refused to accept mixed-race members to the Pan-African Conference of 1900, including the Liverpool born black politician, John Archer. (Fryer, op. cit., p.276)

PART TWO

THE BLACK CHILD'S LEARNING EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER THREE
THE PRESENT SITUATION AS REFLECTED IN
INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

In this chapter, the situation of three Liverpool Black schoolchildren of primary school age, presented as very brief cases, is considered to provide exemplars for the issues discussed in the pages of this thesis. All the cases were encountered by the author of this thesis during the course of his duties as an advisory teacher for Racial Equality in Education in Liverpool L.E.A.. Whilst the names of the children, teachers and schools have been changed, the character of the children's names has been retained. For example, as one child has a parent of Irish ancestry, his Christian name has remained Irish. The backgrounds of the other children are similarly dealt with.

Each of these children has a different personality and family circumstances, although all lived in the same inner city district characterised by black settlement and poor socio-economic conditions, seen in Chapter One to be often synonymous and part of the historical legacy of blacks of the diaspora. All the children are

underachieving at school, for reasons not apparently associated with their group biography. Just how much they do have in common will emerge as this study progresses.

SEAN BAKER

Sean Baker is a pupil at a Roman Catholic primary school in the black settlement area of Liverpool. He is eight years of age and the middle child of five brothers. Sean's mother is of Liverpool Irish descent and has married twice; Sean being the only child of her first marriage. His two older siblings are therefore step-brothers, the product of his step-father's previous marriage, whilst his younger brothers are half-brothers. Both Sean's natural father and his step-father are of mixed parentage (white and African.)

All of Sean's teachers were concerned at aspects of his personality. Several reported that Sean had been involved in several incidents in the playground and on other occasions when the children were not being supervised directly. Sean is very light skinned with loose curly black hair, but, although he is of almost European complexion, his

black ancestry is still just discernible. The chief complaint against Sean is that he teases other children, his chief target being black children of darker complexion than himself. His jibes usually take the form of comments about the thickness of their lips (Sean's lips are not thick) and the frizziness of their hair. Attempts by his teachers to counsel him in the hope that he may see the error of his ways have proved to be difficult as any suggestion that he himself might be of the same racial origin as his victims causes him to withdraw from the conversation. Although Sean never goes so far as to overtly reject his own black ancestry, he is very reluctant to discuss the topic.

This type of reaction to one's own ethnic group is characteristic of what is termed 'passing' in the United States. Although not confined to people of African descent (see p. 259), when their physical appearance permitted, some black people of the diaspora, at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, have chosen to respond to their own situation by denying membership of their group (Isaacs, 1963, p. 145). Originating during the period of black slavery, this particular characteristic was exhibited by light-skinned individuals of mixed parentage who may have wished

to escape from a life of drudgery and humiliation. Following emancipation, the disadvantage of belonging to a group still low in the social scale caused some of those who could to continue to attempt to 'pass' into white society. This syndrome is still in evidence in present-day society and represents just one of the many solutions historically resorted to by black people examined later in this study.

When approached by the headteacher, the reaction of Sean's parents differed considerably. Sean's mother felt the abuse of other children of mixed-parentage, or, indeed, of 'pure' African ancestry, was unimportant as Sean himself belongs to the same racial group. Sean's stepfather felt differently, however. He confided that as a child he had suffered name-calling by other children and had hated the experience. Neither parent knew quite what to do; Sean's mother feeling the matter was 'children's play' and best ignored, whilst his stepfather, drawing upon his own life history, thought some form of punishment was appropriate.

Sean's class teacher maintained that Sean was performing at a level far below what he feels to be his true capabilities. In the course of following

up an environmental education field trip to investigate the various types of buildings surrounding the school, Sean described one as being 'grey'. When, somewhat mystified, Sean's teacher drew his attention to the fact that everyone had seen that shop that day and it was red, Sean replied, "No, Sir, you don't understand-It feels grey inside!", apparently appreciating the metaphorical use of colour to suggest mood or ethos.

Sean often has fits of deep depression, during which any form of communication by others is extremely difficult. Sean's work level can fall to a low level during this time, any form of coercion resulting in tears and sometimes, though not often, outbursts of temper not usually directed at anyone in particular. Typical of Sean's depression is his reply during a lesson on the topic of 'jobs'. When asked what he would like to be when he grows up, Sean answered, "I want to be different". Most members of staff have heard Sean expressing negative feelings about himself, such as, "I know I'm no good, Sir", when finding a particular task difficult, but perhaps more alarming is the fact that Sean has been found, usually alone, sitting

under a table bumping his head against a wall as though trying to hurt himself.

If investigations into the mental health of black people of the diaspora suffering depression as a result of oppression are still in their infancy (Torkington, 1991, passim), research into depression resulting from racial factors as a cause of underachievement in children has yet to be undertaken. In the following pages, the state of depression exhibited by Sean is measured against the daily experience of British black children .

LEONORA JOHNSON

The mother of a Liverpool Black child, Leonora Johnson, complained to the Liverpool Adviser for Racial Equality that she was unhappy about her child's education. At the end of the last academic year in the infant department, she had been told by the head of Leonora's school, Bradley St. J.M.I., in the Toxteth area of the city, that her daughter was way behind other children in attainment and should perhaps see the school psychologist.

Leonora's mother claimed that she had never been told of any problems with Leonora's learning before and the school had let Leonora down by not noticing and taking steps earlier. She felt that Leonora had not been taught properly and had often experienced racist abuse from other children at the school.

Leonora had been removed from Bradley St. and placed in St. Olaf's J.M. in another, more middle class, district. The headteacher of St. Olaf's, Mrs. Calder, had also brought up the question of having Leonora assessed by the school psychologist. Leonora's mother had attended a special school herself, during the period of maximum Afro-Caribbean referral during the late 60's (see p. 1). Leonora's mother was therefore aware of the history of unfairly placing black children in special schools as a result of language and cultural difficulties and the effects of racism in society and did not want Leonora to have such a stigma.

I was invited to St. Olaf's School to see Mrs. Calder and Leonora on October 7th. Mrs Calder said that Leonora was a pleasant enough child and seemed to come from a good home, but was one of the worst she had seen in terms of achievement. She said that

Leonora's mother was adamant that Leonora should not see a psychologist in her new school, but Mrs. Calder felt this was unwise as the child was probably special school material.

As I knew she had been away on holiday, when Leonora was brought into the room, I asked her where she had been. She had a bright and cheerful appearance and replied that she had been to Scotland by coach. Mrs. Calder asked her about a relative of Leonora's who lived in Scotland. She asked where in Scotland he came from. Leonora answered "The Orkneys". After pausing with a thoughtful expression, she added "they're islands".

After a similar conversation, Leonora offered to read to me. I discovered that she was not a 'non-starter', but was spasmodic in her reading. When Leonora left the room, I felt some unease, as although her attainment was low, she showed all the commonly accepted signs of quite a reasonable degree of intelligence, however 'unscientific' this perception might be. Remembering a place-name like "The Orkneys" and the fact that they were islands might not be that common in a first year junior child. When I suggested this to Mrs. Calder, she said that this might be so, but the school did not

have a great deal of remedial help and Leonora might fall further behind. When Mrs. Calder showed me Leonora's N.F.E.R. results from her last school, they were low, but in spite of Leonora being described as "one of the worst" at St. Olaf's, having these results, at least two neighbouring school's first year junior classes had at least half their children below these figures (St. Olaf's has very few underachievers). Mrs. Calder said that she liked the child and would allow her to stay, but felt that she might not get the attention she deserved from her teacher.

The responses of both parent and practitioners in this case correlate highly with Tomlinson's findings (Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, pp.100-102), mentioned earlier in Chapter Three. Tacit agreement upon the innate nature of black children's difficulties, the latter therefore being considered irremediable; the headteacher's apparent unwillingness to take on the responsibility of an underachieving child; the eagerness to refer the black child to a special school and the often unwitting complicity in this process by other practitioners, represent a variety of factors whose causes are investigated in this work.

KOFI OGUNA

Mr. James Cummings, an educational guidance officer, asked me to attend a governors' meeting at Tunstall St. C.P. School called for the purpose of making a decision on the expulsion of Kofi Oguna, an 11 year old mixed-race Liverpool Black child.

As my appointment as Advisory Teacher for Racial Equality is known to the black community, Kofi's mother (who is white) had asked for me to be present to ensure fair play and to act as a 'professional friend' (encouraged and preferred by the governing body). I had never met Miss Logan (1) before and had only been briefed on the pending case by Mrs Felton, the head of Tunstall St. on a previous visit.

I attended the hearing and was considered a welcome addition to the meeting by the governors, the head, Miss Logan and the Educational Guidance Officer. Kofi had a recent history of naughtiness (considered by both Miss Logan and his teachers to be possibly linked to his advancing years), a fact

(1) following her divorce from Kofi's father, she had reverted to her maiden name, although Kofi had retained his father's surname.

admitted by his mother. This change of behaviour appears to have coincided with an increasingly negative attitude towards schoolwork and a dependence upon a group of peers of his own colour. Being the head of a one-parent family, Miss Logan had often asked the help of the school in discipline matters and, in the words of Mrs. Felton, the head, "had never been a 'troublesome parent'-you know - always complaining about school". After due consideration, the governors decided to permanently exclude Kofi from the school. The decision was not without a good deal of uncertainty on the part of those present, however.

It was felt by Miss Logan that Mrs. Agwesu, the teacher primarily involved in the incident that led to his exclusion, may not have acted correctly. Kofi's mother said she felt that that Mrs. Agwesu, a black teacher from West Africa had a poor relationship with Liverpool Black children of mixed parentage and other poor black children. Miss Logan alleged that Mrs. Agwesu had said on one occasion to Kofi and other erring children that she felt that they were acting "like niggers" and, if they continued to act in that way, people would say that she too "was a nigger". On the occasion of the incident, Kofi had been told to line up after

playtime. Kofi had grumbled whilst complying and continued to mutter, to the annoyance of Mrs. Agwesu who, losing patience, seized the back of Kofi's neck. Kofi retaliated by pulling away and telling Mrs. Agwesu to let go of him. Miss Logan said that Mrs. Agwesu had said "I'll have to wash my hands in case I get a disease!" Kofi lost control and fled, but Mr. Walker, the deputy head, temporarily retrieved the situation by containing Kofi until the end of the session. When the bell went at the end of the day, however, Kofi ran out of school and kicked the wing of Mrs. Agwesu's car, causing a small dent.

As Mrs. Agwesu's written account of the incident did not drastically differ from that of Kofi or his mother, the governors tacitly accepted the basic facts of this testimony. Two governors commented that Mrs. Agwesu should not have spoken in the way she did to Kofi or his classmates. Mrs. Felton said she felt that Mrs. Agwesu was a good teacher and might conceivably have been trying to counsel the boys she had made the 'niggers' comment to as 'fellow blacks'. She indicated that she did not know for certain.

Mrs. Agwesu's case is interesting, as although she displays some insecurity about her position as the only black teacher in the school, she was clearly not attempting to 'pass' in the manner described above, as she is visibly of 'pure' African descent, the objects of her displeasure, whatever the reason, being - if anything, lighter-skinned -children of mixed parentage. What, then, if her response is not 'passing', is being manifested in this way, and what is the root of her particular feelings about her own position? The derivation of this particular form of response is considered in the following chapter, in which the character type of the 'Uncle Tom' or 'Sambo' - the over-compliant black - is described.

Kofi himself represents a case of a black child on the verge of puberty exhibiting a degree of alienation towards school and society, an increasing inclination towards peers of his own racial group and a lack of interest in learning. If school alienation is common to all adolescents, is race a significant factor for consideration in Kofi's behaviour? Are there additional factors experienced by the black child and do they affect his or her achievement?

There is insufficient evidence presented above to make any fair judgement of each individual case or any of the personalities involved; nor is it the intention to do so, the purpose being rather to offer some brief scenarios to exemplify varying manifestations of the characteristics of the underachieving black child. The case of each of these British-born black children appears to be very different. Although underachievement is common to all, other factors surrounding the circumstances seem, at face value, to have no similarity. Sean is seen as depressed and lonely, whilst Leonora is a happy little girl, with few, at least apparent, manifestations of rejection. Leonora is passive, seeking the friendship of all, whilst Kofi is aggressive and resentful. Other factors seemingly unrelated present themselves. Where did Sean's parent's respective feelings about 'black to black' name-calling originate? What was the historic basis of the varying attitudes of the teachers concerned; the reluctance of the head to accept what may have been seen as a 'problem' child and the apparent insecurity of the black teacher? These questions will be examined in the following chapters to help explain the relationship between black underachievement and home, school and personality factors.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOME AND PARENTAL FACTORS: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The family and home provide children with their first learning environment. Who they are, their position in society and the futures they are likely to experience, are learned through this basic institution; much of the content and flavour of interaction within the family being determined by an individual's ethnic group membership (Clark, 1983, p. ix).

In both the United States and Great Britain a good deal has been written about parental attitudes and home factors amongst black people of the diaspora (Rainwater, 1966; Pettigrew, 1964; Drake, 1965). In recognising the existence of situated parental and home influences as a factor in the educational underachievement of children of Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American descent, historical influences, both from the point of view of the evolution of attitudes and the presence of the legacy of their group history in the world of everyday things, can become submerged in the popular perception of black people, to be replaced by their being attributed with some

seemingly 'natural' assignation to some biological or other invariable characteristic which they are believed to possess (Husband, 1982, p. 19). As individuals and groups do not develop in isolation from the greater society in which they live or, as seen elsewhere in this study, without reference to other groups, a brief reflection upon the historical background of black family attitudes is made in this chapter with this in mind.

In a later chapter (see p. 179), attention is paid to Young and Bagley's understood acceptance (like that of Erikson's-1959b, *passim*) of the correlation between the life-history of the individual and the long-term experience of the group. The authors make a comparison of the onset of adolescence in the individual and the sudden onset of oppression of minority groups, their hypothesis being that both can produce a crisis of identity in the individual or the collective group (Young and Bagley, *op. cit.* p. 46).

As early as 1936, Kurt Lewin realized the importance of the need of Jewish children for a strong social and psychic ground in the face of the growing power of Nazism in Germany. Lewin's instinct was to fall back on a line of defence rooted in the

history of the Jewish people; finding a position of strength in their very oppression and minority group position. During this bleak period in Jewish history, Lewin's recommendations for parents were essentially a blueprint for survival:

"(1) The minority group child has to face the facts of his life.

(2) It is best for these facts to be faced squarely from the start, by involving the child in that knowledge.

(3) This applies under the best and the worst of minority group circumstances, since the conditions can and do change.

(4) The minority parent can thereby set up a situation in which the child has a definite sense of belongingness with other members of the minority situation. This minimises ambiguity, tension and maladjustment.

(5) Minority parents should treat the minority problem not as an individual and private matter but as a social issue. This will prevent feelings of self-accusation and self-pity which can otherwise result from the contemplation of the minority experience.

(6) This sociological approach is especially important for the adolescent minority person. He needs to have a considerable reassurance concerning his belongingness. This is best provided through the interdependence of members of the minority group.

(7) Minority parents should not be afraid of overlapping loyalties. Belonging to more than one overlapping group is natural and necessary for everyone. The real danger lies in standing 'nowhere'-in being a 'marginal man' and 'eternal adolescent'". (Young and Bagley, op. cit. p. 47)

Young and Bagley quote Lewin in the course of making a comparison of the experience of Jewish parents in coping with problems of identity and that of black parents in Britain:

"Black parents are more disadvantaged than Jewish parents in coping with problems of identity in their children. Unlike the Jewish community, they do not have a clearly defined religious basis for their culture, with an ancient tradition as well as literary and intellectual traditions. The base of the black parent is too often one of extreme economic oppression, and the cultural disorganisations imposed by slavery and its aftermath. Yet the tasks of the black parent in establishing an adequate sense of identity in their children are precisely the same as those set out by Lewin". (ibid.)

In questioning how one social group - children of West Indian origin- came to be 'over-referred' to ESN-M schools (mentioned on p. 1 of the Introductory Chapter of this study), Tomlinson stressed that their general poor level of achievement was not necessarily due to factors intrinsic to either individual Afro-Caribbean children or their families. She felt that the administration had largely ignored the concerns of the West Indian community and others of what they see as a substantial social problem, pedagogic ideologies assuming that West Indian and white children are 'equal' in most of the educative processes.

especially over the 'ESN issue', in terms of opportunity (Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 98-99).

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSES TO BLACK UNDERACHIEVEMENT

Tomlinson felt that not only do practitioners fail to recognize the enormous social problems of children of Afro-Caribbean descent, but suggested that popular tacit agreement upon the inferiority of their group plays its part, black children's difficulties being seen as 'natural' and therefore innate (ibid, p.101, after Brittan, 1976). In her study of 1981, questioning the epistemological status of the concept of mild educational subnormality, Tomlinson found that headteachers in her sample perceived West Indian children as possessing natural functional and behavioural handicaps, using such phrases as 'bound' to be slower-it's their personalities'; 'a representative bunch, slow and low-functioning'; 'the usual problems- hyper-active and anti-authority'. She found that although educational psychologists and medical officers were more cautious than headteachers in attributing characteristics to West Indian children, they were even more likely to proceed with assessment on the basis of their beliefs, derived as they may be from popular imagery. Two other indications of the

possible salience of popular imagery and tacit agreement in the ESN issue can be found in Tomlinson's study: a) 'Immigrant' children were found to pass more speedily through 'the system', being placed in ESN-M schools sooner than white children, who waited a mean of 2 years between referral and placement in special schools, whilst 'immigrant' children were placed within 11.4 months, decisions being made more rapidly in their case. b) Functional problems of Asian children were not thought to be natural or intransigent by heads whose perceptions of their problems, such as language, were totally different from those of West Indian children (Tomlinson, *ibid*, pp101-102).

Tomlinson found that generally the professionals were not well informed about issues of race. Some doctors, whilst appearing to feel freer than others to mention racial hostility, accepted the school definition of West Indian children as behaviour problems (*ibid*, p. 103). This observation concurs with Husband's view, supported in this thesis, that popular 'race thinking', as he calls it (after Barzun, 1937), is by no means monolithic as an ideology (see p. 61), any 'national' philosophy, if, indeed, there is one, being decidedly casual.

ranging from indifference to acceptance of any seemingly plausible rhetoric.

Explanations for the over-referral of West Indian children are often similar to those offered for their general underachievement at school (Tomlinson, op. cit. p. 100-101) and tend to resort to 'the fallacy of the single factor', mentioned in the Introductory Chapter. Causes offered include innate factors, such as those observed above by Tomlinson (ibid, after Brittan, 1976), and environmental factors, such as pre-school provision (Swann, op. cit., p. xix), negative experiences at school (Bagley and Coard, 1975), teacher inadequacy (Brittan, op cit; Tomlinson, 1979), overt prejudice and discrimination, and low socio-economic status (Brief Guide to the Swann Report, op. cit., p. 7), under which family and parental influences might be subsumed. Earlier in this study, Driver suggested the latter to be one of the most important causes of school failure , suggesting the need for a major study of both West Indian and English family structures (Driver, 1980, see p. 21).

THE DEFICIT MODEL OF THE BLACK FAMILY

In his study of the family structure of American blacks of the diaspora, Jenkins deplores the insistence of researchers on comparing black families with white, assuming an equality of opportunity and that 'white' is the standard (Jenkins, 1989, p.139, after Korchin, 1980, p.263). Feeling this to be a violation of research and a hindrance to finding suitable explanations, Jenkins cites Nobles (1979), and Triandis, Malpas and Davidson (1973), who referred, relative to empirical research, to a 'pseudoetic orientation': the assumption that the observer's own culturally bound experience is an adequate guide to what is humanly universal (Jenkins, op. cit., p. 139). This observation would appear to be evidence of the residual group history of both groups, a current manifestation of the pseudo-scientific racism of the Victorian era, evolving through such movements as the eugenics to the present day; now far more subtle, but representing the same ethnocentric assumptions under a cloak of science. This is not to say that researchers may be conscious of any racist intent, the intentionality and hiddenness obviously varying with individuals, but to suggest the longevity of ideas implanted not only in

the individual consciousness, but in that of the group.

As a result, black families of the diaspora in the United States, Great Britain and the West Indies, are usually portrayed as one of the main factors in underachievement, the basis of studies of academic issues, motivation, self-concept, and self-esteem (ibid, p. 138); what Jenkins calls "the deficit-deficiency model of the Black family as the explanatory paradigm" (ibid, after White, 1984). Jenkins concurs with the main hypothesis of this study that the greater social context within which a group exists, particularly blacks of the diaspora, is often ignored:

"Black family research has studied, for the most part, the family as if it were isolated from its environmental context. Any explication of the Black family, and its subsequent role and impact on academic achievement of its members, must acknowledge the fact that the family is embedded within a larger social system, that is, a system with reciprocal interactions and relationships that often do not enhance its best interest. To ignore the embeddedness of the Black family within the larger social system and the complexity of the reciprocal relationships serves not only to confound research findings and create unwarranted perturbations but also to blame the victim for his condition" (ibid).

To the recognition of wider societal influences upon the group, this study adds the historical dimension. The image of the black family is a social system that is disorganised, matriarchally dominated, single-family directed and sub-nuclear arranged (ibid, after Bianchi and Farley, 1979; Elkins, 1968; Moynihan, 1965; Rainwater., 1970); an image that has hindered research, institutional responses to the academic achievement, and helped proliferate spurious research about black families (ibid). Two observations present themselves in considering the black family as a factor in the underachievement of black children of the diaspora: a) Observations of the black family have been largely situated studies, investigations made at a given point in time, that is, rather than with a historical overview. b) Secondly, if, as suggested above, research has been conducted upon a narrow basis, however seemingly scientific, to what extent is the image of the black family essentially correct?

In investigating variables connected with home and family factors as causes of underachievement, three main characteristics would appear to present themselves: 1) Parental attitudes to education; 2) Home climate and support; 3) Parental expectations and the degree of parental pressure. Applying the

above observations a) and b) to each of these variables in turn may contribute towards a truer image of the black family by offering the dimensions of time and space (1) as well as breadth and depth of investigation.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

Considering these variables in relation to ethnic minority groups in this country may serve to demonstrate the salience of race in the education of their children insofar as the effects of their personal and group experience is concerned. The extent to which these characteristics are influenced by the society in which the child's family lives raises the question of where, what Butler-Por calls 'the locus of control' really lies (Butler-Por, op. cit., p.19). Quoting Rotter (1954), who saw the personality variable of locus of control as a motivational factor of relevance in understanding the behaviour of the underachiever, Butler-Por describes it as being the degree to which children blame others and 'bad luck' for their school problems rather than

(1) To the historical dimension, the geographical should be added. How black people in America, the West Indies and Africa are perceived in Britain has influenced how black Britons are viewed, as suggested in the Introductory Chapter (see p.4).

as being the result of their own behaviour. Butler-Por describes children who perceive events to be within their own control as being characterised by internal locus of control. External locus of control occurs when a child attributes all that happens to him or her as being beyond their control, the result of chance or luck. Butler-Por cites this as a characteristic of underachievers and compares it with the well-rounded personality of the successful child characterised by internal locus of control (ibid.). But just how accurate and how fair is this analysis when applied to black underachievers? To what degree are not only black children, but black parents, able to control all the variables of their own lives?

Lewin appears to be aware of the fact that children, certainly those of some minority groups, are genuinely not able to control all aspects of their lives contributing to their failure. Two points would appear to present themselves, using Butler-Por's analysis:

a) Far from oppressed minority children blaming others for their inadequacies, Lewin felt the danger to be such children wrongly blaming themselves, suggesting that their parents should treat problems as belonging to society rather than for the individual child to bear alone (see part 5 of Lewin's

recommendations on p. 130)

b) Though some parents or children of minority groups may be tempted to attribute their shortcomings to outside influences, they may not be entirely wrong, given certain groups' history. It may be simply the degree to which they do so which may or may not be erroneous.

Black individuals who exhibit either of these characteristics, manifested as self-hate or feelings of alienation from society are often described as possessing a 'chip on their shoulder'-common parlance in British society. It could be that such individuals are simply intelligent enough to perceive their own situation in Western society, and to use that phrase too easily may be an avoidance of attention to that situation, in the context of this study, within the classroom.

BLACK PARENTS' HISTORICAL RESPONSE TO EDUCATION

Considering the history of black parental attitudes to education may itself go some way towards answering the question of the veracity of the poor image of the black family, but some attention might be paid to the nature of that education. In the early days of the slave trade, two categories of

Africans were to receive what was a decidedly Eurocentric education; those unfortunates that were shipped off to the New World as slaves and the children of those African rulers who, all too often, were responsible for their supply to European traders.

In spite of the European slant of the education offered and often the total ignoring of African culture, many African rulers chose to have their offspring receive a Western education in both Europe and at home. Their motives were often political, trade advantages being gained by a knowledge of European languages and ways, whilst from the European viewpoint, a chance to indoctrinate children who would one day become rulers themselves was not to be missed, each of the European powers vying for the opportunity of securing a foothold upon the African coast (Wadstrom, 1794, Vol.2, reprinted 1968 p. 319). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several black children found their way to Britain—more particularly to England (Williams, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 372-373), and Scotland (Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 57)—for these reasons.

On the West African coast itself, with the growth of an African bourgeoisie, Africans of lesser

rank flocked to trading stations and military outposts to have their children receive a Western education, an influence that was to have a lasting affect upon African culture (Wadstrom, op. cit., p. 121). Following the establishment of the Sierra Leone Colony at the end of the eighteenth century, Africans increasingly expressed their enthusiasm for what was essentially an alien form of education, as evidenced in an essay written at this time on the early Freetown settlement:

"Some of the chiefs who came to Freetown, to the palaver...were carried to the schools, and were much pleased at so novel a sight as 3 or 400 children, at their books. A headman of superior information, began immediately to treat with one of the teachers to go up to the country, to instruct the youth of his town." (ibid).

The majority of africans finding their way to the New World through slavery were from the West African Coast and genetically of the same stock as those who had demonstrated positive attitudes to education since the beginning of black slavery (ibid, p. 16). For slaves, it was effectively the end of their world, every shred of their former culture, including religion and even language, systematically removed for the reasons described in Chapter Two (see p. 91). As a captive population, with the ever-present threat of individual or group rebellion, the

education of slaves was carefully monitored by the planters. Although black slaves quickly mastered the language of their masters and a number of hitherto unknown skills befitting their new lives, their formal education was viewed with suspicion (Woodson, 1968, pp. 1-2)

At this particular point in the group history of black people of the diaspora, the attitude of the slave-owners to the education of blacks, described more fully in Chapter Two, might perhaps be considered more pertinent than that of people of African descent themselves. In Great Britain and her colonies, religion was to play an important part in education, in spite of its decline at the end of the nineteenth century (Sturt, 1968, p,1). Missionaries were thus seen as carrying more than the word of God to black slaves, they were also seen by the planters as purveyors of an education beyond their own immediate control, and as such a potential danger to the plantocracy. In the House of Lords Sessional Papers of 1789, the Committee of Council of Barbados answered the House of Lords inquiry into the instruction of slaves with-

"There are, however, some Negroes, both Slaves and Free, who are Christians, and many of great Truth and Probity; but they owe their Instruction to the Humanity of their

particular Owners, and not to any
professed Missionaries"(House of Lords
Sessional Papers, 25 June 1789, p. 28)

The enslavement of black people effectively debarred them from the means of moral and intellectual improvement. In such West Indian islands as Jamaica, elementary education did not exist prior to Emancipation in 1834, the popular feeling expressed in public papers being that knowledge would render black slaves unfit for the labour to which they were subjected (Board of Education Special Reports, Vol. 4, 1901, p.577). When schools, usually denominational, were made available for newly freed blacks in the West Indies, there is evidence that they showed much the same enthusiasm as their forebears on the West African coast:

"Whilst all these efforts were being made to provide elementary instruction for the people, the people themselves displayed the greatest enthusiasm in availing themselves of it. The numerous schools opened in all parts of the the Island were rapidly filled to repletion with the most eager and docile of pupils. This enthusiasm was justly regarded as most encouraging and hopeful, and it is to be much regretted that in spite of the zeal displayed by the ministers of the various denominations and others, and of the importation of English masters and mistresses, the schools established were for the most part of a very inferior description. The teaching was almost entirely by rote, "sound without sense". This so-called education naturally did little to fit its recipients for the ordinary duties of life..." (ibid, p. 579).

The latter comments are not as innocent as they might appear. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the promotion of the idea of an industrial education for post-Emancipation blacks both in the West Indies and the United States (Board of Education

Special Reports, Vol. 11, passim) led to the establishment of schools whose aim was the production of a largely compliant black population trained for manual labour; what some writers such as D. Spivey, called 'the new slavery' (Spivey, op. cit., passim). There is certainly some evidence to suggest a re-working of former attitudes towards the education of blacks, another example of the phoenix-like character of a group's residual history. In 1901, the Acting Registrar-General of Jamaica commented-

"It seems to me that we are educating the lower classes out of their sphere and unfitting them for thorough good work in the sphere in which they are" (Board of Education Special Reports, Vol. 4, 1901, p.678).

Similarly, a mechanical engineer, Mr. C. P. Lazarus giving evidence at the time complained-

"I know no country where the boys have such liberty and indolence...I would not say that it is the result of education, because it would be foolish. It is due to imperfect education. Our people do not seem to know their position. Every little fellow thinks he is as good as anyone else because he can read and write" (ibid, pp.678-679).

The Assistant Bishop of Jamaica, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Douet, went some way to defending the right of Jamaican blacks to a formal academic education when he cited the complaint of one witness claiming that education was having bad effects as being much exaggerated:

"As one witness has stated...many people of the labouring class do not encourage their children to work in their grounds. They prefer them to sit in the house and read their lessons. I know a good many people who are bringing up their children with what they call an education, and they think it derogatory to send them to the soil. They look upon them as ladies and gentlemen, and they call them 'Massa' and 'Missy'. It is perfectly true that they spoil their children utterly. We are passing through a transitional state. When the people begin to get out of their ignorant state and into a higher state of civilisation, they do not want to work on the soil. I think, therefore, we must make allowances for our people on that point. They think they can better themselves by being clerks and by using their fingers in the way of penmanship" (ibid, p.679),

BLACK CHILDRENS' EARLY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Although adolescence may be the crisis period, the black child's feelings of inferiority begin at an early age. Young and Bagley point to the lack of attention paid to measuring the self-concept of younger children (see p. 285), but those studies that do exist (Goodman, 1964; Kozol, 1967; Williams, et al., 1975; Williams, et al., 1976; Jackson, 1979) have offered a clear picture of the origins of both negative (active and passive) and positive types of foreclosure; as described in Chapter Five. Pettigrew says...

"Racial recognition in both white and Negro children appears by the third year and rapidly sharpens each year thereafter. But of special significance is the tendency in all these studies for Negro children to prefer white skin. They are usually slower to make racial distinctions, frequently choose white dolls and white friends, and often either identify themselves as white or show a tense reluctance over "admitting" that they are Negro. Moreover, young children of both races soon learn to assign realistically poorer houses and less desirable roles to the Negro dolls. This early "mark of oppression" is well illustrated in the behaviour of a small Negro boy in Lynchburg, Virginia. When asked (Morland, 1958, p. 137) if he were white or colored, he hung his head, hesitated, then murmured softly, "I guess I'se kinda colored" (Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 15).

Proshansky and Newton stressed the importance of children's earliest environment, particularly the contribution of family towards the development of feelings about themselves (Proshansky and Newton, 1973, passim, also cited in Young and Bagley, op. cit, p. 53). Amongst American Blacks, the general milieu of anger, resentment and hopelessness were seen by Proshansky and Newton as hindering positive feelings about the self. Though it was possible for some black parents to use the child for their own ego enhancement, the Ausubels pointed out that many black parents cushioned the consequences of membership of a stigmatised minority group, at least in part, by a

foundation of intrinsic self-esteem established in their own homes (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 54, after Ausubel and Ausubel, 1958).

Jenkins suggests that the Black family of the diaspora is, in fact, like any other family in its aspirations. It is unlike any other family, however, in its unique status imposed by the deep structure of the social system (Jenkins' model being the American social system)(Jenkins, op. cit., p. 139), bearing in mind the residual group factor, still enduring, of the racial hierarchy. The uniqueness of the black family should in no way imply that other ethnic minority groups do not experience what may be enormous pressures in the greater society in which they live. In the previous chapter the possibility of a stronger psychological stance of Asian pupils, based on more secure traditions, was briefly discussed as a contributory influence to their comparative academic success. S. Hazareesingh, an Asian writer, points out that the situation of Asian pupils living in this country is not even remotely ideal, however, underlining the importance of the parent's role in a way that supports Lewin's theory (see p. 130) whilst acknowledging a proud cultural heritage:

"Observations of the experiences of young children can... be a rich

source of information about the concrete ways in which racist influences affect the developing child's sense of self, its acquisition of attitudes and values, concepts and skills. For about the first three years we, as parents, shape the environment in which our children's early learning takes place. This is not merely a question of providing stimulating experience, that will enhance development, but more crucially of imparting 'meanings' that are specific to our culture and that provide the child with a secure and reassuring inner world, creating the foundations for a positive self-identity (Hazareesingh, 1986, p. 4).

The British Asian child learns about its immediate environment through its sensory faculties; its parent's features and skin colour, the smell and taste of Indian foods, Indian film music, the colours and design of traditional costume, coconut oil and joss-sticks; in short a world of shared meanings in a loving and secure environment. It is when the Asian child takes its first faltering steps into nursery school, its first direct experience of mainstream society, that the situation changes (ibid):

"From the moment when his/her name is denatured and distorted, the South Asian child is confronted with his/her cultural rejection. He faces the silence of his language, the absence of sounds, smells, images and objects which had hitherto defined his world. And it is an uncomprehending and damaging silence which insidiously saps self-confidence and confuses self-identity" (ibid).

The Liverpool researcher, Irene Loh Lynn, suggests that for children of the Liverpool Chinese community, adjusting to the British education system is fraught with as many difficulties as experienced by South Asian children (Lynn, 1982, *passim*).

Traditional attitudes shown to education by both Chinese parents and children may prevent ease of assimilation; the Chinese concept of education differing considerably from the more liberal British tradition of freedom and self-expression. In the British education system, play is seen as an important part of the learning process, particularly in the infant stage, whilst to Chinese eyes the study of books and writing is preferred. Some British school activities, such as sand-play or model-making, may seem irrelevant when compared with children's education in Hong Kong (1) where even very young children may receive homework assignments (*ibid*, p. 29).

Not only first, but second generation Chinese children may be experiencing culture shock upon

(1). Most 'Chinese' immigration to Great Britain being from the British colony, rather than the Chinese mainland (Lynn, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

entering school in Britain. Teachers in such settlements as Liverpool, noting that amongst the Chinese community there seems to be a lack of parental involvement in school life, have sometimes assumed this to be due to lack of English on the part of Chinese parents. Lynn suggests that, although some first generation Chinese parents may not feel confident about their linguistic abilities when meeting their children's teachers, the reason for parental non-involvement may be cultural; namely because, drawing upon their own traditions and their own traditions and experience, they believe and trust that teachers and schools generally will guide their children entirely, particularly in academic matters (ibid, p.32).

Another aspect of Chinese parental attitudes to education is that for some Chinese children the working day does not always end at 4 o'clock. In her study, Lynn found Chinese children absent from school were usually so because of family commitments rather than the sort of truancy found amongst English children. If Chinese children are away from school to help in the family business, which they may intend to pursue upon leaving school, the cultural dilemma arises: has the child (as Lynn felt that Chinese parents often feel) had 'enough' schooling at a given

point? Helping in the family business is an important contribution to the good of the family and when not involved in this way Chinese children are expected to do their homework rather than play with other children (ibid, p. 33).

In spite of the varying parental attitudes of racial or, indeed, national groups, they all possess one common factor. In the Introductory Chapter, Driver's call for an investigation into the West Indian family structure (see p. 21) was questioned owing to its reliance upon what Parekh called the 'fallacy of the single factor' to explain lack of academic success. Five years later, the Swann Report was also shown to have foundered in its search for situated causes of 'West Indian' underachievement (see p. 22), leaving many questions unanswered. Parental attitudes as a factor are characterised by the fact that the responses of all groups can clearly be seen to be rooted in their respective group biographies and exhibit the effects of their residual group histories in varying degrees. Thus, by eliminating the majority of situated causes perceived as possible, the Swann Commission, far from failing to come to a satisfactory conclusion in their search for West Indian underachievement, may have helped isolate another valuable factor, namely that all the

causes cannot be found in the present, the long-term experience and traditions of ethnic groups, or the destruction of those traditions, playing their part.

THE BLACK FAMILY STRUCTURE

One of the most often-cited examples of the what Jenkins calls 'the 'deficit/deficiency' model of the black family is that of the absentee-father in lower socioeconomic black families (Rainwater, 1966, 1970; Austin, 1978; Carter, 1980; Dawson, 1981). Two questions might be asked: On the understanding that, as seen above, some seemingly scientific studies may have been based upon the researcher's beliefs- that is upon popular tacit agreement- if father absenteeism is common amongst black families of the diaspora, what set of circumstances accounts for this phenomenon? Secondly, if single-parent, female-headed families are examined against Jenkins' complaint that studies of the black family are often narrow and ethnocentric in character, how true is any negative influence of this situation upon children's education?

Once again, the roots of the often-cited paternal absenteeism may lie in the group biography of black people of the diaspora. During the period of

slavery, the likelihood of slave families keeping together was often poor, slave-owners, as hard-headed businessmen disapproving of circumstances, such as wills, causing the family to be kept together. The incidence of couples being parted and children being sold away from their mothers were common, families frequently being listed in different lots in the dealer's prospectus (Furnas, 1956, pp. 192-193):

"The slave family experienced great difficulty in maintaining itself on a stable basis in a system where so little opportunity for the expression of the slave was possible. Too seldom did the owner recognize the slave family as an institution worthy of respect, and frequently the blind forces inherent in the system operated to destroy it. Courtship and the normal relationships preliminary to marriage seldom existed. Only when the owner manifested some real interest in the religious and moral development of his slaves was there an effort to establish the slave family on a stable basis...the slave mother did what she could to stabilize her family and to keep them together. They fiercely resisted the division by sale." (Franklin, 1956, pp. 201-202).

Herbert G. Gutman makes a fierce attack upon the book 'Time on the Cross' by R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman (Fogel and Engerman, 19), whilst at the same time offering a cautionary word to historical researchers of the black family:

"(Fogel and Engerman) tell us nothing about the process by which "African family forms" become Afro-American families as a consequence of the

interaction between changing slave beliefs and planter objectives and needs. They assume that "Africans did not know "the nuclear form", never define what they mean by "the nuclear form", and fail to make the most essential distinctions, such as the difference between a "nuclear Family" and a "nuclear household"...Their argument shifts, for example, from the "slave family" to the "black family". The two are not the same. They never define "the African heritage of blacks". What did that mean in 1720? 1770? 1840? 1860?" (Gutman, 1975, p. 91)

Gutman agrees with Furnas and Franklin about the locus of control of the black family, whilst acknowledging its historicity in spite of his perception of the difficulties of establishing what the linkage between the African family (the African continent having many forms); the slave family; that of the post-slavery migrant black worker and the modern black family, might be:

"Slave familial behaviour and domestic and domestic arrangements-like slave work habits-are no more than a set of responses to rational planter (or owner) economic stimuli...It is well known that the family-slave or free-transmits values from generation to generation. But these values are determined elsewhere than the family." (ibid, p. 88)

Gutman has a point in making the distinction between the the nuclear family and the nuclear household. In the absence of the slave father, the slave mother often assumed a matriarchal role, as

observed above by Franklin, a role certainly suggestive of the African matriarchal roots of the black family. Modern researchers have begun to view the non-nuclear family in a different light, suggesting that some single-parent families may be able to provide for the healthy psychosocial development of children. Lamb stresses the importance of viewing the family as a unit operating within society (Lamb, 1982, p.181). Citing an earlier work with Easterbrooks (Lamb and Easterbrooks, 1981), he identifies three types of influence upon parental sensitivity:

"First of all, there are the enduring dispositions, values and traits of the individual. Second, there are the characteristics of the child and the way these are perceived by the parent. Finally, there is the social context in which the parents, and more broadly the families, are embedded. Needless to say, these are interrelated sources of influence, and this interrelatedness complicates attempts to investigate explanatory models...I am continually reminded of the cultural relativity of many of the issues we study. There are inter- as well as intracultural- differences in value of parenthood and value of work, for example, just as the arrangements for which support is important vary from culture to culture. (In the United States, it is the woman's attempt to combine working and mothering that is the issue, whereas in Sweden, it is the man's willingness to take leave in order to care for the new baby.) In the United States married couples are still expected to become parents, whereas in Sweden, the decision to have a baby must be justified and defended. It is crucial

that we study diverse cultures in our attempts to understand parenting and its influence on infant development." (ibid, pp. 181-185)

Lamb clearly recognizes the error of pursuing the 'single factor' in finding solutions too closely, whilst supporting the idea that the ideal (indeed, the normal, if it exists) family can vary from culture to culture. Does the variance in family structure from group to group, even within national boundaries, account for the differing levels of achievement of groups, however? Jenkins clearly believes that the family structure is by no means an inevitable determinant of academic performance. The pejorative nature of literature about the single-parent household has led to a popular tacit agreement upon what has come to be seen as its inherent inferiority and the source of society's ills, including delinquency, poor self-concept and sub-standard scholastic performance (Jenkins, op. cit., p. 143). Jenkins deplores the deficit in literature balancing the view that arrangements other than the nuclear family are a sign of instability, citing Carter (1975), Wilkinson & O'Connor (1977), and Fields (1981), who, whilst not directing their attention to academic achievement specifically, examined the effects of single-parent homes that are stable upon the development of self-concept in black

children. The emphasis of these studies was to show the strengths of the female-headed household, indicating their effectiveness as family units that do not necessarily produce problems of delinquency, poverty and mental health (Jenkins, *ibid*).

Jenkins also cites Lee (1984), who identified eight variables contributing to the academic success of rural black adolescents. Although not identical to Lewin's guidelines for parents (see p. 130 above), it would seem that some common threads can be detected in spite of the fact that viable models are to be found that are not monolithic in their conformity to any single norm:

"(a) closely knit family structure, (b) high degree of parental control, (c) moderate to high degree of family openness, (d) high degree of educational encouragement, (e) strong family values, (f) good relationships with sibling role models, (g) extended family members, and (h) sense of responsibility fostered by required chores." (*ibid*, p. 141, after Lee, 1984)

The fact that single-parent families can produce academically successful children, Jenkins' view being well supported by Clark who made an extensive study of 10 black families varying in structure (Clark, 1983), should not imply that many do not adversely influence their children's school

performance. In this chapter, the influence of the black family has been briefly examined alongside the degree of control those families may, or not, have, upon their own circumstances. The residual effects of the group history of black people of the diaspora are multiple and complex, however. Whilst the structure of black families has been shaped by their group history, other situated circumstances derived from their unique history should be taken into account alongside parental attitudes and family support, also relating to the locus of control over events in their own lives. Whilst some lower-economic single-parent families might well produce children whose academic performance is low, as suggested above, poor parental attitudes are by no means inevitably associated with this particular family arrangement. Other factors, just as historic to the black family of the diaspora, undoubtedly pay their part. The limited resources of the single-parent family, whose circumstances are often associated with poverty have, Jenkins felt, had insufficient attention paid to them by investigators of the black family (Jenkins, op cit p. 143). The historic association of the black family of the diaspora with poverty has been broken to some degree by the advent of a small, but nevertheless rising black bourgeoisie in Britain and certainly in the United States and the West Indies during this

century. Studies of the academic performance of single-parent families amongst these middle-class groups may throw some light upon the suggestion of any inevitable failing of the arrangement.

If professional investigations are suspect as suggested, the negative stereotype of the unstable black family, keenly contested by some modern black researchers, may also be suspect. The offence felt at the suggestion by many researchers of the black family that the single-parent, disorientated family is the norm for black people is justifiable, for black people of the dispersal have not been, as Jenkins puts it, "...entirely free to manipulate the essential components of life to the same degree as their white counterparts" (ibid, p. 139) and as such, for the best part, have been studied by external agents, the dominant society, over whom they have no control. White researchers are not as free as it would seem, however. Whilst power might reside with their group, their vision and judgement, if Tomlinson's view is accepted, is shaped by social and political forces originating within their own group history, as seen in Chapter One.

Litwack acknowledges the disruption of the black slave family, but paints a different picture

than those who would offer the single parent family as the norm for the black family, even during the period of slavery

"Although some slave families were disrupted, by irreparable psychic damage if not by sale, what seems so remarkable is that most of them endured the experience of bondage. On most plantations and farms, the lives of the slaves-field hands, house servants, and artisans alike-revolved around family units, the two-parent household predominated, and the black husband and father exerted in his own way the dominant influence in that household." (Litwack, 1979, p. 238)

In the above quotation, Litwack touches upon another facet of the experience of black families. It has been suggested above that other factors play their part in the shaping of the black family. Not only sale caused the disruption of the black family during the period of slavery. The historic migration westward also separated spouses, and indeed children, belonging to different owners (Gutman stresses that this may be more common than is popularly thought-Gutman, op. cit., p. 105). A more enduring factor surviving to the present day is, as suggested above by Litwack, the psychological damage brought about by long-term oppression. The break-up of families resulting from black husbands feeling that they have not lived up to their sex-role expectations of providing for their families adequately, or how they

would like, as a result of difficulties in finding employment or protecting them from prejudice, has yet to be quantified in Britain. Indeed, research into the mental health of British blacks as a result of racism is still in its infancy, as suggested in Chapter Two.

In considering the shaping of the black family by the group biography of black people of the diaspora and the influence of that history upon the academic achievement of black British children, the most surprising fact, to repeat Litwack's comment is that the black family, throughout the period of slavery and its aftermath, has historically been able, as Jenkins put it-

"...to design a family structure that has contributed to the accomplishments and survival of its members in spite of the social system; that is, the family has demonstrated an unparalleled resiliency in the face of all the obstacles strewn in its pathway." (Jenkins, op cit pp.139-140)

Although Jewish people have endured a history of oppression within Western society even longer than that of black people, it was the onset of a particular crisis, a nadir in that experience, that prompted Kurt Lewin to respond with his particular code of survival. Finding a comparative positive

response to the negative experience of black people may not have an exact parallel to that prescribed by Lewin, but an understanding of the black response to their own situation may have important implications for the teacher of children of Afro-Caribbean descent in Great Britain. The history of black people of the diaspora, through slavery and its aftermath, is signposted by a progression of positive responses to oppression. The rise of Pan-Africanism at the end of the nineteenth century was a response not dissimilar to Lewin's suggestion that groups experiencing oppression should seek common cause with their fellows in a positive response to a negative situation. Other black movements, such as the 'back to Africa' philosophy of the Rastafarian movement of the early twentieth century, served a similar, at least local, function for West Indians, but it was not until the rise of the black freedom movement in the U.S.A. during the 1950s, coinciding as it did with increased immigration from the West Indies to Britain, that any cohesive notion of 'black pride'; common to all people of African descent, could be detected. Although not a specific response to a particularly heightened period of crisis in what has been a generally troubled history, this positive black movement is certainly comparable with Lewin's guidelines.

THE GROUP RESPONSE OF BLACK PEOPLE OF THE DIASPORA

In their article, Young and Bagley seek a comparison between studies of identity in lower class black adolescents in U.S.A. and the psychosocial development of black youth in deprived inner cities in Britain (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 48). Quoting Coopersmith (Coopersmith 1975), the authors suggest that the black freedom movement in U.S.A. has had a positive effect upon how black adolescents see themselves:

"...in some respects the situation in Britain with regard to black identity is similar to the American situation 15 or 20 years ago. Blacks in Britain do not have a united movement which emphasises black pride and achievement, and there is no clearly successful black middle class. Blacks in Britain suffer severe racial discrimination, especially in access to employment and housing (McIntosh and Smith, 1974), and the problem seems to be particularly severe among black school-leavers, amongst whom the employment rate is as much as four times that in white school-leavers. Whether recent movements of an aggressive and semi-political nature in which young blacks take a leading role (as in Bristol and Notting Hill) represent a reversal of this trend toward self-devaluation remains to be seen." (ibid).

Tomlinson has been seen to have complained earlier of professionals in Great Britain, even those in the field of education, proceeding upon judgements

coloured by social and political orientations. This is supported by Jenkins, who felt this to be a serious hindrance to any advance in understanding the black family in the United States. As explained in the Introductory Chapter of this study, blacks of the U.S.A., the West Indies and settled immigrants of Afro-Caribbean descent in Great Britain share, in black bondage; a common heritage. Although, as mentioned in Chapter One, Asians share all the situated prejudice of Afro-Caribbeans, as well as a history of colonial oppression, the nature their group biography differs, as, indeed, does that of other immigrant groups in Britain, including the Chinese, Cypriot and Jewish communities. In this study it is suggested that the cause of underachievement in children of the African dispersal lies not in any single factor, but is multicausal, permeating every aspect of their lives. Not only are contributory factors to be found at school, during their leisure activities, in the lack of positive stimuli in the physical environment in which they live, as seen in the following chapters, but in the deeper historical foundation of the black family and the effects of that historical experience upon situated factors in the child's home life, such as parental unemployment, and family structures that, as seen above, although they may not always have as

negative an effect upon the development of the black child as popular imagery would suggest, are nevertheless characterised by poverty.

If elements in the group biography of black people are just as important as those in the black child's personal life history, it might be asked to what extent are these taken into consideration by those professionals, including teachers, mentioned earlier by Tomlinson as basing their judgments concerning the black child's performance at school upon common assumptions originating in common parlance and tacit popular agreement, however seemingly scientific? During the 1950s and 60s, those 'winds of change' that had begun to sweep British colonies desiring independence from British rule were also sweeping the U.S.A. in the form of the above mentioned black freedom movement. This positive group response to a hitherto negative self perception was to spread to all parts of the black diaspora and evidence of this reappraisal in black consciousness in British schools was certainly to be found at this time. The 1960s were also the period of maximum immigration to Great Britain by West Indians with all the attendant difficulties of over-referral mentioned earlier. The prevalent philosophy in education at this time was assimilationist; all the

West Indian child's problems being cured, it was thought, by their acceptance of British, or more particularly English, culture; their abandonment of dialect, and any peculiarities of religion that did not conform to the British norm. By the end of the 1960s, however, some concessions had been made to these aspects of the experience of the immigrant child in educational circles. The result was the 'multicultural' phase in education, to be superseded by the 'anti-racist' phase, which was intended to combat racism directly and specifically, rather than paying what was thought to be merely tokenistic lip-service to other cultures in the form of amateurish re-enactions of festivals in the classroom. Throughout all these progressively improving phases, insofar as recognition of the situation of the black British pupil is concerned, perceptions of the solutions to underachievement have remained firmly rooted in situated causes; based on contemporary circumstances rather than seeking a fuller understanding of cause and effect. Indeed, professionals may not be studying causes of prevailing circumstances as such, but may be merely contemplating effects, bewildered by ignorance of their history. This is particularly true of the black family and may hinder a truer picture of any strengths or weaknesses, be they individual, national

(British blacks being now part of British society),
or relating to all blacks of the dispersal, linked by
a common heritage.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPING CHILD AT THE INTERSECTION OF SCHOOL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Three interdependent variables relating to those aspects of a child's education directly concerning the school situation can be identified as a) Attitudinal factors, b) Teacher variables and c) Curriculum and teaching methods (Butler-Por, op. cit., p. 24).

Although aspects of the child's education outside the confines of the classroom are recognised elsewhere throughout this study, the school undoubtedly plays a significant role in shaping and enhancing the academic development of its pupils. The role is particularly important within the learning situation in fulfilling children's needs which may differ in some cases to the extent of creating the necessity to undo the harm done by what is described later as the 'out of school' environment (see Chapter Five).

In the course of a child's school life, the difficulties encountered during the maturational

phase of adolescence are added to existing variables; a circumstance investigated in this chapter.

Young and Bagley emphasise Erikson's view that both positive and negative elements are contained within the psychosocial identity of the individual. During the child's development, reward and punishment, parental example and the community's typology, operate as factors in the development of identity, many important components of which tend to be resolved, if at all, around this time (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 49). Failure to do so, whether for societal or personal reasons, may result in 'identity confusion'. The authors define the latter as being uncertainty about the role one is playing in the scheme of life, the resolution of this 'identity crisis', they suggest, being the child's maturity and newly acquired ability as an adolescent to think abstractly, as represented by the 'formal operations' stage of Piaget's schemes of cognitive development.

Young and Bagley nevertheless acknowledge that some individuals never reach Piaget's formal operations stage. The resolution of adolescent identity crisis involves emotional issues which may

be hidden in the subconscious (ibid.). For most individuals, adolescence is a time of crisis, but for the child of Afro-Caribbean descent, the legacy of history is ever-present, hindering him or her in acquiring "the necessities with which to build an adequate "life history" (see p. 180) to combat their surrounding milieu" (ibid.) and therefore an additional factor. Mussen et al. point out, however, that adolescence is not necessarily always a period of 'storm and stress' (Mussen et al., 1966, p. 505), the inevitable consequence of a phase in human maturity. Although the physiological changes of puberty are universal, these need not be characterised by conflict. Mussen, et al. use anthropological evidence to support this view, citing Samoan society, in which adolescence is viewed as a time of great happiness (ibid., p. 506, after Benedict, 1934). In trying to explain this phenomenon . complicated by the fact that some societies do experience a period of stressful adjustment comparable with adolescence but not necessarily coinciding with biological changes, Mussen et al., conclude logically that the number and extent of the demands made upon adolescents in Western society would seem to be also the result of cultural differences (ibid.).

If, as suggested above, the stresses experienced by adolescents in Western culture are also societal rather than being exclusively maturational, it then follows that particular groups within society may also differ in levels of adolescent stress. Cashmore and Troyna suggest that any special level of stress peculiar to young blacks may be hidden to a large degree by the common experience of adolescent crisis in, it would seem if we accept the comments of Mussen et al., Western society:

"The fact that young blacks generally developed attitudes, values, stances, styles of life that can be described as running counter to dominant culture has not intrigued some commentators overly. One of the reasons for this being so is that they see the type of difficulties posed by black youths as generational, as residing in the "youth" as against the "black". They seem problematic because they are young and all children go through stages of maturation when they grow tense with their parents and dissatisfied with the wider society, even uncomfortable with their own sense of identity." (Cashmore and Troyna, 1982, p. 25)

Young and Bagley use the analyses of Marcia, Erikson and Hauser to describe states inherent in adolescence. Marcia took Erikson's theory of 'ego identity' and 'identity diffusion', considering them to be polar outcomes of the hypothesised

psychosocial crisis occurring in late adolescence, a stage further, adding two other intermediate stages, 'identity moratorium' and 'identity foreclosure'. Marcia's version of Erikson's 'ego identity', the 'identity achievement' individual, saw the latter as having passed through a crisis period in adolescence successfully and is now committed to an occupation and ideology. On the other hand, the 'identity diffusion' individual, who may not have necessarily have experienced a crisis, was seen as one who is indecisive, lacking in commitment and showing little concern for any course in life. Marcia's 'moratorium individual' is described as, although being in a crisis period, having very vague commitments, but can be distinguished from the 'diffusion' by at least the appearance of an active struggle; a bewildered soul, preoccupied with unresolved issues, attempting to find a balance between his or her own capabilities, parent's wishes and society's demands (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 50). Of these four adolescent states, identity foreclosure as it relates to black adolescents is of particular interest:

"Erikson's analysis of 'identity foreclosure' suggests an arrest in ego development which assumes a progression through time of a differentiation of parts' (Erikson

1959 a) (1). The pre-adolescent forms of ego identity are found in the latency period and it is during this time that the child is concerned about what Erikson calls 'competence' (1959a). For the development of competence, there should have been successful ego development in the periods preceding the latency stage, together with a facilitating environment within the latency period. Successful passage of these requirements leads to the emergence of 'a sense of industry' (Erikson, 1955) (2). There is thus a sense of 'anticipation of achievement' in the next stage of ego development - adolescence.

If there is failure in this expectation of fulfilment the child may emerge with a sense of 'inadequacy and inferiority'. Associated with this failure, the child develops what is known as 'identity foreclosure', a 'premature interruption in the adolescent task of identity formation.' (Hauser, 1971) (3). (ibid.)

Mindful of the historical experience of blacks of the diaspora, the two ways in which this 'interruption' can be expressed are by no means unfamiliar when considering the situation of

(1) Young and Bagley are referring to Erikson's article, "Growth and Crisis of the Healthy Personality" in Psychological Issues, 1, p. 53.

(2) Young the Bagley's reference is Erikson's article "Ego Identity and Psychological Moratorium" in Witmer, H. (ed.) New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency, Washinton DC: US Government Printing Office.

(3) This reference is included in the bibliography.

British black pupils. 'Identity foreclosure' expressed negatively is when individuals feel that they are never likely to be any good; a sense of inferiority. What Young and Bagley term the positive form of identity foreclosure, after their sources, can be just as destructive to the black child as the negative form. The so-called positive form is when the developing child seeks, perhaps, (the analogy used by Young and Bagley) to please or identify with a particular teacher, becoming 'teacher's pet' (1) (ibid.):

"...his sense of identity can be prematurely fixed on being nothing but a good little worker or a good little helper, which may not be all he could be". (ibid., after Hauser, 1971, p. 120)

Hauser found the commonest form of foreclosure exhibited by American blacks to be the negative form, schools and jobs being occasions in which the social system limited their choice (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 50). An example of negative foreclosure failure at school is exhibited in the

(1) Leonora's case (see Chapter Four) is strongly indicative of this particular reaction, with the same outcome, namely underachievement.

statement of a black youth to Melanie Phillips, a researcher:

"When your schoolings gone wrong, there's no jobs because the firm down the road's chucked out all its blacks and you're on the streets, then thieving's the only way you can survive." (Cashmore and Troyna, op. cit., p. 31)

'Thieving' and other forms of anti-social behaviour may be comparatively positive, however reprehensible, in the sense that it still portrays an individual 'fighting back'; whose 'spirit' has not yet been broken. Negative foreclosure often takes other forms in which the subjects are more passive, accepting their inferiority quietly, anxious to make as few waves as possible to avoid attention.

Fear of Success

Young and Bagley described the negative form of identity foreclosure in Erikson's terms reinforced by Hauser's later interpretation:

"Erikson argued that the individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority, and who is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, is likely to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with his own previously developed identity."

(Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 51,
after Erikson, 1955, p. 155)

Hauser saw the individual as making a total set of identifications, in the case of the minority group individual, the negative image held by the dominant culture of the group to which the subject belongs. This perverse identification with the values of the despised may lead to the individual considering him -or herself- to be undesirable, a self-hate described by Erikson as "a total commitment to role fixation" (ibid., p. 51, after Erikson, 1968).

Butler-Por draws attention to the rather paradoxical fear of success (1) exhibited by some children, suggesting that the child's inability to fulfil conflicting needs may result in underachievement (Butler-Por, op. cit., pp. 22-23). Although Butler-Por chooses the example of gender to demonstrate how social and cultural demands can conflict seriously with the need and ability of some girls to attain high achievement, it is not difficult to transpose this negative societal and cultural influence to black children living in a

(1) One of the personality characteristics associated with scholastic underachievement in Chapter Two.

ghetto situation in Western society. For such children, success is unusual in their own closed society and perversely undesirable, not only from the point of view of rejection by the less successful, and possibly envious, majority in their own neighbourhood, but from fear of not conforming to the negative image 'others', in this case the dominant group in society, hold of them; a common situation for adolescent peer groups (Hauser, op. cit., p. 4). Some black children may be fearful of losing what they call their 'street credibility'; the companionship of their fellows, being branded instead as an 'Uncle Tom' pandering to the values of white society (1) (described in the following pages as being suggestive of positive foreclosure). Adding the exemplar of gender drawn by Butler-Por, if this view is accepted, black female children might well be the most susceptible to these particular influences.

Hauser draws attention to the distinction between self-hate and low self-esteem. The individual expressing self-hate may feel "I don't

(1) Amongst British blacks, in Liverpool particularly, this American character type is known as a 'choc-ice' or 'coconut'; that is, brown on the outside, but white on the inside!

deserve; I am so despicable that I'm not worthy of this or any opportunity" (ibid.), whilst the individual experiencing low self-esteem may feel "I'm not good enough; I'm lacking" (ibid.). Hauser felt that both these states lead in the same direction of self-depreciation and devaluation and are largely a question of degree. He believed, like Erikson, that guilt can result in the individual being restricted in attaining his true capacities (Erikson, 1968) and that an understanding of these states and, it should be added, their historical derivation is important in understanding the developing black child (1).

Adolescence and Attitudinal Factors

Earlier, Young and Bagley are shown to have compared adolescence with the effects of the sudden oppression of minority groups as an analogy supporting Erikson's belief in the interaction between the past and future in reference to human aspirations:

"Erikson indicates that identity development has two complementing facts [1] a development stage in the life of the individual. [2] a period

(1) Sean Baker represents an extreme case of this type of self-hatred; its affect upon his academic achievement having been noted by his teachers (see Chapter Four).

in history (i.e. of the wider culture). There is thus a complementary of what he calls 'history' and 'life history'. The development of psychological identity is not feasible (according to Erikson) before the beginning of adolescence (just as it is not dispensable after adolescence). This is a time when, in the life of the individual, there is a sense of 'identity versus role diffusion', 'need for esteem' (Maslow's theory) and a resistance to stereotyped views of the self in establishing one's own identity and feelings of self worth." (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 48)

To Erikson, adolescence, a time of the onset of sexual maturity and the search for partners in life, was also a period when the maturing individual envisages a career "within a historical perspective - all idiosyncratic developments which must fuse with each other in a sense of sameness and continuity" (Erikson, 1965, pp. 56-58, as quoted in Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 48). For British black children, the search for a career aiding them to envisage their own historic position within British society is fraught with difficulty. The historic experience of the old Liverpool Black community is characterised by their low position in the local economy (Lorimer, op. cit., p. 41). This position once typified by low pay, long hours and bad conditions has over a number of recent decades

of falling job opportunities generally been replaced with a consistently high level of unemployment (Ben-Tovim et al, 1980, p. 10).

In 1971, the census figures for Economically Active Males Seeking Employment stood at 4.2% in Great Britain, 9.1% in Liverpool, and, in the main area of black settlement, 19.0% in Granby, 20.0% in Abercromby/Princes Park, and 22% for council blocks in Liverpool 8 (1). Ben-Tovim et al suggested that the 1980 figures given by the Local Planning Department for unskilled unemployment in Abercromby/Princes Park may be an underestimate. They give an estimate of 70% unemployment, but even if accepted, Ben-Tovim felt that the situation for black people may be worse on average owing to the structures of racial discrimination and disadvantage (ibid., p. 11).

Following the 1971 census figures, the number of unemployed young people in Liverpool almost doubled by 1973. The Inner Area Study's Edge Hill

(1) These three figures represent different, overlapping, component parts of the black settlement area, but this does not significantly alter the general impression of black unemployment

school leavers survey in 1976 claimed that 60% of black 18 year olds were out of work, the black population of Liverpool being traditionally one of the first sections of the labour market to be affected in time of economic stress (ibid., pp. 11-12).

One of the problems of the black school leaver, or indeed, those children still at school observing the fate of those in whose steps they are likely to follow, is that industry and effort may rarely seem to be rewarded. In 1980, K. Roberts of the University of Liverpool carried out a survey of school leavers in the Granby Triangle area. Of the 16-20 year-olds interviewed, the following figures revealed -

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Weekly visits to local Job Centre & Careers Service	68%	55%
Use of Advertisements in job hunting	52%	27%
Willingness to move out of Liverpool to find a job (ibid., p. 14)	38%	24%

What is disturbing about these figures is that, as Ben-Tovim et al point out, a common accusation made against unemployed black youth is

their reluctance to seek jobs available and use statutory services (ibid.). This negative opinion held by would-be employers, suggested as being wrong by Roberts' figures, is very much an incidence of the part played by the residual group history of blacks of the diaspora in contemporary imagery. In a more recent publication, Roberts shows that black youths still encounter great difficulties in finding employment (Roberts, 1992, passim), a finding corroborated by the Gifford Inquiry of 1989 into the situation of Liverpool Blacks relating to housing, employment, education and other aspects of daily life (Gifford, 1989, passim). The notion of laziness as a trait in people of African descent has its origin in the language of justification for black slavery. In 1791, Thomas Atwood, a chief judge of Dominica, complained -

"Idleness is so very predominant in negroes, and their dislike of labour is so great that it is very difficult to make them work: it is sometimes absolutely necessary to have recourse to measures that appear cruel, in order to oblige them to labour" (Fryer, op. cit., p. 164, after Atwood, 1791)

It is by no means difficult to trace the history of this particular allegation as a recurring visitation of the residual history of

blacks. Following the Abolition of Slavery, the fact that blacks proved not to be as compliant to the wishes of those who would exploit their position as a source of cheap labour caused the old racist accusation of laziness to be revived once more (Lorimer, op. cit., p. 128), surviving to the present day in the form of employers' attitudes and, perhaps more critically for the purposes of this study, stereotypic views of the laziness of black pupils possibly held by some teachers.

What black British school-leavers would appear to face in British society is both the effects of their group history and, particularly for those schoolchildren mentioned above as watching the progress of their predecessors, a disincentive to acquire an education as a means of improving their job prospects. One of the missing factors in the education of British black children would seem to be adequate motivation, the normal mechanisms of reward and punishment somewhat misplaced. Reference to the psychology of reward and punishment is revealing. Mackintosh's experimentation supports a symmetrical view (Walker, 1984, p. 64), suggesting that whilst rewarded responses are generally performed as a result of "the expectation of an increase in incentive" so "responses accompanied by

an increase in anticipation of aversive reinforcement are suppressed" (ibid., after Mackintosh, 1974, pp. 269, 299). For young British black people, as exemplified by the Liverpool Black community, the rewards for industry and personal enterprise is seen to be lacking, whilst punishment in the form of rejection by society would, in view of Roberts' finding above, appear to be inappropriately apportioned.

Seligman's 'learned helplessness theory' suggests that prolonged exposure to intensely unpleasant states of affairs, in the case of black children in British society the effects of prejudice, can generally be expected to produce stress at the physiological level, the main hypothesis being the inability to react positively to aversive events, which contributes to both the psychological level of stress and "the future emotional and motivational characteristics of the individuals concerned" (ibid., p.71). Walker also cites Miller and Norman's study of 1979, which suggests that emotional exhaustion may be observable in people exposed to long periods of unpleasant conditions, which corroborates Seligman's view that inactivity and extreme slowness of movement sometimes accompanies

psychiatric depression produced by the same circumstances (1) (ibid., p. 72).

The extent to which this form of depression induced by societal demands contributes towards the figures for black underachievement is difficult for educationalists to assess unaided, the condition being medical, demonstrating the need for an interdisciplinary approach which is comprehensive in its scope, as suggested in this study. In the Swann Report, Parekh reminds us that not all "West Indians" (as the Report chooses to call its sample; the majority of whom were, in fact, British blacks, born in this country) (Swann, op. cit., p. xvii) fail and not all Asians succeed. The terms 'fail' and 'succeed' suggest polar opposites, but there are undoubtedly often limitations upon success and degrees of failure. If physiological and psychological illness, as a result of prolonged

(1) In view of the above discussion on the accusation of black 'laziness', a retrospective psychosocial study of black attitudes during slavery and immediately following Emancipation of the sort carried out by Erikson (see p. 24 for reference to his historical study of the psychology of young Luther and his times) and Freud (Freud, 1910, reprinted 1957) would be interesting, if it were possible, in evaluating how much the slave owners used the psychological and physiological condition of slaves as support for their own language of justification.

exposure to prejudice and poor social conditions, does indeed contribute to black underachievement, it then follows that individual children suffering from such effects may do so in varying degrees, making it even more difficult to diagnose.

Teacher attitudes

In his study of British teachers' attitudes towards West Indian children, Green cites the experimentation of Baratz, Rosenthal and Jacobson, and the comments of C. Bergman, an American teacher in this country, as a contribution to the inquiry on what black children feel about themselves and what their teachers' expectations might be (Green, 1972, p. 35). Baratz's study is particularly poignant, as it examined the effects of race experiments themselves upon the anxiety level of black subjects, one of his observations being that black children have higher levels of anxiety when tested by white adults than when tested by black (ibid., after Baratz, 1967, pp. 194-196). In her article, Bergman hints that the anxiety of black children may not be entirely misplaced when she asks how many teachers in ...

"...the best comprehensive schools you can find...believe that a child with a black skin is capable of great things? ...He is volatile,

energetic, open, says what he thinks and is rarely, if ever, cowed by authority. Faced with such a threatening personality, the teacher, who has already begun to associate "blackness" with "problems" becomes even more repressive in the demand for conformity" (1) (ibid., after Bergman, 1970)

Though both Baratz and Bergman imply a history of attitudes towards Afro-Caribbeans, Green's own comments are more direct:

"There seems to be little doubt that what the teacher believes about the West Indian child is going to influence what is expected of him and this, to some extent, will predetermine what is achieved by the child...In addition the child's Negroid features are unlikely to cause the teacher to moderate his attitudes as in all probability they will be associated with academic inferiority which is generally held to be a feature of the white man's stereotype of Negroes." (ibid., pp. 36-37)

As mentioned earlier, negative foreclosure can take both active and passive forms (see p. 176). Self-hate may not be the only cause of race-linked

(1) When one considers the historical origins of tacit agreement upon the inferiority of black people in that once far more overt curriculum both inside and outside school as exemplified by Fig. 4 in Chapter One, Bergman's findings and rather emotively expressed observations are less surprising.

academic failure in some children of African descent. Some clues to the extent to which classroom failure and even rebelliousness, as suggested by Bergman, represents a rejection of the image the black child believes others to hold of him or her are to be found in existing studies based on racial preference. In Radke's test, which showed overall that more undesirable characteristics were assigned to photographs of blacks than whites, described earlier in this study (see p. 108), whilst negative attributes assigned to blacks by black children increased with each grade, the sixth grade did not follow this trend (Radke, et al, op. cit., p. 158):

"The more "positive" attitude toward their own race expressed by the sixth grade Negro children perhaps reflects a rebellion on their part against the acceptance of the derogatory stereotypes of the Negro. The psychosocial situation of the older Negro children is undoubtedly one in which racial discrimination plays an increasingly important role. This can lead to conflicting reactions in the children: both increased doubts about the goodness of their own group, and increased antagonism toward the white group and unwillingness to accept inferior status because of race." (ibid., p. 160)

Hauser points out that this more overtly rebellious type is historically quite recent, the

anger and frustration of blacks of the diaspora being inhibited by oppression (1). Self-hate was felt by Hauser to be one of the consequences of unexpected anger and aggression; citing Rainwater's suggestion that self-hate may play an important adaptive function for blacks reacting to "inimical social conditions" (Hauser, op. cit., p. 112, after Rainwater, 1966, p. 175). In short, the individual resorting to the personality characteristic of passive self-hateis, like the 'Sambo' or 'Uncle Tom' described later, choosing a device for survival. Viewed in this light, those black children who do exhibit aggressive and boisterous behaviour in the classroom may, as suggested earlier (see p. 175), be reacting comparatively positively, however unwelcome his or her boisterous self-assertion might be, as it may represent an emergent state from what was historically one of repression. As this form of overt expression would appear to be historically recent in the sense that it would hardly have been

(1) Slave rebellion, both individually and collectively, was, in fact, quite frequent but rarely successful except in the case of Haiti, the Dominican Republic and some free communities set up in Brazil (Blackburn, 1988, p.406). On the whole, blacks of the diaspora soon learned the futility of rebelling even after Abolition, as demonstrated by the abortive rebellion of black farmers in Jamaica in 1865, 29 years after the end of British slavery (Williams, 1964, p. 153).

commonly expressed during and immediately after slavery, this relatively new state, obviously a challenge to some teachers, might offer exciting possibilities in terms of altering how some Western black schoolchildren perceive themselves in ways that may affect their academic performance by channelling that aggression into more positive outlets.

Examining the research undertaken on psychological theories of black underachievement in Britain since the 1970s, M. Stone finds it inconclusive and contradictory, believing there to be no basis in fact for the belief that black children have negative self-concept and poor self-esteem (Sarup, 1986, p.35, after Stone, 1981). Citing black intellectuals' concept of Negritude, the Rastafarian movement and Black Power, Sarup believes that blacks have traditionally lived in accordance with their own view of the world whilst social scientists have sought to prove negative self-images based on white stereotypes (ibid.). Sarup's view, and the findings of Radke above, concurs with the view held in this thesis that black people have traditionally had to find ways of coping with a hostile environment as a means of survival (see p. 178). Sarup feels that people do

not only rely on negative and hostile views of others as a source of information about themselves, but derive the means to sustain a sense of self from many sources, black people having historically created alternative sources of 'selfhood' through musical, literary, social and political styles (ibid. p.36).

Some means of self-assertion resorted to by black British schoolchildren may often appear threatening to their white teachers, or, at the very least, confusing. Expressions of self-assertions can be dictated by fashion, often being closely woven into the popular youth culture of the day. An example to be found today in British classrooms is the seemingly baffling hairstyle adopted by some black youth. This involves shaving the letters "N.W.A." ("Niggers With Attitude") along the sides of the head (1). In these circumstances teachers unfamiliar with black pupils are possibly presented with the situation of black pupils apparently abusing themselves and their fellows, the dilemma being whether to chide the

(1) Although Kofi Ogunu, the subject of Case Three in Chapter Four of this study, did not sport this particular hair-style, the group of peers he chose to associate with certainly did, accompanied by its associated attitude to white society.

offenders or not. This situation represents a classic case of blacks taking a situation or term of abuse and turning it about, so to speak, to present, on the contrary, a form of visible defiance to the world as a means of coming to terms with an unpleasant presentation; in this case, an offensive word.

In spite of the difficulties presented by those black children who choose to respond to their own history in that particular way in the classroom, an understanding of this form of group response may go a long way towards explaining the outcomes of such studies as the Eggleston Report of 1985, on the educational and vocational experiences of young black people, which, as in the case of Radke's earlier study (see p. 189), did not conform to any notion of poor black self-esteem or self-concept:

"In the long term, black respondents had higher aspirations than whites as a group-though there is a notable exception to this generalisation within the groups. Asian boys were most likely to aspire to professional occupations in the long term, while Afro-Caribbean and white boys favoured skilled manual occupations. Both Afro-Caribbean and Asian girls were most likely to aspire to professional occupations (67.7% and 45.8% respectively), while for white girls non-manual occupations were

more popular." (Runnymede Research Report, 1986, p. 8)

The extent to which identity foreclosure is responsible for some popular historic stereotypes of black people is difficult to ascertain without the study of the personal history of black individuals of the sort carried out by Freud and Erikson mentioned earlier (see p. 24), but the notion of the compliant black is well-rooted in the group biography of black people of the diaspora, personified by the authoress H. Beecher Stowe's character 'Uncle Tom', created in the mid-nineteenth century (Stowe, 1917, passim). Although this gentle, lovable figure (very suggestive of the 'positive' sort of identity foreclosure-see p. 175) did much to win popular white sympathy for the Abolitionist cause in the U.S.A., with the advent of the 'Black Pride' movement of the 1960s this image of an over-humble old black slave, eager to please 'the master', was rejected by modern blacks as a caricature 'out of tune' with the new move towards a more positive black identity. It would seem that the name 'Uncle Tom' has now become a term of derision for blacks identifying too strenuously or making too many compromises with the white ruling class.

Although Uncle Tom was hardly an adolescent, it has already been suggested (p. 168) that the search for identity that accompanies adolescence as a maturational phase is intertwined with societal demands. Hauser reinforces this belief:

"The configuration or 'integration' of components that Erikson calls 'identity' is not restricted to adolescence. Development of identity has been progressing through all prior psychosocial stages. In adolescence, however, the process becomes problematic. It becomes increasingly conflictful for a variety of intraphysic and psychosocial reasons, foremost among them being the onset of puberty, bringing with it renewed oedipal conflicts and the demands of increased libidinal drives; cognitive changes such as increased awareness of irreversibility, and new societal demands in terms of work, sexual commitment, and ideological commitment...

However, continued or intensifying conflict over problems of personal continuity, unremitting preoccupation with identity themes or the inability to attain interpersonal intimacy, are all signs of nonresolution and 'identity diffusion'. Another, probably one of several, pattern of nonresolution is that of identity foreclosure. This has surface resemblance to successful consolidation. There is a diminution in all of the above conflict areas. But this is where the similarity ends. Rather than synthesis and richer definition, the result is impoverishment and restriction. The conflicts and confusions have been lessened by avoidance. The individual's sense of direction and self is forever fixed

(1), as it is in response to a withdrawal from conflict areas, a closing off of possibilities." (Hauser, op. cit., pp. 29-30)

Hauser cites Elkins' work "Slavery" to illustrate this idea of suspended potential in a historical context:

"The Negro was to be a child forever. 'The Negro is always a boy, let him be ever so old...Not only was he a child, he was a happy child...Few Southern writers failed to describe with obvious fondness...the perpetual good humour that seemed to mark the Negro character, the good humour of an everlasting childhood" (ibid. p.114, after Elkins, 1963. p. 132)

The idea of the child-like black is a recurring theme in the black group biography, exemplifying the longevity of racist propaganda. Elkins saw the system of black slavery as supporting and even creating the 'Uncle Tom' syndrome, which he chooses to call the 'Sambo' character type; "the obedient, compliant, childlike Negro" (ibid., p. 14). In his interpretation of the American system of slavery, using creative psychoanalytic and social psychology constructs, Elkins chose the model of the Nazi concentration

(1) The underlining is mine.

camp as a means of understanding the closed society of the slave in terms of total human control (ibid.). Elkins' work is strongly indicative of some black character types (including Uncle Tom or Sambo), past and present, being the result of the residual group history of black people:

"Raised but left unanswered is the question of whether this character type has persisted. Has it remained only as a caricature? Or are there still blacks corresponding to the Sambo type, either in pure form or as variants of it?" (ibid.)

This is a question teachers might ask of their own British black pupils. To what extent, if at all, does society play a part in the suspension of the child's potential by producing black character types reminiscent of identity non-resolution? To what extent does the school environment contribute, and, more specifically, what part does the teacher play, bearing in mind that identity formation is not restricted to the period of adolescence? Pettigrew draws attention to three points in Elkins' study of the 'Sambo' caricature with important implications for the British teacher and those aspects of personality development relating to the academic performance of British schools:

1. In spite of the racist belief that the Sambo personality was, and is, an inborn racial type, no personality type has ever been found in anthropological evidence in Africa (Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 13). The Sambo type would appear to be entirely confined to blacks living in Western society, either as the descendants of slaves or more recent immigrants. Mrs. Agwesu's apparent desire for acceptance by her colleagues (see the case of Kofi Oguna, Chapter Four) is reminiscent of this anxious, over-compliant character type.

2. The Sambo type was not simply the natural product of slavery, as the Latin American form never produced such a personality type, which seems to be confined to Anglo-Saxon dominated countries.

3. The similarly crushing society of the concentration camp in Europe produced the same personality syndrome in a wide range of white prisoners (ibid.)

Green preceded his study of teachers' attitudes towards West Indian children with a more general appraisal of attitudes towards children's

misbehaviour, citing Gabriel's analysis of the emotional problems of teachers in the classroom (Green, op. cit., p. 32, after Gabriel, 1957, passim), which investigated the relative importance assigned by teachers themselves to classroom problems. Gabriel's sample of over 900 teachers found the 'violation of classroom rules' the most serious, when asked to estimate the frequency and seriousness of children's behaviour, leading to the conclusion that teachers' main concerns were with overt behaviour rather than withdrawn behaviour (Green, op. cit., p. 32). Green draws attention to the similarity of Gabriel's findings with those of Hollins, whose sample rated in order of seriousness forty different forms of behaviour which were considered by teachers to be undesirable in children. Four groups were categorized in order: moral offences; offences against the teacher's authority; introversion in the children, and classroom offences (ibid., p.33, after Hollins, 1955).

Green points out the high turnover of teachers in multi-ethnic schools, as many as 28% of teachers in his study sample having taught for two years or less. Whilst in no way implying that black children, specified as 'West Indian' in his study,

are 'the problem', the problem being that of society and its reaction to black people, Green suggests that many teachers in areas of black concentration may be trying to come to terms with problems that would confront any newly qualified teacher, at the same time attempting to deal with black children's difficulties in society as reflected in school (Green, op. cit., p. 37).

The historical dimension of the experience of people of Afro-Caribbean descent would appear to present some Black British children (1) with difficulties at school in the form of alternatives reminiscent of negative and positive types of identity foreclosure in adolescents, though it has been pointed out in this study that very little research into the development of self-concept in younger children has been undertaken (see p. 284). As mentioned above, those black children exhibiting the more passive type of alienation (2) may be in greater danger of being allowed to fall behind academically, if, as the findings of Gabriel and

(1) Bearing in mind Professor Parekh's timely warning in the Swann Report that "not all West Indians fail and not all Asian children succeed (Swann Report, op. cit., p. 69).

(2) Which may well be simply boredom as a result of a failure to relate the lesson material presented to their own life-history.

Hollins suggest, teachers do not rate the withdrawn sort of misbehaviour as being of as much concern as overt misbehaviour.

CURRICULAR PROVISION

Following the Second World War, precipitated by growing immigration from 'the new commonwealth', recognition of issues of racism and the reduction of prejudice were gradually recognised as educational concerns in a series of stages. Throughout this development, the curriculum, both overt and covert, was seen as being at the cutting edge of the process, a factor not lost upon both opponents and proponents of the burgeoning movement, who, as it progressed, came to view multicultural education as either undermining traditional British values and standards or as a social control strategy respectively.

Lynch recognised five chronological and conceptual phases in the development of multicultural education in the United Kingdom of the post-war period (Lynch, 1986, pp. 40-41):

1) The first, the 'laissez-faire' period, lasted from the end of the Second World War until the

beginning of the 1960s and was characterised by neglect and little perception of what in many parts of Britain was a new social and cultural phenomenon. Lynch felt this to be derived from the nineteenth-century policy of cultural hegemony, manifesting itself as both active and passive ignorance; elements recognised in this study, as seen above.

2) The following assimilationist phase was the largely passive result of social pressures and unrest and was an attempt to put the issues associated with 'immigrant children' on the agenda. The emphasis at this time was on the teaching of English as a second language, dispersal policies and the marginalisation of ethnic minority children. This phase lasted until the mid-1970s, overlapping with what Lynch calls-

3) the deficit phase, which saw an increased awareness of the problems of ethnic minority children at school leading towards an acknowledgement of the validity of alternative cultures and the emergence of the first integrationist developments of a 'folkloric multicultural education' (ibid.). During this phase, the emphasis was, as Lynch puts it, "...on

life styles rather than life chances, on self-esteem and identity rather than curricular or structural disadvantaging." (ibid.)

4) This version of multicultural education was a substantially different phase emerging in the late 1970s. The cultural pluralist phase currently exists alongside the anti-racist phase, and envisages the development of a harmonious, culturally heterogeneous society, as being achieved through pedagogic strategies, holistic issues of curriculum design and systemic reform.

5) The anti-racist phase aimed to tackle issues of racism and prejudice acquisition directly, these being seen as central concerns for the school and the curriculum. As mentioned above, opposing elements in both educational circles and the public led to increasing polarisation, reaching its height during this phase, some members of ethnic minorities seeing it as a solely no-change method of control by the 'system', whilst many establishment figures saw multicultural/anti-racist education as a threat to the existing epistemological mould (ibid.).

The development of the movement for racial equality in education has been dogged by a certain confusion in both the minds of advocates and the public, aided by bad publicity. There would seem to be no shortage of evidence for this confusion. When an Asian schoolboy was stabbed to death in the playground of a Manchester comprehensive school on September 17th, 1986, the results of the subsequent enquiry, the Macdonald Report, reflected some difficulty in attempting to throw light upon how such a dreadful incident could have happened and the role of anti-racist education in British schools (Manchester Evening News, Monday April 25, 1988, p.1, cols. 2-5). The 13 year -old Bangladeshi boy, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah, met his death at the hands of a disturbed white fellow-pupil at Burnage High School. In the course of the ensuing controversy over whether the murder was in fact racist or not, the inquiry, led by Ian Macdonald, a senior barrister from London specialising in immigration and race relations law, criticised the school's anti-racist policies. Attempting to formulate anti-racist policies with an insufficient grasp of the widest range of issues concerning race can be difficult. The outcome of the lack of understanding of the need for a comprehensive approach, including a historical perspective, could be serious. In

examining the history of anti-racist policies prior to the murder of Ahmed Ullah at Burnage High School, the Macdonald Inquiry Team hoped to reveal any flaws in the theoretical model adhered to by the school's head and senior management. Their findings were alarming and suggested that the idea of any historically evolved, nation-wide (or even world-wide with the spread of European hegemony) system based on race may have been largely ignored in favour of viewing racism as a situated factor exhibited by individuals in the form of prejudice rather than being 'institutional' (ibid., p. 29, cols. 1-2).

The suggestion of the necessity of a far wider, inter-disciplinary approach to problems of racism is certainly evident in the Macdonald Report:

"In the field of education, the basic assumption behind many current anti-racist policies is that since black students are the victims of the immoral and prejudiced behaviour of white students, white students are all to be seen as "racist", whether they are ferret-eyed fascist or committed anti-racist.

Racists are thus placed in some kind of a moral vacuum and are totally divorced from the more complex reality of human relations in the classroom. In this model of anti-racist there is no room for issues of class, sex, age or size.

We have called it "symbolic" or "moral" anti-racism.

In practice, moral anti-racism has been an unmitigated disaster. It has reinforced the guilt of many well-meaning whites and paralysed them when any issue of race arises or has taught them to bury their racism without in any way changing their attitude and has created resentment and anger and stopped free discussion." (ibid., cols 2-4)

This thesis supports the suggestion that present racial attitudes in Britain are the result of a curriculum in the widest sense of the word, both covertly and overtly taught throughout many generations of human existence. If this is accepted, the white pupil is as much the victim of "the System", however uncoordinated that may be, as much as the black, in principle if not in effect and bearing in mind that his or her teacher will also have been a child-victim of the same cycle of indoctrination. If blame must be apportioned, the white pupil exhibiting racist behaviour assumes the curious dual role of victim-perpetrator, a difficult concept to accept at an emotional level. Far from diluting the message of anti-racism, the Macdonald Inquiry instinctively supported this view in the first paragraph of the above quotation and went on to reinforce in a creative fashion an important element of this thesis by at least

hinting at the need for an interdisciplinary approach embracing the skills of the teacher, the sociologist, the psychologist and, not least, the historian.

Young and Bagley's analysis concurred with the findings of the Macdonald Inquiry. As mentioned earlier, Young and Bagley felt that the past history of British white pupils might, under the sort of pressure encountered at Burnage High School, force them into a premature identity foreclosure of the sort characterised by greater inclusivity and the search for an even more 'purified' identity. Thus, in the present climate of uncertainty of Britain's role in world affairs, it would seem that it is important to take care of the identity of the white child also (see p. 110).

In searching for continuity and linking factors between multicultural and anti-racist education, Grintner found one to be essential to the other, in spite of the apparent gulf between the two positions. Whilst seeing multicultural education as descriptive and anti-racist education as analytical respectively; one confirming, the other questioning and seeking to change the established structure, he felt the need for a

combination of the two, an anti-racist multiculturalism, in fact, reflecting a diversity of cultures throughout the curriculum that questions values, leaving insistent queries in pupil's minds (Grintner, 1895, p. 8). Whatever the outcome of the synthesis might be, covering such aspects of education as pastoral care of black pupils; school ethos, and greater involvement in school affairs by ethnic minority parents, to name a few, the curriculum remains at the heart of efforts to create greater equality of opportunity for all pupils:

"A final theoretical link has clear curriculum implications. Some of the roots of racism are cultural, in terms of historical disparagement of other cultures from an Eurocentric viewpoint. Stereotyped opinions are the present manifestation of the historical roots of racism: the outcome of the experience of long periods of European rule over colonised peoples of other races, the assumption of the superiority of white culture and the apparent inferiority of those who otherwise would have resisted conquest successfully. Teaching that creates awareness of the reasons for racial stereotypes may confirm them: but coupled with training in good scholarship it must arouse searching questions about their validity." (ibid, p. 7)

The curriculum has been described above as being at the 'cutting edge' of the movement for

racial equality in education. If this is so, then history as a subject was felt by Grintner to be at the cutting edge (precisely the term used by Marsden to describe the importance of history in the process of politicisation of the curriculum - see p. 44) of anti-racist education.

"Almost every history syllabus provides at least one clear opportunity to examine the 'culture of racism', in the study of some aspect of European exploration and colonisation. Here the experiences of the discovered and colonised, through their own words, or other records, are as important as those of the discoverers and colonisers; the resistance and achievements of the exploited and enslaved at least as important as their sufferings; the attitudes and assumptions of both colonisers and colonised as important as the details of events. The latter psychological items are crucial: these are the roots of racism, and discussion of these issues makes for history teaching that explores conflict, bias and cultural influences from the viewpoint of those involved, gives credibility to all parties and uses the past to help us understand the present." (Grintner, *ibid.*)

The extent to which classroom alienation is the result of curricular provision is difficult to ascertain owing, once more, to both passive and active elements. As mentioned earlier in this study, the hidden curriculum as it relates to the education of black children might equally be described as being by omission as well as

commission; the more readily observable sort of racist content in textbooks and lesson materials. Lack of adequate role-figures for black children and the absence of representation of their race in the curriculum has been discussed elsewhere in this study and others, the difficulty being how much is adequate and what, in fact, in an education system that produced the teachers themselves, are the teachers aware of omitting?

In Chapter One the historical basis of the hidden curriculum as it relates to attitudes towards race and the subsequent development of a popular tacit agreement was outlined. Tacit agreement in the classroom can be subtle in the extreme. In some cases, it may be little more than a half-smile during the delivery of a passage about an aspect of African or West Indian life; picked up by white class-members and not lost upon the pupil of African descent. Tacit agreement may not always be represented by a physical action as such, but can be almost lost in the flow of words; the dignity of the appellation 'heroes' being assigned to members of the renowned but abortive 'Charge of the Light Brigade', whilst black Sudanese and Zulus hurling themselves onto British guns are relegated to the ranks of 'fanatics' or at the least,

mindless puppets of a tyrannical ruler; 'tribes' applied to members of African and often other non-white social groups, irrespective of size or social organization, whilst the dignity of 'nations' is applied to their European equivalent.

Some depths of hiddenness are difficult to detect and even those with a considerable degree of awareness often fail to perceive the more subtle of facets. An example of how the historical dimension can affect the thinking of not only white but black recipients of a continuous racist propaganda can be seen in a statement by Mary Seacole, a black counterpart of Florence Nightingale, the nursing heroine of the Crimean War. Mary, a Jamaican, received the adulation of her grateful soldier patients, many of whom had difficulty in resolving their own racism with a personal respect for their black benefactress. A white American, in toasting her efforts during a cholera epidemic, suggested as a coarse jest that she should be bleached in order to become an 'honorary white' (Fryer, op. cit., p.247). Mary, clearly annoyed, replied:

"I must say that I don't altogether appreciate your friend's kind wishes with respect to my complexion. If it had been as dark as any nigger's, I should have been just as happy and as useful, and as

much respected by those whose respect I value; and as to his offer of bleaching me, I should, even if it were practicable, decline it without my thanks. As to the society which the process might gain me admission into, all I can say is that, judging by the specimens I have met with here and elsewhere, I don't think I shall lose much by being excluded from it. So, gentlemen, I drink to you and the general reformation of American manners." (ibid.)

What is interesting is that whilst Mary showed a very high level of awareness of the popular white image of black people, and appears to have been quite confident in her own identity as a person of mixed-parentage, she nevertheless fell prey to another aspect of the prevailing ideology. In many European dominated parts of the non-white world, a privileged class had arisen amongst many people of mixed parentage. This situation was largely the result of the racial hierarchy theory (see p. 37) which, in addition to ranking races of mankind in order of superiority, Northern whites being placed at the top and blacks at the bottom, often deluded some individuals of mixed ancestry into accepting an intermediate status between the ruling white class and their black subjects (Tannenbaum, 1946, p. 124). Judging by her comments, Mary Seacole

appears to have been aware of the issues surrounding race and the gradation of colour in quite a creditworthy way, but it is a little dismaying that she referred to her darker-skinned countrymen as 'niggers', a term of abuse for black people and a reminder of a servile past (1). It is precisely this sort of confirming denial that can pass easily into classroom practice to be picked up by black pupils whose awareness may transcend that of their teacher owing to the salience of race in his or her world.

(1) Lorimer felt that attitudes towards black people as a race did not harden until the mid-nineteenth century, when Mary was in fact speaking (Lorimer, *op. cit.*, *passim*). It is doubtful that she did not know at the time of its unpleasant connotations, however.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BROADER ENVIRONMENT: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

In addition to the effect of the school curriculum upon black pupils is that other 'curriculum' in existence outside school. In the course of their daily life, other educative influences at large within society play a large part in the learning processes of black children in Britain. The physical absence of black role-models in positions of authority, or as 'heroes' of common childhood chatter; the possibility of the visual environment rarely depicting blacks in paintings or advertisements except as misrepresented stereotypes, and, most important, black children's own perception of how the dominant society perceives them, are just some of the factors aiding a negative awareness of their own position, only to be heightened in individuals of higher intelligence. As in other areas, two elements would appear to present themselves in this field of the black child's experience: the historical role played in the growth of popular tacit agreement and the situated role of aspects of this part of the child's daily life.

THE VISUAL ENVIRONMENT

It is not over-prosaic to suggest that children assimilate that which is unspoken long before they make evaluations based on rhetoric. Through their visual environment, negative impressions of how black people are perceived in post-Imperial European society are readily available to children before school attendance or the ability to read.

Pictures need not be obvious in their negative imagery of black people. It is possible to convey negative messages through the body language of the human subject; the positioning, expression, and relationship to others in the picture. An example of this is to be found in a photograph taken early in the twentieth century typifying the nature of the popular image of black inferiority (see Fig. 6). Following the success of the Peary expedition to discover the North Pole in 1909, the principle members were photographed in the usual manner of heroes of the age. The photograph is revealing; the grouping and stance of the participants reflecting both the prevalent ambiance and ideology of the time. All have adopted 'heroic' poses; setting the camera with a steely eye, hand on hip, or leaning on the stock of an inappropriate rifle, an echo of



Fig. 6

the stereotypic portrait of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century white hunter, usually seen with one foot upon the neck of a deceased prey. Matthew Henson, Peary's black second-in-command and perhaps the true hero (1) of the expedition is the exception. Whilst other members occupy the forefront of the photograph, Henson is a shadowy figure, little more than a glimpse of a dark head lost in the shadows. Perspective also plays its part; Henson's head appearing tiny in comparison to the rest, the total effect being much the same as in pre-Renaissance paintings depicting kings and nobles as giants, whilst lesser mortals were much reduced in size (Weems, 1967, between pp. 210 and 211).

How intentional, and how much care was taken in staging the Arctic Expedition photograph is difficult to ascertain. It is only when the possibility of the reversal of the subject's role, in the light of knowledge of the particular period of history, is considered, Henson perhaps being portrayed as the conquering hero, that the case for any deliberate diminution of black participation in

(1) Some modern black investigators claim that Henson was, in fact, the first to reach the North Pole, as Peary was too weak at the time (Rogers, 1972, *passim*).

a prestigious enterprise increases in probability. Slaves in the United States had been free for only 44 years and blacks were still very much at the bottom of the social ladder in 1909.

Present-day attitudes are just as likely to be reflected in visual media. As suggested in Chapter One, the reduction of the need for a language of justification for the poor treatment of black people led to negative attitudes disappearing underground rather than simply ceasing to exist. At this stage, subterranean attitudes are possibly more dangerous as their insidious nature enables them to be conveyed unconsciously, with varying degrees of intentionality.

In "The Black and White Media Show Book", the handbook for a video of a television series of the same name, Stephen, a 13 year-old boy commented that he felt inferior to white boys "because of everything that's going on around you" (Twitchin, 1988, p.24). Twitchin suggests that if teachers ignore the impressions and social experience pre-school children arrive with, they may be reinforcing the myths and negative stereotypical thinking found later in some school-leavers by researchers by omission; leaving them prey to all

the contributing influences outside school. The out-of-school environment includes all the terms, images and contexts in which comics, books, films and television condition both white children's ideas and black children's self-image (ibid.), not forgetting more commonplace aspects of the child's visual environment, including advertisements, posters, portrayals of people on sweet packets and mannikins in dress shops. Much of these presentations will be by omission as much as commission; as, whilst not offering negative images as such to the black child, they may nevertheless be lacking in the sort of role-figures mentioned throughout this study.

THE AUDITORY ENVIRONMENT

Early attempts to investigate one aspect of the auditory environment of the black child, the spoken word, have met with some derision; one of the reasons for this possibly being that the inquiry often took place in isolation; outside any general framework or context, other than under the general term, 'multicultural' or 'anti-racist' education. Lack of such a framework may have given such less obvious considerations a 'crankish' or 'over the top' quality, to be picked up by the

media in the course of the processes outlined below. Another hindrance to serious investigation into the effect of the wider environment of the British black child has been the issue of race becoming a political issue, each party adopting an ideological stance that may not help the situation of the black child. Teachers seeking solutions to black underachievement and racism in the classroom and the wider society have themselves often been accused of adhering to one or another philosophy, irrespective of their professional integrity. In an article entitled "These Teachers Teach Trouble" by Dr. B. Thwaites, one-time Director of the Schools Mathematics Project (1961-1975) and a prominent educationalist, the author grouped the causes of anti-racism, Trotskyism, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the feminist movement and trade union unrest under one common aegis (Thwaites, 1982, p. 121-127). Following a number of quotations he regarded as particularly incendiary, Thwaites retorted-

"Verses such as these, offered as valid statements, reflect the political indoctrination now seeping through many of Britain's State schools...Race is an area in which indoctrination is particularly insidious." (ibid., p.121)

One of the problems of grouping the struggle against racism with other allegedly 'subversive' elements is the possibility of stifling public debate and with it hope of progress in education relating to the situation of the black child. Writing in "The Listener", Giles Oakley stated-

"There have been few more politically potent concepts than 'the loony left', but its blunt simplicity masks the fact that its meaning is far from fixed. Originally it was used by the tabloid press to attack individual demon figures...gradually, the label was applied not only to prominent individuals but to groups with very different (sometimes mutually antagonistic) views...Part of the concept's ideological strength comes from this very slipperiness, enabling it to slither over almost any section of organised opinion that threatens the orthodoxies of the day." (Oakley, 1988, p. 8, col. 1)

It can be seen from the above articles that untangling the issue of race from the current political scenario is not easy and there is little evidence to suggest that it has ever been; from the time of the Slavery Debate and throughout the Colonial Period to the present day. As part of the black child's auditory environment, the spoken environment has received some attention by investigators with all the accompanying acrimony of

prevailing attitudes. Davis defines education as being -

..."the act or process of imparting and communicating a culture, developing the powers of reasoning and judgement and generally preparing oneself and others intellectually for a mature life." (Davis, 1980, p. 4)

If communication is the primary means by which the process of education is transmitted, language, in this instance the English language, is the primary medium of communication in this process, Davis believing this to be one of the prime carriers and perpetuators of racism in society. Davis felt that as words are essential to the thought process, thinking might be considered to be sub-vocal speech. This being the case, children born into the English language, including British black children, can fall into the enormous trap of racial prejudgement words can have on an individual (ibid.). In an examination of Roget's Thesaurus, Davis found that of 134 synonyms for 'whiteness', 44 were positive, including 'purity', 'cleanliness', 'innocent', 'honourable', 'upright' and 'trustworthy'. In contrast, 'blackness' was found to have 120 synonyms, none of them favourable, 80 of them distinctly unfavourable and

20 directly related to race, including 'nigger', 'darkey' and 'blackamoor' (ibid.).

Serious investigators of children's wider learning environment may, for the reasons mentioned above, encounter some difficulty in acquiring popular credibility, perhaps reinforced by latent racism in the individual brought about by his or her own residual group memory or, alternatively, the poor presentation of a few 'born-again' anti-racists seized upon by the press. Some investigations, however disconcertingly emotive they might seem, are difficult to dismiss and represent a strong manifestation of the residual group history of both groups; black and white. A poem written by the Russian poet, Yuri Yevtushenko, is a good example of the residual group memory, the poet's attitude towards blacks being, in fact, very positive and empathetic, but nevertheless succeeded in drawing upon, and perpetuating, negative terminology in a curious negatively confirming way, seemingly devoid of intentionality. On hearing of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Yevtushenko wrote-

"His skin was black
but with the purest soul
white as the snow...
Such a white soul, they say,
that noble pastor had.

His skin so black, they say,
his skin so black in colour,
was on the inside snow,
a white lily,
fresh milk,
cotton.
Such innocence.
There wasn't one stain
on his impeccable interior".
(Yevtushenko, 1980. p.6)

In short, an apologetic appeal by the Russian poet to his fellows to recognise the true worth of what he felt might be seen by others as a seemingly worthless figure; unjustly, in his opinion. To the black pupil hearing such negative presentations in the course of his or her daily existence, they are not in isolation, but are part of a complex matrix of factors; a perception that may not be shared by members of other groups, including his or her teacher or readers (or writers) of press features likely to ridicule this perception. What is significant about the latter's view of black children's perception is that it is adopted from a power position; a vantage point differing from that of the black pupil. Describing the impact of negative rhetoric upon students, particularly black students, Davis says-

"Those words are attacks upon your physical and emotional well-being, your pulse rate is possibly higher, your breath quicker; there is perhaps a tremor along the nerves of your arms and your legs; sweat begins in the palms of your hands, perhaps. With these few words I have assaulted you. I have damaged you,

and there is nothing you can possibly, possibly do to control your reactions - to defend yourself against the brute force of these words.

These words have a power over us: a power that we cannot resist. For a moment you and I have had our deepest physical reactions controlled, not by our own wills, but by words in the English language." (Davis, op. cit., p. 4)

Davis' feelings about the implications of this aspect of the child's apparently situated environment acknowledges the historic origins of racist elements in the English language:

"I submit that racism is inherent in the English language because the language is an historic expression of the experience of a people; that racism, which is the belief that one group is superior to the other and has the right to set the standards for the other, is still one of the main spiritual policies of our country as expressed in the education process." (ibid., p. 5)(1)

THE MEDIA

The historical role of one aspect of the visual environment, the written media, has been touched upon in Chapter One, but residual factors, redundant influences still in operation, exist alongside situated aspects of the present-day media, both auditory and visual.

In recent years, there have been a number of studies into the relationship between the media and race (Twitchin, 1988, passim), obviating the need

(1) Davis is an American, writing about the education system in the United States, but the English language can clearly be seen to be one of the common linking factors between a large part of the African diaspora.

for a further in-depth appraisal. In the Swann Report, Verma's background paper, "The Role of the Media", is more relevant to this thesis as it examines the 'chicken and egg' situation of that relationship; questioning the extent to which the media are, in fact, the originators of racist attitudes; fostering, reinforcing, or perhaps even counteracting them (Verma, 1985, p.38). Verma also asks the critical question, asked in Chapter One of this study: Are the views reflected derived from governmental sources or from people themselves?

By its very entrepreneurial nature, operating as a private money-making concern, the press does not engage in the promotion of issues which do not reflect the interests of, or wishes of, their readers, Verma suggests, citing Breed (1964) and Olien et al (1968), who believed that if the press is not exactly the originator of socio-political consensus, it nevertheless maintains and therefore protects the existing power structure of society. Verma felt that the less controversial the issue, and the more consensus there is in that issue in society, the probability of the media supporting and reinforcing such attitudes is increased (Verma, op. cit., p.38). If tacit agreement upon attitudes towards black people have a historic origin, some

American studies have shown the mass media as both influencing racist attitudes and reinforcing and strengthening present-day popular perceptions, Verma citing Colfax and Stienberg (1972), Johnson et al (1971) p.38), and, in Britain, Hartman and Husband (1970) (Verma, op. cit., pp. 38-39). The latter noted that teenagers with a negative view of black people were likely to cite the media as their source of information, particularly those in areas of low contact (ibid, p.39).

Verma believes that the press most easily influences attitudes in race relations by proceeding in the direction in which they are already well advanced; reinforcing existing attitudes. The press would therefore seem to be merely reflecting underlying attitudes of the public, but may nevertheless strengthen and increase their intensity. He offers three complementary models of the relationship between mass media and racial attitudes:

- 1) The role of the press as a support for opinions already in existence in the general population, probably in a semi-articulated way; Verma suggests. This view certainly concurs with that of

this study which supports the idea that the notion of a fully cohesive, coordinated, racist 'system' may be a misconception (see p. 62).

- 2) The press conforms to its own stereotype of the presentation of news. (Verma, *ibid.*, pp. 39-40, Verma cites Holloran et al. 1970, Hartman and Husband, 1974).

Verma states that young children are particularly susceptible to these outside factors and what is seen, heard, read and assimilated from the individual's environment affects attitudes and ways of communicating to a considerable extent, negative portrayals of non-Western cultures and of ethnic minorities by the media contributing to what he feels to be the low esteem of children from minority cultures. A random sample of 2,490 individuals was made in the boroughs of Ealing, Lambeth, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, and Bradford, each with an average proportion of black people. The resulting analysis sought to ascertain the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes, the sources of information on race relations and the extent to which the press contributes towards prejudice.

Almost half the sample exhibited a marked degree of prejudice, whilst those without prejudiced attitudes were only 14 per cent (ibid., p. 40, after Bagley, 1970). The data showed that information was usually derived from more than one source, these findings supporting the belief against "the fallacy of the single factor" expressed in this thesis:

"The most frequently cited source of information was 'personal contact' with black people (54 per cent). 34 per cent of the respondents said that they used the press as a source of such information. The tabulation of the percentage of those prejudiced against sources of information suggested that significantly fewer of those who got information about black people from personal contact or from the radio were prejudiced than the remainder of the individuals in the sample. The number of respondents who obtained their information from the press alone was small (n=127). 70 of these individuals (55 per cent) had prejudiced scores above the median level.

The conclusions drawn by the researcher are that a third of the population in the areas surveyed obtained information about New Commonwealth people from the press; 46 per cent of those individuals were prejudiced. This percentage is close to the prejudice in the population as a whole. However, individuals who rely on the press alone as a source of information are significantly more prejudiced than the rest of the population. This does not, of course, logically imply any causal link between readership

of the press and prejudice."(Verma, ibid., pp. 40-41)

THE MEDIA: TELEVISION

Television is often cited as being the most potent of all mediums, Hartmann and Husband finding it the most important source of information about the world for the children and adolescents they interviewed (ibid, p.43, after Hartmann and Husband, 1974). They stress the point that it is not so much that television makes people violent, racist or permissive, but the fact that it can edit the information we receive, emphasising some features, obliterating others, or even selecting which issues we 'take on board' at all. In agreement with this thesis, Hartmann and Husband feel that for the mass of people, attitudes are ill-formed, but may nevertheless be focussed, structured and channelled not only by television, but by the media in general (ibid.). This is not to say, as explained elsewhere in this study, that the media is part of a conscious conspiracy to control the minds of the population, but rather that it has the potential; those involved and controlling the media being themselves victims of popular tacit agreement, even if they would seem to be exploiting

the latter, possibly for crude financial considerations, as suggested above.

An interesting study by Lambert and Klineberg (1967) showed that television becomes more important as children grow older. Younger children's dependence upon their parents for racial attitudes gives way to a greater reliance upon television and reading materials by the age of ten and older (Verma, *ibid.*, after Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). Verma suggests that this implies that, as a result, children may well pick up otherwise unknown racial concepts and racial terms of abuse. He cites the case of a primary school teacher who reported the children of his school making the life of a 'coloured' worker a misery by calling him names picked up from a popular television programme. "...by using humour it takes the heat out of the colour question" (*ibid.*), claimed a spokesman for the television company responsible, but in view of the above observation that individuals who rely on the media alone as a source of information are more prejudiced than the rest of the population, Verma feels that such programmes may be creating problems of race in areas with few black residents (*ibid.*).

Such racial clowning seen on television and in films is a modern manifestation of part of a long-held popular image of black people. The historic evolution of the character type of the black clown is similar to the 'Sambo', the over-compliant black, type. Indeed, the stimuli producing it is identical and, as such, perhaps merely another manifestation. Black people of the enslaved diaspora have historically behaved like many other dominated and despised groups in wanting to be like those who reject them, including some sections of the colonised peoples of the Western imperial epoch, successive waves of immigrants to the U.S.A. and Jews at various times during their turbulent history (see p. 129) (Isaacs, 1972. p. 145). A self-depreciating racial clowning has often been resorted to as form of defence against humiliation and physical aggression:

"...there is the Latin American clown, who is always smiling; there is, as Conor Cruise O'Brien again has pointed out, the Irish clown, who is always drunk; there is the Asian clown, the Babu; there is the Negro clown - we know him well. There is - or was - the Jewish clown. All racial clowns are sooner or later celebrated on the musical comedy stage." (Verma, op. cit., p. 43)

G. A. Henty, the popular author of boys' adventure stories before the First World War, wrote in his book, "By Sheer Pluck: a tale of the Ashanti war" (1884), that black people were -

"...just like children...They are always either laughing or quarrelling. They are good-natured and passionate, indolent, but will work hard for a time; clever up to a certain point, densely stupid beyond." (Fryer, op. cit., p. 189)

Writing in 1849, the virulent racist Thomas Carlyle caricatured the then recently emancipated black West Indians in the following terms:

"Do I then hate the Negro? No; except when the soul is killed out of him, I decidedly like poor Quashee; and find him a pretty kind of man. With a pennyworth of oil, you can make a handsome glossy thing of Quashee, when the soul is not killed in him! A swift, supple fellow; a merry-hearted grinning, dancing, singing, affectionate kind of creature, with a great deal of melody and amenability in his composition." (Walvin, 1984, p. 68)

Other stereotypes found in popular imagery are quietly touched upon in this quotation; namely the black as a 'talented musician' and 'good at sports'.

Writing in the mid-eighteenth century, the early black writer Olaudah Equiano, an ex-slave, was to regret telling his English readers-

"We are almost a nation of dancers, musicians, or poets. Thus every great event...is celebrated in public dances which are accompanied with songs and music suited to the occasion." (ibid.)

Equiano did explain that the African love of music was a social and cultural medium expressing and representing his peoples' history, military victories and folk-lore; not a natural genetic fact, but most English commentators preferred the traditional myths, reinforced by even such sympathetic writers as John Wesley, who noted-

"I cannot but observe that the Negroes above all the human species I ever knew, have the nicest ear for music. They have a kind of ecstatic delight in psalmody." (ibid.)

Of all the stereotypes of black caricature available, the popularity of the myth of the natural musician and sportsman is the most directly damaging to the black pupil, as it has the potential to limit the options available to him or her. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the 'Sambo' and the aggressive stereotypes may well affect a black child's performance at school, but these are

characteristics acquired by the individual and have at least the possibility of change, if that person's self-perception were to alter, in spite of the fact that the stimulus for these character types is external. The popular image of the black musician or sportsman differs, in that it may limit the possible future occupation of the black pupil in a much more tangible way; a far more external factor as it represents the views of a would-be employer.

SPORT

An examination of the history of sport may help to throw some light upon the relationship between sport and political ideology and how that relationship may influence the academic performance of British Black pupils by threatening their sense of identity, feeling of safety within society and ultimately their confidence at school. Beashel and Taylor felt that the history of sport is essentially the social history of society; a reflection of the society in which it is found and the situation of those taking part (Beashel and Taylor, 1986, p. 99). Although play has always been a characteristic of human behaviour and organised sport has been known from ancient times, the sports

cult developing in Britain over the last two centuries was undoubtedly linked to social conditions. The successes of British commerce, industry, and the spread of empire were contemporaneous, an important factor in the relationship between the particular form sport took in Britain and political dogma. The cramped living conditions brought about by the surge in population of many British towns and cities created a need for outdoor recreation, particularly at weekends. During the nineteenth century, the population of towns grew from 30% to 75%, a large percentage of this growth taking place during the Victorian Age (ibid., p. 103). The foundations of modern sport were established at this time, the better attended popular sports of football and rugby rather suggestively linked with the contemporaneous new colonialism and the hardening of attitudes to black people (see p. 40). The Football Association was formed in 1863, nine years before the F.A. Cup was first played for, whilst the Football League was founded in 1888. Similarly, although legend has the origin of rugby being as early as 1823, the Rugby Football Union was not formed until 1871 (ibid., pp. 104-105), once again, within the New Colonial period.

In attempting to assess the function of sport in supporting racist ideology, particularly well-attended sports engendering a group consciousness, Hobsbawm considered 'the new invention of sport' (Hobsbawm, 1975; p. 74) to be a criterion in the hierarchy of exclusiveness based on class rather than race (ibid.). As mentioned in Chapter Six on Social Class, the new middle-classes, those heirs of the self-made entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution, were a somewhat insecure (psychologically, that is, rather than in fact) section of society. Ways had to be established to identify membership of the bourgeoisie which, whilst retaining a certain exclusivity, left the way open to new members. This was no easy task, for the middle class had a rather complex relationship with those for whom privilege and respect was assured by right of ancestry and the urban and rural labouring classes. Hobsbawm identifies the criteria of differentiation to be the style of formal education, the middle-class lifestyle and culture, and leisure activity, including sport (ibid., p. 174). The middle classes developed their own sports, often distinguished by the time required to become proficient, usually beyond that available to the working classes (ibid., p. 182). Whilst lawn tennis and rugby football were

characteristic of the British bourgeoisie, the United States certainly had their counterpart in the shape of the socially exclusive 'Ivy League', confined to east-coast elite universities (Hobsbawm, *ibid.*, pp. 178-179).

SPORT AS A POSSIBLE MEDIUM FOR A RACIST 'SYSTEM'

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the working-classes had their own sports, football particularly as a team game with a large group following, retaining a special place in their affection. During the 1980s, British football, now the best-attended sport in the country, has been characterised by mass hooliganism both at home and abroad, considered by some to be out-of-hand (see p. 279 in Chapter Seven on Social Class). The intense patriotism that often characterises football crowds appears to have an unpleasant aspect in the form of violent Nazi-style groups using the Union Jack as an emblem in much the same way as the Nazi swastika. Two questions arise- 1) As football as a group sport for the masses arose during the period of increased colonial activity in Great Britain, to what extent was this heightened patriotic feeling intended, a conscious act by the ruling classes to produce precisely this

effect? 2) To what extent are these large 'tribal' meetings contributory to intense nationalistic feeling? The role of sport in the promulgation of the inclusive group feeling amongst young white Britons and the extent to which that group feeling incorporates undertones of racism is not as conclusive as it might appear. Hoberman is not entirely convinced that sport is an intrinsically political phenomenon, but acknowledges that it is capable of being used for political purposes:

"The relationship of sport to political ideology is constantly in evidence but rarely subjected to convincing proof. This is due to the fact that while sport may serve as an advertisement for a given ideology-indeed, for virtually any ideology-this is not the deeper sort of relationship which conjoins sport and the political sphere. For if any political ideology can advertise itself through sport, this in itself shows that on this level there is nothing at all distinctive about the relationship which obtains between sport and any given ideology. On this level, sport functions as an undifferentiated vehicle of self assertion by the state. The specific form it takes as a culture is inconsequential. That it should serve the greater glory of the state-any state-is the sole criterion for its appropriation and use." (Hoberman, 1984, p. 1)

The evidence would suggest that both Hobsbawm and Hoberman may be right. Despite Hobsbawm's belief that any intentionality within the ideology

of sport was concerned with social class rather than race, he nevertheless admits to the presence of a patriotic, "even militaristic" element in sport during and following the late nineteenth century (Hobsbawm, op. cit., p. 182). Hoberman's suggestion that sport functions as an "undifferentiated vehicle of self assertion by the state" (Hoberman, op. cit., p. 1) would point to the probability that group gatherings for the purpose of sport may have 'donned the cloak' of the prevalent racist ideology, rather than being part of any conscious conspiracy by the state. Comments by the Merseyside Area Profile Group in 1980 on aspects of sport in Liverpool would appear to agree with this theory in principle, whilst pinpointing the lack of role-figures available to black children:

"...most of the young males brought up in Liverpool imagine themselves playing in the colours of Liverpool or Everton. Although it is estimated that Liverpool has a local black population of around 20,000, Liverpool FC has yet to have a black football player playing in the first team (1). Why? It is not necessarily that Liverpool FC practises any discrimination but it is a sign of "institutionalised racism". There are no black solicitors or judges,

(1) Since 1980, there has been a single black player, although not of the local black population, an area of special deprivation in terms of opportunity for black people (Swann, Chapter 15).

and only one or two policemen-the list is endless. What do black kids have to look up to? (Merseyside Area Profile Group, 1980, p. 104).

SPORT AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CROWDS

One of the earliest psychologists to study crowd behaviour was Gustave LeBon, whose major work "The Crowd: A Study of the popular mind" was published in 1895. LeBon believed that when people lose themselves in the anonymity of the mass they also lose their sense of self and personal responsibility. His characterisation of the crowd included impulsivity, irritability, incapacity to reason, absence of judgement or critical spirit and an exaggeration of the emotions. In this state, behaviour becomes dominated by a collective racial unconscious, in LeBon's view, synonymous with lower forms of evolution, the savage or the child (Turner, 1987, p. 174). LeBon believed that crowds possessed a collective mind reflecting the "fundamental, shared, unconscious qualities of the 'race'" (ibid., p. 6) and whose actions are based on instincts:

"These special features are explained by three processes: [1] the 'de-individuation' process-the anonymity of crowd members and the sense of invincible power produced by being in a crowd lead to a

diffusion of their feelings of personal responsibility, a loss of personal identity, which removes the controls and restraints on the anti-social impulses which exist in the individual; [2] 'contagion'-actions and emotions spread through the crowd through a form of mutual imitation, leading to uniformity and homogeneity in which personal differences disappear and the shared, collective interests of members become primary; (3) 'suggestion' or 'suggestibility' -this is the basis of contagion; it is the acceptable face of influence on irrational grounds because of some kind of emotional tie to and submissive attitude to a person or group (suggestion implied a 'mesmeric', 'hypnotic' form of influence in which the rational individual will is lost)." (ibid., p. 6, after LeBon, 1896)

During the past century, LeBon's concept of the crowd as a 'reified', a materialised, entity has been challenged by many critics. One of the fiercest was Floyd Allport, who in 1924 denounced LeBon's theory as a purely metaphysical notion. In Allport's view, the idea of a collective consciousness is a fallacy; a 'group mind' or 'racial unconscious' an impossibility as thought cannot be separated from the individual thinker (Turner, ibid., p. 175 after Allport, 1924, p. 4). In Allport's words, "there is no psychology of groups which is not essentially and entirely a psychology of individuals" (ibid.). Allport's

belief that the similarities of crowd behaviour are not a reflection of a collective consciousness, but of the similarities of mental constitution of crowd members (Turner, *ibid.*) describes precisely the corporate effects of that tacit agreement between individuals historically brought about by the power of rhetoric examined early in this study (1).

Whichever view is taken of the role of sports meetings as a negative factor in the out-of-school environment of black pupils, it is perhaps worth commenting that LeBon's explicit ambition was to use crowd psychology as a political tool and that both Goebbels and Mussolini claimed that his ideas had been instrumental in the construction of the concept of the fascist state (*ibid.*, p. 174). The daily experience of isolated individual black pupils in British schools may constantly reflect elements of crowd psychology, irrespective and notwithstanding LeBon's and Allport's extremes. This experience may range from the more subtle form of unspoken agreement on the inferiority of black people exhibited by the black child's white schoolfellows to the more overt form of unified hostile crowd behaviour described by LeBon,

(1) See Charles Husband's comments in Chapter One (p. 129).

possibly in the school playground. The extent to which this may affect the academic performance of black pupils may be as varied as suggested by Parekh on page 90 of this study, depending on the sensitivity of the individual and the degree of hostility exhibited by children of any particular school.

THE SITUATED ROLE OF SPORT

As a great deal has already been written on the relationship between sport and the black athlete it is not the purpose to reopen the debate here, but to chart some of the thinking on this topic.

The natural aptitude of blacks in sport is one of the most recurring popular images of people of African descent in European dominated societies. Throughout the black diaspora, the statistics would appear to support this claim. Gipe (1978) noted that approximately fifty percent of American professional football players were black; some seventy percent for professional basketball. Between 1949 and 1968, in baseball, the National League awarded fifteen of twenty Most Valuable Player Awards to black players and black athletes

won twenty-two of the thirty-one American medals in the Montreal Olympic Games (LeFlore, 1982, p. 104).

The most common explanations to this phenomenon include sociological causes and, undoubtedly the longest standing, historic biological justifications. The biological myth, if myth it is, maintains that the musculature and physiognomy of blacks of the diaspora are particularly well-suited to sport, particularly track events, boxing, baseball, basketball and American football. The origins of this popular image of black people is well rooted in their group biography and is linked to the historic notion of the bestiality of Africans, dating from initial contact with the African continent (see p. 34 of Chapter One). As in other forms of caricature mentioned in this study, the notion of the black as a natural athlete has remained alive in popular race-thinking in the form of the residual group memory of both black and white. An example of this re-emergence of an image currently held for no particular political or commercial reason (1) is to

1) Lipset and Bendix would disagree, however, believing the position of lower order groups such as blacks to be essential to the preservation of the existing social system (see p. 284 of Chapter Seven).

be found in media coverage of the popular sport of boxing during the 1930s . A national American news service reported:

"Something sly and sinister and not quite human came out of the African jungle last night to strike down and utterly demolish...Primo Carnera..." (Coakley 1990, p. 204, after Mead, 1985).

Another well-known sportswriter commenting on the performance of the celebrated boxer Joe Louis wrote:

"Louis, the magnificent animal....He eats. He sleeps. He fights....Is he all instinct, all animal? Or have a hundred million years left a fold upon his brain? I see in this colored man something so cold, so hard, so cruel that I wonder as to his bravery." (ibid.)

Genetics play a large part in the biological explanation and are linked to the historic origins of modern sport mentioned above. The rise of nationalism, the racist ideology of the late nineteenth century New Colonial Period and the burgeoning of genetics as a science (see Chapter One) undoubtedly play a part in what might be called the 'black sportsman' syndrome in an interesting way. Ethnic pride, running concurrently with the rise of nationalism, was largely denied post-emancipation blacks of the diaspora, but the indefatigable human spirit was nevertheless still

present. The black response was sometimes to mirror white society, the only model available, in a way not dissimilar to that of Blyden, cited on page 112 of Chapter Two (note 1), and possibly one explanation of the strength of the myth of black athleticism; namely that blacks themselves have sometimes contributed. In a spirit of ethnic pride, Calvin Hill, a black American sportsman commented-

"It boils down to the survival of the fittest. Think of what the African slaves were forced to endure in this country merely to survive. Well, black athletes are their descendants. They are the offspring of those who are tough enough to survive" (LeFlore, op. cit., p.106, after Michener, 1976, p. 164)

This reversal of the notion of white superiority is interesting and has been offered by even more considered black commentators

"Much is inherited. Negroes were bought and sold for a physique that portended hard and long work experience. A premium price was paid for strength and health. For 350 years they have been the toilers and have survived largely because of these resources. Isn't it possible that Negro athletes should seem superior when they bring these abilities onto the athletic fields and compete with youth, whose more civilized, effete ways of living have lessened their physical abilities." (ibid., after Henderson, 1970, p. 55)

Edwards criticises the biological determinist posture, pointing towards another variable. He suggests that the real determinant of any suggestion of black superiority in sport lies in society; socioenvironmental and economic factors playing a considerable part. He suggests that blacks' own subculture teaches black children to strive for the most desirable achievable goals, (LeFlore, *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p.107, after Edwards, 1973, p. 50), supporting LeFlore's belief that there are also sociopolitical implications in that the greater society may be willing to grant physical 'superiority' to blacks, but deny them any suggestion of intellectual equality (*ibid.*, p. 106). Butt notes that, historically, even blacks successful in achieving access to teams suffered indignities, ostracism and unequal treatment. At a technical level, even now, few American blacks find themselves in positions of authority; as coaches, managers and key players on the field (Butt, 1976, p. 159). In Britain, the increase in black players in team sports has led to a similar conclusion by informal investigators. As in entertainment, sport is an avenue offering a chance for blacks to aspire to money and the wherewithal of success, but not always social status and integrity, particularly when his or her sporting

days are over and the fans lose interest them (ibid., p. 160). In Chapter Two of this study, Green's criticism of Bhatnagar's reasons given for the comparative success of West Indian children in sport in British schools (see p. 100) can be seen to be part of the socioenvironmental, economic paradigm which, at face value, seems to present a strong case stressing the salience of the group biography of black people of the diaspora.

LeFlore suggests that even the socioenvironmental, economic paradigm is inconclusive and may be a simplification of a far more complicated social situation, however. He believes the pooling of information within the black child's subculture to be a strong contributory factor. LeFlore's analysis of the processes involved in the internalisation of information received by young blacks include not only all situated socioenvironmental and economic considerations, but the historical factor:

"Information may be of three different kinds...First, there is information about conditions external to the system or organization. This refers to external, but impinging variables that affect or may interact with internal relations of the system. The second kind of information relates to the past. This may include a wide range of recall and recombination about conditions,

events, or acts that may, at this time, but may not at another time, hold significance for social actions within the system. The third kind of

information relates to the internal operations the participants are in and system itself." (LeFlore, *ibid.*, p. 110, after Deutsch, 1951, pp. 185-223)

LeFlore's analysis relating to the past refers to both the residual group memory of black people themselves and that of white society examined elsewhere in this study. Whatever the reasons or veracity of the stereotype of the black sportsman, the outcome is the closing-off of other avenues and possibilities of available careers, in the widest sense, for the black pupil.

THE MOVE TOWARDS GREATER INCLUSIVITY

The response of British blacks to society may often differ in the individual. One ever-present danger has been that of individuals excluded from society, or opportunities open to the wider population, seeking solace in the company of 'their own kind' in a way that opens the potential to becoming too inclusive.

Young and Bagley believed, like Erikson, that...

"...the alternative to an exclusive, unhistoric identity is the wholeness of a more inclusive identity. This has become a feature in many parts of the world, the struggle for more inclusive identities". (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 51)

Citing Erikson directly, they stated-

"What has been a driving force in revolutions and reformations, in the founding of churches and in the building of empires has become a contemporaneous world-wide competition." (ibid, after Erikson 1965)

The movement for state education in developed countries during the nineteenth century was felt by Hobsbawm to have played a large part in the development of this feeling of inclusivity, though, ironically, not only in the imposing of values upon society, as suggested in Chapter One. One of the by-products of state education was a move towards greater homogeneity (Hobsbawm, op. cit., p. 94). In the course of the formation of nation states, racial minority groups within those nations found their own identity threatened. As Hobsbawm put it:

"...Why should Slovenes or Czechs, migrating into hitherto German cities, be compelled to become German as a price of becoming literate...The paradox of nationalism was that in forming its own nation it automatically created the counter-nationalism of those whom it now forced into the choice

between assimilation and inferiority," (ibid, pp. 95-97)

The feeling of greater inclusivity was to find expression among black people at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in the Pan-African movement, personified by the work of W.E. Blyden in West Africa (July, op. cit., pp. 137-138); Marcus Garvey in the U.S.A. and West Indies (Fryer, op. cit., p. 289); and John Archer in the old black settlement of Liverpool (Kosmin, 1978/79, passim). The impact of the growing inclusivity of nations at this time and its place in what Erikson called the "contemporaneous world-wide competition" may not only be found now in armed struggle between nations, but reflected in the present world of sport, as seen in this chapter, the classroom, and, indeed, everyday life in a multicultural, multiethnic, society.

As schools are a mirror of the society they serve, the intrusion of the out-of-school environment into the classroom is inevitable. In 1985, the Swann Report expressed some unease about the apparent movement towards greater inclusivity as evidenced by calls from the West Indian community, contemporaneous with development in the

U.S.A., for the inclusion of 'black studies' as a means of countering West Indian pupil's poor self image . Evidence to this effect by West Indian community organisation had, in fact, been presented in 1972/73 to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (S.C.O.R.R.I.) (Swann Report, op. cit., p. 200). The evidence highlighted the crisis of identity experienced by black people, the lack of the historical dimension in the school curriculum as it relates to Afro-Caribbeans and the lack of role models both inside and outside the schoolroom:

"...many of the difficulties experienced by black people, particularly the youth in this country, are either caused through or exacerbated by what some of us would like to think of as a crisis of identity. This in turn is motivated by an inadequate knowledge of their past history and a lack of proper visual inspirational aid, current in the educational process of the United Kingdom...the inclusion of Black Studies courses in the school curriculum would be of inestimable value...The black child goes to a white school, he is taught by white teachers, he sees pictures of white persons, he uses books written by white craftsmen, he hears and sings songs about white people, he learns poems written by white people about white people. All this necessarily accustoms him to appreciation of white values only. This largely accounts for the obvious gap in mutual appreciation between black and white in Britain today. The primary purpose of Black Studies is the adjustment of this imbalance, and to help black people

in this country, particularly the children who try desperately, as one writer puts it, to escape from the "prisons of their skins" (Swann, *ibid*, p. 201).

The Swann Commission noted that the need for greater inclusivity by ethnic groups as a result of the exclusivity of the majority group had led to increased demands for 'separate' schools. The Commission believed it to be unwise for children to be taught exclusively by teachers of the same race and the whole idea of separate schools was unlikely to deal effectively with the underlying concerns of the communities and might merely add to their existing feelings of rejection (*ibid*, p. 519). As they felt separate schools might militate against the long term needs of the West Indian community, rather than promoting their existence the Commission believed that if the recommendations of their Report, based on the principles of "Education for All" were acted upon in schools, the fears behind the call for black schools would be allayed (*ibid*, p. 520). The Report recommended that the cultural background of the pupil should be taken into account, clearly aimed at muslim children and West Indian children and seemingly concerned primarily with culture rather than race, the main reality such old British black communities as

Liverpool feel to be behind difficulties experienced in school or society at large. The Report nevertheless acknowledged the importance of the race factor in citing the viewpoint of a leading member of a London West Indian parents' association:

"Multicultural education is continuing to fail Black children and could no longer be expected to achieve genuine equality of opportunity...The prospects of Black children were being bargained away while education authorities tinkered with the problem by setting up committees and sending teachers on courses which created a false impression that real progress was being made..." (Swann, *ibid.*, p. 515)

To help implement the idea of an "Education for All", the Commission suggested that the Secretary of State might urge L.E.A.s to consider the implications of the multi-racial nature of today's society in Britain and prepare clear policy statements in this field (*ibid.*, p. 345). The Commission believed that the Government should lead the way for L.E.A.s to appraise their policies and the need for schools, whether multi-racial or 'all white', to reflect a pluralistic perspective. The role of teachers in drawing up such policy statements was seen to be ensured and the policies of "Education for All" were to be effective. In the

process of visibly demonstrating to ethnic minority pupils and parents that their concerns were not being ignored by the education system, the Commission felt that the L.E.A.s would also be encouraging the efforts of individual teachers and schools already involved in developing a broader multicultural perspective of the curriculum aimed at countering racism (Swann, *ibid.*).

THE PRESSURE OF SOCIETAL DEMANDS

Young and Bagley cite Coopersmith to support their view that the social milieu affects not only the attitudes and behaviour of minority group members towards the dominant group and its standards, but their self perception. The social experience of the ethnic minority children, in the authors' view, results in the way they look upon themselves, their basic ego structure, "the central core of the self", being profoundly influenced by that experience (Young and Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

Coopersmith defined self-concept as being-

"...symbols that blend together the enormous number of varied perceptions; memories and prior experiences that are salient in the personal life of the individual. This concept of one's self...is

formed by the individual, and represents an organization of separate experience into some pattern that provides meaning and order in his inner world." (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 52, after Coopersmith, 1967)

Coopersmith differentiates between the terms self-concept and self-esteem: "Self-concept is the symbol or image which the person has formed out of his personal experiences while self-esteem is the person's evaluation of that image." (ibid.). Young and Bagley stress that an individual's conception of 'self' cannot be formed in isolation from society as a whole. Not only do 'ascribed' characteristics such as sex, colour, caste and religion, have a possible role, but certain pre-natal factors such as the position of the child in the social structure into which he or she is born. In complaining about the misuse of institutionalised schooling, Ivan Illich supports this view, drawing attention to the fact that curriculum can often include factors outside school as we know it, predating any notion of formal education;

"Curriculum has always been used to assign social rank. At times it could be prenatal. Karma ascribes you to a caste and lineage to the aristocracy. Curriculum could take the form of a ritual, of sequential sacred ordinations, or it could consist of a succession of feats of

war or hunting, or further advancement could be made to depend on a series of previous princely favours." (Illich, 1971, p. 12)

The beliefs, ideas and knowledge of individuals within society impose upon the person certain choices of the 'others' with which he or she will interact. When self-concept is being investigated, the individual's conduct takes into account these significant others as objects, whoever or whatever they may be (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 52). Young and Bagley felt that assessment of a child's self-concept must take into consideration and identify these interrelational factors, which include his or her peers, family beliefs and values, school ethos and, once again, Young and Bagley supporting the historical factor; the social arrangements of the family, community and social milieu into which he or she is born (ibid.). As the child grows, the number of significant others or 'objects' may increase correspondingly, presenting the child with conflicting values and limitations on the development of self concept. The child may have to come to terms with two sets of values; those of home (or his or her 'out of school environment') and those of school. Young and Bagley cite Hewitt

(1976) (reflecting Goffman 1959) who felt that a "bifurcation of the social worlds and of the self" (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 53) can result from the child having to live up to parental images, yet exhibit qualities outsiders may value in order to survive and succeed in his or her complex society. Young and Bagley point out that black people in Western society have the problem of adjusting to often conflicting sets of images. A black individual may have to conform to the image acceptable to his or her black group or society as well as that of the dominant white society. This can mean both emulating whites as the dominant group in order to be acceptable to their society as well as avoiding too overt an adoption of their characteristics; the ever-present dilemma of successful black people faced with the despised label of 'Uncle Tom' in their own community. The emerging self-concepts are more than the result of values and beliefs generated within the group, but can be the result of contrasts between the group and wider society that the group choose to emphasise or are forced to accept by the dominant section of society (ibid).

'PASSING' AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

This stimulus produced another historical black character type even more common than the 'Uncle Tom' or 'Sambo' type described earlier. This character type, possibly encouraged by the comparative success of the light-skinned mixed-race individuals described earlier (see p. 104), sought, and still seeks, to emulate not only the mannerisms and values of whites, but their physical characteristics, often resorting to make-up to lighten their skin and straightening their hair with hot iron tongues or unguents.

Isaacs refers to the efforts of some Jews in concentration camps to 'disappear' into the dominant group by shedding all vestiges of their Jewish identity; comparing this phenomenon with the experience of black people (Isaacs, op. cit., p. 145):

"The equivalent among Negroes is, of course, 'passing' into the white population. But to 'pass' is possible only for relatively few. More generally people have to find other ways of assimilating the majority view of themselves and of expressing the self-rejection and self-hatred that follows from this. Among Negroes the forms and modes of this process are endlessly varied. One of the most persuasive of these has been the institution of colour caste which raised 'whiteness' to

the highest value in all aspects of life. This meant everything pertaining to civilization, culture, religion, and human worth. It became among Negroes an intricate system of social, group and personal relationships based directly on degrees of relative darkness and other degrees of physical Negro-ness, the shape and kind of features, hair, lips, and nose which were 'good' if they resembled the white's, 'bad' if they did not. This was carried to the point of using artificial means-hair straighteners and skin whiteners- in the effort to close the gap between the two." (ibid., 145-146)

This description of 'passing' correlates very closely with the behaviour of the schoolboy Sean Baker; one of the cases presented earlier. His physical appearance and response to the difference between that appearance and those of his darker-skinned peers at school is characteristic of this particular trait. Indeed, Sean's case would seem to represent a particularly strong manifestation, exemplified by the fact of the form of self-hatred exhibited being of a physical nature, namely his resorting to self-mortification (see pp. 118-119).

The idea of light-skinned black entertainers is certainly rooted in the history of attitudes to black people, echoing the phrase in common usage in the famous Harlem entertainment scenario of the

1920s and 30s- "Light, bright and almost white!". This pun was meant to reflect the attitude to black female entertainers of the time, when such popular night clubs as the famous "Cotton Club" (which catered for an exclusively white clientele) consciously sought only light-skinned performers including such famous names as Lena Horne, Dorothy Dandridge, Adelaide Hall, Fay Washington and Josephine Baker (Bogle, 1986, *passim*). Black children perceiving the comparative success of such character types within their own society in the course of leisure pursuits such as theatre, films, following 'pop' groups, and the reading of magazines, may not only be reinforced in the emulating of this personality syndrome, but are receiving a denial of their entire group (see Fig. 7). In Britain, a factor which may have prevented black people of older settlements being seen as a contributory factor to the make-up of the British people and the history of British culture is the fact that the disadvantage of being black in an increasingly hostile environment may have tempted some of the lighter mixed-race descendants of black settlers of almost any station to attempt to 'pass' into white society with the decrease of black genes in successive generations of their families; choosing to deny black ancestry



Picture by CHRIS ROBERTS

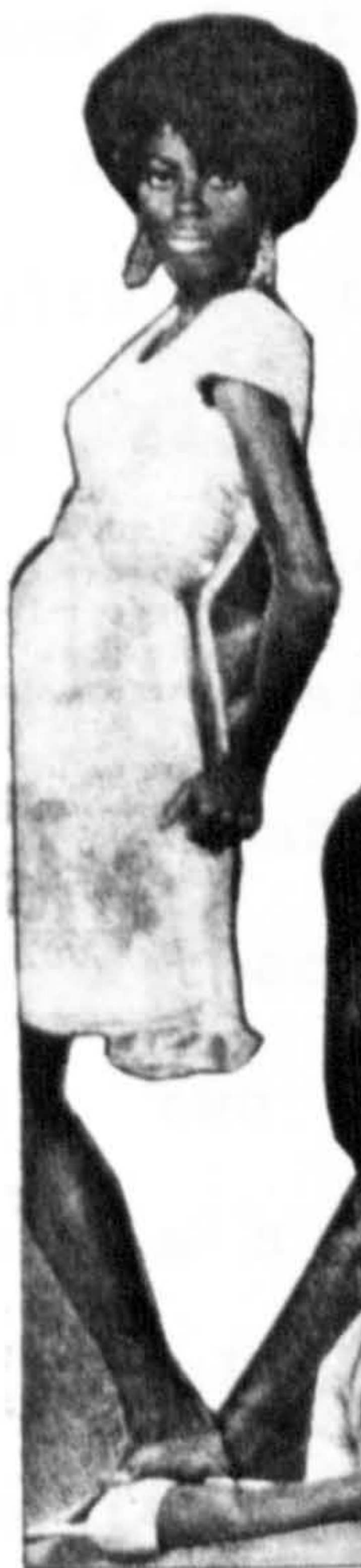


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THE PEOPLE, July 31, 1988



YAZZ: All Daz



Vanessa finds her voice

FORMER Black Miss America, Vanessa Williams, caused a storm when she posed for Playboy magazine after she lost her crown and home.

Out of desperation, she took singing lessons, and the results were miraculous," says TV producer Terry Jervis. Vanessa's sexy video which promotes her debut record, *The Right Stuff* is shown for the first time tonight. "She has a beautiful contralto singing voice," says Terry.

DEF II: BEHIND THE BEAT (BBC-2, 6pm).

Fig. 7

● BEAUTIFUL Nigerian-born actress and dancer Angela Ekaette is ITV's "unknown" game show glamour-girl answer to America's dumb-blond sex-pot Vanna White. Like Vanna, 25-year-old Angela hopes to make loads of money from STV's new show *Wheel of Fortune* (around £200,000 a year) but unlike Vanna, who never speaks, Angela exchanges witty banter with co-host Nicky Campbell. She's looking forward to stardom but prays it won't intrude on Sundays.



altogether. J. A. Rogers suggests that the poet Robert Browning was partly of black Jamaican ancestry and, both families being Jamaican planters known to one another, may have been the cause of the Barratt family's objection to his marriage to Elizabeth (Rogers, 1972, p. 551). On firmer ground, although Alexander Dumas is known to be the son of a mixed-race West Indian General in Napoleon's army, his acceptance into French society, and, indeed, culture, remains as an 'honorary white', the black element in his ancestry, perhaps potentially so useful in providing modern black pupils with a historical role-figure in the field of literature, largely ignored. This can be seen as a serious setback to racial integration as it perpetuates two myths; one being that black immigration is a recent phenomenon, the other the idea that acculturation can cure all of society's problems of racism.

THE PLURALITY OF NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES

The sum-total of the negative experiences of black children in almost every aspect of their daily life, their past and- in terms of their own expectations, and, indeed, those of others- their future, could deeply affect their sense of

identity, self-esteem and self concept and, through the interrelationship between these, their 'global identity' as perceived by Young and Bagley (Young and Bagley, op. cit., passim).

In the previous chapter, Sarup is cited as one of those researchers who now question the importance of notions of self-esteem and self-concept, suggesting that the belief in the black pupil's reliance upon others' perhaps hostile view of themselves as a sole source of information may be false. (see p. 189). Sarup may be right in his distrust of the single factor, one of the major tenets of this study being agreement with this idea, but any negative sources of information to the child cannot be disregarded and to accept this rejection of personality factors in its entirety as a vogue in current research may also be an error. In considering the options available to individuals whose 'self presentations make little or no difference to the way others view him' (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 53), Young and Bagley point out that however much he or she may choose to disregard the evaluations of others, some cannot be ignored indefinitely, however painful. As these opinions may raise doubts where there were none before, they continue to have an impact upon the

individuals self-conception. Even those with a positive self-concept may be affected by being in constant contact with others not sharing his or her own image- "...a constant reminder of the low esteem in which he is held not only by them, but by others who he might not have yet encountered" (ibid.).

In their conclusions, Young and Bagley certainly do not adopt a dogmatic stance in their analysis of what global identity might be:

"Perhaps a person's global identity can be measured by knowing how he construes himself and the world in various complex ways. Attempts have been made to measure these 'personal constructs' (Kelly, 1955; Bannister and Fransella, 1971) and it is noteworthy that Hauser (1971) and Weinreich (1979) have used adaptations of personal construct methodology to measure global identity. Weinreich has shown that level of self-esteem is part of a more complex identity structure, and in some black adolescents in Britain a high level of self-esteem is not matched by other aspects of identity integration." (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 58)

The incomplete nature of these 'personal constructs' caused Young and Bagley to find Hewitt's analysis of the integration of the concepts of self and identity to be equally inconclusive. Hewitt developed a complex 12-

variable model including 4 aspects of the self - (1) the 'situated self' (described earlier in this study as the self acting in particular situations), (2) the 'biographical self' (the self as the sum total of previous interactions), (3) the individual as an object to himself and (4) to others (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 59, after Hewitt, 1976). Young and Bagley describe Hewitt's model as a hierarchy of identity, self-image and self-esteem within four cells created by the interaction of these four aspects of the self, but stress that this hierarchy should not be regarded as definitive. Hewitt's model, similar to that developed in their article (Young and Bagley, ibid., p. 56) and largely based on Mead's theory of symbolic interaction serves to demonstrate the complexity, as Young and Bagley note, citing the conundrum posed by Hewitt:

"The person is thus a complex reality - an enduring object as well as one constituted from moment to moment, an object of his own acts and those of others, an object involved in social relationships, with attributed characteristics and a sense of worth. To introduce order into this reality, we must pay attention particularly to the relationships between the situated and biographical aspects of the person. How are situated self-esteem, self-image, and identity related to situated social identity, situated images, and situated esteem? How does esteem influence situated self-esteem and self-

esteem?" (ibid., p.59, after Hewitt, 1976, p. 82)

To this etymological puzzle might be added (1): To what extent does the residual group memory relate to the group biography and the situated group biography? How do each of these influence the relationships between each of the situated and biographical aspects of the individual questioned by Hewitt in the above quotation?

In their conclusions, Young and Bagley used the term 'general self-concept' to incorporate knowledge of one's own characteristics as perceived by others and acceptance of their evaluation of their evaluation of those characteristics. They felt that this is a lower-level umbrella concept, other factors being involved in self-esteem, such as the situation in which individuals find themselves. Young and Bagley note the distinction drawn by Hewitt (1976) between situations (current interactions) and biographies - what Young and Bagley call "the sum total of internalised

(1) Almost mischievously, in view of the existing complexity.

evaluations of the self" -(Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 57) involved in the individual's current self-appraisal.

Young and Bagley cited Allport (1968), who saw the uniqueness of human personality as "a consciously developing, goal-orientated insightful individuality that changes and develops at various stages of one's life" (ibid.). Young and Bagley saw Allport's concept as being similar to their own view of global self-concept and identity. Allport noted that most studies of 'self-concept' are based on general lower dimensions of personality and felt that the emphasis should be on the study of the uniqueness of individuals, described by him as the "morphogenic study of personality and persons" (ibid., after Allport, 1968).

Young and Bagley's emphasis upon the individual's response to the situated self would appear to minimise the findings of studies of self-esteem in young black children by suggesting that their evaluations of self-characteristics may be unreliable owing to the possibility of reactions based on the situations in which they find themselves, rather than in embedded characteristics. Whilst believing that negative

self evaluations may be merely attitudes expressed reflecting a particular situation and may not necessarily predict poor esteem in later life, Young and Bagley nevertheless acknowledged that the young child has developed the cognitive idea of himself as separate from others and how he may differ by the age of three years. They also acknowledge that knowledge of the individual's ethnic status is a salient trait developed earlier in life and particularly marked in children from ethnic minority groups, citing American blacks as an example. Young and Bagley do not appear to have resolved this paradox in their analysis, maintaining that negative feelings towards one's own ethnic characteristics present problems for the developing identity, having to be resolved whether these feelings originate in the situated self or not (Young and Bagley, *ibid.*, p. 58). This observation is significant, as it implies that the causes of academic failure linked with issues of identity may lie not only in situational factors, but may also derive from historical sources.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CLASS: THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

In the previous chapter it is shown that elements in the group biography of black people are ever-present in the modern world of everyday things, not only as the consequence of sequential events, but also in the form of a residual group history; lingering redundant attitudes and, in some cases, the consequences of past sequences of events whose purpose may no longer be relevant to any particular interests. The products of both these elements have to be met and adequately dealt with by the black child in British society, bearing in mind that the complete resolution of identity crisis may be very difficult for the black child to achieve within his or her present life experience in Britain, complicated by the existence of other factors beyond the child's control, such as prejudice exhibited by others.

Twinned with the tacit agreement upon the inferiority of black people is the tacit association of black people with the lower orders of British society. This particular historical association can be traced back to the Slave Trade,

but would seem to be an affiliation that has been fraught with difficulty and should by no means be taken for granted, as shown in this chapter.

In comparing the lot of black people with that of the white society in which they live, the rationales of the authors from which historic evidence is derived must be considered. An obvious and often quoted comparison between black slaves and the English working class must be approached with care as the sources can be noteworthy in their bias. Early in the nineteenth century, the view was certainly expressed and held by many, as a justification of black slavery, that-

"...moderate labour unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject...is a state of comparative felicity...and that persuasion is lost on such men and compulsion, to a certain degree is humanity and charity". (Ransford, 1971, p. 172)

When one observes that the author of this quote, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was itself a slave owner with plantations in the West Indies, the caution in this case is justifiable. Nearing the end of British slavery (in 1834), comparisons, both serious and humorous were made in the magazines and newsheets of the period, as can be seen in Fig. 8 in which an adjudicator



'Which was worse, British poverty or West Indian slavery?'
 Cartoon from *The Looking Glass*, 1832

Fig. 8

using a barrel as a pulpit entreats a dejected poor white family on his right to pity the "poor suffering African called a slave" (ibid.), seen on his left in a tropical paradise setting, obviously in the full bloom of health and happiness. William Wilberforce, appealing on behalf of black slaves in 1823, asserted-

"The West Indians, in the warmth of argument...have distinctly told us, again and again, and I am shocked to say that some of their partizans in this country have re-echoed the assertion that these poor degraded beings, the Negro slaves, are as well or even better off than our British peasantry,-a proposition so monstrous, that nothing can possibly exhibit in a stranger light the extreme force of the prejudices which must exist in the minds of its assertors". (Walvin, 1971, p. 193)

When the American Harriet Beecher Stowe, authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" dared to make the same comparison between English workers and black slaves in her own country later in the mid-nineteenth century, it was far from well-received by English reviewers, but it continued to be drawn and utilised according to the beliefs and causes to which the authors were espoused (Lorimer, op. cit., p. 93).

THE POLARISATION OF WHITE PEOPLE

It has been seen in Chapter One that changes in attitudes towards black people during the nineteenth century led to the proletarianisation of all black people living in Great Britain regardless of their original social class in their home countries (see p. 38). Although black people of every rank may have been increasingly identified with the lower orders of British society during the second half of the nineteenth century, this did not automatically provide a comfortable niche within British society. As outlined in Chapter One, during the Victorian Era, changes in attitudes towards black people were accompanied by the 'lower orders' of British society allying themselves with the middle and upper classes, joined not only by a common Anglo-Saxon ancestry, but, in the case of subject Celtic areas of the British Isles (not forgetting the large Irish settlement in such English cities as Liverpool), the whiteness of their skin. This was matched in the United States by the flood of immigrants from Europe in the later part of the nineteenth century, whether Czechs, German or Rumanian, also adopting an 'Anglo-Saxon' heritage as a result of an education policy aimed

at producing an homogenous nation (Vallance, op. cit., passim).

In this underprivileged section of late nineteenth century society, not only were the characteristics of the more successful leaders of the all-conquering British Empire emulated when in the company of 'lesser breeds' of humanity, but accomplishments in reality beyond the scope of many of the lower classes at this time, such as scientific inventions, literary and artistic works, and higher technological discoveries, were adopted as their own as the greater group feeling grew to embrace all people of European descent (1).

(1) An amusing anecdote surviving amongst the 'old timers' (first generation black sailors) of Liverpool recounts the tale of a 'down at heel' European trader entertained by a West African chief at the turn of the century. Reminiscing, the chief told the trader with great pride how, at the age of eleven, he had built his first canoe, whilst by the age of 16 he had constructed his own dwelling hut. The trader responded rather smugly by producing a photograph of an early submarine; at the time the last word in modern technology. "That", he declared with great emphasis, "...is what my people are capable of-an iron ship that can swim like a fish beneath the surface of the water; rising whenever the sailors choose". Genuinely impressed, the chief replied, "This is truly a great thing. I would ask you one thing as a favour before you leave. Before you go, will you make me one?"

The American sports psychologist Sloan uses the acronym B.I.R.G. (basking in reflected glory) to describe this particular syndrome. Investigating why people should wish to emphasise their association with someone else who is more successful, Sloan cites Heider's Balance Theory, in which an individual's, or, indeed a group's association with a 'positive' other will tend to make that individual or group appear more positive as well (Sloan, 1979, p. 235, after Heider, 1958). In an experiment to ascertain the effects of B.I.R.G., Sloan observed the rates at which school-related apparel was worn after successful football team wins in seven universities in the United States. As Sloan had anticipated, students wore school apparel more frequently after a team win than after a loss. Sloan felt this was an example of B.I.R.G. and reflected Fromm's search for identity and uniqueness. If the individual's need for a sufficient sense of identity and uniqueness is not met through his or her own creative efforts, Fromm suggests that they might try to achieve some degree of distinction by associating themselves with a positive other (Sloan, op. cit., p. 236, after Fromm, 1955), the need for positive associations increasing according to supplemental needs requirements (Sloan, op. cit., 236, after

Beisser, 1967; Edwards, 1973; Lowther, 1951; Schafer, 1969)

The association of the American University students with their winning team correlates closely with the flag-waving jingoistic fervour of the British era of armed and commercial success. The effect upon the black British child living through the late nineteenth century is not difficult to envisage, this time of heightened patriotism also being characterised by racist attitudes (Law and Henfrey, *op. cit.*, *passim*), but this particular form of B.I.R.G. is not without its present-day British counterpart. The Union-Jack jackets of such lower-class ultra-nationalistic groups as the National Front, at one end of the social spectrum, and the more subtle ethnocentric self-congratulation still to be found in the modern media, represent a visitation of the residual group history in our time.

Studies by group psychologists of the sort expanded upon in Chapter Six (see p. 241) on the Out-of-School Environment may help to throw some light upon the often precarious relationship between the white working-class and proletarianised black settlers in Great Britain. Two experiments by

Boyanowsky and Allen published in 1973 offer some illuminating empirical evidence on the extent of interaction between the two groups, or at least elements within the groups. The aim was to investigate whether or not conformity to an incorrect or unpopular white majority might be reduced in prejudiced white subjects when given the support of a black social supporter. Conformity was, indeed, reduced in prejudiced subjects when judgements based on the norms defining the distinction between black and white were not concerned, but when those judgements touched upon were integral to identification with the ingroup, highly prejudiced subjects would act on the basis of race rather than interpersonal similarity, preferring to agree with the unpopular white majority (Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 123, after Boyanowsky and Allen, 1973, p. 413). Studies such as this suggest the salience; the importance and attentional distinctiveness of race as a factor in popular white consciousness, whilst demonstrating the long-term effectiveness of the historical racist rhetoric.

THE MARXIST VIEW OF RACE AND CLASS

In Liverpool, a city with a 200 year old black population, the Liverpool Black Caucus of the Labour Party complained in 1986 that their fellow socialists on the City Council were opposed to any form of positive action, with regard to job opportunities, that appeared to specifically benefit the black community. The ideological stance of the ruling far left-wing of the Labour party was to view the underprivileged position of the black population as part of the 'class war', and were reluctant to make any concession to any race-specific mechanism, claiming that such actions would not only destroy working-class unity, but provide the far-right, who might claim favouritism towards black people, with ammunition (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986, pp. 45-46). The Black Caucus viewed this situation differently, however. They felt that positive discrimination in the form of institutional measures was the best way forward, as the normal processes of social mobility, as a result of job opportunities particularly, could not be relied upon. Evidence for a special case for Liverpool Blacks was readily available in statistics on job opportunities, education, health and housing. In 1986, the Merseyside Area Profile

Group of Liverpool University Sociology Department found less than one per cent of black people in Liverpool stores and firms and one per cent among City Council employees (ibid., p. 17), the small number of black teachers employed by Liverpool Education Authority presenting a similar picture.

As mentioned earlier, it would seem that what has become a tacit association of poor whites with blacks of the diaspora should not by any means be taken for granted. The nation-wide spate of inner-city riots in 1981 may not have been race riots as such, but they certainly contained a strong racial element. The subsequent Report by Lord Scarman did not make the colour-blind assumption of any natural affinity between blacks and the lower orders in Britain, however. The Scarman Report expressed the concern:

"Although there is evidence to suggest that the position of the ethnic minority groups has seen some improvement relative to the rest of the population in recent years, overall they suffer from the same deprivation as the 'host community' (ie, the white population), but much more acutely. Their lives are led largely in the poorer and more deprived areas of our great cities. Unemployment and poor housing bear on them very heavily; and the educational system has not adjusted itself satisfactorily to their needs. Their difficulties are intensified by the sense they have of a concealed discrimination

against them, particularly in relation to job opportunities and housing". (Brief Guide to the Swann Report, op. cit., p. 2, after Scarman Report, 1982)

In their synthesis of social class in the United States, Lipset and Bendix painted a similar picture a generation ago, reflecting the common experience of blacks of the diaspora:

"In his great work on the American Negro, Gunnar Myrdal has pictured the dilemma which arises for every white American out of the profound contradiction between the theory of equal rights and the practice of racial segregation ... Indeed, this conflict and its resulting social agitation is a mainspring of the American liberal tradition. Yet the available evidence indicates that the development of both the theory and the practice of "equalitarianism" among the white majority has been aided by the continued presence of large, ethnically segregated castes. That is, one of the reasons why the belief in this system has been sustained is because opportunities to rise socially and economically have been available to "majority-Americans", and a disproportionate share of poverty, unemployment, sickness and all forms of deprivation have fallen to the lot of minority groups, especially fifteen million negro Americans (Lipset and Bendix, 1959, pp. 79-80)

Lipset and Bendix point to the existence of two working classes in America; one white and the other Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican. In the

cities, these groups predominate in the unskilled, dirty and badly paid occupations. With little power and no social prestige, some twenty million earn a disproportionately low share of the national income, living their lives in rural or urban ghettos with little social contact with white Americans (ibid., pp. 105-106). The authors' suggestion is that American society actually needs the resulting tensions to maintain the status quo, not only lower class whites finding solace in the existence of an even lower caste, but other sections:

A real social and economic cleavage is created by widespread discrimination against these minority groups and this diminishes the chances for the development of solidarity along class lines. In effect the overwhelming majority of whites, both in the middle and upper classes, benefit economically and socially from the existence of these "lower castes" within their midst. This continued splintering of the working class is a major element in the preservation of the stability of the American social structure." (ibid.)

SELF CONCEPT AND THE 'RACE OR SOCIAL CLASS' DEBATE?

Young and Bagley acknowledged that social class differences among American blacks may have

some bearing upon the self-concept of the black child. They point to the studies by Rainwater (1966), Pettigrew (1964) and Drake (1965) on children from the bottom of the social scale. All were characterised by the discovery of a defeatist attitude towards the self. Rainwater suggests that for the slum child, the normal process of growing up, involving feelings of mastery and competence over the environment, are reversed. Instead, the slum child learns the limitations of his or her existence...

"...such a child learns what he cannot do, about the difficulties of achieving his aims and about the futility of even trying! (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 54)

In their analysis, Young and Bagley are wary of entering into the controversy of whether race or other variables such as social class are more important in identity formation. Conscious of deficiencies in the methodology of investigation into the self, Young and Bagley point to the lack of attention paid to the measurement of self-concept of younger children, particularly between 4 and 8 years, most of the work centring upon the adolescent. They complain that most techniques for measuring self-concept have not included observational techniques of interaction, Young and

Bagley, agreeing with Rist (1970, 1975), feeling the latter to be a more accurate means of assessment.

Further problems of the definition of terms expressing "feelings about one's self, including self, self-image, self-identity and self-concept are felt by Young and Bagley to be increased by each investigator believing that each concept plays a greater part in the development of personality (Young and Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 54). Approaches to the study of black identity and self-concept have varied in emphasis, Young and Bagley showing a hesitancy in adopting the particular stance of any one investigator in their analysis. They suggest that the majority of investigators have tended to visualise their research in 'black-white' terms, but note that the work of some researchers would indicate the existence of other variables in determining black self-concept. That of Samuels suggests that social class may be more important than race (1973), whilst Coopersmith holds that more limited and particularistic self-concepts might be added to that of 'global self-concept' (see p. 80). Young and Bagley are careful not to imply that race, or other basic attributes including sex and size, has any particular

dominance in the development of self-concept. Like Coopersmith, they feel that a distinction between global and a localised self-image may be necessary. In citing investigators such as Clark and Clark (1950), Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) and Noble (1973), who suggest that feelings about racial identity form an important part of every black American's experience, blacks feeling more aware of their blackness when amongst whites than amongst people of their own colour, Young and Bagley nevertheless support the hypothesis of this study that the geographical and historical dimension to being black has contributed to the present greater group awareness of all people of African descent in spite of their uncertain feelings (Young and Bagley's, that is) about the importance of the more limited and localised factors in the formation of self-concept.

Young and Bagley's feeling that there is something of a paradox in the fact that the work of Rosenberg and Simmons (1973) suggests that the self-image in black boys is more favourable in a segregated setting than that found among their white counterparts (Bagley's own work pointing to the same conclusion in British blacks (Bagley,

1979) may not, as seen above, necessarily be justified (Young and Bagley, op. cit., p. 55).

In spite of the need to recognise social class, with its associated limitations, as a factor in educational achievement, the high salience of race in British society should not be underrated. The polarisation of black and white and, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the fact of whites low on the social scale seeking common cause with their middle and upper class fellows has allowed working class white children an advantage in school not shared with black children. Poor white children are offered an abundance of otherwise precluded (perhaps for reasons of social class) heroes and positive role-figures (Hauser, op. cit., p. 93) were it not for the feeling of racial affiliation between whites, increasing, if not originating, at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing as part of their residual group history, as evidenced by the earlier cited work of Boyanowsky and Allen (see p. 279).

Mention has been made of the popular use of race as a metaphor by those who would see the situation of blacks in Western society as an integral part of that to be remedied by 'the social

revolution'. The comment in the Swann Report that ethnic minorities "suffer from the same deprivation as the "host community" (see p. 281), but much more acutely, might, although the Commission endeavoured to point out how this might be so, be expanded upon to offer other ways in which the experience of black people living in contemporary British society might possibly differ from that of poor whites; that apparently blind spot in the Marxist perception. Five main points would seem to offer themselves for consideration:

- 1) The most obvious argument is that poor whites are allowed a greater chance of social mobility owing to the colour of their skin, mention having already been made of the prominence of skin colour as a uniting factor as a result of Social Darwinism during the nineteenth century. Oddly enough, this is probably not the strongest argument, as, although broadly true, it should not be used too lightly owing to the reality and strength of the poverty trap.

- 2) If the situation of black people in Western society is to be seen as part of the 'class war' by popular tacit agreement, then this surely represents a visitation of the residual group

history, reiterating the nineteenth century notion of the 'proletarianisation'; the levelling down, of all blacks, irrespective of any possibly 'higher' rank in their countries of origin.

3) Bearing the above in mind, the question might be asked: If any negative experience of blacks in Western society is one and the same as that of lower class whites, then what, if not some extra dimension, can those blacks be experiencing who may not be particularly poor or underprivileged (ie. black professionals finding difficulty in obtaining employment or accommodation)?

4) Another question is: If the situation of blacks is to be seen as part of the 'class war', on whose terms is this being considered? The accommodation of difficulties faced by another group than one's own in this way might be seen as an egocentric expression of power, defining as it does the limitations of that other group's protest. It is ironic that proponents of this view, in the act of championing the cause of the underprivileged, would seem to be ignoring the viewpoint of a group that might be perceived as even lower in the social scale; in this case the relative position of blacks to poor whites.

5) Generally, the use of social class as a metaphor for 'the black experience' has an overall defect, namely the fact that it ignores the whole historical, distinctive, evidence relating to black people of the diaspora. Whilst adopting a socialist viewpoint, M. Sarup, the author of several books on politics and education, explores the mid-ground in the race and class controversy:

"Black people are bitterly divided about the precise relationship of race and class and are continually asking themselves: should the struggle of black people be separate and autonomous? Should black people subsume the race struggle under the class struggle? Or should alliances, which allow some autonomy, be made with the working class?...It is easy for some sections of the Left to assert 'blacks and whites unite', but many black people are sceptical of such slogans and think that a class perspective is a white perspective. People's view of the world is rarely, if ever, ordered and consistent (1), and it is often the case that white workers have racist beliefs that coexist with expressions of class consciousness... Another argument black people use against the Left is this: a simple class analysis is reductionist because it excludes the fact that black people are not only exploited but are also oppressed. Many blacks are therefore sceptical of the left and are organizing themselves in their own groups. They want to be autonomous because race

(1) This supports the view put forward in this study against the notion of any cohesive national 'system' of racism in this country.

has its own separate dynamic. But, as A. Sivanandan has argued, 'excessive autonomy leads us to inward struggles, awareness problems, consciousness raising and back again to the whole question of attitudes and prejudices'. Of course, black people need to make use of the positive aspects of culture but too much autonomy leads to a form of cultural separatism." (Sarup, *ibid.*, pp.92-94)

Sarup criticises Stone's work, "The Education of the Black Child in Britain" (Stone, 1981), for her neglect of his particular Marxist perception of class and the part it plays in the education of black children. Stone believes that West Indian children (as she still calls British black pupils) are not trapped in the way that white working class children are. Sarup regards Stone's book as basically assimilationist in that she sees education as a means by which blacks can 'get out and move up'. Stone feels that one of the reasons there is not a substantial black middle class in Britain is because those that do succeed move 'back home' or to North America. Sarup strongly contests this, with some justification. Such old British-born black communities as Liverpool are almost entirely working class owing to a long history of racism, a situation which has worsened in times of economic recession by high levels of unemployment, and, as Sarup acknowledges, many British-born

blacks have little knowledge of their 'countries of origin'; long forgotten in some cases (ibid, pp.39-40). Some of Sarup's criticisms of Stone's book are certainly pertinent to this study:

"There are other 'silences' in Stone's book; she says nothing about state racism, or what schools should be doing about racism, the school curriculum, the alienation of pupils and the attitudes of teachers." (Stone, ibid., p.38)

...In short, the wider environment of the black child.

Although some aspects of the Marxist view of race are criticised above, the Marxist view of the limitations of empirical studies appear to agree, within limits, with this study.

" Marxists reject the empiricist view that experience can be a source of knowledge. They believe that there is much in human knowledge that is not given directly in the outward and immediate appearance of things. Experience tells us only of particulars, and no matter how extensive it is, it can never inform us of what is universally or necessarily the case. Thought is the means by which we can penetrate beyond immediate appearances and the given data of the senses, and grasp the deeper levels of reality: the underlying structures." (Sarup, op. cit., p.46)

Whilst approaching this view from a black awareness perspective rather than a Marxist position, some black researchers have reached a similar conclusion. R.A.Schwaller de Lubicz describes Western science as "A research without illumination...This indecision colors everything: art as well as social organization, and even, in many cases, faith." (Van Sertima, 1988, p. 43, after de Lubicz, 1978, p. 87). Van Sertima points out that some societies, such as those of India and Africa, are less susceptible to this difficulty because of the lack of distinction between history, philosophy, psychology, religion, science and mythology, all being seen as one reality and woven into the fabric of daily life (ibid.). He feels that some researchers in Western society are nevertheless coming around to accepting that there may be more than can be gleaned from empirical studies:

"They are realizing that, despite the exponential increase in information about the universe and about life, they are no closer to the truth they so passionately seek than when the Greek philosopher Democritus speculated upon the atom 2000 years ago. They are realizing that the precepts they are working so hard to master and apply are not immutable truths but rules that are valid only in a certain range of conditions, and that they presuppose limitations on one's description. As David Bohm points out, if you have a fixed criterion of what fits, you cannot create something new because you have to create something that fits your old idea...and that limits what we can think." (ibid., after Bohm, 1979)

It is precisely this sort of constraint that modern Western educational psychologists, sociologists, and other practitioners may be placing upon their own modes of inquiry by paying too little attention to the most obvious of factors, the historical, in the education of black children; de Lubicz putting it most succinctly when he says "In order to know the true secrets of life it is necessary to learn how to examine that which, because we see it, we no longer observe." (Van Sertima, op. cit., p. 44, after de Lubicz, op. cit., p.9).

If the origins of black underachievement are multicausal, it then follows that any remedial action taken must be equally wide in its application. Ian Hunter of Keele University supports the general conclusions of this thesis in his article "Talented achievements: a biographical perspective", paradoxically the opposite of underachievement. He describes 'synergic influences', meaning literally 'working together':

"Talented achievement arises in a person's biography through the working together, over time, of a great many influences, and it is a great mistake to assume that achievement can be attributed to some single influence that works in isolation. There have been many attempts to explain achievement in terms of some single influence such

as biological constitution, or heredity, or social context, or IQ, or creativity. All of these influences come into the picture but no one one of them, by itself, can be held solely responsible. Any single cause turns out to be, at best, a necessary but not sufficient condition... First, talented achievements arise in a person's biography through the interplay of many factors. Second, the future development of an individual is open to a range of possible achievements; and which, if any, of these come about will depend on the opportunities and encouragements met by the individual concerned." (Hunter, 1991, pp. 99-100)

The evidence in this study would suggest that Hunter's conclusions on the origins of talented achievement, as manifested in gifted children, may be more general to achievement than he realises and is particularly pertinent to the situation of British black children. Hunter's description of synergic influences does, in agreement with this thesis, nevertheless offer clues to how those searching for remedies to black underachievement might proceed.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to deploy the elements of an essay by Young and Bagley, giving a theoretical overview of self-esteem, self-concept and black identity, against the historical dimension of the experience of people of African descent and its legacy as a prerequisite to understanding - and taking remedial action to counter - black underachievement. In their essay, Young and Bagley stressed the importance of the way in which their particular concept of global identity integrates both past and present experiences in order for individuals, particularly adolescents, to maximise their potential. In this study the overall hypothesis is that not only does the personality, combined with the past and present experiences, of the individual play a part in achievement, but the past and present experiences of Afro-Caribbeans as a group. That is, not only do both internalised factors (whatever their cause or origin, such as issues of identity) (1) and external, including teacher attitudes, behavioural

(1) Not to be confused with innate; that is, inborn, characteristics. Internalised factors may, of course, be acquired through an interaction with, or response to, the environment.

aspects exhibited by the dominant society, and the general sensory experience of black children, play a part in their education, but past and present elements respectively in the form of the residual group history of blacks of the diaspora still in existence, and situated factors, so often given pre-eminence by empiricists.

THE INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE OF BLACK PUPILS

One of the hypotheses in this study is that the history of the group plays an important part in the consciousness of the individual. In spite of the emphasis upon the group history of black people of the diaspora, each pupil may nevertheless respond differently to the same stimuli. Each individual is unique in the way successive identity crises are solved, as evidenced throughout this work by the examination of the many black stereotypes, once studied as so-called 'Negro character types' by often mystified researchers of black personality.

What has come to be commonly held stereotypes in the form of character types such as the 'Uncle Tom' or 'Sambo' type, investigated by researchers as Elkin, Myrdal, Pettigrew and others; the

'aggressive black pupil' (paradoxically, the 'other side of the coin'); the light-skinned individual 'passing' into white society, the black clown, and others examined, are, seen in the light of the history of black people of the diaspora, little more than members of a group of humankind responding to their circumstances and external stimuli in much the same way as any other group in a similar situation; each individual possessing the potential for all of these character types. The probability is that each of these character types never have existed in their totality, each individual being a multiple personality, in the case of black people finding what for them is a workable solution to their own situation. Evidence for this can also be seen in the case of the character type reminiscent of the 'Uncle Tom' being found amongst white prisoners in Nazi concentration camps, under a similar pressure to black slaves (see p. 198); the acceptance and self-perpetuation of the self-denigrating 'Irish joke' by many Irish people and the non-compliance of many European children in occupied countries during both World Wars (including the British Channel Islands). The implications of the acceptance of this overall historical view of the response of black people is important as it reduces the deficit image of the

black child possessing innate genetic defects and stresses the salience of external factors. In spite of unique elements in the history of black people of the diaspora, the evidence is that the study of 'black personality' has been a misconception in itself, the real subject being the human race; black people themselves claiming little more than this to the often deaf ears of those who would see black individuals exhibiting these characteristics as 'a suitable case for treatment' rather than the need for society to recognise the issues in the first instance and make any necessary adjustments.

To these stereotypes might be added that of the black musician and sportsman. Whilst presenting a more positive image than those above, they are nevertheless still as damaging to the achievement of the black pupil as they limit the options available in that they suggest to the black child that only a few occupations are open to him or her; in the words of Hauser, cited earlier in a different context, "which may not be all he could be" (see p. 175).

In suggesting that the group history has an important part to play in the development of self-esteem, it is not necessary to devalue the idea of

the uniqueness of the individual, as the aim of this study is to add the historical dimension to the debate rather than produce an alternative ideology. That each individual, or even a particular set of individuals, may respond differently to negative situations is also evidenced in Driver's study of West Indian children (see Introductory Chapter), which does not corroborate other researchers, including the Swann Report.

THE QUESTION OF THE EXISTENCE OF A COHESIVE 'RACIST SYSTEM'

If black individuals respond differently to racism in society, the question might be asked: to what degree do individuals of the dominant white group react differently, amongst themselves, towards the same stimuli? The lack of uniformity of attitudes towards race to be found in present-day society may have important implications for the teacher; for if modern thinking on race in Britain (particularly attitudes towards black people - the lowest level of the racial hierarchy) is the legacy of past ideology, pragmatic in its day but largely redundant, the greater probability is that racism in present-day society exists along a continuum,

ranging from what might be called 'hard' racism; individuals adhering to a keenly-felt, well-ordered race theory, such as existed in Nazi Germany during the Second World War and currently personified by the British National Party, to what might be called 'soft' racism; such as failure to recognise racism as a problem to black people and factors such as omission in the school curriculum (1). The reluctance of teachers who find it difficult to accept that some aspects of the content of their syllabus may be essentially racist may be the result of the tendency for popular imagery to identify racist actions with 'hard' racism, in other words with conscious racists at one end of the continuum, rather than presenting racism as actions and beliefs varying in consciousness and intentionality in most individuals throughout British Society as a result of the residual history of their group, in this case the dominant white society. The suggestion that the curriculum they are presenting might be lacking in adequate role figures for pupils of Afro-Caribbean descent or deficient in other ways may alienate some teachers

(1) The term 'soft racism' should not imply any comparative lack of importance of the effects of all forms of racism in the black pupil's life, however.

who see themselves as being unjustly 'branded' as racists, carrying as they may the somewhat 'purist' image of polarized 'racists' and 'non-racists'. The fact that British racism is not the result of a systematic, well thought-through policy emanating from some central source (governmental being the most obvious), may, far from easing the task, conversely render more difficult the possibility of its elimination in the way that post-war Germany tried to consciously reverse the racist ideology of Hitler. The very fact of the lack of cohesion and centralisation of British race-thinking, coupled with the lack of a situated incident, as in the case of the holocaust in Nazi Germany, to polarise attention, may hinder any national sense of urgency in all but those suffering directly, or experiencing that suffering by observation.

THE EFFECTS OF THE 'SYSTEM' UPON THE BLACK PUPIL

Although 'the system' as it relates to race cannot be considered as being a reified, that is a materialised, entity, owing to its uncoordinated nature, this should not appear to contradict the notion of the existence of a residual group memory, it being unnecessary to conceive the latter as

being in any sense a collective consciousness, a 'racial memory', but rather as a group experience to which each individual may respond differently. Although each individual may find his or her own responses to their situation, the evidence is overwhelming that the group to which the individual belongs and the particular biography of that group weights the scales of opportunity and advantage; perhaps a rather obvious conclusion, but one that needed quantifying for those wishing to distinguish between the experience of pupils of African descent and other disadvantaged groups, including the lower classes of white society. A conclusion reached in this study is that pupils of African descent living in Western society are uniquely disadvantaged, the possibility of negative attitudes towards their group being exhibited at both work and play in the form of teacher attitudes, the curriculum, the processes of education as they pass through school, the various ways in which they spend their leisure, their general sensory environment and overt prejudice shown towards them by the dominant group - in short in almost every aspect of their daily life.

Some bifurcation of these negative experiences is necessary to understand the ways in which they

might disadvantage black pupils, however. Whilst deficiencies in the school curriculum, negative imagery in films, the media in general and the high street might affect black pupil's self-esteem, self-concept and sense of identity; an erosion of their confidence playing a part in their ultimate success at school, other experiences can influence the child's performance at school more directly. Teacher attitudes and overt prejudice are essentially external factors, not concerned necessarily with the internalisation of negative factors, but are elements beyond the black child's control, irrespective of how an individual may choose to respond to stimuli and the fact that children may differ. Whilst researchers have stressed the importance of a positive attitude to oppression conveyed to the child by his or her parents, in the face of racism by determined individuals, a positive attitude, having a 'strong sense of identity', or parental rearing 'to be proud of one's colour', may be useless. It is at this point that the element of power, and who holds that power, enters into racism and the child's learning experience. Until comparatively recently, even research into the situation of people of African descent was a prerogative of the dominant group, hence the possibility of such anomalies as

over-stressing the importance of such issues as identity and the minimising of the historical experience of this group.

THE METHODOLOGY OF BLACK UNDERACHIEVEMENT STUDIES

The total experience of the black pupil has had insufficient consideration. If the term 'global identity' has, in the past, been used by researchers to describe varied aspects of identity, including self-esteem and self-concept, a more global view might equally be taken of a far wider range of influences upon the black pupil's performance at school in our time. Forces both internal and external brought to bear upon black children may influence their school performance and in this work it is suggested that the search for the single factor might be abandoned in favour of a more holistic approach.

Constraints upon modes of inquiry by many modern Western researches including education psychologists, sociologists and other investigators have been shown in this study to have resulted in the minimisation of the historical factor in the underachievement of pupils of African descent and, in laying too great an emphasis upon situated

factors, may be missing many important considerations. This should not imply that statistical research by those employing an empirical mode of inquiry does not play an important part in the overall picture, so lacking in the search for black underachievement. Just as internalised issues such as identity play their part as factors, empirical techniques also have their place in the search for solutions. The shortcomings of situated studies undertaken by most practitioners have been discussed, but they do, nevertheless, have a positive role in reinforcing the notion of the salience of the group experience of black children. An example of this could be the use of statistical information as a counter to those who would refute the existence of prejudice and other negative influences in the black child's life by proving that children do, indeed, lack black role figures; do face discrimination in employment upon leaving school (or, indirectly, have siblings as role figures experiencing the latter), or in quantifying any of the negative situations affecting the school experience of black children touched upon in this study.

The aim of this study has been to contribute towards an 'umbrella' for existing, often situated,

studies; a coordinating factor of the sort called for by Pettigrew, as mentioned in the Introductory Chapter. A strong linking factor would appear to be the turbulent history of black people of the diaspora. In a way this may seem to be a reiteration of that which is already popularly known; or at least intuitively understood, but in view of the curious academic, and, indeed, popular amnesia, it would seem that a reaffirmation of that history and the role it has played, and continued to play, is necessary in a way not dissimilar to the investigations of Piaget (though the subject matter and methodology were very different), who, in plotting the progressive stages of human development, might have appeared to the cynical observer to be undertaking little more than restating the obvious, namely that children are born very small, knowing little, and grow physically and mentally with the passage of time.

One of the epistemological tenets of this study is that, seemingly simplistically and obviously, knowledge and human experience exists along a chronological continuum, past and present interacting with one another; but more than this, in that it is, at the very least, extremely difficult, to lose phases of that knowledge and

experience. If an individual's personal biography becomes more complex with age, his or her life history, the history of the group to which an individual belongs presents even more complexities, increasing with the passing of time as aspects become hidden; the long-term experience of black people of the diaspora now presenting an intricate web of imagery, responses, misunderstandings and popular tacit agreement re-emerging in the form of an often difficult to detect residual group memory. The effects of residual group history is not only experienced by British blacks, but by British society.

'THE RESIDUAL GROUP MEMORY' AND BLACK UNDERACHIEVEMENT

The residual group memory has been described in this thesis as being the legacy of once more overt negative attitudes towards black people; factors still in operation whose original political or economical purpose might have been largely forgotten, but may nevertheless play an important part in how black people are perceived in today's society and, more importantly in this study, those aspects that relate to the educational experience of black pupils. Those researchers who have

acknowledged historical factors have tended to take a symmetrical view: If black people of the diaspora living in Western society have endured negative experiences, then that group must respond by feeling self-hate, and lack of self-esteem and confidence. Since the Black Pride movement of the past few decades particularly, however, the response of black people as a group has been seen not to concur with this view; a rebelliousness manifesting itself in many forms.

The implication is that elements in the past history of a group have to be met and adequately dealt with, rather than submerging aspects of what may be a total picture necessary to deal with such questions as black underachievement. This may be particularly pertinent to the role played by identity in black children's academic performance. One of the effects of the politicisation of issues of racism in our society has been a hindrance of professional interest in aspects that touch upon children's education; the search for solutions to underachievement being left to an ideologically committed fringe. These professionals, and black researchers themselves, are also influenced by political climate. In recent years, the rising awareness of the adverse bias in past research has

led to an avoidance of taking on board any part of what may appear to be the old 'Eurocentric' view of black underachievement, as opposed to the newer 'Afrocentric' position. Rather than abandoning research into self-esteem, self-concept and identity as factors in a 'faddish' way, it may be more productive to put that role into perspective as a possible contribution to a range of factors. The danger of viewing black identity, self-concept, self-esteem, as the sole cause of black underachievement has been, of course, that, whilst the historical and experiential origin of the situation of black children may be acknowledged, it still presents a deficit model of the black child in that it implies that, having possibly acquired a poor sense of identity, the solution lies in some form of remedial treatment for the child, rather than perceiving the difficulties in the child's life as societal. Researchers have traditionally taken the viewpoint of black people's problems emanating from their own social, cultural and racial background, unwittingly or intentionally shifting the 'locus of control' entirely onto the shoulders of the black child (see p. 138), thus perpetuating the notion of the child as 'the problem'.

A related myth is the notion of blacks as the helpless recipients of the charitable works of others to better their condition. The evidence would however suggest that black people of the diaspora do not mindlessly accept negative views of themselves by others, but have traditionally found their own ways of surviving throughout their history in Europe, the Caribbean, and North and South America. In addition to individual responses, black people of the diaspora have also responded as a group, in spite of the historical restrictions on their ability to control the stuff of their own lives. The American Black Freedom movement of the late 1950s represents the most recent of a number of sometimes abortive reactions in the face of repression by those holding the power. This response has manifested itself in a variety of ways, ranging from the militant 'Black Power' to the creative 'Black Pride', developments in communications leading to the spread of this seminal idea throughout the entire black diaspora; all countries populated by people of African descent, including communities in the United Kingdom.

AN HOLISTIC APPROACH WITHIN THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

If investigators of black underachievement are to proceed by examining a wide range of factors, including the school, home and out-of-school environment, what then might be the tasks to be undertaken by schools and how might they be facilitated? We have seen that awareness of the needs of ethnic minority pupils has evolved during the last quarter-century through a multicultural to an anti-racist approach in education. From recognising ethnic minority children's background, culture and language; teaching about their history, art, religions, literature, celebrating festivals and organising cultural evenings, action in this area shifted to addressing issues of power and influence and removing discrimination in the curriculum, classroom methods and school organisation; teaching directly about equality and justice. One of the deficiencies in existing approaches is that to a large extent they still apply themselves to situational factors. Even though history as a subject may have been tackled in schools in an effort to redress the balance of misrepresentation and omission as it might relate to people of African descent, elements of the residual group history as a factor, some of which

have been touched upon in this study in an effort to identify what the hidden curriculum relating to black British pupils might be, have yet to be systematically dealt with.

If this thesis has stressed the need for understanding the psychosocial history of people of African peoples of the diaspora as a prerequisite to finding approaches to combatting underachievement in black British pupils, statistical research, as a situational mode of inquiry through the use of data, might also be used as a way of establishing the functional aspects of how black children respond to their world, in relation to the aspects examined in this study, and more particularly, at school. Such studies as racial preference tests (see p. 189) have never been undertaken in this country to any large extent, nor has the response to current anti-racist approaches by children, of whatever race, been scientifically monitored; one of the complaints of researchers cynical of recent multicultural approaches, such as Stone. Amongst the accusations is that current practices are insufficiently marshalled; that is, only a very general assessment being made of their efficiency. Not only the assessment, but the application of current

approaches, may be insufficiently cohesive; something of a 'shotgun' approach, to anti-racist techniques being the norm in most schools, the child being offered a variety of presentations in the hope that he or she may be favourably influenced.

In the current climate of a state pedagogy, a 'National Curriculum', the time may have arrived when the efficacy of the development of a structured approach to black underachievement based on the sort of holistic approach suggested in this thesis to deal with distinct elements in the black child's life existing as part of the residual history of their group might be considered. Some of the techniques may not appreciably differ from those already in existence, albeit uncoordinated, as part of anti-racist practices, but different in their aim, focus and context. The aim of anti-racist approaches has been described as being to address issues of discrimination, power and influence in order to bring about equality and justice; the focus being the targeting of all children in keeping with the recommendations of the aptly named Swann Report, "Education for All". The Education Act of 1988 also stressed the entitlement of all children to equality of opportunity, the

onus being upon schools to find effective ways of meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum. Strategies to deal with the underachievement of black children might require positive action directing the focus of attention to the latter in a way that might seem, at first glance, to shift the focus away from the notion of an 'education for all' view of anti-racist practices. Existing anti-racist techniques, reassessed and re-addressed (some perhaps being abandoned) might be employed within a different context alongside other techniques yet to be determined by future research. Within such a context, the focus of anti-racist techniques would have shifted from being aimed at all children to being the by-product of the treatment of underachievers of African descent, although nevertheless applied to all the black child's fellow pupils. As both the dominant group and British Blacks experience the effects of a residual group history, however, it would seem that, if, once again, a symmetrical view is accepted, if black children are the recipients of negative attitudes by the dominant society, then attention to that aspect of the education of children belonging to dominant group is critical. The emphasis upon the entitlement of all children in

the Education Act of 1988 might therefore be seen as a legal *raison d'etre*, a legitimising of anti-racist practices as an alternative to what the Macdonald Commission felt to be the still prevalent 'moral' anti-racism practised in many classrooms.

Without being too prescriptive at this stage of the investigation, the tasks to be addressed would need to be associated with the main factors concerned with academic failure; 1. Personality characteristics, 2. Home and parental variables, and 3. School factors.

Some current anti-racist practices hitherto applied as part of what is described above as 'the shotgun' approach to deal with issues of identity and personality might be utilised within a specific context to address those responses to their total environment by black children, possibly expressed as the personality traits touched upon in this study seen to be a possible hindrance to their scholastic achievement, alongside issues beyond the black child's control as represented by significant others in a more powerful position.

Positive action to address the difficult area of the out-of-school environment would have to be

wide-ranging in its application; perhaps eliciting the oft-cited complaint by tired teachers that "schools can't do everything" taken on board and dealt with in a realistic and practical way. Such an approach may seem unrealistic in practice, but many schools have already made great inroads into bringing at least the home and parental aspects of the out-of-school environment into school; Liverpool, with the oldest black community in Britain, having, like some other authorities, a flourishing Parent Support Programme providing the necessary machinery to facilitate this process, if adequately funded.

Of those characteristics associated with underachievement directly concerned with school, including attitudinal factors, teacher variables, curriculum and teaching methods, teacher attitudes have been mentioned above as being essentially external factors, sharing with aspects of the out-of-school environment the significance of the power of influential others. Students on initial teacher training and postgraduate courses might be made aware of issues of race in a manner shifting the focus from the sort of moral anti-racism that has often hitherto characterised in-service and initial teacher race-awareness training to the

'entitlement', the legal right, of all children to education and the teacher's critical role in the enabling process. To this might be added the need for more black teachers, both as role-figures and as individuals possibly sharing the perception of the black child.

Too little work has been undertaken on the processes of education in the classroom and deficiencies in the system, the greater part of past effort centring upon curriculum content, even during the 'Anti-Racist' phase, which sought to address that deficiency. It could be that the black child spends more time analysing school as an institution than 'taking up' what is on offer in the way of learning. Black 'Saturday schools' and extra-mural classes offering 'black studies' may not be simply providing an alternative curriculum, perhaps seen as more appropriate by exponents, but an environment in which the black pupil feels more secure. The degree of reaction by schools to the responses of black people of the diaspora as a group, at an international, national and local level, may have a bearing upon the underachievement of British black pupils. Some schools could be acknowledging the cultural differences of those black pupils coming directly from the West Indies

or Africa in the form of a possibly purist 'multicultural education' approach, but may not only be failing to deal with the somewhat different situation of British black pupils, but neglecting the linking, extra-curricular, experience common to all people of the black diaspora. It is possible that some schools may still be failing to 'plug into' that experience and, more particularly, the local response of blacks as a group in the form of neighbourhood self-help organisations. In such cities as Liverpool, black self-help groups have offered their services to schools in the form of resident school black artists, dance specialists and sculptors in recent years, but the onus has been on groups to solicit the school's cooperation rather than schools actively seeking assistance in drawing the out-of-school experience of black pupils into the process of education. It could be that black self-help groups could be used much more profitably and brought into the process of education rather than being a fringe activity.

That children of African descent in Western society take any interest at all in subject matter at school that must often seem trivial compared with the weight of both overt prejudice and more subtle forms of alienation is remarkable evidence

of the will of members of their group to survive and continue to exist at a level anything like normality. That some black pupils may show evidence of underachievement is unremarkable. It may be too much for society to expect no response to be made to what is virtually a total environment, as evidenced in this study, in which a section of society has experienced continuous, often, though not necessarily, overt, alienation. Other groups, undoubtedly, are currently experiencing or have experienced similar disadvantages and prejudice in part at some time in their history, but the significant factor in the situation of people of African descent living in the wider diaspora is the extent - the all-pervading nature - of this aspect of their group biography. Some schools may not offer a 'place of safety' appreciably beyond that of the child's environment outside school and there is no reason to expect more from British black pupils than white. Indeed, to do so may be a perpetuation of one of the earliest myths promulgated by the pro-slavery party; namely that black people do not feel discomfort to the same extent as white, in itself a manifestation of the residual group history of black people in Western society, reiterating as it does the notion of the

sub-human black used as part of the language of justification for slavery.

Consideration of the view that the present manifestation of racism in Western society is the result of a process beginning comparatively recently in historical terms, being only centuries old compared with the duration of human evolution, introduces a note of optimism into what might otherwise seem a somewhat bleak picture. If modern racism is a man-made artifact, not part of a natural order but the residue of actions originally undertaken in many cases for political and commercial reasons, the enormity of the task of addressing the underachievement of pupils of Afro-Caribbean descent, or even the greater causal factor of racism in society, shrinks in magnitude. To minimise the issues to be addressed would be foolish, but to know that the tasks might be reduced to human proportions offers a glimmer of hope in an extremely complex situation; the knowledge that what man - and all too often, because of the relative power position, it has been man rather than woman - has constructed can be deconstructed.

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