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Analysing the Historical Evolution of Ethnic Education Policy-Making in England, 1965-2005

*Richard Race**

‘... there has been a significant growth in the number of independent faith schools. There are now around 300 such schools including 50 Jewish schools, around 100 Muslim schools and over 100 Evangelical Christian Schools. To an extent this mirrors the growth in certain sectors of the population and increasing confidence in pursuing traditional beliefs and way of life in a multi-cultural Britain. I believe that it is right that parents should be able to choose how their children are educated and should be able to pay to do so. That is the mark of a free and open society. Yet, on the other hand, faith should not be blind. I worry that many young people are being educated in faith-based schools, with little appreciation of their wider responsibilities and obligations to British Society.’

Bell, D. (2005) *Hansard Society / Office for Standards in Education*¹

‘Equal access to education is crucial for achieving equality of opportunity. Really high quality education for all is vital, especially for ethnic groups that may be disadvantaged initially by poverty, English as a second language, and so forth. Our policies to improve quality and access to education and training are therefore especially important to many ethnic minority communities. We are committed in particular to... Ensuring that faith schools reflect the diversity of their local community by operating a fair admissions policy and teaching the national curriculum. It is essential that schools cater for local pupils and do not contribute to social or cultural divisiveness.’

Liberal Democrats (2005) *General Election 2005: Liberal Democrat Manifesto for Ethnic Minorities*²

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¹ Lecture 17, <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/publications/index>. David Bell is Chief Inspector of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), February 2005. See also the 2003/2004 OFSTED Annual Report – <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk>.

² [Http://www.libdems.org.uk/democrats/policies/manifestos/ethnicminorities.pdf](http://www.libdems.org.uk/democrats/policies/manifestos/ethnicminorities.pdf). For more on the 2005 Liberal Democrat Manifesto for Ethnic Minorities see: www.libdems.org.uk.

Abstract: This research reviews the historical evolution of English ethnic education policy-making. The social provision of education when examining the implications on ethnic majorities and minorities raises many important issues and pose the following questions: Does the education system exclude sections of the population i.e. ethnic minorities? Can cultural diversity be taught and promoted? The research explores the implications these questions raise for Afro-Caribbean, Asian and Muslim communities. Assimilationist, integrationist and multicultural education policies are analysed. By examining education and social policy documents and reports, the objective of this research is to make the reader think about how education policy shapes society and what consequences this can have on teaching ethnic educational issues concerning cultural diversity and institutionalised racism.

Assimilationist and Integrationist Education Policy

In 1965, a policy document was published by the Department of Education and Science (DES) entitled *The Education of Immigrants* that was published again as a Circular in 1971.³ The aim of the policy document seems to underline the significance of absorbing and assimilating Commonwealth children into the education system. It is interesting to note that 'educational difficulties' are highlighted as a problem generated by immigrant children rather than problems residing within the education system itself. The DES document goes further and actually implies that ethnic families are to blame for failures within the classroom.⁴ It is West Indian and Asian stereotypes that are being reinforced and highlighted here rather than the inability of the education system to cope

³ See: Department of Education and Science (DES) (1965) *The Education of Immigrants* (Circular 7/65) London, HMSO; DES (1971) *The Education of Immigrants*, London, HMSO. The 1971 DES document begins: 'Some schools before 1960 had a cosmopolitan range of nationalities among their pupils but had found relatively little difficulty in absorbing and educating children of the earlier post-war European immigrants. In the 1960's however, the concentration and rapid build-up in the numbers of children arriving from Commonwealth countries and entering the schools at different ages and at all times throughout the school year began to create serious educational difficulties (DES; 1971:1).

⁴ 'For the West Indian child... The environment is one in which marriage is not always considered important in providing a secure basis for raising children ... to join his mother from whom he may be separated for several years ... the unknown father with whom his mother may be living, and perhaps, is very young, sent out to child-minders while his parents go out to work ... Asian mothers' tendency to live a withdrawn life and not to make outside contacts does not help ... Many [Asian parents] are shy at the thought of mixing with White parents with whom they have little or no contact out of school (DES, 1971: 4-6).

with the influx of immigrant children. West Indian and Asian children, as well as their parents, are seen as the cause of educational problems. Possible and sensible solutions seem to be missing from this education policy document.⁵ *The Education of Immigrants* highlights the ‘problems’ of ethnic minorities. The questions relating to whose responsibilities, rights and duties the education service is supposed to teach immigrant children raises interesting issues about the nature of the education system. ‘Responsibilities’ refers to the majority ethnic population and how best to run the education system which promotes majority rights and duties. Both Circular’s acknowledge the concern with the assimilation of immigrant pupils and show anxiety about the responses of white parents to the concentration of immigrant children in schools. The system seems to be upholding English, white notions of nation and ethnic minorities have to be assimilated or integrated by the education system into the state and society generally. In this way minority education is undermined. There are uncomfortable parallels with David Bell’s citizenship speech and quote that begins this work. Bell uses the term ‘responsibility’ again, forty years on from the publication of Circular 7/65, the obligations again being to the majority rather than minority community. From the minority communities’ perspective, Fitzherbert was arguing in the 1960s, the vital importance of education for West Indian communities and children.⁶ Fitzherbert projects a positive image of education for minority communities and highlights the importance placed on education by Afro-Caribbean parents for their children. Meeting white children on equal terms and acquiring qualifications and skills for the workplace was and is vital.

The year 1968 witnessed educational expenditure falling for the first time since the end of the Second World War which increased wider social, economic and political pressures. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Roy Jenkins, introduced integration as a general social policy into political debate in 1966. Integrationist ideals did not mean an ideological break with assimilationist values. The integrationist education policies of the 1970s highlight

⁵ The document finishes with the following interesting recommendation: ‘The education service can make its best contribution to the county’s future in this situation by helping each individual immigrant to become a citizen who can take his or her place in society, fully and properly equipped to accept responsibilities, exercise rights and perform duties (DES, 1971:12).

⁶ Fitzherbert (1968: 7-8) argued: ‘School represents their means of access to full membership of the community. First, it is the place where they meet English children on equal terms: second, it is the place where they learn to understand and maybe accept English values. Third, and most important, it is the place where they can acquire the qualifications and skills needed to compete on equal terms with English adults in the job market’. See: Fitzherbert, K. ‘The West Indian Background’, in Oakley, R. (ed.) *New Backgrounds: the immigrant child at home and at schools*, Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, London, 1-22.

Marxist concepts of exploitation and alienation.⁷ The aim here was to bring immigrant children into the life of the school with minimal and conditional cultural diversity. Achievement, or rather underachievement, became an important education policy issue. Educational achievement is the level a student reaches as measured by test scores or exam results. Afro-Caribbean children had tended to score less in exams than their White or Asian counterparts. The education system offers an insight into why underachievement became such an important issue. Although the 1960s and 1970s witnessed increased comprehensive re-organisation to the secondary system of education, children were leaving school at 15 until 1973, when the school leaving age was raised to 16 but schools still maintained policies of streaming and selection.⁸ What would this mean to ethnic minority children who had limited access to educational qualifications? Would it be unrealistic to ask ethnic minority communities to

⁷ This Marxist approach was expressed by Barry Troyna who examined the relationship between the state, racism and education policy-making. As Troyna and Williams argue: 'The political slogan was alienation ... a concept used differently in selected contexts but one which had an educational resonance linking it notions of child-centredness and culturally relevant curricula. It also acted as a twin concept to 'underachievement'. In political terms they connected underachievement and allowed for the amelioration of the latter (underachievement) as a way of forestalling the former (rebellion)'. Troyna, B., Williams, J. (1986) *Racism, education and the state*, London, Croom Helm. See Also: Troyna, B. (1981) *Public awareness and the media: a study of reporting race*, London, Commission for Racial Equality; Troyna, B. (1984) 'Fact or artefact? The educational underachievement of black pupils', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 5., no.2., pp. 153-166; Troyna, B. (ed.) (1989) *Racial equality in education*, London, Routledge; Troyna, B., Carrington, B. (eds.) (1990) *Education, racism and reform*, London, Routledge; Troyna, B., Hatcher, R. (1992) *Racism in children's lives: a study of mainly white primary schools*, London, Routledge in association with the National Children's Bureau; Troyna, B. (1994) *Racism and education: research perspectives*, Buckingham, Open University Press; Sikes, P., Rizvi, F. (eds.) (1997) *Researching race and social justice in education: essays in honour of Barry Troyna*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Connolly, P., Troyna, B. (eds.) (1998) *Researching racism in education: politics, theory and practice*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

⁸ For more information on comprehensive re-organisation, streaming and selection see: Kogan, M. (1978) *The politics of educational change*, Manchester, Manchester University Press; Gordon, P., Aldrich, R., Dean, D. (1991) *Education and policy in England in the Twentieth Century*, London, The Woburn Press; Jackson, B. (1964) *Streaming: an education system in miniature*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; Ferri, E. (1971) *Streaming: two years later, a follow-up of a group of pupils who attended streamed and non-streamed junior schools*, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research; Suknandan, L., Lee, B. (1998) *Streaming, setting and grouping by ability: a review of the literature*, Slough, National Foundation for Education Research; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1977) *Selection and certification in education and employment*, Paris, OECD; Gordon, P. (1980) *Selection for secondary education*, London, The Woburn Press; Brooadfoot, P. (1984) *Selection, certification and control: social issues in educational assessment*, London, Falmer Press; Reichmann, H. (1988) *Censorship and selection: issues and answers for schools*, Chicago, American Library Association; Ahier, J., Cosin, B., Hales, M. (eds.) (1996) *Diversity and change: education policy and selection*, Routledge in association with The Open University Press; Potts, P. (ed.) (2003) *Inclusion in the city: selection, schooling and community*, London, RoutledgeFalmer.

support an education system that denied them access to educational qualifications?

Educational underachievement highlights the problems that black children faced within education. The official agenda during the 1960s and 1970s was framed in such a way that 'the problem' of black students and the problems confronted by black students became the rationale for policy intervention.⁹ Assimilationist and integrationist education policies directed the problems away from the education system and toward the black child that meant greater alienation and exploitation in both the classroom and society. These policies are illustrated by Harrison¹⁰ who examined the Inner City London Borough of Hackney. He argued that educational attainment relates to the housing and local economy of the area i.e. the child's social environment. Hackney itself had one of the highest proportion of children from families originating from New Commonwealth families. Harrison examined two schools, one of them being Hackney Downs¹¹, which as he argued in 1978 when the author was in the field, still achieved the best academic results in Hackney. Nevertheless, truancy and vandalism in Hackney Downs was high, while teacher morale was low. Harrison¹² highlighted the social and economic problems that concern both children and families within the urban as related to educational achievement for all inner city children. The problem did not lie with the ethnic minority child, but the social environment that surrounded the child. It seems that the educational circular, *Education for Immigrants*, had done little to solve the educational problem of underachievement. At least Harrison underlined the ways

⁹ As Troyna and Williams (ibid: 22) argue, '... to make the educational experience of Black students more palatable, racism ... was not challenged; neither was its profound and fundamental effect on the life chances of Black students brought into the debate ... the 3 Ss (saris, samosas and steel bands) interpretation of multiculturalism was advanced as the operational mode through which the 3 Rs (resistance, rejection and rebellion) would be explicable in terms of assimilationist imperatives.' See also Jenny Williams recent work: Hickley, T., Williams, J. (eds.) (1996) *Language, education and society in a changing world*, Dublin, Multilingual Matters; Williams, J. (ed.) (1997) *Negotiating access to higher education: the discourse of selectivity and equity*, Buckingham, Society for Research into Higher Education and The Open University Press; Anderson, P., Williams, J. (2001) *Identity and difference in higher education: 'outsiders within'*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press.

¹⁰ Harrison, P. (1988) *Inside the Inner City: life under the cutting edge*, London, Penguin Books.

¹¹ The story of Hackney Downs School is told in: O' Conner, M. et al. (1999) *Hackney Downs: the school that dared to fight*, London, Cassell.

¹² Harrison (ibid: 298) offers the following important conclusion to his analysis of Hackney Schools: '... whatever the school does, it can never be the major educational influence in the pupils' lives. Most children spend the crucial early years at home. By the time those from poor homes start primary school, irreparable damage will have been done to their potential through poor nutrition, lack of stimulation and verbalisation, and emotional disturbance. The family is a more potent influence than the primary school, the street is more potent than secondary school, and television is more potent than either level. The poor neighbourhood is itself the principle school for its children, its inhabitants are the chief instructors. It is a disastrous environment for learning or discipline.'

to attack the problems surrounding urban poverty and consequently education for inner city children. Social policy had to address the problems of improving urban housing, the economy and education *together*. With social problems and tensions increasing in urban ethnic minority communities during the 1970s, education policy was incrementally forced to change.

Multicultural Education Policy

During the 1970s the general trend towards multiculturalism had started in Britain. Multiculturalism¹³ marks a move away from the education policies of assimilation and integration toward a concept of cultural diversity. According to Straker-Welds, '... the Inner London Education Authority had first circulated its initial papers in 1977 on multi-ethnic education.'¹⁴ Inner city social

¹³ For more on education and multiculturalism see: May, S. (1994) *Making multicultural education work*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters; Singh, G.P.A. (1995) *Asian teachers in British schools: a study of two generations*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters; Gillborn, D., Gipps, C. (1996) *Recent research on the achievements of ethnic minority pupils*, OFSTED review of research, London, HMSO; Woodrow, D. (ed.) (1997) *Intercultural education: theories, policies and practices*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press; Torres, C.A. (1998) *Democracy, education and multiculturalism: dilemmas of citizenship in a global world*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield; Rusell, J. (1999) *Teaching racism or tackling it?: multicultural stories from white beginning teachers*. Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Ali, E., Jones, C. (2000) *Meeting the educational needs of Somali pupils in Camden Schools. A Report for Camden LEA*, London, Camden Local Education Authority; Grant, N. (2000) *Multicultural education in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Deakin Academic Press; Gardner, P. (2001) *Teaching and learning in multicultural classrooms*, London, David Fulton; Bryam, M., Nichols, A., Stevens, D. (eds.) (2001) *Developing intercultural competence in practice*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters; Korn, C., Bursztyn, A. (eds.) (2002) *Rethinking multicultural education: case studies in cultural transition*, WestPoint, Bergin and Garvey; Moses, M.S. (2002) *Embracing race: why we need race-conscious education policy*, New York, Teachers College Press; Dilg, M. (2003) *Thriving in the multicultural classroom: principles and practices for effective teaching*, New York, Teachers College Press; Ramsey, P., Williams, L.R., Vold, E. (2nd ed.) (2003) *Multicultural education: a sourcebook*, London, RoutledgeFalmer; Banks, J.A., McGee Banks, C.A. (eds.) (2004) *Handbook of research for multicultural education*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass; Jeffrey, B., Walford, G. (eds.) (2004) *Ethnographies of educational and cultural conflicts: strategies and resolutions*, Amsterdam, JAI.

¹⁴ Straker-Welds, M. (ed.) (1988:1) *Education for a multicultural society: case studies in Inner London Education Authority schools*, London, Bell and Hyman. For more on multi-ethnic education see: Hicks, D.W. (1981) *Minorities: a teacher's resource book for multi-ethnic curriculum*, London, Heinemann; Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (1983) *Delivery of the Authority's initiative on multi-ethnic education in schools*, London, ILEA; Gillborn, D. (1990) 'Race', *ethnicity and education: teaching and learning in multi-ethnic schools*, London, Unwin Hyman; Foster, P. (1990) *Policy and practice in multicultural and anti-racist education: a case study of a multi-ethnic comprehensive school*, London, Routledge; Verma, G.K. (1994) *The ethnic crucible: harmony and hostility in multi-ethnic schools*, London, Falmer Press; Baunam, G. (1996) *Contesting culture: discourses of identity in multi-ethnic London*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Connolly, P.

disorder in the early 1980s, in areas such as: Brixton; Tottenham; Small Heath and Toxteth shed light on the need for urban policies to include rather than exclude ethnic minorities. The *Scarman Report*¹⁵ examined urban conditions and put forward recommendations for urban regeneration. Interestingly, even though Scarman acknowledged the existence of institutionalised racism, he refused to define the term as a concept. Institutionalised racism involves cultural and individual factors coming together within institutional environments which for the benefit of the ethnic majority rather than the ethnic minority. When combating institutional racism, social gatekeepers and the public at large need to be re-educated and become ethnically aware.¹⁶ Twitchin and Demuth¹⁷ suggest that although, ‘... the concept of institutional racism is a new idea to many people [we] need to think about institutional pressures, particularly in the exercise of power over decision-making in the school system.’

With regard to education policy, *Education for All* was the major education policy document on ethnic minorities during the 1980s. The final report took eight years to publish, changed its chairperson – Rampton to Swann – and had numerous changes of committee members because of disputes regarding the nature of the material being examined which covered specific ethnic minority examples. These difficulties highlight the controversial nature of the policy document. The focus of *Education for All* was on internal and external problems concerning ethnic minority education.¹⁸ This fact indicates a small advance from

(1998) *Racism, gender, identities and young children: social relations in a multi-ethnic, inner-city primary school*, London, Routledge; James, R. (1999) *Race and ethnicity in multi-ethnic schools: a critical case study*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters; Campbell, C. (ed.) (2002) *Developing inclusive schooling: perspectives, policies and practices*, Bedford Way Papers 16, London, Institute of Education, University of London; Richardson, R., Miles, B. (2003) *Equality stories: recognition, respect and raising achievement: schools and local education authorities in multi-ethnic Britain*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books.

¹⁵ Scarman, L.G. (1981) *The Brixton disorders, 10-12 April 1981: a report of an enquiry. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty*, London, HMSO.

¹⁶ For more on this argument see John Rex's work: Rex, J., Moore, R. (1967) *Race, community and conflict: a study of Sparkbrook*, London, Open University Press for the Institute of Race Relations; Rex, J., Tomlinson, S. (1979) *Colonial immigrants in a British City: a class analysis*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; Rex, J. (1981) *Social conflict: a conceptual and theoretical analysis*, London, Longman; Rex, J., Mason, D. (eds.) (1986) *Theories of race and ethnic relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Rex, J. (1986) *Race and ethnicity*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press; Rex, J. (1988) *The ghetto and the underclass: essays on race and social policy*, Aldershot, Avebury; Jenkins, R. (2005) 'The place of theory: John Rex's contribution to the sociological study of ethnicity and 'race'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, No.2, pp 201-211.

¹⁷ Twitchin, J., Demuth, C. (eds.) (1981:179) *Multi-cultural education*, London, British Broadcasting Company.

¹⁸ DES (1985: vii) *Education for All: the report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups*, London, HMSO. The policy document, '... reviewed in relation to schools the educational needs and attainment of children from ethnic minority groups taking accounts, as necessary, of factors outside the formal education

the educational circulars of the 1960s and 1970s. The educational problems, contrary to Harrison's (1988) suggestions, were directed toward both the school and the child, not on the inner-city urban environment.¹⁹ The terminology seems not to have changed from the 1960s and 1970s. West Indian children are still being associated with underachievement. The main difference with the previous decades is that the education system is also partly blamed for the problem. Having said that, the focus of the education problem still lies with the black child. The recommendations of *Education for All*, (1985: xii) '... views the task for education in meeting the needs of ethnic minority pupils and preparing all pupils, both ethnic majority and ethnic minority, for life in a society which is both multi-racial and culturally diverse.' This is a major change in terminology, as the education policy document distances itself from previous assimilationist and integrationist education policies. However, the education system is not supposedly preparing all children for a life in a culturally diverse society, which could be achieved within a more multicultural curriculum. Jones²⁰ highlights the Development Programme for Race Equality within several Inner London Education Authority areas during the latter part of the 1980s. The programmes' aim as Jones argues was one of race equality: 'The attempt was eminently justifiable in educational terms: it linked school based-learning to 'real-life' experience.' However, a combination of central and local political pressure and the right-wing press worked against these initiatives. Three years after the publication of an education report which attempted to provide greater cultural diversity within the education system of England, the 1988 Education Reform Act²¹ introduced the national curriculum

system relevant to school performance, including influences, in early childhood and prospects for school leavers.'

¹⁹ DES (ibid: viii) *Education for All* refers to West Indian children as, '... underachieving in relation to their peers ... There is no single cause ... but rather a network of widely differing attitudes and expectations on the part of the teachers and the education system as a whole, and on the part of the West Indian child to have particular difficulties and face particular hurdles in achieving his or her full potential.'

²⁰ Jones, K. (1989: 139) *Right turn: the conservative revolution in education*, London, Hutchinson Radius. See also: Jones, K. (1982) *Simulations in language teaching*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Jones, K. (1983) *Beyond progressive education*, London, Macmillan; Jones, K. (ed.) (1992) *English and the National Curriculum: Cox's revolution?* London, Kogan Page in association with the Institute of Education, University of London; Hatcher, R., Jones, K. (eds.) (1996) *Education after the Conservatives: the response to the new agenda of reform*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Jones, K. (2003) *Education in Britain: 1944 to the present*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

²¹ Education Reform Act (ERA) (1988) London, HMSO. For analysis of ERA see: Cox, E., Cairns, J.M. (1989) *Reforming religious education: the religious clauses of the 1988 Education Reform Act*, London, Kogan Page in association with the Institute of Education, University of London; Sarwar, G. (1989) *What can Muslims do? Education Reform Act, 1988, compulsory Christian collective worship and Christian religion in education schools*, London, Muslim Educational Trust; Flude, M., Hammer, M. (1990) *The Education Reform Act, 1988: its origins and implications*, London, Falmer Press; Fowler, W.S. (1990) *Implementing the national curriculum: the policy and practice of the 1988 education*

of three core and several foundation subjects which was designed to achieve a great deal more than simply improving education standards. Allegedly, the national curriculum would broaden the mind and body and provide children with a firm moral and spiritual basis. But whose moral and spiritual basis was the national curriculum aimed toward? Again, the policy discourse seems to favour national notions of white, British identity, rather than a more rounded consideration of both majority and minority identities within the national curriculum.²²

Movement Toward Greater Cultural Diversity?

The 1980s and 1990s theoretically saw a more realistic and positive outlook to the role of education in ethnic minority communities.²³ Unfortunately, the old stereotypes and problems remained. Barber²⁴ highlighted the continued prob-

reform act, London, Kogan Page; Morris, B. (ed.) (1990) *Central and local government control of education after the Education Reform Act, 1988*, Harlow, Longman; Coulbym D., Bash, L. (1991) *Contradiction and conflict: the 1988 Education Act in action*, London, Cassell.

²² For more on education, identity and nation, see: Atkinson, P., Davies, B., Delamont, S. (eds.) (1994) *Discourse and reproduction: essays in honour of Basil Bernstein*, New Jersey, Hampton Press; Aldrich, R. (1996) *Education for the nation*, London, Cassell; Cumins, J. (1996) *Negotiating identities: education for empowerment in a diverse society*, Ontario, California Association for Bilingual Education; Green, A. (1997) *Education, globalization and the nation state*, Basingstoke, Macmillan; Jones, G.E. (1997) *The education for a nation*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press; Seller, M., Wells, L. (eds.) (1997) *Beyond black and white: new forces and voices in US schools*, Albany, State University of New York; du Gay, P., Evans, J., Redman, P. (eds.) (2000) *Identity: a reader*, London, Sage in association with The Open University Press; Anderson, P., Williams, J. (eds.) (2001) *Identity and difference in higher education: 'outsiders within'*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press; Lee, M.B. (2001) *Ethnicity, education and empowerment: how minority students in southwest China construct identities*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press; Robinson, R. (2002) *In praise of teachers: identity, equality and education, six topical lectures*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Archer, L. (2003) *Race, masculinity and schooling: Muslim boys and education*, Maidenhead, Open University Press; Land, R. (2004) *Educational development: discourse identity and practice*, Maidenhead, Society for Research into Higher Education and The Open University Press.

²³ See: Mac An Ghaill, M. (1988) *Young, gifted and black: student-teacher relations in the schooling of black youth*, Milton Keynes, The Open University Press; Mac An Ghaill, M. (1999) *Contemporary racisms and ethnicities: social and cultural transformations*, Buckingham, The Open University Press; Brah, A., Hickman, M., Mac An Ghaill, M. (eds.) (1999) *Thinking identities: ethnicity, racism and culture*, Basingstoke, Macmillan; Haywood, C., Mac An Ghaill, M. (2003) *Men and masculinities: theory, research and social practice*, Buckingham, The Open University Press.

²⁴ Barber, M. (1997) *The learning game: arguments for an education revolution*, London, Indigo. See also: Barber, M., Graham, D. (1993) *Sense, nonsense and the national curriculum*, London, Falmer Press; Barber, M. (1996) *The learning game: arguments for an education revolution*, London, Gollancz.

lems surrounding Hackney Downs School. By 1994 after school inspection, Hackney Council decided to close the school down. Barber used the school as an example of failure. The only ethnic minority mentioned in relation to Hackney Downs were the Turkish community who showed some of the best exam successes but had received no teaching in Turkish within the school. No other ethnic minority community were mentioned in the analysis. The standard of teaching is heavily criticised²⁵ and the negative connotations are not just centred on Hackney Downs School but on the whole of the Inner London Borough of Hackney. Teachers, pupils and parents all seem to be the causes of educational problems. Drugs seem to be a real social problem within Hackney Borough. The solutions offered for Hackney Downs and 'falling schools' in general is firm management and improved methods that theoretically lead to good teaching. This constitutes again a movement away from Harrison's (1988) linkage of poor education with socio-economic factors and the related suggestions of eliminating poverty and improving housing to change urban education for the better of both ethnic minority and majority communities. The culture of both the staffroom of Hackney Downs and Hackney Borough are seen as the real problems but the sociology of Hackney itself is not seen as the root cause of the problem or a possible solution. Indeed, Hackney Downs was closed in 1996 and the 200 or so children who remained were moved to another secondary school within Hackney. O'Conner et al. (1999) highlight the negative effects of 'naming and shaming', the deterioration of school maintenance, the indifference, indecision and ineptness of Hackney local education authority in relation to the closure of the school.

A more general academic focus during the 1990s seemed to be moving from underachievement and falling to effective schools and schools who are employing new methods within culturally diverse urban communities. The National Commission of Education²⁶ (NCE) identified education underachievement as an 'acute problem'. The Commission claimed that ... 'schools are constantly blamed as a cause rather than a symptom of social and economic problems – the British media perennially run stories about crises in inner city schools.' The NCE attempted to find out how effective schools in disadvantaged areas have become more successful. Schools, with large ethnic minority communities who had not benefited from the delegation of funding, competing

²⁵ Barber (1997:116) argues, 'In the absence of the leadership qualities that Hackney Downs required it had simply imploded. The school's circumstances were challenging. Many of its pupils had suffered the double blow of disadvantaged home circumstances and several years – often from the start of primary schooling onwards – of poor, demotivating education based on a destructive mixture of low expectations and patronising sympathy. Drugs were and are rife in the area. Inevitably this affects some of the pupils and therefore the school. Some of the most difficult pupils in the school came from homes where the parents were addicts or dealers.'

²⁶ National Commission of Education (NCE) (1996: 1-5) *Success against the odds: effective schools in disadvantaged areas*, London, Routledge.

for the number of pupils, declining support from local government and the creation of league tables. These were all results of the 1988 Education Act and underline that the recommendations of the Swann Report which demanded greater cultural diversity in schools had not been reflected in the creation of a national curriculum. The NCE examined inner city schools e.g. Columbia Primary School in Tower Hamlets, London and Burntwood Secondary Girls School in Wandsworth, London. In the case of Burntwood, the NCE (1996:159-167) used, 'Clarity of aims and ethos of the school; focusing on learning and achievement; high expectations; focus on quality; and, collegiality' as criteria to define success. School leadership and management, communication, monitoring, participatory decision-making involving the older students and parental and community involvement are mechanisms devised by the NCE for achievement. Both schools examined within the NCE study have large ethnic minority communities and are mentioned in the analysis, although not directly in relation to the criteria of success and achievement in the schools. The only mention of Burntwood and ethnic minority comes within the chapter abstract which describes the 'success of this multi-ethnic school' which is being heavily oversubscribed but has an excellent academic record. The ethnic background in the school is mentioned in a statistical table. What happens to the other inner city schools which have minority students and are undersubscribed? Unfortunately, minority priorities seemed to have been lost within the new management terminology.²⁷ Management structures, targets, spending more efficiently and effectively and improving school environments are all very well. Yet, ethnic minority education issues seem to have almost escaped the research. A change of focus away from urban secondary schools to primary schools might be necessary but it misses the point. The education sector which needs improvement the most is still the secondary system of schools, highlighted in the research carried out concerning Hackney Downs from the 1970s through to the 1990s. In this respect, there remains little information in these studies of the wider social and economic problems concerning both inner

²⁷ For more information on education management see: Everard, K.B., Morris, G. (3rd ed.) (1996) *Effective school management*; London, Paul Chapman; Gunter, H. (1997) *Rethinking education: the consequences of Jurassic management*, London, Cassell; Kydd, L., Crawford, M., Riches, C. (eds.) (1997) *Professional development for educational management*, Buckingham, Open University Press; Bush, T., Middlewood, D. (eds.) (1997) *Managing people in education*, London, Paul Chapman; Gold, A., Evans, J. (1998) *Reflecting on school management*, London, Falmer Press; Drake, P., Owen, P. (eds.) (1998) *Gender and management issues in education: an international perspective*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Bush, T., Coleman, M. (2000) *Leadership and strategic management in education*, London, Paul Chapman; Lornage, P. (2002) *New visions for management education: leadership challenges*, Amsterdam, Pergamon Press; Thrupp, M., Willmott, G. (2003) *Education management in managerialist times: beyond the textual apologists*, Maidenhead, The Open University Press; Coleman, M., Earley, P. (eds.) (2005) *Leadership and management in education: cultures, change and context*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

cities and ethnic minority communities. However, despite highlighting the problems of schooling within inner cities, the NCE (1996) underline potential solutions that promote greater cultural diversity and generally promote effective schooling in a positive light. This was reinforced by Maden et al.²⁸ who revisited the schools from the initial NCE study. The focus was balanced on both the reality in the schools and innovatory methods which explained how teachers were carrying out within the classroom that were helping ethnic majority and minority students.

Conclusions

Let us return to the two questions posed in the abstract of this research, the first being: Does the education system exclude sections of the population i.e. ethnic minorities? Recommendation 67 of the MacPherson Report into the Steven Lawrence Inquiry²⁹ states: 'That consideration be given to the amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.' If we look back at the Swann Report which also recommended greater cultural diversity in education in the mid-1980s, it seems very little has actually changed within education for ethnic minority communities. Interestingly, within the MacPherson Report, the London Metropolitan Police force are being accused of institutionalised racism, a term originally coined by the black American activist Stokely Carmichael³⁰ in the 1960s. Carmichael defined institutionalised racism as: 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin'. Institutional racism was acknowledged by the Scarman Report into the Brixton and Toxteth inner city riots of the 1980s but was not defined in a British context. It took the death of Steven Lawrence, 18 years after Scarman for that definition to materialise. Institutional racism applies to all institutions including the education system. What implications does this have for teachers, schools

²⁸ Maden, M. (ed.) (2001) *Success against the odds – five years on: revisiting effective schools in disadvantaged areas*, London, RoutledgeFalmer.

²⁹ Steven Lawrence, a West Indian teenager, was murdered in Eltham, South London, in April 1993. The subsequent inquiry into the murder criticised the police of institutionalised racism. In April 1999, Stephen Lawrence's parents sued the London Metropolitan Police for negligence and the five white males, suspected of killing Stephen were acquitted at the subsequent murder trial. See also: MacPherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry / by Sir William MacPherson of Cluny: presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Office Department by Command of Her Majesty, CMD 4262-I*, London, The Stationary Office; Wilkins, V.A. (2001) *The life of Stephen Lawrence*, Northwood, Tamarind Limited.

³⁰ Carmichael, S., Hamilton, C.V. (1967) *Black Power: the politics of liberation in America*, New York, Random House.

and universities, as well as students in ethnic minority and majority communities? Gillborn³¹ argued that the English education system in the 1990s was still scarred by racism, inequalities still existed and in some areas, the situation was getting worse, not better. It seems that assimilation, integrationist and the national curriculum attempted to preserve notions of nation and identity which have alienated ethnic minority urban communities. The process has been defined as racialisation³² which could witness a return to integrationist education policy. The return to a wider general policy of equal opportunity, cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance is problematic. The term mutual tolerance has its dangers because if the majority are tolerant of the minority, they might acknowledge but not except cultural diversity. David Bell's OFSTED focus on the obligations and responsibilities of minority communities to Britain also neglects minority cultures which will widen social divisions. So, in answer to the question, yes, the education system still excludes sections of minority communities. Racism threatens to return to the past with increased ethnic surveillance, social control and exclusion.³³ In this respect, Gillborn raises the fact that on average minority youth still do not start on an equal footing because of racism and social poverty. Education policy continues to adopt an approach which promotes racial inequality.

This raises the final question: Can cultural diversity be taught and promoted? From the *Education of Immigrants*, through the inner city riots of the 1980s and the publication of the *Scarman and Swann Reports*, considering the *national* in national curriculum and despite the more positive outlook of the 1990s, it seems there is still a long way to go. What does the future hold? The Prime Minister in 1997 and 2001 talked about a campaign to eliminate child poverty in twenty years, which is the beginnings of a movement toward the

³¹ Gillborn, D. (1999: 95) in Demaine, J. (ed.) *Education policy and contemporary politics*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

³² For more on racialisation see: Grosvenor, I (1997) *Assimilating identities: racism and educational policy in post-1945 Britain*, London, Lawrence and Wishart; Cole, M. (2004) 'Brutal and stinking and difficult to handle: the historical and contemporary manifestations of racialisation, institutional racism and schooling in Britain', *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol 7, No. 1, pp. 35-56; Law, I., Phillips, D., Turney, L. (eds.) (2004) *Institutional Racism in Higher Education*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books; Sherwood, M. (2004) 'Racism in education?', *Race Equality Teaching*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp 6-8.

³³ For more on social exclusion see: Williamson, H. (1997) *Youth and policy: contexts and consequences, young men, transition and social exclusion*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press; Pearce, N., Hillman, J. (1998) *Wasted youth: raising achievement and tackling social exclusion*, London, Institute for Public Policy Research; Hayton, A. (ed.) (1999) *Tackling disaffection and social exclusion: education perspectives and policies*, London, Kogan Page; Percy-Smith, J. (ed.) (2000) *Policy responses to social exclusion towards inclusion?* Buckingham, The Open University Press; Agulnik, P., Hills, J., Le Grand, J., Piachaud, D. (eds.) (2002) *Understanding social exclusion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Parsons, S., Bynner, J. (2002) *Basic skills and social exclusion: findings from a study of adults born in 1970*, London, Basic Skills Agency; Evans, K., Niemeyer, B. (2004) *Reconnection: countering social exclusion through situated learning*, London, Kulver Academic.

wider urban analysis and possibilities that Harrison (1988) was discussing nearly twenty years ago. The NCE (1996, Maden et al, 2001) especially highlighted how urban schools have attempted to introduce a multi-racial curriculum alongside the national curriculum. May³⁴ has argued that there needs to be a global dialogue on multiculturalism. Multicultural education has been criticised for a simplistic and naïve view of wider social and cultural power relations in a postmodern world. Some authors go as far as suggesting that multiculturalism is not enough and antiracism is ultimately needed. In a more global environment, we seem to need more co-operation, understanding and acceptance within the classroom and lecture theatre of ethnic cultures rather than being indifferent, afraid or institutionally racist of those around us. Parekh³⁵ recommends that racism's should be addressed, disadvantage should be tackled and there must be a vigorous commitment concerning the systematic representation of ethnic minorities on public bodies. The danger, as Olsen³⁶ argues, is a movement from a multicultural to a citizenship curriculum or a socialist to a more liberal interpretation of society. This is a backward step in educational terms from a multicultural back to an integrationist education curriculum underlining the social issue of what has changed historically and by how much society is changing. Social history warns us of an even bigger danger by returning to assimilationist education policy which fundamentally eliminates minority identities in favour of the majority. Cultural diversity cannot be taught within an assimilationist or integrationist devised national curriculum. It is interesting to compare and contrast the educational consequences of the OFSTED policy document and the Liberal Democratic manifesto on ethnic minorities quoted at the beginning of this work. As well as acknowledging faith schools, greater equality of opportunities the manifesto recom-

³⁴ May, S. (ed.) (1999) *Critical multiculturalism: rethinking multicultural and antiracist education*, London, Falmer Press. See also: May, S., Modood, T., Squires, J. (eds.) (2004) *Ethnicity, nationalism and minority rights*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

³⁵ Parekh, B. (2000) *Rethinking multiculturalism: cultural diversity and political theory*, Basingstoke, Macmillan; Parekh, B. (2000) *The future of multi-ethnic Britain: report of the Commission on the future of multi-ethnic Britain*, London, Profile Books; Blackstone, T., Parekh, B., Sanders, P. (eds.) (1998) *Race relations in Britain*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

³⁶ Olsen, M. (2004) 'From the Crick Report to the Parekh Report: multiculturalism, cultural difference and democracy – the re-visioning of citizenship education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp 179-192. For more on Citizenship education see Bernard Crick's work: Crick, B. (2000) *Essays on citizenship*, London, Continuum; Crick, B. (ed.) (2001) *Citizens: towards a citizenship culture*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers; Lockyear, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (eds.) (2003) *Education for democratic citizenship: issues of theory and practice*, Aldershot, Ashgate Press. See also: Roland-Levy, C., Ross, A. (2002) *Political learning and citizenship in Europe*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham; Gearon, L. (ed.) (2003) *Learning to teach citizenship in the secondary school*, London, RoutledgeFalmer; Olsen, M., Codd, J., O'Neil, A-M. (2004) *Education policy: globalisation, citizenship and democracy*, London, Sage; Claire, H. (ed.) (2004) *Teaching citizenship in primary schools*, Exeter, Learning Matters.

mends better investment into improving early years education and the elimination of tuition fees for those entering higher education. These policies would benefit both ethnic majority and minority communities. However, the national curriculum remains untouched within the Liberal Democratic Manifesto. One of the continuing questions that remains partly unanswered is: Can cultural diversity be taught or and promoted within the English national curriculum?³⁷ Cultural diversity is about recognition, acceptance and celebration of numerous identities. Without being politically correct or naïve and it might take generations to achieve, the answer to this question has to be yes and education, be it within a multicultural / antiracist curriculum, is a potential and possible way in which cultural diversity can and must be achieved.

³⁷ In February 2005, the Department of Education and Skills published the 14-19 Education and Skills White Paper. The working group on 14-19 reform, chaired by Sir Mike Tomlinson, published in October 2004, called for a major change to the national curriculum at Key Stages 3 and 4, encouraging a more vocational, varied and diverse curriculum, based upon the model of the French Baccalaureate. The system of GCSE's and A/S levels, which encompass the 14-19 curriculum will remain. Achieving functional skills in English and Maths, two of the three core curriculum subjects are still a key objective. For more information see: www.dfes.gov.uk/publications/14-19educationandskills/docs/14-19white-paper.doc.