

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**AFRICAN CARIBBEAN SCHOOLING AND THE BRITISH
EDUCATION SYSTEM:**

A STUDY OF EIGHT SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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TO CECILY HAYNES-HART
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INTRODUCTION

This study, originally developed from a personal observation of African Caribbean supplementary schools, sets out to assess attitudes and perceptions towards supplementary schools as community based educational institutions. A preliminary overview of the areas of consideration will be presented here leaving all documentation to the relevant chapters and appendices.

As a contribution to Educational Anthropology, the study sets out to investigate eight supplementary schools and attempts to explain the different teaching ideologies within the supplementary school movement, perceived ideas of academic performance at these schools and areas of pupils' self concept. An attempt is also made to draw upon the richness of another distinguished community based educational initiative - the socialist Sunday School movement - and to provide a measure of similarities, or a point of departure in the structure, style and ideology of the two movements.

The initial premises are non-controversial; the emergence of African Caribbean supplementary schools is a direct response of a community that has lost all confidence in the state education system to adequately educate its children - thus providing them with the same opportunities as children within the indigenous population. A consequence of this research has been to restore the question of Black History as an important tool in bringing about the self-emancipation of the black working-class people. For most supplementary schools, Black History is seen as

essential to the ethos of the school movement. Some sections of the Black community have been firm in their agreement that Black people can only free themselves by organising separately. The application of Social Identity Theory has been used in this context to explain the rise of Black consciousness and class identity. This view reduces society into a collection of ethnic groups, each with its own ineducable different culture and whose needs could only be met from within. This argument is taken up in Chapter Three in 'Black Resistance' as an attempt is made to assess the contribution of Black historical figures on the question of Black emancipation.

Many Black radicals have been influenced by versions of Marxism and it has been this political identity that has sustained activists such as CLR James, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah and others in their struggle for Black liberation. Yet for most Black Marxists the issue of whether priority should be given to race over class has always been at the forefront of the debate. The argument hinges on an analysis of Black nationalism and Marxism as a eurocentric tradition and these issues are discussed (and hopefully satisfactorily explained) in Chapter Three.

Returning to the central issue of education and the Black community, a historical overview is presented of the educational policies employed for Black children in British schools. The issue of 'bussing' is addressed, and so too the question of African Caribbean pupils and underachievement. The aim is to present a full coherent account of the African Caribbean child in British schools and the theories employed to explain why

African Caribbean children underachieve in British schools.

Theories on Black underachievement could be divided into two main categories; theories that identify underachievement as being attributable to the deficiencies of Black people themselves and that of Black culture, which does not lend itself to success within the dominant culture. The Genetic Inferiority Theory and the Cultural Deficiency Theory are the two main theories used to substantiate this argument. The second category highlights the problem as being the deficiencies of the British school system and that of white society, namely racism. These theories are discussed to explain that whenever racial differences are invented, they emerge as part of a historically specific relationship of oppression in order to justify the existence of that relationship. It also helps to explain the anxieties that Black parents have of their children's mis-education.

The Education Reform Act (1988) and its implications for the black community is discussed in Chapter IV. The act with its rhetoric on 'parents' power', national curriculum and testing systems, is seen as one of the most revolutionary pieces of legislature from the last Conservative government. But does it herald the day when campaigners of quality education within the black community could now give up their fight and rely on the government to deliver this quality education? This unfortunately has not been the view within the black community where the Act continues to be viewed in negative terms. This study attempts to set out the reasons why the Education Reform Act failed to address the needs of the black community. It is argued that the

most likely outcome of the Act would be the emergence of a ranking order of schools, reinforced by public funding, by parents and industry, geographic location and differential selection policies. All this only seems to reinforce the need of a range of organisational development within the black community on the question of education.

Developing from the investigation within eight supplementary schools, the study has used four methods to look at the role of supplementary schools within inner city London. They are;

- (1) observation of children at schools
- (2) questionnaires to children attending supplementary schools
- (3) questionnaires to teachers of supplementary schools
- (4) interviewing parents, co-ordinators, teachers and pioneers of the supplementary school movement

Chapters V - IX deal with the methodology of the study, the case studies of the eight schools and the results of the study. The success of the study depended largely on the goodwill of teachers and pupils within the supplementary schools. Some of the findings of the questionnaires were predictable from past evidence and even within the wider context of the supplementary school movement, they supported the view that all is not smooth sailing for black people in the British education system. It is a surprising finding of the research that the teaching of Black History was almost non-existent in some supplementary school projects. However it is possible to stipulate with some

precision which kinds of events and images will combine with which, to give comprehensive insight into the supplementary school movement. In common with most other interpretations, it was argued that black parents do display positive attitudes to their children's education. It was here suggested that the contribution made to the African Caribbean community by supplementary schools is indisputable. There is nevertheless the need for an effective strategy within the movement, to build on the local cultures and thus ensure their survival.

The final chapter of the thesis uses a model of supplementary schools as a community - based service to fully explain the role of the school movement. The model derives its significance from the case study of eight supplementary schools and is simply a representation of the findings of the study. The purpose of this study has been to explore and explain a particular phenomenon and the model is an attempt to meet the challenge.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Most working class people take it for granted that there are opportunities to acquire quality education for all races within the state education system in this country. After all, we are all told that whether male or female, black or white, every one can have their child enrolled in any school of their choice, study the same curriculum and be allowed to take the same examinations within the wider frame work, therefore being afforded the same job opportunities, and entry into higher educational institutes. The British standard of education is respected throughout the world and in most areas sought after for the solid foundation it affords its recipients. British teachers receive quality training and their standard of professionalism is highly respected and recommended, evident by the high demand for Voluntary Services Overseas. Our teaching profession has high standards. Our students in colleges and universities receive state assistance at the tax payers' expense in the form of grants to assist them in the pursuit of higher educational qualifications. There are real qualities in our education system and it is right to list them at the onset of this study. These are gains that have had to be fought for whilst in many parts of the world they are yet to be won. Yet beneath the surface of these areas of supposed equality, there remains a profound inequality in the actual working of the British education system - an inequality serving the interest of the 'elite'.

The 'elite' are those with power, influence and wealth within our society; those who have the economic means to live in areas where better services are provided, and their needs are met. The need for decent schools providing decent education for all children within the state education system has been one of those rights we take for granted but it would seem to me that the prevailing trend is to create a two tier state education system where better-off parents send their children to well equipped schools, and the inner city schools go to the wall.

As severe as this might sound, one need only look at the crises within the primary schools in inner city London. The acute teacher shortage has taken a permanent place in the local media, particularly when reporting the number of children being sent home, as a direct result of the schools' inability to cope with the problem. On the policy of recruiting teachers from Europe to temporarily fill the vacancies, a Dutch teacher remarked:

"In Holland, we think it is strange that England, one of the wealthiest countries in the world has had to advertise abroad for primary school teachers" ('Dutch Courage' New Statesman/Society 1989 pg 24).

In London, many working-class parents would echo those sentiments. During the academic year 1988/89, the acute teacher shortage in Tower Hamlets hit the headlines, when 280 children were refused entry to schools - the majority of these children being Bangladeshi. One parent remarked:

"If they were white middle class children without a school, it would be different" (New Statesman/Society 1989 pg 24).

In abstract education theory where teachers are colour blind and equality of educational opportunities exists, the better-off children and their parents are on equal footing with working-class men and women and their children. The results of such equality in provision are that all children in turn receive high standards at secondary level. These children go on to acquire the qualifications which allow them entry to higher education and superior forms of training and employment. Little attention seems to be given to the possibility that all children could achieve the same levels of academic performance, particularly those students attending inner city, multi-racial schools. It would seem that even with an expansion of opportunities within the educational framework, the benefits reach only to a minority, particularly to children from the wealthier and better off homes. For example Greenwald and Oppenheim (1972) pointed out that the growth of student places in higher education in the 60s and 70s benefited mostly children whose parents were from a professional or managerial background, and less so, the children from working-class homes.

Can the class background of students be the main indicator for success within the education system? Recent evidence does not support this view. A study carried out by Tomlinson (1990) on 20 multi-racial secondary comprehensive schools from 1981 to 1986 found that regardless of the children's social background or ethnic origin, some urban comprehensive schools are more successful and effective in assisting their pupils to succeed at school than others. The researchers concluded that the academic level expected of all children depends more on school policies than on the qualities of the pupils.

Recently, the education system has become even less equal. In Birmingham, where selection at eleven is still a matter of policy, the gender issue has been projected to the fore. The City Council is considering closing all six of its voluntary-aided grammar schools in an effort to ward off further legal action by the Equal Opportunities Commission over the imbalance of selection places for girls (Education 1990 pg 552).

Far more boys than girls go on to take degree courses country wide and for black children, particularly those of African Caribbean background, the prospects of attending higher education institutions are even more bleak.

Another recent study of primary schools in nine educational authorities concluded that there was a marked decline in reading standards of about 3.23 % (Times Educational Supplement (1990)). The report compiled by educational psychologists suggested that standards have been deteriorating over the last four years, and that extremely poor readers have increased overall by 50% since 1985. In some areas, it was noted that the number of extremely poor readers has doubled.

This is nothing new; in 1987 John Chapman of the Open University reported similar alarming results in his study on the reading ability of primary school children. Chapman concluded that the bottom group of his study (some 1,500 children formed his total survey) made no progress in reading once they left primary school, achieving a mean score of 38 out of a total 130 at the age of 15 when they were tested (Chapman 1987).

1990).

Poorer reading standards cannot be blamed on 'new' teaching methods as Sir Rhodes Boyson would have us believe. These techniques have been used for over 20 years. Whatever the details of particular studies, there can be no argument about what this government's policy really means for the education of our children.

In the London Borough of Wandsworth, the council proposed the closure of four of the Borough's nine secondary schools, with a statement that three of the schools, all in the Balham area, were no longer viable (Evening Standard 1990).

It is well known that the Conservative leaders of the council were determined to shift from a system of neighbourhood comprehensive schools to a system of magnet schools, each with its own speciality, such as music or computer science. The effect on the majority of working-class people was given little consideration.

Supplementary Schools And The Community

In the industrialised countries of the West, committed to equality in the provision of state education, the acid test of such policy should be the extent to which the minority groups within these industrialised communities, have access to schools which are effective, enabling them to acquire the appropriate qualifications, employment training and access to higher educational institutions. In Britain, pupils of minority

ethnic groups, particularly African Caribbean and their parents, have borne the brunt of the blame for poor scholastic performance - as discredit has fallen upon what can only be described as the supposedly economic, cultural, linguistic or intellectual difference, deficient family structure or community family characteristics (Tomlinson 1990). They have been told that parental commitment is the corner-stone of the school's success. Consequently, if black parents are interested in their children's schooling, they should be supportive of the school's endeavours, act in partnership with the teachers, and their children would achieve more in school. However, there was no need for black parents to focus on school progress, organisational methods and the academic standards within the school.

Amid the numerous reports and concerns about underachievement of African Caribbean children in British schools, a new phenomenon in alternative educational concepts came into being in the inner-city areas. Supplementary schools were seen as part of the solution, particularly in the light of the criticism of lack of parental involvement in the education of their children. Since its introduction, the supplementary school movement has had its share of detractors and supporters within the local education authorities, and some bodies - the teaching unions and educational agencies - have been anxious to be seen lending their support to these community based initiatives within the African Caribbean communities. The recently abolished Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in promoting the development of supplementary schools, not only

acknowledged the contribution the movement made to mainstream educational thinking, but also registered concern for its future, particularly in inner city London (Rice 1990).

With the establishment failing to respond positively to the complaints of black parents and other professionals, the supplementary school movement came into being as the community's response, attempting to redress its own grievance. At first, installed outside the realms of mainstream schools, this alternative school concept gradually penetrated the school structure throughout the country. Today it is considered of major importance to educational philosophy in inner-city areas.

In examining the forces within education that contributed towards the setting up of the supplementary school movement, the traditional arguments cannot be overstated. The proposed bussing of black children to and from school (and in some areas an active policy of bussing) to ensure that they should be dispersed among the schools within a certain catchment area, thus avoiding a fall in educational standards within the boroughs involved; the racist attitudes of some teachers and stereotyping of black children and their parents; the policy of educationally subnormal schools resulting in the over representation of black children in such institutions; the exclusion or expulsion of large numbers of black (African Caribbean) children from mainstream schools - and systematic attacks by the Police on black youths in inner city London. Alternative educational movements have the potential to break down the monolithic structure of schooling by diversifying

educational opportunities, decentralising administration, localising and personalising elements of the curriculum, and bringing students, parents and teachers into the planning operations of school life. One of the aims of the Black Supplementary School Movement has been to assist in the breaking down of negative images of black people dispensed by the media and other agencies, and to encourage black children to discover their educational potential and sense of worth. To this end, parents, students and teachers have endeavoured a merger of resources and energies to facilitate the development of the Black Supplementary School Movement. This represents an effort towards reform which focuses on the very structure of the educational system.

Bottom House Schools

Throughout his childhood, the researcher has had contact with some form of supplementary education in all stages of his formative education. As early as he can remember, he was enrolled in a reading group (probably at the age of 6 or 7) on Saturday mornings with children of supposedly poor reading ability in a bottom house school next to his home in Guyana.

Bottom house schools are a Guyanese phenomenon found in most working-class areas. They were so named because of their location - under residential homes built on four pillars or columns. The

open areas under the houses were usually decorated with educational posters to resemble a classroom and were furnished with chalk boards, benches and desks. There were no walls to link the four pillars or columns thus external distractions were inevitable.

On most occasions, the above overlying homes were those of teachers or retired teachers who supplemented their income or pension by charging a small fee for their tuition. Sometimes the projects or schools were entirely free as were those set up by fringe political organisations or black consciousness movements.

One such organisation - ASCRIA - had a main centre in the capital city, Georgetown as well as other centres in areas such as Buxton and Linden which provided supplementary schools for children on Saturdays and evening classes for adults.

Even though most teachers of bottom house schools expected a fee for their tuition, this was waived if parents were too poor to afford the fee or if a gifted and ambitious child was identified by the community and it was felt that such a child should be encouraged. Most bottom house school teachers took pride in their successes and could always be found boasting about the successful students they had 'turned out' (lawyers, doctors, important persons in politics or government) from their own individual projects. Some teachers carefully stage managed the return of these influential individuals on official visits to give a boost to their schools and a source of inspiration to present students. The overwhelming majority of these ex-students agreed on one thing - the great debt they owed to these

supplementary school projects in charting their own educational future.

The bottom house school programmes usually reflected the versatility of the teachers. They were expected to teach every thing from mathematics to accountancy, English language, literature, history, and in some cases even a foreign language.

The children who attended were of all ages and classes were held most evenings from 4.00pm to 7.00pm and all day on Saturdays. For these teachers, their busy lives didn't stop there. Some were script-writers, poets, lyricists for calypsonians, or speech writers.

Throughout his primary school education, and in particular during the preparation for the Common Entrance Examination (the Caribbean equivalent to the Eleven Plus), the researcher attended bottom house schools. These experiences laid the foundation for his secondary schooling and higher education. He was recruited as a teacher in a supplementary school in Leeds ten years ago, and later at the Greenwich Commission for Racial Equality Supplementary School in Woolwich.

The philosophy of bottom house schools was explained by a Guyanese historian, Kimani Drake, as a direct reaction against the policy of our imperial and colonial masters of withholding or denying educational instructions to the majority, and the subsequent quest for knowledge that developed within the population who sought solutions to their own problems. In Britain, African Caribbean people are a minority, but are they

justified in their abandonment of faith in the mainstream education system? A recent report by Beverly Anderson, an educationist and member of the Commission for Racial Equality, implied that black parents, frustrated by the inability of the British school system to provide a proper education for African Caribbean children, were sending their children back to the Caribbean to be educated there. It was suggested that standards in the Caribbean were found to be much higher. The reasons for their decisions were:

1. The lack of discipline in primary schools and the emphasis on less weighty subjects such as cookery.
2. Teachers in secondary schools generally did not expect black children to do well. Some Heads believed teachers were not sufficiently demanding.
3. The lack of homework for black children and what was perceived as the improper marking of some school work.
4. Parents being told that their children were doing well when in fact they were in the bottom bands of the GCSE classes. (Anderson 1989).

The agreement that African Caribbean children lag behind in the standards they would have reached, had they been educated in the Caribbean, is an old one, and growing increasingly amongst the Black community in London (Gibson 1986). In 1977 the Select Committee report made a similar claim for Barbados and St Lucia, suggesting that if African Caribbean children had been educated on the islands, they would have achieved substantially more than they achieve at present in British schools (Bagley 1978). The same claim has not been made in respect to Jamaica, however,

which is significant in so much as Jamaicans form the largest group of African Caribbeans in Britain - some 60% of the total.

Researchers in education (Cross 1973 and Bagley 1978) have advanced the thesis that as educational standards in Jamaica lag behind that of other islands (some three times as many school leavers complete a full secondary education programme in Barbados, Trinidad and Antigua than in Jamaica) and that since Jamaican immigrants in Britain were less educated than those from other islands, these differences are bound to present themselves as regional contrasts in relation to the educational attainment of parents and their children.

African Caribbeans In Britain

It is now established knowledge that a sizeable black population of African descent existed in London in 1874. About 20,000 strong, that would work out at roughly the same percentage of black people in London today.

Throughout the history of black involvement in the capitalist world economy, the shift in the centres of capitals has had far-reaching implications for black people. Around the turn of the century major construction projects in the Caribbean basin and Latin America - the expansion of railways in Panama, the making of the Panama Canal and substantial drilling and extracting on the oil fields of Venezuela - generated a demand for labour. Migration became an option for the English speaking Caribbean people seeking better job opportunities and living standards. Then came World War II where the war's production

needs increased the demand for black labour reserves, both as a fighting force and as part of its economic production. African Caribbeans joined the British Army and saw military action in many parts of the world. Many others, approximately 100,000 in number, were recruited as workers and sent to the United States of America to assist in production for its military effort (Watson 1975).

Around 1920 the United States of America was virtually open to immigration from the Caribbean. An important change since then has been the introduction of immigration restrictions by the Americans during the economic depression (Delip 1971). Britain then became a more attractive alternative avenue for permanent immigration.

After World War II, and as a direct result of a recruitment drive by the National Health Service, the British Transport Commission and London Transport, the Empire Windrush arrived in 1948 with around 492 Jamaicans on board. They joined a significant number of World War II veterans of African Caribbean descent in assisting to rebuild the Mother Country, which was suffering from an acute labour shortage. It is important to note that the political economic/migration policies of the host country have evolved mainly in response to labour needs. Until 1965, there was a tendency of high concentration of African Caribbean people in relatively disadvantaged areas around London, defined by the usual indices of deprivation.

The immigration restriction imposed during the 1960s reduced to

a trickle the immigration of African Caribbean people to Britain, and therefore the majority of children of African Caribbean descent in Britain are British born. Having experienced social deprivation with respect to housing, employment and limited economic prospects, most of the early residents relied upon each other to find accommodation, thus resulting in concentration of African Caribbeans in certain areas.

It is therefore not surprising that the schools serving these localities, in many cases, developed school populations of predominantly African Caribbean children.

Educational Policies Employed For Black Children In British Schools

It would seem that the number of children of Commonwealth origin presented British schools with major problems in the 1960s (Tomlinson 1983), and indices habitually used to qualify and classify British children, gave African Caribbean children an inferior educational profile (Brock 1984).

Early policies adopted by the Department of Education and Science (DES), advised that the new entrants to the school system should be dispersed. Clear warnings were given to Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and schools concerned that the maximum number of immigrants in any school should not exceed a third of the school's population, or of the total in any one class (DES 1963).

Immigrant children were defined as:

"Children born outside the British Isles who have come to this country to join parents or guardians whose country of origin were abroad. And children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the UK on or after the first of January, ten years previously" (DES 1965).

The policy of 'bussing' recommended by the DES was to be along similar lines as the United States of America. Some LEAs - Ealing and Bradford for example, implemented this policy, at least temporarily.

It would seem that the education of minority ethnic people identified the policy planners' main concern - that of the teaching English - hence the 1963 DES booklet entitled English For Immigrants. For Tomlinson (1983) a more significant document was the one produced by the Commonwealth Immigrant Advisory Committee (CIAC) in 1964 primarily addressing the issue of cultural assimilation of immigrant children throughout the British education system.

It was about this time that the decision to monitor black students within the educational system was taken by the DES. From 1966, the DES requested from LEAs the collection of annual statistics about black pupils within their schools. An additional form - Form 7 - was to be completed along with the statutory annual statistical returns, This new requirement - Form 7 - provided the DES with detailed information, including members' age, sex and parents' birthplace of all black children within the educational system. The monitoring of black students continued until 1973 and was used as a funding criteria for schools receiving assistance from central and local governments (Little 1978). Even with the accumulation of

immigration statistics from schools during the period 1966 - 1973, no attempt was made to correlate this information to academic attainment on a national level.

Later, however, a sample of six LEAs was requested to produce information on the academic attainment of different ethnic groups for the Rampton Committee to assist it in its enquiry into the education of children from minority ethnic groups (Mahey 1985). It is important to point out that the DES had never made available a source of additional funding to provide assistance to schools with large numbers of minority ethnic pupils. It was left to the Home Office to provide such funds as were needed.

Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act assisted LEAs in employing additional staff to meet the needs of second language students and other areas within the school curriculum. The Act empowered the Home Secretary to issue grants to Local Authorities who:

"made special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the pressure within their areas of substantial number of immigrants from the Commonwealth, whose language or customs differ from the rest of the community" (Crispin 1987).

The grant, originally set at 50% of additional costs to the educational institution, was later raised to 75% in 1969 in line with the Urban Programme.

Many critical voices on the effectiveness of Section 11 were heard, particularly from the Community Relations Commission 1976, The National Union of Teachers 1978, and others, but despite

these criticisms it was not until the critical report from the select committee and the racial disturbances of 1980-1, that the Conservative government paid any attention to the issue.

After a government administrative review of Section 11, a new set of guidelines was introduced which adopted stricter criteria to be met by LEAs prior to receipt of the grant. Any appointments made with Section 11 funds would have to be identified and shown to have some relation to the special needs of minority ethnic communities (Crispin 1987).

There were other programmes available as regard acquiring funding. These included the Urban Aid Programme from 1968 and the Inner City Partnership Scheme, targeted at other areas of the community and not specifically at education. Many LEAs have felt it necessary to give recognition to the presence of African Caribbean and Asian pupils within their schools and have set about manufacturing a new social cohesion around the common acceptance of cultural diversity. From their numerous committees and awareness groups came policy documents and practices in education, commonly known as multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-ethnic education.

However these practices were not unanimous. As Townsend and Brittain (1972), Little and Willey (1981) and Mullard (1983) pointed out, the diversity in the practices of local authorities practices in education pertaining to their minority ethnic population. In Liverpool, the Select Committee Report 1969, entitled Problems Of Coloured School Leavers was one such

initiative showing the significance of the Borough's concern.

Later the term 'immigrant children' was dropped from the educational vocabulary and was replaced by the term 'multi-cultural education'. The response of the schools became tied up with the demographic profile of areas of minority ethnic settlement, through its emphasis on African Caribbean and Asian groups.

African Caribbean Students And Underachievement

Soon great concerns were being expressed about the underachievement of African Caribbean children in the school system. As early as 1969 a Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations reported:

"In some places the educational performance of West Indian children was said to be low and their attitude to work was criticised by their teachers; anxiety was also expressed in some places about their behaviour. But elsewhere evidence was given that West Indians were well disciplined and hard workers" (pg 12-13).

An ILEA document in 1977 prompted the Community Relations Commission (CRC) to comment:

"Asians fully educated in this country are performing at a level comparable with the indigenous population. Pupils of West Indian backgrounds, fully educated here, are not performing at that level" (pg 18).

Despite repeated requests from the black community for close monitoring of black children in special schools and special units, the problems were all but ignored by the Local Education Authorities. Some even felt the need to justify this policy as

was the case in Redbridge, among some black parents groups and the local Community Relations Council:

"Many West Indian pupils in Redbridge are underachieving and the level of that underachievement is extremely worrying. The figures produced show that the national reports of underachievement of West Indian pupils are not applicable just to the inner city areas. Concentration in the past on the possible over representation of West Indians in Redbridge schools for the educationally subnormal (ESN) can be seen as a distraction from the main point of poor performance throughout the school system. Over representation in Redbridge's ESN schools is just a SYMPTOM of the underachievement in primary schools" (Redbridge CRC 1978).

This was despite the fact that Coard had revealed that:

"an immigrant child was twice as likely to be placed in an ESN school than an non-immigrant child, and the chances were even greater if he/she was Afro Caribbean" (Coard 1971).

DES statistics showed that in Greater London 25% of all children in ESN schools were immigrants compared with a national average of 7%. By far the majority were of African Caribbean descent.

Monica Taylor who prepared a exemplary review of the education of pupils of African Caribbean descent for the Swann Committee explained in her book Caught Between that:

"The optimism expressed in a number of studies which were carried out in 1960s indicated that the achievement of pupils of West Indian origin would increase with length of schooling, does not appear to have been justified. Rather the evidence suggests that they start poorly and continue in the same way, if not actually deteriorating relatively in performance with increasing age" (Taylor 1981)

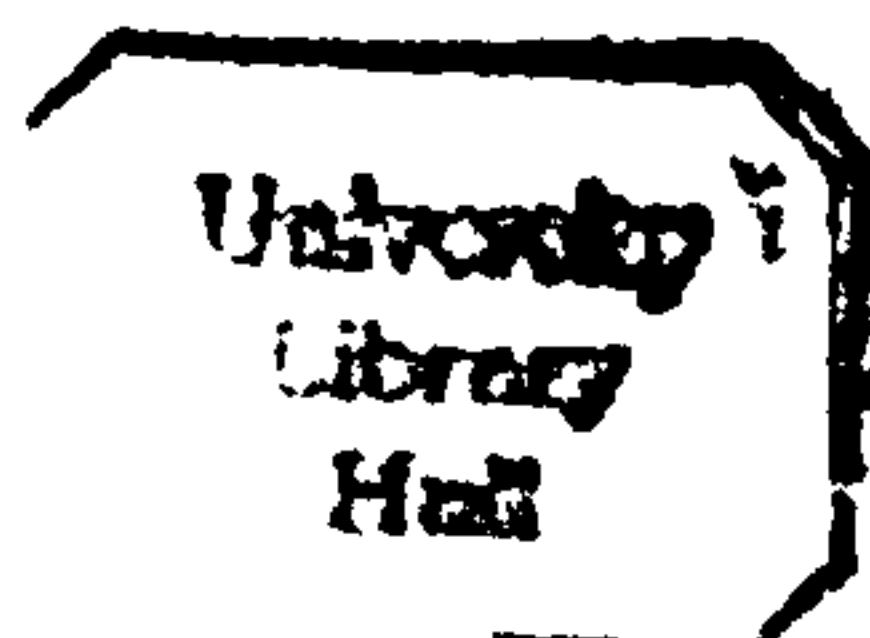
Not all research on the performance of African Caribbean children in British schools attested to gloom and doom. Driver (1980) presented data to show that in the five schools he studied,

African Caribbean children were substantially more successful than their white peers - especially African Caribbean girls. Driver's evidence that African Caribbean girls performed better than African Caribbean boys in public exams is supported by various other studies e.g. Yule et al (1975). However his evidence of superior African Caribbean achievement was openly questioned and criticised (Brock 1984). It would seem that Driver concentrated on pupils taking public exams and in so doing, ignored the vast majority of African Caribbean pupils in schools. Also by concentrating on inner city schools, he eliminated the majority of the white middle class whose children may not be represented in these schools. Children of the black middle classes however do attend inner city schools.

Despite Driver's attempts to present a more enlightened version of African Caribbean attainment in schools, subsequent studies continued to take a more pessimistic point of view. Mortimore (1981), Walkerdine (1974), Redbridge (1978) and Kirp(1979) criticised the DES for on the one hand stressing the infinitely diverse needs of individual students and on the other embedding the notion of race in some broader policy context such as the educational disadvantaged. He contested that the British Educational policy in the 1960s and 1970s fell short in fulfilling the educational needs of its minority ethnic people.

The Rampton Committee

The 1979 dismantling of the Educational Disadvantaged Unit signalled the birth of the Rampton Committee. This Committee of



Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups was asked to produce an Interim Report about African Caribbean children as a matter of urgency. It commenced its task in the Autumn of 1979 and submitted its report in February 1981. To facilitate its inquiry, the Committee commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to review the research on African Caribbean children with the co-operation of the DES statistics branch. An extra question was included in the school leavers' survey 1978/9 on the ethnic origin of school leavers. Six LEAs were chosen for this exercise, primarily on the basis of their high concentration of minority ethnic children.

In its finding, the Interim Report identified 'racism' as one of the main reasons why African Caribbean children performed so badly in British schools. The Chairman Anthony Rampton said:

"Many black children in our schools must look on the outside of the world as unremittingly hostile. They do not regard Police Stations as friendly places where one goes for help if one's house has been burgled....the speeches that they read are not about being swamped by Canadians and Australians. Above all they can see what is likely to happen to their brothers and sisters if they live near Liverpool; they will now know, even if they did not know before that of the 26,000 people employed by the Local Authority, 169 are Black" (Rampton Report 1981).

Later the government published a non-committal document on the Interim Report and asked LEAs, teachers' organisations, educationists and minority ethnic groups for their comments on the Rampton recommendations.

St John Brooks (1981) contended that with all the significant

questions being asked, Rampton's central point - that of racism in schools - was allowed to slip away. In parliament Tom Ellis questioned why the DES took four months from the submission of the report to the publishing of its findings (Troyna 1986). In May 1981, Anthony Rampton resigned, some contending that he was sacked (St John Brooks 1981), to be replaced by Lord Swann, then Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.

The Rampton Report had its share of supporters and detractors; many however saw it as a boost to anti-racist strategies being employed to break down the stereotypes of African Caribbean children. Others pointed to its shortcomings. Rex (1981) was unhappy at the emphasis the report seem to place on teacher racism and contended that the research evidence upon which the report was based was, in his opinion, questionable. Troyna (1986), pointed out that although the emphasis on racism, as an explanation for black underachievement was a valid one, this was shadowed by:

"a range of pathologies including poor families, lack of potential support and understanding, and inadequate socialization" (Troyna 1986).

These issues will be furthered discussed in Chapter Two.

The committee also found that there were few black teachers in schools. They heard allegations but were unable to substantiate them, that some black teachers were being unfairly passed over for promotion. The report highlighted the need for more black teachers in schools - commenting on access courses as an avenue to recruiting more candidates among minority ethnic people to the teaching profession.

For black parents and institutions within the black community the report reinforced their fears. The Black Parents Movement welcomed the report and demanded that the education system clean up its act and:

"make sure that the schools educate our children and stop treating us like congenital idiots for whom there is no hope except to exist permanently on the margins of society" (John 1989).

The Swann Report

The Swann Committee published its Education For All report in 1985. This report, which many felt was intended to legitimise multi-cultural education, was instead perceived (by some black groups) to have taken the cause of the school and the black child two steps backwards. The Swann Report omitted the word 'racism' in favour of 'prejudice and discrimination' (Swann 1985 pg 2). Unlike Anthony Rampton who stated:

"Racism is different from racial prejudice and discrimination. Racism involves having the power to carry out systematic discriminatory practices through the major institutions of our society" (Rampton 1981).

The Swann Report saw racism as being synonymous with prejudice or ignorance, Sir Keith Joseph replying to the question on the omission of 'racism' in the report explained in the House of Commons:

"The Honourable Gentleman has allowed himself to speak in far too absolute a fashion about what he calls Racism. He does an injustice to the teaching force whose members are dedicated to the service of individual children and in whom I have seen precious little evidence of any racial prejudice" (Quoted in Maxine 1989).

The Swann Committee in drawing up its conclusions placed its emphasis on the way the education system, individual schools and individual teachers should respond in a multi-cultural society.

Other issues covered included the ideals of pluralism and education for all, achievement, analysis of prejudice and institutional racism, religion, the question of separate voluntary aided schools, aspects of language education and teacher education.

Troyna (1986) identified two areas within the report with considerable shortcomings. The first, the dilution of 'racism' to 'prejudice and ignorance', accompanied with remedies of teaching strategies and racism awareness training for teachers to combat those ills. These he found to be unacceptable and lukewarm in approach. The second was a denial of the demand of most sections of the black community for the authorities to set up an investigation on how racism was operating within the education system. Many educators endorsed these demands. The emergence of African Caribbean Supplementary Schools in every black populated city of England reflected the atmosphere of concern and the awareness generated by the ongoing debate of this period.

African Caribbean People And Identity

The African Caribbean people in Britain – the subject of this study, are undergoing considerable changes in relation to their population retention and distribution within the United Kingdom. According to the recent Labour Force Survey 1990 the African Caribbean population in Britain is the only minority ethnic group to have declined in numbers over the past ten years. On examining the estimated changes in population since 1981, the number of African Caribbean people in Britain has shown a decline by 33,000 (Haskey 1990). Other groups for example, the Pakistani population, registered a growth of about a half over the same period and the Bangladeshi population is said to have doubled.

Of the minority ethnic populations in Britain, just over 51% descended or originated from the Indian Sub-Continent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) while about 19% are of African Caribbean origin (Haskey 1990). The results are consistent with statistics released by Haskey earlier, which tended to show that in African Caribbean families there were fewer dependent children than the average minority ethnic family (Haskey 1989).

After establishing the growth and decline of minority ethnic population, the researchers contended that this was due to age distribution of the population and their fertility rate. The statistics showed that the population of African Caribbean people in Britain under the age of ten was much lower than the other groups.

For the Pakistani and Bangladeshi population the proportions of

their community under age ten, were 30% and 34% respectively. For African Caribbean and Africans it was 17% and 18% respectively.

This inevitably showed that a larger proportion of African Caribbean people in Britain were in the middle ages of life (35-59 years of ages). This information is very significant, especially since recent statistics have shown that at least a third of the under 30s of the African Caribbean population are either co-habiting with or married to white partners - more African Caribbean men than women are in such unions (New Society 4 March 1988). So what does this mean for the African Caribbean community and how do blacks perceive themselves within British society? The concept of social categorisation is primarily concerned with the way in which an individual perceives him/herself and others. However, before attempting to analyze individual social perception and the way this shapes consciousness, it may seem necessary to examine the concept of group membership and different forms that arise from it.

Social Identity Theory

The supplementary school movement in its inception was informed by two ideological streams. The first was that of Black Consciousness/Black Power and Black Nationalism; the second, that of Socialism. It would be useful here to consider social identity theory to explain the emergence of black consciousness.

In explaining this theory, Andrews (1991) differentiates between

two kinds of group membership - involuntary and voluntary. Involuntary membership is explained as the parts of oneself that cannot be altered i.e. gender, race, the historical time of one's birth and the background into which one is born. Other categories such as religious affiliation, class and nationality are more flexible as enduring identifications - as most individuals could if they wish, renounce their family/religion, alter their social class and change their nationality. Andrews pointed out that all these factors, however flexible, however permanent, are highly influential in a person's awareness of him/herself and the way he/she sees the world. Voluntary group membership is of a more flexible nature. Given that one is born a particular gender, race, at a particular time and into an entire network of familial relations, one is still likely to have feelings about these affiliations. Individuals may choose what they wish to embrace or reject, or feel indifferent towards. One might, for instance, choose to become involved in Black Power/Black Liberation/Black Nationalism movements of the day, join a socialist party or become a feminist. These group memberships are voluntary and individuals become affiliated through choice.

"While there is a finite number of involuntary group members, those which do exist play an extremely important role in the formation of the individual's essential self conception. In contrast, voluntary group membership are virtually limitless, covering the whole range of human activities. The experience of membership has varying degrees of importance across groups. Some groups are so vaguely defined that they fail to change members with strong emotional affiliations. Persons belong to so many groups that ultimately they must prioritise their affiliations as it is through these memberships that individuals communicate to themselves and to the rest of the world who they perceive themselves to be" (Andrews 1989 pg37).

In other words it would be difficult to project an image of a

Black Power activist if one never attended or participated in Black Power discussions or became active in community awareness programmes and black consciousness activities. The concepts that one uses to describe oneself are not only a reflection of self perception but are also socially constructed.

The role of consciousness plays a very important part in social identity theories which is not only derived from a compilation of an individual's various group memberships, but is enhanced by the consciousness, emotional and evaluative assessments of those memberships. The knowledge of social group membership according to Andrews (1991) is an integral part of the awakening of political consciousness. Thus group identity becomes evident only when there is more than one group and the individual feels the necessity to make a clear distinction from the others.

"The characteristics of one's group as a whole.... achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences. For example economic deprivation acquires its importance in social attitudes, intentions and actions, mainly when it becomes 'relative deprivation'.... the definition of a group.... makes no sense unless there are other groups around." (Tajfel 1978c pg 66-67)

Hamilton and Carmichael (1968) in their thesis on the politics of liberation in America applied this concept to the black community.

"The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise; before a group can enter the open society, it must first close its ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively in a pluralistic society" (Hamilton and Carmichael 1968 pg 68)

Until fairly recently the dominant tone of the black movement in

this country in its image if not its reality, has been that set by the black struggle in the United States of America - the Martin Luther Kings, the Stokely Carmichaels and the Bobby Seales. Many black activists described themselves as socialists, working within the existing political framework to bring about change within society. The support that Marxists gave to the movement was also crucial in understanding the historical context from which it emerged. The concept of voluntary and involuntary group membership is useful in discussing the effects that political consciousness had on social identity.

(continue on next page)

Involuntary group membership would place people in categories i.e. black and white (pre-supposing here that there is nothing in between). There are also the distinct groups of working class and middle class (we must also imagine here that there is no middle ground). Voluntary sub groups e.g. 'socialists' would include people from both ethnic categories and both class groups. Class consciousness can be an important feature of socialist, political consciousness as well as that of black nationalist consciousness.

Over the past years, black people have come into an unprecedented consciousness of themselves, and whether the theoretical base of the struggle has been separatist or integrationalist, an awareness has developed that blacks must take issue with their problems themselves.

Campaigns have been waged to bring about (a) an end to specific oppression of blacks within housing and employment, (b) an end to the racist immigration laws that kept black families apart, (c) the struggle against racist attacks and police harassment, including the SUS laws, the criminalisation of black people through the criminal justice system and, (d) the struggle for a decent education for their children. Some activists have come to perceive this oppression as defined by the very nature of the class struggle - this increased political awareness is marked by pronounced class consciousness. To the working class, the message presented is "Black and White unite and fight". Here the identity of voluntary group membership e.g. socialist, is simultaneously heightened by the consciousness of

involuntary group membership.

Others prefer to emphasise the African part of their consciousness and the need to show solidarity with other non-western people against western racial oppression. In these circumstances and in a certain sense only, black survival must of course be taken as problematic, but its truer significance has been determined by received tradition (Robinson 1983).

This deviation from class has only resulted in shifting ideological priorities into idealistic preoccupations and political autonomy into personalised politics - a polarised struggle.

Clearly the cause for this shift from class within the black movement in Britain, is the demise of the black community (Sivanandan 1985). The communities created in the post-war period in the neighbourhoods of inner cities, where black people were forced to live and work, were cemented together through common interest, common problems, e.g. racism, police, racist social workers, land lords and the educational system. From this emerged a common culture of resistance. Sivanandan pointed out the political and ideological tenets of the variety of black marxist organisations such as the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) which emerged within this period, and the belief of many that the black struggle lay firmly and squarely within the class struggle.

"Their struggle, though informed by a resistance to the oppression of black people was directed towards the liberation of the class.. And in this they were guided by the understanding

that any struggle against racism which deepened and extended the class struggle, was the right struggle. Conversely any struggle that led to the cul-de-sac of reactionary nationalism, was the wrong one. Hence, their stand; for the blacks and therefore, for the class" (Sivanandan 1985 pg 2-3).

The rise of ethnicity that subsequently followed was the result of the second generation being caught in a current of emotion and in search of an identity - an identity which defines them as not quite British and not quite Caribbean - yet with a mixture, a creolisation of African Caribbean culture and the host culture (Watson 1977). As the resistance against racism continued, ethnicity emerging within the ranks and within state officialdom, set out to divorce race from class and in its place - to substitute a form of ethnic re-definition. The most significant change was to deny the connection between racism and imperialism; as the Home Office adopted the theme of ethnicity and 'institutional racism' became known as 'racial disadvantage' (The Scarman Report 1981).

For most ethnicists, this daunting prospect had led many within their ranks to abandon the struggle, in favour of finding a niche in mainstream political parties, i.e. the campaign for black sections within the Labour Party. No matter how good the intentions of those involved may have been, the strategy has ended up allowing a small number of blacks to slip through the net, whilst leaving the plight of the vast majority unaltered. A culture of ethnicity, unlike a culture of resistance, has no community and has no class.

A community based educational initiative - the supplementary

school movement - has the unique opportunity to recreate the culture of resistance, to facilitate the return to the politics of the working-class struggle and the forging of the term 'black' as a common colour against colonial and racial exploitation. The entire supplementary education movement should be seen within a tradition of working-class collectives of self education, whose origins and early manifestations e.g. Socialist Sunday Schools, Mutual Improvement Societies, Bottom House Schools, are sketched in the context of their appropriateness and incorporation within the wider community struggle. Even as one cannot ignore the complexities of the 'us' and 'them' divisions with regards to ethnic groupings and class membership, Tajfel's prediction that the sense of group membership is heightened as resistance is encountered, runs quite true.

The response of the African Caribbean community to the failure of the state education system to address the needs of their children has been to set up black supplementary schools within their communities and these institutions will be the focus of this study.

Chapter Content

The chapters which follow will deal in greater detail with the structure and history of the supplementary school movement.

Chapter II is concerned with different explanatory theories on black underachievement and the way these have affected the school movement.

An analysis of the heroic struggles and achievements of black people against western imperialism and racism is discussed in Chapter III and this chapter will also attempt to explain the importance of these as a source of black pride, infusing the contemporary, political movements with strength.

Chapter IV looks at the Education Reform Act and its implications for the black community. Chapter VI surveys the Socialist Sunday School movement as the forerunner of present day, community based, working class, educational initiatives, whilst in Chapter VI the methodology of this study is outlined.

The results of the study are analysed in Chapter VII and Chapter VIII highlights case studies from nine African Caribbean supplementary schools.

Finally Chapter IX deals with the conclusion of the thesis and discusses the way forward by presenting a model of a supplementary school as a community based service.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES ON BLACK UNDERACHIEVEMENT

For the African Caribbean community, the institution of education from primary school to university has promised so much and delivered so painfully little. The question why African Caribbean students have continuously been performing less favourably than their white peers – particularly when examination results are taken into consideration – has been the topic of many empirical studies and article after article has stated that "Examination Achievement of ILEA's ethnic minorities, has confirmed that African Caribbean pupils are underachieving in British schools" (Education Vol. 172 No. 5 pg 114 and Education Research Vol. 30 No. 2).

The former article also stated that in Verbal Reasoning Bands (VR) African Caribbean children are most likely to be placed in lower VR Bands while English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish pupils are more likely to be placed in higher bands than their test scores suggest.

It is not meant to suggest that exam results are the only or indeed the most important criteria for assessing the success of an individual, a group or even a school. They are not. However they are important. One can suggest that there is little intrinsic worth in accumulation of GCSEs or A Levels, but they are marketable commodities and are seen as essential for entry into institutions of higher education or by employers in the selection of their staff. In a contracting labour market, their value should not be disregarded.

To the black community no further research - empirical or otherwise - is needed to establish that black children are underachieving in the British school system. It is more important to identify the social factors responsible for underachievement among black pupils and solutions for redressing the problem. To the right, underachievement is understood to be the gap between potential and actual achievement.

The Swann Report on the education of children from minority ethnic groups appeared in March 1985 and its impact was widely felt. The report concluded that African Caribbean children again on average, show a level of performance resembling white children. Bangladeshi children's underachievement was attributed to two major factors; their relatively recent arrival in Britain and problems with English as a second language.

The theories as to why African Caribbean children underachieve, range from on one hand, the theories on black cultural deficiency and genetic inferiority and on the other, to the arguments put forward by the opposing camp, that the problem lies within the deficiencies of the British school system and that of white society - namely racism.

Other theories put forward include the poor self image /self concept of black children which according to the argument could be redressed by provision within the school system in providing the type of teaching methods, curricula and staff that would help black children develop more positive self images.

Limited education, once cited as a contribution to black pupils' underachievement, was put forward in the early sixties as a

possible explanation of why children of immigrants fail at school. Even though the view was generally held that the language of black Britons was indistinguishable from that of white children, for African Caribbean children, Creole (whether accepted as a dialect or a language in its own right) was believed to have a considerable effect on the degree of mastery of Standard English and consequently on academic performance.

Low teacher expectation and racism, it is argued, also contribute to the lack of progress shown by African Caribbean children. Other factors, include the social circumstances that African Caribbean people find themselves in e.g. low income jobs, unemployment or underemployment, poor housing and the way these affect parental awareness of the educational needs of their children. This coupled with the academic aspirations of the immediate community and the supposedly poor quality of pre-school care forms the basis for the theories on social deficiency of black people.

Genetic Inferiority Theory

When it was first revealed that black children as a group tended (on average) to score ten to fifteen points lower than white children in Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests done in the States (Guthrie 1976 & Fincher 1976) the stage was set for the re-emergence of pseudo-scientific theories on the genetic inferiority of black people. From the inception of IQ testing, attempts were made to denigrate the black child by openly attributing his/her supposed backwardness to the inheritance

of rugged IQ genes. Totally ignored was the need to see it all in context to the economy/schooling; technical/social; IQ/economic status and science/ideology. It was clear to see how the capitalist society/economy needed IQ testing in order to justify its hierarchies and inequalities.

It is a commonly held view in education that children with greater intelligence can be expected to learn more rapidly and achieve a higher level of academic mastery than children who are less intellectually endowed. Harlow et al. (1971) were able to show a positive relationship between learning and intelligence in a correlation of about 0.05 between scores on standardised intelligence tests and teacher ratings on level of proficiency.

It was Alfred Binet and his colleague Theodore Simon who in 1905 devised the first series of mental assessment test (then called the Binet-Simon mental assessment scales). He was commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instructions to set up a commission to study the problems of backward children in the over crowded schools of Paris, as it was assumed the less academically gifted students were holding up the progress of the better ones. The commission set to work to devise a method of separating the backward children from those making normal progress at school. Binet's mental assessment test was the foundation of intelligence testing.

Working on the assumption that older children are, on average, better at solving problems than younger children, test scores were expressed in terms of the relationship of mental age to chronological age. If a seven year old child could solve only

the kind of problems an average five year old could solve, Binet considered him/her backward. Today the tests are commonly known as Stanford/Binet tests after the work done by a Stanford University psychologist Louis Terman in redesigning and updating the tests. The IQ test is expressed as;

$$IQ = \text{MENTAL AGE} \times 100 - \text{CHRONOLOGICAL AGE}$$

The genetic inferiority theory, reinforced by popular traditional folklore Anglo superiority was championed in every decade of the twentieth century - notably by G Stanley Hall and Henry Goddard by the turn of the century and World War 1, Robert Yerkes in the 1920s, Louis Terman in the 1930s, Henry Garnett in the 1940s, Carl Brigham in the 1950s, Cyril Burt in the 1960s, Arthur Jenson and Hans Eysenck in the 1970s and 1980s, Block and Dworkin (1977) and Franklyn (1980). Surprisingly, the theories of genetic inferiority did not receive the same attention in Britain as they did in the United States; even though the evidence used to support the theory relied on the empirical work done by an Englishman, Cyril Burt.

The argument surrounds the belief that 'innate ability' (a loosely used term) exists in all humans and this phenomenon could be measured by IQ tests.

Firmly embedded in this belief is that heredity is a major factor in determining IQ scores. Therefore if black students score ten to fifteen points (on average) less than white students, they are genetically less intellectually endowed. In short, they are genetically inferior. IQ scores were not expected to change during the course of a life time. Flynn (1980) and Senna

(1973) argued that individuals are not identical in their various capabilities. Accepting as a reasonable supposition the belief that each individual's limit on various capabilities may be set to some extent by genetic inheritance, he (Flynn), completely discounted that acceptance of this, amounted to the acknowledgement that some people will always be able to outperform other people in various ways. On the question of race and IQ he also pointed out that no biologist had yet produced any actual evidence (i.e. isolating a gene) as a biological determinant of human IQ.

It was Jensen (1969) who pointed out that, conclusively, intelligence is defined as what is measured in IQ tests. According to Jensen, the differences between the average IQs could statistically be accounted for through genetic rather than environmental influences. This hypothesis had been pioneered he claimed, from the elaborate studies carried out on monozygotic twins (identical siblings from one egg) who were separated at a very early stage in their lives. By separating the environmental influences of these children (their home environment and parents) from their genetic influences (their blood ties), by comparing IQ scores, the influence on heredity is easily identifiable. The black/white differences in scores could only be accountable by genetic factors.

Bloom (1964) reviewing the evidence, concluded that repeated tests of general intelligence (corrected for unreliability of measurement) showed that correlation on IQ tests were high; 0.90 by age four and five years; and by age seventeen, IQ scores correlated about 0.70.

Britain's most famous human geneticists, Cyril Burt, Herstein, Jensen and Hans Eysenck all gave scientific credibility to the genetic inferiority theory of blacks in respect to intelligence. Although the Left challenged the racist theories outright, it appeared almost from the beginning that few academics were prepared to challenge Jensen and company on the issue of genes and race, and even fewer within the area of educational psychology, set out to investigate his claims. In the United States, black educators, social scientists and psychologists refused to accept the hypothesis that low IQ scores are accurate indicators of the black child's fixed-carried intellectual ability. Challenging the assessment tools as being culturally biased, they were quick to condemn the practice of using IQ tests as a valid index for placing black children disproportionately in schools for the educationally retarded (Guthrie 1976 and Franklin 1980).

In a much publicised court case, the San Francisco Bay Area Black Psychology Association challenged the practice of using IQ tests scores used to place black students in classes for the mentally retarded and to exclude them from classes for the gifted. It was estimated that in 1971, black students who only constituted 28.5% of San Francisco school district were however represented in schools for the educable mentally retarded (EMR) by 60% (Aubrey 1975). In Britain, similar statistics were produced by Coard (1971) showing that African Caribbean children were over represented in educationally sub-normal (ESN) schools. A survey carried out in 1967 by the Inner London Education Authority's (ILEA) research group found that the 'immigrant' child was twice

as likely to be placed in an ESN school and if he/she were African Caribbean, the figure was much higher.

Today the theories suggesting that IQ differences between blacks and whites could best be explained by genetic rather than environmental factors have long been discredited. Jeneks et al (1972) after analysing Jensen's evidence, were able to show emphatically how the statistical evidence could have been interpreted differently and Burt's evidence was found to be largely fabricated and fraudulent. Mensh and Mensh (1991), Flynn (1980) and Henshaw (1979) after reviewing Burt's diaries declared that there was conclusive evidence that the data produced by Burt had been falsified and hence the work of Jensen & Herrnstein (based almost entirely on Burt's data) was invalid. Also, to set the records straight, a number of follow - up studies on genes and the question of IQ produced empirical findings which threw further doubt on the genetic inferiority theory.

In Britain the question of ethnic minority children and IQ was raised in the Swann Committee of Investigation 1985, in an attempt to clarify underachievement among certain ethnic minority groups. A study was commissioned by the Swann Committee because it was felt that there was still a widely held view within society that the cause of under achievement among African Caribbean children was primarily due to low IQ. The committee concluded:

"The authors are duly cautious about the evidence but they have, we believe, disposed of the idea that West Indian underachievement can be explained away by reference to IQ scores" Swann (1985).

There is evidence to suggest that much of what is measured by traditional intelligence tests and scholastic aptitude examination in the way of problem solving, language competences and mathematical skills, is learnt behaviour (Hunt 1961 and Brumar 1963). Intellectual talents are equally distributed across the races at birth. What children learn and how much their intellectual potentials are actually utilised, depend to some extent on the learning environment they find themselves in and a host of other factors to be discussed later in this chapter.

The Cultural Deficiency Theory

The theory subscribes to the belief that black children are underachieving and will continue to underachieve because of deficiencies within the black culture which does not lend itself to success within the dominant culture. This belief stems directly from the notion of white superiority and the question of black and low IQ scores. We know today, that the content of such tests mirrored values of white middle-class society.

In the 1960s educational psychologists, looking at poor reading achievement among white middle class children in the United States, focused on methods of instruction as the causal factors (e.g. phonetic approach vs the 'look-say' method) or in finding the correct balance between the child's level of development and the curriculum contents. However, when taking into account low reading achievement among low income black children, the identified causal factors were explained as deficiencies in the child's cultural, environment and cognitive capacities.

Apart from the obvious factors of social deprivation, bad housing, overcrowding, unemployment and low income, other variables were cited. For example, lack of books in the home, lack of toys, restricted conversation of black children with adults (or as they say, intelligent and meaningful conversation).

Children are described as culturally deprived if they come from homes and neighbourhood environments that do not provide them with adequate organised stimulation for normal development. The result of their deprivation is reflected in their poor reading scores and retardation in linguistic, cognitive and social development (Rist 1972).

The earlier work of Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget on a child's interaction with stimulating aspects of his/her environment, formed the basis upon which supporters of this theory founded their argument. Piaget's theory focused on the aspects of the child's environment which, in his view, affected the child's progressive development of reasoning abilities. In applying Piaget's theory, psychologists diagnosed the black child as suffering from insufficiently structured intellect or from cognitive defects - arising from insufficient age appropriate stimulation (Ausubel 1964, Bloom et al 1965, Deutech et al 1967, Hunt 1967). The remedies prescribed were special pre-school experiences of a compensatory nature to the child's deprived background. This seem to reinforce the popular belief that schools are middle class institutions set up to teach working class children middle class values and norms. Vost (1966) contested that black families teach their children skills,

which, though perfectly adequate within the black community, are irrelevant to the demands of the school and American society. As a result, the compensatory early stimulus development programme of the United States was seen as being far more important in relation to educational achievement than the provision of emotionally supportive human relationships.

Black psychologists were quick to point out that through all the supportive evidence, no reliable way to determine the 'minimum daily requirement' of sensory stimulation for adequate intellectual development had been given. As such the avenue to measure objectively just how culturally deprived children are, did not exist (Silverstein and Krate 1975). Hunt's approach to the subject of cultural deprivation was to focus attention on presumed deficiencies in the quality of stimuli available to low income black children rather than on the inadequate amount of stimulation they received (Hunt 1964).

To others, verbal stimulation through communication with adults was the most important area through which deficiency occurred - working class mothers talking less to their children than middle class mothers. They identified verbal interchanges between black parents and children as contributing to inadequate cognitive development among impoverished black children.

It would seem that the culture of the black child was deficient in every way and to be considered a 'normal' child, the black child had to follow a specific timetable based on the experiences of white middle - class children. It was even suggested that if children were unable to perform certain intellectual tasks by

certain ages, they would never be able to perform them because defects in neurological organisation, caused by early cultural deprivation, could not be made up (Silverstein and Krate 1975).

In 1971 Hunt even argued that low - income black children in the United States were so riddled with cultural defects by age four, that even the newly introduced Head Start programme was too little, too late to redress intellectual disabilities. What was being argued for was akin to government sponsored intervention in the upbringing of black children at the earliest possible opportunity.

Critics of the cultural deprivation theory pointed out its shortcomings in its methods and assumptions (Baroty and Baroty 1970, Rist 1972, Stein 1971, Valentine 1971).

Spradley (1972) contended that:

- (1) There were built in biases in the theory of cultural deprivation. That is those who were perceived as culturally deprived but doing well at school and those who were not but performed poorly at school were not studied.
- (2) The criteria for measuring school performance and adequacy of cultural background were based on white middle class cultural values; tests, grades, skills etc. By those standards, most of the world is culturally deprived.
- (3) It is implied that children who fail in schools are themselves responsible for their failure, rather than the schools or society.

In one study carried out in the United States of American, Boseo found a large difference in lower class and middle - class five

and eight years old; but no differences between lower - class and middle - class eleven years old. The groups were given five complex visual-detection tasks and the implications were that lower class children are able to catch up middle class children on measures of sensory motor and cognitive functioning. Another study carried out in a Guatemalan village (Kegan 1972) revealed that even though the Guatemalan children at ages five and eight performed less well than American children, at age eleven, the two groups compared favourably when they were tested. Kegan, who observed infants in the Guatemalan village, commented that through spending most of their time in dark huts, these infants seldom spoke and were extremely passive and quiet by American standards at age one.

"If I had seen infants like the Guatemalans in America prior to my [Guatemalan] experience, I would have gotten very upset, called the police, had the children removed and began to make gloomy statements about the fact that it was all one for these children" (Kegan 1972, pg 41).

He observed that those who were aged eleven in the same village were very active and alert and performed as well as American children on the test administered.

The central thesis in this theory is that lower class parents (especially black parents) do not function adequately as teachers within the home, particularly for the acquisition of language skills. The effect of Creolese on Standard English proficiency and subsequently on achievement will be discussed later in the this chapter.

The cultural deprivation theory arose from the study which claims that the black child is raised in a way which prevents the

acquisition of certain skills e.g. linguistic, cognitive etc. The reason they lack such skills according to the theory, is that black parents do not raise their children the way white middle class parents do. Change the attitudes of lower class black parents towards their children and all will be well.

Low Teacher Expectation

This theory explains underachievement in terms of low teacher expectation of African Caribbean children. Teachers, through preconceived ideas of black children, expect them to produce work of lower quality than other groups and as such, demand little from African Caribbean children. The spiral continues when their expectations are justified and African Caribbean children produce less work. Numerous researches have found that such attitudes do prevail among teachers in British schools; and that teachers do have lower expectations of African Caribbean children than of white and Asian children.

Giles (1977) commented that one of the main issues presented to him in his study was teachers' attitudes towards the expectation of West Indian pupils. A study by the National Foundation for Educational Research enquiring into teachers' attitudes and opinions found that teachers as a group saw West Indian children as being 'stupid' and being 'trouble makers' (Brittan 1976). The negative stereotyping of African Caribbean children continued when three quarters of the teachers questioned disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement:

"West Indian children tend to raise the academic level of the school" (pg 62).

In a survey by the ILEA (1984) almost half the teachers questioned thought their own school was poor or very poor at showing high expectations of pupils. The Hargreaves Committee also found that most London teachers thought their schools were good at informing pupils about courses and jobs.....but poor at making school an enjoyable environment for the pupils so that they could enjoy some success there. The Rampton Report also made a point of connecting teacher expectation with academic performance of African Caribbean children. According to the report, African Caribbean children were considered to be good prospective athletes but not good at academic work. This was also the view taken by Giles (1977).

Another study carried out by Cashmore (1982) showed many top black sports performers when in reflection on their athletic careers, attributed their success to two factors; academic failure and encouragement by the teachers. "Teachers" it was suggested "seem to think that because you're Black, you're good at sports" (pg 216).

Figueira (1984) argued that what was often referred to as the educational underachievement of ethnic minority pupils in Britain especially those of African-Caribbean background, was more a case of educational inequality. He suggested that teachers' stereotypes, expectations and in general racist frames of reference were largely the cause of this underachievement.

In another study Figueira and Swart (1986), researching into teachers' and pupils' ethnocentric frames of reference, cited a teacher who felt that since black children were growing up in England, they needed to learn and adopt to the English way of

looking at the world – probably implying that the English way of looking at the world was homogeneous and unchanging.

Townsend (1971) Figueira (1974) and Coard (1971) were unanimous in pointing out that early studies show African-Caribbean children being substantially under-represented in selective academic schools in the 1970s whilst being over-represented in Educational Sub-normal (ESN) schools.

Bagley (1975) found that teachers of ten years experience in London borough were more likely to rate African Caribbean pupils as manifesting deviant behaviour. Mabey (1981) also revealed that teachers rated eight years old African Caribbean children and their parents negatively. Studies by Edwards in 1978 and 1979 with student teachers, showed that tape recorded African Caribbean children speaking in the Creole dialect were rated by the student teachers as having the least academic potential. It is therefore not surprising that the Rampton Committee was forthright in its recommendations that:

"Teachers should be prepared to examine and re-appraise their attitudes and actions to ensure that their behaviour towards and expectations of ethnic minority pupils are not influenced by stereotypes and negative views" (Rampton Report pg 14).

Milner (1983) in emphasising that black children in British schools were seen in a 'problem' context, viewed by teachers as 'problem children' rather than children with enormous problems, presented a scenario of "anachelypal strangers in a xenophobic society".

One might indeed have overlooked the fact that, despite whatever 'push' factors there might have been, immigrants from the

Caribbean were actually encouraged to seek residence in the United Kingdom, in order to fill certain semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the employment market in keeping with the needs of the economy. Indeed, it also suited the host country to keep African Caribbean workers in their semi-skilled, low paid employment.

The Communist Party in outlining their views on black underachievement, stated:

"We have to challenge racist concepts both in our minds, and in other processes of our education system, which often help to produce in teachers an under-estimation of the Black child's intellectual potential, and of their social behaviour. Such under-estimation is a key factor in the underachievement syndrome - setting so many black and other ethnic minority youngsters on a course not only for their school life but for their opportunities or lack of them thereafter" (Ebutt and Pearce 1988 pg 9).

Racism

This theory sees underachievement in the context of the wider society and the institutionalised racism that exists within the educational institutions as a whole. In the 1960s and 70s educationalists were encouraged to believe that racism was not a major issue at hand and that the education system was void of any prejudice.

In a White Paper on Education (1971) the government outlined its policy of equality and harmony between the races.

"The education service has important contributions to make to the well being of immigrant communities in this country, and to the promotion of harmony between different ethnic groups of which our society is now composed. This is because first: the education service has some responsibility to assist citizens of all ages to develop their abilities to the full and within that

responsibility a special obligation to children who, for one reason or another, are most of all at risk of not achieving their true potential. And second education can be a potent instrument for increasing understanding and good will between the races." (quoted in Little 1978).

It could be argued that the responsibility lies with the education system to make the majority, indigenous community more aware of the need to be tolerant and accepting of the minority groups - thus enabling the present generation to live and grow up harmoniously in a multi - racial society. Sivanandan (1983) outlined the policy where programmes by the Commission for Racial Equality, the Runnymede Trust, et cetera, funded by the Home Office's Urban Aid Programme were designed to keep the race issue from contaminating the class issue. In schools the strategy was called multi racial - education. Sivanandan sees this strategy as nearly the manipulation of educational methods and techniques leaving unaltered the whole racist structure of the educational system. Education then becomes an adjustment process with the racist society and not a force for changing the structure of the racist society. The question is then raised in trying to determine the extent to which racism affects the academic attainment of black children in British schools.

The Rampton Committee defined racism as:

"a set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race which is based on belief that races are distinct and can be graded as 'superior' or 'inferior'. A racist is therefore someone who believes that people of a particular race, colour or national origin are inherently inferior, so that their identity, culture, self esteem, views and feelings are less valuable than his/her own and can be disregarded or treated as less important" (Committee of Inquiry 1981).

The Communist Party summarised its position by pointing out that:

"racism is not just a pernicious idea carried over from previous stages of our history.....the breakdown of capitalism itself,

resultant conflict in the former imperial territories, immigration here, unemployment, housing shortage, cuts in education, health and social welfare, legal discrimination and Police harassment. These are constant sources of frustration and anger among black and other minority ethnic groups who suffer most from every aspect of deprivation and poverty" (Ebutt, and Pearce, 1988).

Tiernay (1982) accepting that no consensus exists regarding the definition of the term racism, attempted a definition embracing

"the belief that some.....races are biologically inferior to others; this inferiority being manifested in intellectual programmes, moral qualities and social behaviour.....one's potential as a human being is biologically determined according to one's racial membership" (Tiernay 1982).

Apart from the absence of unanimity on a definition there seem to be equal confusion in the 'list of criteria' used for identifying a racist. Enoch Powell for example- the best example of present day racist demagogue- vehemently denied he is a racist.

"If by racist you mean a man who despises a human being because he belongs to another race, or a man who believes that one race is inherently superior to another in civilisation or capability, then the answer is emphatically no" (Barker 1981).

Benton (1970) supported this view and argued that though the likes of Powell and Proctor are the counterparts of 19th and early 20th Century racists; by being aware of the scientific mistake of racism, they are not themselves racist. Racism, he argued, should be reserved for a doctrine of racial, biological inferiority. Benton's preferred terminology for ideas based on cultural differences/inferiority was ethno - centrist.

In an attempt to draw a distinction between racism and racialism, Margaret Nicholson identified racism as the actual belief or theory which individuals possess and racialism being the putting

into practice of these beliefs by institutions and individuals (Tierney 1982).

This indeed leaves us in no doubt of the more serious of the two.

Sivanandan once said:

"People's attitudes don't mean a damn to me if I can't send my child to the school I want to send my child to; if I can't get the job for which I am qualified and so on. It is the acting out of racial prejudice, not racial prejudice itself that matters. The acting out of prejudice is discrimination and when it become institutionalised in the power structure of this society, then we are dealing not with attitudes but with power. Racism is about power, not about prejudice" (Sivanandan 1983 pg 2 & 3).

For black people in Britain, powerlessness has been the overwhelming experience reinforcing the realities of racism. The denial of access to full participation in British life, the almost total exclusion of the contribution of black people in children's books and the school curriculum, the situation of poor housing, higher percentages of unemployment in minority ethnic communities and the awareness among black school leavers that their career opportunities depend not on their skills but on the degree of racism of their prospective employers. Black youths in contact with the Police have been on a much more frequent and negative character than the white community - since the campaigns to criminalise the black community through sensationalising mugging, the peddling of drugs (ganja/marijuana) and prostitution (pimping) continued unabated in the 1900s (Gutzmore 1983).

Low Self – Concept And Self – Esteem

Even though it would be ridiculous to assume that low self-esteem and self – concept was a characteristic trait experienced only by black people, it is assumed that the dehumanisation process experienced by large section of the black community in every day life has a profound impact on their conceptualisation of the world in relation to themselves – leading to self – hatred and self – rejection. These are the inevitable results of social rejection and discrimination within society.

Children of African Caribbean background, whose low school test scores coupled with what is sometimes described as their rejection of schooling as a whole, were perceived to have lower self – esteem / self – concept than their English peers.

Stone (1980) pointed out that British researchers have never taken up the matter of developing their own theories, taking into consideration the African Caribbean experience in Britain and instead have adopted in its total form the American model.

Research completed in the Midlands included Hill (1970) and Pearson (1974). Hill looked at English and African Caribbean children and concluded that even though children of African Caribbean background did not devalue themselves in comparison to their English peers, they were more likely than their peers to see their home environment in negative terms and to express a desire for white culture.

An elaborate study by Bagley and Coard (1975) revealed that children of African Caribbean background had a disappointingly low knowledge of their cultural heritage and a substantial number

of these children rejected their ethnic identity in favour of European type style characteristics and cultural identity. The researchers pointed out that this self rejection was not evident among white children. Stone (1980) emphasised that the case for cultural knowledge and rejection of ethnic identity was not substantiated in her own research.

It could be argued that negative attitudes directed towards an ethnic group were likely to involve some degree of self-disparagement as members of that group struggle to escape from their negative environment. In an American study Brody (1963) interviewed black boys and their mothers and confirmed that some of the boys had little ambivalence or uncertainty - noting they wanted to be white and displayed distressed feelings about their blackness. Some of the strongest criticism of early research on low self - esteem in black children came from Greenwald and Opperheim (1968). Totally disagreeing with the methodology applied by researchers, they added brown dolls to the original selection of black and white dolls and asked the children to identify or pick out the doll they resembled most. In their revised test, Greenwald and Opperheim concluded that only 15% of black children misidentified. The majority of children identified with the black doll.

Milner (1975) carried out a study in the United Kingdom in which children of African Caribbean, Asian and English backgrounds were studied. He required each child to make a choice between two dolls and two pictures with appropriate questions. The results of this study revealed a degree of white orientation in black

British children on similar level as that shown in American studies. Later studies in Britain by Davey and Mullen (1980) have been more encouraging, showing the phenomenon of black children's identification with skin colour, and concluding that previous observed behaviour from these same children, have almost disappeared. This could only be interpreted that black children are now more aware of their racial identity and accept it in very positive terms.

Other studies by Lomax (1977) and Hill (1975) also reflected a positive trend. Lomax found that girls of African Caribbean background had considerably higher self esteem than their white peers and Hill concluded that black girls born in the Caribbean had higher self esteem than black girls born in Britain. The methodology used by early studies was structured to imply that identification with the dominant group, where the group under observation is void of social status, leads to damage of self image/self esteem.

If one accepts this argument then it would be beyond our expectations that black children should (as a group) accumulate any positive images of themselves and their culture in an institutionalised racist society such as Britain. Simmons(1978) analysing the situation, concluded that:

"an individual's positive or negative attitude towards himself is influenced less by the larger society and more by the opinions of significant others in his immediate environment. The black, particularly the black child tends to be surrounded by other blacks. Thus those persons who matters most to him - parents, teachers, peers - tend to be black and evaluate him as highly as white parents, teachers and peers evaluate the white child. In addition, although his race; family structure or socio - economic status may be devalued in the larger society, in his immediate context most others share these characteristics" (Simmons 1978).

In Britain there seem to be a new awakening among youths of African Caribbean and African descent on rediscovering their culture and roots. One cannot fail to notice the new wave of fashion, from the African hats worn by black youths to the medallions now fashionable, bearing African inscriptions, maps of the continent of Africa and pictorial representations of the ancient kings and queens of Africa. The combination of colours, red, gold and green (influences of Rastafarianism) are openly worn by black youths today. Many have grown their hair into dreadlocks - others applying false hairpieces giving themselves a dreadlock appearance.

In London discos, it is even fashionable to see black youths in African type dress - something that would not have been evident ten years ago. The contribution of the Rastafarian movement to the new cultural enlightenment is immeasurable. Black cultural events such as Kwanza, the Notting Hill Carnival and the annual Black Book Fair are more popular today than they have ever been.

It would seem to me that the clearly negative stereotypes of low self - esteem, self - concept of black children is not borne out by the reality of the situation.

Racism And The Educational System

Over the last few years education has become a real focus in terms of racism as a whole and if we were to examine the increasing incidents of racism - be it the Mc Gulwick affair in Brent, Ray Honeyford in Bradford, the parents in Kirklees, the appointment of a home liaison teacher in Moseley, Birmingham - one immediately recognises the trend in which racial attitudes

have been on the increase.

Recently, the tabloid press have been quick to whip up racist backlash at rows that had broken out in Springfield School in Birmingham. A white teacher was appointed as home school liaison officer at a Moseley school where 95% of the pupils were Asian. The row surrounded the fact that the teacher did not speak Urdu. The press and the news were quick to descend with full anti - Asian rhetoric. Typically none of these tabloid papers addressed the real problem behind the appointment and the parents' objection to the way the appointment was made. The story that should have been told was that the education cuts were hitting deep and Birmingham Council had refused to provide facilities for Asian pupils and to provide a reliable programme to combat racism.

It would seem to me that an appointment as important and sensitive as a home/school liaison teacher for a school with a high population of Asians would legitimately require appointing someone fluent in Urdu particularly since the job requires communicating with the overwhelmingly Urdu - speaking parents. A teacher at Springfield School told the 'Socialist Worker' that of the sixteen teachers in the junior school, only one is Asian. The ratio is similar in infant and primary schools throughout the Moseley area. It seems hardly surprising that the parents, realising that Asians are under represented in the education system have voiced their objection to the way they are treated by Birmingham City and the County Council.

Another incident that immediately comes to mind is a campaign

fought two years ago in Dewsbury by a group of white parents who demanded to have their children taken out of a predominantly Asian school and moved to a predominantly white school - a campaign that was racist from start to finish. I wish to argue that the resurgence of the British National Party and the increase in racist attacks now being experienced within the Dewsbury area, have been a direct result of the victory of those parents and the role Kirklees Education Authority played within the dispute.

The Authority had allowed unofficial segregated schooling to take place over a number of years unchallenged. Realising the situation was out of control, they decided to intervene. However, they chose not to fight on the basis that segregated schools were racist, or against the parent's campaign. Instead they tried to reassure all parents and warn them about resisting any cuts in educational resources. They chose not to reaffirm their intention defend and stand by their multicultural education policy - giving it a genuine status as against a mere paper document with multicultural 'sounding' words on it. They decided to fight the parents' campaign on a technicality - and last year in the court they lost on that same technicality.

The majority of black people in that area felt betrayed by the council, who in their view sided with the racists. The results have been the increasing voices of the Muslim Fundamentalists calling for separate schools within the Muslim communities. It was Karl Marx in his critique of Hegel's philosophy of rights (republished in 1975) who said on religion:

"Religious suffering is at one and the same time the expression of real suffering... and also a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sign of the oppressed culture; the heart of the heartless world, just as it is the spirit of the spiritless condition. It is the opium of the people" (Marx 1975 pg 244).

It would seem to me that it is the direct experience of racism that pushes people into the hands of the fundamentalists and in effect, pushes people to seek separatism as a solution to their problems. Black people should be quite aware that it is an understandable response and we should see where its origins lie. However it is undoubtedly the wrong response. We must be clear in our opposition to separate education and to those who encourage the development of separate schools. Such an outcome would achieve no more than the division of the working class - setting worker against worker. Our arguments must be for a singular secular state education system with no place for the voluntary - aided system and private schools for the privileged. But even as we argue for a single secular state education system - we must not be blind to the system that exists today. We must argue for equal treatment, as exist in law, for all groups. The privileges given to voluntary - aided schools, for example Roman Catholic and Church of England schools should equally apply to Muslim schools, Seven Day Adventist schools, Jewish schools et cetera. Legislation must apply equally to every religious group. However, looking at the present government's Education Reform Act; we see there is need for concern. The imposition of mainly Christian assemblies in schools seem to me a slap in the face for all pupils of non-Christian background and implies that their religion is second rated. On the question of languages, the

Education Act does not take into account the importance or the validity of Asian languages - relegated to a lower category than European languages. On the question of teaching History, we see the deliberate attempt to emphasise British past glories as the basis of historical studies.

It is only by looking at the current trends in education and the role education plays under capitalism that we could truly appreciate how black people are marginalised within the educational system.

CHAPTER III

BLACK RESISTANCE

Many of the early pioneers of the Supplementary School Movement embraced to some degree the ideas of black power, black consciousness and in some areas, that of black resistance. In the 1960s and 1970s many disenfranchised blacks in England, reacting to racism in this country were openly arguing that black people can only free themselves by organising separately. The struggles of the Black Americans acted as a beacon of light to many African Caribbeans and an indication to the way forward. This was translated in supplementary schools adopting black history as its main theme and the enhancement of black culture and black literature on the school programme.

It is important to point out that Black Nationalist politics is not monolithic in nature and has never exerted a major influence over the black population in Britain, however its influence in the many black organisations and the emergence of many prominent figures cannot be overlooked. The fact is that, unlike in the United States, where blacks could make up around ninety percent of residents in a particular neighbourhood and almost one hundred percent of the school population in the said area, the situation in Britain is quite different. Even in areas of high ethnic minority population, e.g. Lambeth and Brent, blacks make up just about a half of the population. The fact that black people live alongside white people, go to school with white people, work alongside white people could explain why black nationalist ideas

have not taken root in Britain as has been the case in the States.

Black Nationalistic politics in Britain varies from that of Pan-Africanism in the Marcus Garvey tradition, modern black Nationalist like Michael X, later to be renamed Abdul Malik, RACE TODAY's Darcus Hoyle and A Sivanandan, Rastafarianism among the younger generation and to those locked in a battle with the Labour Party on the issue of Black Sectors. However it is the rich experience of the black struggle in the United States that gives us a clear insight of the idea of Black Nationalism.

Resistance and Pan Africanism

Pan-Africanism as a political strategy was created by black people living in Britain around the beginning of the twentieth century. The philosophy of Pan-Africanism was built around the ideas of racial solidarity and self awareness, Africa for the Africans, opposition to racial discrimination and the emancipation from white supremacy and domination (Fryer 1984). The first Pan Africanist conference, held in London in 1900, and attended by African-Americans, African-Caribbeans, Africans and Blacks born in Britain, clearly identified as its main aim the struggle against white imperialism. A clear message was sent to the major imperialist powers that their minority rule could not last forever. Under the influence of W.E.B. Du Bios and others, the conference adopted an "Address to the Nations of the World" among its key phrases "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the Colour line". The main association of aims were outlined as such:

1. To secure to Africans throughout the world true civil and political rights.
2. To ameliorate the conditions of our brothers on the continent of Africa, America and other parts of the world.
3. To promote efforts to secure effective legislation and encourage our people in educational, industrial and commercial enterprise.
4. To foster the production of writing and statistics relating to our people everywhere.
5. To raise funds for forwarding these purposes.

(Fryer 1984)

Marcus Garvey

Probably the most influential Black Nationalist leader to date is Marcus Garvey. Certainly a very controversial figure, he was known to his many followers as "The Black Moses". Garvey is credited with setting up the largest black political organisation to date. The Universal Negro Improvement Association was set up in 1914 and six years later, it claimed a membership of 6 million (probably in exaggeration). C.L.R. James clearly expressed the importance of Garvey to the consciousness of the Black people.

"Garvey was a remarkable man; before Garvey, there was no black movement anywhere, since Garvey, there has been a continuous black movement.... All of us stand on the shoulders of Marcus Garvey. There is plenty to say against Garvey, but nothing you can say against Garvey can ever weaken the things, the positive things that Garvey did".

(James 1984)

But the leader of the NAACP (The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People), W.E.B. Du Bois had a different assessment of Garvey's work.

"Marcus Garvey is without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America. He is either a lunatic or a traitor. The American Negroes have endured this wretch all too long with fine restraint and every effort at co-operation and understanding. But the end has come. Every man who apologises for or defends Marcus Garvey from this day forth writes himself down as unworthy of the countenance of decent American".

quoted in Shawki (1990) Pg 36

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born in 1887 in Jamaica and died in England in 1940. After a tour of Latin America, he arrived in Britain in 1912 where he became involved in Nationalist politics, particularly influenced by Egyptian nationalist, Duse Mohammed. Garvey once wrote:

"Becoming naturally restless for the opportunity of doing something for the advancement of my race, I was determined that the black man would not continue to be kicked about by all the other races and nations of the world as I saw it in the West Indies, South and Central America...I saw before me then, a new world of black men not pawns, serfs, dogs and slaves but a nation of sturdy men making them impress upon the human race. I could not remain in London anymore".

(quoted in Lewis 1987, Page 47 & 48)

Garvey returned to Jamaica in June 1914 and founded the UNIA. In 1916, often encountering little success with his project, he left for the United States to raise funds for and industrial institution to be established in Jamaica. What happened after can only be described as remarkable. In four years he had established chapters and divisions of UNIA throughout the black areas of the United States and in 42 countries. Even though there are disputes on the actual membership of Garvey's organisation, there can be no doubt that its influence touched millions of Afro-Americans, as active members or in sympathy with its views. Its newspaper, the Negro World, was the most widely

read black publication in the United States.

To understand Garvey's success, one needs to look at the political climate for blacks at the time of his arrival in the United States. The move by the U.S. government to enshrine Jim Crow laws, the refusal of trade unions to accept black workers; the systematic attacks and lynching that blacks were subjected to, especially in the south, the race riots, the results of whites attacks on blacks- all assisted in projecting Garvey to the fore as a ray of new hope for blacks. The riots and lynchings were not new, but the series of riots in 1919 were different in one respect: Blacks fought back.

By the early 1920s there were 700 branches of UNIA in the U.S., and with its aspirations to nationhood (its flag of red, black and green) Garvey's dreams of mapping out a black state, where black people could rely on the force of an overwhelming majority. Martin (1988).

Garvey's programme on "Back to Africa" was openly dismissed by C.L.R. James:

"What was Garvey's programme? Back to Africa. It was pitiable rubbish, but the Negroes wanted a lead and they took the first that was offered them. Further more, desperate men often hear not the actual words of an orator, but their own thoughts."

(James 1985 Pg 53)

Garvey's attempt at resettling Afro Americans in Liberia and its biggest business venture, The Black Star Line, ran into

difficulty and resulted in the undoing of his organisation. It is suggested that an important factor in Garvey's Liberian failure was the possible role played by his great rival, W.E.B. Du Bois (Martin 1987 Pg 135).

Du Bois was appointed a special representative to President King of Liberia by the U.S. government. Du Bois did not read into this political ruse, and saw his appointment as "the highest rank ever given by any country to a diplomatic agent in Black Africa". (Du Bois 1968 quoted in Martin 1987). He set about, as was the intention, to undermine Garvey's programme with the Liberian authorities. The U.S. government was amazed at Garvey's powers of persuasion....

"A man who can persuade several thousand American negroes that they would be better off in Liberia, or anywhere else in Africa, than they were in this country".

(Martin 1987
Pg 131)

When a team of UNIA experts arrived in Liberia to prepare the way for the first 500 Afro American settlers, they were not even allowed to land.

The Black Star Shipping Line was UNIA's most ambitious project. Its three ships and all black crew was the pride of Black America, but they were badly managed, bought for far more than they were worth only to be abandoned or sold. The Black Star was replaced by the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. Its only ship, the Booker T. Washington, delighted delegates at the 1924 UNIA convention, but did not survive its inaugural voyage.

Garvey was accused of embezzling the thousands of poor blacks who had invested their savings with his shipping lines. The changes that followed, indicated the interest of the C.I.A. and the U.S. government had in Garvey's organisation and the subsequent prosecution of UNIA was added testimony to what was effectively a political trial ended with Garvey's conviction and imprisonment. He was later deported in 1926.

Back in Jamaica, Garvey made a bid for politics with little success. In 1934, he returned to England, but in spite of his tireless efforts his London UNIA has little appeal to the black students and residents. By the time of his death in 1940, UNIA had ceased to exist anywhere in the world (Ramdin 1987).

Marcus Garvey's ideas were anti - socialist and saw the advancement of blacks locked in the development of black capitalist enterprise i.e. the setting up of a new black elite.

On the issue he had this to say:

"Capitalism is necessary to the progress of the world and those who unreasonably and wantonly oppose or fight against it are enemies of human advancement". Stein (1986)

Garvey started his organisation on the ideas of race pride and black resistance, but that soon changed to "race purity", denouncing sexual relations between the races. This brought him into alliance with the most unlikely of organisations, the Ku Klux Klan, meeting the Klan's second in command in Atlanta, Georgia.

"I regard the Klan, the Anglo-Saxon clubs and White American Societies clubs, as far as the Negro is concerned, better friends of the race than all other groups of hypocritical whites put together".

(Stein 1986 Pg 49)

If Garvey now regarded the Klan as "better friends", placing them and other white supremacists in high esteem, he showed antipathy towards other black organisations.

"Between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People group, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose towards the Negro. They are better friends to my race, for telling us what they are, and what they mean, thereby giving us a chance to stir for ourselves, than all the hypocrites put together, with their false gods and religions, notwithstanding".

(Martin 1987 Pg 89)

All in all, the positive elements of Garvey's work, his ideas and his projects cannot be overlooked. He has built a mass political organisation, with a programme for creating a nation, but more for establishing a state. His "Back to Africa" programme was the only practical solution he offered his followers, admitting it was only feasible for a minority. His popular slogan, "Up you mighty race" inspired millions, and a new vision of black self determination emerged. Said Trotsky:

"The black woman who said to the white woman, 'Wait until Marcus is in power. We will know how to treat you then,' was simply expressing her desire for her own state. The American Negroes gathered under the banner of the "Back to Africa" movement because it seemed a possible fulfilment of their wish for their own home. They did not want to actually go to Africa. It was the expression of a mystic desire for a home in which they would be free from the domination of whites".

(Trotsky 1978 Pg 61)

Garvey had built an organisation, the largest black organisation to date, but he could not fulfil its dreams. That accounted for

the rise and demise of the UNIA movement.

C.L.R. James

Another champion of Pan Africanism to emerge among a long list of remarkable blacks in Britain who contributed to the movement, is C.L.R. James.

Cyril Lionel Robert James was born in Trinidad in 1901 and moved to Britain in 1932 and joined forces with other activists such as George Padmore, Ras Makonnen, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Wallace Johnson, among others. Many of the early and present black supplementary schools were named to commemorate the work of these activists e.g. The Marcus Garvey Supplementary School, George Padmore Supplementary School and the Kwame Nkrumah Supplementary School to name but a few.

James is credited by the Left to have provided the definitive synthesis of Marxism and Black Nationalism (Shawki 1990). James and Padmore worked closely together, making lengthy contributions in the journal "International African Opinion". He broke with the Independent Labour Party in 1936, declaring himself an anti Stalinist Marxist, to join the Revolutionary Socialist League. He believed in the spontaneous working class and black self activity as the central dynamic of the revolutionary process and that for the liberation of black people, it was necessary to have an independent black struggle.

Despite his strong views on separate black organisations, James

saw no contradiction between Marxism and Pan-Africanism even to the point of considering the two as virtually synonymous.

"When I hear people arguing about Marxism versus the nationalist or racialist struggle I am very confused, because in England, I edited the Trotskyist paper and I edited the nationalist pro-African paper of George Padmore and nobody quarrelled. The Trotskyists read and sold the African paper and the African nationalist, attended each others meetings and there were nationalists who read and sold the Trotskyists paper. I moved among them, we attended each others meetings and there was no problem because we had the same aim in general: freedom by revolution.

(James 1984 Pg 242).

After extensive work in England, James was invited to the U.S. to lecture on the Black Struggle by the Socialist Workers Party. He met Leon Trotsky in 1939, discussing at length the black question, racism and black nationalism. Trotsky, although admitting to knowing very little on the issues of the Black American struggle, however supported fully the motion of self-determination for blacks.

"The negroes are a race and not a nation. Nations grow out of radical material under definite conditions.... We of course do not obligate the Negroes to become a nation; whether they are is a question of their consciousness, that is what they desire and what they strive for. We say, if the Negroes want that, then we must fight against imperialism to the last drop of blood, so that they gain the right, wherever and however they please to separate a piece of land for themselves..... Today, the white workers in relation to the Negroes are the oppressors, scoundrels, who persecute the Blacks and Yellow hold them in contempt and lynch them".

(Trotsky quoted in Shawki 1990).

In his meeting with Trotsky, C.L.R. James argued strongly in favour of black self-determination. Afro-Americans, he argued, must be won over to socialism, but they also need to organise separately to achieve these goals. If a black state was seen as the avenue to achieve these goals then they should be supported

unconditionally and uncritically by the Revolutionary party. However he expressed the view that it was very unlikely that American blacks would opt for their own black state. In 1948 James wrote the policy document for the Socialist Workers Party on the Black question - entitled "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the U.S.A." James was later to break with Trotskyism over the validity of his book "World Revolution". In another essay "Spheres of Existence", he gave his full support for the Black Power Movement- wholeheartedly substituting the politics of "third worldism" for Marxism (Shawki 1990).

Speaking about the Black Power movement he declared,

"I believe that this slogan (Black Power) is destined to become one of the great political slogans of our time". (Shawki '90 Pg 66).

It is important in using the term Black Nationalism to distinguish it from National Liberation struggles. It should be seen as a response to the fact that in white societies black people feel that they are marginalized, discriminated, denigrated and the idea of carrying out their own place in the world i.e. building up a black state, could appeal to them as a means of achieving some form of liberation from white society. It is the belief that they need to fight separately from white society which is seen as the problem. Only black people can really understand the oppression that blacks face and any white involvement could only have the affect of diluting the confidence of blacks to fight. Through it all, James still saw the independent Black struggle as advancing the cause of revolutionary socialism and commenting on the politics of Stokeley Carmichael (Kwame Toure) a leader within the Black Power

Movement, he said:

"In the opinion of myself and many of my friends, no clearer or stronger voice for socialism has ever been raised in the U.S. It is obvious that for him, based as he is and fighting for a future of freedom for the Negro people of the U.S., the Socialist society is not a hope, not what we may hope, but a compelling necessity".

(James 1984).

This may have been a fundamental error in his judgement, but whatever the faults, there can be no doubt that C.L.R. James was instrumental in the development of a better understanding of the black struggle, the link between Black Nationalism (Pan Africanism) and revolutionary socialism in the United States. James was invited by Eric Williams, an old friend to join his government in Trinidad, only to break with him later. He resigned his post in government and returned to England to continue his work on black issues and also as a cricket commentator. James died in London in 1988, well respected by the black community both in England and the United States. His works include the Black Jacobins (1938), World Revolution (1937) A history of Negro Revolt (1939) and Notes on Dialectics (1948)

George Padmore

George Padmore was born Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse in 1902 in Trinidad. In 1924 he left Trinidad to study medicine at Fisk University Tennessee. His interests in political science and journalism pre-dominated and he joined the student newspaper Fisk Herald. He joined the Communist party and wrote for the New York Daily worker under the cover name of George Padmore. In 1928, he became known as George Padmore. Padmore once wrote "All revolutionaries are compelled to adopt false names to hide their

identity from the government" (Ramdin 1987).

At Howard University, where he read law, Padmore became very active, yet concealed his true identity. He attacked Sir Esme Howard, on a visit to the campus, as a representative of "history's most bloated Empire" and also for his alleged involvement in Marcus Garvey's deportation from the United States. The President of the institution apologised to his guest for the attacks, explaining it was the work of an outsider on one of the "new" negroes. There was no record of a George Padmore registered at the institution (Ramdin 1987).

In 1929, Padmore went to Moscow where he was elected to the Moscow Soviet. By 1930, Padmore was recognised on the International Communist stage, participating in party work in Africa and had been on the reviewing stand with Stalin. He later edited the Communist Journal "The Negroe World", was appointed head of the Negro Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions and helped to organise the first international conference of Negro Workers 1939 (Fryer 1984).

Padmore was by now so well known that his every activity was carefully monitored. If Communists were open to surveillance, blacks who ventured outside this colonial based primary education into higher education and left-wing politics were particularly given special attention. Padmore was heavily committed to socialist politics, but events such as the Third International's decision to disband the International Trade Union Workers; Russian support for Italy during the Italian/Ethiopian War and

the subordination of colonial revolutionary movements to the demand of the Soviet Union, left him and many of his friends disillusioned. His opposition to the Soviet position led to his expulsion from the Communist party in 1935. A new chapter was opened - that of Padmore the Pan-Africanist. He settled in London, joining forces with C.L.R. James, his childhood friend, Ras Mokonnen, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and Wolsee Johnson; Pan-Africanism began to spread. In 1938, they began to publish the International African Opinion. Padmore and James wrote for the journal while Mokonnen became the organisation's fund raiser. They became active in the L.C.P., the League of Coloured People and set up the International African Service Bureau.

It is important to point out that Padmore and his colleagues embraced Pan-Africanism while retaining a Marxist approach in their fight against capitalism and imperialism. His publications include "How Britain Rules Africa" and "Africa and World Peace".

After the Ghanaian independence he became Kwame Nkrumah's personal representative in London and political adviser on Pan-African questions in Ghana. George Padmore died in 1959, his remarkable contribution to Pan-Africanism has inspired African Americans, African Caribbeans and Africans alike.

Malcolm X

Probably the best known Black Nationalist leader of recent decades is Malcolm X. The political and social conditions facing blacks in the U.S. in the early 1950s were so acute that it was inevitable for black resistance to manifest itself throughout the

system.

The South witnessed the emergence of Martin Luther King's S.C.L.C. (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in 1957 and the S.N.C.C. (Student Non Violent Co-ordinating Committee) in 1960. Although the latter was committed to non-violence when it was launched, it soon dropped its pacifist strategy to argue for armed self-defence.

In the North, not much had changed. Blacks could not vote, could not join some unions, experienced racial separation in their home towns, were subjected to the worse and lowest paid jobs and (for most of their children) had to contend with inferior, decaying and segregated schools.

From the ensuing struggle emerged the Nation of Islam in 1929 or 1930. Not much is known of its founder Wallace D. Ford. He is believed to have peddled raincoats and silks in Detroit and began holding meetings to discuss Mecca and the new doctrines of Islam (Carlisle 1975).

By 1933 he had established a temple, a ritual of worship, a University of Islam (which was simply an elementary and secondary school) a muslim girl's training class dedicated to teaching domestic arts and the fruit of Islam, which served as a bodyguard. As the "Supreme Ruler of the Universe", Ford preached a doctrine that blacks were brought to the U.S. again at their will, and that the real religion of Africa was Islam. For the time being whites ruled the world, but blacks would return to

power in the not too distant future (Draper 1971).

With the demise of Garvey's Back to Africa-ism, there became an attraction to Ford's Back to Islam-ism. The Black Muslims grew, its forces swollen by the recruitment of young blacks from Detroit's ghetto areas. In mid 1934, Ford disappeared, leaving his new organisation in the safe hands of Elijah Muhammed. Elijah Muhammed remained leader of the Nation of Islam until his death. Muhammed's organisation had its set-backs. He and his followers were imprisoned from 1942 to 1948 for draft evasion and for advocating resistance to the draft during World War II. After his release, he set about rebuilding his organisation with remarkable success.

By the late 1950s Malcolm X came to the fore as the Black Muslim's senior spokesman. Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. His father was the Baptist minister and a former member of Garvey's UNIA. After the death of his father, fighting against the restricted place that was assigned to his people, Malcolm in many ways continued the same fight - to be subsequently killed for the same reasons. He became involved in petty crime, was convicted of burglary and sentenced to a ten year prison term in 1946. While in prison he was converted to the Nation of Islam by his brother and upon his release in 1952, joined the Muslim Temple in Detroit. Rising fast in the organisation's hierarchy, Malcolm X rivalled Elijah Muhammed in influence and fame outside, if not inside the movement - attracting far more media and television coverage than his teacher did (Draper 1971).

By 1959 a documentary "The Hate that Hate Produced" brought the Muslims and Malcolm X to national attention, when he openly stated:

"I charge the white man with being the greatest liar on earth.... I charge the white man with being the greatest robber on earth. I charge the white man with being the greatest deceiver on earth. I charge the white man with being the greatest trouble maker on earth".
(Brisbane 1970 Pg 25).

His uncompromising rhetoric did not spare the civil rights movement's leaders lack of backbone for the struggle.

" If the United States Supreme Court Justice, Arthur Goldberg, a few weeks ago could find legal grounds to threaten to bring Russia before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of three million jews, what makes our African brothers hesitate to bring the United States Government before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of 22 million African Americans".

(Malcolm X 1966 Pg 75 edited George Breitman).

For Malcolm X, the whole premise of non-violence had to be rejected, in favour of the necessity for armed self defence.

"If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me, that's not black racism. If you come to put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism. Yours is racism but ny reaction has nothing to do with racism".

(Malcolm X quoted in Pinkney (1978) Pg 67).

A charismatic and very witty person, Malcolm X soon found himself in conflict with Elijah Mohammed, dissatisfied with the political nature of his speeches. Malcolm, frustrated by the restrictions placed upon him and anxious to break out of the abstentionist straightjacket of the Nation of Islam moved closer towards a complete break with Elijah Mohammed. This finally came in December 1963 after Malcolm's infamous statement on the assassination of President Kennedy; "The chickens have come home to roost". Though Malcolm was responding to a question from the audience after a speech, and had only intended to imply that the

American society was now reaping its just reward for its violence and hate, Elijah Mohammed was quick to disassociate himself from the sentiments expressed.

Malcolm X was suspended from his post as a Muslim minister and ordered not to speak publicly for ninety days. Realising that the suspension was in effect an expulsion (as highly placed persons in the movement were conspiring against him - seemingly with Elijah Mohammed's consent) he left the movement.

"I have helped Mr Mohammed and his ministers to revolutionize the American black man's thinking, opening his eyes until he would never again look in the same fearful way at the white man.... If I harboured any personal disappointment, whatever, it was that privately I was convinced that our Nation of Islam could be an ever greater force in the America black man's overall struggle - if we engage in more action. By that, I mean... we should have amended or relaxed our general non-engagement policy. I felt that whenever black people committed themselves in the Little Rocks and the Birminghams and other places, militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there- for all the world to see and respect, and discuss".

(quoted in Clark 1970, Pg X1X and XX)

On the 8th March 1964, Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam and founded a new religious organisation, the Muslim Mosque. He said of his new venture:

"I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power and in the fulfilment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field.... but I am sincere and my sincerity is my credential".

(Clark 1970 Pg XX)

Malcolm drew the conclusion that he needed to separate politics from religion and founded the Organisation of Afro-American Unite (patterned after the Organisation of African Unity) with a cultural emphasis of black nationalism. His trips to Mecca and Africa had a revolutionary effect on his thinking, meeting Kwame

Nkrumah of Ghana and Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, among others. In a matter of months, Malcolm X moved from a position of Black Nationalism to that of Black Internationalism - shifting his ideological base from America to Africa. With his new conception of the struggle, it was also difficult for him to hold on very long to "blackness" as the unifying element. In Africa, he was astonished to find that all its people were not black; and similarly, he had previously learnt in Mecca that the real Muslim world was not all black (Draper 1971 Pg 91).

A story he told in the autobiography, outlined a conversation he had with the Algerian ambassador in Ghana in May 1964:

"When I told him my political, social and economic philosophy was Black Nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well where does that leave him? Because he was white! He was African, but he was Algerian and to all appearances he was a white man. And he said, if I define my objectives as the victory of Black Nationalism, where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania?"

(Malcolm X speaks Pg 212).

Malcolm X was assassinated before he could develop his views on this or any other question further. But his views had shifted quite a long way from his previous hatred of all whites. About a month before his death, he was asked on television (January 19th 1965) "But you no longer believe in a black state in North America? "No", he replied, "I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings on the basis of equality" (Draper 1971 Pg 94).

In another interview with the "Young Socialist", he pointed out to the interviewer that he hadn't used the term "Black

Nationalism" for months, but also added,

"I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country".

(Malcolm X speaks Pg 212 & 213).

Socialists like George Bretman have argued that Malcolm X was moving towards revolutionary socialism at the time of his death but this assessment seems to be too idealist in approach. Though it is clear that Malcolm X's political ideas were moving to the left, his was never the involvement of a collective working class struggle or for that matter, workers' power. The complete absence of any concept of class in his assessment of African regimes coincided with his belief in cross - class alliances among Blacks in the United States. In answer to a question "Can there be revolutionary change in America while the hostility between black and white working classes exist? Can Negroes do it alone?" Malcolm X replied:

"Yes. They'll never do it with working class whites. The history of America is that working class whites have been just as much against, not only working Negroes, but all Negroes, period, but all Negroes are working class within the caste system. The richest Negro is treated like a working class Negro. There never has been any good relationship between the working class negro and the working class whites..... there can be no workers' solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. We have got to get our problems solved first and then, if there's anything left to work on the white man's problems, good, but I think one of the mistakes Negroes make is this workers solidarity thing. There's no such thing - it didn't even work in Russia".
(Bretman 1967 Pg 46).

Malcolm X was gunned down as he was about to address a meeting in Harlem on 21st February 1967. The Daily Times of Lagos, Nigeria summed up what most at the time would have believed.

"Like all mortals, Malcolm X was not without his faults... but that he was a dedicated and consistent disciple of the movement for the emancipation of his brethren no one can doubt.... Malcolm

X has fought and died for what he believed to be right. He will have a place in the palace of martyrs" (Clarke 1970 Pg 101).

Black Power, Race and Class

When Karl Marx argued in 1847 that the dynamics of change in a class society is the class struggle, he carried the assumption that a solidarity would exist among the working classes to overthrow the ruling classes - the oppressors.

"The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in one word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes".

(Marx 1848 Pg 5).

The suggestion that in seeking the cause of racism and economic exploitation one needs firmly to look at the nature of capitalism has been advocated by many, particularly the advancement of socialist ideas which stresses class over race. C.L.R. James clearly stated in his book 'The Black Jacobins'.

"The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental".

(James 1943).

In the United States, the Communist Party was quick to abandon its original line on black nationalism in 1935, projecting instead a policy of equal rights for blacks, to coincide with their mistaken belief that the proletarian revolution was imminent. Many blacks who defined themselves as Cultural Nationalist (as opposed to revolutionary nationalists) and emerged at the forefront of the Civil Rights and Black Power

movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, rejected the Marxist notion of class and class struggle for one of autonomy for black people through an independent black struggle.

(Pinkney 1984).

Advocating cross-class alliances among blacks as a solution is more or less the position shared by many black leaders and scholars even though they may agree that class plays a major role in capitalist America and Britain. The argument hinges on the fact that most blacks are concentrated in the lower socio-economic groups within society, and although some blacks may ascend to middle - class or upper - class status and receive a certain amount of difference, they are however perceived as just another black person with all its negative "innate inferiority" connotations.

The slogan "Black Power" launched by Stokely Carmichael during a civil rights march in 1966 caught the imagination of most blacks and became a rallying cry, despite attempts by conservative civil right leaders to suppress it. As the "Black Powers" mood spread throughout the U.S.A., Carmichael and Hamilton explained:

"Black Power is a call for Black people in this country, to unite and to recognise their heritage , to build a sense of community. It is a call for Black people to begin to define their goals, to lead their own organisations and to support those organisations.

It is a call to reject racist institutions and values of this society. The concept rests on a fundamental premise. Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this, we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society".

(Carmichael and Hamilton 1968)

But as Shawki pointed out, the conflicting signals of Black Power soon meant different things to the different sectors of the black community. Black Power was first interpreted as black capitalism directed at acquiring a fair share of the pie of American capitalism; Black Power as black electoral power, quickly grasped by the black middle class in a dash for public office, Black Power as cultural nationalism and Black Power as radical black nationalism (Shawki 1990).

Some social scientists have questioned whether Marx adequately dealt with the question of racial conflict as a crucial factor in the class struggle and points out that as long as racial attitudes remain ingrained in the working class sectors of society, it would be impossible to envisage the unity of black and white workers (Robert Staples 1976).

But most studies have shown and continue to show that racism does not serve the interest of the white working class, e.g. the greater the discrimination against black and third world people, the higher the inequality among whites. But if racism is not in the interest of white workers, it is argued, why do they act against their material interest? Marxists seek an explanation in the nature of capitalist societies contending that the expansion of modern capitalism presented the catalyst for the spread of modern racism. Does it therefore follow that had there been no capitalist societies racism would not have existed? This scenario seems unlikely. The way racism has institutionalised most societies, it would seem that, had capital expansion not have taken place, something else would have brought it about.

The black movement, within Britain could be divided into two main groups from a political standpoint, the separatist i.e. some Rastafarian groups and Pan African Associations and the integrationists i.e. most black leaders within the Labour party and of other political perspectives. From the former, the voices calling for separate Black schools could be heard, to alleviate the problems facing black children in London's state education system. The latter is more at home with reformism within schools and the accommodation of parts of the present system i.e black sections within the Labour party. Black separatist politics and strategies have emerged from the refusal, or the inability to unite with whites because of the inherent racism within white society, hence a strategy embracing the setting up of separate organisations to whites. In the U.S., Black Nationalists have consistently presented the argument that Black constituted a nation and that Black Nationalism was the embodiment of this claim. In Britain, blacks are seen not as a nation, but a national minority.

It would seem that the early pioneers of the supplementary school movement drew their inspiration from scholars like C.L.R. James and George Padmore, who offered them a new socialist critique of British imperialism and advocating personal resistance to capitalism, but their base of operations was not the campus, rather than the factory. Their call to grasp the mantle and take action came from the Civil Rights Movement and other forms of black resistance in America.

Rastafarianism

Evident by its appeal to black youth and the popularity of reggae and other forms of black art and culture, Rastafarians have been increasingly visible in London and other areas of the British Isles. Rastafari culture, which combines the histories of the children of slaves in many different societies (Campbell 1980, Pg 2) has its origin in Jamaica - a legacy of colonial oppression. Revolutionaries, such as Paul Bogle, Coffi, John Chilembwe and Dedan Kimathi were instrumental in setting the stage for the struggle against white domination and racism. It must be said that the almost exclusive concentration of the bourgeois academics in their study of Rastafarianism had been on their exoticism, i.e. the wearing of dreadlocks and the smoking of ganja, and the supposition of a dangerous and menacing criminal class (invented in Fleet Street and christened the Yardies) and the riotous element of their so call drug - pushing culture. This was the view put forward by Shiva Naipaul in his newspaper articles of 1982.

Campbell (1980) gives a clear definition of the culture of the Rastafarian.

"Rastafari culture remains an indelible link between the resistance of the Maroons, the Pan-Africanist appeal of Marcus Garvey, the materialist and historical analysis of Walter Rodney and the defiance of Reggae".

(Campbell 1980 Pg 21)

Rastafarianism has its roots in Jamaica around the 1930s, and owes much of its central ideas on resistance to white domination

and the building of black consciousness to Marcus Garvey. His ideas on "Africans at home and abroad" were embraced by the early Rastafarians. But it was a statement Garvey is reputed to have made in 1916 in his farewell address when leaving for the United States that elevates Garvey "Look to Africa, for the crown of a black king. He shall be the Redeemer".

To the Rastafarians, the fulfilment of that prophecy was the Emperor, Haile Selassie. When Rastafari was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, he took as his titles, Haile Selassie 1, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, some Jamaicans were overwhelmed by the fulfilment of the prophecy and the remarkable coincidence of passages taken from the Bible - particularly the 68th Psalms.

"The religion of the poor differed widely in its expression from that of the colonialist. On the balance in the circumstances of the 1930s under the complete blocking of socialist thought from the colonies, the beliefs of the Rastafari were a profound and forward looking response to the sickness of the colonial society. For in the established Christian churches, God the Father was white, God the son, Jesus was white, the angels were white, the Holy Ghost was white, and Lucifer, of course was black, being the embodiment of evil. Those who preached the divinity of Rastafari were rejecting the link between Christianity and whiteness and were inexorably breaking with the philistine white west Indian society, thus linking their cultural and spiritual roots with Ethiopia and Africa. As a first step, this was undoubtedly progressive".

(Horace Campbell 1980 Pg 7).

By the late 1980s, Rastafarianism became increasingly popular as a movement in Kingston, Jamaica. Fundamental to this belief was that Haile Selassie was the reincarnation of Christ and Marcus Garvey a prophet in the word as Moses. The system and everything it represented i.e. exploitation, colonialism, oppression, became known as 'Babylon'. The growing of their hair in locks - also

called dread locks, represented the non-conformist nature of the movement. The term 'Natty dread' became the widely used term to describe a Rastafarian, but most preferred to be known as Ethiopian warriors (Barnett 1977 Pg 87).

The openly hostile relationship between the Rastafarian brethren and the Jamaican authorities led Rastas to embrace the 'Back to Africa' doctrine of Marcus Garvey.

Barnett noted:

"Upper class Jamaicans who once saw the Rastafarians as a set of unscrubbed bums, now lived in fear of them. But most of all, the confrontation of the cultist with the powers-that-be brought the need for a closer examination of the grievances of the poor of which the Rastafarians were only the cutting edge. At the request of the leading Rasta brethren, Dr Arthur Lewis, Head of the University of the West Indies, authorized three of his best scholars to study the doctrine and special conditions of the Rastafarians and make recommendation to the Premier of Jamaica on their behalf".

(Barnett 1977 Pg 99).

Among the list of ten recommendations resulting from the study, it was decided that a governmental mission be sent to African countries to arrange for immigration of Jamaican Rastafarians.

Rastafarians in London

Within inner city London, several predominantly Rasta groups have emerged; the Abyssinian Society in Newham; The Rastafarian Advisory Centre in Hammersmith and Fulham, and the Rastafarian Universal Zion in Haringey, to name but three. The movement in London is accredited to the work of Immanuel Fosee and Gabriel Adams in starting the philosophy of Marcus Garvey (G.L.C. 1984 Pg 9).

A branch of the Ethiopian World Federation (E.W.F.) was set up in North Kensington along with the recognised religious institution of Rasta brethren, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Cashmore (1975 Pg 58) notes the magnetic attraction of the movement in Britain:

"Rasta had developed from an institutional phenomenon to the stage where it engulfed vast sections of the young West Indian Community. The movement's magical attraction was undeniable; it drew devotees from the black working class of London, Birmingham, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol; by their becoming increasingly familiar with the message of Bob Marley, Big Youth and Burning Spear and other reggae artists". Later there was a major split between the main Rastafarian bodies and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As Stone 1980, notes:

"The religious milieu in which Rastafarianism was evolved demanded a specifically biblical mythology and this mythology had to be re-appropriated and made to serve a different set of cultural needs". Pg 85.

In 1976, the Abba of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on a visit to London, declared that the practice of the divinity of Haile Selassie I should be discontinued and that Rastas who consider themselves within the church's authority, should cut off their dreadlocks.

(G.L.C. 1984 Pg 11)

This proclamation coming after the death of Haile Selassie (1975) was too much for most devout Rastas and thus began a mass exodus from the church. The important fact, however, is that the death

of Haile Selassie did not undermine or destroy the Rastafarian movement.

Despite the fragmentation of the Rastafarian movement in London, it is still characterised by a distinct segregation from white society in the more devout, traditional Rastafarian communities. Similarly, it would be true to point out that the culture of the Rastafarians i.e. Reggae, art, the use of ganja, has been embraced by the youths of all cultures, black and white.

MARXISM AND BLACK RESISTANCE

Many black Marxists have been confronted with the issues of whether priority should be given to race over class. The belief widely shared among socialists today is that Marxism is economistic and focuses too narrowly on class rather than on different forms of oppression (Shawki 1990).

The notion of class solidarity - fundamental to Marxism provides a category of political activity through which diverse elements of the revolutionary movement can be reconciled. However, the absence of such a class consciousness among black people, preferring instead, nurturing of a strong sense of racial consciousness, had been seen by early American communist as an ideological back-wardness and a potential threat to the socialist movement itself (Robinson 1984 Pg 301).

Hall (1981) notes some important themes to which a pedagogy of

race must be attentive among them; race as an indigenous theme in political life; the connection between the use of indigenously racist political movements and the workings of a wider reactionary -populist politics and the role of the media. Raising the issue of "mere difference" in the classroom is insufficient, he contends. Rather, students must be led to question 'why' some of these differences have consistently become historically permanent (Hall 1981 Pg 67).

In contrast to this is the position of some black groups e.g. the Rastafarians, who prefer to adopt a separatist position to the political structure, i.e. the virtual withdrawal from politics altogether in favour of cultural identification with Africa. A black radical tradition formed in opposition to the prevailing system is one part of the solution, but it still avoids the major issue - the unity between groups of the oppressed. What is therefore needed is a movement, a collective movement, generating real social power to champion the causes and the demands of all workers.

For most anti-racist, racism is not just a matter of the ideas in peoples' heads, but of oppression of systematic inequalities in power and life chances stemming from an explosive social structure (Callinacos 1992). The solution is seen as a political struggle culminating in the liberation of black people. However, within the radical black nationalist camp, racism is seen as an autonomous phenomenon, and even though its origins and structures are seen as tied to the capitalist mode of production it should not be entirely reduced to that. Black people, the

black nationalist contends, must organise separately from white anti-racists.

Cedric Robinson is perhaps credited with producing the most comprehensive study on the conflict between Marxism and black nationalism and concluded that the very way in which the concepts of Marxism are ordered, it remains a Eurocentric ideology.

"Marxism is a western construction - a conceptualization of human affairs and historical, development which is emergent from the historical experiences of European peoples mediated, in turn, through their civilisation, their social orders and their cultures".

(Robinson 1983 Pg 3).

Not only is Marxism Eurocentric in its analytical presumptions, writes Robinson, it is European in its origin, its points of view and has consistently failed in confronting a 'recurring idea' in Western Civilization i.e. racism and the way in which 'racialism would inevitably permeate the social structures emergent form capitalism' (Pg 5).

It must be pointed out that many black radicals and intellectuals have embraced some version of Marxism which has influenced them in their analysis of the black struggle. In Robinson's analysis, many of these radicals had to work their way out of Marxism, and rediscover an older tradition, 'the persistent and continuously evolving resistance of African peoples to oppression'. It is only African people themselves, and not their European allies, that could ensure black emancipation within a capitalist society.

Callinacos (1991), in his article Race and Class attempted an analysis of Racism, in the classical Marxist tradition, and

providing an effective strategy for black liberation. In his definition, he asserts:

"Racism is a historical novelty, characteristic of modern capitalist societies. This claim is central to Marxist analysis of racism" (Callinacos 1992 Pg 6).

Maring Marble disagrees and argues that "racism and particularly are both procapitalist in their social and ideological origin" (Marble 1983 Pg 260).

The implication here is that racism would survive the collapse of capitalism and could only be eradicated by a united black political movement.

The underlying assumption of black nationalists is that all whites are racist or at least have a stake in the system. In his thesis, Robinson seemed to be implying that as black people struggle against their oppressors - both in Africa and Third World countries, a forged unity and ties that bind a single identity, emerge. However when Robinson attempts to explain this shared identity, his interpretation becomes clouded and obscure.

What is at issue is not whether many whites workers hold racist ideas - that is obviously so. The issue is whether it is in their interest to do so and whether they will always hold to racism. Ovenden (1992) thinks not.

"All the evidence points to the fact that white workers have an objective material interest in ending the oppression of blacks as their own living standards are held back by racist divisions. One study which compared wage rates of black and white workers in the North and South of the U.S. concluded that in the South, where racism was deeper and unionisation and working class solidarity correspondingly weaker, not only were black wages for

the job lower, but so too were the wages of the whites".
(Ovenden 1992 Pg 73/4).

A more seemingly plausible explanation therefore is that racism is an ideology that serves the interest of the ruling class, rather than a conspiracy of all whites. Denying that white workers have an interest in fighting racism is often justified by projecting the idea that white workers form a privileged labour aristocracy, benefiting from the imperialist exploitation of the Third World. This scenario also has its weaknesses; as it shifts capitalist exploitation only to the masses within developing countries. The more workers succeed in the uniting and fighting, the less relevant seem the ideas of individualism and competition. White workers may possess rotten ideas of racism and prejudice, but these ideas could be discarded - as many events of history have shown. And it is only through workers unity that society could be truly transformed.

Summary

Most black organisations, scholars and commentators nowadays tend to look upon the black community as the chief agent in the struggle against racism. These societies that Sivananadan terms 'Communities of resistance', are empowered as bearing the main burden of fighting capitalism today (Sivananadan 1990 Pg 51). Attempts to develop an Afrocentric History programme and to rediscover an Afrocentric identity have been at the forefront of the community programme. As a source of black pride, it is deemed necessary that the struggle of heroic black people against imperialism, capitalism and racism, should be embraced, thus bringing to the contemporary political struggle, renewed

strength. However, this cannot be achieved by the black community alone. Alliances need to be formed. As Alex

Callinacos pointed out:

"Revolutionary socialists are anti-racist not only because they despise racism for the moral obscenity that it is, but because a working class movement which does not confront racism will not be able to overthrow capital. The working class is an international class. The spread of capitalism across the globe has created a proletariat that is itself spread across the globe - and which has been formed by large scale immigration across national borders. Breaking down the racial barriers which this process helps erect between different groups of workers is a necessary condition of any successful socialist revolution".
(Callinacos 1992 Pg 34).

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATION REFORM ACT AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

"Our Education system has operated over the last forty years on the basis of the framework laid down by Rab Butler's 1944 Act which, in turn, built upon the Balfour Act of 1902." (Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker).

Not unexpectedly, the proponents for change within the education system have seen the present government rally to their cry and deliver substantial, structural change to the 1944 Act.

"The Education Act is the framework through which the whole administration of the service flows and I do not believe the changes which are necessary can be effective without major legislative change." (Alexander 1976).

Alexander, one of the loudest campaigners, urged politicians and educators to consider a complete re-examination of the education system so that the conflicting claims of school, further education and educational training could be embodied into the right relationship.

There were changes - the most notable being the transformation to comprehensive education, replacing the grammar and secondary modern schools - but what was called for was a new Act with

defined objectives and functions and one to provide the basic for the education system for the next thirty to forty years. The requirements of comprehensive education on secondary school re-organization in comprehensive form was part of the Labour Government 1976 Act.

Labour's proposals in 1973, though cautious about educational spending, acknowledge the need for a major new Education Act. Within the framework for expansion, it identified the following aims:

- (1) that education for the 5 - 16 age group to be non-selective and comprehensive;
- (2) additional ministerial powers to regulate for minimum standards of provision;
- (3) 16 - 18 education to be under unified regulation;
- (4) Education secretary to have responsibility for the under 5s;
- (5) All employees in the 16 - 18 age group would be required to receive some form of educational training;
- (6) HMI and the Education Secretary to have involvement in industrial training;
- (7) direct grant system to be abolished and a new reform system to emerge;
- (8) a framework to be set up for adult education.

The 1976 Education Act required LEAs to produce plans for Comprehensive Secondary Education. Although selection for secondary schooling was not completely abolished, this new initiative in the education system heralded a new dawn in the eyes of most educators. The notion was that all children should have access to 'good' teachers; and a 'good' teacher was, supposedly, one who wore an academic gown, had a degree and spoke well. Even if this had been true, simply changing the label of the school would not have automatically produced the levelling up, and social engineering which in that dawn seemed possible. It is generally assumed that the comprehensive system has failed working-class children, but children from the Afro-Caribbean communities have been particularly disadvantaged within the system. The lesson that is open for us all here is that legislature is only the precursor, not the achievement, of change. But in the 90s we have the same old lesson to learn again.

THE 1944 EDUCATION ACT

The 1944 Education Act passed through parliament as legislature in the later stages of the Second World War. It was heralded as the first of the post war legislature set up to place Britain firmly on the road to social reconstruction. The Act was shrouded in the glow of the 'Golden Age' - the Victorious Allies and Britain emerging in full honour - with general agreement that pre-war opportunities within society as a whole

had been inadequately distributed and that there was a need for new direction.

The Golden Age delivered the post-war expansion of education and an improvement in the State social services provision - the much-acclaimed social revolution of Great Britain. But it was in the field of education that the greatest social impact was felt.

In July 1943, a White Paper entitled 'Educational Reconstruction' on which the 1944 Act (The Butler Act) was based, set out the government's proposed reforms in education. The 1944 Act superseded all previous legislation in this field (similar to that of the 1988 Education Bill today). All sections of the Education system - primary, secondary and further education - were brought under the responsibilities of a Minister of Education, the first to be designated these powers. The Ministry of Education (renamed the Department of Education and Science in 1964), was set up to implement the Act, by ensuring that each educational district or Local Education Authority had a satisfactory provision for education at all stages within the framework of the law.

The stated aims of the Act were to 'provide full secondary education for all' and put an end to the competitive system. However, what remained unsaid was the real intentions, which became clear when the Board of Education established its

proposals in another document. Even though secondary education was guaranteed to all students, the intention was to maintain three different types of secondary schools within the State system:

(a) Grammar Schools

(b) The Secondary Modern (the Senior Elementary schools)

(c) The Technical Schools

The 11-plus exam, being the basis for the selection system, was widely discussed. The 1943 White Paper stated:

"There is nothing to be said in favour of a system which subjects children at the age of eleven to the strain of a competitive exam on which, not only their future schooling, but their future career may depend."

It is now the 1990s and those words still ring through.

It is worth inspecting closely the 1944 Act which defined the duty of the Minister of Education (later to be known as Secretary of State for Education) as to "promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities under his control and direction, of the 'national policy' for providing a varied and comprehensive service in every area."

As King (1979) pointed out, Secretaries of State for Education have been very reluctant to "control and direct" anyone or even to give very firm guidelines on "National Policy" until recently. The new Baker Act, 1988, has emphatically erased all doubts of the government's reluctance to direct and control the nation's educational system. Perhaps the most worrying of all, Clause 9 of the 1988 Bill, apparently forbids all innovation without the expressed approval of the Secretary of State for Education, and that by a cumbersome procedure.

After the 1944 Act, all children were transferred to some kind of secondary school at the age of eleven. Originally, this was preceded by a selection based on examination or on school records and teacher appraisals. The 1988 Education Act, instituted for the purpose of national monitoring, seems not to have taken into consideration the lessons of the past. All the evidence suggest that the tests themselves will quickly come to dominate and constrict the curriculum and, like the 11-plus selection test, schools will set about teaching to the tests. The tests therefore, rather than showing parents and children what has been achieved, would reflect a curriculum without breadth and variety, qualities associated with poor learning environment.

The 1944 Act was designed, in the words of its preamble, 'to reform the law relating to education in England and Wales'. The Act gave the minister more positive means of intervening in

matters of school establishment, enlargement or closure. It also brought about the religious settlement. The Times Educational Supplement on 3rd August, 1984, in analysing the 1944 religious settlement, concluded that it might more likely be called into question by fundamentalist Muslim interests than from any serious political move. The Church of England expressed concern on what it saw as the Fifth Schedule of the 1944 Act, isolating religious education from the whole curriculum. In its Green Paper, 'A Future in Partnership' (1984), it commented favourably on the strength of application by non-Christian faiths to have their own voluntary-aided schools and the support presently given by religious non-Christian parents to church schools.

Muslim parents are now increasingly demanding separate schools, especially for Muslim girls. The new religious education as is defined in the 1988 Act, seems to endorse the belief that England is a Christian country, even though most of the population does not participate in Christian worship. Swann noted particularly the contrast between a Muslim view of the relation of Islam to education and the muslim perception of the apparently detachable influence of Christianity on education. The 1988 Education Act is likely to rekindle the interest of Muslim parents even further, and in some communities, enhance a desire to achieve all-Islamic schools through the operation of parental choice and the chance to opt out of the LEA.

An article in The Times Educational Supplement (3rd August 1984), stated:

"Anything in these islands which is 40 years old is likely to be either reversed or vilified simply for being too old to become a tradition or alternatively worn out."

The 1944 Act came to be regarded as a cornerstone of the welfare state in a quarter of a century, which followed the end of the Second World War. That Welfare State is now under attack.

It would not be an exaggeration to state that this government is for social control on a scale far wider than that of any other administration. It is for controlling local government, the medical profession, the legal profession, the working class trade unions and workers i.e. dockers, miners etc. It is not surprising, therefore, that its realm of control has been extended to include the education system.

The drive towards modernization of the education system was embraced by the Labour Party. In 1985, a Labour Secretary of State for Education required LEAs to show how they intended to re-organize their schools along comprehensive lines. Events which followed necessitated the establishment of a New Education Act passed in 1976 to set the agenda for a National Policy on education. This was based upon Comprehensive schools

at secondary level (King 1979). It was the commitment in legislation by the Labour Government of the period, after years of party political wrangling over whether LEAs should be obliged by law to end selection for secondary schooling. Handicapped children, on principle, could now attend normal schools.

The incoming Conservative Administration of 1979 repealed the requirements on comprehensive education (The Education Act 1979), but it was not until the Warnock Report (1978) had been translated into the Education Act 1981, that the integration of 'Special Needs' students became law. Despite the modernization process in education, the 1944 Act remained almost intact. The general understanding in education statutes from 1945 to 1981 was that they were for early implementation mostly about specific and operational matters, rather than broad principles such as laying the foundation for the education system. Max Morris reinforces this view in his article 'Built to Last' (T.E.S., 10th Aug., 1984).

The Education Act 1988 (Selected areas of concern)

"If we are to implement the principles of the 1944 Act that children should be educated according to the wishes of their parents, we must give consumers of education a central part in decision making. This means, freeing schools and colleges to deliver the standards that parents and employers want." (Kenneth Baker, Dec. 1987, House of Commons, Hansard).

The Baker Act, it would appear, was associated with a political view point concerning competition and privatisation. "It would seem that the government had asked the right questions about education but had come up with the wrong answers." (The views of a headteacher, Mr Lloyd Davies, and sentiments widely shared among the black community). One immediately assumes that the main purpose of the Act was to return Britain to the days of past glory when in economic terms she maintained the competitive advantage in most parts of the globe, or to produce technologically sound students to finally win the war against Japan and the industrial world.

With its 238 clauses, the Education Reform Act is the longest Act in educational history. It prescribes a national curriculum and testing at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16, for the first time since the Revised Code of 1860. This new law, it was claimed, would take our education system into the twenty-first century.

Some sections of the Act had with major implications for schools and colleges :

(1) Local education authorities had been required to hand over to schools and colleges their entire budget for salaries, equipment, materials and repairs.

(2) Governing bodies, headteachers and principals are now responsible for spending this money, and for preparing estimates and ensuring budgetary control.

(3) Governing bodies and head teachers are now responsible for the appointment and dismissal of staff and for deciding on the numbers of staff to be employed.

(4) Some schools may decide to opt out of local education service and set themselves up as grant-maintained schools. Staff will be expected to transfer with the school; if people decline to transfer they could be deemed to have resigned and could lose their jobs without compensation.

The imposition by law of a National Curriculum posed a number of questions to educationists. Is it compatible to centralize and to decentralize at the same time? To give professional teachers their freedom to teach and then to lay down in detail what they should teach? To restore freedom of choice to parents and their children and then to impose a uniformity from which to choose? The imposition of the new Act was preceded by the extended disputes between teacher unions and their employers, local government reforms on a scale never before experienced, the abolition of one class of authority and the dismantling of the ILEA. The abolition of the Burnham scale (collective bargaining suspended), the introduction of Teachers' Pay Conditions Act 1987, left no doubt in anyone's

mind of the government's intention towards the education system.

In setting the stage for the National Curriculum, the Schools Curriculum Development Committee came to an end in November 1988. When it was formed in the wake of the Schools Council's demise in 1982, the then Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph, declared its job would be to 'fill gaps' in curriculum development. Even though its budget was estimated at one third the size of its famous predecessor, it gained wide support in its five year existence and has been extremely effective in Curriculum research. Its replacement, the National Curriculum Council, a body with statutory powers, funded entirely by the D.E.S. (instead of jointly with local authorities) indicates the government's clear intentions of severing the LEAs' grip on the decision-making process in an attempt to avoid added derision.

Implications For The Black Community

There are four main thrusts with regard to the Education Reform Act that are of particular interest to the black community. The first is the elimination of the local education authority's influence, which should be seen in the context of the reduction of the role of local authorities as a whole. Many LEAs' initiatives e.g. projects on ethnic minorities in education, might well cease. The second area is the rhetoric about parent

power and parental choice. The black community has been mobilizing itself into black parents groups and black governors' collectives. The third is related to the new requirements under which local education authorities will have to charge for some educational activities in schools. The fourth area is concerned with the government's view of the curriculum and how it has affected the achievement or the lack of achievement of large sections of the school population.

The Education Reform Act covers such matters as: Open Enrolment, National Curriculum, Local Management of Schools, Opting out, Testing at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16; Higher and Further Education.

The subjects are similar to those implemented in 1904 for Grammar Schools. In 1944 that approach changed from prescribed curriculum to a more open form for which there was a lot of consensus. The arguments as to whether a major Education act was necessary have always been overshadowed by a strong popular movement to achieve reform. The arguments were as follows:

- (1) The Act of 1944 has served its purpose - a product of time long since passed.
- (2) It needs replacement by a statute dealing with the relationship and training involving the Manpower Services Commission.
- (3) That the religious settlement of 1944 is due for renewal or

replacement.

- (4) The determination of the curriculum and the allocation of curriculum responsibilities among the partners in education require definite legislation.
- (5) Legislation is required to rectify the ambiguities of education provision and to bring about standardization.
- (6) Legal challenges in education have demonstrated the inadequacies of the 1944 Act to stand up to the courts.

The National Curriculum consists of the following subjects: English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Modern Foreign Language, Physical Education, Art and Music, Technology and Home Economics. It will determine 70 - 80% of the curriculum in schools.

But are they really about uniformity of high standards and, as the then Secretary of State for Education puts it, '...increasing choice and freedom'? If this were so, why did the government deem it necessary to revise admission criteria, financial delegation and grant-maintained schools? We may take it then that the bill is destined to create a polarized education system, with an introduced National Curriculum delivering high academic standards to a minority of the nation's schools, while under-funded schools (particularly in the inner city) bear the burden of a narrowly-based highly-controlled and inappropriate curriculum. In these areas the

emphasis on frequent tests would only serve to reinforce to pupils their failure.

There is a concept that all of this is required because of national economic needs. We are told that, for reasons, which have nothing to do with the ruling class, but everything to do with teachers and local education authorities which are largely 'loony left', the children of Britain have not been properly educated. Why should we be convinced that this particular curriculum (when the same people who impose it have not been previously interested in investing in it) is going to redress years of miseducation, enabling the British to compete on an equal footing with those in Western Europe?

Within the 1988 Act, provision was made to replace the duties of the LEAs through the channels of open enrolment, financial and managerial delegation to schools, grant maintained schools, city technology colleges and the assisted places schemes. Headteachers are now in open competition for the declining number of available pupils. Stalls will no doubt be set up in market places to advertise the product (school) to prospective clients (parents). Schools that cannot compete would be forced to close. Market forces would have to take effect.

Financial delegation and opting out are intended to provide the means by which a minority of schools can be allocated

sufficient resources to deliver the National Curriculum at the expense of all the others. In keeping with the government's policy of making opting out an attractive option to schools, there have been allegations that the D.E.S is operating an unfair system of financial advantages in favour of schools which opt out and obtain grant-maintained status.

The Society of Education Officers claimed that these schools can expect to receive grants from the Secretary of State for meeting any special needs of the population in the area served by the schools. But this money, the Society maintains, would already have been included in the LEA's school budget formula or in the historical expenditure on which the opting out schools' basic budget would be calculated. By issuing a special purpose grant to meet the same factor clearly implies some form of 'double counting' by the Secretary of State. It increases the speculation that schools may be enticed to opt out if the idea that they may receive 'special favours' is substantiated. (Education 3rd Sept., '88, Vol. 172 No. 14)

The changes in the admission procedures to open enrolment have been included to reinforce the rhetoric of successive secretaries of state about parent power and parental choice, by increasing the number of children admitted to 'popular' schools and to concentrate resources on the more economic units. It seems that the likely outcome to this scenario would be that other good schools, suffering from loss of revenue and lack of

resources, may well be allowed to deteriorate in an increasingly under-financed situation. By delegating financial powers to schools, the Secretary of State would have succeeded in shifting the responsibility for inadequate financial provision from himself to the governing bodies.

In keeping with the designed plan for elevating some schools at the expense of the majority, the government has included in its legislature the transfer of the assets of the community, i.e. school, land and buildings, to the opted-out schools. This will undoubtedly result in ever widening differences between the quality of education provided in schools with high income parents and that provided by schools within the poorer communities. These proposals should not be seen in isolation from the government's measures for reducing the influence of Local Education Authorities.

The Centre for Policy Studies, in one of its pamphlets, 'Away with LEAs', sets out proposals for further reducing the powers of the Education Authorities, after establishing that the dominance of LEAs in running the school system will frustrate the aims of higher standards, greater responsibility for schools and more choice for parents. Ms. Sheila Lawlor claimed that the network of administrative and support services provided by the LEAs has led to dependency by heads and teachers on social service inspectors, resources, consultants and welfare officers. The whole range of services supplied by

LEAs, she argued, should either be abolished or broken up into competing privatised commercial groups. School meals, transport and the inspectorate could all be treated in this fashion.

The attack on the powers of the LEAs must be seen in context with the systematic attack on local government and its financial institutions, in particular the abolition of domestic rates and the introduction of the Community Charge, the national initiatives towards a uniform Business Rate and legislation to compel competitive tendering for a wide range of local authority service and responsibilities. Educational Authorities were not spared from the government re-organisation plans. The D.E.S. booklet, 'Better Schools', released in 1985, stated:

"The government is considering with the Local Authorities Association how its role of local advisers in England might be clarified and their works made more effective."

Indeed, critics of the Education Reform Act see it as a series of measures designed to enhance central control. Mr Baker, the then Secretary of State, referred to the Act as legislation designed to enhance the life chances of young people in developing responsibility and increasing competition, choice, and freedom. (Education 1st Jan. '88, pg. 35, Vol. 171 No. 2)

"The purpose of legislation", he continued, "is to ensure that responsibility is shifted, not from local authorities to the centre, but from the local authorities to the individual schools and colleges - a

devolutionary rather than a centralizing measure."

Tomlinson (1988) describes the objectives of the Education Reform Act as being to create a "social market" in education, to establish a national curriculum and testing system, to attract more non-public funding and make education more responsive to economic forces. If education is to be controlled by market forces, then it needs to be seen as a commodity to be purchased and consumed. The consumer (the parent) therefore needs a variety in terms of the goods on offer, and as a result, different types of schools are created, to replace free universal provision based on principles of equity.

In a society which preaches equality of educational opportunities, one immediately begins to speculate on the equality within the provision of the national curriculum that transcends class boundaries, race and creed. As the market (as is its function by nature) sets out on offer different kinds of schools, it seems an inescapable conclusion that the different types of schools (i.e. the LEA maintained schools, the opted out schools, the city technology colleges and the independent schools) would differentiate themselves by what they offer beyond the national curriculum and a ranking order of schools would emerge, reinforced by public funding, by parents and

industry, geographic location and differential selection policies.

The National Curriculum and the Black Community

Gus John, Director of Education, Borough of Hackney, listed six areas where the Education Reform Act failed to address the needs of the black community:

- (1) The act makes no distinction between delivering education in an inner-city or urban environment and implementing the Act in a prosperous shire county.
- (2) There is no recognition in the Act of the conditions that gave rise to the black working-class movement in education or of what that movement has signalled consistently over the years in respect to the inter-play between class, race and educational underachievement and the marginalisation of generations of British-born blacks within the society.
- (3) There is not even a recognition of those state-sponsored initiatives that have bastardised our struggles and sought to construct our agencies e.g. multiculturalism; Rampton and Swann and the host of research and other projects that have tried to explain the phenomenon of underachievement by studying the black community itself.

- (4) It fails to make a connection between the quality of the learning environment and the extent to which teachers are motivated to teach and children feel sufficiently valued to want to learn.
- (5) By giving parents the facility to opt out of local authority control and seek grant-maintained status for their school, it suggests that particular groups of parents have a right to indulge their prejudices whether they be for religion, gender, racial or economic reasons, regardless of how that affects the rights of children or the ability of other parents to exercise choice in respect to places for their children.
- (6) The Act makes precious little mention of students' rights and particularly not of the rights of school students to organise in pursuit of their own interests (John 1989).

As Angus Maude MP commented in the Black Paper Two (1969), 'The Crisis in Education', equality of opportunity is totally different from the present cult of egalitarianism, which is indeed its chief enemy at the present time. It would seem to me that schools have to be mindful of ethnic origin in the educational arena. The expression 'regardless of' may indicate that no account will be taken of pupils' background and experience. It is extremely worrying that the Education Reform Act makes no mention of the needs for a curriculum that

reflects the multicultural nature of British society. The Swann Report outlined that it should now be a matter of course that multi-culturalism be incorporated into the curriculum and hence, the philosophy of 'Education for All'(Swann 1985).

The first consultative document for the National Curriculum was released in July 1987 - 'The National Curriculum 5 - 16 - a consultative document.' The Government contended that the debate had been going on for ten years - conceptualized from a speech by Jim Callaghan in Oxford in 1976. The speech, it was revealed, had set out the framework and a list of reforms in education to be implemented through legislation. The black community, through the Black Education Group, responded to the open invitation for consultation by registering their misgivings on the wisdom of the package of reforms as a whole. They expressed concern that the consultative paper did not mention black people in any of its sections; that it mentioned the word 'ethnic' only once (and that being in a negative context.) Concern was raised about the proposals for testing - in particular the extent to which the measures seemed designed to bring about a more controlled education system, rather than a 'better' education system. Seminars and workshops were then set up around London (and in most inner-city communities) to inform black parents and advise them on the consequences of the Baker Act on local communities. All this provides the context for a range of organisational developments within the black community on the question of education.

The educational reorganisation around London, subsequent to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority, has begun in earnest. Some of these new educational authorities are known to be talking grandly about equal opportunities. There is no mention of 'equal opportunities' in the Education Reform Act. It is difficult to believe that these local authorities, in spite of all their resources, their carefully trained and carefully selected teachers, who continue to produce the scandalous levels of underachievement and alienation from education among black children, are in any way serious about equal opportunities. Within the black community, 'equal opportunities' is believed to be part of the elaborate 'word spinning rituals' carried out by local authorities with no real intentions for its implementation.

Probably the area within the National Curriculum that has caused greatest concern within the black community is the role of the History syllabus within the broad curriculum itself. The teaching of History has important implications for black people. It would be short-sightedness for an observer to examine the way the History of Britain is taught in our schools and not take into consideration its political implications. Anstey Rice (1989) pointed out that Britain's historical record as a world power is very likely to be at the centre of the teaching of history when the new syllabuses are introduced. Lloyd Davies, a black headteacher, is convinced that concentration on Anglo-centric approach is the government's

strategy for putting the 'great' back into Britain. Raphael Samuel draws a parallel between the 'traditional British history' flagship under which it is being conducted, and the dictatorial manner in which the new curriculum will be imposed.

The enthusiasm of the then Secretary of State for Education, Mr. Baker, for the subject, was unbounded. His appointed working party on the curriculum gave its interim advice on 30th June 1989. The School Council's New History projects (initiatives widely criticised by Conservative policy makers, as sacrificing breadth for depth) soon met its demise. Though of a liberal rather than a socialist nature, New History, has been criticised for concentrating on the trivial or minor details of social life at the expense of the grander events. Like other 'multi-cultural' studies, it is accused of giving undue space to foreigners (Samuel, 1989). It would, however, be plausible to agree that the 'skills approach' of the researchers of the 'New History' initiatives, based on the critical reading of documents and original materials, gave some hope to sections of the 'undermentioned' community of this society in their campaign for equal education for all children as a fundamental human right and for their rights to pursue their own interests and interpretation of historical events.

An examination of the history board appointed by Mr. Baker enabled educators to draw a crystal clear picture of what the then Secretary of State actually wanted. The Board was

chaired by Commander Michael Saunders Watson , with formidable credentials from his association with English Heritage. The Board was also conspicuous for the absence of any black members and probably none (or few) from an urban educational background.

The objectives of the board, outlined in the preliminary document, were:

"The study of history in schools should help pupils to come to understand how a free and democratic society has developed over centuries.

The programme of studies should have as its core the History of Britain, the records of its past, in particular its political, constitutional and cultural heritage. They should take account of Britain's evolution and its changing role as a European, Commonwealth and world power; influencing and being influenced by ideas, movements and events elsewhere in the world. They should also recognise and develop an awareness of the impact of classical civilization..... Overall, they should help students achieve and develop an historical approach based on objective analysis of the evidence."

The proposals also set out clear guidelines for prohibiting political indoctrination and as such any form of exploration of political issues e.g: peace studies may be interpreted as political indoctrination and erased from any section of the curriculum.

To the black community, it seemed incomprehensible that a curriculum from such a carefully selected board, operating under such guidelines from the Secretary of State, would reflect black people's contribution to the world and this

country, which, in our own opinion, should automatically be a part of mainstream history. Would the history curriculum give mention to the fact that Britain as a world power was made on the back of the slave trade? Would the curriculum reflect the fact that Britain as a world power operated an oppressive system, or would the preferred expression be that civilization was brought to India and Africa?

If the contributions of black people were taken into account, some of these points may well be mentioned:

(1) In the 3rd Century A.D., not all the soldiers of the Roman army were white, some centurions and soldiers were black. Stationed near Carlisle on Hadrian's wall were a division of Moors from North Africa.

(2) Africans and Asians have been in England in significant numbers since 1605.

(3) In the 16th Century, Africans were in Royal service in the courts of King James V of Scotland.

(4) On July 11, 1596, Queen Elizabeth I wrote an open letter to the Mayor of London encouraging the expulsion of "Blackamoors" (black people) from the realm.

- (5) When the history of slavery is taught, prominence is given to Wilberforce whereas black people such as Olaudah Equiano (1794) who travelled widely speaking out against slavery, or Mary Prince (1840), receive hardly any or no mention at all.
- (6) In 1731, Negroes were forbidden apprenticeship by the Mayor of London.
- (7) 1790 - 1800, all drummers of the 7th Royal Fusiliers were black and several regiments had black soldiers. Black soldiers and sailors fought in the American War of Independence, in Napoleon's Army and at the Battle of Trafalgar.
- (8) Florence Nightingale's contribution in the Crimean War is highly respected and given high profile, whereas Mary Seacole, a black Jamaican nurse, who gave equal service, has no mention in standard British history books.
- (9) In the 19th Century, it was a black man who gave leading treatments to muscle ailments.
- (10) It was also a black man, Luis Latimer, who supervised the lighting of the streets of London and New York.
- (11) In 1888 (or 1921), the first woman law student at Oxford University was an Asian.

- (12) In 1912 there was a deputation of Indian women amongst the suffragettes.
- (13) In 1912 Battersea had a black mayor, Britain's first.
- (14) 1845 - 1905 Sir Mackenzie Bhawnagee was a Tory MP for Bethnal Green.
- (15) 1892 - 1895, Dadabhoi Nooroji, an Asian, was Liberal MP for Finsbury Park.
- (16) Ira Aldridge was a famous Victorian black actor.
- (17) In the early 1900s an Indian was captain of Sussex cricket team.
- (18) Samuel Coleridge Taylor, an African, born in 1875, was one of Britain's outstanding poets.
- (19) W. Cuffey, a black tailor in Chatham, Kent, was a leading member of the Chartist Movement.
- (20) K. Mena, an Indian was Labour councillor for St. Pancras 1934 - 1947.
- (21) Dr Harold Moody, an Afro-Caribbean, came to Britain in 1904 to become President of the London Missionary Society.

(22) The Caribbean donated ambulances to Britain in the Second World War and sent technicians to its factories and shipyards.

(23) Many Africans, Afro-Caribbean people and Asians served with the British forces in both World Wars (or European Civil Wars). An eighth of soldiers on the British side were black, 1.5 million Indian soldiers fought in the First World War and many lost their lives.

(Ideas taken from a talk given by Mr. Lloyd Davis).

The message to the National Curriculum Council should be clear. We need to see a history syllabus that is free of cultural bias, and one which clearly deals with the roots of racism in British imperialism. Inaccuracies need to be corrected, particularly the widely held view that black people first came to Britain in 1948 on the Empire Windrush, when in reality black people have been here in considerable numbers since the seventeenth century.

It is not possible to have a national uniform view of the curriculum to fit the expressed wishes of all Britain i.e. Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and England. Similarly, it could be argued that neither can the Yorkshire pupil, the Asian pupil, the Afro-Caribbean pupil, the Muslim and the Christian pupil be taught in a nationally uniform way.

The Politics of Education

Twenty years ago, people who went around suggesting that education was a political matter would have been regarded as dangerous subversives. Today, anyone who suggested otherwise would be living in a dream world. Professor Ted Wragg of Exeter University satirises the Tories' ideals quite aptly:

"All manufacturers (schools) have equal opportunities to make quality goods (educate children)..... therefore if some produce more goods and make higher profits (obtain higher test scores) this is a proper measure of their efficiency." (Quoted in RATTUE 1991 pg.13).

For socialists involved in education over the last fifteen years, the issues would seem to be very traumatic indeed - particularly in regards to the legislation and campaigns that have characterised the struggle - the loss of negotiation rights for teachers - which amounted in real terms to a wage cut, sackings, redeployments, increase in class size, deterioration in school buildings, cuts in school budgets, and, of course, through opting out, an introduction through the back door of selection procedures. Testing, introduced by legislature, will ensure that children are ordered by ranks. Schools will compete for the more clever and middle class children - thus ensuring their place as 'first division' schools with good reputations. To understand these strategies under the Tories is to understand the function of education under capitalism.

Education is a major tool of capitalism to stamp itself on the up and coming generation and to ensure its continuity. Everything - and everybody - is an object for profit making, thus the job market is the biggest influence on our education system within this society. The requirements of education in any modern industrial society are still to provide numeracy, literacy and technical skills etc., but the acquisition of these skills needs to be differentiated according to class. The children of the ruling classes are taught that they are born to rule, to be the captains of industry, while the children of the working class are taught that they are born to be ruled, as they are not clever enough to represent themselves in parliament or to run the factories they work in. To ensure the process succeeds, there are special institutions to raise the ideological and psychological self confidence of the ruling class. These are called Public Schools. Edmund King, (1979), gives this explanation of their role:

"...the neophytes and their objectives have been characteristically lifted to a higher plane of abstraction from which it is increasingly difficult for them to communicate with ordinary people and their daily concerns.

Thus it is not too fanciful to call the typical school of this educational idiom a monastery school or a fortress school, withdrawing its pupils from the perils or preoccupations of working life, while admitting them to a close comradeship of rather rigid socialization and to the promise of a privileged future." (Pg. 39)

It is therefore not surprising that the Public Schools do not have to deliver the National Curriculum nor the testing

(S.A.T.s) prescribed for the majority within state schools. Public schools clearly have been successful in producing the new generation of rulers within the society - as statistics indicate. 92% of directors, 89% of Law Lords, 83% of High Court judges, 69% of ambassadors and over half of MPs were educated at public schools.

There are also institutions set up to smash the ideological and psychological self-confidence of working-class children. These are the eleven Educational Authorities schools in working class areas. This they attempt to do in various ways. First, the ethos of these schools is one of middle-class respectability which is really quite alien to working-class children. Then the apolitical bias teaches children to accept non-participatory roles within society. They are taught to accept the fundamental ideas of capitalism, instilling into them the attitudes that class society is the natural order of things. Then there is the language of institutions. This, of course is in standard English, leaving working-class children and ethnic minorities somewhat at a disadvantage. Most significant is the way 'learning' is turned into an individualistic rat race - which no one can escape no matter how hard they try. This is called 'A journey through the target levels' or S.A.Ts.

The ever-changing nature of capitalism ensures that its educational needs change constantly, following the economic, social and technological progress that is being made all the

time. Between 1960 and 1975, the percentage of school leavers entering the work force with some form of qualifications rose from 27 percent to 75 per cent - and with it all the hopes and aspirations of working class children also experienced a short rise. When the long boom of the 1950s and 1960s ended, this expansion in education seemed no longer necessary. Hence a whole series of debates began to ascertain the role of the education system to the new streamlined and highly competitive industry. Today, the difficulty that Britain faces is trying to keep pace with other European competitors. The number of 16-17 year old students in full time education is 51% of the age group. In Japan, the U.S.A and Germany, it is 90-95% - a tremendous difference. Students entering university in the U.K. are less than half of those in the other three countries.

The Education Reform Act of 1988, brought to a close a fifty year period in which 'equal opportunity' had a central place in educational policy. For many educationists and activists within the black community, involved in the struggle for change, current trends have brought about major changes in the overall context of the education system. However, there are some who prefer not to see this period as a chapter through which educational progress was heightened. The Education Working Group of the Socialist Movement in their pamphlet, 'Education towards a Socialist Perspective', placed 'equal opportunity' in its context.

- (1) Equal opportunity inspired meritocratic policies concerned with the educational success of individuals, not with the empowerment of social groups; even then, its practical results were of more benefit to middle-class students than to those from the working class.
- (2) The curricula that it inspired - with some important exceptions - were not based on a rethinking of older models. It continued to be based on a split between 'academic' and 'non-academic', high status and vocational, which ensured that comprehensive reorganisation for many schools entailed only the abolition of selection at 11, and not the development of a 'comprehensive curriculum'. Comprehensive reform was not extended beyond 16, nor below the age of 5.
- (3) In important respects, it was not a democratic system. In particular, parents and communities had little access to or influence on what happened in schools. Teachers defended their right to sole influence on the curriculum. Students had no rights of organisation at all.
- (4) Institutionally, it was far from complete: public schools thrived; higher education was, in important respects, unreformed; churches had privileges that prevented elected education authorities from planning coherently and democratically.

- (5) Moreover, from the mid-1970s onwards, equal opportunity education was a system in retreat. Leaders of the Labour Party and D.E.S bureaucrats criticised it for neglecting the needs of industry, and echoed the claims of the right about the short-comings of progressive teachings.

Education Working Group; Socialist Movement (1990)

While recognising the arguments against the way 'equal opportunity' was implemented, activists within the black community took the view that there is still much to be defended, such as the programmes in anti-racist education and the increased efforts towards a rise in student achievement. At a meeting (April 1990) between the Southwark black community and the Director of Education of that Borough, black parents raised the following questions to the Education department:

Why are the equal opportunities structures in the Southwark Education Department the last structure to be set up?

How many black/ethnic minority teachers are there presently working in Southwark and what grades are they on?

What positive actions have and will be taken to achieve the target figure of 30% Black/Ethnic minority staff in the Southwark educational department?

The Development Plan for Southwark's Education Service stated that the Parents and Special Education forums would be set up by May 1989. Why have they not been set up?

What structures have and will be set up to execute equal opportunities in the schools and early years department given the autonomy in decision making school will be enjoying?

What structures have and will be set up to execute equal opportunities in the Continuing Education sector?

When will a complaints unit be set up to which parents and education service users will be able to complain?

How does Southwark Education Department intend to support black/ethnic minority School Governors?

What is the Southwark Education Department's translation policy?

In the climate of hostility created by the types of educational reform to anti-racist policies, racism seems to be on the

increase. The Cleveland mother who objected to her daughter 'learning Pakistani' and demanded that she should go to a school where there is 'a majority of white children' was supported by the establishment. The Education Secretary went on to reject the Commission for Racial Equality's ruling that by granting the request, the Local Authority was breaching the Race Relations Act and encouraging classroom apartheid. (Socialist Workers Review June 1990). A campaign by a group of parents in Waltham Forest against the Local Education Authority's decision to close schools for two Asian holidays, was supported by Norman Tebbit, a local M.P.

However, there have been some successes. Parents in Waltham Forest have successfully isolated the racists, in defence of the non-Christian religious school holidays within the borough. Also, in Dewsbury, there has been an increase of 2 - 3 percent in the number of black children in every single school over the last year, with the proportion of black children in predominantly white schools ranging from 8-9 per cent to 15-20 per cent.

Summary

"The main purpose of the National Curriculum is to raise standards in schools. This will be achieved by: providing for all pupils a broad balanced curriculum; setting agreed targets for teachers, pupils and schools; helping to secure continuity and progression for all pupils from year to year and from school to school; and providing parents with full accurate information about the curriculum pupils are following and their levels of attainment in each subject." (National Curriculum Council April 1992).

The publication of the schools league table 1991 and 1992 by the School Examination and Assessment Council/ Department of Education has had little effect in assuring the black community of the government's good intentions. The deprived inner-city education authorities have remained at the bottom of the government school performance table of seven-year-olds test result. The more affluent areas continue to top the league. (T.E.S. 25.12.92). Peter Mortimore of the Institute of Education, University of London, was quick to point out that unless the three factors of spending, achievement and disadvantage are all examined, the Public Examination Results would not be meaningful.

These shortcomings of the national curriculum framework and the deliberate ambiguity of Department of Education's policy committee, provoked a three-prong attack on their "ignorance and impatience" by three education professors, dubbed the

"Three Wise Men". Denis Lawton, Paul Black and Jim Campbell have all openly expressed the view that the current national curriculum and related assessment arrangements were now neither desirable nor educationally reliable, and that the blame for this should be laid squarely at the door of the Whitehall centralist planners.

In January 1993, the chairman of the National Curriculum Council, Mr David Pascall, acknowledged that small rural schools might have some difficulty implementing the N.C.C. report on primary schools and admitted that the full implementation of the National Curriculum might not be possible in rural schools (N.C.C. Jan. 1993). As the Secretary of State, John Patten, continues to stress the importance of moving away from topic work and small group teaching - towards whole class teaching and subject specialization, the conventional wisdom prevailing in the N.C.C. has been towards the slimming down of National Curriculum subjects to an essential core of knowledge - for the basics of literacy and numeracy.

Another report, published in January 1993 by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) concluded that there existed a lack of parity between teacher subject knowledge and teaching the National Curriculum in the required depth. Its two main findings were:

- (1) The amount of time devoted to teaching the basic skills was not always well used.
- (2) Some schools had a much more difficult task than others in securing pupils' success in learning basic skills.

Put another way, this clearly means that schools in areas of social disadvantage - inner-city areas, were required to give much more attention and time to the teaching of reading and arithmetic than their counterparts in more affluent parts of the country. This is without doubt a more accurate representation of the education structure and school performance than any current league table of schools could even begin to depict (D.F.E. Jan. 1993).

The rapid acceleration of the growing dissatisfaction with the present National Curriculum proposals has now entered a phase of open battle between the Government and the teaching unions. The present controversy seems to have intensified over the English curriculum and the planned summer tests for 14-year-olds (T.E.S. 5.2.93).

In a letter to Conservative M.Ps, Mr. Patten said :

"Claims about the lack of preparation are quite spurious and in many cases, no doubt reflect the philosophical opposition to testing that is still rife among some teacher unions and their friends in the Labour Party." (T.E.S. 5.2.93).

As both the N.U.T. and the N.A.S.U.W.T. consider balloting their members on boycotting all National Curriculum tests this summer, the stakes are high and could even lead to the collapse of the school assessment system and the national curriculum.

CHAPTER V

FROM SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS TO SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

It was W E B Du Bois who once expressed the view that for an oppressed group such as black Americans, education had a special, critical purpose and as such, the political role the education took had to be directed at finding an end to oppression.

Speaking to black American graduates in 1930, he said:

"Let there be no mis-understanding about this no easy optimism. We are not going to share modern civilisation just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organised far seeing efforts, by out thinking and out flanking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power successfully to oppose us - if we think and learn to do" (Du Bois 1930).

The importance of schooling to the struggle of human justice by many oppressed groups, for example the Jews in Europe, African Americans, Asians in Britain (to name but a few) cannot be over emphasised. If the lessons to be learnt from history are to have far reaching effects then education must go beyond the accumulation of facts and provide an appraisal of the past through which social, economic and political strategies could emerge as a means of liberating the oppressed.

In an attempt to identify supplementary schools as important community based initiatives that have sprung up in the inner cities, it is important that such community initiatives be seen in an historical perspective. Today, historians have

accepted that the past/present relations in historical issues need to be emphasised and history seen as a public form of memory in which the emotional and intuitive resonances provide motives for study (Johnson 1988).

African Caribbean Supplementary Schools in London are unique in the education structure today, having emerged from the parent movement within the black community to forge the struggle to bring about key changes in the education of their children. However it is important to understand other similar community initiatives that were being forged in English education from 1890 onwards.

Like schooling, history is inescapable political. One might ask what purpose could be served from uncovering educational practices some two hundred years ago, and in what context could this be applied to present day issues. Indeed, there are various reasons why the historical perspective is important to us today: there are a number of parallels to be drawn, warnings about what to avoid, the organisational structure which held movements together. In certain cases it could be that differences are just as important. In an attempt to understand the present, we could learn from the lessons of the past - why structures collapse, how hurdles are overcome. As we study the events of the past, we learn to rehistoricise the present. Are we on the right track? Should emphasis be changed to accommodate impositions from a changing society? Is change necessary? Is all change good?

Radical education movements which took the form of Sunday schools

existed in England from 1820s until around 1919. The early versions were more in the conservative, evangelical mould with very little emphasis on change. The later version to emerge, the Liberal project, were essentially oppositional movements which gathered momentum into the 1860s.

Around 1893, a new phenomenon in community education initiatives emerged: the Socialist Sunday School. These are believed to have emerged from the Cinderella Clubs of the Labour Churches - later to be transformed into schools. The teaching of these schools varied widely from the teaching of the elementary ethos of Socialism in some schools, to those where the emphasis was to teach revolutionary socialism based on the materialist concept of history. Radical education as existed before 1880s when there was no national working class party, was as could be expected, isolated and not widely publicised, but the ideas were kept alive by the activists and the groundwork was laid for the birth of the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party.

The first recorded experiment where a Sunday school was actually set up for the teaching of Socialism was in 1893 by one Mary Grey of Battersea, London, though Tom Anderson later claimed to have started the first Socialist Sunday School in 1893. Mary Grey, a member of the Socialist Democratic Federation and Tom Anderson of Glasgow - a radical Trade Unionist affiliated to no political movement - rejected their Christian upbringing and began to work for the advancement of Socialism. The attitude of the Socialist Movement to the question of education may best be understood by an appreciation of political structure at the time.

Working people were beginning to question the basis and the traditions of the social organisation. Shocked by the inequalities produced by industrial capitalism, a significant number of activists among the working class proceeded to embrace some form of Socialism as a viable alternative to the prevailing system.

Socialism aimed at the democratic control of industry and the popular control of social organisation. It strongly opposed an industrial and social system, imposed upon working people and controlled by an aristocracy of wealth or class.

Socialists were quick to point out that the capitalist system allows wealth to be centred in a few hands – and education was, as to be expected, controlled by the said class. Society, they felt, must accept responsibility for the under class and reorganise the social structure to bring about a better social environment for all. It therefore follows that Socialism represented educational upliftment – and if economic poverty prevented the vast majority of the working class from achieving adequate education, then the economic situation had to be changed. Socialists were never blind to the fact that under Capitalism, an educated working class may be a more profitable instrument for capitalist exploitation and that under competition the more general education became the lower its enumeration was likely to be. But that knowledge had never been allowed to interfere with the enthusiasm of socialists for greater educational opportunities for the masses. Socialist Sunday Schools were set up for working – class children in order that

they should fully understand their role within society.

It is somewhat surprising that the earliest organisers of Socialist Sunday Schools received very little support from the major working - class political organisations. They were the activists who distributed party leaflets at factory gates, attended meeting after meeting at labour halls; generally men and women who had felt the abuses of the capitalist system at first hand. They taught, arranged fundraising entertainment and urged radical socialists to sent their children to learn the fundamental concepts of socialist ideology.

The well organised Socialist Sunday School Movement in Britain had its origin in the Labour Churches (Reid 1966).

Founded by John Trevor in 1882 the Labour Churches spread from Manchester throughout the north of England and with it, the spread of independent labour politics. The Labour Churches, exclusively working - class in membership represented a complete shift away from the middle - class dominated traditional churches of the day (Summers 1959).

From the Labour Churches' Sunday Schools, the Socialist Sunday Schools Movement evolved - first confined to the north of England but later to spread to the south. Although Mary Grey's project in Battersea, London was later acknowledged by the Socialist Sunday School Movement as the precursor of the movement, hers was an isolated experiment that did not give rise to the national organisation that later followed. The Cinderella Clubs, set up by Robert Blatchford in Lancashire and

later adopted by the Labour Churches could with more justification, claim to be the forerunners of the Socialist Sunday School Movement. Trevor and Blatchford saw the role of Cinderella Clubs as more humanitarian, less political and listed its priority as being, the feeding and clothing of deprived children as well as to supplement their education. The resolution read:

"We propose to establish a Cinderella Sunday School, not to force into children Labour Churches' ideas but, by means of interesting lessons on various subjects, to develop their thinking and imaginative faculties so that they may grow up to be what they were intended to be, men and women who will be able to some extent, to take an intellectual interest in things which go on every day around them and thus mitigate some of the evils which are at present dwarfing and stunting their lives. Our idea of the school, therefore is that it should be a place where the children can be trained to think and not merely to become Socialists or Labour Church members" (Summer 1959).

The early pioneers of the Socialist Sunday Schools did not accept the rationale behind the Cinderella Sunday Schools and Anderson in Glasgow and James Kier Hardie - a Member of Parliament in West Ham, London - began organising schools with emphasis on the teaching of Socialism. Hardie's brainchild, the Crusaders' Club, recruited activists well known in the Independent Labour Movement at the time. These included J Bruce Glasier, Margaret Mac Millan, Katherine Conway (wife of Glasier) and a lecturer on Socialism, Archie Mc Arthur, Lizzie Glasier (sister of J. Bruce Glasier) and Alex Gossip. The Labour Leader - a newspaper owned and edited by Hardie - was used to canvass the idea of forming socialist classes for children by every branch of the Independent Labour Party and other Socialist bodies throughout Britain.

It would seem that many of the early initiatives around the Socialist Sunday School were centred around Glasgow and Scotland and it is believed that the suggestion that the Crusaders' Clubs should be renamed the Socialist Sunday Schools came from Carolyn Martyn - a member of the Glasgow University and one of the Independent Labour Party's socialist lecturers (Young Socialists January 1906).

Carolyn Martyn, Archie Mc Arthur and Tom Anderson were among the founder members of the Glasgow Socialist Sunday School. By the end of the 19th century, there was a well - organised Socialist Sunday School Movement in Great Britain from London to Glasgow producing its own specialised journal. The circulation of materials and publications such as Young Socialist, The Labour Leader, Red Dawn, The Proletariat School Series etc, helped to spread the word and by 1906 there were one hundred and twenty socialist schools in Britain, with a membership of twelve thousand children and young adults. Socialist Sunday School teachers were not only referring to Socialism as a system of ethos but as a religion - thus shocking and in many cases enraging theologians ever since.

Reid (1966) in his analysis on the upsurge of Independent Labour politics in the early 19th century, saw the Independent Labour Party as the heir of the Labour Churches. The rapid expansion of the Socialist Sunday School in the 20th century must without doubt be attributed to the forward thrust of the Independent Labour Party. However, the schools were not unanimous in what

they taught, sang and where the emphasis should be laid. Of the Socialist Sunday Schools, Reid wrote:

"Having therefore an instructional aspect to their activity, they attracted not only the kind of men and women who had attended the Labour Churches for their devotional experiences, but also young men and women converts to socialism who were interested in educational techniques. Among this latter group were to be found professional school teachers who, frustrated by the impoverished barrenness of much of the state school system, found in the Socialist Sunday School an opportunity for experimenting in the teaching of history, civics and ethics" (pg 26 - 27).

It was soon evident that there were divisions within the Socialist Sunday School Movement on the direction individual schools wished to take. Doubts were being expressed as to whether it was wise for inexperienced teachers to attempt to educate children in the basics of Socialism. The division started in Lancashire and permeated to other schools. At the inaugural meeting of the National Council of Socialist Sunday Schools in 1909, the two factions seemed at loggerheads. The Lancashire section had as its aim, the fostering in children an understanding of the social condition in the world around them.

The main section - London, Glasgow and Yorkshire, felt that more was needed and that children should be taught that it was necessary to bring about a transformation of society. At various times the disputes splintered the movement with some socialists attacking what they saw as the prevalence of soft teaching in some schools (Anderson 1918).

One such critic, Tom Anderson, broke away from the Socialist Sunday School Movement and set up the Proletarian Sunday School

Movement in Glasgow. In contrast, other advocates attacked what they saw as a further attempt to cram abstract economic concepts into the heads of children.

As teaching positions in all Socialist Sunday Schools were voluntary (or at best received token payment) and different schools placed emphasis on different areas, it is difficult to be precise in what was taught at Socialist Sunday Schools. It could be assumed that some tuition in reading and writing took place.

However, the general ethos of Sunday schools seemed to have been the teaching of a socialist system of ethics.

"History should always have a prominent part in the lessons," was Anderson's decree and this was supported by Mc Arthur who ran a course of lectures for the adolescent members of the Socialist Sunday Schools in Glasgow on the works of Carlyle and world history. Some schools ran children's orchestras, choral singing, folk dancing and musical festivals. Some taught simple (sometimes elegant) dressmaking, recited poetry and became involved in various community activities.

Attacks on Socialist Sunday Schools by non-socialists were sporadic and had the approval of the national media and the House of Commons. The Movement's success in areas like London courted publicity and attacks from The Times in 1902, claiming to have uncovered a plot by the Movement to influence the next generation of electors. In 1906, four Socialist Sunday Schools using school premises were threatened with eviction after the balance of power

was shifted in the recent Council elections to the Conservative. The heated debate that resulted in the Council Chambers over the impending expulsions, saw the Socialist Sunday Schools, in their defence, claiming that they existed for the purpose of teaching the religion of socialism. The Conservatives preferred to believe that their doctrine of the schools was not religious but socialist politics. The motion to evict the schools was passed and this brought even more publicity to the Movement, culminating with a larger socialist demonstration through London.

The National Organisation

The Socialist Sunday School Movement faced a number of serious problems. Being exclusively working class in membership, there were always problems of finance and few benefactors emerged to finance the schools. The socialist movement in Britain itself was divided and on many occasions a consensus could not be reached.

"The word Socialism does not mean much today. There are so many grades of thought calling themselves Socialist that one actually feels ashamed to be labelled a socialist" (Anderson 1918).

One also needs to remember that these early socialists lived in a capitalist society that had on many occasions targeted and blatantly suppressed radical groups. Many socialist radicals suffered at first hand from discrimination (arrogantly) imposed by (the Capitalist) state and some never gained employment as a result of their political work.

The Proletarian Schools

"The Proletarian Schools are the training centres for the recruits in the class war, where the children get that outlook which will enable them to take their stand in the ranks of socialists, the storm troops of the Army of Labour and work for the day of Social revolution. That day when all the evils of the capitalist system will have reached their maturity that they will have become sensible to the feelings and to the sight of the vast majority, to the extent of being no longer bearable" (The Red Dawn 1920).

The Proletarian Sunday Schools - the most radical of all Sunday schools - was a breakaway movement from the Glasgow Socialist Sunday School.

Tom Anderson set about to install his brand of revolutionary socialism, an ingredient he found most lacking in most school movements. In Anderson's view, it was absolutely essential to teach working - class children the necessity for the abolition of the present political system. The result should be the inauguration of an industrial republic controlled by working people. The first school was opened in Glasgow in September 1918. Even though the exact membership was not disclosed, it is logical to assume that they were few in number. By 1920 there were twenty schools in existence throughout the country and the membership had grown to such an extent that the First Annual Conference of Proletarian Schools was held on Sunday 4 April 1920 in the Central Halls of Glasgow. Schools represented included Anderson, Bridgeton, Central Gorbals, Tradeston, Greenock, Paisley, Kukcoldy, and Bonnyrigg. The Proletarian College (another creation of Anderson's) and the College Socialist Sunday School were also represented.

It would seem from the lessons taught and the materials (text) used, that Anderson aimed his lectures at the adults present as well as the children. This is understandable, since for children to attend these classes, they would also need politically aware parents. Also child/adult differences were less stressed than they are today - or rather were in contemporary middle-class culture.

The organisers of the Proletarian Schools described themselves as the left wing of the Socialist Movement and not affiliated to any political party. The movement was largely a grass root effort and many of the organisers and activists were neither experts on Socialism, nor professionally trained teachers. The president - Tom Anderson was a radical Trade Unionist, a joiner by trade, who had experienced victimisation throughout his years in employment.

All his efforts were directed towards making a success of both the Proletarian Sunday School and the Proletarian College. Anderson wrote the The Proletarian Maxims (probably based on the Socialist Ten Commandments) which children were taught for the purpose of reciting it at the beginning of every lesson. All teachings were based on the Ten Proletarian Maxims and Anderson even stated that it was largely through disagreements/differences of opinions on these Maxims that prompted him to set up the Proletarian Schools in the first place:

"The Proletarian School Movement which had grown so rapidly in this country stands as the most advanced working class children's educational body. There are now twenty schools throughout the country and a number of others in formation. The organising and conducting of these schools is carried out by adult members of

the socialist movement, who donate most of their time and energy in the interest of the children of the working class; and endeavour to prepare the minds of children for the fight that is before them. Comrades with our future lies the future strength of the working class" (The Red Dawn1920).

Most of the materials used at the Proletarian Sunday Schools were produced by the movement itself. They included The Red Dawn - the magazine for Young Socialists, the entire Proletarian Series and the Proletarian Song Book. Most of the materials, songs, stories, and proletarian articles were written by Tom Anderson with other comrades, for example Clarke, Davis, Chaplen and Hill making their contributions.

The controlling bureaucracy of the Proletarian Schools, in its attempt to establish strong, unifying influences among its many branches, set out clear guidelines for its membership. There was even a model agenda sent out to every school.

Model Agenda Of A Proletarian School

1. Opening song by School; A girl reads the first verse.
2. Minutes of last School Service; by a junior secretary.
3. Text. Children all repeat it together.
4. President's Remarks.
5. Song by School; A boy reads the first verse.
6. Lesson; Speaker allows fifteen minutes.
7. Questions; The children are invited to ask questions.
8. Roll Call; Junior and Senior Optional.
9. Song by School; A senior girl reads first verse.
10. Reading Solo or Musical Selection by any member of the school.

11. Collections; Intonations.
12. Number of children and grown ups present.
13. Closing song; One verse only; Grown ups read; no books used.
14. President: 'Good afternoon children;' Children respond:
Good afternoon Comrade.'

(This service lasted one hour)

The model structure outlined the rigid structure laid down by Tom Anderson for the organisation, the format bearing a distinct resemblance to that of any religious service or meeting of the time - the singing of hymns, the reading of prescribed text, a contribution (talk) by a guest speaker, roll call. It would seem that even though the elders of the movement were advocating a total break with the traditional denominational groups and in some cases the singing of abusively anti-cleric songs, many of the values and related practices remained.

National Council Of British Socialist Sunday Schools' Union

The growing numbers of Socialist Sunday Schools in London, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Glasgow and Edinburgh echoed the prevailing view that a national organisation was needed to encourage more uniform and systematic instruction and to act as a controlling body. There was also the need for this national organisation to gain affiliation to the International Federation of Young People's Organisation set up on the continent. This would mean that the Socialist Sunday Schools could now expand their influence on the International Youth Organisation scene, ensuring that similar branches were set up in other countries.

The Socialist Sunday School Movement of the United States of America probably owes its existence to its fore runners in Britain. By 1909 the afore mentioned regions of Britain formed themselves into the National Council of British Supplementary Schools. Under its constitution this body was a council for joint consultation rather than a committee of central government. A pamphlet written by F J Gould in 1910 which outlined to Sunday schools how to form and conduct themselves, became the reference text for many non-Christian and Socialist Sunday Schools. It included a model curriculum, a course of Literature and History based on heroes identified by the school movement.

The expansion of the Socialist Sunday School Movement necessitated the setting up of Regional Unions of Supplementary Schools. These unions were given a mandate of setting up a list of suitable persons to teach in supplementary schools and also to co-ordinate activities within the district. It also provided a forum for discussing problems and methods of approach within the framework of existing schools and new schools about to be set up. The earliest unions were in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh consisting of representatives of every Socialist Sunday School in the town or county. The unions held monthly meeting and annual general meetings. Areas where the schools were scattered over a vast area for example Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire, held half yearly delegates' conferences. It was these unions which came together to form the National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools' Union in 1909.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s the decline in Socialist Sunday Schools was unmistakable. Reid suggested that the advent of the Second World War, the Depression and high unemployment, the evacuation of children within working class areas all took their toll. By 1935 the movement virtually disappeared in England even though the Young Socialist Magazine in 1964 contained a directory of seventeen Socialist Sunday Schools, nine of them in the Glasgow area of Scotland.

It would seem that despite the existence in name of a National Council, this association ceased to function as a co-ordinating body and was limited to little more than a consulting body. With no central system to administer and provide valuable services for the movement, it was inevitable that the movement would disintegrate. There was also an absence of a unifying theme.

Although most schools were anti-capitalist in political ideology, there seem to be an emerging conflict between the Marxist elements and the non-Marxist less orthodox wing of the British Socialist movement. It was still common even in the 1920s to find Socialist Sunday Schools operating in the mould of and expounding the virtues of traditional Christian ethos.

True to its ethos of International Socialism, some elements within the movement were very keen to make contact with its sister organisations in the United States and the magazines Young Socialist and Little Socialist Magazine for boys and girls

provided children and young adults with information on the practices and achievement of Socialist Sunday Schools in other countries. In April 1910 an issue of the Young Socialist contained a letter from Stanford W High - the Superintendent of Wimbledon Socialist Sunday School in London - to the sister organisation in the United States, suggesting that regular correspondence be set up between the two countries. Activities in England were also signalling worrying signs for the Americans whose ruling class were quick to offer its advice.

On the May Day Picnic in Hyde Park, The New York Times reported

"This novel sight brought to many persons a complete realisation that that they had heard before of the danger their country is under through the propagation of pernicious doctrines in the Socialist Sunday Schools. They say in these barges, hundreds of children, ages five to fifteen who are being regularly and systematically taught the wildest economic and political theories devised by the most radical socialists in Europe. The fact that Socialist Sunday Schools are in operation had been elaborately set before Londoners in their newspapers, but it remains for the children of these schools to show themselves as they did on May Day to impress the grave importance of the fact upon the Public Mind" (New York Times 1909).

When it became apparent that the United States faced the same peril, the right wing journal Common Sense was quick to return the advice:

"The indictment that we in England have brought against these anti-patriotic schools would apply quite as justly to the hundreds of similar institutions now existing in the United States"

(Irving 1912).

There are many advantages of being able to engage in a comparative study of institutions of the past and present day ventures. Two immediately come to mind. First, lessons could be

learnt from the past. Secondly, the availability of information about individual projects allows us to place 'uncertainty intervals' around how we interpret progress. If as we believe, our community based educational initiative is a success, then plans must be made to extend them further into the future. African Caribbean supplementary schools can most certainly learn from the lessons of the Socialist Sunday Schools.

Although the curriculum and ethos of the Socialist Sunday Schools and the African Caribbean supplementary schools differed greatly, it is quite apparent that their establishment was based on the acknowledgement that the educational needs of the community's children were not fully being met. Essentially, the Socialist Sunday Schools responded to the educational needs of the proletariat in the late 19th century and early 20th century England, whereas the African Caribbean supplementary schools still recognises deficiencies in the existing educational structure for black learners and consequently, founded as a means of actively address these issues.

The Supplementary Schools In London

The African Caribbean Supplementary Schools or Saturday Schools represent the most obvious formal and widespread educational activity organised by the black community for its own children. The development of these schools testified to the activism of grass root community based initiatives from the late 1960s into the 1990s. Val Jones, in his influential outline of the Josina Machel Supplementary School used as the title "We Are Our Own Educators" a sentiment the African Caribbean community would undoubtedly embrace.

Despite many hundreds of these schools throughout England, Black Supplementary Schools remains a little known phenomenon of British working class educational initiative - and deserve serious attention as a definite organised attempt to redress the imbalance of educational provision in inner city areas.

Background

In the mid 60s and early 70s black people were very concerned about the education of their children in the inner city areas.

The cause of their concern was the fact that;

1. Many black children were being wrongly placed in Educational Subnormal Schools.
2. Black children were disproportionately placed in these

schools, seventy five per cent of the 'immigrants' in Inner London Educational Authority special schools were of West Indian backgrounds.

3. Many educational authorities, for example Ealing and Haringey had implemented a policy of bussing black children from their neighbourhood to schools around the borough.
4. The British education system was failing black children to the dismay of most parents who had expected the education system to provide their children with all the opportunities of the host population.

As a direct result of the struggles of the African Caribbean immigrants the West Indian Standing Conference (WISC 1959) and the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was set up to provide a forum to discuss and campaign around pressing issues.

These organisations predated the Black Power Organisation in Britain of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their mandate was fight repression within the British system and to support the black community in its struggle for equality within the workplace and for a decent education for its children. From their position at the bottom of the labour hierarchy in Britain, they did not see the role of the state and that of education as separate.

In 1975, the Black Parent Movement (BPM) was formed in the home

of Albertina Silvester, an activist whose role in the formation of the BPM was to become crucial. The BPM was the first working class based organisation to be formed since the decline of the WISC. The Black Student Movement (BSM) worked closely with the BPM in its campaign against the injustice within the existing social structure. The movements emerged as an organisational force around the case of Cliff Mc Daniel - a North London black student arrested and beaten up by the Police (June 1975). The case provided the black community with the opportunity to mount a massive campaign around Police brutality and a proper education for black students in schools. No longer were they prepared to accept the injustice society had meted out to them. The marriage between the BPM and the BSM was a highly political one.

While they were very interested in the bread and butter issues that affected their people both groups seem to share the view that black people could only be politically effective if they lived in black countries. Their voices were heard throughout the black community, particularly in the area of education.

Albertina Silvester and others, - John La Rose, Jessica Huntley, Eric Huntley, Winston Best to name but a few - were to become the early pioneers of the Supplementary School Movement.

Another influential organisation among the black working class was the North London West Indian Association (NLWIA) a regional body affiliated to the West Indian Student Association (WISA). The North London West Indian Association - one of the biggest regional associations for African Caribbeans in England, came to

the fore in the Haringey campaigns in 1969.

The Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association (CECWA) was formed by black teachers and social workers who drew heart from the campaigns of the NLWIA in Haringey. Marina Maxwell's pamphlet "Violence In The Toilet" in 1969 did a lot to highlight the racism that existed in the classroom and the response of the education authorities to black children.

The CECWA soon became a national organisation with one of its founder members, Bernard Coard, receiving national recognition through his publication on West Indian children in educationally subnormal schools. This group was also active in pioneering the first supplementary school in London. It should be pointed out that many of the early pioneers were involved in many, if not all of the above mentioned groups, co-ordinating their efforts in the struggle on issues such as health, transportation, housing, Police violence against the black community as well as education.

A significant number of early activist embraced some form of socialism as a viable alternative to the prevailing system. Others were spurred by other global influences of the late 1960s and early 1970s embodied in figures like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and The Black Panther Movement. Others drew upon the co-operative and self-help ethos of Caribbean societies. From this mixture of elements emerged the London Supplementary School Movement.

The Question Of Bussing

It was on the question of bussing in London that the first mass campaign by the black community in respect to their children's education began. In 1969 the London Borough of Haringey had embarked on a policy of bussing 'immigrant' children around its eleven comprehensive schools. Haringey was one of the first local educational authorities in England to embrace totally a system of comprehensive education (1967) and it was suggested that for educational standards to be maintained, immigrant children should not be concentrated in any one school.

"That for educational and social reasons and in the best long term interest of the community as a whole, we must take steps to integrate the immigrant population by sharing it throughout our schools on the basis of academic ability." (Haringey Borough Council's Education Committee Report March 1969)

The report's author - Alderman Doulton, the Vice Chair of the Education Committee and the Headmaster of a public school within the area -also wrote a confidential report outlining the real reasons for the dispersal of black children. In this report it was suggested that black children were intellectually inferior to their white classmates and an influx of these children in Haringey would lower the standards of education.

"On a rough calculation about half of the immigrants will be West Indians at seven of the eleven schools, the significance of this being, the general recognition that their IQs work out below their English contemporaries. Thus academic standards will be lower in schools where they form a large group" (Haringey Borough Council's Education Committee Report March 1969).

The report was leaked to the NLWIA by a group called the Highgate Radicals who had their own interests in the matter. They were concerned that West Indian children would be bussed from other areas of Haringey to the largely affluent area of Highgate. The leaking of the confidential report and the publicity it attracted in the local press, gave the NLWIA a platform to fight the racist education policies of Haringey Council. The Campaign won the support of parents in other areas that is the Borough of Ealing who were facing a similar situation on the bussing of their children. Ealing had set a top figure of thirty per cent of black children in schools and were prepared to consume a cost of one hundred thousand pounds a year for its policy on enforced migration. Through a campaign of daily picketing of the Borough's Civic Centre, open meetings for parents, petitions with the signatures of over one thousand local West Indian parents, backed up with local radio and television coverage on the issue, the policy of bussing though enforced in many areas all over the country, died an enforced death in areas with a large African Caribbean population, but was more diligently followed in areas of high Asian concentration, that is, Bradford, Birmingham and Ealing. The NLWIA were soon to concentrate its efforts on Black children in educational subnormal schools (ESN) schools.

The Earliest Supplementary Schools

The earliest recorded attempt to establish a supplementary school or Black Saturday School in London occurred in August 1968 in North London after the Paul Bogle Youth Club was set up by the

black community. The organisers tried to introduce a supplementary school into the youth club but this idea was not grasped by the community. They then set about setting up parents' groups around North London to inform them of the important decisions that were being taken by the educational authorities that concerned the education of their children. From these parents' groups, the Albertina Silvester Supplementary School and the George Padmore Supplementary School were formed in front rooms of people's homes.

It was probably Clinton Sealy who proposed that the classes should be called Supplementary Schools. It was he who at any rate is credited with setting up the first established supplementary school. He summoned a meeting of interested people and formed the Shepherds Bush Supplementary School in a chapel run by Wilfred Wood (now Bishop of Croydon).

Albertina Silvester and John La Rose were parents who became increasingly concerned about the education of their children. Mrs Silvester who came from Grenada, had had high expectations of her children with regards to their education. When it became clear that the education system was failing her children (and African Caribbean children in general) she got together with other parents to start a supplementary school. It aimed to project positive images of black people, of black history and of black achievement within the society. In November of 1971 Mrs Silvester held the first meeting of her Saturday/Supplementary School, in the living room of her home at Victoria Road, Finsbury

Park. This first session was attended by four girls and three boys all from the immediate community. She was assisted by two volunteers to teach a programme of elementary mathematics, english and black history. The George Padmore and the Albertina Silvester Supplementary Schools fed off each other supporting their activities through the interchange of teachers. It was also arranged that the older children attended the George Padmore school, held in the home of John La Rose, whilst the younger children attended the Albertina Silvester school.

John La Rose, a prominent figure in the literary society and head of New Beacon Publishing House, had been a prominent black leader and political activist since the 1960s. Through his activities he was able to mobilise young men and women dedicated towards the black struggle in Britain.

The school movement soon attracted many others to its fold, namely Elva Didier, Bernard Wiltshire, Wavney Bushell, Winston Best, Jack and June Hinds, Jessica and Eric Huntley, Morgan Dalphinis, Wilfred Wood, Dada, Ansel Wong, Peter Moses and many others. The other schools came into existence - the Marcus Garvey Supplementary School Shepherds' Bush, and the Kwame Nkrumah Supplementary School in Hackney set up by Bernard Wiltshire then a young student activist and later to become deputy leader of the Inner London Education Authority. Other schools were set up in the homes of parents and educationalists i.e. Carter, and as far afield as Nottingham, Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham.

The early pioneers of the Supplementary School Movement saw in Albertina Silvester's experiment a congenial expression of their own concerns and set out to provide positive role sets for black children. That supplementary schools developed not along rationalist lines, but along the lines of a working class sect, dedicated to teaching their children in a way that produced positive experiences, was due to the influence CECWA (Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association). Thrown into prominence after a three days seminar in August 1970, aimed at focusing on the changing relations and problems which the black child experienced in British society, CECWA became a powerful political force within the black community.

Agenda of the seminar was as follows:

Writing for children - Andrew Salkey

Readings - Sam Selvon

The Laws and the Black Youth in Britain - Ron Rose

The Problem of the West Indian Child in an Educationally Subnormal School (ESN) - Bernard Coard

The Struggle Against Banding - John La Rose, Waveney Bushell and Winston Best

The Meaning of the Haitian Revolution for Modern Caribbean Society - CLR James

The Development of Education for the Masses in the British West Indies From Emancipation to the early 20th Century - Carl Campbell

Coard later published his paper which was given prominence in journals, newspapers and other educational forums, highlighting

the problems of African Caribbean people faced. The issues of ESN schools propelled the establishment of Black Supplementary Schools in every area of London.

Early Pioneers

The early pioneers of the Supplementary School Movement were almost exclusively of working class background who were born in the Caribbean and had taken up residence in the 'Mother Country' in the fifties and early sixties. Many had had positive experiences from Education in the Caribbean. They developed a sense of achievement having seen education as the backbone of Caribbean society. Coming to Britain and discovering that the British school system was not necessarily always positive to its clients, they felt it necessary to set up these supplementary schools to continue a tradition which as Morgan Dalphries stated "is deep within the African past of respect for knowledge and a wish to investigate things in relation to the mind" (taped interview).

Many were living in what could be described as poor circumstances but realised that from a Caribbean tradition, poverty is never seen in relation to not using or using one's brain. It was this desire to continue a Caribbean tradition that brought them together in parent groups and other educational and social gatherings with the sole purpose of setting up supplementary schools. They taught, arranged fund-raising events, went from door to door on fund raising ventures, targeted black and local businesses, wrote letters to Caribbean High Commissioners and black and white Embassies, served on school committees and urged

black working class parents to send their children to these Saturday Schools to learn about their history as well as take their place in a multi racial Britain.

The obstacles were many. Firstly, there were obstacles from other black people who felt that "we were now in Britain and should conform to the British way of doing things". Then there were obstacles from the councils and the local mainstream schools who were vehemently against supplementary schools in council property. One pioneer explained that the council (Local Council) at times proved to be very negative. Supplementary schools were promised premises to carry out their activities and sometimes without warning, the offer would be withdrawn.

Schools were particularly not co-operative, as teachers were aware that the setting up of supplementary schools was a bad reflection on their part.

Soon supplementary schools outgrew their initial premises – the homes of parents – and needed to be rehoused in larger premises. There was also the need to keep contact with all supplementary schools within the same region. Very early, supplementary schools in the same district began to form themselves into branches or tangents. These branches would meet regularly and assist by taking the initiative in the formation of a new supplementary school. The role of the tangents or branches was very crucial, particularly in coming to the rescue of others in financial crises. Croydon, South East London, North London, Hackney, Wembley and Ealing regions came together to help others

overcome the problems that beset the Supplementary School Movement. The catalyst for starting supplementary schools in each area was slightly different to that of North London. Early pioneers seem almost total in agreement that the British school system was very unsympathetic to their efforts and dismissed supplementary schools as a passing phase. As Eric Huntley recalls,

"try going to a school and saying to the headteacher, we have a supplementary school on Saturdays, teaching Black children Reading, English and Arithmetic, and you'd see the hostile reaction" (taped interview).

Whether or not they supported these radical Saturday school experiments, most local education authorities realised that state schools were undergoing changes in response to the emergence of black pressure groups fighting a system that was failing them and their children, movements towards consultation with the community, the employment of more black teachers and multi-cultural education within the curriculum were now underway. The emergence of the Commission for Racial Equality would ensure that supplementary schools were given due recognition within the social structure.

There was also a political angle to it. An increasing number of socialists were beginning to realise that there was a tendency among schools and educators to attempt to make the interest of society identical with the interest of the property owning class. This interpretation was challenged by most working class controlled educational institutions - even those that operated on a part time basis. It was therefore felt that black,

Saturday/ supplementary schools should help to counteract such social values promoted in most state schools.

The Expansion Of Supplementary Schools

The early programme of supplementary schools consisted of the teaching of arithmetic, reading, english and black history. Parents were concerned that black history was not being taught in mainstream schools and requested that supplementary schools fulfil this need. As a result, a considerable body of pamphlet literature was produced by the movement. Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, the Walter Rodney Bookshop and the New Beacon Publications highlighted the sectarian character of the Supplementary School Movement. The concept of black history was seen as the means of challenging the super racist assumptions of ethno-centric, white British education. It was championed and endorsed by all sections of the movement, particularly the activists within the Black Panther Movement.

Drawing from the experience of African Americans, it aimed to project positive images of black people and in the words of one pioneer:

"it aimed to celebrate the life and work and struggle of Black working class people and give back the confidence and self assuredness that class oppression within a culture of racism had denied them. It also aimed to reclaim knowledge and the processes by which knowledge is legitimised, thereby placing a quality stamp on Black literature, Black history, the artistic creativity of Black folk and the language form we use to make sense of and give meaning to the world we inhabit. As an essential and central part of that whole process, we developed a craving for the outpourings of Black writers, Black poets, Black artists, Black musicians in fact all those whose work had be relegated to the dustbins of history, to the cupboards of mediocrity and to the realms of irrelevance" (Gus John 1988).

The inclusion of reading, writing, english and mathematics on the programme could be explained in terms of redressing what was

seen as the failure of the British school system to educate black children in a way to acknowledge and develop their abilities and their potentials. However many within the Supplementary School Movement have warned against the misguided belief in educational circles that supplementary schools were some kind of service station for the wrecks created by the mainstream school system. "That would be a gross insult to the Black working class education movement" (John 1989).

The aim behind the elaborate curriculum was close to the objectives outlined in the resolution of the Conference on Supplementary Schools by the Black Power Organisation in Leeds, 1977. This objective was to demonstrate that the failure of the British education system to provide quality education for black children and the absence of black history in schools should be redressed. Val Jones in We Are Our Own Educators pointed out that:

"Josina Machel Supplementary School was not formed as a direct criticism of the state schools in the boroughs of Hackney, Haringey, Islington or Enfield, the school was formed to help bridge the gap between the educational needs of the Black children and the expectations of teachers in the state schools. We hold the view that the under achievement is not the fault of our children nor their parents. We set up supplementary schools because we have lost trust in the mainstream schools" (Jones 1986).

What is important here is not the demonstrative contradictions of the case but the extent or depth of feeling within the movement to improve educational standards in whatever way it could.

The Caribbean Tradition

Throughout the Caribbean, Saturday schools and after school lessons were utilised to encourage greater literacy as well to nurture learning and creativity. In Guyana these schools are called "Bottom House " schools and have been discussed in Chapter I.

Also following in the Caribbean tradition were the Protestant Sunday Schools which touched the lives of most working class children who learnt basic reading, writing and Protestant morality. These Sunday schools became an integral part of the evangelical movement and that of the established churches. Sunday school teachers brought the Word of God to many people, taught the Bible and handed out tracts to countless children as well as give of their time selflessly to work at Summer Vocation Bible Schools and other holiday projects. From this tradition, supplementary schools were seen as an extension of the Caribbean ethos of self help, co-operation and education.

The early teachers of the Supplementary School Movement were volunteers. Many were parents or student activists who were prepared to give of their time and effort. Many had younger brothers and sisters who would themselves attend the supplementary schools. Some were black teachers within the mainstream school system and members of the Caribbean Teachers Association, whilst others were Community or Social Workers active within black organisations such as the Black Panther Movement.

Practical impetus was given to the East Croydon Chapter of the Supplementary School Movement by the arrival of Waveney Bushell to that area. A founder member of CECWA, she had been present when Bernard Coard presented his paper and was convinced that something had to be done.

Waveney Bushell came to Britain from British Guyana in early 1955 having qualified as a teacher there. She taught in London from 1956 to 1960 before pursuing a degree in Psychology at the University of London. She recalled that in those early days, they were few black children in the school system and it was after 1960 that the perceived problem of the black child - both academically and behaviourally - was highlighted.

Waveney Bushell completed a post graduate course and was employed as an Educational Psychologist in Croydon. She objected unequivocally to the view held by white educators that black children were not accustomed to the liberal attitude of the British school system but were more accustomed to the whip. Hence the shock of entering school with a more liberal ethos had caused them to completely abuse the system and hence manifest the behavioural problems attributed to African Caribbean children. What angered her even more was that the few black teachers around at that time were merely echoing this sentiment. She became a teacher in the supplementary school of Shepherds Bush.

Bernard Coard's booklet had raised some money for the CECWA and the funds were used to finance summer projects for African

Caribbean children in London – an area organised by Waveney and her co-workers. The recruitment of volunteers can be dated from this Croydon inception and the personalities concerned in it are worthy of further consideration.

Bernard Coard was instrumental in raising the consciousness of the young students of Caribbean origin. He held discussion groups at the West Indian Student Centre and explained to the students what CECWA was all about. As a result, Bernard Wiltshire, Dada and Morgan Dalphries (all students at the time) were recruited to help in the summer projects.

One of the first pioneers to emphasise that African Caribbean children must have a culture of their own was Winston Best. The supplementary school he set up in Haringey was run on the basis of half school/half cultural unit. This gained a lot of momentum. He approached the whole supplementary school ethos through drama and hence black history formed part of this integral approach. Today most supplementary schools include in their curriculum some form of black history. It is interesting to note that whereas Gus John and Albertina Silvester saw it as their duty to mobilise the black parents and formed their groups to this aim, Winston Best and Bernard Coard concentrated their efforts in mobilising black students studying at polytechnics and universities around London. The emergence of areas of concentration helped to ensure the expansion of the school movement throughout London.

Jessica and Eric Huntley were very active in the Ealing Chapter

of the Supplementary School Movement. Born in British Guiana and very active in the political scene, Eric was interviewed in 1952 when the British sent in troops and suspended the Constitution in Guyana then British Guiana.

Jessica Huntley was a parliamentary candidate in the 1957 elections for the New Amsterdam district of Guiana. They came to England in the late 50s and through their connections with Walter Rodney, the Guyanese academic, the Huntleys set up the Bogle L'Ouverture Publications and later the bookshop now renamed Walter Rodney Bookshop. The Peter Moses Supplementary School was set up in the memory of a late colleague and pioneer in Ealing, North West London. Success in London brought publicity and hence more printed material was required for schools. Bogle L'Ouverture Publications have provided many booklets, posters and sheets for children on black personalities such as Marcus Garvey and Paul Robeson.

Over the years the balance has changed somewhat. Today the majority of teachers in supplementary schools are themselves qualified teachers or student teachers undergoing training. This change in the structure of supplementary schools co-incided with the gradual take-over of many school by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and the Community Relations Commission (CRC) before it.

Since early 1970s the Community Relations Commission (later CRE) in conjunction with Local Authorities funding agencies - Urban Aid, Inner City Partnership Funding - assumed controlling

influences over many of the larger supplementary schools housed in government buildings like schools and community centres. Previously, it was only the black churches, black political organisations and community interest groups that had any planned, sustained or significant influence on the way the schools developed. Now teachers were paid an allowance and schools received funding to purchase books and materials and in some cases staff were seconded to them. This new wave of interest in supplementary schools co-incided with an almost whole scale recruitment of early activists into jobs at the CRE and its predecessor the CRC. It also presided over the demise of an important tradition, that of parental involvement in the day-to-day structure of the supplementary schools. Schools set up by the Black Power Movement also experienced a total shift in emphasis with the injection of funding from the quasi non-governmental institutions. From 1976, volume was added to the advocacy that all teachers at supplementary schools should be qualified or undergoing teacher training. Other community projects formally set up by parents are now funded by Local Authorities who serve as an intermediary between channelling the needs of the community and the organisers.

This meant that summer projects and playscheme workers were no longer solely volunteers but paid workers whose roles were prescribed by the subversion of the Supplementary School Movement.

The Subversion Of The Supplementary School Movement

Many black organisations resented this shift in emphasis, but were quite powerless to withstand the changes taking place. Notwithstanding the heat of the preceding efforts and in the wake of the stunned realisation on the part of traditionalists within the Movement that some Local Authorities were even contemplating setting up supplementary schools themselves and recruiting or seconding black staff to run them. Some schools have remained true to their original goals and independent of external control. The first attempt at a national organisation or a national conference on supplementary schools occurred in 1972 but the organisation folded from lack of support for such a structure.

By 1975 the local educational authorities increasingly acknowledged the work of these schools. Although its significance within the larger educational structure should not be exaggerated, increased interest developed for three reasons.

First the continued success of some of the schools no doubt convinced some reluctant educators of the viability of such schooling. Secondly, some pioneers of the school system were now working within the administration structure of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) namely Bernard Wiltshire, Gus John, Morgan Dalphries, Winston Best, and others who were more favourably disposed to gather support for the school movement. Thirdly, there were supplementary schools in every area of London, particularly in areas where there was a high concentration of

African Caribbean people.

The National Association of Supplementary Schools came into existence in 1988. The conference which met to draw up a constitution saw a sharp cleavage of opinion when it came to defining aims. Divisions emerge over the use of the word 'national'. It was felt by some that national bodies are required by bureaucracies and that any attempt to bureaucratise the Supplementary School Movement would preside over the death of it.

Within the school movement there has emerged a particular brand of fee paying Saturday schools. The distinctive characteristics of these schools are:

- (a) They are not community based. That is, set up by parents or educational interest group.
- (b) They are self financing - receiving no financial assistance from Local Government or charitable organisations.
- (c) A fixed fee is charged for each subject per hour. For example five or ten pound may be charged per hour for each subject.
- (d) These schools represent profit making business ventures.

One individual is known to have opened a chain of these schools in North, East, South East, South West and West London. He has recruited teachers and has set out to target the African Caribbean Community within these areas. These schools have all claimed supplementary school status - with specific fundamental differences:

- (1) There is no parental involvement in the administrative

structure and programme provision of the school.

(2) Parents pay a fixed fee for their children's tuition.

Over the last five years, more of these schools have emerged within inner city London, causing some concern amongst the traditional Supplementary School Movement. The new schools seem very reluctant to involve themselves in the collective movement of supplementary schools and are quick to defend their projects and schools as being essential and catering for the needs of parents. They dismiss the criticism levelled at them that their schools are not accessible to the majority of students within the African Caribbean community as the great majority of families cannot afford the costs of 'private' tuition.

Summary

The significance of a historical approach to the problem is two fold. First by looking into the 'seed' of the movement one establishes a point. Second, by identifying where it is at present one establishes another point - a line of direction so to speak which then permits one to project into the future, and possibly predict with some understanding the potential value and/or usefulness of the whole supplementary school idea.

The researcher would like to suggest that the keeping alive of both the form and content of radical education has been managed from the late 19th century to well into the 20th century despite the serious struggles which took place around the question of the

1870 Compulsory Education Act and its impact on working class community.

Reid's article on Socialist Sunday Schools devoted hardly any attention (to be precise, none at all) to the state education system or the preceding 1870s Education Act. Simon (1974) implied that the 1870 Act represented the switch of working class support from independent provision to state provision from above. Simon, it might seem, left many things unsaid. For example why did working class groups feel the need to to be independent of middle class state control and from the influences of middle class/bourgeois ideas (particularly with regards to radical liberalism) resulting in the setting up of Socialist Sunday Schools?

Richard Johnson (1988) pointed out that the purpose of radical education in the mid to late 19th century was to challenge the educational enterprises of 'church christianity' and the liberalism of the urban middle classes.

Owenism, Chartism, Republicanism and Co-operationism all played their part. The Socialist Sunday School Movement, the inheritor of this proud tradition, was probably the most overtly political of all the other trends. There was a section within the movement that tended to stress individual knowledge i.e. basics such as reading, writing and simple arithmetic, but the overall concentration was on the political ideas and discussions that were excluded from middle class controlled institutions.

It would seem that attempts to expand the work of the Socialist Sunday Schools were severely limited through lack of funds as is usually the case in promoting radical, independent education initiatives. The price that is paid for total independence is either eventual oblivion as in the case of Socialist Sunday Schools, or the incorporation into the liberal wing of the establishment (relinquishing their independent identity) as is presently the experience of African Caribbean Supplementary schools. Other identifiable problems - the difficulty in securing venues for the schools and the projects relying on a handful of volunteers, pioneers, teachers and activists to provide a consistent commitment in terms of time, were common in both the Socialist Sunday Schools and the African Caribbean Supplementary Schools. The provision of these trends of education was always likely to be marginal, reaching only a minority of the working class families it was aimed at. The importance of the supporting press and publishing houses, with the potential of reaching the target group cannot be over emphasised. In the case of the Supplementary School Movement, the weekly news papers such as The Voice, Caribbean and Asian Times, West Indian World, The Gleamer, publishing houses e.g. New Beacon, Bogle L'Ouverture and Kara Publishing Houses as well as the Walter Rodney and Freshstart bookshops etc. were essential to the survival of the Supplementary School Movement.

The academic education identified by the new trends in state education and the Education Reform Act 1988 has its social uses. It seems so far the most appropriate form of reproducing social 'elites', adding an educational justification for inequalities

and deepening social divisions. Alternative and supplementary education programmes should aspire to uncover new forms of educational strategy and politics where change is not understood as an automatically controlled machine but rather as a transformation of self and others. Their continuing appeal should be that they cut across social divisions. Whether the schools would continue to serve the needs of exploited groups or fall victim to the forces of centralisation and elite domination would be the immediate issue before them.

It would seem at least plausible to conclude that both the Socialist Sunday School Movement and the Supplementary Sunday School Movement were conceived to redress the problems which the community felt the respective mainstream, state education systems were not prepared to address. The avenue they took was the only available course of action they knew in fighting a system back.

CHAPTER VI

THE METHODOLOGY

In planning this study, it was clear from the outset that success would be contingent upon the voluntary co-operation and support of teachers and parents within the supplementary school movement. Four methods were employed to look into the workings of supplementary schools and each required an increasing commitment from the schools' co-ordinators.

A letter was drafted by the researcher and sent to each school. In a few schools, the researcher just visited the school and introduced himself. A meeting was later set up between the researcher and teachers of the supplementary school during which the study was explained and an outline plan discussed. A preliminary survey paper was prepared in order to sample the perceived differences between the roles of the teachers, the parents and the co-ordinator within the supplementary schools. The preliminary survey had been prepared in case a particular supplementary school would have refused to take any further part in the study - the researcher would have at least recorded some of their views.

In order to obtain an outline of the history of each respective supplementary school, twenty-two pioneers were interviewed formally. These included present co-ordinators, education

liaison officers, pioneers of the movement, council administrators, parents and black political activists.

Teachers and parents in most supplementary schools showed a great deal of interest in the project. Some teachers expressed an interest to become involved in research into supplementary schools themselves. Others felt that an in-depth study of supplementary schools was long overdue.

In research using ethnographic methods, the focus and aims of the research may change in the course of data collecting - and in response to what is found. For instance, research by Lacey (1970) changed from an examination of the history of a school to an examination of the streaming and social relations between pupils he observed taking place in the school. The narrow focus broadened in the course of data collection to encompass an enquiry into differentiation and divisions within the school movement.

In ethnographic research, it can be noted that firstly, emphasis needs to be focused on how teachers and pupils perceive, construe and interpret events and people. However, the researcher does not uncritically ignore insights derived from pupils' or teachers' perceptions.

In most social science surveys, experiments are usually set up to test the truth or falsity of a certain hypothesis. This study

operates on preconceived assumptions, that the role and structure of supplementary schools in African-Caribbean Communities are fairly consistent within inner city London - and that some differences in attitude exist between a much smaller group of fee-paying supplementary schools (not the subject of this thesis). Discussions are still taking place within the movement as to whether this small group could be considered under the umbrella of the principles and practices of the supplementary school movement. Attempts were not made to include this group within the confines of this study.

The Research Method

The present study used four methods to look at the role of supplementary schools within inner-city London. The methods were:

- (1) Observation of children at school
- (2) Questionnaires to children attending supplementary schools
- (3) Questionnaires to teachers of supplementary schools
- (4) Interviewing parents, co-ordinators, teachers, pioneers of the supplementary school movement.

Each method will be dealt with under a separate section, but it is first appropriate to describe the sample.

Sample

Teachers and pupils were drawn from thirteen supplementary schools : Queen Mother Moore in the London Borough of Lambeth; New Cross Supplementary School in Lewisham; Robert Hart Memorial Supplementary School in Southwark; The Afro-Caribbean Supplementary Education Project in Waltham Forest; Hackney African Organisation in Hackney; Josina Machel Supplementary School in Hackney; Lemuel Findlay Supplementary School in Haringay; Greenwich (C.R.E.) Supplementary School in Greenwich, Winnie Mandela Supplementary School in Camden; The Croydon

Supplementary Education Project; Learie Constantine Saturday School in Brent; and Ebony Supplementary School in Lewisham. Teachers and co-ordinators were invited to participate in filling in the questionnaire (at least one from each school) and with accommodating the researcher in their classrooms over a period of three weeks. A pupil sample was selected from a few schools to complete a pupil questionnaire. The initial criteria for selecting the pupils were :

- (a) age between 8 - 11 years old
- (b) must be a regular attender to Supplementary School
- (c) English should be the principal language spoken at home
- (d) limiting the number of children from each class to five and from each school to fifteen
- (e) a sample of pupils from all thirteen Supplementary schools to be used in the study.

In practice, at some point all these criteria were set aside, though this did not affect in any fundamental way the nature of the study. It soon became apparent from the earliest visit to the first school that some schools were quite prepared to fill in the teacher-questionnaires (or at least to accept them), but looked with suspicion at any questionnaire directed at the pupils. It was therefore deemed necessary to limit the pupil questionnaire to nine supplementary schools with a ceiling of fifteen pupils from each.

Again, even this strategy had to be slightly altered. In a particular Supplementary School (Robert Hart Memorial School), all the pupils within a class wanted to participate in the questionnaire. As there were 27 in number, they were all given the questionnaires and a sample of fifteen was selected at random. It is necessary to point out here that despite all efforts to control the sample, some element of bias was unavoidable as the researcher was forced to work within certain constraints. First, by selecting nine 'friendlier' schools - it was felt that this bias was preferable to having a school and staff that were less willing to co-operate - or to co-operate only on their terms.

All teachers approached (100%) agreed to participate in the questionnaire (teachers'). However, it became a very difficult task to later retrieve the questionnaires, since most insisted on taking it away with them. In that agreement only 54% of questionnaires issued to teachers were returned.

Lacey's (1976) review of methodology he adopted in Highton (Lacey 1970) suggests that there is no dichotomy between a researcher holding strong views on an issue and in choosing that issue to research. Lacey suggests that in his determination to use research findings to create a more egalitarian society and to counteract any criticism of bias in his analysis, he felt it necessary to construct an even more rigorous analytical framework in his research. As a working class boy who had 'made it' to

Grammar school, his class experience had enabled him to approach his research project - on the underachievement of working-class boys - with greater sensitivity and (in his opinion) ultimately greater success than other researchers with less relevant experience.

Research Advantages

The success of the research depended largely on the goodwill of teachers and pupils within the supplementary schools. Thus the major advantage of my social position as a researcher was that I had some knowledge of the workings of supplementary schools. Being of African/Caribbean descent also, in my opinion, mitigated in my favour as it helped in cutting through the initial atmosphere of caution and apprehension experienced by many researchers.

When working in the G.C.R.E. Supplementary School and the Robert Hart Memorial Supplementary School, there were obvious advantages. Being a teacher within one of the schools, and well known to the other, the goodwill of the teachers and pupils could be negotiated from within existing professional relationships. The teachers and pupils saw my role as non-threatening and were therefore more willing to co-operate with me than they probably would have been with an 'outsider'. Another advantage was that of familiarization with the processes operating within these schools i.e. The Black Parents' Association, Black Governors' Collective and the National Association of Supplementary Schools (now defunct). Still another advantage was that my presence as a researcher caused only a limited amount of disruption whereas an outsider to the supplementary school movement would probably have required a more elaborate reception, thus creating a rather artificial element within the schools. The teachers were

accustomed to seeing the researcher around at meetings, seminars and conferences on the education of black children. My presence at supplementary schools might not therefore have been viewed as anything unusual.

Disadvantages

The disadvantages were equally pronounced. My assumption was that I would receive the help and co-operation of teachers of the supplementary schools. This, however, did not always prove to be the case. Some projects did reject the researcher and were very reluctant to accept or complete the questionnaire. In one school, the co-ordinator subjected the researcher to a hostile cross-examination of his questionnaires and then rejected them. Three others took the questionnaire to discuss its contents further with staff and then refused to participate. Another school took the questionnaires, explaining that it was against the practice to allow an outsider to administer questionnaires to pupils. They offered to do it themselves. The researcher was later told that the completed questionnaires were posted to him. They never arrived - and the researcher was not allowed to re-administer the questionnaires.

Yet another school that offered to administer the questionnaires themselves later told the researcher that they had kept the completed questionnaires for a few weeks and had thrown them out.

This was despite numerous messages from the researcher enquiring as to when it would be convenient to collect the questionnaires. There seems to be a genuine concern by some projects about the nature of the research and the extent to which the researcher could discover or make public any inadequacies or failings within the supplementary schools. The methodology of the study was the outcome of the special problems associated with doing single-handed research - the limitation of personal competence, stamina, time and finance. One of the major problems the researcher encountered was setting up a framework to work out at all times what was tolerable or acceptable by the parents, teachers and pupils of each project.

Research Questions

In order to derive qualitative and quantitative data on the working model of supplementary schools within London, the study concerned itself with how teachers and parents come to define their role within the community, with how they interpret the issue of the National Curriculum - and how these definitions and interpretations affect the philosophy, programme and practice within the supplementary school. The researcher concentrated on the following questions:

Teacher and Pupil Perceptions:

- (1) What teaching ideologies do teachers hold?
- (2) How essential do teachers feel it was to have a supplementary school within the community?
- (3) How do teachers perceive their role within the community?
- (4) How do teachers perceive underachievement in main stream schools and the achievement of pupils of supplementary schools?
- (5) How do teachers perceive the contribution parents make to supplementary schools?
- (6) How realistic do teachers perceive the expectations of parents as to their children's academic performance?
- (7) What is the curriculum material presented to pupils?
- (8) How do pupils make sense of the social world of the supplementary school?
- (9) What importance do they give to concepts such as good luck, ambition, hard work, a suitable appearance, a good English accent and self-confidence?
- (10) How do pupils perceive their academic performance at school?
- (11) Are these perceptions shared by their parents and supplementary school teachers?
- (12) What knowledge do pupils possess of black heroes?

Original Research Design

The original research design was over-ambitious. The intention had been to visit 40 supplementary schools and to conduct preliminary interviews with the co-ordinator of each school. Eight schools would then be chosen for an in-depth study, but questionnaires were to be given to the staff and pupils of all forty schools. The questionnaires would explore their attitudes to supplementary education and their class background. From each school two parents and two pupils would be selected to participate in an interview. This information would be supplemented by detailed classroom observation of the projects. In addition, information would be collected about the structure and organisation of each school, including its history and future plan. After one year and still in the period of familiarization to most schools, the researcher became convinced that the programme would be nearly impossible to achieve.

The Pilot Work

The researcher chose the G.C.R.E. Supplementary School and the R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School as the projects to begin his pilot study. Both were well known to the researcher who taught in one and was considered a friend by most of the staff in the other. The pilot work at the two schools enabled the researcher to try out the following steps in the research design:

- (1) Negotiation of research with the co-ordinator and other members of staff (including parent groups)
- (2) Explanation of research to pupils in the sample
- (3) Administering the questionnaires to pupils
- (4) Carrying out interviews with the pupils and teachers

The pilot study revealed a number of shortcomings in the research instrument. The questionnaires needed structural changes and the interviews produced little information. The piloting was carried out in late 1988 and early 1989. At the end of the period, a decision was made to interview pupils in groups instead of individually as originally designed.

The Role of the Teacher as a Researcher

An original premise of the research was that a supplementary school teacher was an ideal agent for conducting research into supplementary schools. This premise was re-affirmed in the early stages of the research. In initial approaches to the co-ordinators of supplementary education projects, information was given on the nature of the study and the researcher's experience within supplementary schools. This working experience helped to establish his credibility and enable teachers to readily accept or tolerate the study. Being an external researcher, the act of turning up one Saturday morning, seeking information on the history of the projects, access to teachers, pupils for

questioning purposes - and access to school documents - could be viewed as provocative. That they accepted him at all was obviously a mark of their tolerance.

The significant weakness of the survey method, as Hamilton (1974) has argued, is its failure to recognise the difference between human and natural processes. This leads to an emphasis on research procedures which attempt to quantify personal attributes and a dependency on epistemological assumptions about the passivity of human behaviour. Despite the weaknesses of survey methods in adequately conceptualising experience, surveys and questionnaires are familiar and accepted research methods and were included in the study on those grounds.

The data was collected during a twelve month period of March 1990 and April 1991. This included two terms spent observing and recording interviews. Towards the end of the data collecting, brief and infrequent visits were made to different projects to collect specific information related to the data already collected.

The period of time spent in the supplementary school projects was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, it enabled the researcher's role to be more acceptable to pupils and teachers. This role was ostensibly that of participant observer - no attempt was made to do any teaching. Secondly, the period was necessary for

acclimatisation - it enabled the researcher to become familiar with and to get to know the schools.

The Teacher Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into five components:

(1) Personal information (2) The School Programme (3) Pupils' Achievement (4) Parental Involvement (5) Background Information.

All teachers who indicated their willingness to participate were given a questionnaire. It was felt that taken into consideration that some bias existed, any significant difference between the perceptions of teachers within the same institution would be particularly note-worthy.

Personal Information

Eleven questions were tabled in this section. Teachers were asked about the type of supplementary school they worked in, the age group they taught, their post of responsibility (if any), their teaching qualifications and their specialist area of teaching.

The School's Programme and Curriculum

Eleven questions were tabled in this section. This was intended to investigate whether teachers differ significantly in their understanding of the curriculum. Teachers were asked about the nature of the school programme, the aims of the school and whether these were reflected in the curriculum. Teachers were also asked to list the subjects that were given priority, standard testing procedure within the school (if any) and the support given to teachers by the co-ordinator and Education Liaison Officer.

Pupils' Achievement

Five questions. This section looks at underachievement and the reasons for this as perceived by the teachers. Teachers were asked to identify the particular groups within the broader school community who were under-achieving.

Parental Involvement

Nine questions. This section sought to understand the role played by parents within the supplementary schools. Emphasis is placed on parental contribution within the community projects.

Teachers are asked to what extent parents are consulted on the curriculum or programme, make a contribution to the school as volunteers or helpers, how realistic parents are towards their expectations and their children's educational performance. Teachers are also asked to give an opinion on parents' involvement in matters of the LEA, involvement as parent governors and helping their children with home-work and other areas of the school programme, namely, reading, writing and arithmetic.

Background Information

Six questions. Teachers were asked to state their age group, sex, ethnic origin and children (offspring, if any) attending supplementary school. The last question - Any Other Comments? - was provided to allow teachers to include any area of the questionnaire that might have been overlooked.

Of the 42 questions on the questionnaire, 38 took the form of multiple choice, requiring the respondent to circle an answer to the question. Only four questions required answers in the form of sentence construction. Between January and December 1990, 76 questionnaires were distributed to the eleven co-operating schools. 41 were returned. The questionnaires were left with the school co-ordinators. There is no way of knowing how many of

these actually reached the teaching staff as the distribution and collection were left to the school co-ordinators. The researcher was not unduly worried by the number of unreturned questionnaires. Firstly, it was still a representative random sample of supplementary school teachers. Secondly, the obvious restriction of time had to be taken into consideration. Lastly, the degree of potential disruption to teaching classes had to be assessed, and it was reasoned that the degree of willingness of staff also had to be taken into consideration - and this would be significantly enhanced if research intrusions were limited.

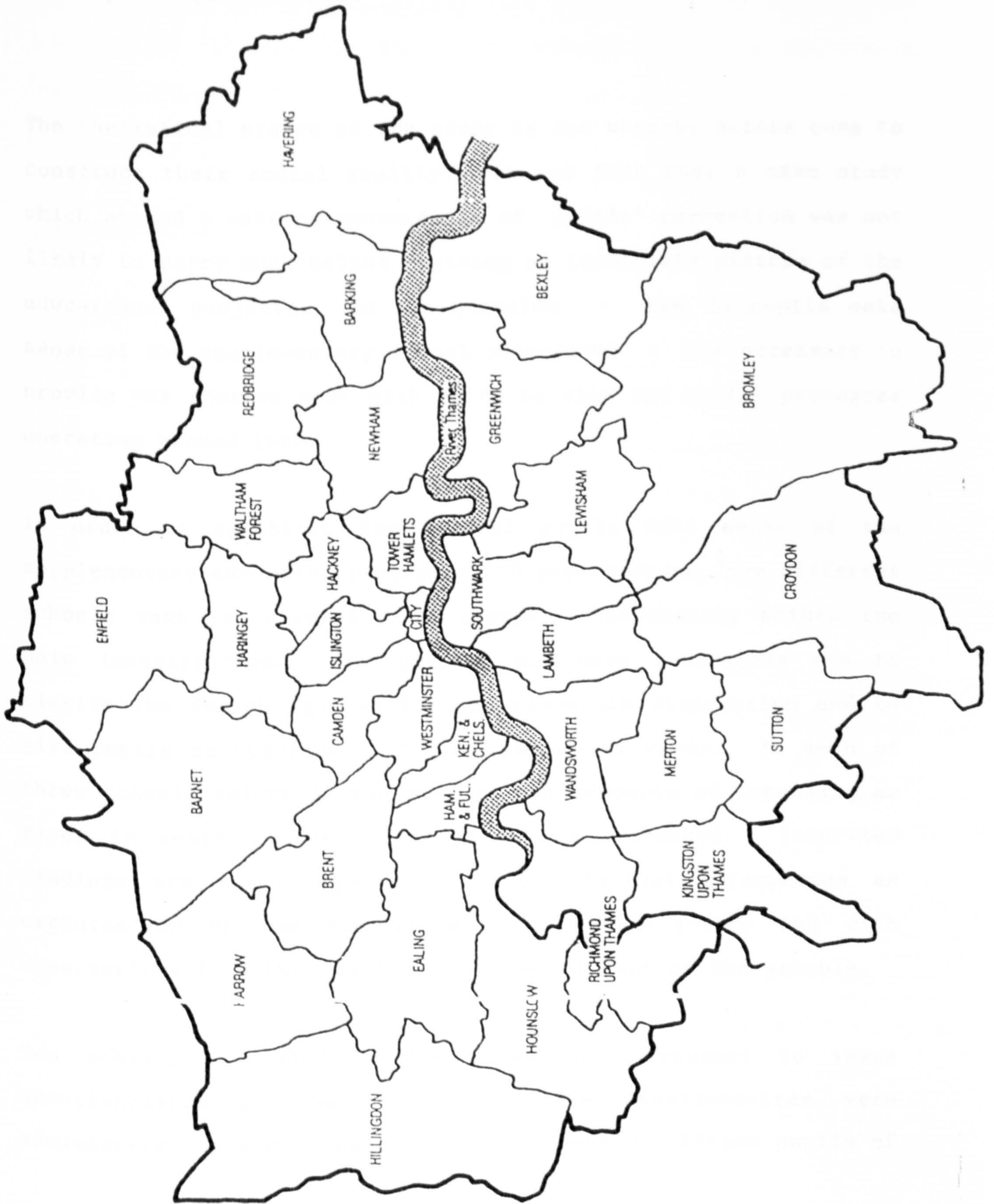
Ultimately, the study was jointly created by the researcher and the respondents and while it was the researcher who initiated the conversations the input of the respondent contributed considerably to the direction of the interviews. Most interviewees perceived that the researcher was generally sympathetic with their objectives and in many cases, the researcher shared nationality, age, gender, class and probably political beliefs with that of the respondents.

The Sample

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS - N = 41

TABLE 6.1

SCHOOL/PROJECT	NUMBER
R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School	7
G.C.R.E. Supplementary School	5
Lemuel Findlay School	7
Croydon Education Project	7
Winnie Mandela Supplementary School	3
New Cross Supplementary School	2
Afro-Caribbean S.S. Project	5
George Mitchell Supplementary School	4
Hackney African Organisation	1
	—
TOTAL	41
	—



The Pupils' Questionnaire

The theoretical stance of the study is one whereby actors come to construct their social reality. It was felt that a case study which showed a serious unawareness of pupils' perception was not likely to carry much weight - giving an incomplete picture of the educational projects. So the question - How do pupils make sense of the supplementary school programme? - was necessary to provide yet another peak with which to view the social processes operating around them.

In order to establish how typical pupils make sense of the supplementary education programme, 30 pupils drawn from different schools were interviewed - in groups - immediately before the main investigation. The purpose of these interviews was to clarify the insight gained through classroom observation and to give pupils an opportunity to air their own views. In each of three schools selected, the pupils' own accounts of schooling as given in semi-structured interviews are presented. Interview findings are then compared with such factual information as organisation of the time-table and the curriculum and with observations from the research diaries for each of the schools.

Ten schools responded to the researcher's request to issue questionnaires to their pupils. The questionnaires were administered by the researcher to a maximum of fifteen pupils of

each school. The questionnaires were completed under examination conditions, a process that was deemed necessary to avoid collusion and a distorted response.

Questionnaire Topics

- Question 1 - allowed pupils to state their age
- Questions 2 and 3 - to elicit data on the length of time the students have attended supplementary school and their fondness for the institutions
- Questions 4 to 6 - to elicit data on broad concepts and the way pupils describe themselves
- Question 7 - to elicit data on pupils' knowledge of black history
- Questions 8 to 10 - to elicit data on students' plans for the future, how they perceive their chances in life and the things that are most important to them in life
- Questions 11 - 13 - to elicit data on father's and mother's occupation in order to establish pupils' social class
- Questions 16 - 17 - to elicit data on pupils' perception of their parents' expectations in relation to performance at school, and to compare these with pupils' actual perception of their own performance.

The questionnaire was developed to elicit data on the areas above, which represented some of the major concerns voiced by pupils and teachers of supplementary schools. As the items reported by pupils were seen to be of wide-spread importance, both within and across schools, so they were translated into question topics. Having established the representativeness of the sample, it is necessary to guard against the problems of bias that could be present according to Moses and Kalton (1971 Pg. 79):

- (1) If the sampling is done by a non-random method, which generally means that the selection is consciously or unconsciously influenced by human choice
- (2) If the sampling frame (lists, index or other population records) which serves as the basis for selection does not cover the population adequately, completely or accurately
- (3) If some sections of the population are impossible to find or refuse to co-operate.

Other research problems existed which challenged the tradition and assumptions of case studies. In a conventional case study, the students of the ten schools would have had the opportunity to respond to the case study. This, however, was not practical due to the framework agreed upon by the researcher and the educational projects. Also, this strategy presupposes that the

same pupils would be in place one year after the research findings were accumulated. Also, in conventional case studies, the research findings are usually presented uncritically. In this study, the aim has been to present the research findings objectively but not uncritically. Croll (1986) pointed out:

"Such studies provide a valuable source of information both for those within and outside the education system. But when reading and judging such results, it is important to keep in mind that such results cannot provide a complete objective account of what is happening in classrooms and how teachers spend their time..... This is informed by a judgement about what is important and relevant. Such judgement will often be uncontentious and large scale descriptive studies usually contain a wealth of data relevant to a variety of purposes. But in understanding results from such studies, the reader must remember that it is important to be aware of the research procedures and operational definition employed, if the data reported is to be adequately understood." (Croll 1986 Pg. 10 - 11).

The feeling of having both the 'luxury and the dilemma' of attempting one of the few portrayals of the educational experiences within supplementary schools, could not easily be extinguished.

The Classroom Observation

As the researcher had adopted a non-participant (non interventionist) method of observation in supplementary schools, one of the major problems of adopting the setting came in answering the question - "What is being looked for and why?" Observation can often reveal characteristics of groups or

individuals that would have been impossible to discover by other means. For the researcher, there was a need for clarity of purpose in the observation. The approach to suspend judgement in order to understand what is involved in supplementary school teaching was also fraught with difficulty. This was because one seldom enters a school or classroom for the purpose of observation without holding preconceived ideas of what to look for.

Lacey (1976, Pg 65) set out to explain the drawbacks for a researcher without a distinct strategy:

- (1) The researcher has many hidden agendas but is not sufficiently clear about them to take them into account when assessing evidence
- (2) The observer syndrome: the feeling that the real action is going on elsewhere
- (3) The researcher can waste time meandering round and get drawn away from central issues.

In the preliminary stage, it was decided to observe each class within the twelve participating supplementary schools. These were to include particularly, the classes in Reading, English, Mathematics, Science and History. This was found to be over-

ambitious and the focus was narrowed to English, Mathematics and History.

To redress the possibility of a reactive effect it was necessary to create social distance and to avoid arousing unease or distraction. The strategy of marking books at the back of the classroom proved effective. It was possible to avoid eye contact with pupils and teachers, yet still be in a position to make notes. To the pupils, the activity of marking books was seen as a separate activity from class/teacher activity.

Interviewing Teachers

It was the original intention of this study that a selective sample of teachers from each of the twelve participating schools would be used to make some comparisons of teacher assessment of pupils' experience in the schools. However, interviewing such a sample presented a number of difficulties. As the main thrust of the research was to be directed at the pupils, a decision had to be made about the relative value of allocating research time to the teachers, as against looking specifically to pupils' experience of supplementary schooling.

Eventually, a compromise was found. In each school the co-ordinator was interviewed and this was identified as being a clear indication of the role of that supplementary school. The teacher interview topics are shown in Appendix 2 . The taped interviews from the teachers were listened to and notes were taken and information used as additional background information in various chapters. At the Camden Black Parents and Teachers Association and the Afro Caribbean Educational Project, the full-time employed project officers were interviewed, as their roles also doubled as the supplementary school co-ordinators. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made to interview the full-time project workers at the Afro Caribbean Supplementary School (Manor House) and the Josina Machel Supplementary School, and the idea was later abandoned. Apart from the formal interviews, fairly detailed conversations with other teachers took place around the

topic of the working structure of the supplementary schools. These conversations provided background information about the schools.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to give a general over-view of the methodological strategy undertaken. The chapter sought to explain the characteristics of the sample and to explain the design and purpose of the particular research instruments used.

In this section, a detailed chronological account of the research was given. The field work was carried out between 1988 - 1991. The chronology is presented in columns, thus making the outline fairly easy to comprehend. The left hand column indicates the stage of the research; the centre column indicates the time of each stage, and the right-hand column indicates the main sociological considerations of each stage of the research.

The chapter illustrated some of the problems and difficulties faced in carrying out research. On reflection, the aims of the research strategy were greatly over-ambitious - and the possible difficulties that were encountered - such as access to school records, some schools' reaction to the research and teachers' response to interviewing, were underestimated.

STAGE	TIME	CONSIDERATIONS
A. The Pilot Study Greenwich C.R.E & Robert Hart Memorial Schools	Dec. '88 - May '89	What is the scope of the study?
B. Visits to eight other other supplementary Education Projects Familiarisation with organisations	May '89 - July '89	What is feasible for one researcher to tackle? Would the projects tolerate the research proposals? What compromises are needed in the structure?
C. Questionnaires given to: 1.Learie Constantine SS. 2.West Indian Saturday School(Harlesden) 3.Afro Caribbean Supp. Educ. Service 4.Ebony S. Ed. Project	Sept.'89 - Jan. '90	Will questionnaires provide the adequate data on supplementary schooling?
D. Formal Interviews with pioneers of Supplementary School Movement	Jan. '90 - June '90	Could we capture an accurate history of the Supplementary School Movement in London.
E. The Main Investigation Issue Questionnaires to teachers Collect completed Questionnaires Issue Pupil Questionnaires Interview co-ordinators and teachers - observe teaching of groups key subjects. Inspect Teachers' com- pleted questionnaires	1990 - 1991	Could I identify teachers' opinions of black children within the State Ed. system? How do they see their role? To understand pupils' attitudes to SS. and to identify their social class. What contribution do Supplementary Schools make? What do they suggest?

STAGE	TIME	CONSIDERATION
Attend National Association of Supplementary Schools (NASS) Annual General Meeting	June '90	Is the National Assoc. one in name only?
Attend Meetings on National Curriculum and the Black Community And The Black Governors' Collective	April '89 - May '90	
Group Interviews with pupils	Jan. '91 - April '91	How do pupils make sense of the organisations?
Casting Data into Tables for analysis	June-July '91	

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS OF STUDY

The Pupil Questionnaire

The pupil questionnaire was issued to 120 pupils of eight supplementary schools during the period of 1988 to 1991. The questionnaire was designed to investigate pupils' attitudes to supplementary schools and the period over which they attended voluntarily. Questionnaire items relating to pupils' self-concept and self esteem, that might have some bearing on their knowledge of black history, were also included.

The respondents of the eight schools used in the survey were categorised into social classes according to Registrar General's classification. As Table 7.1 shows, the overwhelming majority of the pupils were categorised as being in classes three, four and five.

TABLE 7.1

SOCIAL CLASSES	1 & 2	3	4	5
% of Respondents:	28	56	30	11

The classification was based on the information given by pupils

as regards the occupation of both parents. Pupils aged 12 - 14 were asked to give an indication of their social class; and many tended to identify (in so far as social class is a frame of reference at all) with the working class.

TABLE 7.2

SEX:	MALE	FEMALE
	56	70

This represented the division of the sexes within the eight schools accurately.

TABLE 7.3

AGE	NUMBER	% OF SAMPLE
8 & 9	10	8
10	26	21
11	14	11
12	23	18
13	23	18
14 & 15	30	24

TABLE 7.4

SOCIAL CLASS

This was determined by occupation of father and mother. Where relevant, the higher social class of either parent predominated.

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% of SAMPLE
1. Professional/Managerial	5	4
2. Intermediate Non-Manual	23	18
3. Other Non-manual	4	3
4. Skilled Manual	52	42
5. Semi-Skilled/Unskilled Manual	24	19
6. Unemployed	6	5
7. Deceased (Both Parents)	-	
8. Housewife	10	8
9. No Information	1	1

Respondents with parents in social classes one and two, higher administrative, professional and self-employed business people, are broadly upper and middle class; those with parents in social class three, skilled workers and others in white collar clerical work are broadly lower middle class. Those with parents in classes four and five, in semi- and un-skilled work, are, broadly, working class.

TABLE 7.5

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Pupils were asked to indicate whether they wished to go on to higher education when they leave school, or find a job.

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% of SAMPLE
Go on to University or Polytechnic	97	77
Find a Job	25	20

TABLE 7.6

Pupils gave an indication of the sort of job they would most like to do.

CAREER ASPIRATIONS(if they had the chance)

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% of SAMPLE
Professional/Managerial	61	48%
Inter: Non-Manual	13	10%
Other Non-Manual (Artistic Sporting)	21	16%
Skilled Manual	13	10%
Semi/Unskilled Manual	-	--
Housewife	--	--
Don't know	18	14%

Figure 1.1. Age division of pupil questionnaire sample within the eight schools.

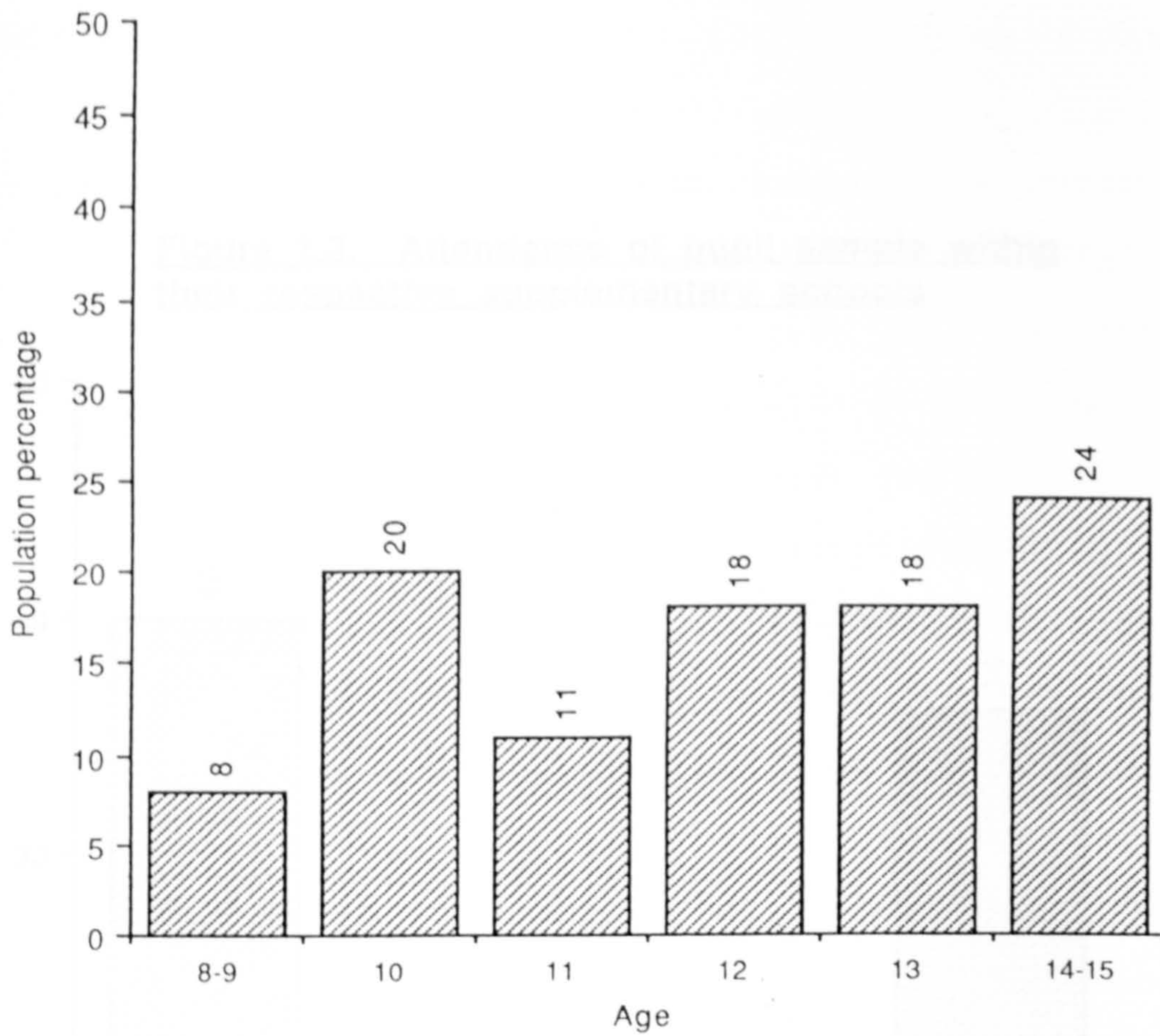


Figure 1.2. Social class of pupils.

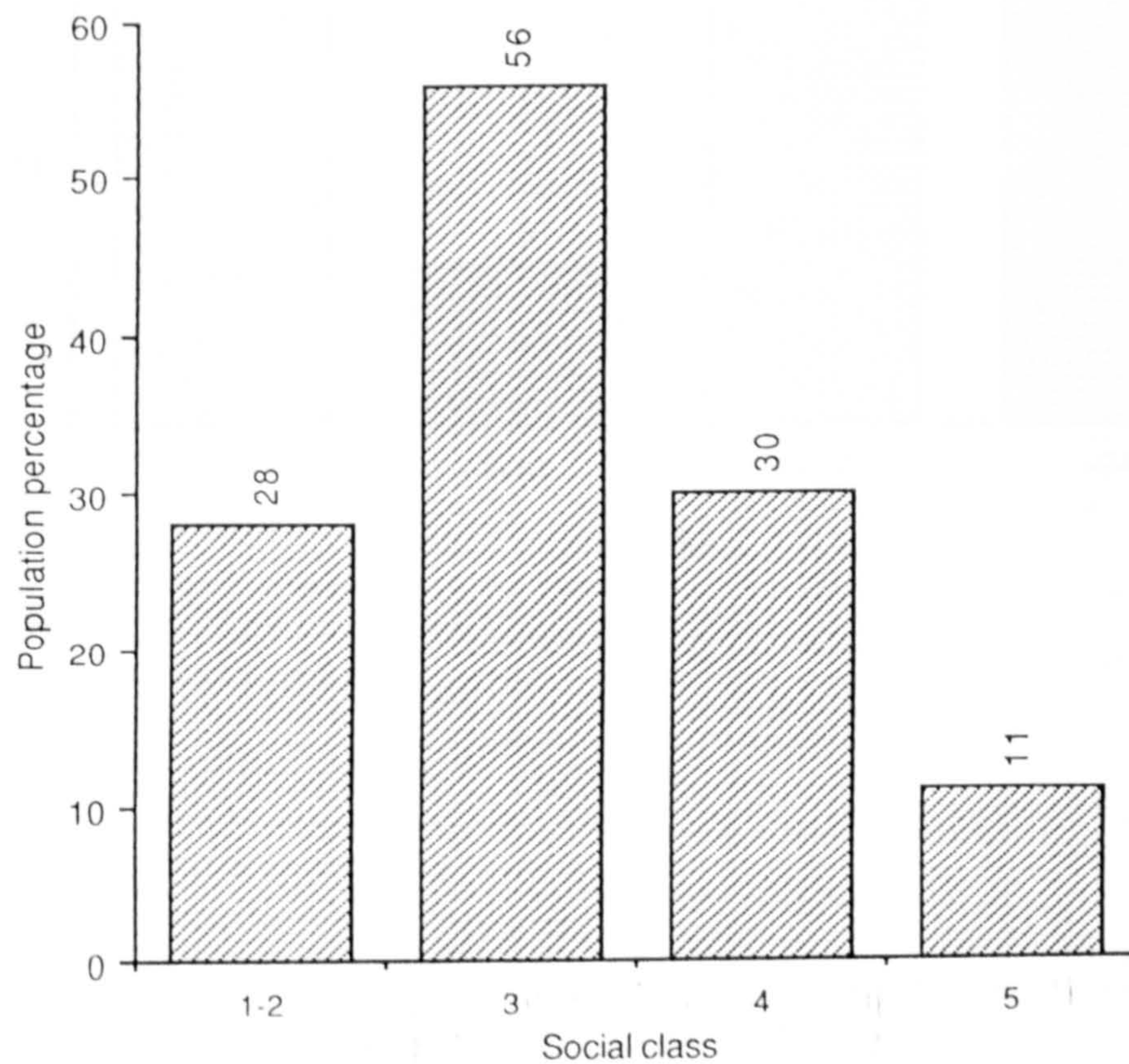
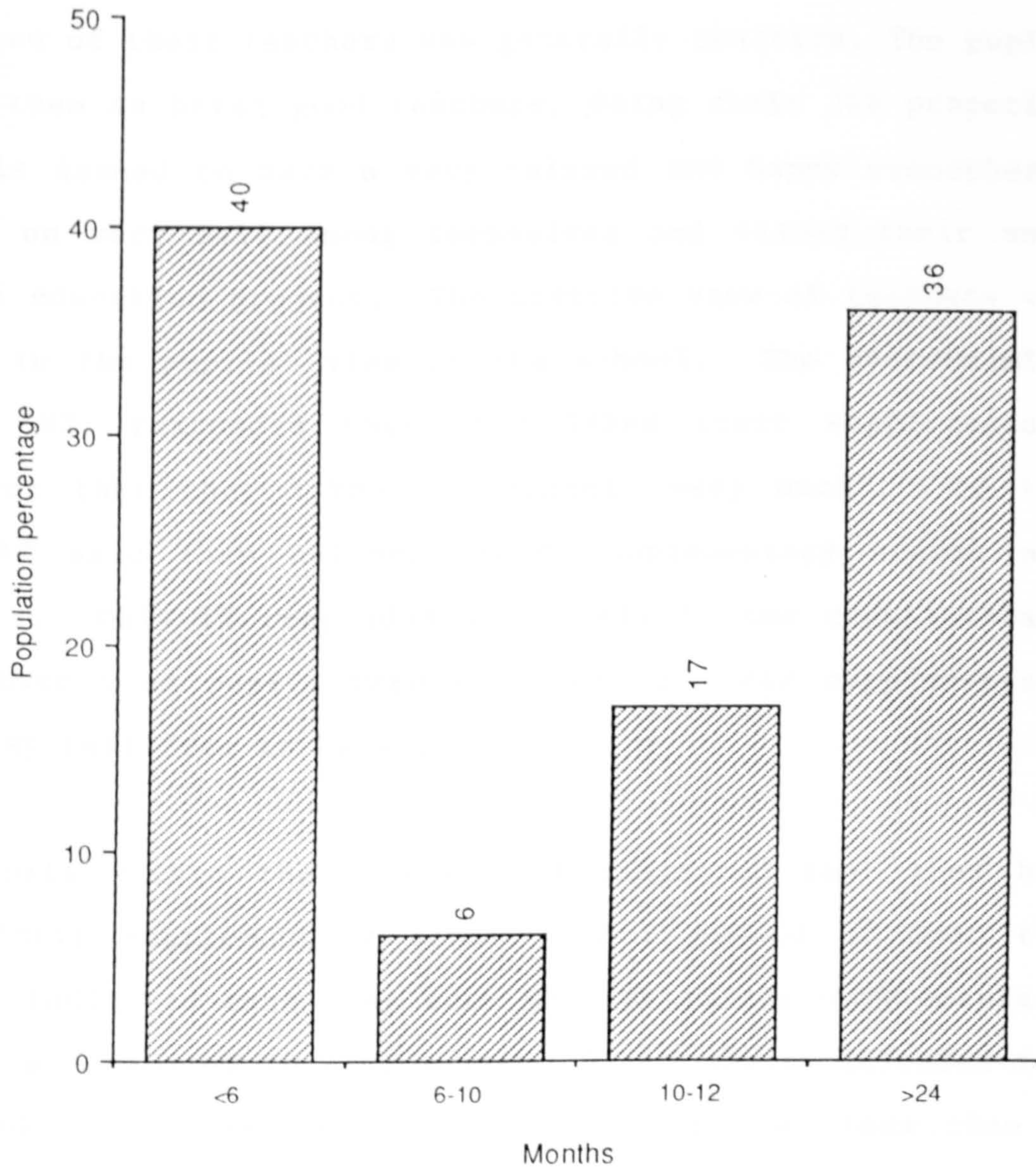


Figure 1.3. Attendance of pupil sample within their respective supplementary schools



SOCIAL CLIMATE

The investigator had ample opportunity to assess the social atmosphere and routine relationship within the eight supplementary schools. In his opinion, they were good and the pupils' view of their teachers was generally positive. The pupils perceived them as being good teachers, doing their job properly. The schools seemed to have a very relaxed and happy atmosphere. Staff got on very well among themselves and valued their work within the education project. The positive view of teachers was reflected in the pupils' view of the school. The overwhelming majority, 68%, responded that they liked their supplementary school - or that they liked the school "very much". Of the sample, 31% said they neither liked supplementary school nor disliked it. Only 1% responded negatively to the supplementary school. Even when pupils were critical of their supplementary school, they felt free to be so.

Of the pupils within the sample, 36% indicated that they had attended their supplementary school for a period of over two years; 17% indicated that they were members of the supplementary school for a period of 10 - 12 months; 6% of pupils attended for a period of 6 - 10 months; and 40% attended for less than 6 months. This may indicate that (a) there is a rapid turn-over of students in supplementary school (b) The majority of students seem to drop out before completing their second year at supplementary school. If this assessment is accurate, one may

deduce that in spite of the fact that the views of the majority of pupils on supplementary school were generally positive, this did not guarantee continuous attendance into the second year. This would confirm an impression I had that not too much attention has been given to the drop-out rate within supplementary schools.

In question four, the respondents were asked to identify how important a number of concepts were to them - i.e. ambition, good luck, getting on with teachers, self confidence, a good brain, a good English accent, a suitable appearance and hard work. It was necessary to ascertain how African Caribbean children in supplementary schools perceived these attributes as prerequisite for getting on in life. There was an overwhelming agreement among pupils that ambition, self confidence, a good brain and hard work were very important - the response being: 71%, 63%, 66% and 70% respectively. Of the pupils aged 8 - 15 years old, 87% of all respondents felt that 'ambition' was either very important or fairly important. 78% felt that 'self confidence' and 'a good brain' were either very important or fairly important. 84% responded similarly when asked to categorise 'hard work'. Only 4% felt that 'ambition' was not important or did not matter. Responding to 'self-confidence', it was 5%. Of the sample, 9% felt that 'a good brain' was either not important or did not matter and in response to 'hard work', it was 6%.

There was virtually no difference in the way pupils perceived 'good luck' and 'getting on with teachers'. 60% of respondents felt that these were very important or fairly important; 25% of respondents felt that 'getting on with teachers' was either not important or 'doesn't matter'. How far does this throw light on the relationship of African Caribbean children and their teachers within main-stream school? Should the question have made a distinction so as to clarify or compare pupils' response to supplementary school teachers and main stream school teachers? It is important to note that 15% of pupils did not respond to this question. Was this just a reluctance to categorise all teachers or was it a reflection, more probably, of how teachers in general are perceived?

On the question of 'a good English accent', just one half the sample, 53%, felt it was either very important or fairly important. 37% of all respondents felt it was either not important or didn't matter. 10% of pupils did not respond to this question.

The traditional theories which have been to explain the low achievement of African Caribbean pupils have concentrated on the poor self-image that has supposedly predominated with this group. Most psychologists seem to agree that adequate self-esteem is necessary, but not a sufficient condition of adequate identity (Verma and Bagley 1982). It was felt that self-concept was the precursor of higher aspirations and upward social mobility in

working-class and black children. Stone (1981) pointed out that black children have sources of self-pride and do not simply introject the negative views of the white society (pg 234).

There is some indication that there was a systematic variation in the way the different age groups perceived themselves within the supplementary school sample. Within the sample, 56% responded positively to the statement, 'I am well liked'. For the 10 year olds, it was 68%, for the 12 year olds, it was 50%, and only 45% of 13 year olds felt that the statement 'I am well liked' accurately described themselves. For the older age group (age 14 & 15), it rose to 63%. Just over half, 53%, felt that the statement, 'I am fairly bright' described themselves. Amongst 14-15 year olds this proportion stood at 50%; amongst 8 and 9 year olds, 67%. Only 44% of the entire sample identified with the statement 'I am well behaved'. An even smaller proportion of the sample, 41%, agreed that the statement 'I am bright, but lazy', accurately described themselves. This is compared with the 53% that described themselves as being 'fairly bright'. It can be assumed here, that the self-concept of African Caribbean children is very positive indeed, and where negative concepts are implied, i.e. the stigma of 'being lazy', they would quite openly reject it. The community based educational initiatives within the black community are essential in generating the happy atmosphere conducive to learning.

In response to the statements, 'I work quite hard' and 'my work is quite good', 56% of the total sample responded positively. 60% agreed with the statement, 'I can read quite well'. In response to the two statements, 'I can read quite well' and 'my maths is quite good', 78% of the 8 and 9 year olds agreed that it accurately described them.

The pupils expressed very positive views of their supplementary school teachers - 95% expressing satisfaction with their experience at their supplementary school. The positive view of teachers is reflected in the pupils' view of the education projects. They believe that their project is run efficiently, gives a good education, prepares them for a multi-racial society, will help them to get good examination results, will help them to develop a sense of responsibility and enable them to make the best of their lives in the world of work. The pupils were asked to give an indication of their perception of their parents' reasons for sending them to supplementary school. Some of the responses are listed below :

'To learn more about black people.'

'Need help with my homework, particularly Maths and English.'

'To get me out of the house.'

'I am lazy - I am bad at Maths.'

'To have more opportunity in life than my parents.'

'I am behind at school - It is something to do on Saturdays.'

'To get to the top of the class.'

'To get some extra help with my school work.'

'To get a better education and to learn more.'

'I was told to go - and I wanted to go. They did not give any reasons.'

'My mother works at the supplementary school.'

'To learn to speak better English.'

'They want me to do well in Saturday school so I can get a good job when I am older.'

'Because the teachers in school do not take enough notice.'

'Don't know.'

'Because it helps your memory and it keeps you busy.'

'To help me get into a good secondary school.'

'You need to know more, so you're going to Saturday School.'

'My Dad said a little more coaching outside school would do good for me.'

'I am not very bright.'

'Because my Mum was doing a project on Saturday schools, she decided to send me along to improve my work.'

'They want me to be in the top class.'

'To learn Black History and a lot more about my culture.'

'To get a higher I.Q.'

'To learn about Black people - because white people don't care.'

'Because in my school they don't give enough work.'

'To get away from the television.'

'I came myself.'

'My teacher wanted me to go.'

Figure 2.1. Educational aspirations of pupils

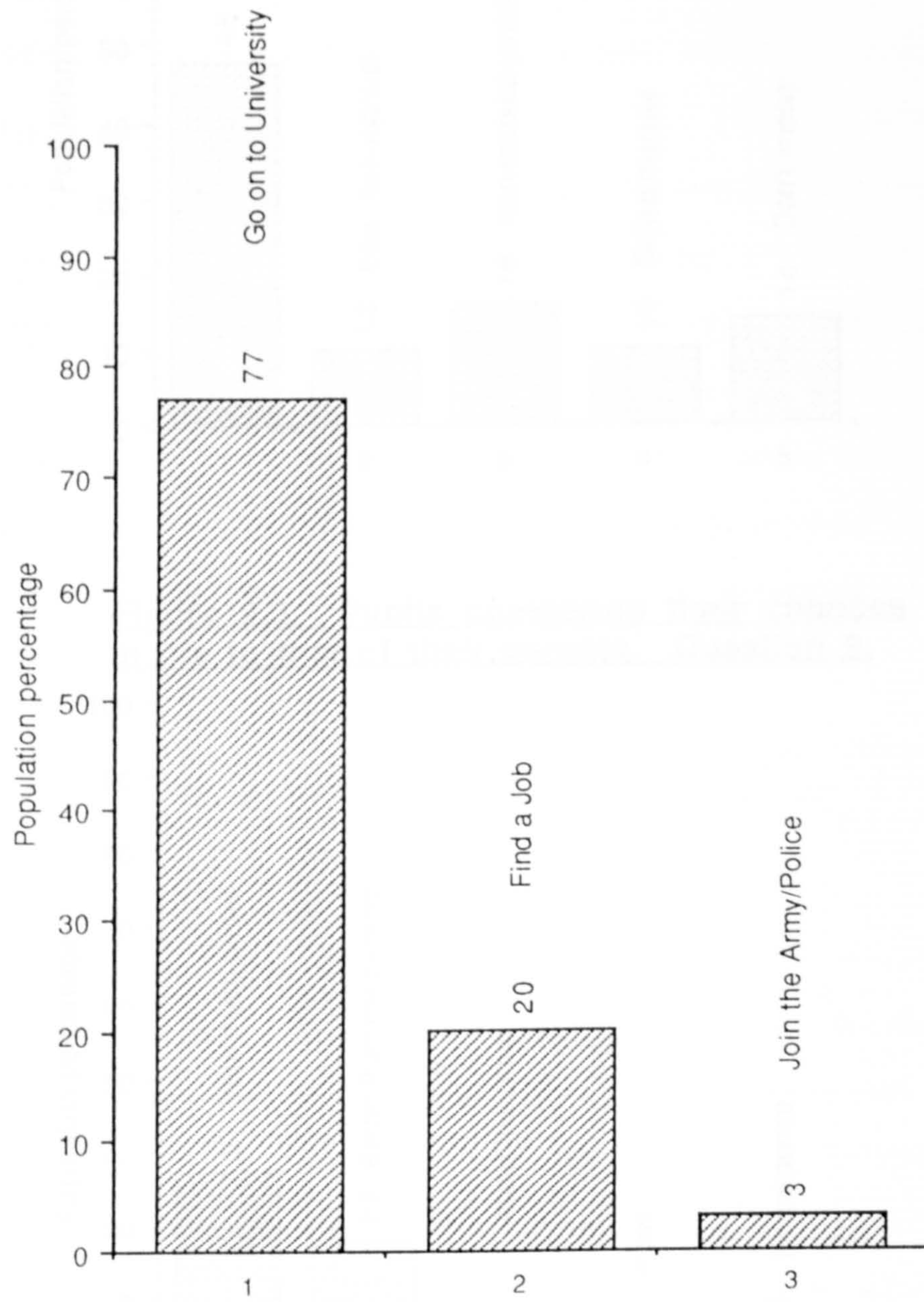


Figure 2.2. Career aspirations of pupils.

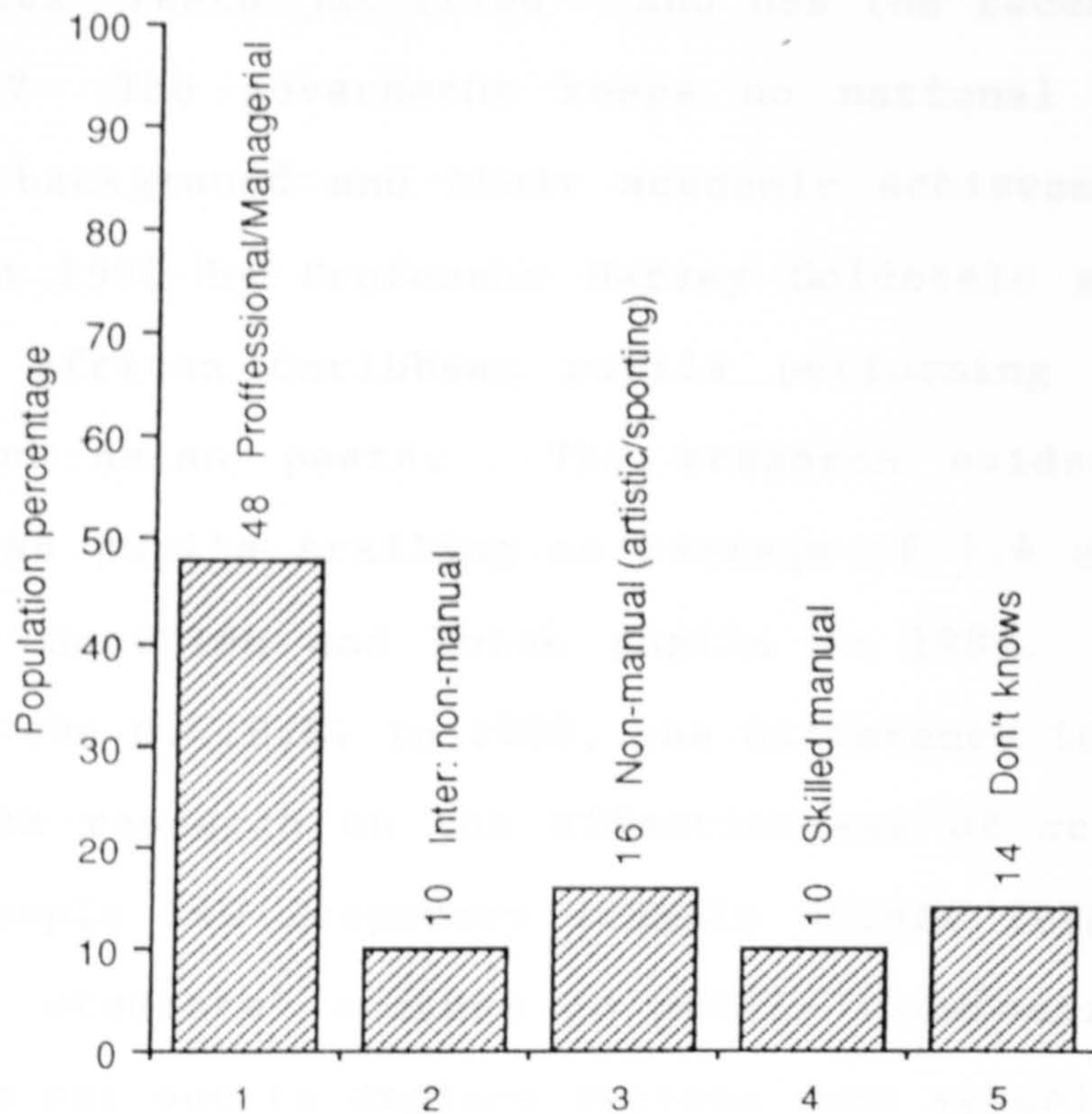
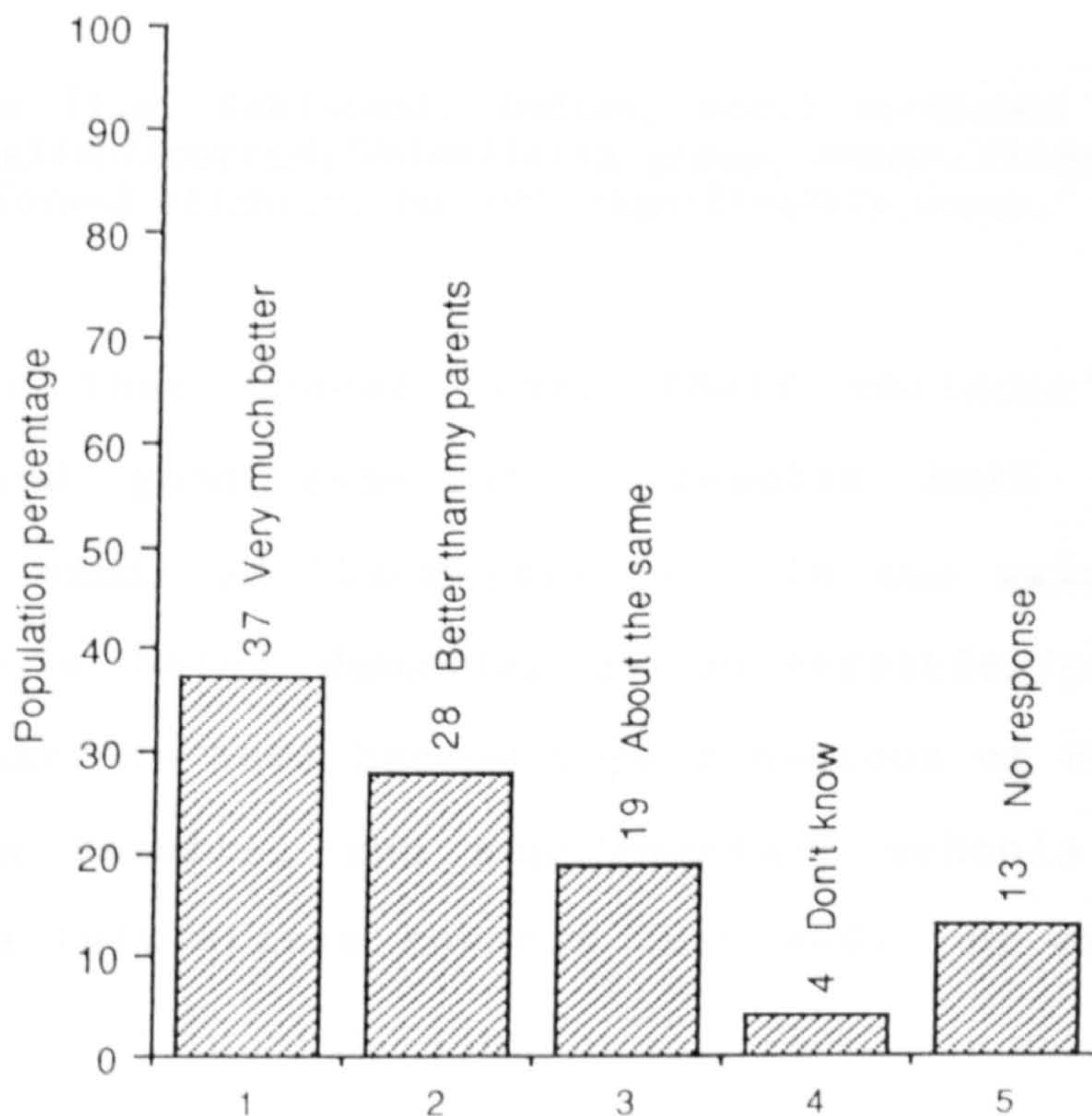


Figure 2.3. Pupils comparing their chances in life to that of their parents. Question 9.



Are these parents' fears justified - and has the recent research borne this out? The government keeps no national figures on pupils' ethnic background and their academic achievement, but a recent study in 1990 by Professor Harvey Goldstein and Desmond Nuttall showed African Caribbean pupils performing below both their white and Asian peers. The research evidence showed African Caribbean pupils trailing an average of 1.4 exam points behind English, Scottish and Welsh pupils in 1987. After the introduction of the G.C.S.E. in 1988, the difference increased to two points. The research on the effectiveness of schools, and using as its sample 140 Secondary schools within ILEA, used as its yardstick, students' success in public examination at age 16. The authors set out to explore whether some schools are more effective than others - not only in the general sense, but also in terms of being equally effective to ethnic minority groups. The report stated:

"All ethnic groups (i.e. Pakistani, Indian, etc.) performed significantly better than the English/Scottish/Welsh/Irish group, except those of Caribbean background who performed slightly, but not significantly worse." (pg 773)

It would appear that concern over their children's academic performance and good examination results hold a dominant position in the minds of black parents. In the wake of higher entry requirements being demanded by universities/polytechnics and employers, parents have become more conscious of the need for good examination results, and supplementary schools are being seen as positive initiatives towards that end. My own personal

experience in dealing with parents would lead me to believe that they certainly do not see examination results as all important. It would seem to me that examination results are important to the parents but that a good general education is yet more important.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents, 77%, expected to go on to university or polytechnic after leaving school. In this section, the respondents were required to select only one statement (Question 8). Where two statements were offered, the researcher recorded the first response only. For the 14 and 15 year olds, 83% indicated their intention to go on to university or polytechnic; 78% for the 13 year olds, 75% for the 12 year olds, 80% of the 10 year olds, and 67% of the 8 - 9 year olds respectively. Of the entire sample, only 20% felt that upon leaving school, they would get a job and work full time. One pupil expressed the intention to join the army and another one pupil felt he/she may join the police force. The investigator interpreted this as showing that the academic aspirations of the immediate community of African Caribbean children were very high indeed. As a whole there was not much to differentiate the intentions of boys and girls within the sample. Both groups expressed a preference for higher education, 78% and 75% respectively.

In Question 10, the respondents were asked to identify which of three things was most important to them: (1) A new car (2) A good education (3) A good standard of living. Pupils were asked

to select one statement only. Where two were offered, the investigator recorded the first response only. Only 2% of respondents felt that a new car was more important to them than the other statements; 78% of all respondents indicated that 'a good education' was more important to them; 19% opted for a 'good standard of living'. It would appear that the overwhelming majority of pupils attending supplementary schools understand the value of a good education and have ambitions to pursue same in a higher education institution. The data do not tell though, the percentage of respondents whose aspirations are realised.

There was some clear indication that African Caribbean children attending supplementary schools expected for themselves better chances in life (in Britain) than their parents had had. This was supported from the response to Question 9 of the questionnaire which asked respondents to compare their own chances in life with those of their parents. 64% of total respondents thought their chances in life would be very much better or simply better than their own parents' chances were. 19% of total respondents thought their chances in life were about the same as their parents. Only 4% thought their own chances were inferior to those of their parents. 13% did not know. Despite this high degree of optimism about their future educational and occupational opportunities in Britain, African Caribbean students are by no means ignorant of the social hurdles they face when they ascend the real world of work. The

overwhelming majority, 88%, described Britain as a racist society, with no equal opportunities for black people.

Their attitude towards their experience in supplementary school was reflected in the pupils' image of self. A remarkably small percentage believed that they were below average ability in their mainstream schools. When one looks at specific age groups within the sample, one observes an interesting pattern in the response. Exactly half of the 12 year olds (50%) believed they were one of the best (academically) in their class. This is compared with 36% of 10 year olds, 33% of 11 year olds, 21% of 13 year olds, 30% of 14 and 15 year olds and 11% of 8 and 9 year olds. Despite the inevitable comparisons with the different age groups, and hence somewhat unfavourable judgement on relative ability, the respondents saw themselves as being fairly successful at school. 52% described themselves as being above the middle of the class, with 43% describing themselves as being of average ability. The overwhelming majority perceived that their parents wanted them to be one of the best in their class. It would seem that pupils' perceptions of parental expectations seem very consistent indeed and over all the difference in response to the questionnaire item - according to social class, was not significant. This was not altogether surprising, since the majority of the schools' clientele were working class. Generally, one might expect to discern an association between social class of the family and the child's occupational aspirations and expectations. This, however, is more complicated where African Caribbean people are concerned.

Figure 3.1. Pupils' Perception of Parental Expectations. Question 16.

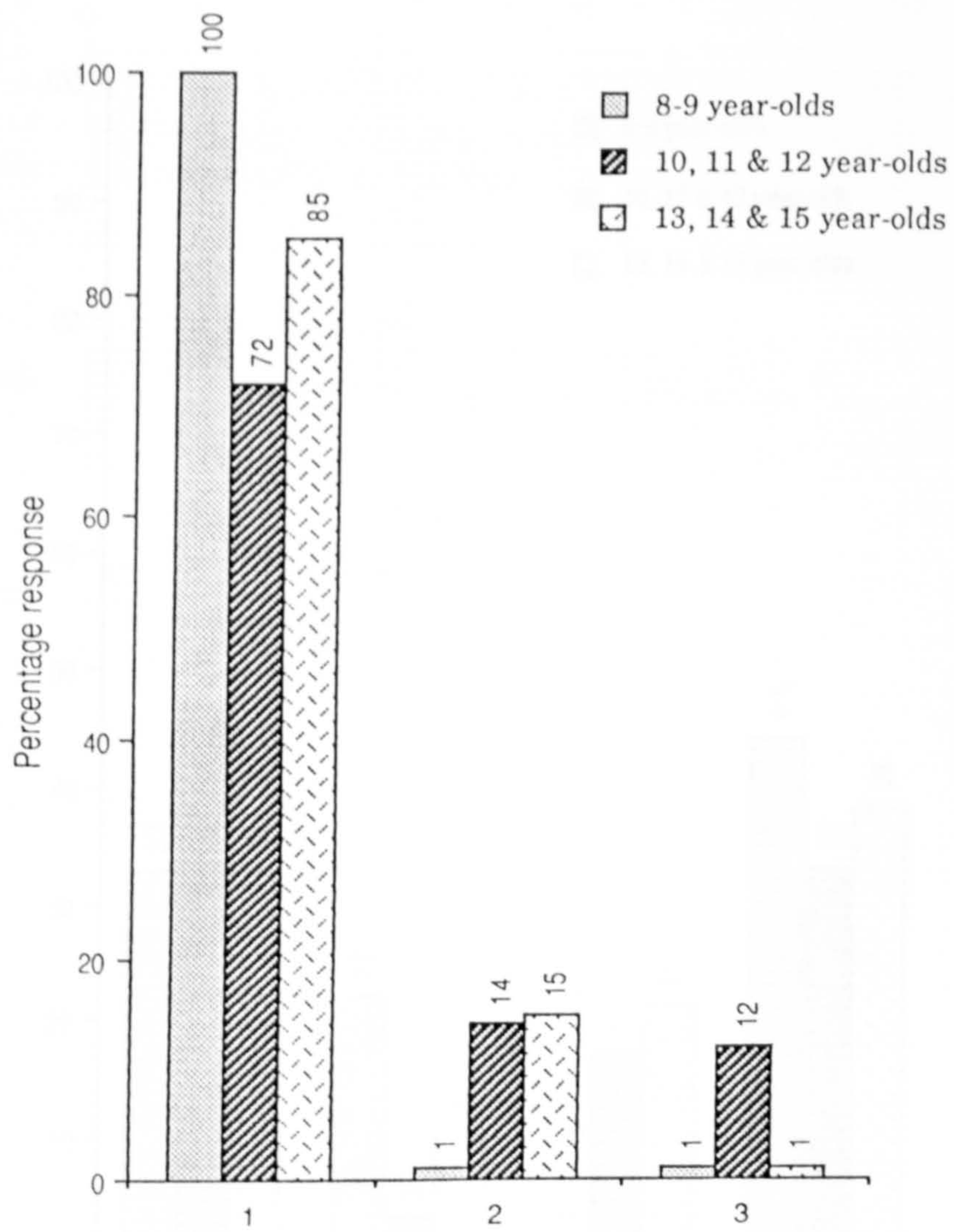
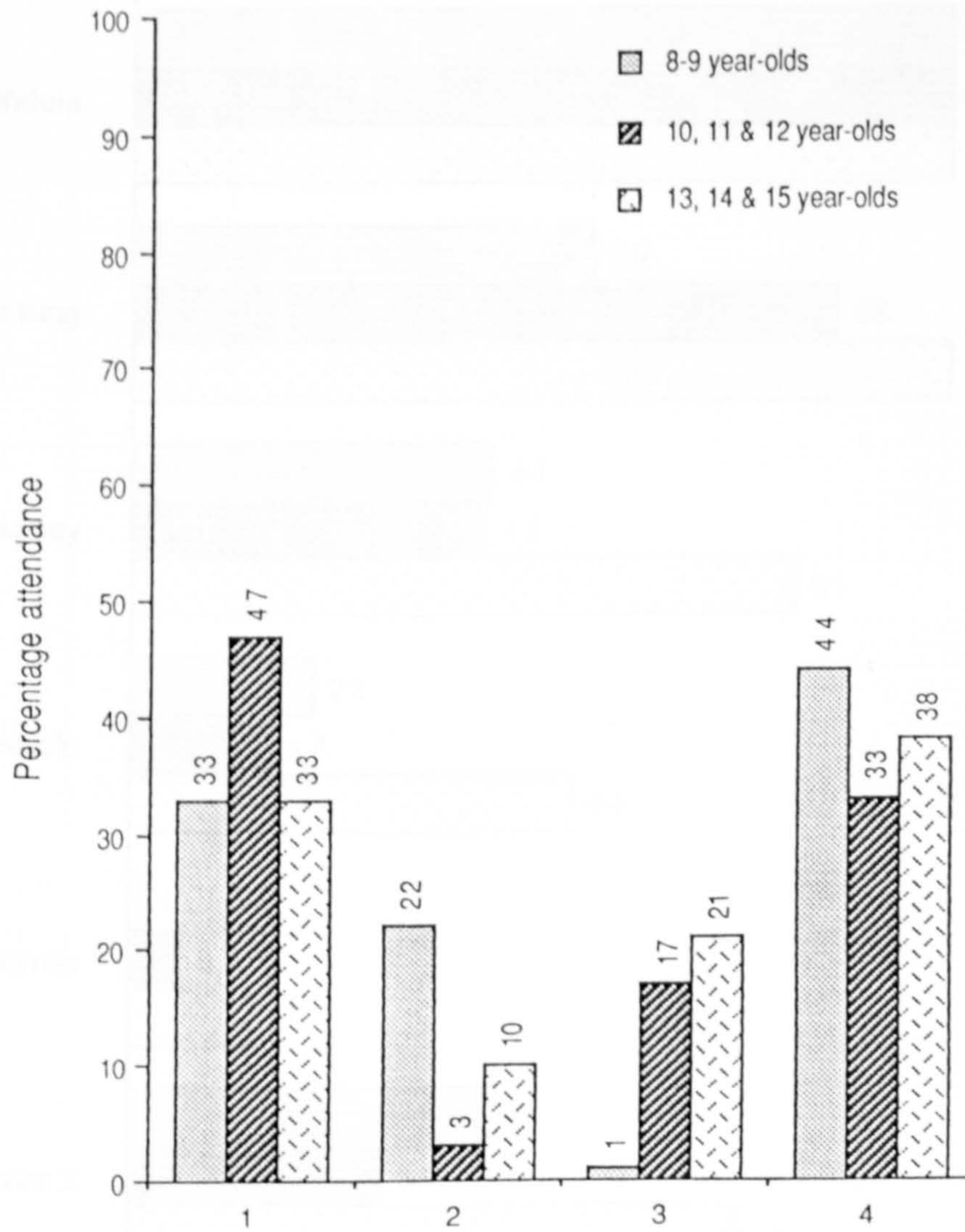


Figure 3.2. Attendance of pupil sample within their respective supplementary schools.



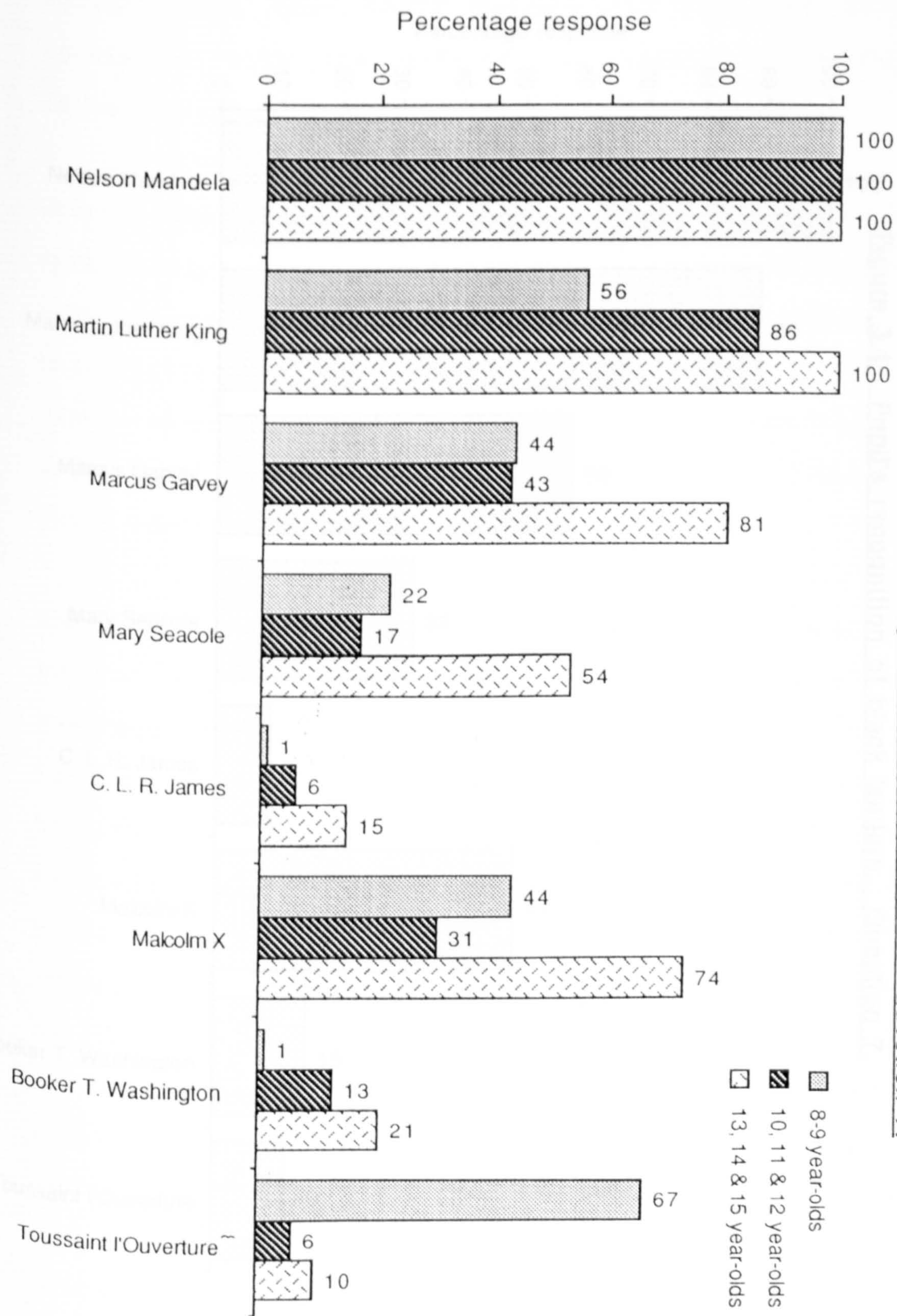


Figure 3.3. Pupils' Recognition of Black Leaders. Question 7.

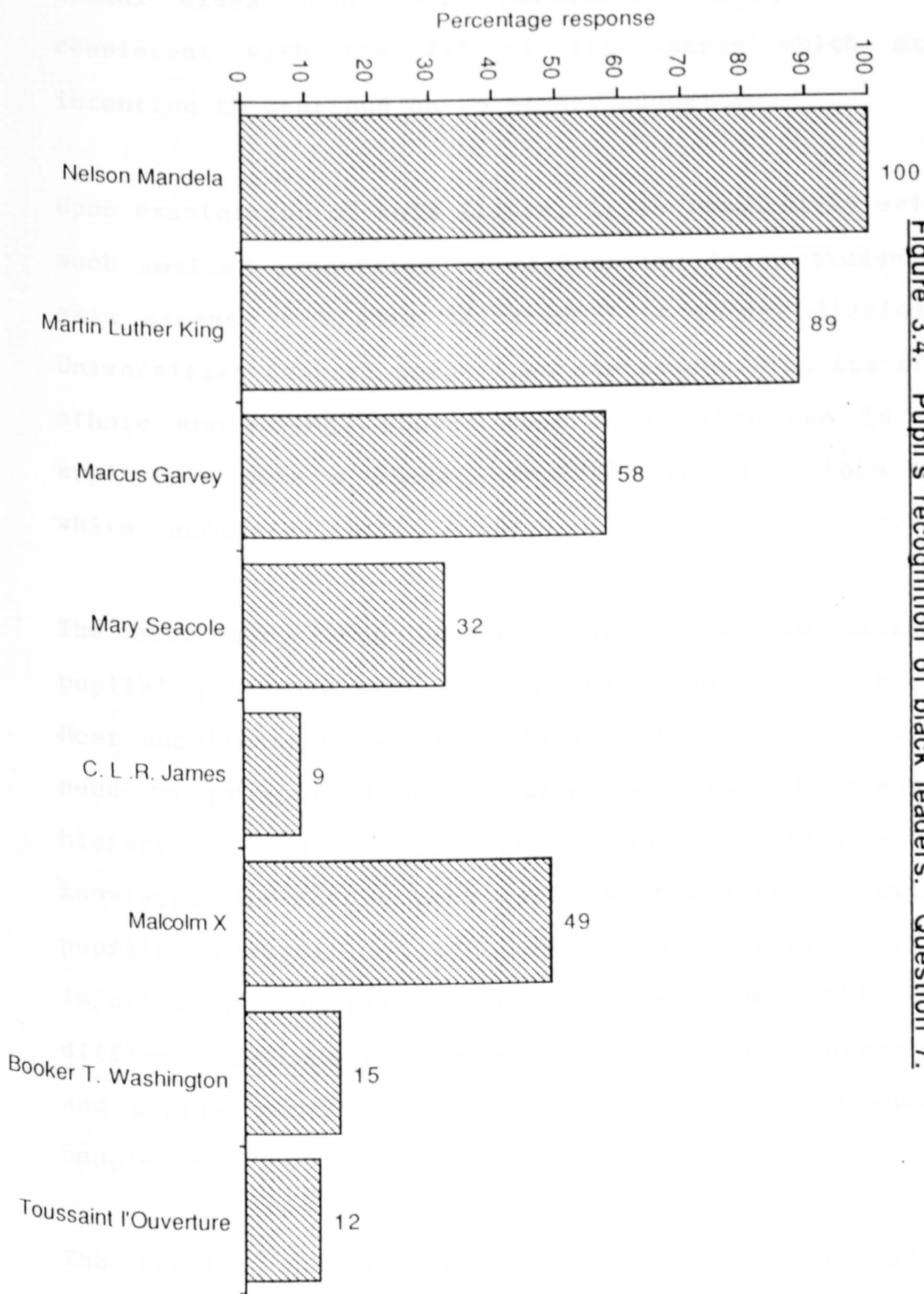


Figure 3.4. Pupil's recognition of black leaders. Question 7.

Almost the entire sample aspired to and expected jobs of a higher social class than their parents'. This, of course, seems consistent with the 77% of the sample which expressed an intention to continue on to higher education.

Upon examination of this figure, it is immediately evident that a much smaller proportion of African Caribbean students currently gain access to higher education. A recent disclosure by the Universities Central Council on Admissions from its first year of ethnic monitoring, showed that fewer than one in three black applicants gets a place, compared with more than half of all white candidates (U.C.C.A 1991).

The most surprising and worrying detail to emerge from the pupils' questionnaire item was the knowledge of black history. Most supplementary schools claim to have been set up around the need to provide black children with some knowledge of their history and culture. To design a questionnaire item to test this knowledge was not an easy task and the item was limited to the pupil's recognition of key black figures of historical importance. Despite rigorous pre-testing, this item proved difficult to codify. As a compromise, eight names were listed and pupils were asked to tick the box if they knew who these people were.

The results showed that the entire sample recognised Nelson Mandela, while 89% knew who Dr. Martin Luther King was. Only 58%

of the sample had heard of Marcus Garvey and Mary Seacole fared much worse - 32%. Less than half of the entire sample - 49%, knew who Malcolm X was, and for C.L.R. James, Booker T. Washington and Toussaint L'Ouverture, the percentage was 9%, 15% and 12% respectively. To the investigator, this was alarming indeed. Was black history really being taught in supplementary schools? If efforts were being made to teach black children about their culture and their history, who determined its content?

It is not my intention to draw a comprehensive view of the supplementary schools' history programme from our questionnaire item, but it does however, imply a curriculum weakness in some projects. In fact, the evidence suggests that the teaching of black history was almost non-existent in some supplementary school projects. It might be argued that this may be due to the pressure, placed upon the projects - to justify success in terms of enabling better examination successes.

Others might attribute this to the excessively 'bourgeois' nature of the curriculum culture. The new 'sociology of knowledge' would ascribe the dichotomy between the official cultural values of the supplementary school projects and those of the present inheritors of this tradition. This elite has the power to define what is culturally valuable, where emphasis should be placed and ignores or down-grades the values within the local community. Whether we accept these criticisms or not, there is no doubt that

school cultural values raise serious curriculum questions which the supplementary schools need to address .

The Teacher Questionnaire

The first section of the questionnaire was devoted to questions designed to elicit the extent of teachers' connection with the institutions. Of a total sample of 41 teachers, 54% were female and 46% were male. From the total, 29% of teachers had been teaching in supplementary schools for less than one year, 36% for one to two years, 21% for 3 - 5 years and 15% of all teachers within the sample had been teaching in supplementary schools for 6 - 10 years. A quarter of the teachers had taught at one other supplementary school before the present post.

As can be seen from results summarised in Table 7.7, a very high proportion of teachers within the sample held a post of responsibility within their supplementary school project (34%).

TABLE 7.7 POST OF RESPONSIBILITY

	TOTAL	RESPONSIBILITY POST
Male Teachers	22	8
Female Teachers	19	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	41	14
Percentage	100%	34%

TABLE 7.8 ETHNIC ORIGINS OF TEACHERS - BY SEX

TOTAL BASE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%
All Teachers: 41				
African/Caribbean	20	91	17	89
Asian	-	-	-	-
Black British	2	9	-	-
White British	-	-	1	5

TABLE 7.9 SUBJECT AREAS OF TEACHERS

	MALE	FEMALE	%
Maths	11	5	
Science	7	7	
English	17	10	
History	6	2	
Reading	4	5	
Geography			
Foreign Languages	3	3	
English & Maths	12	13	

As can be seen from the results summarised in Table II, 90% of the supplementary school teachers within the sample were of African/Caribbean background. Another 5% described themselves as Black British. An accurate percentage of white teachers within Supplementary schools was not represented in the research sample.

SUBJECT AREAS

The data, Table 7.9, gives an indication of the subject areas that form the bedrock of the eight supplementary schools. From the data, teachers are more likely to be flexible in the subject areas they teach rather than be confined to one area. Some supplementary schools apply a very systematic monitoring programme - carried out by teachers using established test instruments, for example, N.F.E.R. tests, throughout the pupil's time at the supplementary school. In other schools, there were no assessment procedure within the school's framework.

Teachers were asked details of their qualifications. This was done to ascertain the proportion of qualified teachers within the sample.

TABLE 7.10 TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

Total No. of Teachers = 41	No.	%
Trained Teachers' Certificate	1	2
Certificate of Education	2	5
Cert.of Ed. & Trained Teacher's Cert.	1	2
1st Degree (No training)	5	12
1st Deg. & Post Grad. Cert (inc. B.Ed,)	18	44
1st Deg., Further Deg.,(No Training)	4	9
1st Deg., Further Deg., P.G.C.E.	7	17
No qualifications	--	--
Some other qualifications	3	7

TABLE 7.11 TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Trained Teachers' Certificate	1	5	-	-
Certificate of Education	2	9	-	-
Cert. of Ed. & Trained Teacher's Cert	1	5	-	-
1st Degree (No Training)	2	9	3	16
1st Deg. & Post Grad. Cert(inc. B.Ed)	11	53	8	42
1st Deg., Further Deg. (No Training)	1	5	3	16
1st Deg., Further Deg., P.G.C.E.	2	9	5	26
No qualifications	-		-	
Some other qualifications	1	5		

Nearly 71% of teachers within the sample were qualified as teachers. Of the remainder, 22% had either a first degree or a first degree and a higher degree. Only 7% of teachers had no higher education or teacher qualifications, but described themselves as having some other qualifications. Over all, 26% of supplementary school teachers in the sample had post-graduate qualifications. The majority of female teachers were degree holders (95%) and of the entire sample, 44% of teachers possessed a first degree and a post graduate certificate of education (this proportion included B.Ed degree holders).

Tables 7.10 and 7.11 press home the point that generally, the staff of supplementary schools are very well qualified, and this must have been a dramatic development from the earlier days when these projects were set up.

With reference to the interviews conducted by the investigator on the sample of supplementary school teachers, some interesting differences arise on how the role of the supplementary school teacher should be perceived. Two thirds of all respondents wanted himself/herself to be seen as a person concerned with the individual child's whole development, and only 10% wanted him/herself to be thought of as a purveyor of facts and a teacher of skills.

TABLE 7.12

THE CURRICULUM/PROGRAMME

N = 41

QUESTION	YES		NO	
	No.	%	No.	%
12 Well defined or structured curriculum	28	68%	13	32%
14 Are the aims of school reflected in curriculum	36	88%		
15 Is there a definite policy on subjects taught	36	88%		
17 Is there a defined syllabus for each subject	14	44%	23	56%
18 School caters for children Taking G.C.S.E	34	83%	2	5%
19 If 'Yes', does syllabus follow a particular Exam Board	13	31%	21	51%
20 Does School Employ means of assessment	25	61%	16	39%
21 Is there a standard testing procedure	16	39%	24	58%
36 Do you provide work of sufficient depth in S.S	35	85%	1	2%
No response - 5				

Most of the teachers in the survey (68%) said that there was a well defined or structured curriculum in their school project. 32% said there was not. There were very conflicting responses to the questionnaire item from teachers of the same school. This may be explained as details of opinion among staff. An overwhelming proportion (88%) of all the teachers who replied to the questionnaire felt that the aims of the school were reflected in the curriculum. This proportion was also of the opinion that there was a definite policy on subjects taught within the supplementary school.

Is there a defined syllabus for each subject? 44% of all teachers felt there was, 56% said no. Again, there were conflicting responses within two of the supplementary schools. The difference was also very evident in the group discussion in the form of "how the curriculum was perceived" between the more "subject centred" teachers and those dealing either with young children and/or mixed ability groups. It would seem that there was no stipulation for teachers to produce defined syllabuses, but some teachers felt this was essential to exhibit some degree of professionalism.

It would appear to the onlooker that great strides have been made in the supplementary school movement over the last 20 years - for he/she would have seen greatly improved facilities and equipment; he/she would have witnessed the number of projects doubling in

number in London to 70, and he/she may obtain the impression that there is a growing and more enlightened approach to the work produced by the pupils in these projects. Here an attempt is made to determine what progress has been made in recent years.

From the teacher sample, 83% stated that their supplementary schools catered for pupils taking the G.C.S.E. exam - only 5% of the teachers stated that their school projects did not. This amounted to only one of the eight supplementary school projects within the sample. The pioneer supplementary schools catered only for children of primary school age. Also interesting is the fact that 61% of teachers stated that their school projects do employ means of assessment. 39% responded negatively to this question. Also on the question of means of assessment, 39% of the teachers stated that there was within the structure of their school project a standard testing procedure. 58% said there was none.

The overall impression from the results of these two questionnaire items of the survey was one of great uncertainty within schools about what actually goes on - or is instituted as a matter of policy within the project. Teachers within four schools gave contradictory responses to the items, and it would seem that testing procedure and assessment was a matter for individual teachers with little guidance/directive from the top. 85% of teachers contended that work of sufficient depth was provided to pupils within their supplementary schools.

The teachers were asked about what they considered to be the general level of support they received from (a) their co-ordinator or Head of School (b) their senior colleagues (c) their school advisor or Education Liaison Officer. 68% of teachers responded that the level of support received from the Co-ordinator or Head of School was very good, or good. 29% of the total sample of teachers were themselves Co-ordinators or Heads of School Projects and could not answer to this question. Only 2 teachers (or 5%) responded that the level of support received was less than satisfactory. The high degree of loyalty expressed by teachers to their co-ordinators and heads of schools was also expressed to senior colleagues. 36% of the teachers could not respond to this questionnaire item as they felt they occupied senior posts within their school projects. 51% of teachers felt that the level of support that they received from their senior colleagues was either very good, good, or satisfactory. Only 12% of teachers felt that the level of support from senior colleagues was poor. The school liaison officer was known to very few teachers (the supplementary school projects span a range of five educational boroughs within London) and an accurate assessment of his role could not be given.

Teachers were asked to give what they consider to be main aims/objectives of their school. Below are some of their responses:

- "To improve the level of performance in the (State) day schools, particularly with regard to Reading, English and Maths."
- "To raise awareness of black achievement and dispel lack of self esteem."
- "Support mainstream education."
- "Create cultural awareness."
- "Help and support in Maths and English."
- "Motivate and restore confidence in our children."
- "Individual attention to pupils."
- "Increase ability in numeracy and literacy and to articulate with self confidence."
- "Improvement in academic standards and positive self image."
- "Prepare our children of pre-school age for main stream school."
- "Develop potential for all children."
- "To establish motor co-ordination - to give early stimulation in important areas."
- "To help children interact with adults and other children at an early age."
- "To improve and help develop the communicative skills of our children."
- "To provide educational advice to parents and guardians."
- "To encourage pupils to assert themselves and to be responsible for their successes."
- "To show our children positive ways of how to succeed."
- "To improve the educational standard of the children."
- "To provide an innovative education that brings about the holistic development of the child."

"To develop communication skills and to provide educational advice to parents."

"To enable each pupil to achieve his/her academic potential."

"To afford pupils a realistic chance of mainstream success."

"To fill any gaps in the curriculum and to broaden horizons at an early age."

"To expose pupils to new relevant information."

"To promote positive images of black people."

"To assist, wherever possible, the education of black children."

"To provide a cultural platform in the teaching of black history."

"To ensure that under achievement among black children is not undetected."

"To provide black history awareness by having trips to theatres and educational outings."

"To supplement the basic education of African/Caribbean children."

"To provide the foundation for gaining employment later."

"To provide the framework for a lifting of self esteem in our children."

Most teachers in the supplementary schools sample were conventionally qualified to teach in mainstream state schools, and 66% of the total worked as teachers, educational advisors, education outreach workers, educational psychologists etc., within the state education system. It is these teachers who have participated time after time in the debate on why

African/Caribbean children underachieve. Is it due to inadequate pedagogy within mainstream schools or should it be attributed to some feature of family or community background of African/Caribbean people - the inadequate stimulation and material deprivation associated with their parents? It is these teachers, who would, time after time, testify to the fact that despite their initiatives, their energy and their qualifications, inevitably they come up against a society that discriminates against them because of their race.

In the interviews, teachers were asked how they had come to work in the supplementary school. The overwhelming majority had been approached by a colleague or friend who had enquired as to whether they would be interested in teaching in a Saturday school. A small proportion, 16%, went to schools and offered their services voluntarily. 10% were involved in the setting up of the supplementary school. Only one teacher said that he/she had seen the post advertised in the ethnic minority press.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Over 75% of teachers within the sample felt that the pupils in their supplementary schools were underachieving in state schools. 19% felt that their pupils were not underachieving. Of the teacher sample, 5% did not respond to this question. From this response, supplementary school teachers have gone along with the view expressed by educational researchers on the serious

underachievement of African/Caribbean children. When asked whether the pupils of their own L.E.A were underachieving, 73% replied yes; only one teacher responded "no" to that question. "Don't know" and No Response amounted to 24%. When teachers were asked to identify the groups who were underachieving more than others, African/Caribbean boys and African/Caribbean girls were identified by the majority of teachers - 70% and 36% respectively. The groups Asian boys, Asian girls, white boys, White girls received one vote each. 22% of the teacher sample did not respond to this questionnaire item.

In studies where comparisons were made between African/Caribbean pupils and their Asian and white counterparts, (Tomlinson 1980), (Croft & Croft 1983), most have agreed that whereas the pupils of South Asian origin were faring better than the majority of their school mates, African/Caribbeans did worse. Some critics of the D E S statistics (Jeffcoate 1984) were quick to point out that the figures made no allowance for parental occupation or educational background. It was argued that the relative failure of African/Caribbeans and the relative success of South Asians could have been predicted from the employment and educational profiles of the two groups in question within the 1971 census. When Mabey (1981) published the results of a survey on the reading performance of London pupils, the conclusions were that the standard of reading of West Indian pupils, as a group, was well below the indigenous group. This difference, it was

suggested, could not 'be entirely explained by differences in social factors or time at school in England.'

"What is unique about the data presented in this report is their longitudinal nature. They show how these children, first tested at age eight, had progressed at ten years and by school leaving age. In particular, they demonstrate the deterioration over time relative to the London peers of the Black British group whose initial reading attainment was low." (Mabey 1981, pg.90)

Generally, the teacher observation would appear to support the finding of educational researchers in the area of attainment. It is interesting to note that only 36% of teachers felt that African/Caribbean girls were underachieving. Driver (1980) and Rutter et al (1979) were two researchers who differentiated between the attainment levels of African/Caribbean girls and African/Caribbean boys. It was suggested that African/Caribbean girls may both have more positive attitudes towards school and secure better results than their male counterparts.

Teachers were asked to list the most important reasons why pupils underachieve. Some of their comments are listed below:

- 'Lack of discipline and inexperienced teachers.'
- 'Not enough writing and reading done at very early age.'
- 'Low teacher expectation; labelling.'
- 'Students opting out.'
- 'No basic language training. Children are not grasping the mathematical concepts taught in the "new" way.'

- 'Many children complain of teachers in mainstream schools ignoring them, expecting little of them and not extending them.'
- 'Children in mainstream schools do not receive individual attention which we try to achieve at the supplementary school.'
- 'Parents need to participate in educating their children.'
- 'Ineffective teaching strategies.'
- 'Not correctly motivated.'
- 'Inadequate preparation in primary schools.'
- 'Not sure.'
- 'Lack of self-confidence - over use of calculators.'
- 'Denial of a sound grasp of subject matter in the early years.'
- 'Inadequate curriculum of a multi-cultural nature.'
- 'Lack of black role models in schools.'
- 'Overcrowded classes and inadequate resources.'
- 'Low morale on part of children.'
- 'Not enough time or interest spent on pupils.'
- 'Lack of discipline at school.'
- 'Hidden curriculum and inappropriate curriculum.'
- 'Lack of confidence in academic pursuits.'
- 'Low expectations from the society in which we live.'
- 'Parents not doing enough to develop their children's education at an early age.'
- 'Students are not given sufficient individual attention by teachers.'
- 'Not enough feed-back is gained from mainstream schools.'
- 'Home environment, racism and social factors.'
- 'Too great a reliance on supply teachers - no continuity.'

Undoubtedly, what teachers believe and do in the teaching situation has enormous potential for influencing the quality of life of their pupils. The criticisms of teachers on both the state education system and the home environment, reflects the growing frustration felt by blacks within the British education system (Henry 1991). The schools, and even those existing in a multi-cultural education setting, seem to be pursuing the long task of assimilation which the education system had embarked upon since African/Caribbean people became evident in British schools. Multi-cultural Education is nothing more than the response which the active cultural minorities are succeeding in obtaining from a system that has long ignored their needs. The opening up of supplementary schools within London and their emphasis on culture is all the more necessary today as cultural diversity has not disappeared. Saturday schools can vary immensely in style and culture and it could be argued that some children would get more out of Saturday school than others. However, the contribution made by supplementary schools to the African Caribbean community is indisputable. It is therefore up to these schools to resist the cultural flows imposed from outside by impersonal networks of dissemination, to resist mass standards and standardisation, and to do so by building on the local cultures which have withstood the process of breaking them down - particularly carried out by the state education system.

Parental Contribution And Awareness

Teachers seemed quite satisfied with the contribution of parents to the supplementary school. 7% responded that parents contributed very much to the supplementary school, and 85% felt that the contribution of parents to their supplementary school was fair. Only 7% felt that parents did not contribute at all to their supplementary school. Traditionally, supplementary schools relied on parents to produce the midday snack, to help with the arrangement of furniture and other tasks within the school - including teaching in some schools. The gradual handing over of the day to day running of supplementary schools to the professional teachers may have reduced the active role of parents within the projects. Teachers saw parental contribution as being predominantly concerned with fund-raising activities (quoted by 83% of the sample), liaison with teachers (quoted by 61% of the sample), helping out in the school (quoted by 42% of the sample), involvement with the school's educational policy (quoted by 42% of the sample) and assistance on outings and educational trips (quoted by 88% of the sample).

Only 39% of teachers confirmed that parents were consulted on the programme or curriculum of the supplementary school. One in three teachers responded that this sometimes happened. A quarter of the teacher sample admitted that parents did not make an input or were not consulted on the programme or curriculum of their

supplementary school. It would seem that such participation was more likely to stem from respondents in schools where parents committees were strongest - or in existence.

There was less agreement on the involvement of parents in the preparation of midday snacks on a weekly basis for pupils in supplementary schools. 22% of the sample responded that this is currently the practice in their supplementary schools. Another 22% responded that this sometimes happens. Over half the sample, 54% responded that this did not happen in their supplementary school.

Parents were overall perceived to be very interested in their children's education - by an overwhelming 68% of the sample. 24% contended that parents were fairly interested in the children's education. Those who felt they were not interested in their children's education and those who responded "Don't Know" to this questionnaire item, were only 7% of the sample. When the question of 'how knowledgeable parents were about their children's education' was posed to teachers, the response was more varied. Only one in ten teachers felt that parents were very knowledgeable about their children's education. 58% of teachers felt they were fairly knowledgeable. 22% of the sample felt that parents were not knowledgeable about their children's education.

A similar question was posed to ascertain the teachers' opinion on how realistic parents' expectations were of their children's educational performance. One in four teachers felt that parents' expectations of their children's educational performance were realistic. 66% responded that parents were fairly realistic. The other categories - Unrealistic, Very Unrealistic, Don't Know, No Response - amounted to 10% of the sample.

Generally, teachers responded that they would like to see more parental involvement in the following areas:-

- (a) Attendance at meetings
- (b) Help/assistance at the supplementary schools
- (c) Social interaction with teachers
- (d) Involvement in matters relating to the local Education Authority
- (e) Involvement as parent governors
- (f) Assistance on trips and other projects arranged by the supplementary school
- (g) Assistance with homework
- (h) Help with reading, writing and arithmetic.

There was less wide-spread agreement with the last statement - 'Involvement in the structuring of the programme/curriculum'. Only 44% of teachers responded that they wish to see more parental involvement in this area. 39% felt that it should remain at present levels. One teacher (2%) responded that less

parental involvement in the school programme would be a desirable thing.

When offered nine statements purporting to outline the collective areas of parental participation, most teachers seem to agree that a closer working relationship with parents would lead to a better system within supplementary schools. Areas such as involvement in matters of local Education Authority and involvement as parent governors could be seen as accompanying the growing politicization of parents. In some supplementary school projects, the lack of any agreed demarcation line tends to make the relationship between parents and teachers a competitive, rather than a co-operative one, and this uneasy relationship sometimes leads to biased appraisals. Thus, the response by one teacher - that "Parents are just not aware of their educational responsibility - and are not doing enough to develop their children's education at an early age" - could be seen as one example. This may also explain why 43% of teachers who responded to the questionnaire item on parental involvement in the structuring of the supplementary school curriculum, seem hesitant to recommend more parental involvement in this area. Generally, teachers' response to parents' contribution, knowledge about the children's education and expectations were very positive indeed and this could only reflect the close working relationship within the community-based educational project.

Of the 41 teachers within the sample - representing all ages - from under twenties to over sixties, the majority, 58%, fell in the 26 - 40 year old bracket. This amounted to 68% and 47% of male and female teachers respectively. Most teachers were parents (80% of sample), but fewer than one in ten teachers had their own children attending supplementary schools. All teachers, except one, described themselves as African/Caribbean (90%) or black British (5%). The one remaining teacher did not give information on ethnic origin, but merely used the category indicating 'Other'.

SUMMARY

The overall picture which emerges from the questionnaires is an agreement by both pupils and teachers of the worthwhile nature of the work carried out in supplementary schools. The pupils' views of their teachers are generally positive, and over 68% responded that they liked their supplementary school. Pupils' level of awareness was very high and so was the value placed on such concepts as hard work, a good brain, self confidence and ambition. The self concept of pupils was also very high and pupils responded positively to statements i.e. 'I am well-liked', 'I work quite hard', 'I have a lot of self-confidence' and 'I am fairly ambitious.'

The questionnaire on black historical figures produced the most surprising evidence of all. Looking at the findings in the light

of why supplementary schools were first set up, the school projects would not seem to have made a distinctive contribution to knowledge in this area. The evidence, however, need not necessarily be taken as indicating either that the school project is unimportant in this area or that it has not seriously addressed itself to black history. There is no doubt that supplementary schools have in the past, do in the present and will in the future, reinforce the values, beliefs and attitudes of the black community which it serves. As already stated, to isolate the influence of the school project, particularly in the limited case study, is very difficult.

The pupils' experience and perceptions of the school projects were generally positive and they identified with the project, its standards and its sense of purpose. Almost the entire pupil population aspired to and expected jobs of a higher social class than their parents. An article by Diane Spencer (T E S 7.9.84) referred to research that carried a similar conclusion. Black teenagers, she stated, are more choosy than whites about the type of jobs they apply for - and they prefer jobs with opportunities for training. An overwhelming 77% of the student sample expressed the intention to pursue their studies in a higher education institution.

Clearly, the aspirations of black pupils are very high but the recent report on admissions - '89/'90 - by the University Central Council on Admissions, seems set to put paid to the expectations

of black youth. It was reported that only half the number of African origin applicants gain entry to university and even when black students were in the top band of the points system for "A" level exams, they were accepted only 85.7% of the time, compared to 90.1% for their white counterparts.

Nearly 71% of the supplementary school teachers within the sample were qualified teachers, with only 7% of teachers within the sample being without higher education qualifications. Again, it would be an over-simplification to draw attention to the large percentage of qualified teachers within the sample and infer a representation of the supplementary school movement in general. It could be argued that the teachers who voluntarily filled in the questionnaires would have been those who felt most confident in expressing their opinions. Most teachers within the sample fell within the 26 -40 age group.

Teachers generally felt quite satisfied with the contribution of parents within the supplementary schools movement. There was total agreement by teachers that work of sufficient depth was given to pupils within their supplementary school.

Almost all the findings to the questionnaires were predictable from past evidence - and even within the context of the supplementary school movement, they supported the view that all is not smooth sailing for black pupils in the British Education system. Surely, it seems reasonable to put the case for research

of a more qualitative, interactive nature - within the context of supplementary education - and working class community-based educational institutions. Though this type of exercise may not provide the evidence in 'proving' what makes a successful black student, it can give much greater insight into the complex range of independent variables which affect the educational life chances of black children in the British educational system.

Here, I feel I must attempt to answer the question: How generalizable are the findings? While any statement which extends beyond the practices of these nine supplementary schools is necessarily speculative, I shall nevertheless make my own intuitions explicit. Having spent a number of weeks in the supplementary schools and spoken at length and in detail to the teachers and pupils of the schools, I would be most surprised if other projects that fitted the general structure of the ones I have studied, departed radically from the findings expressed here. However, I am not sure to what extent this might be also true for the fee-paying supplementary education projects that are now springing up within the black community and capitalizing on the successes of the supplementary school movement.

CHAPTER VIII

CASE STUDY OF EIGHT SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

I was twenty four years old when I first made contact with a supplementary school in the United Kingdom. I had just arrived from Guyana, South America in September 1979 to pursue a course in Physical Education at Leeds Polytechnic. I had been a qualified teacher in Guyana for two years, my first qualified teacher appointment being at St Ignatius School, Letham, Rupununi.

It was an invitation from the Black Parents Movement to the African Caribbean Students Society that facilitated my initial contact with supplementary schools. I volunteered with other students to teach at a supplementary school in the Chapletown area of Leeds on Saturday mornings. It was there that I learnt of and became part of the black community's response to the educational needs of their children.

My abiding memory of the institution was that it was situated in a local school and run by a local councillor who had previously been a teacher in the Caribbean. I remember she was renowned among her colleagues as exemplary disciplinarian with strong socialist views, tinged with that of Black Nationalism. In that school my duties included responsibility for a class of about ten pupils, ranging from 11 to 14 years old and clearly of mixed ability. I rapidly became aware of the importance of this age

group in the light of numerous reports on the under achievement of African Caribbean children. In this way I was introduced to the first wave of parental pressure and concerns. This was directly a result of an admission by Education Officers in the West Yorkshire area that the majority of pupils in Educationally Sub Normal (ESN) schools were of African Caribbean background (Coard 1971).

It was here we developed the idea, a motivating exercise, for the children of the supplementary school. We would book the University's minibus during the school mid-term holidays and organise a tour for the children around the University. It was a way to instil in students of the supplementary school that they had the capacity to make it there and that they should work towards that goal. In our way we also tried to explain that even without formal qualifications, there were many avenues one could take in mapping out successful careers for themselves. In my history classes I would expound the virtues of Malcolm X, a man with no formal qualifications, who yet became the most forward thinking figure in the movement for black emancipation in America.

In 1981, I left Leeds for Hull University and had no contact with supplementary schools until I returned to London in 1984. Here I was invited by a local councillor Stephen Padmore to join the staff at the Greenwich Commission for Racial Equality (G.C.R.E.) Supplementary School in Woolwich. My responsibilities for science proved particularly challenging as very little of this work was going on in the school. During my three years as a

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teacher of science and mathematics at the G.C.R.E Supplementary School, I worked as a Summer play scheme Leader and as the teacher responsible for co-ordinating sport activities with other establishments.

My teaching and academic career have developed in parallel. In 1984 I took up an appointment as a Physical Education teacher in a large comprehensive school in Wembley. In 1987, I was head of Boys P.E in a Catholic School in Newham. Enrolment for a Ph.D degree at Hull University coincided with my final year as a teacher in supplementary schools (1988) and provided the focus for my present area of study.

In this way professional and academic concerns coalesced in my involvement in education and I sought to reconcile pragmatism and theory in the classroom and the supplementary school project. In the course of this process, my over arching desire was to observe, analyse and communicate insights reflecting the philosophy and depth of supplementary schools in London.

Eight Supplementary Schools

This section seeks to outline the nature of eight supplementary schools in London. In order to understand supplementary schools and the way they are run it is important that the reader should be furnished with some background information in relation to the institution's historical, geographical, educational, physical and social context. Supplementary schools are located in areas with

a large concentration of African Caribbean people. The researcher will be concentrating on the following ingredients of the schools under study:

History

Geography/Location

Building

Co-ordinator

Teachers

Parent Association

Pupils

Education Liaison Officer (if any)

Community

Some of these aspects are easier to observe than others, but the researcher's subjective opinions are only intended to shed some light on the workings of supplementary schools.

The eight supplementary schools were chosen by random selection to represent eight London boroughs, namely the Boroughs of Greenwich, Lewisham, Croydon, Hackney, Southwark, Waltham Forest, Haringey and Camden.

The G.C.R.E. Supplementary School

This Saturday School was set up by the parents of Woolwich and Greenwich in 1978, in a community centre in Woolwich Arsenal. The early years were very tough with few sponsors, volunteer teachers and resources. Being a self - help project, the school required teacher and parents to organise numerous fund raising

activities just to keep the school in operation.

The Greenwich Commission for Racial Equality (G.C.R.E) Supplementary School opened its doors in September 1978 after a group of parents had secured the support of G.C.R.E. in their bid to set up the project. Their concerns for educational standards, shared by most African Caribbean parents at the time found a sympathetic ear in Councillor Stephen Padmore - then the Employment Development Officer in Woolwich. Councillor Padmore remembers that no black history or culture were taught in the early years of the project as parents were particularly keen that almost exclusive concentration should be on mathematics, english and reading.

By 1980, sentiments within the project shifted slightly, and parents began to look and emulate the Queen Mother More Supplementary School. This project was run by a local Methodist Minister in Brixton. Queen Mother More was set up with a strong emphasis on black culture, black history, black liberation and identity and had been a remarkably successful and outstanding project in London.

The first co-ordinator of the G.C.R.E. Supplementary School, Wilma Mc Gregor, was able to secure the use of Woolwich Community Centre on Saturday mornings and the school began with fifteen pupils at its first session. The early teachers and volunteers were forced to borrow from the local primary school due to lack of classroom materials. However the borrowing was selective

and story books with racist or anti-working class themes were avoided. For two years the school was run on a voluntary basis until an application was made to the Greater London Council (GLC) for financial support. Throughout this period, the parents maintained their strong support for the school and this was reflected in the active role they played in the governing body of the school.

The application being successful, the school was now in a position to increase its student intake and to advertise for more teachers. These teachers were now given some expenses or allowances as an appreciation for their three hours Saturday morning tuition at the supplementary school. Later a decision was taken to move the school from its original location to the Woolwich Polytechnic Lower School. By sharing the facilities of a state school, the Saturday school could now have larger classrooms, better furniture and a larger play area for the pupils. It was also hoped that the school atmosphere would have some motivating effects on the pupils of the supplementary school project. Likewise, many parents who viewed the mainstream school as providing negative educational experiences for their children, could now come to terms with positive schooling experiences within the same mainstream school building.

The appointment of the GLC of an Education Liaison Officer (ELO) stationed at the G.C.R.E. Regional Offices, helped in projecting a higher profile for the supplementary school within the Greenwich/Woolwich community. The ELO, whose duties involved

visiting schools within the borough on issues such as truancy, suspension or expulsion of children, also became actively involved in promoting the supplementary schools within mainstream schools and to parent groups. It was the supplementary school that legitimated a more active role for the African Caribbean community in the political and social setting of the borough. The Parent Association of the supplementary school became actively involved in issues of schooling and the black child, the suspension of black children from schools as a result of reported behavioural problems etcetera. On some occasions their timely intervention in cases had the effect of preventing expulsions from taking place.

Within the supplementary school itself, parents were encouraged to put their names forward to be elected as school governors of their child's state schools - and training sessions were held for prospective parent governors. The role played by the supplementary school helped in enhancing its image and its credibility within the black community. The G.C.R.E., capitalising upon this forward thrust, set up an Education Committee expanding the public debate on Education.

The School Programme

Within the supplementary school, there was a nursery or under 6 class room, two class rooms for juniors i.e. 6 - 11 years old, one class room for 11 - 14 years old secondary school students and one for 15 & 16 years old (senior secondary school students).

The researcher was recruited as a mathematics teacher for the 11 - 13 years old, with added responsibility for science and reading within the same age group. There were defined subject objectives for only two of these areas - mathematics and reading.

The mathematics objectives were : The students will:

Add whole numbers

Subtract whole numbers

Multiply whole numbers

Divide whole numbers

Interpret charts and graphs

Identify the average of data

Compare fractions and mixed numbers using $<$ $>$ or $=$

Add, subtract, multiply and divide fractions

Round decimals and whole numbers

Add, subtract, multiply and divide decimals

Identify equivalent fractions, decimals and percentages

Solve word problems involving money and making change

Find a given percentage of a number

Solve quadratic equations

Identify numerals of numbers expressed as power

Choose appropriate metric units

Convert units of measure

Scale drawings and map readings

The reading objectives were : The students will:

Following written directions

Use various parts of a book

Use graphic sources

Use context for meaning

Use word structures for meaning

Recognise and interpret figurative language

Develop generalisations for details

Recognise relationships

Draw logical conclusions

Predict future actions or outcomes

Explain and relate to feelings and emotions of characters

Evaluate and make judgements on the basis of information

Distinguish fact and opinion

Teaching Staff

The teaching staff of the G. C. R. E. Supplementary school could be identified as the most significant group of people involved in the project, despite the fact that the school was manifestly brought into existence to serve the needs of the children. One thing is absolutely clear: the crucial contribution the teachers made to the positive - self image of black children cannot be over stated.

A sample schedule had been constructed in order to summarise information about each member of staff at the time the researcher was a teacher at the supplementary school.

The criteria for the inclusion for this data is whether it will help in the understanding of incidents later to be elaborated in this chapter. The schedule reflects a desire to commence with objective information and systematically provide more subjective

insight into the supplementary school project. Clearly this impressionistic data could be viewed as lacking scientific credibility; nevertheless the researcher feels it has a place in understanding the week-by-week running of the project.

NAME -: Ms Fu Chin
AGE (approx.) -: 31
YEARS AT G.C.R.E -: 2 Years
POST OF RESPONSIBILITY -: Teachers in charge of the Juniors
6 - 11 years old
PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND -: Ms Fu Chin completed a PGCE and a post graduate Ph.D degree at London University. Her specialist subjects are Mathematics and Science. Having worked as a qualified teacher in her native Malaysia she was employed as supply teacher in Lewisham. A very able and imaginative teacher, well respected by pupils, parents and colleagues. Ms Fu Chin was not afraid to state her views on any area of school or educational policy and was not intimidated or influenced by the nature of her audience. Parents regarded her as an excellent teacher and her colleagues accepted that she had a good rapport with the pupils.

NAME -: Ms Shelley
AGE (approx.) -: 30
YEARS AT G.C.R.E -: 2 Years
POST OF RESPONSIBILITY -: Teacher in charge of Under 6 - Nursery section.
PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND -: Ms Shelley hails from Jamaica, a qualified teacher of five years teaching experience in Kingston Jamaica. She came to Britain to pursue her studies in Computer Science. Her scholarship expires at the end of studies when she is expected to return home. Ms Shelley was well respected by her colleagues. She quickly demonstrated herself to be an efficient organiser and took over the responsibility for mid-

morning snack provision. This usually involved collecting pupils' contributions and purchasing the food from the nearby supermarket. These duties are sometimes carried out by the parents.

Ms Shelley was very conscientious and industrious. Her classroom seemed to be very carefully managed and organised with elaborate teaching aids which were displayed and taken down every Saturday. She was very popular with the children, particularly in her own class.

NAME -: Ms Peters
AGE (approx.) -: 26
YEARS AT G.C.R.E -: 4 Months
POSTOFRESPONSIBILITY -: Assistant to Ms Shelley in Under 6 classroom

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND -: Ms Peters is a third year BEd student at Avery Hill College. She came into Higher Education from an Access course and as such has had first hand experience of an education system that fails minority ethnic students. She is very determined to make a substantive contribution to the supplementary school. Ms Peters was recruited by the ELO and it seemed clear at the onset that she was being groomed to run the project, should the present co-ordinator step down.

Ms Peters clearly revealed herself to be a very bright and resourceful individual - and a very professional and conscientious teacher. Clearly her views has had a significant effect on her colleagues as she was always prepared to outline the direction that she felt the project should be going.

NAME -: Mr Berry
AGE (approx.) -: 36
YEARS AT G.C.R.E -: 5 Years

POST OF RESPONSIBILITY --: Co-ordinator and teacher of Maths and English, Seniors.

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND --: Mr Berry holds a BSc(honours) in Engineering and has a background in Industry. He was employed as a trainer with the Manpower Service Commission and has had no formal teacher training. He was very well respected within the Woolwich / Greenwich community and was accredited by a top official at the G.C.R.E as being "very knowledgeable about the community and very dedicated to his job". Mr Berry also has a history of involvement in local organisations and committees within his immediate community - The African Caribbean community in Greenwich and Woolwich.

The staff of the G.C.R.E Supplementary school all agree that Mr Berry was somewhat low key but combined a pleasant personality and a strong commitment to the education of the children at G.C.R.E.

NAME --: Mrs Agard

AGE (approx.) --: 36

YEARS AT G.C.R.E --: 1 Year

POST OF RESPONSIBILITY --: Assistant to Ms Shelley.

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND --: Mrs Agard was a parent with two children attending the supplementary school. She held a permanent job as a secretary and was not a qualified teacher. She offered her services and proved to be a very effective teacher at the project. As a parent and also as a teacher, Mrs Agard was an ideal human resource, but she preferred to keep out of the lime light and made few contributions at meetings.

Throughout her stay at G.C.R.E supplementary school, Mrs Agard was highly regarded by other members of staff and organised many trips for the pupils of the school to museums, the Commonwealth Institute, and various exhibitions on black art and culture. When Mrs Agard left the school she was replaced by Ms Peters.

Conflicts Within The Supplementary School

It would seem inevitable that conflict in one form or another accompanies human interactions. These may manifest themselves slight feelings of uneasiness or in some cases, as major disagreements. To some degree serious conflicts may destroy interactions. Hicks (1972) explained conflict as being typically a concomitant of social interactions, which is inhabited by diverse groups of actions, operating with differing objectives and contrasting constructions of reality.

Minor incidents or conflicts involving two or more participants may resolve themselves eventually without completely destroying the contending interest groups. They could be easily forgotten or ignored in situations where there is no vested interest. In institutions such as supplementary schools, where people are expected to work closely together, it is reasonable to expect different points of views, on the implementations of various objectives.

As a new teacher in the project, the researcher spent several weeks observing the structure and the management of the supplementary school. It rapidly became apparent that most of the power was concentrated in the persons of two key parents who were high ranking officials within the school's Management Committee. It was well known that these parents were instrumental in forcing the resignation of the previous school

co-ordinator (or project leader) after a series of disagreements between the two opposing factors. This important coup established the hierarchy and maintained the equilibrium - a somewhat uneasy truce between the governing body on the one side and the teaching staff on the other.

The composition of the (parent/teacher's) School's Management Committee reflected its geo-political history. Of the six committee members, four were parents, one, a representative from the G.C.R.E. (usually the ELO) and the remaining seat was occupied by the School's co-ordinator. The committee met once a term and the agenda was composed by the secretary. The weight of numbers of parents' committee members endowed them with an enormous amount of power - which was also employed to its fullest effect. In a way the present co-ordinator and teaching staff had to comprehend the crucial nature of the committee and the establishment of a good working relationship was essential.

Each actor reacts to an organisation with some degree of insight and understanding, in relation to his/her previous experience in similar institutions, and in terms of the 'meaning' the organisation has for him or her. Thus the parents (particularly those on the management committee) responded to the G.C.R.E. Supplementary School within the context of their own schooling and expectations for their children. Individual parents began to express the view that the work done by the Supplementary school was not sufficiently taxing their children and lacked the formal structure required to redress the inadequate education

provision of the mainstream school. What started as whispers of discontent by two parents, soon became the open demand of a section. The obvious target was the co-ordinator, whose approach to the supplementary school did not correspond with that of some parents.

It is reasonable to expect parents, whose efforts have gone into setting up an educational project and who were at the forefront of its development from the small project to the much bigger institution it had now grown, to ensure they had a controlling interest in the project. It is also reasonable to suppose that their educational philosophy would be firmly based in the strict code of the traditional Caribbean schools. However the job of the co-ordinator was to run the project and with three qualified teachers on his staff, and to destroy the credibility of the teaching staff could only result in a system of patronage and not educational development.

With no abatement to the struggle within the organisation - which was now developing into a struggle for control of the funds and resources (administrative control)- a general meeting was called on 15 November 1986. Attending this meeting were the parents, teachers, the co-ordinator, the parent management committee, a representative from the G.C.R.E. Education Sub-committee and a representative from the GLC (the grant awarding body). The hidden agenda seemed to have been the mustering of support for a vote of no confidence in the co-ordinator. The determination of the co-ordinator to stay in his post and the obvious support

he received from his teaching staff, ensured the defeat of that strategy.

As a participant, and an observer, the researcher was quite unaware of the magnitude of conflict inherent in the situation - as the project was a very pleasant and stimulating environment in which to work.

In the main, the relationships appeared to be very positive and, as a teacher, the researcher prided himself on the positive social atmosphere he had helped to generate within the educational project. When it became apparent that the conflict had not yet run its course and its divisive potential was greater than he realised, relationships between staff and staff, staff and parents, staff and the G.C.R.E. Educational Sub-committee, were obviously affected.

It had always been the policy of the researcher, to avoid, at all cost, any conflict within the institution and simply get on with the job in hand. In 1987, a new Education Liaison Officer was appointed and the parents found a new champion for their cause. Shortly after taking up his post, the new ELO circulated a list of proposals and recommendations he had unilaterally decided upon. A new struggle for control began - this time involving a more skilful and detailed campaign.

The supplementary school had grown and was by now a very successfully established institution. The number of students

enrolled was over seventy - five . The ELO was appointed by the GLC and represented the educational authority in the region's mainstream educational institutions. Being an African Caribbean teacher himself, he became very actively involved in the supplementary school. An agreement between the factions provided some financial support to the project and an increasing role within the structure for the ELO. It was therefore not altogether surprising when the ELO sided with the small group of very active parents in an attempt to implement a new structure within the supplementary school. A very perceptive individual, he had excellent plans for the future of the school but also intended to manoeuvre into a position of overall control.

A genuine dilemma confronted the co-ordinator. Clearly if he was to retain control over the project he had to ensure that the ELO operated within clearly defined parameters. This scenario provided fertile ground for the development of even deeper conflict.

After the first 'attempted coup' there developed an uneasy truce for about six to eight months during which time the parties tolerated each other. The supplementary school continued to progress, both in the size of student population and in the recruitment of committed parents and staff. The G.C.R.E. has a rich tradition of parental involvement in the running of the school project. During the Saturday morning session of three hours, parents could be seen preparing the snacks for the pupils during the morning break from their lessons. The children each contributed about thirty pence towards their mid-morning snack,

which was subsidised from the school funds. This contribution by the parents was symptomatic of the good working relationship with the teaching staff - even though some members of the Management Committee did not always share this view. Again as a teacher and an observer, the researcher contributed to the radically wrong perspective that the course of the Supplementary School Movement and the pressures of the community at large would ultimately force both factions to follow the same road. He considered the split to be an unnecessary disruption to the project - particularly since the differences were organisational - and not ideological. He did not believe that the Management Committee would even fulfil its proper duty if it remained a battle ground for conflicting interests. It must have initiative and be capable of planning ahead with the skill of the officials who understand the point of views of sectional groups, but remain independent of them.

Matters came to a head when one Saturday morning, a letter was delivered to the co-ordinator informing him that his services were no longer required. The decision was taken after a secret meeting of the Management Committee and the G.C.R.E. Sub - Committee. A teacher within the project was appointed acting co-ordinator until such time as a permanent appointment was made. The plan, however, backfired when it became apparent that the co-ordinator was not prepared to relinquish his position without a fight. The Committee backed down, later to concede defeat. The Management Committee dissolved itself when the two key parents gave up the project altogether. The ELO also seemed to have lost

interest in the project, preferring to keep a low profile – thus bringing about a significant change in the administrative structure. The project continued to function under the management and the sole authority of the co-ordinator. The G.C.R.E. continued to provide the funding necessary – and an atmosphere of peaceful co – existence seemed to have emerged.

During the period of conflict, two particularly significant problems were cited by all concerned. Staff turnover was excessive, and during some periods, very worrying indeed. Actually the organisers often found it easier to attract children than to retain a significant crop of qualified teachers. Teachers were paid a small allowance, though in actuality, their services were voluntary. However, the tense atmosphere within the school caused many teachers to seek an early exit. Within the project, there was an equal balance between qualified teaching staff and unqualified teaching staff. Even though no criteria existed in terms of the experience and qualifications of teachers, it was generally accepted by the Management Committee that upsetting the balance would undoubtedly undermine the quality of instructions and limit its effectiveness.

The second major problem was the lack of suitable teaching materials and text books. It was the task of teachers to 'borrow' materials and text books from main stream schools and to spend whatever they could afford on photocopying materials, work sheets and making teaching aids. As the school funds were very small, fund raising events were held to generate the necessary funds to buy books and materials – hardly the ideal

working environment.

The student population of the supplementary school was almost entirely of African Caribbean descent, but there were also Asian pupils enrolled in the school. There was also one white teacher with the project. By far the majority of pupils fell within the five to eight years age group, the smallest group being the senior secondary school students. The school was divided into six classrooms of mixed aged, mixed ability students. Each experienced teacher had an assistant to work closely with and older children were encouraged to play an active role in looking after and ensuring that the younger children were comfortable. These roles were particularly played out whenever the school went on field or educational trips or on visits to other educational institutions.

The co-ordinator was particularly interested in making the school environment an enjoyable and attractive one for the pupils, without sacrificing the teaching commitment of the school curriculum. As the project had the use of a school gymnasium, the pupils were encouraged to become involved in physical activities such as basket ball, cricket, netball and football.

There is no doubt that the contribution made by the G.C.R.E. Supplementary School goes beyond the number of children affected. Many parents whose only contact had been with the supplementary school later became confident enough to put their names forward for election as school governors - in the mainstream education

system.

The significance of supplementary schools lies in their existence. On a recent visit to a supermarket the researcher was approached by a young woman, at the check out counter. "Do you remember me?" she said, "I attended the supplementary school five years ago." The researcher could not recall her. Then she blurted out "I passed my Maths at GCSE."

THE R.B.O. HART SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

The R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School was opened in May 1982 by the Mayor of Southwark - an indication of the co-operative effort and formal endorsement given by the London Borough of Southwark. The idea to open a supplementary school was conceived after Robert Hart became Secretary of the Caribbean Teachers Association in 1978. Many of its members believed that it was not enough for a Black educational organisation to just talk about underachievement of Black children and not do something positive about it. The first project set up by the Caribbean Teachers Association was a teaching and educational project which received most of the finances and energies of the organisation. The Supplementary school was seen as evolving from this project capitalising on the structure that had already been in place.

One of the chief functions of the teaching and educational project was the setting up of leadership conferences for children of secondary school age. Black children from the different regions of London were invited to participate in discussions, debates, question and answer sessions on the state of education and the prospects of black school leavers. Prominent black members of the community were invited to address the children and to encourage them in their educational ambitions. The leadership conferences, having proved to be very successful, have continued as part of the supplementary school's function.

The R.B. O. Hart Supplementary School opened with fourteen pupils in attendance and two teachers. The Co-ordinator, Mrs Reba Young was seconded from her mainstream school as teacher in charge of the project. After two years of supervising the project, on a full time basis, she returned to the state education system. Mrs Hayes Hart, wife of R.B.O. Hart and also a teacher in Southwark then took over in 1984 as Co-ordinator of the supplementary school. It is particularly through her efforts that the school has become the successful project it is today.

Before her husband's death in 1986 she devoted much of her considerable energy and talent in the field of education both in Guyana and Britain. Having inherited the project, at the time it was experiencing a drop in popularity, she set about visiting local state schools and educational projects to recruit pupils for the supplementary school. Her outlook was deeply influenced by the works of Bernard Coard, the Woodside Supplementary School in Croydon and the Queen Mother More Project in Brixton. Cecily Hayes Hart recalled being well received by most state schools in Southwark. St Veronica's Catholic School referred fifteen girls to the supplementary school having identified that the extra tuition would be to their benefit. As the word spread, parents independently began to make use of the school and the Adult Education Programme simultaneously offered by the project.

It is self evident that the school building and its environs are critical primary resources, particularly since the supplementary

school is one of only a few in London to be housed in its own premises as against using the premises of an already existing state school. A visitor is left with no doubt of this significance. The name of the school is written in large bold letter across the front of the building , making it easy to locate. The building has a large open room, adequately accommodating four class rooms, and a large computer room. The school is located on a housing estate consisting of multi-storey block of flats and the lack of an accessible playing area makes it quite difficult for organised games and other recreational activities. However, every available space is utilised and a small concrete strip in front of the building provides the facilities for all kinds of improvised game activities including mini hockey, football and short tennis.

The supplementary school opens on four days each week (Mondays to Thursdays inclusive) and on Saturday mornings. Children of primary school ages attend the project on Monday and Wednesday from 4.00pm to 6.00pm whilst children of secondary school ages attend on Tuesday and Thursday from 4.00pm to 6.00pm. All children are required to attend on Saturday Mornings from 10.00am to 2.00pm as are all teachers, particularly those teaching in states schools who are committed to Saturday mornings. Fridays are designated for Caribbean Teachers Association meetings, Parents Meetings and other educational projects funded by the Borough of Southwark.

The teachers in the supplementary school are largely of African

Caribbean background - the majority of whom were born in Guyana. They receive a small allowance for their travelling expenses - unlike some projects where teachers earn an hourly rate. Many retired teachers - for example Eric Grant a former head master, Fred Case a former principal of the Teachers Training College in Guyana and Alan Cooper, also a teacher - have contributed in some way to the R.B.O. Hart Educational Project and the Supplementary School.

Robert.B.O.Hart after whom the school was named, was a teacher in Guyana and England and as a young man, he opened his own private secondary school - Enterprise High School, in Guyana which became a very successful institution, well over subscribed in its student intake. He left Guyana to read law at the University of London, later returning to his homeland to rescue his school from the decline that had set in during his absence.

R.B.O Hart held a number of jobs simultaneously. For example, he practised as a lawyer, worked as a free lance journalist, and later as a lecturer at the Government Training College for Teachers. He later became the editor of his own newspaper, - THE CLARION and THE BOOKER NEWS earning for himself the title, "The Voice Of The People". The Enterprise High School continued as a private educational institution and was run by Vernon Humphrey and Claude Viera respectively.

Back in Britain, the debate on the underachievement of Black children resumed in the mid 1960s with the publication of two articles. One by and the other by Bernard Coard. R.B.O.Hart

envisaged the setting up of a supplementary school to be funded and staffed by the Caribbean Teachers Association. He was however only interested in working with the top stream or Band 1 children of African Caribbean descent. It was his belief that too often African Caribbean children who came into secondary school at top stream or Band 1 level, degenerated to such a degree, that they were perceived to have opted out of education all together by the fourth year. What was needed, he argued, was a programme to work with these children until they were ready to take the General Certificate of Education examinations.

The heated controversies that followed led to the abandonment of the idea of a elitist supplementary school, to be replaced by a more egalitarian system open to all children of African Caribbean descent on a first - come - first - served basis.

When the South East London Boys School in Peckham closed its doors in 1984, the outgoing headmaster, allowed R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School to have all the books, teaching materials, chalkboards and other furniture. This good fortune has kept the supplementary school quite buoyant. Teaching aids and other materials are provided by the Caribbean Teachers Association, including photocopiers, typewriters, computers et cetera. The project is now more than a supplementary school and doubles as a Adult Education Training Centre in word processing, typing, and computer literacy. The supplementary school now has an enrolment of one hundred and seventeen pupils, seventy two of primary school ages and the remainder of secondary school ages.

The curriculum contains a simple diet of mathematics, english and science at all levels, together with specialist subjects such as french, history and geography. Reading is taught as a separate subject at the primary school level.

The six teachers in the supplementary school are all trained teachers and four of them also work full time in the state education system. The school , at least in theory, does not refuse anyone, though at the time of this study they were known to have a long waiting list. Both White and Asian parents from the surrounding estate send their children to the project. Parental involvement in the affairs of the school is not as strong as in other projects, being somewhat limited to attending meetings, functions and co-operating at the leadership conferences. As there is no parent co-ordinating committee, the provision of mid - morning snacks is done by the teachers via the tuck shop.

In 1988 a meeting of all the community groups within the Peckham area led to the setting up of "Second Chance" study groups within the supplementary school building. As the building was not in use during the day, Mrs Hayes Hart envisaged a partnership between Southwark Adult Education Institute (S.A.E.I.) and the educational project. S.A.E.I. agreed to provide the teaching materials and to employ two tutors and the first classes in maths, english, computer literacy and typing began. Task Force helped in supplying ten computers and around one hundred adults applied to attend the courses advertised. Employment Training

(E.T.) was later included in the educational package, sponsored by Community Industry. The project now has two trainers (tutors) employed full time during the day providing employment training to youths in Computer Literacy and Typing.

As part of its policy to support community education initiatives whenever possible, and particularly projects from its minority ethnic community, the London Borough of Southwark has been consistent in financing the R.B.O.Hart Supplementary School Project. The grant however is renewable at the end of each term and is dependent on a number of factors. For example availability of funds and the political climate at local government level. The school never knows whether its grant will be renewed and therefore exists from one term to the next.

THE JOSINA MACHEL SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

The Josina Machel Supplementary School was set up in January 1976 in the Newington Green Advice Centre in East London. It was directed to the needs of the African Caribbean children within the primary school age group, nine to eleven, with an original curriculum of arithmetic, english, reading, black history and geography. In the fifteen years of its existence, the student population has quadrupled and the size of the staff has trebled. The school now has its own permanent building - secured in its surroundings with its own furniture and administrative section.

In his book documenting the development and philosophy of the supplementary school, Val Jones quoted from the Annual Report of 1980/81 which stated:

"Josina Machel Supplementary School was not formed as a direct criticism of the state school in the Boroughs of Hackney, Haringey, Islington or Enfield... the school was formed to help bridge the gap between the educational needs of Black children and the expectations of the teachers in the state schools. We hold the view that the underachievement is not the fault of our children nor their parents. We set set up supplementary school provision because we have lost trust in the mainstream schools. Supplementary school provision, as far as we are concerned is not strictly to provide for under achievement... We believe we should continue the tradition of providing 'lessons, classes, tuition' to people of every level of educational ability."
(Jones 1986 pg 4 - 5).

Entrenched within the school's philosophy are the ideas and teachings of Malcolm X. Jones identifies him as their Patron Saint, an inspiration to all black people endorsing his views that:

"A people without a history or cultural roots become a dead people"
(pg 20).

The pioneers of the Josina Machel Supplementary School came from the Youth Black Consciousness Movement and the Black Parents Group. So strong was their commitment to Black studies that Jones recalls the numerous visitors to the school from the council and other governing bodies " to see that what we were teaching was not Black Power" (pg 14).

Fundamental to the understanding of education and the Black community were the works of C.L.R James, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Cheikh Anta Diop and Ivan Van Sertima. These were employed to their fullest advantage within the school.

"Without the teaching of African and Caribbean History and culture, Josina Machel Supplementary School will have no reason for being in existence. Black children in the British education system are presented with a constant catalogue of negatives and this is most apparent in the presentation of History."
(Jones 1986 pg 31).

The school ensures that voices from outside are widely heard. The surrounding community is consulted on various aspects of the school policy. The argument which has stimulated has already resulted in a variety of new initiatives during the fifteen years in which the school has operated. The school now has a Latch Key Club for children between the ages of nine and twelve years. It is held on three days each week between the hours of 3.30pm. and 6.30pm. There is now, within the school building a Mothers and

Toddlers Drop in Centre, catering for children two and a half years old to five years, providing an opportunity for parents to have a break and a chance to play educational games with their children in a different atmosphere.

Another community facility set up within the supplementary school building is the Angela Davis Single Parents Counselling Service. It is a service provided for single women parents by members of the Parent Committee within the black community. The school also has a library and a tuck shop, both run by the Parents Committee and it is now their aim to obtain a bigger building whereby the aims and objectives of the school can be pursued with greater vigour.

Within the school, the application of all candidates goes through the School Administration Office and the Parents Committee. At present the school has a waiting list for places within the project. The children who attend the Josina Machel Supplementary School, also attend state schools within the Boroughs of Hackney, Haringey, Islington and Enfield. Places are offered under carefully set out guidelines or conditions namely:

1. That they attend regularly - that is, every Saturday unless notified by the school either by letter or by telephone that the school will not be opened on that day, or that the school will be attending an exhibition, educational film, play or any form of activities that do not directly have to do with

formal teaching. In the case of an outing, as listed above, parents will be sent a consent form seeking their permission to take their children on the said school outing.

2. That the children attend punctually.
3. That the children do the homework as set by teachers.
4. That the child/children do not leave their class work books at home when attending school.
5. That parents become members of the Parents Committee.
6. That a six months probationary period should be successfully completed (Jones 1986 pg 93).

The importance of the school and the Parents Committee as a support educational organisation within the Black community cannot be overstressed. They have on many occasions been called up to advocate for parents who have been denied the state school of their choice. In one particular incident, members of the Josina Machel Supplementary School made representation without success. Together it was agreed that the child should not attend any state school but that a tutor should be provided to teach him during the day. After several weeks of considerable pressure being placed upon the educational authority, the parent was finally granted the school of her choice. Since the demise of the Black Governors Collective, the school has functioned as a training environment for parents wishing to become school

governors within their local state school.

Nevertheless there are headteachers who are very sceptical of the school's role. One of the criticisms is that the school has a distorting effect on curricula and atmosphere in the schools.

One headteacher in particular was adamant that the history books in his department did not need to be reviewed and stated;

"My view on history concerning the African and West Indian peoples is based on the bourgeois liberal tradition and I don't want that view to be changed" (quoted in Jones 1986 pg 5):

The organisation of the Parents Committee and the participation of the parents within the very fabric of the school has been very instrumental in destroying the myth of the state school as the monopoly agent and dispenser of knowledge. The supplementary school is immensely proud of parental participation. One teacher stated "Without the parental support there would not have been a school".

The parents conduct a great deal of liaison and investigative work on the state schools within their areas and their support on educational trips and fund raising events is invaluable. Jones particularly referred to black parents as the apex in the triangular foundation of black supplementary schools and is left in no doubt of the way forward.

"Supplementary education does not limit our knowledge to the learning of the three Rs or to fill in a gap because we cannot

keep up with the main class work at school. Supplementary Education has a much broader aim. It is not limited to classroom working alone, it takes place in the home as well as at school. It is individual as well as collective. Supplementary Education and the establishment of Supplementary schools are a continuation of an essentially African/Caribbean tradition and culture; A way of life. One of its major dimensions is to install in the minds of African people in England (especially the young) that we must establish and maintain strong links with Africa on cultural, economic, historical, emotional and political levels."
(Jones 1986 pg52).

**WOODSIDE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL OR THE CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY
EDUCATION PROJECT**

Woodside is a district or ward in the county of Surrey which borders the London Borough of Croydon. It consists of the unskilled, semi-skilled and blue collar working classes of Croydon and Surrey and it is within this group that the Woodside Supplementary School is situated.

The supplementary school is fortunate to have its own building - situated in a school compound - but with the sole use of its classrooms. This has been the result of years of hard work and representation to the local education authority. The school has now outgrown its environment and officials of the school are urgently seeking a bigger building to accommodate all its pupils and equipment. It was pointed out to the researcher that there was at present not enough room within the school to accommodate the school's current enrolment. The school now operates a waiting list of about seventy eight pupils seeking entry to the school.

Even though the expansion policy has been pursued by the school for over one year now, the situation had not changed considerably. The researcher attended a staff meeting at the school when the matter was discussed and a proposal for a

building had to be turned down because of its high rental costs.

The school environment consists of a large administrative office and five classrooms. Beautiful pictures hang along the corridors and in the classrooms. The schools emits a very warm and friendly atmosphere. Pupils are not streamed by ability or achievement but are, as much as possible, given individual attention to get on with their individual assignments. On average there are four teachers in each classroom - the majority are volunteers/helpers from the immediate community. The school had an enrolment of one hundred and twenty pupils with an average attendance of approximately eighty five pupils.

The Nursery Or Under Six Classroom

The first thing that caught the researcher's eye was a computer in the middle of the classroom. A lone child was engaged in a mathematical puzzle and seemed quite at home on the computer. Four teachers were in attendance, two black and two white (all females). Numerous children's books by black authors were displayed on bookshelves and on the tables. On the walls were pictures of black politicians, athletes, entertainers and activists. Samples of the children's work hung from the wall boards along with a huge photograph of the entire class. Pupils were given individual attention and seemed quite happy with what they were doing.

The Junior Classroom

There were two classrooms for the junior section which seemed to be the overwhelming majority of the pupils in attendance. There were five teachers - four females and one male, and students were also given individual attention. In the classrooms were a number of selected reading materials, pictures of GREAT KINGS AND QUEENS OF AFRICA and a large map of the Caribbean on the wall. There were also photographs from the series 'Exceptional Black Scientists' and short extracts of their work. A section of the classrooms were devoted to creative writings and drawings of the pupils.

The Secondary Classroom

The classroom was well decorated with pictures of Black politicians, scientists, sportsmen and women and other prominent Black figures like Malcolm X, C.L.R James, Marcus Garvey et cetera. There were four teachers in attendance - two males and two females (two black and two white). The students, all of secondary school ages were encouraged to bring their work from their mainstream school and assistance was given individually. There was no standard formal lesson given as students were at different stages of their GCSE preparation.

That the school has been able to attract a sizeable proportion of fifteen and sixteen years old students is an achievement in itself. On average, supplementary schools find it difficult to attract students who are over fifteen years old. Many youngsters

at this age usually give up Saturday school altogether, preferring sporting activities like football and socialising with their friends. Some succumb to peer pressure to find a Saturday job whilst others feel they have outgrown the school and need new challenges.

At a staff meeting in October 1990, the researcher was invited to sit in as an observer and a number of points were raised.

1. A renewed request for larger premises to accommodate an expanding school project.
2. It was reported that a waiting list of seventy eight pupils now existed and that this number was arrived at from the number of application forms filled out.
3. Teachers expressed their satisfaction with attendance of pupils and their application to work when they were in the classroom.
4. Teachers from each classroom on each subject area gave short reports on the progress of their pupils within the subject areas and this was followed up by a discussion on levels of achievement. Some teachers expressed the view that the overflow of pupils in the junior department may affect the standard of tuition and a request was made from the teacher in charge of that section to discontinue any further enrolment to the section.
5. A proposal was made to set up a computer club for pupils

who were interested in that area. The school had five BBC micro-computers and it is envisaged that pupils could be taught computer literacy as well as some programming.

6. A report was made on the progress of setting up a school trip to Zimbabwe. The planning arrangements were in their advanced stages and fund raising ventures were soon to be planned. The supplementary school had already made trips to the Caribbean (Guyana and Jamaica) and to Europe (France and Holland). This is to be the first trip to Africa.
7. The Annual Prize Giving Ceremony at the end of the year was discussed in detail.
8. The need to set up a London organisation of supplementary schools was discussed and it was suggested that a working party be set up to advance this aim.
9. Finally, staff were invited to give thought to, and present ideas on, the reassessment of the school's philosophy.

The researcher was very impressed with the depth of discussion and the level of organisation within the supplementary school project and felt that Woodside had a lot to offer to other projects within the boroughs of London. The school has a very active Parents Association and any activity relating to the school including the distribution of questionnaires by the researcher, had to be sanctioned by the Association. The consultation involved more of a dialogue, but the co-ordinator and teachers

retained primacy within the classroom by virtue of their access to records, the implementation of the school programme and the performance of individual children. Parents in the main accepted the teachers' definition of the situation and sought information - rather than challenge the professional performance of the institution.

The numerous activities arranged by the school provided an environment in which parents and teachers would work alongside one another on a common task: for example fundraising events, performance evenings etc and in the consequence personal relationships were strengthened. Generally, the responsibility for fundraising activities and particularly organising the Annual Prize Giving Ceremony was given solely to the parents.

THE AFRICAN SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL/HACKNEY AFRICAN ORGANISATION

The Hackney African Organisation was set up in 1982, part funded by the Inner London Education Authority and the London Borough of Hackney. The supplementary school was set up in the same year as a direct extension of the services provided. It provides facilities for children to do their homework with very supportive teachers.

The supplementary school has six regular teachers, two maths specialists and two science specialists. The other two are parent volunteers. There are one hundred children enrolled in the school, with about forty five children in attendance. The school has no Parent Committee and the co-ordinator and teachers are answerable to the Director of the African Organisation.

The school is held on Saturday mornings 10.00am to 2.00pm. Parents usually drop in from time to time to discuss their children's progress. The co-ordinator was keen to point out that children could opt for an extra hour's tuition in an African language - Yoruba. The teachers are very committed to projecting positive images to black children. Virtually all teaching and reading materials have an African theme. Black history and culture are taught at the school and the centre is decorated with pictures of black leaders, African kings and queens, black scientists and African artefacts.

The co-ordinator pointed out that the progress of the children is measured in many different ways but no official records are kept.

Children attending the supplementary school regularly for a period of time show a distinct improvement in their reading skills and their confidence. Their written work also shows improvement in quality and content. The supplementary school, unlike most state schools experiences no serious problems in discipline and many children demonstrate a distinct improvement in their social and emotional behaviour. The co-ordinator also claims that the parents are the first to recognise these positive signs and they have come forward to share these experiences with the teachers.

THE GEORGE MITCHELL SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL OF THE AFRICAN CARIBBEAN EDUCATION PROJECT (ACEP)

The African Caribbean Education Project was the brainchild of six St Vincentian women and is situated in the London Borough of Waltham Forest. Concerns for the education of their children in the state school system resulted in a delegation by the six women to the local council seeking support for their community education initiative. The parents envisaged an educational project linking up with sections of the black community - with the main service being the provision of supplementary education programme for student and some provision for adult education. The delegation, led by Mrs Fredericks was successful in obtaining sponsorship to the sum of five hundred pounds and the African Caribbean Education Project was set up in March 1980 in Walthamstow. The project secured the use of an unused shop as its permanent base and the supplementary school was set up a few months later.

ACEP has a full time co-ordinator for both the project and the supplementary school, a part time creche worker and a part time outreach worker. An increase in the student population of the supplementary school necessitated the movement of the school from the shop building to the Leyton Manor School and later to the George Mitchell School, also in Leyton. The supplementary school meets on Saturdays from 10.00am to 1.00pm, catering for an age group of five to eighteen years old. The school has an enrolment of seventy four students, and an average attendance of fifty one. The curriculum is limited to three subjects - reading

english and mathematics. However students could attend additional classes at the ACEP building during week days in computer literacy, mathematics, black history, politics and drama. These classes are provided for the eleven to fifteen years old students and have been very popular with secondary school students.

The supplementary school continues to be funded by the local council through the Multicultural Development Services (MDS). Of the eight teachers contributing to the school, two are given part time wages by the MDS whilst the others are paid a small allowance from donations of parents and the school funds. About a year ago, it was agreed at a meeting of ACEP's co-ordinating committee that a nominal fee should be charged to parents whose children attend the school. Previously the service was free to all. Parents are now asked to pay two pounds per week for their child to attend the school. If they have more than one child, they are asked to pay three pounds fifty pence per week regardless of the number of children. The funds received from the parents help in the purchasing of materials and books for the school. An undisclosed sum is also provided by the Multicultural Development Service for the photocopying of educational materials, exercise books and pencils. Fundraising events by parents provide the necessary resources for educational trips and the resource library.

Within the Borough of Waltham Forest, ACEP has been very instrumental in keeping African Caribbean issues in the forefront

of local politics. Every year the project organises a cultural evening in October and a Caribbean Week in May. The project also organises its Summer Playscheme with the help of parents and voluntary play leaders.

The student population of the supplementary school is almost entirely of African Caribbean descent. However there are Asian students enrolled at the school. By far the majority of students fall within the five to nine years old age group. The school is divided into seven classrooms with one teacher per class. All the teachers within the project, with the exception of one, are trained, qualified teachers employed full time in the state education system. The importance of the school and ACEP as a support educational organisation within the black community cannot be over stressed. It is probably the only black organisation within Waltham Forest with the interconnecting system to bring together effectively black community groups under one umbrella, campaigning for a common cause.

THE WINNIE MANDELA SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

It was just over ten years ago that a public meeting of Black parents and teachers was called at the Kentish Town Library in North London. The Camden Black Sisters Group, the body who convened the meeting envisaged the setting up of an action committee to address the problems Black children encountered during their schooling years. It is particularly gratifying to day to witness the framework that developed - The Camden Black Parents and Teachers Group and the Winnie Mandela Supplementary School.

The Parents and Teachers Group deserve all credit for responding to the educational needs of black children in the positive manner they did - for without their whole - hearted commitment, much less progress would have been made. The contribution of teachers from mainstream education system, who without financial gain, pioneered the first community education projects within the area has been invaluable to the evolution of the movement. The Black Parents and Teachers Group was directed to:

1. Set up, discussions and initiate appropriate actions concerning the education of the black child.
2. Explore alternative education and ultimately set up anti-racist guidelines for Camden schools from Black people's perspective.

It is easy enough to have good ideas during a meeting. It takes a good deal of effort and commitment to help to develop units for

a completely unknown and initially highly speculative community based educational project.

A conference in 1985 on 'The Black Child In Education' set the scene for the setting up of the supplementary school. In 1986 the Winnie Mandela Supplementary School opened its doors to pupils from pre-school age to nine years old on Saturday mornings at the Log Cabin, Camden. Despite the initial successes the school experienced through the community response and assistance from external agencies, there was a major problem with premises in which the school was based. The annual report explained the problem in this way:

"The premises, however, were grossly inadequate and meant that equipment had to be transferred from car to classroom at the start of each session. When one of the members had equipment stolen from the car it was decided that 'enough was enough' and more permanent premises had to be sought."
(C.B.P.T.G Annual Report 1989).

The decision began a continuing saga. After several failed attempts to get the Borough of Camden to allocate premises to the supplementary school, the Camden Black Parents and Teachers Group took occupation of 146 Kentish Town Road. Initially this move was intended to be no more than a form of protest, but following overwhelming support from the community, the occupation was taken into a determined fight for a permanent base. The Council was forced to take a more serious look at the Group's extensive activities and its wide range community support.

Eventually, after much toing and froing by the group members, they were offered a lease on the premises.

The satisfaction of this small victory, however was short lived the lease expired after a few months and the landlords made it clear that they would not renew it with the Camden Black Parents and Teachers Group. There then followed another spate of angry appeals which resulted in the group's eviction. Not prepared to give up after so much work, the group continued to put their case to Camden Council and they were eventually offered temporary premises at 25 Bayham Street where they currently occupy three portacabins. Since then, more permanent premises at 102 St Pancras have been discussed. The space would be ideally situated to house the the Camden Black Parents and Teachers Group and to give the children the room they deserve. (C.B.P.T.G Annual Report 1989).

This obviously shows what could be achieved through determination. An important feature of the supplementary school is that it is locally based. It can thus not only involve local mainstream teachers in a very positive manner, but it can also reflect local needs and circumstances of the black working class community in Camden and Kentish Towns. The supplementary school has adjusted to the needs of the community and now contain classes for students up to eighteen years old. Classes are run on Tuesday evenings for the older age group and on Saturday mornings for the younger age group. The school accommodates students from as far a field as Hackney and Streatham. Presently

there are fifty nine students enrolled and a waiting list of forty students.

Even though the supplementary school is the main educational provision of the Camden Black Parents and Teachers Group, other projects include advice and counselling service, case work, drop in group and a number of workshops for the community at large. The project employs one full time worker and a number of part time and voluntary workers.

LEMUEL FINLAY SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

The abolition of the Greater London Council in 1989 was a severe blow to many supplementary educational projects in inner city London. Education had become an ideological and political battle ground as teacher shortages threatened children with being sent home. School buildings became neglected and fell into disrepair (the results of the cuts in educational spending), and the grants awarded to many projects and educational institutions within the community seemed under threat.

One of the projects that suddenly found its life line cut by the local council was the Lemuel Finlay Supplementary school in the Borough of Haringey. This school had the distinction of being initiated from the demands of African Caribbean students themselves. Their demands in 1974 led to the setting up of the Young West Indian Self Effort (YWISE) Supplementary School. It was envisaged by the students of Haringey that they could through their own efforts set up and run the supplementary school with the help and support of interested and concerned black parents and teachers. The supplementary school was later renamed the Lemuel Finlay Supplementary School.

In December 1990, the London Borough of Haringey withdrew its funding and support from many of the community based education initiatives within the borough, amongst them, the Lemuel Findley Supplementary School. The reasons given for this line of action were the severe cuts to the educational budget by the council that was now in serious financial crisis and the inclusion of

Haringey on the list of councils to be community charge capped by the government. An even more serious consequence to the school was the decision to evict them from their building which was now to be sold to developers. It meant therefore that the Lemuel Findley Supplementary School had to find accommodation of its own with the possibility of having to pay an annual or monthly rent for the first time in its existence. The grant it had previously received was now withdrawn, leaving the school with no money to pay its teachers or to purchase equipment.

The school had enjoyed for the previous seven years the sole use of a council building without the obligation of paying rent. It was very beautifully decorated with photographs and posters of black heroes, educators, entertainers and politicians. The supplementary school had developed into one of the most impressive black educational projects in London, the result of having one's own secured environment. It ran a computer literacy programme that impressed most visitors and the hard work and dedication of its staff, had justified the little funding it had received. In March 1991, teachers and pupils arrived at the school to find that work in the form of development and construction, had begun by over zealous developers even before the school had located to alternative accommodation. The pathway to the building had been dug up and there were heaps of gravel and mud every where. To add to the misery, all the windows of the building - eleven in number - had been broken by vandals and the toilets wrecked. The decision was taken immediately to remove all equipment from the building as there was no way the

school could have continued to operate under those circumstances. To date (April 1991) the school has the loan of two rooms in the West Indian Cultural Centre and continues to operate - but only on Sunday mornings. Most of their furniture and equipment are in storage and the search continues for a suitable building to house the school population and its equipment. According to Simba Mwanza - a teacher at the school -

"Commitment is very important and both teachers and parents have shown a high level of commitment in ensuring the survival of our project. We do not intend to die and though from time to time some of the reports are bleak, the spirit is there to continue at all costs. So whether we operate from an old building, from someone's house or in proper adequate environment, the will is there to continue the service we have been given to ensure that our children are not handicapped through the state educational provision." (Recorded interview 14.4.91).

For the parents and teachers of the supplementary school, the environment they seek must be a building where there are allowed unlimited use of the facilities - to turn their own key so to speak. It must also be comfortable and not in a congested area. Public transportation must be accessible and the question of rental cost must be within range of the school's budget. They are determined that Lemuel Findley School will survive. However, it is common knowledge that many supplementary educational projects in neighbouring boroughs have been forced to close their doors. The experiences of the past year had been particularly painful as education became a clearly politicised area with sharpened debate on the purpose of supplementary education provision.

Summary

The Conservative Manifesto of 1979 set out to convince parents of its determination to provide quality education for all. The proposals included the increasing of parental rights on the basis of their 'Parents Charter'. The 1980 Education Act was passed giving a legal face to the 'Parent Charter' and ensuring that middle class parents were given increased choices in the selection of school for their children. Parents could now demand from their local educational authorities that they be provided with additional information on admission criteria, examination results and the policies pertaining to the schools. The Education Reform Bill was steam rolled through parliament amid strong opposition, and this combined with the abolition of the Inner London Educational Authority completed the programme for education, both in terms of financial control but also ideological attacks on anti-racist and anti-sexist teachings. In effect, the government has offered middle-class parents the 'choice' of more popular schools in affluent areas, but offers nothing to working-class children. Despite the attacks and continued disillusionment with the state education provision, education has become a major unifying factor for the black community in the inner city London and this has been evident in the establishment of Saturday schools. This said community is prepared to resist the institutionalisation of a second class form of education for their children.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In all human societies new solutions become adopted when the old ones prove unable to cope with persistently 'anomalous' phenomena. Theoretical discussions are acted upon and these give rise to new methods, replacing the tried and tested ones. In some instances, attempts are made to ignore or play down the new ideas or simply let them run their course to an eventual and unexpected demise. No matter how strongly the case may be put forward for alternative action leading to a solution, and how strong the significance of the problem areas exposed, centralized bureaucracy has a way of addressing only those problems known to be soluble in its own terms. The theories on black underachievement in British schools - the product of over thirty years of educational debate - could appear to be at times hilarious, illogical or even mad. Attempts to redress this problem of underachievement have resulted in the implementation of multi-cultural (and in some areas) anti-racist educational initiatives; the use of Section 11 teachers and increased educational research on ethnic minorities. But of particular importance have been the measures taken by black parents themselves in the struggle to reduce the gap between the potential achievement and actual achievement of their children.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that all was not smooth sailing for African Caribbean children in the state education

system and that any investigation into working-class, community based initiatives should concern itself not only with the individual project or institution, but also with the various contexts (social, historical, political) in which the community exists. I began this study with a discussion of the relevant issues pertaining to African Caribbean people and the education system, how social identity is fostered within a culture of resistance and a critique of the Education Reform Act of 1988 with its rhetoric about parental power and parental choice - now the cornerstone of state educational provision. I argued that the inevitable consequence of such legislature would be the acceleration of schools into a process of selection agencies, and with an even more alarming consequence of children being labelled and categorized according to their place on a published league table of successful schools. The inevitable outcome will be an even greater disparity between failure and success.

Since the introduction of the Act, what has been the response of the State Education Apparatus to African Caribbean underachievement? The response seems to be that all that can be said has been said - and if certain questions still remain unanswered - they should be shelved in spite of it (or perhaps because of it) as they are unanswerable and should be replaced by more pressing issues. By setting up supplementary schools the black community began to redress its own grievances, and take responsibility for its children's education. This study

has attempted to widen the scope of the investigation and by exploring the very context from which such behaviour derives its meaning, a clear picture of the way forward could be extrapolated. I suggested that social identity theory represented an explanation of how black consciousness/black awareness could be fostered in a culture of resistance. I attempted to use the theory, when appropriate, but particularly in outlining the history of supplementary schools. Hall and Jefferson (1975) explained it clearly in their definition of culture.

"The culture of a group or class is the peculiar and distinctive way of life of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in names and customs, in the use of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shape in which the material and social organisation expresses itself. A culture includes the maps of meaning which makes things intelligible to the members. These maps and meanings are not simply carried around in the heads; they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisations and relationships through which the individual becomes a social individual. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted." (Hall and Jefferson 1975 pg. 10-11).

The knowledge of social group membership is an integral part of the awakening of political consciousness. To use an example from Tajfel: people with blue eyes or very tall people do not identify themselves as being in a distinctive group from, say, people with brown eyes or short people for that matter. But people with dark skins (even if their birth place, language and culture do not distinguish them from others around them) do

form a group in a variety of social situations (Tajfel 1978, pg 425).

It has been this concept of group membership that presided over the emergence of the Black Power Movement, and, as articulated by Carmichael and Hamilton (1968), "...before a group can enter the open society, it must first close its ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively in a pluralistic society." (Carmichael and Hamilton 1968 pg. 46).

Throughout these pages, I have tried to present the Supplementary School Movement as an institution nurtured by the social identity of its members, by socialist ideals - and most importantly, the interaction between the two. In the 1960s, the Supplementary School Movement became a part of the struggle of the African Caribbean community in Britain. The struggle for human justice was waged on many fronts - the struggle against institutional racism, police harassment of black youths, the criminalization of black youths by the British Criminal Justice system, the tendency to push black people in areas of social deprivation, bad housing and unemployment, the tendency to commit African Caribbean people disproportionately to mental institutions and to Educationally Sub-Normal Schools. It was first and foremost the struggle of black parents for a decent education for their children. The Supplementary School Movement focused on developing the skills

of black pupils in the 3 Rs and in introducing to their education elements of black culture and black history. The history of the Supplementary School Movement is examined and through case study, eight supplementary schools providing us with information on the actual practice on the ground. This is incorporated with an examination of the literature on the achievement of black children in the British State Education system - and the theories put forward as to why black children underachieve. These theories range from the dogma of black cultural deficiency and genetic inferiority, to the reverse of that suggested in this thesis - the deficiencies of the British school system and that of white society i.e. racism.

I have adopted a methodology which I believe to be the most compatible with the nature of the theoretical issues guiding this study. Criteria were set for the random selection of the sample and even though, in practice - at some point in the study - all the criteria were broken, this did not affect in any major way the fundamental nature of the study. Having discussed the question of bias and objectivity in data gathering and analysis, I then explained the advantages and disadvantages in carrying out the study. Almost all previous studies on blacks and education have regarded the state education system as the base from which to assess the problem and to identify a solution. This study has proposed, on the contrary, that it makes better sense to start with an examination of the black community and the measures it has

undertaken in redressing its own grievances. Where primary commitments and loyalties are concerned, these community based initiatives give us the first indication of a community closing ranks and actively engaging in resistance against the forces which subordinate their children.

The methodological discussion was followed by the results of the study. Researchers who make short visits to schools and then report on the work done there, tend to notice only the narrow components of the work undertaken within the schools. However, within the confines of my study, I did have enough time to assess the social atmosphere and routine relationship within the eight schools - and in my opinion, they were good. The pupils' view of their teachers was generally good. 95% of the pupil sample expressed satisfaction with their experience at their supplementary school - and there were also clear indications that African Caribbean children attending supplementary schools expect for themselves better chances in life (in Britain) than their parents had. The overwhelming majority of the students felt that a good education was very important to them. I argued that the African Caribbean Supplementary Schools, as an establishment, should project itself to mainstream schools as a resource in an advisory capacity. Educationists, such as Nixon (1985), Cohen and Marion (1983), Tomlinson (1984), among others, all encouraged mainstream schools to affiliate with black supplementary schools for observational and educational purposes. I also

argued that a strong case could be put forward that for quality learning to take place - and an effective service to be offered - supplementary schools need their own premises as a preferable situation to using appropriate L.E.A. school buildings in non-teaching hours and at weekends.

In view of the contribution of black supplementary schools and their continuing lack of financial resources, it is imperative, in the wake of the abolition of the ILEA, that supplementary schools seek funding from the Home Office under Section 11 of the Local Government Act, from the DES and Local Education Authorities. Black supplementary schools must stress that funds are needed, not only for the weekly maintenance of the schools, but for training purposes. Supplementary schools need to train workers into the framework of their schools, particularly since the teacher training institutions have left a lot to be desired in preparing teachers to teach effectively in a culturally and racially-mixed society. Additionally, African Caribbean supplementary schools require funding if they are to extend advisory facilities to mainstream schools.

It was shown clearly that supplementary schools that have been fortunate in securing their own permanent premises are able to provide a wide community-based service e.g. Adult education, mothers and toddlers groups and creche facilities. Projects such as the R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School and Josina Machel

Supplementary School are prime examples of wider community-based education initiatives.

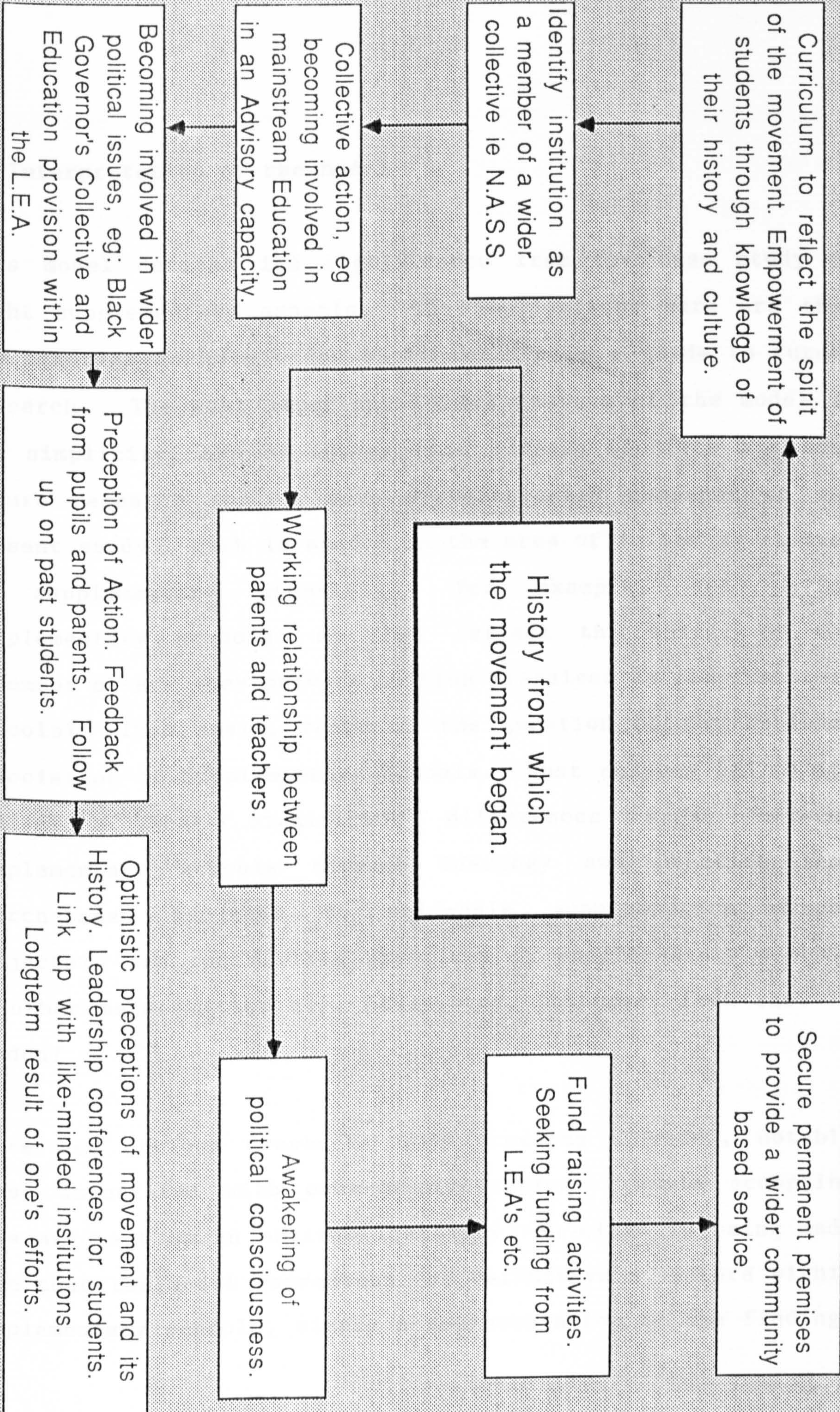
In Chapter IV I presented an analysis of the Education Reform Act 1988 and its implications for the black community.

In summing up, I would like to present the structure of the supplementary school movement in the form of a model. Even though opinions differ on the logical necessity of models and the two schools of thought, as presented by Hesse 1966, have set out the pros and cons of the argument quite elaborately, this model, as an independent construct was built up from its own logical starting point. In some cases, the argument that has predominated is that models in some sense are essential to the logic of scientific theories. I make no such claim for the model here presented. It is not a logical necessity - merely a set of ideas to generate expectations of the supplementary school as a community-based service.

Most theorists create models for the purpose of predicting future outcomes or to explain events of the past. It is often projected as the result of a hypothesis which by its very originality, simplicity, internal integrity and range of implications, is very much open to being tested in the light of the evidence and either refuted or confirmed (Chris Knights 1987). This model makes no claim for predictability. It is impossible to foretell the evolution of a movement in ten years

time, and like the Socialist Sunday Schools, the various influences of the society, political issues of the day and life events of individuals will continue to affect the direction that institutions take. The purpose of this study has been to explore and explain a particular phenomenon and the model hopes to reflect this. Some supplementary schools may see a pattern here that is familiar to them.

MODEL OF SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS AS A COMMUNITY BASED SERVICE



An Interpretation of the Model

This model derives its significance from the case study of eight supplementary schools. The implications here are that the findings do have wider applicability as a guide to future research. The most important formal feature of the model is its simplicity, and of course, the obvious benefits are that future research can be more systematically compared to the present study. Much is needed in the area of follow up studies on supplementary schools. For example, fee paying supplementary schools: do they reflect the spirit of the movement or are they private tuition disguised as supplementary schools? Then again, there is the question of the National Association of Supplementary Schools. What reasons led to its demise? What significant differences exist between supplementary schools through ideology and practice from church-based projects to self-help supplementary school projects? Are the working practices of supplementary schools in other major cities e.g. Manchester, different from that in London?

There are obvious drawbacks from creating a model, notably those associated with over-simplification. While accepting this argument as an obvious liability, no claim is being made here that the model represents the definitive structure within supplementary schools, simply a representation of the findings

of the study. In explaining the points on the spiral model and their relation to one another, I will start at the centre. 'Supplementary schools' carries within itself the History of the Movement and the spirit in which it was set up. The early pioneers of the organisation formulated the aims and objectives that are still observed thirty years on. In Chapter VIII, it was shown how conflict could easily arise between parents and teachers if the participants' roles are not clearly defined. For the school to function properly and efficiently, it is imperative to have a good working relationship between parents and teachers. In Chapter II, I discussed the historical and political environment in which the Black Parents Group was formed and which ultimately affected the way the participants perceived the effects of the state education system on their children and their own situation as parents. The first responsibility lies with the parents and it is very important that the schools reflect their wishes.

Through the awakening of political consciousness, the black community was able to fully comprehend the racial division of society and the place of black people within the wider working class. Many who, for a long time have been searching to understand connections between racism and class exploitation that affects working people, could see in supplementary schools the emergence of that quest for justice and equality. Others within the black separatist movement expressed this political consciousness as a call for black people to begin to define

their goals, to lead their own organisations and to support those organisations. Black supplementary schools were to be set up and run independently of whites for the sole benefit of the black community. Regardless of the political strategy, there seems to have been an agreement that in pursuing the black cause, reformism was a dead end and that only revolutionary politics could achieve Black liberation. For the African Caribbean community, the awakening of political consciousness has been characterised by its confidence in challenging the cultural super-racist assumptions of ethnocentric white British Education and the many social issues relating to the question of race - colour oppression in British society.

Following the next stage of the model, fund-raising activities and seeking funding from LEAs and other non-governmental organisations, reflect a very important stage in ensuring the survival of the supplementary school. The pioneers of the movement all became involved in the struggles to provide an effective service - and in a time of scarcity of teaching materials, teaching personnel and other resources, it was important to seek every assistance available from external organisations such as the C.R.E and its predecessor, the Community Relations Commission. Fund raising activities are an essential for the survival of most supplementary schools as alternative funding is usually very difficult to obtain. Despite the obvious problems due to funding, Gus John (1988)

appealed to supplementary schools to be cautious of distributing organisations "attempting to adopt the Supplementary School Movement wholesale, and bring it into line with their funding and controlling structure. They were followed, of course, by local authorities doing the same either through Urban Aid, Inner City Partnership funding or through mainstream education funding" (pg.3). Being a member of an organisation instils in parents and teachers alike a feeling of empowerment and purpose. A shift in the locus of control from the parent/teachers committee to the funding organisation could affect the very fabric upon which the organisation was set up. Supplementary education has always been important to the black communities, whether to supply additional core subject tuition or to add an extra dimension to education with the study of Black History, traditional dancing, etc. It is essential that funding continues for supplementary schools. The teaching styles in supplementary schools are often different from that experienced in day schools, and this change in emphasis can often be an aid to learning.

The goal of all supplementary schools is to secure premises primarily for its own use. To visit supplementary schools within their own secure building is to recognise the importance of positive images to African Caribbean people. The wall charts of positive black role models, historical figures, exhibitions of pupils' work, books on black people by black authors, black literature, black art etc. are clearly visible.

Students can also identify with the pioneers of the supplementary school movement, whose photographs are proudly displayed around the school buildings - and thus adding historical and theoretical significance. One teacher pointed out that it could very much be seen as an 'us and them' situation. In this society of black oppression, it is essential to point out the source of oppression, 'them' (identified by racism within the society), as it is to identify 'us'. Having one's own building could assist in providing an educational environment for black children that is not possible in mainstream education.

The next box on the model indicates the provision of a Curriculum to reflect the spirit of the movement and empowerment of students through knowledge of their history and culture. The term most commonly used to reflect this type of Curriculum is Afrocentricity. Molafi Kate Asante (1991) defined an Afrocentric curriculum as such:

"Afrocentricity is both theory and practice. In its theoretical aspect it consists of interpretation and analysis from the perspective of African people as subjects rather than objects on the fringes of the European experience. When Afrocentric methods are used to explain an issue, the aim is to look for areas where the idea or person is off-centre in terms of subject position and suggest appropriate solutions. For example, young African American males who may be engaged in violent behaviour are often off-centre. It is the aim of Afrocentric interventions to relocate them in a place of values and cultural stability". (Asante , 1991, Pg 46)

Asante went on to explain that, in its practical implications,

Afrocentricity aims to locate African people of the African diaspora (whether African American, African British or African Caribbean children) in the centre of the information being presented in the classroom. The white child sits in the middle of the information, whether it is literature, history, politics or art. The task of the Afrocentric curriculum, explains Asante, is finding patterns in African American or African Caribbean history and culture that help the teacher place the child in the middle of the intellectual experience.

In the annual invitation to the 14th December 1991 "Achievement Day" for pupils attending the Winnie Mandela Supplementary School, the leaflet read:

"The main focus of the Winnie Mandela Supplementary School is to give children an awareness of their African and Caribbean roots and to provide them with confidence that will assist them in their statutory school.

The school aims to recognise children's individual needs and support them in attaining their full potential by ensuring all students achieve the standard of which they are capable.

The Achievement Day demonstrates what the children have accomplished whilst attending the Winnie Mandela School. The day also motivates the children to add a little more effort in their work so that they too can be on the receiving end of an Achievement Award.

Each child will receive a certificate of achievement. Certificates will also be presented to students for outstanding performance, most aspiring, punctuality and attendance. We will also be presenting 5 Winnie Mandela Awards of Achievement."

The statement above clearly expresses the view that the Winnie Mandela Supplementary School is in total agreement with Molafi Kate Asante, that Afrocentricity resonates with the African

Caribbean community because it is fundamental to how black people perceive themselves in this society. To paraphrase Gus John (1988), "It aimed to celebrate the life and worth and struggles of black working people and give back the confidence and self-assuredness that class oppression within a culture of racism denied them." In this way, the positive and oppositional aspects of identity of group membership have been mutually influential. Tajfel pointed this out by explaining how the sense of group membership is heightened as oppression is encountered. Afrocentricity therefore offers Blacks, on their own terms, a place in an alien and - to some extent, a hostile society.

Some black academics disagree with the tunnel vision emphasis on the importance of African descent and dismiss this as ethnic fundamentalism. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1991), in his article, "Beware of the New Pharaohs", warned against African studies being used primarily as a way to re-discover a lost cultural identity - or invent one that never quite existed. Gates is anxious to see the opening up of African American studies as a subject for all to study and teach.

"We should not lay claim to the idea of 'blackness' as an ideology or race We do nothing to help our discipline by attempting to make it a close where only blacks need apply. On the other hand, to say that ethnic identity is the product of history and culture is not to say that it is any less real. Nor is it to deny our own personal histories, to pretend that there are not differences that make a difference" (pg 47).

Gates then goes even further to deny Social Identity Theory as a catalyst for black solidarity.

"Nobody comes into the world as a 'black' person or a 'white' person; these identities are conferred on us by a complex history, by patterns of social acculturation that are both surprisingly labile and persistent. Social identities are never as rigid as we like to pretend; they are constantly being contested and negotiated." (pg. 47)

It would seem that Gates et al. were far more concerned with academic respectability of their subject area than the reclaiming of a black cultural heritage, which some believe, has been distorted and manipulated by Eurocentric society for their own advantage. Indeed, another academic, Gary Reger, of Trinity College, Connecticut, was quick to remind blacks that "the concept of race has no biological validity, and genetic analysis shows that some 'blacks' share more of their genes with 'whites' than either do with members of their own 'race'."

The next three points on the spiral, identifying one's institution as a member of a wider collective i.e. The National Association of Supplementary Schools, collective action on the educational arena, constitute an outgoing process of political awareness. Supplementary schools affiliating to a National Organisation could now speak with one voice on a national political platform. In 1986, such an organisation was set up.

According to M. Milner Brown, the secretary of the National Association of Supplementary Schools, (N.A.S.S),

"NASS will be important because it gives Parents, Students, Teachers and Administrators of the Supplementary Schools within the N.A.S.S. an opportunity to review, on an annual basis, the work the individual supplementary schools have done and plan to do, working together nationally."(M. Milner Brown, N.A.S.S newsletter, April 1989).

It is significant to note that two earlier attempts to form such an umbrella association had met with failure. The decision to found the N.A.S.S was taken after a conference on Supplementary Education organised by the Kokayi Supplementary School. The Josina Machel Supplementary School and the Robert Hart Memorial Supplementary School were among the first recorded members. Months of preparatory meetings and hard work resulted in the First Conference being organised in 1987 for supplementary schools all over Britain. The Executive Committee's first task was to set up a library and a Research Committee. It was envisaged that the development of curriculum material for Supplementary Schools would be an important function of the N.A.S.S, particularly since three black publishing houses, Bogle L'Ouverture, New Beacon and Karia Press have had very close connections with the supplementary school movement, with ILEA responding quite favourably to a request from N.A.S.S officials for assistance in funding and the acquisition of suitable premises from which the organisation could properly function.

"It was felt there should be some means by which statements and analyses of various issues in education and schooling, as well as the collective views of NASS on matters relevant to our community, could be made public. Supplementary schools could keep in touch with one another and offer insights and possibilities for discussions and collective action, and suggestions for change and development in the interest of black children and their parents in mainstream schooling." N.A.S.S. News , April 1989.

One of such suggestions for change and development was the setting up of the 'Black Governors' Collective'. The purpose was to encourage and train Black parents within supplementary schools; and other concerned individuals within the Black communities, to stand as parent governors in their children's mainstream schools, and "To help promote the educational rights of Black people and to campaign for the improvement of services provided for black people." (taken from the London Black Governors' Handbook 1988)

Together, the organisations have been involved in campaigns against the expulsion of black pupils; the lack of consultation between the then ILEA and the black community in some crucial issues relating to inner city education; the under-representation of black teachers in London schools, the activities of the police in schools - particularly since the increase in police powers through legislation; and on the selection and appointment of teaching staff.

The function of the National Association of Supplementary Schools as a linking forum to mainstream education was very

important indeed. The impression was that Supplementary Education was perceived by mainstream schools as a source of support only for those children with special educational needs or behavioural problems. These misconceptions had to be corrected, emphasizing that these schools were designed to cater for all children of African Caribbean descent, regardless of their academic attainment.

The Demise of the N.A.S.S.

It is significant that the N.A.S.S. no longer functions as an umbrella organisation for supplementary schools - either nationally or within London. According to its constitution, the Executive Committee must call an Annual General Meeting of the N.A.S.S. not later than 31st May in every year. Since 1989, no Annual General Meeting has been called. Its sister organisation, the Black Governors' Collective, has also ceased to function. What is important here is not to wantonly identify weaknesses within the organisation, but to identify the lessons that should be learnt from mistakes made in the past.

As members of a National Organisation, activists partook in many political campaigns and activities on the education of their children. The N.A.S.S. in its short history was at the forefront of the struggle; conferences on Race and Education; conferences on the Education Reform Bill; interviews in the

N.U.T.'s Journal etc. The aim behind their elaborate programme was close to that of the Black Governors' Collective. To suggest that the movement lacked momentum and vision needed for campaigning at a national level, is to misunderstand the way in which the black community had come to view education in its broader educational context. Regardless of the short term successes or failures of the campaigns, the environment was in some way altered by their efforts - if only because the voice of opposition or protest existed within the Black community.

Division emerged, however, over the role played by a few individuals, well known personalities, with their fingers in every pie. It was felt that these individuals who had numerous commitments to other organisations (perhaps from a position of self-aggrandizement), could not be fully committed to building a strong effective N.A.S.S. The N.A.S.S also set out for itself an ambitious programme by first setting up a National Association without first putting into function, effective regional Associations to feed into the National structure. A more efficient London Association of Supplementary Schools could have provided the nucleus or springboard for a wider National Organisation.

Thirdly, the idea of a permanent home for the National Association seemed to preoccupy most of the deliberation within the group, and when it became clear that suitable premises were not forthcoming from the ILEA, the organisation seemed then to

lose its will to survive. The difficulties of finding a permanent headquarters was compounded by the new LEAs' and councils' policy of selling off properties and booking out rooms to generate extra income. N.A.S.S was not a high priority. In the year 1988, the ILEA approved a grant of £10,000 for the years 1988/89 and 1989/90. It was envisaged that the majority of funds would go towards the employment of a full time, or part time worker to daily co-ordinate the business of the N.A.S.S. The abolition of the ILEA left the NASS with no source of funding and robbed it of its most influential supporters. A collective response from the LEAs replacing the ILEA was not forthcoming and before long the executive committee fell apart. In 1989, only twelve Supplementary Schools were officially affiliated (paid up members) within the N.A.S.S - the signs of decay in the movement were unmistakable.

Efforts are being made to set up an organisation of supplementary schools within London. It is encouraging that even though the National Association quickly disappeared, supplementary Schools still remain as popular as ever within the black community. It is therefore hoped that the lessons of the past could ensure its strength in the future.

The final box on the spiral is the optimistic perception of the movement and its history. Chapter VIII dealt with the compensatory nature of the work undertaken within supplementary

schools. The work undertaken, particularly in Maths and English, is intended to ensure that black pupils are equipped with the skills for entry into the community and the world of work. However, there is an additional justification for the work undertaken at supplementary schools and many within the movement see their work as challenging stereotypes of black people and to help students to demand an equal footing within the society which has for too long afforded them unequal opportunities. As would be expected, practice invariably differs from one supplementary school to another, and this depends quite largely on the facilities, teaching materials and premises within the school and the ethos of the school (i.e. church based or charity based supplementary school). However, there has been in general, much agreement among the schools of their aims and objectives, particularly in the promotion of self confidence and self esteem among the pupils. Strong parallels could be drawn between the Socialist Sunday Schools of 1895 and beyond and the African Caribbean Supplementary Schools. The first was the extent to which these organisations, set up by the working people within their communities, were perceived to be in opposition to the State Education system. The second parallel focuses on the cultural function of these organisations.

It was perceived that the deficiencies of the state education system to address the cultural diversity of the pupils, necessitated that this cultural education be provided by the

communities themselves. The role performed by the Socialist Sunday Schools was in the building of a socialist cultural alternative to the dominant ideology. For the African Caribbean Supplementary Schools, the role appears to be incorporated in instilling in black pupils a culture of resistance against the process of subordination. Even though it seems unlikely that the Socialist Sunday Schools undertook a programme where academic subjects were taught, i.e. Maths and English, the emphasis on history, socialist culture and ethics clearly showed that the socialist groups did direct their attention to state education. In 1911, the national secretary of the Young Socialists, Free Coates, openly called for the teaching of Socialism to children. Arguing in favour of teaching socialism to counter the religious lessons given in state elementary schools, Coates explained: "The history given in schools was also distorted. In the whole school curriculum, there is a bias - intentionally or unintentionally - in favour of existing institutions." (Young Socialist 1911 pg. 4).

So, what lessons can one learn from the practices of the Socialist Sunday Schools? First, they built an organisation - that established a tradition - that consolidated their position within a solid political structure, and gave them a united voice in their struggle for change. Perhaps this is partly explained by the importance that socialists themselves attached to developing a theory and practice of education to challenge state strategies. African Caribbean people within the

supplementary school movement need such a strategy and the will to build an organisation, a political strategy to ensure the tradition survives. The lessons of the past must be taken on board - along with the lessons of the demise of the Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain. As Hilda Kean (1990), pointed out:

"To suggest for reasons of contemporary political expediency that the failure of Socialist educational alternatives to the State in this period was reducible to the strength of the state alone, is to mis-estimate the nature of socialist educational strategies in this period. The state's ability to gain consent for its positions also owed much to the weakness of those strategies drawn up by its opponents." (Hilda Kean , 1990, pg. 45)

It is important to note the significance of how the Socialist Sunday Schools collapsed. That there existed much division within the movement on the direction and the pace for which the forward momentum must travel, that by the end of the Nineteen Twenties, the organisation of the movement was clearly weakened by unemployment; and that further splits, leading to a breakaway movement (The Proletarian Sunday Schools) further weakened the collective structure, are lessons from their demise that surely must not be lost. The lack of links to organisations with similar aims and objectives could lead to isolation. Organisations fighting special oppression, stand isolated from the rest of the working class and endangered by the problem, and backwardness of their particular, isolated areas of struggle. This is not to suggest that uncritical support for and from the organisation is the only means to ensure its survival. This could only lead to "Unity" for a

time, never the recipe for a permanent strategy. The supplementary school movement needs to ensure that links are set up with other organisations - community-based working-class initiatives - thus reaching out to the broadest masses of the community around the question of a decent education for black children, ending police harassment, better job opportunities - precisely the issues that affect us all. The oppression of black people cannot be ended by black activists alone, but only by working class solidarity as a whole.

The Education Reform Act and the Black Community

As has been pointed out in Chapter IV, working class people need expect no favours from the Education Reform Act. In a recent paper by Bhiku Parekh (1991) called 'Education and the Good Life', Professor Parekh pointed out that the Act may encourage racial and religious discrimination; is unsatisfactory in its treatment of the purposes of education; stresses cultural uniformity; involves indiscriminate rejection of all the poor and powerless to under-funded schools and is based on an intense suspicion of teachers. He stressed that the new National Curriculum will not create a common culture, since a common culture is only built when schools break down boundaries of race, gender and class. His comments were made in November, 1991.

At about the same time, an article appeared in 'The Daily Mirror' (November 20, 1991), entitled "Why the Government's New School League Tables Fail the Test". In the article, Richard Garner, in highlighting the case of a North London Comprehensive, Holloway School, showed how the League Table of schools would inevitably portray Holloway as a second-rate school, without regards for the big improvements undertaken there in both its style of management and increased exam passes.

It seems that, regardless of the excellent practices within a school, its goals setting out ambitious targets to be reached, its improved teaching methods or its strict code of conduct to control pupils' behaviour, schools could find themselves in the 'ghettoes' of the Government League Table, simply because the majority of their student intake are working-class. According to Garner, "The league table won't tell parents that Holloway School is in the heart of an area of giant council housing estates where traditionally many youngsters haven't done well in exams or that the schools at the top of the table are in the leafier south of the borough" (Garner 1991 pg 12).

As the league table will not be informing parents what the children were capable of when they arrived at the school and how much has been achieved, parents' only judgement of a school is its position on the league table - through its published exam results. For most African Caribbean people, the state

schools their children attend are located in the more depressed areas within inner city London. Under the new education legislation, schools will be required to reveal:

- (a) details of their exam results, which will be published in local league tables
- (b) the ratio of truancy they suffer
- (c) details of how many pupils went on to higher education, college, training, employment and the dole after leaving school.

Real concern for the status of the schools black children will attend has prompted increased calls for black schools to be set up within black areas. For some African Caribbean parents, the ghettoization of their children's schools (something they see as inevitable through the government's league table) can only generate anger within the black community, making it conceivable for existing supplementary schools to further develop into fully fledged black schools, funded by the state, but run predominantly by black personnel for black pupils.

There can be absolutely not a single doubt in anybody's mind of the importance of African Caribbean Supplementary schools for the growing consciousness of African Caribbean children. After all, through their every day contact, persons in authority -

their teachers, their headteachers, television personalities - have always been white Europeans. It would not take them long to deduce from this that there is something wrong about being black. However, black-only schools is a further extension to the argument of Black Nationalist exclusionism as the answer to black oppression. Unable to find the road to a proletarian perspective, many black militants embraced the slogan of "community control" drawing as their inspiration the American ethnic political opportunistic accommodation. In this accommodation, a few high profile, articulate black activists will pressure the ruling class to allow them greater participation in the government of the local community, to provide a few black only schools, black only recreational facilities, etc and therefore develop for themselves a power base. This strategy expresses the desire to organise blacks independently of all white political or social organisations based on the despairing assumption that most whites are racists and could play no meaningful or supporting role whatsoever in the struggle against black oppression. The ghetto is treated as a permanent depressed fiefdom by the activists, who have a stake in the segregation of black people, just as Zionists have always had a stake in anti-Semitism to justify a garrison state of Israel.

It is significant to note that where Black schools do exist in the United States (particularly in the Southern States) historical reasons i.e. segregation policies, have been

instrumental in forcing the black community to produce their own schools, colleges and universities. The rhetoric of the liberal North which sought to establish the view that its aims permitted blacks to enter a wide range of occupations, in open competition with whites, could be dismissed as blacks in actuality were only permitted low status jobs which most whites did not want. The segregation laws of the South, in contrast, forced blacks to rebel against the creation of a black underclass. In April 1991, with only one vote against, plans for three black all-male academies were approved by the Detroit Board of Education. By September, an estimated 600 boys were enrolled in them - The Paul Robeson, The Malcolm X and The Marcus Garvey Schools. Black academics represent attempts by concerned parents to stem the flow of young boys who drop out of school and end up on drugs, in jail or dead. The use of public funding and the exclusion of girls has raised the disturbing question of re-segregation and discrimination, and as was pointed out by Lester Sloan, no other single issue has so greatly divided the black community in the United States, as the issue of single-sexed black male academies (Sloan 1991).

The state funded black male academies are administered under a programme called 'Community-based Management', with each academy operating as empowered schools, governed by principals, parents and teachers. Apart from its traditional curriculum, pupils are taught principles such as perseverance, money management, community service, spiritual wisdom, control of

anger and responsibility to family. For some, these academies are the black community's response to a problem that threatens a decline of the black male population. Others equate them with the legally mandated segregated schools, an affront to the memory of Martin Luther King and the hard fought and hard won battles of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s on the issue of segregated educational institutions.

Following the reasoning of some black activists, Blacks in Britain today are in much the same position as Blacks in the Northern States of America, in that they are becoming part of an underclass and efforts leading to separate black schools for black pupils have to be made if the status of black people is to improve. But would black segregated schools prepare black children to take their place in the real world? We have a society in which our children will have to integrate as adults. Shouldn't one of the main aims of the school environment be that pupils will be 'enriched' through their vicarious encounters with other cultures?

There is a crisis in schooling; one that has gripped the education system for the last fifteen years at least. More so, it would seem that both the main political parties in Britain have a stake in the crisis, and ensuring that State schools get a bad peg. The Conservatives, though hell bent on legislation, have no real faith in the system, and the Labour party is determined to deny the Tories any credit for the slightest

positive effect that may result from their education reform. But should the answer for the Black Community be segregated black schools for their children?

The widespread excitement generated in 1979 by the television production of Alex Haley's 'Roots' demonstrated more than just a continuing concern among blacks for 'Black History'. But for black parents there are other concerns too. Surveys on school effectiveness in Britain and America have identified seven characteristics that are important to parents:

1. Safe and Orderly Environment

That there exists for their children an orderly, purposeful atmosphere which is free from the threat of physical harm. This environment must be conducive to teaching and learning.

2. Clear School Objectives

There is a clearly articulated mission of the school through which the staff shows an understanding of and a commitment to instructional goals.

3. Clear Leadership

The head acts as the instructional leader who effectively communicates the mission of the school to staff, parents and students.

4 High Expectations

The school displays a climate of expectations in which the staff believes and demonstrates that students can attain mastery of basic skills and that they (the staff) have the capability to help students achieve such mastery.

5. Opportunity to Learn and Student Time on Task

Teachers allocate a significant amount of classroom time to instructions in basic skill areas. For a high percentage of that allocated time, students should be engaged in planned learning activities.

6. Frequent Monitoring of Student Progress

Feedback on students' academic progress is to be obtained frequently, Multiple assessment methods such as teacher-made tests, samples of students' work, mastery skills checklist etc. The results of these tests are used to improve individual students' performance and also to improve the instructional programme.

7. Home-School Relations

Parents should be made to feel at home at the school; to understand and support the basic mission of the school.

These characteristics are very important indeed. They form the nucleus of a good education, one which will serve the needs of both Black and White working class communities. There is a need to change the nature of what is taught and how it is taught - to eliminate the contradiction between an education designed to benefit a few, and the needs and aspirations of the many. There is obviously a need for the re-thinking of what was commonly termed knowledge. Knowledge must give way to 'Really useful Knowledge' - the result of people's positive efforts to achieve understanding. Such attempts will always be very deeply contradictory. They run against the grain of the dominant individualism of assessment and certification. Learning would be based on the integration of theoretical and practical study. It would use the culture and experience of students and their communities as an educational resource. It would identify the essentials for the creation of the conditions for equality: guarantees of rights of access for all, and uniformity of provision.

Closing Remarks

Ultimately, what could be said of supplementary schools but that they serve a real purpose within the black community. The need for such schools is further shown by their rapid development throughout London. There are two points that should emerge from this study, the first being the need for generating a training scheme for supplementary school teachers and parents. This scheme could be provided either from within the movement or through the use of expertise available to the movement from public sector institutions in the inner city areas. The second issue should be for the movement to provide opportunities for supplementary school teachers to visit other supplementary schools to increase their awareness of the range of good practices and the variety of teaching methods used. There is much to be learnt from arranging visits and exchanges, and observing the excellent work carried out by supplementary schools e.g. The Croydon Supplementary Educational Project and the R.B.O. Hart Supplementary School (to name but two).

Supplementary schools have been a very important instrument in the struggle for the elimination of racism and all forms of discrimination and unfairness in the educational system. There seems little doubt that these schools will be around for another generation of working-class, African Caribbean children. They have sustained their commitment to the black community and their commitment in turn has sustained them.

Implications for further research.

This study should not be seen as the definitive work on supplementary schools in London. Certainly, the need for scientifically controlled groups where ever possible cannot be over emphasized. Ironically, the constraints of time and finance did not permit us to treat this aspect of the survey with the caution it deserves.

The worrying trend within the supplementary school movement of an increasing number of fee-paying supplementary schools being established within London, is a worthwhile area for further research. Indeed some may dispute whether these private income generating educational ventures should call themselves supplementary schools in the first place, with a claim to this tradition - the right of roots - as a genuine community based educational initiative.

Finally, whatever the foreseeable limitations of this study, it is hoped that this has been a worthwhile effort in highlighting the educational needs within the African Caribbean community. The need for a comprehensive history of the supplementary school movement is also very necessary.

TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

RESULTS

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
37. Age:	22		19	
20 or under		9		10
20-25		4		5
26-30		13		10
31-35		27		16
36-40		27		21
41-45		-		5
46-50		4		10
51-60		9		21
Over 60		4		-
39. Ethnic Origin:	22		19	
African/Caribbean		90		89
Asian		-		-
Black British		9		-
White British		-		5
Other		-		5
40. Children of School Age:	18		16	
None		61		81
1-2		33		19
3-4		-		-
Over 4		6		-
41. Children Attending S.S.:	18		16	
Yes		11		6
No		89		94

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
3. Number of Years Teaching Experience in S.S.:	22		19	
Under 1 year		32		21
1-2 years		36		37
3-5 years		23		21
6-10 years		9		21
11-15 years		-		-
16-20 years		-		-
4. Years in Present S.S.:	22		19	
Under 1 year		41		21
1-2 years		27		37
3-5 years		23		21
6-10 years		9		21
11-15 years		-		-
16-20 years		-		-
5. S.S. Taught in Before Present Post:	22		19	
0		59		68
1		14		32
2		5		-
3		-		-
4		-		-
More Than Five		-		-
7. Post of Responsibility:	22		19	
Yes		36		32
No		64		68

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
8. Qualifications:	22		19	
a) Trained Teachers Cert		4		-
b) Certificate of Education		9		-
c) 1st Degree - No Training		9		16
d) 1st Degree & Post Graduate Cert		50		42
e) 1st Degree & Further Degree No Training		4		16
f) 1st Degree & Further Degree & Post Graduate Cert		9		26
g) Unqualified Teacher		4		-
h) Cert of Education & Trained Teachers Cert		4		-
9. Others Without Teaching Qualifications:	1		2	
a) Other Qualifications		100		100
b) None		-		-
10. Specialist Teachers:	22		19	
a) Yes		82		58
b) No		18		42
11. Specialist Subjects Taught:	22		19	
a) Maths		80		80
b) Science		10		5
c) English		75		80
d) History		5		8
e) Reading		56		65
f) Geography		-		5
g) Foreign Language		5		-
h) English & Maths		85		90

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
22. General Level of Support Received From:-				
The Co-Ordinator or Head:	22		19	
a) Very Good		45		58
b) Good		18		10
c) Satisfactory		5		-
d) Poor		-		-
e) None		-		5
f) Not Applicable		32		26
Senior Colleagues:	22		19	
a) Very Good		9		42
b) Good		18		10
c) Satisfactory		13		10
d) Poor		18		-
e) None		-		5
f) Not Applicable		41		36
School Adviser or Education liaison Officer:	22		19	
a) Very Good		9		-
b) Good		5		5
c) Satisfactory		5		-
d) Poor		5		10
e) None		9		5
f) Not Applicable		68		79

THE CURRICULUM/PROGRAM

Question	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
12. Well Defined or Structured Curriculum:	41	68		32
14. Are the Aims of School Reflected in Curriculum:	41	88		-
15. Is There a Definite Policy on Subjects Taught:	41	88		-
17. Is There a Defined Syllabus for Each Subject:	41	44		56
18. School Caters for Pupils Taking G.C.S.E.:	41	83		5
19. If "Yes" Does Syllabus Follow a Particular Exam Board: N/A (4)	41	31		51
20. Does School Employ Means of Assessment:	41	61		39
21. Is There a Standard Testing Procedure:	41	39		58
36. Do You Provide Work of Sufficient Depth in S.S.:	41	85		2
No Response (5)				

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
23. Are Pupils in your S.S. Underachieving in State Schools:	22		19	
a) Yes		64		89
b) No		27		10
c) Don't Know		4		
d) No Replies		4		
25. Are the Pupils in Your Own L.E.A. Underachieving:	22		19	
a) Yes		73		73
b) No		4		-
c) Don't Know		14		26
d) No Replies		9		-
27. Identify the Groups Underachieving More Than Others:	22		19	
a) African/Caribbean Boys		91		47
b) Asian Boys		4		-
c) White Boys		4		-
d) Others		-		-
e) African/Caribbean Girls		41		32
f) Asian Girls		-		5
g) White Girls		-		-
h) Others		-		-
i) No Response		9		37

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
28. Do Parents Contribute to the S.S.:	22		19	
a) Very Much		9		5
b) Fair		86		84
c) Not At All		-		10
29. Are Parents Consulted on School Curriculum:	22		19	
a) Yes		32		47
b) Sometimes		45		21
c) No		27		21
d) Other				
30. Do Parents Prepare Midday Snacks or Meal:	22		19	
a) Yes		18		26
b) Sometimes		18		26
c) No		55		37
d) Other		4		10
31. How Interested Are Parents in Their Children's Education:	22		19	
a) Very Interested		68		68
b) Fairly Interested		27		21
c) Not Interested		-		5
d) Don't Know		4		5

Question	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	N	%	N	%
32. How Knowledgeable are Parents About Their Children's Education:	22		19	
a) Very Knowledgeable		13		5
b) Fairly Knowledgeable		41		79
c) Not Knowledgeable		36		5
d) Don't Know		4		5
e) No Response		4		5
33. How Regular are Meetings Held Between Parents & Teachers	22		19	
a) Fortnightly		-		-
b) Monthly		-		53
c) Each Term		36		16
d) Annually		8		5
e) Other (When the Need Arises)		45		16
f) None (No Meetings)		8		-
g) No Response		-		10
34. What Are Parents Expectations of Their Children's Educational Performance:	22		19	
a) Realistic		18		32
b) Fairly Realistic		68		63
c) Unrealistic		4		-
d) Very Unrealistic		4		-
e) Don't Know		-		-
f) No Response		4		5

Question	More		Less		Same	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
N = 37						
35. Would Teachers Like to See "More", "Less", or "the Same" Level of Parental Involvement in the Following:						
a) Attendance at Meetings	73		3		8	
b) Help/Assistance at S.S.	84		-		11	
c) Social Interaction with Teachers	59		-		27	
d) Involvement in Matters of L.E.A.	81		-		8	
e) Involvement as Parent Governors	81		-		3	
f) Assistance on Trips/ Other Projects	65		-		30	
g) Assistance with Homework	84		-		3	
h) Help with Reading, Writing Arithmetic	86		-		3	
i) Involvement in Structuring of the Curriculum	49		3		43	
No Response				10%		

PUPILS QUESTIONNAIRES N=126

QUESTION 2	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9
More than 2 yrs	12	8	7	4	10	4
10-12 months	4	7	4	3	4	0
6-10 months	2	3	0	0	1	2
less than 6 months	12	5	12	7	11	3
QUESTION 3						
Like S.S	14	5	12	9	16	6
Neither like or dislike	12	15	6	3	2	1
Like S.S very much	3	3	4	3	8	1
Dislike S.S	1	0	2	0	0	0

1

QUESTION 4	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
Ambition V.I	22	17	16	10	11	14	90
Ambition F.I	6	4	3	1	5	1	20
Ambition N.I	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Ambition D.M	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
Good Luck V.I	9	7	10	2	4	8	40
Good Luck F.I	8	5	6	7	5	4	35
Good Luck N.I	7	3	3	3	1	0	17
Good Luck D.M	4	6	2	1	5	3	21
Getting on with teachers V.I	10	8	12	5	11	7	53
Getting on with teachers F.I	10	7	3	1	1	1	23
Getting on with teachers N.I	7	2	1	5	2	0	17
Getting on with teachers D.M	2	7	1	2	3	0	15
Self confidence V.I	25	16	12	9	18	6	80
Self confidence F.I	4	5	2	3	2	1	17
Self confidence N.I	0	2	0	0	0	1	3

QUESTION 4	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
A good brain V.I	17	16	12	10	20	8	83
A good brain F.I	9	3	0	2	1	0	15
A good brain N.I	3	5	2	0	0	0	10
A good brain D.M	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
A good English accent V.I	6	4	8	3	7	7	35
A good English accent F.I	6	6	5	4	10	1	32
A good English accent N.I	13	1	2	7	0	0	23
A good English accent D.M	3	10	3	0	6	0	0
A suitable appearance V.I	12	13	7	8	12	5	57
A suitable appearance F.I	11	7	5	1	5	2	31
A suitable appearance N.I	4	2	2	4	3	0	15
A suitable appearance D.M	2	0	2	1	2	0	7
Hard work V.I	20	15	14	14	19	7	89
Hard work F.I	6	3	4	0	3	1	17
Hard work N.I	3	3	1	1	0	0	8

QUESTION 6	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
am well liked	19	10	12	9	17	4	71
I am well balanced	13	6	10	8	14	5	56
I am fairly bright	15	9	14	7	16	6	67
I am bright but lazy	12	9	9	3	10	6	52
I work quite hard	19	9	11	10	17	4	70
I have a fairly suitable appearance	19	9	7	6	11	7	59
I get on well with teachers	17	11	9	9	9	7	62
I have a lot of self confidence	21	6	6	9	12	6	60
I can read quite well	20	12	13	11	13	7	76
My maths is quite good	18	9	12	10	15	7	71
I am fairly ambitious	20	12	8	5	12	7	64

QUESTION 7	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
Nelson Mandela	30	22	24	15	25	9	126
On Martin Luther King	30	22	21	15	20	5	113
Marcus Garvey	22	20	13	6	9	4	74
May Seacole	15	13	7	2	2	2	41
C.L.R J es	5	3	1	2	1	0	12
Malcom X	25	14	7	2	11	4	62
Booken T Washington	6	5	2	1	5	0	19
Ioussaint L'Overton	3	2	0	1	3	6	15
QUESTION 8							
go to Univerity or Polytechnic	25	18	18	10	20	6	97
get a job and work full time	4	5	5	4	4	3	25
Look for an Apprenticeship	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Join the Army	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Join the Police Force	0	0	0	0	1	0	

QUESTION 9	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
Very much better	14	8	7	4	12	1	46
Better chances than my parents	9	7	9	4	5	1	35
About the same	4	4	3	6	6	1	24
Don't know	1	1	2	0	1	0	5
	1	3	4	1	1	6	16
QUESTION 10							
A new car	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
A good education	19	20	20	9	22	7	97
A good standard of living	10	4	4	4	1	1	24
QUESTION 11 & 12							
Working class	22	16	20	12	22	7	99
Middle class	8	5	4	3	3	1	24
A good standard of living	0	2	0	0	0	1	3

QUESTION 15	AGE 14-15	AGE 13	AGE 12	AGE 11	AGE 10	AGE 8 & 9	TOTAL
Talk about SS with teacher	13	5	2	3	6	1	30
Talk about school mates	20	9	11	2	10	4	56
Talk about school friend	20	14	14	6	13	6	73
QUESTION 16							
One of best in class	27	17	19	10	17	9	99
About the middle of the class	3	5	4	2	3	0	17
Just enough to get by	0	0	1	3	4	0	8
Don't know	0	0	0	9	22	7	97
QUESTION 17							
One of the best in class	9	5	12	5	9	1	41
Above the middle in class	3	5	4	4	5	4	25
About the middle in class	18	12	8	6	8	3	55
Below the middle of class	0	0	0	0	2	1	3

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions for completing the questionnaire:

Please circle the appropriate letter (s) to the answer (s) of the questions asked.

1. What type of Supplementary School do you teach in?
 - (a) Religious
 - (b) Charity based Saturday School
 - (c) Support service Saturday School
 - (d) Agency funded Saturday School
 - (e) Special School
 - (f) Other (please Specify)

2. What age group do you teach?
 - (a) Nursery / Pre-school
 - (b) Primary:
 - (i) Infants
 - (ii) Juniors
 - (c) Secondary:
 - (i) 11 - 16 years
 - (ii) 16+

3. How long have you been teaching in Supplementary Schools?
 - (a) Less than 1 year
 - (b) 1 - 2 years
 - (c) 3 - 5 years
 - (d) 6 - 10 years
 - (e) 11 - 15 years
 - (f) 16 - 20 years

4. How long have you been teaching in your present Supplementary School?
 - (a) Less than 1 year
 - (b) 1 - 2 years
 - (c) 3 - 5 years
 - (d) 6 - 10 years
 - (e) 11 - 15 years
 - (f) 16 - 20 years

5. How many Supplementary Schools have you taught at, in the duration of your voluntary teaching commitment?
- (a) 1
 - (b) 2
 - (c) 3
 - (d) 4
 - (e) 5
 - (f) More than five
6. What is your present post? (Subject and age group)
-
-
7. Do you have a post of responsibility in your Supplementary School? eg. teacher in charge of Nursery Education?
- (a) Yes (If yes please specify) -----
-
- (b) No
8. What teaching qualifications do you have? (More than one answer may be included)
- (a) Trained Teacher's Certificate
 - (b) Certificate of Education
 - (c) B.Ed Degree
 - (d) BA / BSc Degree
 - (e) PGCE
 - (f) MA Degree
 - (g) PHD
 - (h) Other (Please Specify)
9. If you are not a qualified teacher, please list any qualifications you may have?
-
-
10. Have you had specialised training to teach the age group you now teach?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No

11. What are your main teaching subjects?

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)

THE CURRICULUM/PROGRAMME

12. Does your school have a well defined/structured curriculum or programme?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

13. What would you consider the main aims/objectives of your school to be?

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)

14. Are these reflected in the curriculum?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

15. Is there a definite policy on what subjects should be taught?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

16. What subjects are given the greatest priority?

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)
- (d)

17. Is there a defined syllabus for each subject?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

18. Do you cater for older pupils taking the GCSE?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

19. If "yes", does your syllabus follow the requirements of a particular examination board?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
20. Do you employ any means of assessment within your subject area or within the school as a whole?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
21. Do you have a standard testing procedure?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
22. What would you consider to be the general level of support you receive from the following people?
- (i) Your Co-Ordinator or Head of the School
 - (a) Very Good
 - (b) Good
 - (c) Satisfactory
 - (d) Poor
 - (e) None
 - (f) Not applicable
 - (ii) Your Senior Colleagues
 - (a) Very Good
 - (b) Good
 - (c) Satisfactory
 - (d) Poor
 - (e) None
 - (f) Not applicable
 - (iii) Your School Adviser or Education Liaison Officer
 - (a) Very Good
 - (b) Good
 - (c) Satisfactory
 - (d) Poor
 - (e) None
 - (f) Not applicable
-

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

23. Do you think that pupils in your Supplementary School are underachieving in main stream (state) schools?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Don't know

Comments: -----

24. If "yes", what do you think are the most important reasons?

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)

25. Do you think that pupils in your own London Education Authority are underachieving?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Don't know

26. If "yes" are there reasons not already given?

- (a)
- (b)
- (c)

27. In your view are there particular groups of pupils who as a group are underachieving more than others?

- (a) Afro-caribbean boys
 - (b) Asian boys
 - (c) White boys
 - (d) Others
 - (e) Afro-caribbean girls
 - (f) Asian girls
 - (g) White girls
 - (h) Others
-

PARENTS

28. What level of participation do parents contribute to the Supplementary School?
- (a) Very Much
 - (b) Fair
 - (c) None at all
29. Do parents make an input or are consulted on the programme or curriculum of the Supplementary School?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) Sometimes
 - (c) No
 - (d) Other (please specify)
30. Do parent assist in the preparation of midday meals/snacks on a weekly basis for pupils?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) Sometimes
 - (c) No
31. In your view, how interested are the parents of your pupils in their children's education?
- (a) Very interested
 - (b) Fairly interested
 - (c) Not interested
 - (d) Don't know
32. In your view, how knowledgeable are the parents of your pupils about their children's education?
- (a) Very knowledgeable
 - (b) Fairly knowledgeable
 - (c) Not knowledgeable
 - (d) Don't know
33. How regular are meetings held between parents and teachers of your Supplementary School to discuss problems pertaining to the school?
- (a) Fortnightly
 - (b) Monthly
 - (c) Each term
 - (d) Annually
 - (e) Other: (please specify)

34. In your view, what are the expectations of the parents of your pupils about their educational performance?

- (a) Realistic
- (b) Fairly realistic
- (c) Unrealistic
- (d) Very unrealistic
- (e) Don't know

35. Would you like to see more, less or the same level of parental involvement in the following areas?

	<u>MORE</u>	<u>LESS</u>	<u>SAME</u>
(a) Attendance at meetings	-----		
(b) Help/Assistance at Supplementary School	-----		
(c) Social interaction with teachers	-----		
(d) Involvement in matters of local L. E. A.	-----		
(e) Involvement as parent governors	-----		
(f) Assistance on trips/ other projects arranged by the Supplementary School	-----		
(g) Assistance with home-work	-----		
(h) Help with reading/ writing and arithmetic	-----		
(i) Involvement in the structuring of the curriculum	-----		

36. In your opinion, do you provide work of sufficient dept and at sufficient pace for older and more able children?

- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
- Coment:

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

37. Age: Please circle the number which corresponds to your age group.
- (a) Under 20 years old
 - (b) 20 - 25 years
 - (c) 26 - 30 years
 - (d) 31 - 35 years
 - (e) 36 - 40 years
 - (f) 41 - 45 years
 - (g) 46 - 50 years
 - (h) 51 - 60 years
 - (i) Over 60 years
38. Sex:
- (a) Male
 - (b) Female
39. How would you best describe your ethnic origin?
- (a) Afro-caribbean
 - (b) Asian
 - (c) Black British
 - (d) White British
 - (e) Other: (please specify)
40. How many children of school age do you have?
- (a) None
 - (b) 1 - 2
 - (c) 3 - 4
 - (d) Over 4
41. Do they attend a Supplementary School?
- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
42. Any other comments:
-
-
-

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

PUPIL'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the correct letter to the answer of the question.

1. How old are you?
 - (a) 8 years
 - (b) 9 years
 - (c) 10 years
 - (d) 11 years

2. How long have you attended Supplementary School?
 - (a) less than 6 months
 - (b) 6 to 10 months
 - (c) 10 to 12 months
 - (d) More than 2 years

3. Do you like coming to Saturday School?
 - (a) I like it
 - (b) I like it very much
 - (c) I neither like it nor dislike it
 - (d) I dislike it

4. How important are these things for you?

1 = Very important	2 = Fairly important
3 = Neutral	4 = Not important
5 = Doesn't matter	

(a) Ambition	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Good luck	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Getting on with teachers	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Self confidence	1	2	3	4	5
(e) A good brain	1	2	3	4	5
(f) A good English accent	1	2	3	4	5
(g) A suitable appearance	1	2	3	4	5
(h) Hard work	1	2	3	4	5

5. How important are these for grown up people?

1 = Very important	2 = Fairly important
3 = Neutral	4 = Not important
5 = Doesn't matter	

(a) Ambition	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Good luck	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Self confidence	1	2	3	4	5
(d) A good brain	1	2	3	4	5
(e) A good English accent	1	2	3	4	5
(f) A suitable appearance	1	2	3	4	5
(g) Hard work	1	2	3	4	5

6. Which of these statements describe you best?

- (a) I am well liked
- (b) I am well behaved
- (c) I am fairly bright
- (d) I am bright but lazy
- (e) I work quite hard
- (f) I have a fairly suitable appearance
- (g) I do get on well with teachers
- (h) I have a lot of self-confidence
- (i) I can read quite well
- (j) My Maths is quite good
- (k) I am fairly ambitious

7. Do you know who these people are?

- (a) Nelson Mandela
- (b) Dr. Martin Luther King
- (c) Marcus Garvey
- (d) Mary Seacole
- (e) CLR James
- (f) Malcolm X
- (g) Booker T. Washington
- (h) Toussaint L'Ouverture

8. When you leave school, which of the following do you expect to do?

- (a) Go on to University or Polytechnic
- (b) Get a job and work full-time
- (c) Look for an Apprenticeship
- (d) Join the Army
- (e) Join the Police Force

9. Most parents hope their children will have better opportunities in life than they did themselves. Do you think your chances in life are better or worse than your parents' chances were?
- (a) Very much better
 - (b) Better
 - (c) About the same
 - (d) Worse
 - (e) Don't know
10. How important are these things to you? Select only ONE.
- (a) A new car
 - (b) A good education
 - (c) A good standard of living
11. Please describe the sort of job your Father does.
12. Please describe the sort of job your Mother does.
13. Please describe the sort of job you would most like to do if you had the chance.
14. What did your parents say were the reasons they sent you to Saturday School?
- (a)
 - (b)
15. Do you talk about Saturday School to?:
- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|----|
| (a) Your teachers | Yes | No |
| (b) Your school mates | Yes | No |
| (c) Your friend | Yes | No |

16 How good a Pupil do your parents want you to be at school?

Select one only

(a) One of the best pupils in the class

(b) About the middle of the class

(c) Just good enough to get by

(d) Don't know

17 How good a pupil do you think you are at school generally?

(a) One of the best pupils in the class

(b) Above the middle in the class

(c) About the middle of the class

(d) Below the middle of the class

18 Male

Female

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