IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE WITHIN THE BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

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This study of the Black Supplementary School Movement examines the origins and development of a relatively small Afro-Caribbean social movement in Britain.

The Movement began in the late 1960s and had its origins in the resistance of a group of Afro-Caribbean people, to the educational plans pursued within the London Borough of Haringey in which the form and quality of education for the black children would be determined by decisions taken by the dominant white group in the Council.

A related factor in the conflict that arose, was the existence of a confidential report which argued that West Indian children had lower IQs than white children and that therefore in the general interests of all children there should be a policy of dispersal of black children into a number of neighbouring schools in the Borough.

The report incensed the Afro-Caribbean community. The main assumptions of the report were challenged and a counter-charge was made that the Borough's hidden agenda was to try to preserve two of the best schools in the area for white children only, and further, that the educational provision for black children in local schools was of very poor quality, especially in relation to basic literacy and numeracy.

Three central themes in the education plans in the Borough were resisted. These were the bussing of black children, a banding scheme in secondary schools and the placement of a disproportionate number of black pupils in ESN schools.

The action received wide media publicity and led to the emergence of West Indian supplementary schools to compensate for the inadequacies of teaching and learning in state schools.
These supplementary schools were voluntary schools, run mainly by Afro-Caribbean people in local neighbourhoods on Saturday mornings from makeshift classrooms in church halls and community centres. The teachers in the schools were generally unqualified and while some schools ran entirely through voluntary effort, others sought and obtained financial support from Community Relations Councils, Urban Aid programmes and even Local Education Authorities.

By following the progress of the Black Supplementary School Movement, this study also examines the role of the Movement's intellectuals, the ideology of the Movement and the practice within two supplementary schools used in the research. The conclusion reached in this study, is the thesis that the central concern of the Movement is to resist incorporation as an underclass and the hegemony of the dominant strata in British society.

Finally, the research considers the implications of the Movement for the Afro-Caribbean community, for issues relating to state education and for an understanding of theory and practice in relation to social movements.
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Cornel DaCosta
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INTRODUCTION

By the end of 1979, the researcher was already in the early stages of a part-time study of the transition of West Indian pupils from primary to secondary schools in one outer London Borough. The research concern then was to examine the apparent change in pupil attitudes to school and the much reported issues of underachievement and alienation among young West Indian pupils. Thus the researcher had already designed a preliminary Likert type attitude scale which was in the process of development and refinement to address the research concern.

Then quite unexpectedly, in November 1979, a letter from the Community Relations Council in the Borough arrived at the North East London Polytechnic where the researcher worked as a lecturer in Education. The letter was routinely passed on to the researcher for a reply. The letter enquired if there was any possibility that one or more 'teachers' from among lecturers or students might volunteer to teach in one or more local supplementary schools for West Indian pupils. At that stage, the researcher was quite unaware of the existence of such schools but agreed to meet a Community Relations officer or his representative to discuss the matter.

Soon after, the co-ordinator of a supplementary school called at the Polytechnic and provided the researcher as much detail as possible about West Indian supplementary schools. After a long discussion and when the co-ordinator became aware that the researcher had long experience in primary school teaching, especially of black pupils, the researcher was asked if he would personally volunteer to teach in a supplementary school on Saturday mornings. At this point the researcher indicated his research interest on black pupils in schools and enquired if as a voluntary teacher he could also undertake some research in the supplementary school?

The co-ordinator was happy to accept the researcher as a voluntary teacher and his research involvement, provided the research was 'kept discreet'. But the researcher was not clear at that stage if any research might indeed be possible in a supplementary school and he also
got the feeling that the co-ordinator did not feel that there was much to research about in such a situation.

The researcher began work as a voluntary teacher at his first supplementary school, now called the North London Supplementary School (NLSS) at the end of November 1979. It was his first ever 'encounter' with such work and the research interest in supplementary schools developed from that point. The earlier 'research concern' was abandoned although clearly, there appeared to be some affinity between the new research interest and the old one. The opportunity for research which presented itself to the researcher gradually took on an ethnographic orientation. It was discovered that each supplementary school had tenuous links with a larger movement and by consistently probing into this movement, one door gradually led to another until it was possible to fit several parts of a jigsaw into place. This research is therefore a study of a movement called the Black Supplementary School Movement. When the research effectively began in January 1980, references to supplementary schools in the literature were virtually non-existent. However, as the work progressed over the past seven years, several fairly brief accounts and studies have been published about West Indian supplementary schooling and a body of literature has begun to emerge about this particular form of schooling. This study should provide additional data to such literature and throw some light on the emergence, development and activity of a relatively small but interesting social movement in Britain.

It should be noted at this stage that throughout this study, the terms 'West Indian' and 'Afro-Caribbean' are used interchangeably to refer to people who migrated to Britain from the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s. These terms are also used to refer to their children even though most of these children were born in Britain. Sometimes, reference is also made to Afro-Caribbeans as 'black' peoples or 'ethnic minorities' especially when reference is made to Afro-Caribbeans collectively with people of Asian origin now living in Britain. The term 'Afro-Caribbean' was the descriptive term most favoured by the group studied and reference to this point is made later in the thesis.
CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE WEST INDIAN COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN
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1.1. Migration and settlement

Cohen and Manion (1983) suggest that as a consequence of 30 million deaths during the Second World War in Europe, there developed a chronic shortage of labour for the enormous task of re-building industry and commerce. It is also widely recognised that the economies of Western Europe recovered fairly rapidly and that this led to an 'economic boom' in the late 1950s and 1960s, and in turn, created an even greater need for manpower than had been anticipated. This chapter therefore considers how this shortfall of labour was met in Britain through the migration of people from the former British Empire, and in particular, how significant numbers migrated and eventually settled here from the Caribbean.

Although Britain's labour shortage was alleviated to some extent by about half a million European refugees and displaced persons between 1946 and 1951, as well as by the recruitment of 350,000 European nationals between 1945 and 1957 (Sivanandan, 1982) the bulk of the labour requirements were met from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. This was done partly through organised recruitment into London Transport and the British Hotels and Restaurants Association, and partly through market forces of demand and supply (Hiro, 1973; Foner, 1979; Walvin, 1984). A familiar and important point to make is that the inflow of Asian and West Indian labour into the British economy closely followed the demand for labour. In other words, because there was plentiful work available in Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s the migrants came here to take up such work (Freeman and Spencer, 1979) and active steps were taken in Britain to recruit such labour into specific parts of the economy.

Although it has been argued that Britain has known a small black presence (Fryer, 1984) since Roman times, the need for manpower
specifically in the two World Wars noticeably increased this presence for short periods. For instance, in the Second World War, about seven thousand West Indians enlisted as fighting men in the Royal Air Force alone and were stationed in the United Kingdom (Hiro, 1973). Interestingly too, during that war, more than 100,000 workers from the then British West Indies were recruited for agricultural and industrial work in the USA (Wickenden, 1958). The availability of such labour has sometimes been conceptualised as a 'reserve pool of labour' (Sivanandan, 1982) and clearly, there is evidence that it was used long before Caribbean migration became a political issue in the 1950s and 1960s in both, the UK and the USA.

At the end of the last War, most of those from the Caribbean involved in the defence of Britain and the Empire returned to the West Indies but the poor employment prospects there made many reconsider the opportunities for work in Britain and approximately 492 sailed to England in 1948. It does appear, however, that the severe labour shortage in Britain and the widespread availability of work, did not at first generate a rush here. No more than 1000 West Indians a year arrived in Britain until 1952 (Hiro, 1973) because the West Indian had a preference for the USA which was seen to be wealthier, closer to home and where there was already a settled West Indian community.

As the British economy expanded through the 1950s and 1960s, more and more English workers chose to move into less arduous jobs in the labour market (Peach, 1968). Thus a vacuum appears to have been created in work areas which were low paid and required one to work long and anti-social hours such as in the transport and health services. It is therefore not surprising that large numbers of those who left the West Indies sought and found work in these sectors of the economy (Tierney et al., 1982; Carter 1986).

In 1952, migration from the West Indies to the USA was restricted by the McCarren-Walter Act and Britain became the main focus of attention regarding prospects for employment (Walvin, 1984). In 1954, it is estimated that 11,000 migrants arrived in Britain. The figure doubled
in 1955 and remained at approximately 17,000 per year until the early 1960s when restrictions (Hiro, 1973) on Commonwealth immigrants became imminent. The prospects of an end to migration to Britain generated a rush to 'beat the ban' and a very large number entered the country before 30th June 1962, when the first legislation on the control of immigration to Britain in modern times was passed.

It is generally recognised that the main reason for migration from the West Indies to Britain was an economic one. The migrants did not visualise working in Britain permanently. Sivanandan (1982) argues that most became 'settlers' in Britain after making an assessment of the prospects here, but Pryce (1979) has also suggested that migration to Britain was similar to migration of West Indians to other parts of the world and was not necessarily seen as a short term enterprise. Clearly, there are contrasting views on this issue. The researcher's view on this is that West Indian migrants arrived here primarily in search of work and may not have had clear ideas about their long term plans. Most were predominantly male and relatively young (Glass et al., 1960). Where couples decided to travel to Britain together, they left any children they had with older relatives and other family members and sent remittances to them (Watson, 1977).

Hiro (1973) identifies two distinct types of West Indian immigrants to Britain. He states that:

during the earlier phase i.e. 1948 to 1955, the migrant was generally skilled or semi-skilled, and was often motivated (subconsciously) by a desire to acquire the social graces of the West Indian middle class by travelling to England, which was considered the historico-cultural 'navel' of West Indian society. During the later phase, i.e. from 1955-1962, the typical migrant was unskilled or semi-skilled with a rural or semi-rural background of poverty

Hiro (1973:8)
that such labour should go through specific selective procedures did not arise at first. Thus, while a form of contract system developed in Europe for labour, the legal rights of Commonwealth citizens to live and work in the UK made such contracts not only unnecessary but unworkable as this would be a contradiction of their rights to live and work without hindrance in the UK (Jones, C. 1977). This right gradually became eroded through successive Immigration legislation. Today of course, Britain has stringent control of immigration of labour from the Commonwealth. A series of Immigration Acts were passed (1962, 1968, 1971) culminating in the Nationality Act of 1981. The net effect of restriction of Commonwealth entry into Britain at different times may have accelerated the process by which the migrants turned into settlers. The freedom to be a migrant and move in and out of Britain at will had been eliminated. An additional point worth noting is that migrant labour from the Commonwealth of the 1950s and 1960s has enjoyed the rights of full political participation in the UK unlike migrant labour in much of the rest of Western Europe (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980). It is generally acknowledged though that although black migrants from the New Commonwealth enjoyed legal and political privileges which did not apply to migrant labour in Europe generally, their status in Britain has been that of a subordinate group in society. This issue is considered later in this chapter. For now however, further exploration is undertaken of the historical links between capitalist production, colonialism and post-colonialism, to explain the migrant connection since the 1950s between the West Indies and Britain.

1.2. Colonial and post-colonial links

There has been much debate (Williams, 1966, 1970; Rodney, 1972; Sivanandan, 1982; Miles, 1982) that the growth of capital in Britain was linked directly to the potential for such growth that lay in the colonies in America and in the Caribbean and that the growth of slavery in these geographical areas was a means of procuring labour for material gain and had a direct bearing on the later development of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.
In the Caribbean, slave labour, originally from Africa, became the dominant form of labour because the indigenous Caribs proved to be unsuitable to the requirements in the Caribbean and indentured labour from Britain of poor whites was not as cheap or 'controllable' as slave labour. In time, the profitability of colonial production in the West Indies was so considerable that through the accumulation of huge profits, capital was generated to make possible the development of industrial capitalism in England (Williams, 1966, 1970; Hobsbawn, 1969; Sivanandan, 1982). With the development of the capitalist mode of production, metropolitan Britain essentially became a world leader in manufactured products. The colonies for their part, provided markets for such manufactured goods as well as acting as a source for raw products. The profitability of such an economic and political relationship between Britain and her colonial territories, as well as through trading with the rest of the world was so considerable that she became the workshop and banker of the world and throughout the nineteenth century enjoyed undisputed leadership, power and control in the world. Hayes (1958) says that:

Great Britain was the wealthiest country in the world, with the largest accumulations of capital at home and the largest investments abroad. Its domestic wealth was roughly estimated at 6,000 million pounds sterling in 1865, and at 14,000 million in 1910, representing a rate of increase considerably in excess of the rate of population increase. And Britain was the chief lending country in the world, the foremost exporter of capital. By 1913, its external investments aggregated at least 3,760 million pounds sterling, comprising 1825 million in the British overseas empire, 755 million in the United States and a like amount in Latin America, 110 million in Russia, 65 million in Japan, 25 million in the Ottoman Empire, and 225 million elsewhere. Wherefore from all parts of the world and from a variety of public and private undertakings a stream of annual tribute flowed to Britain in the form of interest on stocks and bonds. London was the unquestioned financial capital of the world, the pivot of the world's money and banking and stock exchange.

Hayes (1958: 42-43)
Hayes (1958) is quoted at some length to emphasise the point that such material production requires labour at all levels of production, and in time, within the capitalist mode of production, the migration of labour became essential to its continuation (Portes, 1978).

The migration of labour to sources of production and employment has gone on historically in all parts of the world (Robinson, 1983; Fryer, 1984) but the size of such voluntary migration has been very significant in more recent times such as that to the USA from Europe which was estimated to be about 36 million between 1820 and 1924 (Hayes, 1958). The researcher thus shares the views of Castles and Kcsack (1973) and Castles et al., (1984) that the migration of colonial and ex-colonial people to Britain has to be seen in the light of such international migration even though Britain's relationship to her colonies as a recipient of manpower was different from the migration of free peoples from Europe to the USA. Pryce (1979) has likewise argued that:

colonisation is an international manifestation of the laws of capitalist competition. The metropole-colony nexus is a direct reflection of the capital-labour relationship. The colonial proletariat is the population that produces all the wealth, but does not share in its political and economic advantages.

Pryce (1979: 8)

Later, Pryce (1979) observes that:

a classical feature of colonisation is that it fosters in the colony political and economic dependences; this has the effect of turning it into a client-regime which exists solely to serve the interests of the metropolitan country.

Pryce (1979: 8)
What becomes clear is that as with many Third World countries today, in spite of attempts, for example, to industrialise the West Indies after the Second World War, important sectors of the economy came under the control of foreign and in particular, North American monopoly capital and through such foreign control and capital-intensive methods, massive unemployment was created (Rodney, 1972). Such unemployment formed a ready reserve of labour for the economy of metropolitan Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. Labour from the 'periphery' was readily available to the 'centre' (Langholm, 1971; Sivanandan, 1982).

To sum up this section, we note that for historical, economic and political reasons, large numbers of West Indians were available to meet the needs for labour in metropolitan Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s. By the same token, Britain found itself faced with a ready source of labour willing to come to the source of industrial production. Thus, such a large movement of people was no accident of history or a 'temporary oversight on Britain's part'.

Having considered briefly the colonial and post-colonial links for the migration of labour, it would be useful now to consider the social setting in which the West Indian community found itself in Britain.

1.3. The lived experience

Peach (1968), Sivanandan (1982), Gilroy (1987) and others have suggested that the shortage of workers in Britain made West Indian immigrants acceptable to employers and workers but only as long as a number of limitations operated on the freedom of these workers on what work they engaged in and where they worked. Peach (1968) argued that the settlement pattern of West Indians and other coloured immigrant groups in the UK suggests that they have been drawn in as a replacement population to those regions which, despite demand for labour, have failed to attract sufficient numbers of the white population. Thus, the choice available to West Indian workers was 'limited' to work that the indigenous population was not keen to have. In effect, this
suggests that the indigenous population unwittingly acted as a 'control group' over the kind of work available for West Indian workers. Peach (1968, 1979) also makes a convincing case that West Indian workers did not go where the greatest demand for work actually existed. They were invariably finding and taking work for a variety of complex reasons, not in the expanding industries but in declining ones, for example, the railways and the rubber industry. Such work was also relatively unattractive to the indigenous worker. Consequently, London and the South-east of England received the largest number of West Indians simply because work was most easily available to them. To use Peach's (1968) words:

West Indians have responded to a cycle of demand for labour and since on the whole, they have not moved to the regions of greater demand while general migration, on the whole, has done so, it seems unlikely that they have displaced white population in large numbers. There is a possibility that they may have accelerated some local movements, but they appear to have filled a vacuum rather than created a space.

Peach (1968: 71)

Such a view is also shared by Rex (1983), Moore (1975), Peach (1979) and Castles et al. (1984). Further, the availability of work and housing has also been a major factor in determining the pattern of settlement of immigrant groups in Britain since their arrival in the 1950s and 1960s. With increasing concentrations of immigrants in specific geographical areas, questions have often been raised about the problems of ghettoisation, but it is important to discover how the clustering of specific immigrant groups actually came about. In the case of the West Indians, the demand for their labour tended to be at the lowest end of the occupational ladder so that it would be expected that they would be concentrated at the lowest end of the residential ladder. The studies by Rex and Moore (1967), Rex (1973), Smith (1977) and Rex and Tomlinson (1979) have elaborated the circumstances, including local authority housing policies which resulted in immigrants, whether West Indian or Asian, clustering in what have
become known as 'inner-city areas' which are substantially deprived. Secondly, immigrants tended to maintain close family/kin networks following their migration to a new country (Patterson, 1965, 1971; Glass et al., 1960) and thus, Castles et al. (1984) and Walvin (1984) suggest that the greater the contrast in social and economic environments between the homeland and the new country, the greater the probable degree of clustering. There is of course the additional point that the movement of West Indians to Britain has taken place rapidly over a short period of time and this factor helped to accentuate such clustering. Finally, of course, we cannot discount the reality of 'white flight' from specific areas which had the effect of increasing immigrant or ethnic concentrations. While this has not reached the scale that it has in some cities in the USA (Thompson, 1974; Pinkney, 1984) it has resulted in pockets in some British urban centres with concentrations reaching forty to fifty per cent of the population. Such figures however, represent Asian and West Indian groups together in areas like Brixton, Streatham, Haringey and Southall in the London area. If members of ethnic-minorities become upwardly mobile, there may in time, be a dispersal from inner-city areas to suburban areas but this is likely to depend on the economic advances generally made by ethnic minorities and the degree to which they feel 'safe' away from ethnic minority concentrations (Hiro 1973). Cross (1987) has argued that The Asian and Afro-Caribbean unemployed are not only hindered by racism in Britain but that they are also living in the wrong parts of the country to find jobs. This clearly relates to the established pattern of settlement where the demand for unskilled or semi-skilled labour has been reduced due to economic decline. Cross (1987) goes on to say that:

unless Britain's black population participates in the new economy, it will continue to be condemned to remain on the side lines, however much progress is made against racism.

Cross (1987: 11)
While the proportion of younger West Indians must increase due to natural increase, it is worth noting that there is some evidence of an outflow of West Indians back to the West Indies as well as to Canada and the USA (Selbourne, 1983). In general, when reporting on their circumstances in Britain, Thomas-Hope (1982), reported that West Indians state that they are least satisfied in the UK compared to the greatest level of satisfaction in Canada and the USA. Dodd (1987) has argued however, that while the first wave of Caribbean immigrants may have found success in America, for the more recent migrants from the Caribbean, the 'dream has gone sour' and that if economic and social conditions continue to deteriorate, these migrants will gradually descend 'into the undifferentiated ranks of an underclass'. Selbourne (1983) has also claimed that many older members of the West Indian community are increasingly expressing uncertainty about their desire to stay in Britain in old age.

The sociological literature on the disadvantages experienced by West Indians in Britain is very considerable. There is a variety of academic studies as well as official reports (Smith, 1977; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Cheetham et al., 1981; Carter, 1986; Pilkington, 1984; Thomas, 1984; Stone, 1985; Ben-Tovim et al., 1986) which show that in at least three main areas, that is, employment, housing, and education, West Indians are located at the lower end of available provision and are in considerable 'need' to alleviate their disadvantaged position in society. The lived experience of West Indians is therefore not a happy one in Britain and although the present study will focus specifically on the educational disadvantage experienced by West Indians, clearly such disadvantage must be linked to the other disadvantages referred to above.

The next section of this chapter examines the dominant form of stratification in Britain and the place of West Indians within the social structure of British society.
1.4. West Indians in the British class structure

This section examines varying explanations of the place of West Indians in British class structure. The view is taken that following a period of West Indian settlement in Britain over three decades, an understanding of their status in the stratification system and their relation to social and economic power is central to an understanding of their life chances.

In his work on immigrant workers in Europe, including the West Indians in Britain, Gorz (1970) argued that they represented a separate underclass or sub-proletariat in Western European stratified societies. In such an argument, the immigrants in Western Europe have the worst paid jobs, the poorest housing and suffer the most during economic recessions. This in turn means that the working class is divided along racial lines and the indigenous working class aligns itself ideologically with the bourgeoisie on the basis of racist or chauvinistic beliefs.

In Britain, it could be argued that there were studies of statistical measures of inequality of ethnic and racial minorities but a marked absence of theoretical work on the structural location of immigrant workers until Rex and Moore's (1967) study in Birmingham which developed a Weberian model of market inequalities and placed racial minorities within a class analysis linked to their former colonial status. This theme was developed further in Rex's (1973) work, Moore (1977) and Rex and Tomlinson (1979). Since then, there has been a continuing debate between Marxist and Weberian explanations about the place of ethnic minorities in British society in terms of class, race and power.

Traditional Marxist writers have claimed that black people in Britain are an integral part of the indigenous working class. By virtue of being manual wage earners, it is argued that they encounter the same economic and social disadvantages as any other manual workers. While such writers accept that racial discrimination may exacerbate the
disadvantage of black minorities, the argument goes that there is a shared common class position among black ethnic minorities and the white working class. In this sense, they are part of the working class.

If we examine Castles and Kosack's (1973) work, we note a modified version of Gorz's (1970) analysis but which appears to recognise the import of Rex's (1973) work. Thus, Castles and Kosack (1973) speak of a 'race relations structure' in so far as the inequalities and differentiation inherent in a social structure are linked to physical and cultural criteria related to ethnic minorities. In such a process, they argue that prejudice functions as an ideological justification for exploiting immigrant labour. They also claim that indigenous working class aggression is deflected from the privileged class to immigrants and that the indigenous working class support discriminatory measures to ensure that immigrants remain at the bottom of the hierarchy of social stratification. But in spite of such an argument, Castles and Kosack (1973) do not view immigrant workers as representing a sub-proletariat or an underclass. Rather, for them, immigrants and the indigenous working class workers form part of one working class, albeit a divided working class. For Castles and Kosack (1973), immigrant workers and the indigenous working class share a similar relationship to the means of production: they do not own or control the means of production, they work under the direction and interests of others and they have no control over the product of their work. They thus speak of:

two strata within the working class - the indigenous workers with generally better conditions and the feeling of no longer being right at the bottom of society, form the higher stratum. The immigrants who are the least privileged and most exploited group of society, form the lower stratum.

Castles and Kosack (1973: 477)
In other words, instead of calling the immigrants a sub-proletariat, they are referred to as a sub-stratum within the proletariat. However, Castles and Kosack (1973) do concede that the indigenous working class may still see themselves as members of a separate social class but that this is a manifestation of their false consciousness.

Allen and Smith (1974) have argued that the colour dimension does not obliterate the class dimension and that conceiving of immigrants as if they inevitably fill the role of an underclass is erroneous. They insist that, although few in numbers, and despite the fact of institutional racism in Britain, certain sections of the Asian and West Indian population in Britain do have 'class advantages in life style and more importantly in life chances'.

The major weakness in the Marxist traditional position is that the evidence and significance of racial discrimination is underplayed. Not enough recognition is given to the objective and subjective reality of racial disadvantage experienced by black minorities compared to the white working class. It therefore becomes difficult to sustain the argument that similarities in their relations to the means of production are enough to make them essentially all part of one major class, the working class. Some black sociologists, (Robinson, 1983; Gilroy, 1987) are especially critical of traditional Marxist views like those of Miles (1982) and Westergaard and Resler (1976) who articulate the view of a unified social formation of a white and black proletariat in a common struggle against the bourgeoisie. Gilroy (1987) has argued that traditional Marxists are invariably idealists for whom working class solidarity overrides all other considerations in favour of an international working class which some day, will overthrow bourgeoisie domination and rule.

It is fairly obvious that class stratification and racial stratification are intertwined but the importance of treating the two as analytically separate is crucial for the following reason. While class is typically ascribed, it is in fact possible to change one's class position within a class structure but this is virtually
impossible in relation to ethnic and racial stratification as suggested by Berreman (1972). For Berreman (1972), in a class system individual social mobility is legitimate and indeed encouraged while group mobility is more difficult. However, in a racial or birth-ascribed system,

individuals know that legitimate status change is impossible - that only dissimulation, revolution, or an improbable change in publicly accorded social identity can alter one's race.

Berreman (1972: 399)

Likewise, Kuper's (1974) argument is that in the case of mobile individuals from ethnic minorities,

the upwardly mobile are not ... lost to their original group in contrast to the tendency in class mobility. Race remains an extrinsic point of reference, and upward mobility individuals may be readily drawn back into their racial group.

Kuper (1974:234)

A further weakness in the Marxist position is that it does not recognise the Weberian argument that society is made up of a multiplicity of classes rather than two great warring and antagonistic camps engaged in hegemonic struggle. This is the view particularly well developed in Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) work which argues for the 'underclass' thesis. In this view, racial discrimination is so extensive in Britain that black people end up in the most disadvantaged positions in society which are at the lower end of the economic order. This view is succinctly expressed in the following statement:

Thus at the heart of modern industrial society, in the employment relation itself one finds something which may have more general validity, the notion of a working class which has won a secure contractual relationship with those who run the economy, and an 'underclass' which enjoys no such security but which sees the economy as an alien
system with which one has necessarily to communicate in order to earn a living.

Rex and Tomlinson (1979: 16)

In trying to explain such a conclusion, 'underclass theorists' such as the above, present two broad kinds of arguments. Firstly, the significance of racism puts black people into a position where they enjoy low status and as a result they encounter severe discrimination and consequently become concentrated in the lowest paid occupations or chronically unemployed or underemployed (Giddens 1973; Hubbuck and Carter 1980). The second kind of argument stresses that the modern economy generates a particular kind of occupational structure and that this structure existed before ethnic minorities entered it. This kind of view tends to play down the significance of racism in the formation of an underclass. Rather, it emphasises in modern Western economies the emergence of what has become known as the 'dual labour market'. Such economies are characterised by segmentation into two sectors: a monopoly sector and a competitive sector. The argument goes that the monopoly or primary sector is constituted of large enterprises, firms and organisations. Invariably, they are well organised bureaucratically, are capital intensive and use advanced machinery and technology. The workers in this sector are relatively secure, well unionised, enjoy favourable economic returns, and possibilities of advancement in the work place.

In contrast, the competitive or secondary sector consists of relatively small companies or firms, which are labour intensive and lack a bureaucratic form of organisation. The workers tend not to be unionised, receive a low rate of economic return, have little or no job security and few chances of promotion. It has been argued that the organisational structure within the monopoly sector and its use of advanced technology necessitates the use of a well trained, stable and experienced labour force while firms in the competitive sector by contrast operate in a highly fluctuating market which necessitates a flexible or disposable labour force which either attracts or actively
recruits women and black people as workers. The theory of the dual labour market highlights the formation of a stratified labour market with black people and women relatively disadvantaged compared to white men.

Rex and Tomlinson (1979) illustrate how the effects of a dual labour market disadvantages ethnic minorities in employment and that these disadvantages are matched by disadvantages in two other key areas, that is, housing and education. They state that with the formation of an underclass across three important sectors, the likelihood of black people operating in a separate class or an underclass is increased and that for the average member of the ethnic minority, to cope with his situation and perhaps even improve upon it, he may need to rely more on the support of members of his own ethnic community network than on the hoped for support of members of the indigenous white working class community. Such a generalisation is clearly valid but in day-to-day interaction between the ethnic minorities and the indigenous working class, one can of course find many examples of mutual support and help provided across the race divide. It would therefore be useful to discover what mutual support exists if any between the West Indian ethnic minority and the indigenous working class in relation to supplementary schooling.

In relation to the above point, one other theoretical view seems worth incorporating in this discussion on the place of West Indians in the British class structure. Parkin's (1979) critique of Marxist theories of class is primarily based on the assertion that Marxist theories cannot adequately take account of:

those complexities that arise when racial, religious, ethnic and sexual divisions run at a tangent to formal class divisions.

Parkin (1979: 4)
Parkin (1979) argues that Marxist theories which place their emphasis upon structural factors are unable to specify the connections, for instance, between class divisions and 'ethnic/communal relations'. For Parkin (1979) the answer to this problematic may be to draw on the concept of 'social closure' which refers to the process by which social groups attempt to maximise their rewards by restricting the access of other groups to resources and opportunities. He identifies two main forms of social closure, that is, 'exclusion' and 'usurpation'. Both are means of mobilising power in order to enhance or defend a group's share of rewards or resources. The main difference between these two modes is that exclusionary closure involves the use of power by one group in a downward direction by closing off the opportunities of another group beneath it, while usurpationary closure involves the exercise of power in an upward direction to bite into the advantages of higher groups. The implication of this model is that all forms of exclusion have the potential to provoke usurpation practices by the excluded groups and usurpation constitutes a potential threat to the stratification order. Exclusion also provides a group the ingredients for ideological struggle and the consequent usurpation can range from marginal redistribution to the complete dispossession of the dominant class.

Parkin (1979) argues that exclusionary social closure operates by reference to individualistic as well as to collectivist criteria and that the precise character and combination of these criteria determined the type and range of subordinate social collectivities. The use of individualistic closure criteria excludes individuals from access to rewards and opportunities by reference to their inability to meet certain standards or qualities, while the use of collectivist criteria excludes individuals by reference to characteristics that are integral to their identification such as membership of a group, race or religion which are negatively defined.

Parkin (1979) then argues that three types of subordinate groups can be identified, that is, communal groups, social classes and segmental groups and that:
societies marked by conflict between religious or racial communities do not exhibit the same type of class structure as societies lacking such conflict, notwithstanding similarities in their occupational systems and property relations.

Parkin (1979:4)

Parkin's (1979) work on closure theory has received much acceptance from sociologists, and critiques by Mackenzie (1980), Murphy (1986) and others have expressed much support for it. Rex (1979a) argued that:

Parkin's discussion of closure ... illuminates many of the issues of British politics in the sixties. And his notion of double closure ... seems to me to be a theoretical notion of the first importance ... I believe that the importance of this concept in the field of ethnic and race relations is enormous and can be developed even further than Parkin thinks it can.

Rex (1979a: 201)

As for Parkin (1979) himself, he concludes that:

One of the attractions of the closure model is that it highlights the fact of communal cleavage and its relationship to class, and seeks to analyse both within the same conceptual framework. More generally, it proposes that intra-class relations be treated as conflict phenomena of the same general order as inter-class relations, and not as mere disturbances or complications within a 'pure' class model.

Parkin (1979: 112-113)

Clearly, there is much similarity between Parkin's (1979) 'closure' thesis and Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) 'underclass' thesis. Both are concerned with exclusionary processes in relation to areas such as
employment, housing and education. Both therefore present a common rejection of traditional Marxist structural analyses located in production relations in favour of an examination of the social processes of distributing resources and opportunities in society.

1.5. Power

The place of West Indians as an underclass in British society has clear implications for their access to power as most social relations must in some way be regarded as involving power.

The conceptualisation of power (Giddens 1973; Lukes 1974) has continued to remain problematic in sociology. Reference to a theory of power is still often made to the seminal (1922) work of Weber who defined it as:

the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which the probability rests.

Weber (1978: 53)

Although the above definition makes reference to 'resistance' there is much controversy among sociologists about how exactly Weber, perceived the relationship between 'power' and 'resistance'. The relationship between these two concepts as used by Weber (1978) is relatively unclear in the literature (Barbalet, 1985) and the brief discussion here will be confined to that part of Weber's definition which refers to the implied capacity of some to impose their will on others. In this context, Wrong (1979) argued that power 'is the capacity of some persons to produce intended and forseen effects on others'. Such definitions emphasise the 'intentionality' or the 'generative force' through which social relations and institutions are directed. Power is therefore defined either in terms of the agent or institution exercising it or the effects or consequence of its being exercised.
Invariably, both aspects of the definition are emphasised and some have argued that it is not possible to separate out the two elements.

The idea that power is not only institutionalised but can be exercised by individuals and collective actors has prompted Westergaard and Resler (1976) to refer to power in society as 'anonymous' and 'routine' and they go on to say that:

In any society, the patterns of people's lives and their living conditions take the forms which they do, not so much because somebody somewhere makes a series of decisions to that effect; but in large part because certain social mechanisms, principles, assumptions - call them what you will - are taken for granted. Typically, of course, those mechanisms and assumptions favour the interests of this or that group vis-à-vis the rest of the population. The favoured enjoys effective power, even when its members take no effective steps to exercise power. They do not need to do so - for much of the time at least - simply because things work their way in any case.

Westergaard and Resler (1976: 141)

The concept of power implied in the statement above, defines power in terms of the structural properties of systems and can be linked to the idea that power is a generative force in social relations and institutions relating to actors' capacities and intentions. Barbalet (1985) asks us to note however, that structural power, the power implicit in the social system, whether it is based on the means of material production or the hegemony of the dominant class or even tradition, is never unbridled. In other words it is never unrestrained or total. The implication is that there is always the element of opposition to it. However, the opportunities to exercise choices is biased in favour of some actors. The suggestion is that when steps are taken to exercise power, members of the favoured group will have access to resources for action which simply are not available to those for whom the system is not favourable. This view can be
presented in an alternative way, that is, that those disadvantaged by a system of power may experience their powerlessness (Travis, 1986) in terms of day-to-day outcomes of the social system generally and in terms of particular disadvantages such as in employment, housing and education.

1.6. Concluding comments

The discussion so far has stressed that West Indians in Britain are very much part of an 'underclass' following their arrival and settlement in this country over a period of three decades. Thus, they are severely disadvantaged in relation to their life chances in British society. Even while recognising that individual West Indians may not easily be categorised as members of an underclass by virtue of having succeeded financially or professionally, West Indians, in common with other ethnic minorities and lower class white workers are in a relatively powerless and marginal position politically in British society (Heineman, 1972; Carter, 1986; Pearson, 1981; Gilroy, 1987). The implication of this is that like many urban poor in Britain, they are able to exert relatively limited control over their life chances in a social structure which can be conceived as a number of competing groups, all seeking in different ways to optimise opportunities in various markets for scarce resources (Rex 1973; Rex and Tomlinson 1979).

The chances of West Indians gaining greater control of power within British society appear distinctly limited and remote at present and thus their involvement in a range of activities, including the Black Supplementary School Movement may be seen as a means of ameliorating their relatively powerless position.
CHAPTER TWO

SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND FORMULATION OF RESEARCH PROBLEM
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2.1. Introduction

The material in this chapter is organised to focus on three main areas - supplementary schooling, West Indian pupil achievement and underachievement and social movements. By examining the literature in these three specific areas it is felt that an adequate exploration will be undertaken about the debate and discussion that has taken place over the years in the sociological literature directly relevant to the research concern on ideology and practice within the Black Supplementary School Movement.

2.2. West Indian supplementary schooling

There is a small but growing literature on West Indian supplementary schooling. Much of it is presented in the form of relatively brief accounts of practice in specific schools in urban centres where large numbers of West Indians live. It is important to point out that many West Indian supplementary schools have sometimes been called Saturday schools simply because they functioned on Saturdays. However, as some of these Saturday schools also began to offer West Indian pupils classes on weekdays during the evenings, occasionally on Sundays, as well as sometimes being part of holiday projects (Rex and Tomlinson 1979), the term 'supplementary school' gradually began to replace the term 'Saturday school' from the early 1980s.

In some accounts, especially that of Stone (1981), the two terms are used interchangeably, sometimes even in a single sentence; this proved to be confusing to some readers. In this review only, the terms will be used in the way that different writers have used them so as to be as faithful as possible to the interpretations provided by respective authors.
Perhaps the earliest reference to supplementary schooling appeared in an article by John Ezard in the Guardian newspaper on 20th February 1978. It was entitled 'Old fashioned learning by rote pays off'. Its central theme was that members of the West Indian community were increasingly setting up their own supplementary schools which emphasised traditional forms of teaching in the 3Rs and that in effect, the West Indian community was refusing to accept that their children were intellectually inferior or ineducable as 'suggested' by mainstream schools, and that through their own schools, black parents were challenging the established educational system.

A few days later, on 24th February 1978 in The Times Educational Supplement (TES), there was an article entitled 'Can black self-help succeed where schools and other agencies have failed?' The article provided a detailed résumé of a reporter's visit to a number of West Indian supplementary schools, and as the title suggests, presented a slightly sceptical account of the usefulness of such schools to compensate for the substantial underachievement of West Indian pupils in mainstream schools. However, it emphasised the point that black working class parents were challenging the established view that working class people cannot play an effective part in their children's schooling in weekday schools.

Chevannes (1979) provided an account of the Black Arrow Supplementary School Project and also discussed the school in a BBC TV interview on 17th November 1982. Chevannes (1979, 1982) argued that the Black Arrow Supplementary School in Wolverhampton not only aimed to improve the basic skills of black pupils in English and Maths, but also to 'increase the sense of community purpose and pride among the Borough's Afro-Caribbean families'. There was much concern to ensure that members of the local community were well informed about the cultural heritage of Afro-Caribbean people. There was clearly a 'political dimension' in Chevannes' (1979, 1982) work, expressed in the form of a strong commitment to the struggle for racial equality and justice. Supplementary schooling was held on two evenings a week and was open to all pupils between 5 and 15 years. Among subjects taught were English,
Social Studies, Maths and Sociology up to 'O' level standard. The teachers were all qualified and largely followed patterns of work in weekday schools, including streaming practice and the provision of remedial help to pupils. Chevannes (1979) argued that the school and classroom environment of most secondary schools was not conducive to improving the achievement levels of West Indian and Asian pupils and especially in bridging the achievement gap between them and their white peers.

It is important at this stage, to clarify what is meant by a supplementary school project. In some instances, supplementary schools are part of a larger community project which might include a Parents' Association, a Community Association, a Youth activities group, a Tenants' Association, a Holiday project and a Playgroup project. Through the composite activities of a Project such as this, large numbers within a community can get involved and provide mutual help and support on a wide range of issues.

Tate (1980) presented an account of supplementary schooling from her visit to three 'centres'. The first related to a neighbourhood centre at Battersea, South London where a few parents acted as a pressure group lobbying schools and the LEA to address the issue of the underachievement of black pupils. This centre had run a Saturday school for a number of years but had to close, for a second time, because of a shortage of voluntary teachers. The school had relied entirely on voluntary help as funds previously provided by the local CRC had run out. The co-ordinator of the centre was hopeful that the supplementary school would be revived and that it would be possible to provide prospective teachers a financial incentive in the form of a small payment for expenses. The aims of the supplementary school in its original form, and intended continuing form, were to supplement the education received by black children in state schools by providing general work in the 3Rs, as well as providing an environment in which the children were encouraged to develop creativity through stimulating interest in their own culture.
Clearly the above school had experienced major staffing problems and it would appear that obtaining voluntary teachers proved to be difficult. It will therefore be of interest to see if staffing difficulties for supplementary schools are fairly widespread in this research.

The second account from Tate (1980) was of the Gresham Supplementary Education Scheme in Brixton, South London. The Centre was funded by the local Community Relations Council but the teachers were paid by the LEA. The centre's main function was to provide a youth centre incorporating a youth club and an education centre.

A supplementary school called a 'Saturday school' functioned within the scheme but the Saturday school had closed and re-opened at least once in two years. The problem the Gresham Centre appeared to be facing in 1980 was that it was becoming a 'dumping' ground for black pupils expelled from local schools. Tate (1980) argued that:

> they are quite clear in their aims, that Gresham exists firstly to provide supplementary education, not to act as a disruptive unit, even though they are willing to give help when needed.

Tate (1980: 17)

According to Tate (1980) the Centre was concentrating on developing pupil skills in the 3Rs and reported having 150 children on the books and a long waiting list of pupils wishing to join. Classes were held on six days a week between 4.30 p.m. and 9.00 p.m. and between 1.00 p.m. and 4. p.m. on Saturdays.

Tate (1980) makes an important observation about the Gresham Centre. Some of the pupils were deemed to be good enough to sit 'O' level examinations but were not entered by their respective schools for the examination. The Gresham Centre therefore made special arrangements to enter them for the examination through a nearby College of Further
Education and took responsibility for paying the necessary examination fees.

Another observation related to one of the centre's assistant directors who argued that the teaching and learning structures provided in the local mainstream schools were not formal enough for black children, that their teachers did not stretch black children enough because they were thought to be incapable or disinterested, and that the environment the children lived in was a traditional working class area where education had played a minimal role.

Tate (1980) went on to report that at the Gresham Centre a policy decision had been taken that school subjects were to be taught formally and that pupils were taught set 'courses' with clear aims, objectives and specified content areas. Thus children were not taught in general class groups. It was felt that the 'courses' provided incentives for the children 'to attend regularly and finish courses'. The Centre was keen to provide a flexible response to pupil need and thus had also begun to provide pupils with help relating to their homework assignments, and special reading classes for poor readers.

The primary objective of the Gresham Centre (Tate 1980) was 'to support black youths in their struggle to gain more control over their own future'. Thus the underlying philosophy was an 'emancipatory' and political one, but in addition to work on the 3Rs, one evening a week was dedicated to recreational activities like 'African drumming', dancing, table tennis, as well as arranged activities like swimming and skating. More activities had been envisaged but local authority spending cuts had only provided for half the funds to mount new projects.

Tate (1980) reported that the Gresham Centre had 19 qualified teachers, of whom 12 were black and 7 were white and also that the teachers were involved in a lot of social and community activity outside their teaching roles.
The researcher had visited the Gresham Centre in early 1981 and got to know its two main co-ordinators. At that time, the Centre's supplementary school was 'thriving'. In Tate's (1980) account, it becomes clear that the supplementary school encompassed a broad range of activities and took on the role of 'a special unit' for expelled pupils from local schools. It is perhaps for this reason that there were so many qualified teachers who worked at the Centre and the pupils appeared to be happy outside a mainstream school atmosphere. It was also unusual in that over a third of the teachers were white. However, it does become clear that the Centre was viewed by the LEA as a place where it could send disruptive children from the Borough and its function was probably viewed quite differently by the Borough than it was, by the supporters of the supplementary school.

The third centre discussed by Tate (1980) was the Croydon and Community unit which provided a range of activities including supplementary classes dating back several years. However, the school had experienced staffing difficulties and its continuity had been disrupted for this reason. When the centre was observed by Tate (1980) the classes were funded by grants received from the CRE, the British Council of Churches and partly by parents. The subjects taught were remedial Maths and English, as well as work up to 'O' level standard in General Science and Maths. French was also taught to some pupils. The overall number of pupils attending was 30 and they were taught by four voluntary teachers. The co-ordinator felt that the children who attended were bright but that their low self-esteem contributed to their academic underachievement. Two other pertinent factors were raised. There was a feeling that black children in the local area were performing well in sporting events where they were receiving necessary encouragement. However, it was not felt that they were being encouraged in academic areas of work and were increasingly being directed into non-examination subjects. This is an issue that concerns many black parents. Jones P. (1977) and Carrington (1983, 1986) have argued that there is good reason for black parents and the community to be concerned about such 'channelling into sport'. According to Carrington (1983) the available
evidence suggests that West Indians are set to become as in the USA, 'the twentieth century gladiators' for white Britain.

Tate (1980) concluded that supplementary schools can play an important part in promoting much more of a West Indian 'community' in the London area which has disparate groups from many Caribbean islands.

The next work to emerge on supplementary schooling was the first substantial study on such schooling undertaken by Stone (1981). However, her work was primarily a study of 'self-concept' in West Indian children and an examination of supplementary schooling contributed to that study rather than its becoming the main focus of the study.

It was pointed out earlier that Stone (1981) uses the terms 'supplementary schools' and 'Saturday schools' interchangeably and that this creates some confusion in the text. Apart from this, the details provided about actual practice are fairly clear even though these were obtained through visits to supplementary schools rather than through a sustained period in any of them.

Stone (1981) argued that there is no comparable English working-class equivalent to the West Indian Saturday school and that such a school is a West Indian community response to its inability to influence the normal school system. The idea of 'regular supplementary schooling', according to Stone (1981), stems from the well-established practice in the West Indies for children to attend extra lessons before and after school and at weekends. Thus, the academic success of children was generally assumed to require additional tuition which had to be paid for by parents but this was willingly done in spite of the difficulties because there was intense competition to get the limited secondary school places in a society which valued education highly. Stone (1981) argues that:

given this type of background, it is therefore not surprising to find that supplementary education for
West Indians living in London should take the form of Saturday schools which undertake first to teach children basic academic skills and secondly, to form cultural or social groups.

Stone (1981: 172)

Such supplementary schools to Stone's (1981) knowledge functioned virtually as alternatives to the regular school and she quotes a supplementary school teacher as saying that 'they acted on the basis that children learned nothing in school, so it was their duty to provide some kind of education'. Stone (1981) sees a similarity between the 'Saturday school movement' and the accounts of 'Socialist Sunday schools' up to the end of the Second World War in the way these movements valued education as a 'means of achieving a just and equal society'.

Stone (1981) claimed that 'the official response has generally been to treat Saturday schools as a necessary evil' and that where they are run as community projects, they are funded under schemes such as Urban Aid and Section XI of the 1966 Local Government Act. LEAs have also used funds available for 'language' teaching meant for areas with large numbers of immigrant children for supplementary school projects.

Stone (1981) argues that the public 'tolerate' Saturday schools as long as they are deemed to be meeting specific needs, such as providing for necessary language skills and as long as a form of control is exercised about what takes place in such schools. While white reaction was generally not very sympathetic to these schools, Stone (1981) claimed that members of the West Indian community familiar with the needs of their children were adamant they were needed to make up for the deficiencies of 'weekday' schools and that there were 'illiterate and innumerate' children who needed much help to overcome such disadvantages. She sums up this situation thus:

the West Indian community generally regards the school system as reinforcing and sanctioning the
racist views which exist in society at large and which regard people of African descent as basically inferior to people of European descent.

Stone (1981: 171)

In terms of the organisational structure of Saturday schools, Stone (1981) draws a distinction between funded 'community official projects' and independent 'self-help projects'. The former had a loose hierarchial structure while the latter had a 'co-operative style'. The effect of such organisation was that the official projects tended to be like normal schools and excluded parents from active participations in their children's schooling and thus 'by insisting on professionalism and expertise, they lost the opportunity for being innovative'. There were implications too for finance. The official projects were better financed and equipped than the self-help ones which raised finance through social activities generated by the members. The two modes of financing for Saturday schools however raised the inevitable debate about the extent to which institutional autonomy was possible under either form of organisation. However, Stone (1981) did not find obvious differences in the work that went on in the two differently funded sets of schools. Both concentrated heavily on teaching basic skills to the pupils.

In examining the contact between Saturday schools and weekday schools, Stone (1981) found that in spite of the teacher unions expressing reservations about 'lay' people being involved in the teaching process, the weekday schools referred pupils to the Saturday schools and sometimes even provided material assistance in the form of teaching resources. This was greater from primary schools than from secondary schools but the relationship varied from area to area and was not always amicable.

The teachers in the Saturday schools were 'mainly West Indian'. On Stone's (1981) visits to fourteen 'projects' with a total of eighty staff, she found three white teachers and these were in officially
funded projects, two in one LEA, which insisted that Saturday schools should be multi-racial.

With reference to the pupils in the Saturday schools, most 'workers' reported to Stone (1981) that there was a high level of motivation to work hard and succeed but it was higher among the girls than the boys. The boys also tended to drop out by 13 or 14 while the girls persisted to 16. The teachers felt that many black pupils were reacting against the normal school system and in the process, destroying themselves and any chance they might have of succeeding.

In relation to order and discipline in schools and teaching methods employed by the Saturday schools, Stone (1981) found no evidence of the 'general knowledge' that West Indian children can be 'boisterous' and 'hyperactive' in normal schools. She found no evidence at all of poor behaviour in Saturday schools but accepted that this could be attributed to such pupils being self-selected and that the attendance period not exceeding three hours every Saturday was a relatively short period. Most of the children came voluntarily, according to Stone (1981), and she did not feel there was much pressure from parents to get their children to attend. But by the same token, it was accepted that it was likely that only those who felt they were successful in such schools were likely to attend while others dropped out.

The children worked in small groups 'attached to an adult' who helped them in their work. The over-riding concern was to teach basic skills rather than to stress the cultural backgrounds and the origins of the children. Thus the development of personal growth and autonomy was the major aim of these Saturday schools. Stone (1981) also reported that there were some children attending supplementary schools who were classified as ESN and those who normally attended schools for the maladjusted and emotionally disturbed.

Finally, Stone (1981) argued that far from the image of a 'mental sweat-shop', the Saturday schools she visited were 'extremely relaxed, informal and friendly'. Many family outings and activities were
organised so that although the main purpose of the Saturday schools was to promote the development of basic literacy and numeracy skills, the children who attended, benefitted in many other ways. Thus, for Stone (1981), such community initiatives were very successful in encouraging children to develop positive attitudes to education, and to begin to develop high aspirations and value their parents and home life positively. Such a picture, Stone (1981) contends, differs significantly from the 'pathological view' that many mainstream teachers have of West Indian children and she therefore suggests that mainstream schools should take less of a 'social work/therapy role' and a greater part in 'instruction' and in the development of 'knowledge, skills, and abilities' and that there should be a consideration of:

more formal methods of teaching which appear to have more overall parental support and which may be more effective for certain children

Stone (1981: 248)

Stone (1981) came under sustained criticism from two main sources: academia and the media. The criticism from the educational sources concentrated on two main issues. Firstly the methodology used in her study on self-concept was criticised. Milner (1983) for instance argued that Stone (1981) had misread the literature on black self-concept and that she effectively addressed a dated view that 'all black children, as an undifferentiated group, suffered from low self-esteem'. He, among others, also criticised the use of the specific tests used by Stone (1981) to measure self-concept. Some of them, for example the Piers-Harris self-concept scales, and the Ziller self-social symbols tasks, were not considered to be particularly appropriate for the task undertaken by Stone (1981).

The second major criticism (Williams, 1981; Lynch, 1981) was that Stone (1981) appeared to reject multicultural initiatives in state schools rather uncritically and by taking too narrow a view of multicultural
education had failed to realise that it was meant for all children and not just black children in schools.

A third criticism of Stone (1981) was that she had in drawing on Gramsci's work, interpreted him incorrectly. Thus Dodgson and Stewart (1981) claimed that:

Gramsci was concerned that working class people acquire the dominant forms of knowledge in order that they may be equipped to challenge them. Stone, on the other hand, wants black children to gain knowledge in order to compete successfully with white children within the capitalist system.

Dodgson and Stewart (1981: 45)

The researcher is not persuaded by Dodgson and Stewart's (1981) argument because a careful reading of Stone (1981) illustrates that she saw black children as capable of both, competing with white children, and also being able to challenge the dominant forms of knowledge which were not just forms of book knowledge, but 'lived knowledge' that subordinated black people in society.

Most of the other criticism, especially from the media, focussed on Stone's call for more formal methods of teaching in schools. However, such criticism appeared to overlook the clearly argued comment from Stone (1981) that West Indian pupils were being reproduced by the school system to enter low status jobs with limited opportunities in British society. Thus the system as it existed, according to Stone (1981), in spite of all the 'enlightened' and 'progressive' teaching methods, was systematically contributing to the underachievement of black pupils in schools and rather than taking the blame for this, was projecting such failure on a 'deficit' model of the black child and his home background. Clearly, there is much in Stone's (1981) work which links fairly directly with this study and some of the issues she raised will need further exploration.
St. John Brooks (1981) provided one very brief account of a black Sunday supplementary school in Haringey, North London, in which she claimed that the school was held to teach the 3Rs to 'build sound skills' which 'normal school teachers do not have the basic dedication' to do and so to help the progress of black children. St. John Brooks quotes one of the black teachers at the supplementary school who was also a teacher at a normal school as saying that 'children of West Indian origin are still having to fight the entrenched belief that black children are genetically more stupid than white, and therefore will never achieve much'. Another point reiterated by St. John Brooks (1981) was that the normal schools were suspicious and resentful of supplementary schools as their existence put the normal school in a bad light. Further, it was argued that the teachers at the supplementary school believed that West Indian parents had no faith in normal schools because they had not only not helped black children to achieve what they were capable of, but had sent them in disproportionate numbers to schools for the educationally subnormal. Their biggest fear was that black children born in Britain and attending schools were not striving to do well because they despaired of any hope of succeeding in British society.

Rampton (1981) recognised that many West Indian groups had established supplementary schools to provide tuition in basic skills to their children and to provide them with a knowledge and understanding of their traditions and heritage which was absent in the normal school curriculum. Rampton (1981) felt that West Indian parent support for those schools was 'impressive' and that West Indian children had indicated their keenness to attend supplementary schools because they are encouraged and made to feel they can achieve at school. The report went on to claim that supplementary schools have much to offer mainstream schools in relation to teaching methods, appropriate teaching materials, and the important trust between West Indian children and their parents. It recommended close links between mainstream schools and supplementary schools and that mainstream school teachers should be encouraged to visit these schools to see how work
was undertaken. In turn, it was hoped the leaders of supplementary schools would respond positively to approaches by mainstream schools.

Rampton (1981) wished to see financial assistance provided by LEAs to supplementary schools, and to make teaching materials, including books, available to them. Thus Rampton (1981) took a favourably view of West Indian supplementary schools and saw clear possibilities of developing a 'partnership' between supplementary schools and mainstream schools in local areas.

Vellum's (1981) work is interesting in that it included a survey of what pupil library needs were from among those West Indian pupils attending supplementary schools in North London. She endeavoured to enumerate all the supplementary schools she could find out about and had listed 41 such schools. However, she could not ascertain how accurate the list was as supplementary schools emerge and fade out all the time depending on the needs of pupils, and the availability of funds, premises and teachers to work in them.

Cronin's (1982) work is a report undertaken by research students in the department of Sociology at the Polytechnic of North London in 1981-82. Five schools were used from Vellum's list of schools and an account provided of the range of activities that went on in such schools. The main part of the work related to improving the reading, writing and number skills of black pupils and also in helping older pupils with their homework.

Cronin (1984) elaborated on the work undertaken in 1981-82 and details were provided of an exploration undertaken on 'mother-tongue maintenance' among Turkish, Asian and Spanish children in their own supplementary schools. In addition, two West Indian supplementary schools were studied.

One of the West Indian supplementary schools was established in 1976 and classes were held in the late afternoon on three weekdays and Saturday mornings in a youth centre. The school received local
authority and CRC funding and had 'paid as well as volunteer teachers' and 'not all the teachers were black'.

The second school, started in 1979 and held in a local community centre had all pupils and teachers who were black. The school met on a Sunday between 11.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m., was self-supporting and did not pay its teachers. Cronin (1984) stated that 'parents took part in teaching as well as trained teachers and volunteer graduates'.

In both schools the overall aim was to improve awareness and understanding of the history and cultural identity of Afro-Caribbean peoples as well as promoting skills in literacy and numeracy. The pupils in both schools indicated that they were keen to attend and only one was 'pushed into attending' by the parents. Cronin (1984) reported that the pupils claimed that they found supplementary schools useful to study Afro-Caribbean history and because the schools were small, they received more individual attention than in state schools and that in the supplementary schools the 'teachers were more understanding'.

In Cronin's (1984) account, the responses from the supplementary school teachers indicate that they were concerned about:

a) the underachievement of black pupils and their placements in ESN schools instead of mainstream schools,

b) black children being stereotyped as having behavioural problems and that,

c) black children 'feel alienated in the state school classroom because state school teachers rarely know about West Indian culture'.

There was a general feeling among parents and teachers that the two supplementary schools helped to improve the life chances of black pupils and provided them confidence that they could improve academically. In contrast, it was felt that 'the way the state school curriculum was organised was often confusing to parents' and that state
Schools discriminated against black pupils by subtle means such as 'streaming black children into non-academic subjects, labelling at an early age and allocating pupils to remedial sets'.

Cronin (1984) concluded that the attitudes expressed by both pupils and teachers in the two West Indian supplementary schools studied did support a broad hypothesis that 'racism operates within the British educational system and that supplementary schools have a major role to play in attempting to negotiate the overt and covert form it takes.'

Clark's (1982) account is about the Dachwyng Saturday School and her experience from 1965 of black parent helplessness and frustration because 'they were aware that their children were not progressing at school'. Many black parents had expressed concern before the supplementary school began that their children were opting out of learning because they found 'the work too easy' or 'were not being taught the basics - 'just play, play - and could not read or write their names'. Consequently, Clark (1982) formed a parents' group which discussed a very wide range of social issues and out of these discussions, a Community school was started in 1975. This school was described by Clark as a Saturday School, the aim of which was 'to help the educational, social, cultural and emotional needs of West Indian parents and their children.' Eight families with twenty children with ages ranging from two to twelve years got together from the Borough of Lewisham and Lambeth. They normally lived in high rise flats with little room for the children to play outside. Only Clark had professional training as a teacher; the rest were parents whose 'jobs ranged from nursing, bus conductors, car workers and postmen to housewives'. Clark goes on to say that they all gave their time voluntarily and raised funds for the school with which they identified strongly and preferred to call it their 'Saturday School' rather than a 'supplementary school' and used it as a place to meet relatives and friends.

The school tended to recruit pupils by word of mouth and a mainstream school had referred pupils to it. The subjects taught were English,
Reading, Writing, Maths, Arts and Crafts. Science and French were taught for a while but dropped because of a lack of teachers for the subjects. Some qualified teachers, West Indian as well as English, taught at the school but there were problems in attracting teachers who would give their time on a regular basis.

When presenting this account in 1982, Clark reported the attendance of 126 children up to the age of 16, with an average attendance of 75. On leaving the school, some of the older pupils returned to teach at the Saturday School. However, the school found it hard to retain older pupils of 15 and 16 at the school. One reason provided for this was 'the stigma of coming to Saturday School at that age when their friends may be going to football or skating'. One way to attract older pupils was to hold one evening session in the adult atmosphere of the local Southwark Institute.

Funds were received at various times from the CRE and LEA. The LEA divisional office provided furniture for younger children and books and teaching materials were provided by a local school. The parents paid a regular subscription and raised additional funds for the running of the school as well as for visits to museums, the seaside and even an educational visit to Barbados.

One spin-off from the school was that some parents gained confidence to attend courses elsewhere including teacher training while some of the pupils had gone on to full-time courses at colleges.

Clark (1982) provides some valuable insights into the kind of problems faced by the school. Some parents were not convinced the school was good enough at the start, and others that there was no need for school beyond the normal five weekdays, while others queried the absence of white children from the Saturday School. Some parents felt that Black History and Black Studies should be taught and yet others felt that only qualified teachers should normally teach in a supplementary school.
No contact with normal schools was maintained because although Clark (1982) would like to have done so, some of the parents were not keen for the normal schools to know that their children received help from a Saturday School.

No written records were kept of pupil progress but it was monitored in different ways. Parents reported improvement in their children's reading and writing and that they had developed greater confidence and positive attitudes to school and seemed to perform better than those who did not attend the Saturday School. Others may not have made much academic progress but had 'demonstrated an improvement in their social and emotional behaviour'. An exhibition of the children's work which was seen by mainstream school teachers, inspectors, parents and other people was a great success and illustrated a high standard of work in the school.

Clark (1982) concluded by saying that:

> it is important to realise that the supplementary school exists to help children not because they failed to achieve through the system, but because the system is racialist, and has failed them.

Clark (1982: 125)

Clark (1982) then goes on to present a list of the qualities and expectations she had of the workers needed in supplementary schools. Such a list, also outlined by Chevannes (1979), highlights 'some of the weaknesses of the present state school system' and constructs an 'ideal type' model of the kind of workers needed as those:

1. Who possess the willingness and commitment to identify with the pupils and to empathise with their daily experience.

2. Who can help the pupils to develop a positive attitude towards themselves, particularly with regard to their physical characteristics: skin
colour, and texture, bone structure, eye colour, mouth and lip size, nose shape, hair growth and hair texture and their ethnicity.

3. Who above all, can help the pupils with the most racist classroom and teacher, with a determined will to work hard and to achieve the best within the restricted educational system.

4. Who are prepared to accept that West Indian and Asian pupils experience prejudice and discrimination in this society and that the pupils' statements about these practices are not unwarranted but genuine and deep-felt.

5. Who are willing to support the pupils when they express anxiety and distrust of whites and white institutions.

6. Who are prepared to recognise and accept that the pupils' parents are interested in what goes on at school.

7. Who are willing to recognise that there are pressures of child care, patterns of work, pressures of finance, and fear of a predominantly white teacher-audience that militate against parental attendance at school.

8. Who expect high standards of educational achievement from the pupils in their charge and who are not prepared to accept low standards just because children are black and or working class.

9. Who, though possibly strongly socialist, and politically committed to justice and anti-racialism, are not bloated with abstract political rhetoric and seeking to impose narrow sectarian views upon their pupils. The religious fundamentalism of many West Indian families, is likely to make such teachers unemphatic and unacceptable.

Clark (1982: 126)

In the above typology, we get a very carefully considered account of the seriousness with which issues like racism, hostility, self-awareness and understanding are to be dealt with by 'workers' or teachers in
supplementary schools and the list provides valuable pointers for a researcher to make note of the actual practice of such schools.

Black's (1982) study draws on evidence from Leeds and Cardiff and is one of the very few non-London based accounts available. It focussed on how black supplementary schools developed because of disenchantment with education provided by the state system. The study is also interesting in that it was undertaken by a non-West Indian and details are provided about this experience. Unfortunately, it is not at all clear if Black was indeed a white person but one can surmise that this might have been so.

In the account, the first supplementary school in Leeds is recorded as having been established in 1965 when a 'West Indian woman leading a Brownie pack realised the West Indian girls couldn't read and write sufficiently well to obtain their badges'. We are then told about how financial support for supplementary schools became available for self-help projects through local authorities, the Community Development Project, Manpower Services Commission and Private Charities such as the Gulbenkian Foundation.

The other significant point emphasised is the level of opposition experienced by early supplementary schools from social workers 'shocked by the squalor of living and working conditions of self-help projects based in run down/condemned houses, and from the Police who have had difficulties getting into centres which in some cases have been used by black youths on the run'.

Other problems referred to are with the criticisms of mainstream teachers about supplementary schools undermining the authority and function of day schools. These include what some headteachers 'regard as political indoctrination of black studies at supplementary schools'. One instance is provided of a Leeds primary school where a child was expressly forbidden to attend a supplementary school. The supplementary school in turn felt unable to permit the child to continue for 'fear of being seen as undermining the authority of the
child's Headteacher or of exposing the child to victimisation/discrimination'.

Black's (1982) work is the only study where reference is made from any source that some supplementary schools have been opposed by both whites and West Indians. Hostility from West Indians arose on the grounds that they detracted attention from the essential work of reforming the mainstream school system. Hostility from white people was aroused when some self-help projects were confined to black people when they were financed by local authority grants. In 1976 hostilities reached such a point that white parents threatened to take the Birmingham Harambee project to the Race Relations Board - a situation which was averted when the Education Committee ruled that the courses on the project should be open to all. Other examples such as these Black (1982) suggests, has resulted in 'a bad press' for some supplementary schools.

Black (1982) also recounts 'as a non-West Indian' the considerable difficulties and obstruction in undertaking research on supplementary schooling. The level of 'hostility' prevented any first hand observation of supplementary schools to this researcher who had to rely on second-hand reportage of details about supplementary schools.

A fairly detailed account of formal teaching methods in the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic were provided. The voluntary staff were 'mostly parents, college students and young people who had received education from supplementary schools themselves'. The aims of the schools were two-fold - firstly to provide schooling in basic skills, and secondly, to provide cultural education relating to the West Indian community. In addition, recreational activities like visits to museums, theatres, and the countryside were arranged.

The supplementary schools in Leeds did not advertise themselves for fear of being inundated with numbers with which they could not cope.

Black (1982) argued that supplementary schools, particularly outside London, appear to work almost entirely independently of one another and
observed that there is no official body particularly responsible for helping/supervising/knowing about supplementary schools, although local education authorities are usually aware of supplementary schools in their own area.

Black (1982) suggests that an organisation set up to gather information about supplementary schools might be of considerable assistance to the future development of self-help projects.

An interesting study by Christie (1984) in London, discussed the work that went on in five supplementary schools which she styled as 'voluntary' and 'official'. This related to the way they were funded. Three received no funds from outside bodies and were entirely run on voluntary support from parents while two received funding through Urban Aid. Those that received official funding had close links with state schools, received referrals from them and operated as a co-operative support system. The voluntary supplementary schools had considerable autonomy, but the range of work was not very different in the two kinds of schools. The staff at five schools stressed the importance of hard work, high aspirations and the need for the pupils to be willing to make sacrifices as the only way to succeed academically.

The schools emphasised the development of basic skills of numeracy and literacy and in helping a small number of pupils for CSE and GCE work. Only one of the five schools studied included work on drama and music. The schools had been functioning for an average of six years but one had continued for twelve and the average number of pupils was about sixty per school.

Christie (1984) claimed that the schools were successful in developing skills in the 3Rs and that such success was based on a development of positive attitudes in black children towards the supplementary school teachers and the schools and the utilisation of teaching methods associated with the 'acquisition of knowledge and skills which ultimately fosters educational achievement.'
In providing details of supplementary schooling, Tomlinson, (1984) argued that it was possible 'to speak of a black education movement' because so many black people had criticised the British education system and undertaken a range of 'educational' initiatives such as supplementary schools. She states that it is difficult to estimate actual numbers of supplementary schools in Britain as many operate independently and may not be known to central or local education authorities if they do not provide aid to them. The largest number operated in the London area and some received aid from the Inner London Education Authority.

The Swann Report (1985) referred very briefly to West Indian supplementary schools, unlike the interim Rampton Report (1981). However, it spent much space discussing West Indians in relation to educational achievement and this is discussed later in this chapter.

In an account of the 'all black school', Homan (1986) argues that the 'supplementary school' is sponsored by a community as a consequence of the failure of local provision to meet the needs of its children. Firstly Homan says that state schools in these situations are perceived as having low expectations of minority children, sustaining a moral climate not considered desirable by parents, and content in teaching inadequate for particular religious backgrounds. The second main point made is that the 'supplementary school is a response to individual aspirations that exceed those achievable within the school day'. Thus, Homan (1986) sees supplementary schools emerging as a reaction against a 'liberal/permissive' tradition in normal schools and with a clear preference for a more 'traditional and puritanical' approach to schooling with a formal pedagogy and traditional curriculum content.

Homan also refers to four organisational types of schools which he identifies as the Sunday School, the Evening School, the Day School and the Supplementary School.

By the Sunday school he refers to a growing number of black pentecostal church schools which incorporate much detailed Bible study and which
are attended by adults and children. The Evening School is characterised by the study of religion, community language and culture. A detailed account is provided of what goes on in 'the Muslim school'. The account of the Day school provides a fairly glowing picture of the John Loughborough Adventist day school to which reference will be made later in this chapter. While Homan (1986) does not discuss the Supplementary school in any detail, he makes useful comments on the criticisms of many black parents of mainstream schooling and of 'progressive education' and then goes on to make a strong case for state provided financial support for the ethnic minority day schools on the grounds that:

the assurance of finance would mean that more minority groups would be enabled to run their own schools. And the existing state schools could then be expected to make adjustments in their ethos and academic standards in order to be attractive to parents.

Homan (1986: 179)

The above statement pointedly reflects Homan's (1986) criticism of the quality of state-provided education and suggests that state schools have to make significant changes to raise educational standards and to bring about attitudinal change to raise teacher expectations about their pupils' abilities.

The researcher is concerned, however, that Homan (1986) wants minorities to run their own schools. It ought to be possible to raise standards without undue separation of a number of minorities from the mainstream of society.

There are several other short references to the work of West Indian supplementary schools (Dhondy, et al. 1982; Carter, 1986) and 'accounts' which have been presented on television. The latest of these television programmes specifically on West Indian supplementary schools
was presented on 'Bandung File', (Channel 4) on 4th July 1987. This serious programme provided evidence that indicates that there are large numbers of West Indian supplementary schools in cities with large West Indian populations but that it is difficult to know their exact numbers as new ones constantly emerge while others stop functioning for a variety of reasons. Secondly, the attitude to West Indian supplementary schools of LEAs and weekday school teachers varies tremendously from active support to considerable hostility.

A third point worth noting is that apart from concentrating on the 3Rs, the television programme illustrated how some schools develop considerable focus on political awareness and consciousness raising. However, this element varies quite considerably from school to school. In general, however, there appears to be a continuing growth in supplementary schools because West Indian parents and the community value their importance.

In the studies reviewed in this chapter, it becomes clear that West Indian supplementary schools appear to function to 'supplement' what state schools are deemed to be unable to provide West Indian pupils. They were invariably not viewed as alternatives to weekday schools. Most of the supplementary schools appeared to focus on three main areas of work - the 3Rs, West Indian history and culture, and work on a range of mainstream school subjects. The emphasis on each of these 'areas' varied from school to school.

It becomes clear too that in general, the supplementary schools were considered to be fairly crucial by Afro-Caribbean parents and were believed to be very useful to help black pupils to do better in mainstream schools.

Among some of the difficulties emphasised were those of obtaining teachers who were willing to commit themselves to the supplementary schools and the problems of adequate funding, availability of resources and adequate premises for the work to be undertaken.
The literature reviewed is indicative that West Indian supplementary schools are fairly recent phenomena in Britain but that they are taken very seriously by the West Indian community as a means of fighting educational disadvantage in the state school system.

The accounts from the review of the literature suggest to the researcher a number of avenues for the design of the research and for the collection and analysis of data from supplementary schools. However, it would be reasonable to claim that many of the accounts reviewed are 'snapshots' of what goes on in supplementary schools and that several are accounts of visits of short duration rather than accounts of sustained involvement in the schools. There is a qualitative difference in the accounts depending on how the data were collected. Thus Clark's (1982) brief account is perhaps qualitatively superior to that of Stone's (1981) longer account and infinitely better than the other accounts resulting from short visits to supplementary schools.

In general, most of the accounts do not provide enough detail about the location of these supplementary schools within any conceptual framework of a social movement and the dynamics of social movements. Also, there is relatively little research done on the genesis of the movement and the 'intellectual momentum' within the movement. Most of all, a systematic and sustained ethnographic study of supplementary schooling and of the school movement has not previously been undertaken. This present research is intended to fill such a gap.

2.3 West Indian pupil achievement and underachievement: the conflicting evidence

Until the beginning of the 1980s, the literature was replete with references to West Indian 'underachievement' in British schools. In January, 1980, a modest publication by Driver (1980a) appears to have created a watershed which demarcated on the one hand the taken-for-granted discussion and view of 'underachievement' among West Indian
pupils, and on the other hand, the post-1980s emphasis on 'achievement' of such pupils in British schools.

Although it is very tempting to provide a detailed historical account of studies which would clearly illustrate the conflicting evidence on West Indian pupil underachievement in British schools, the literature is already so vast that one has to be quite selective to make specific points relating to a particular study. Also, recent writings (Eggleston et al., 1986; Mabey, 1986; Tomlinson, 1986a, 1986b) suggest that studies of West Indian underachievement before 1980 ought to be treated with a certain degree of caution because of weaknesses in some of the methodologies used and also the lack of a clear framework for conceptualising 'underachievement'. It is now fairly clear that much of the discussion on 'underachievement' of West Indian pupils took it for granted that a relatively straightforward comparison between the performance of white pupils and ethnic minority pupils on measures such as that of IQ and standardised tests of ability and attainment would demonstrate differences between West Indian children and indigenous white children. It was wrongly assumed that fair comparisons were possible and that their social and economic backgrounds were similar.

As a result there was a predominance of work which, according to Tomlinson (1986a), focussed on 'psychogenic' factors such as ability, motivation and aspirations and also on 'sociogenic' factors like home background and occupational status of parents, rather than to issues currently discussed in the literature, to do with structures and processes in the educational system and in society. In Tomlinson's (1986a) words, these related to factors 'which simply by working 'normally' could work to the educational disadvantage of ethnic minority pupils'.

The earlier consensus among researchers, teachers and educationalists about the underachievement of pupils of West Indian origin was at least partly due to the significant impact of large scale studies undertaken by the Inner London Education Authority. These are well documented and the researcher is keen to follow such development between 1968 and 1986.
briefly, by reference to the work of Little et al. (1968), Mabey (1981) and Mabey (1986) as an opportunity to illustrate that some change, however small, is perhaps detectable from evidence of 'underachievement' to 'achievement' among West Indian pupils in ILEA schools in a large sample of pupils. The study is also important as a longitudinal study spanning a period of almost two decades.

2.3.1. The ILEA Studies

The work of Little et al. (1968), emanating from the ILEA Research and Statistics group, discussed transfer at 11 plus of children from 52 London primary schools of whom 1068 were 'immigrant' pupils. These 'immigrant' children were mainly of Indian, Pakistani, Greek and Turkish Cypriot, and West Indian origin. Little et al. (1968) stated that in terms of placing pupils in order in seven profile groups, the 'average' pupil within the Authority was located in group 4 for test scores in English, Maths and verbal reasoning. The 'average' immigrant child however, was located lower down in group 6. Of these, eighty-five per cent of West Indian children were located in the lower proportion of group 4 or below. Thus, most immigrant children were underachieving but the West Indian pupils were underachieving the most. Some improvement in test scores was detectable in relation to length of schooling in Britain but even for those who had all their schooling in Britain, the immigrant children had lower than average scores and as stated earlier, the West Indian pupils had the lowest scores.

As the above research had been prompted within ILEA following complaints from white parents that their children were being held back or disadvantaged because of 'non-English speaking' immigrant children, the explanations from Little et al. (1968) were not altogether surprising. These were couched in terms of cultural differences, the 'cultural shock' of immigration to Britain, language problems and poor home-school contacts. The problem appeared to be located in a 'deficit' view of the 'immigrant' child and this was compounded by the explanation that low scoring white pupils had, in a sense, paid the price for teacher energies being diverted by immigrant children and
also the consequence of an outflow of 'better' or able white families from ILEA schools.

Little (1975) reported the findings from further research in ILEA and this provided additional confirmation of his earlier work that immigrant children were to be found among the lower achievers generally and that West Indian pupils once again proved to be the most disadvantaged. Among the explanations for differences in performance Little (1975) stated that:

The comparative newness to the United Kingdom educational system of certain groups is one, the educational consequences of social deprivation and the effects of cultural differences between minority and majority populations are others.

Little (1975: 68)

However, Little (1975) did also point out that it is the 'inability or (unwillingness) of the existing system to modify its practice to meet the needs of new types of pupils that should be stressed'. One of the problems with Little's (1975) work according to Tomlinson (1983), was that data collected in earlier (1968) work were incorporated in later 'accounts', for example on television (BBC-TV) in July 1978, and this had the effect of 'influencing' his later conclusions about the underachievement of West Indian pupils.

The 'deficit' perspective in the work of Little (1975) and his colleague (Mabey, 1981) persisted including evidence that West Indian pupils had the lowest reading scores among all ILEA pupils. Thus, Mabey (1981) argued that adverse environmental circumstances, as well as language, low self-image and negative teacher expectations contributed to the poor performance of West Indian children on five occasions in literacy surveys of ILEA pupils. One of the paradoxes of this evidence was that it contradicted the work of Rutter et al. (1979)
which indicated that ILEA pupil achievements were improving, including the greater commitment to education by West Indian pupils.

Mabey's (1986) work is therefore all the more interesting as comparisons can be made between the ILEA findings and the work of Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985). Interestingly, too, the pupils in question are no longer referred to as 'immigrants' or 'West Indians' but as 'black Afro-Caribbeans'.

Mabey (1986) in the last phase of the ILEA longitudinal study begun in 1968, attempted to answer three questions:

a) How did the level of examination achievement of black Afro-Caribbean students compare with that of their white peers and as reported nationally, that is, in relation to Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985)?

b) What incremental gain in terms of improved qualifications was made by students from extending their education beyond the statutory leaving age?

c) To what extent could examination achievement have been predicted from earlier reading attainment?

In this study, Mabey (1986) states that she does not attempt to examine the macro issue of racism and its effects on educational performance, but only those aspects of the educational process which related to achievement and in the power of the education system to affect it.

The results of the study indicate that at the end of the fifth year, the level of achievement of black Afro-Caribbean pupils was significantly lower than that of their white peers. However, the 'drop-out' rate, that is those not entered for any examination, for the white British was almost twice as high as for the Afro-Caribbeans.

If we compare (at the end of the fifth year) passes at five or more 'O' levels, the white British pupils achieved approximately six times as
many passes as the Afro-Caribbeans. Thus at this stage, the white pupils' achievement is clearly considerably better than that for Afro-Caribbean pupils.

However, Mabey (1986) next examines the evidence when pupils actually leave school. It is here that we begin to see a significant change taking place. The proportion with five or more 'O' levels increases by over 40 per cent for white students but by over 230 per cent for black students. This would appear to be so remarkable an increase as to make the researcher scrutinise the data in the tables provided by Mabey (1986) very carefully indeed. Also, although white students' achievement levels were higher than those of black students the gap was narrower in the evidence provided. At the statutory leaving age the ratio of white to black pupils with five or more 'O' level passes was 6:1 but among school leavers it was 2.5:1 and at the 'A' level stage, the white superiority is less marked, being 2:1.

Mabey (1986) argues therefore, in answer to the first question, that although there are difficulties in comparing ILEA results with Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985), the results are broadly similar - there are signs of improvement in black pupils' current performance compared with past performance. The most noticeable change occurring is that a minority of young people, particularly Afro-Caribbeans, are staying on long past the school leaving age and this leads us to the second question - what incremental gain is there by staying on?

Mabey (1986) found that for white students the optimum time to spend in continuing education and entering examinations was two additional years' education while for black students it was three years. However, the median white British student staying on after the statutory school leaving age, achieved at least one 'A' level while the median black student achieved less than five 'O' level passes. Black students were therefore still not achieving the standard five 'O' levels required for many jobs and access to higher education or training. Mabey (1986) therefore says:
The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from this analysis must be that, if students were not acquiring other non-GCE qualifications, the value of their continuing at school or college to enter for GCE examinations was distinctly limited.

Mabey (1986: 168)

To the third question about the links between examination achievement in relation to earlier reading attainment the conclusion Mabey (1986) arrives at is that reading proficiency was a key factor in contributing to examination success and that given their earlier reading ability, black pupils actually achieved more in examinations than would have been expected from their earlier reading attainment and that in this sense they were not underachieving. Therefore, if there is to be even greater improvement in achievement, Mabey (1986) concludes that reading proficiency becomes of critical importance and she argues that her research evidence points in exactly the same direction as the demands for the teaching of basic skills made by the black community. In other words, the emphasis on and quality of teaching of basic skills needs to be improved both in method and organisation at the school and classroom level.

Mabey (1986) indicated that there are two critical stages of a black pupil's educational experience that are important:

a) teaching of reading in the primary school
b) development of post-16 provision

On the issue of the teaching of reading, most of the studies surveyed on supplementary schooling earlier in this chapter have stressed the importance of reading skills. Black parents it could be argued, came to this conclusion through a commonsensical perception of what they observed about their children's work at school and without the need for elaborate research and also in spite of school teacher hostility to their endeavours.
In relation to the second point about the development of post-16 provision, it becomes clear that there is a high commitment of black students to study beyond school and to continue to take and re-take CSEs and 'O' levels, but the relative lack of success here prompts Mabey (1986) to suggest that they should re-direct their energies into areas which would serve them better such as one year foundation courses on the model of the CPVE (Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education) which ought to facilitate entry into employment.

Thus Mabey (1986) concludes her study by saying that in relation to Afro-Caribbean students:

> the evidence of this research would support those arguing for specialist institutions for 16-19 year olds, notably tertiary colleges. Such institutions could provide a bridge between the sheltered and structured school environment and work for higher education.

Mabey (1986: 172)

The ILEA studies began almost two decades ago and appeared to present a dismal picture of black pupil underachievement but the most recent study offers just a little more hope for black pupils. However, in all probability the consensus about underachievement among black pupils is likely to 'live on' as it has become reified over the years.

2.3.2. Other early studies

In addition to the early ILEA studies, there were several other major and minor studies which had an impact on the formation of a consensus about West Indian pupil underachievement. Among these were the EPA studies which preceded and followed the Halsey Report (1972). This report provided strong support for Educational Priority Areas, subsequently called Social Priority Areas in order to alleviate social disadvantage, especially in decaying urban areas. Through a belief that 'intervention' can help improve the social situation for those
most 'deprived', a number of projects were set up and these are well documented in a number of studies including those of Midwinter (1972, 1974), Raynor and Harden (1973) and Raynor and Harris (1977).

The EPA studies relating to education and carried out in London and Birmingham where there were large numbers of 'immigrants' confirmed in the work of Payne (1974) that West Indian children were performing significantly below the scholastic level of their white peers. On a vocabulary test for instance, the mean score for white children in London was 97.9 while the mean score for West Indian pupils was 86.9 in London and 81.6 in Birmingham. Thus, by taking the overall national sample for this test it was noted that there were at least twice the number of West Indian children in the bottom three categories of scores than for the indigenous white children. Even more damning was the evidence that when it came to reading competence, about 25 per cent of West Indian children in London and almost 40 per cent in Birmingham were classed as non-readers. However, as was pointed out in relation to the ILEA studies, Tomlinson (1983) urges caution on the interpretation of these results of studies which were carried out before the 1980s.

Underachievement in the EPA studies was associated with issues like large family size among West Indians, and their use of non-standard English, poor housing conditions and social disadvantage in these 'priority areas' but there were other more specific studies relating to IQ which are worth referring to, as they have a bearing on Swann (1985).

Houghton (1966) explained a low IQ score for West Indian pupils in terms of 'deprivation' of a social, linguistic, environmental, material and even parental kind. McFie and Thompson (1970) who found a difference in IQ using the Wecheler Intelligence scale, between West Indian pupils and English pupils of 11 points and Yule et al., (1975) who showed among their sample of children of West Indian origin and born in Britain, a 14 point difference on a verbal measure of intelligence, commented on these results in terms of 'deficit'
explanations of the West Indian family, socialisation and home background. In the case of McFie and Thompson (1970) they also undertook a Schonell reading test and when West Indian pupils scored five points on average below the scores of the matched sample of English pupils it led them to conclude that the West Indian children needed to work on language development as well as on the skills of manipulation using constructional material.

Poor test scores from a range of studies of black pupils, led to an assertion from Jensen (1969), drawing from even earlier studies like Shuey (1966), that the differences in measured IQ within populations of Great Britain and the USA were caused by the 'inheritable estimate', estimated at 80 per cent and the 'environmental estimate' related to an environmental factor, estimated at 20 per cent. Jensen (1969) went on to argue that 'negroes' in the USA scored on average 15 points less than whites on IQ tests and as the heritable estimate for whites was 80 per cent, Jensen (1969) went on to say that it followed that 80 per cent of the 15 IQ points difference between blacks and white was caused by genetic factors. In other words, 'negroes' or 'black' people were inherently less genetically endowed with intelligence. Such a view created much heated debate among a wide range of academics and educationists to which reference is made a little later. There was much argument against Jensen's view but there was support for him too. Eysenck (1971) in Britain strongly supported Jensen's theories of 'scientific racism' as they were called and this prompted even further work from Jensen.

Jensen (1973) argued that there were two different types of learning ability which he identified as Level I and Level II. These roughly corresponded to rote learning and conceptual learning. He then went on to say that Level I was distributed 'similarly' in different populations and Level II was distributed 'differently' and went on to argue that black children were good at rote learning alone and white children at both rote and conceptual learning. In much the same way Eysenck (1971) had argued that blacks in the USA are inherently stupid since it was the more stupid Africans who allowed themselves to get
caught and enslaved and that such stupidity had been genetically transmitted to their offspring in the USA and in Britain!

As would be expected, the views expressed by Jensen (1969, 1973) and Eysenck (1971) provoked much acrimonious debate and discussion (Ryan 1972; Kamin 1974; Bagley 1975 and Stones 1979) over the years and, in turn, Jensen, Eysenck and others have continued to argue their case in several subsequent publications. The researcher is forced to confine himself in this dissertation to just two major works, for illustrative purposes which reject the Jensenite view of intelligence and its implications for ethnic minority pupils.

Bagley (1975) argued that the theory of genetic endowment of intelligence has to be refuted because it is unsound and because of the political implications of such theory. Further, that if it is accepted, it would be logical to have differential treatment for racial groups in America for instance. Bagley (1975) went on to draw firstly, on a large number of anthropometric studies, going back over many years, which demonstrated quite convincingly that Jensen had studiously chosen to ignore all available evidence of high IQ levels among people of African origin and stated that:

Jensen seems to be dangerously near to saying that a black child with a high IQ is not African after all, because of his high intelligence.

Bagley (1975: 33)

Secondly, Bagley (1975) drew on Green's (1972) study on tests of intelligence undertaken in Puerto Rico. Over centuries of intermarriage, the Puerto Ricans ranged in colour from black to light skinned. Following the colour line in the USA, the light skinned individuals would have been categorised as 'negro'. However, in Green's (1972) work a standardised Spanish version of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale was used on a random sample of 1100 adults aged 16 to 65. The IQ test showed that the mean IQ of the light skinned group
was 107 compared to 99 for the darker skinned group and it was noted that the darker skinned Puerto Ricans had fewer years of education and lower occupational status than those who were light skinned. Bagley concurred with Green (1972) that the results indicate that:

the colour line in Puerto Rico is more liberal though it exists as in the USA. Being white is an ascribed status, the definitions vary between America and Puerto Rico. A major determinant of intelligence according to this account is not the amount of African ancestry, but the degree to which the social structure assigns individuals to disadvantaged positions in society.

Bagley (1975: 34)

Thirdly, Bagley (1975) illustrated through his own work of administering the Stanford Binet test of intelligence to carefully matched black and white samples of pupils in London aged between 7 and 10, that the resulting scores were 105.7 for the black children and 103.2 for the white children. Bagley concluded by saying that:

we have no alternative but to proceed on the assumption that racial groups possess the same basic intellectual capacities.

Bagley (1975: 44)

The crux of Bagley's (1979) argument which followed from his earlier work was that social disadvantage rather than race was the major factor in the case of West Indian pupil underachievement.

The issue of the relationship between IQ and race is a very complex matter and it is not easy to draw upon evidence that clearly 'proves' or 'disproves' the existence of such a relationship and which also throws much light on it. The work of Bagley (1975) in London, for instance, was based on very small samples and this poses its own limitations on the generalisability of such work. Further, the discredited work of Cyril Burt on intelligence can inspire little
confidence in some of the 'social-scientific' research that has been undertaken in an area which is exceptionally fraught with difficulty.

The researcher's own predilection against the concept of IQ derives from the ideas of Henderson (1976) and Kamin (1977). Essentially, the researcher is attracted to the view that IQ tests have been devices used by privileged groups in society to ensure that they maintain such privilege by excluding other groups who are assigned low IQ scores on tests devised and administered by members of middle and dominant strata in society. For Henderson (1976) the middle classes in society are able to select and define those mental characteristics which are deemed to be 'intelligent'. They are those characteristics most likely to be in 'possession' of the middle/dominant classes and not among the lower strata of society. Through the use of IQ tests the dominant group are able to maintain control over social mobility as well as power in the hands of an elite.

The debate about intelligence and race has continued over the years and has proven so resilient that Swann (1985) felt the need to examine it thoroughly. After considerable deliberation which reviewed the field carefully and initiated fresh investigations, Swann (1985) felt satisfied that much of the difference in IQ scores between West Indian and indigenous children were related to differences between them in such factors as parental occupation, income, size of family and environmental factors. Swann (1985) felt sure that it had finally disposed of the idea that West Indian underachievement can be explained by reference to IQ scores.

The pre-1980 period can be brought to an end by brief references to a few more relevant studies.

A study was undertaken in 1978 jointly by the Redbridge Black Peoples' Progressive Association and the Redbridge Community Relations Commission because of a concern about the low level of West Indian pupil achievement in schools in this multi-ethnic outer London Borough. In examining the results of eight primary schools, it was found that at
the age of 11, the indigenous white children scored an average score of 97.7 for verbal reasoning, 98.7 for English and 99.00 for Maths. In contrast, the West Indian children scored the lowest of all pupils with scores of 85, 88, and 86 respectively. Likewise, in one large comprehensive school in the Borough, while 27 per cent of the pupils received remedial help among all First Year pupils, the figure for West Indian pupils was 46 per cent. Also, the CSE and 'O' level passes for West Indians were significantly lower for them. In seeking an explanation for such low levels of achievement, the conclusions drawn in the study were that the main reason for underachievement was due to poor self-identity among pupils and the effects of a hostile society. But low teacher expectations and teacher attitudes to West Indian pupil dialect were also considered important. By the same token, factors like levels of intelligence, West Indian family and home background were not found to be significant factors.

A number of studies (Townsend, 1971; Townsend and Brittain, 1972) provided evidence that West Indian children ended up in lower streams in secondary schools and where selection took place for grammar school places, only a very small number of West Indian pupils were successful.

All the above evidence is but a small selection from the vast literature for the period roughly preceding 1980. Most of it illustrates fairly clearly that when West Indian pupils are compared with indigenous pupils in British schools their underachievement is a cause for concern. The picture begins to change somewhat from the early 1980s when we begin to see a little evidence of improvement in achievement among West Indian pupils in their school performance.

2.3.3. The post-1980 period

It was suggested earlier that Driver's (1980a) work was like a watershed and for purposes of illustration, reference is made specifically to this work. This is followed by reference to other work such as Rampton (1981), Brown (1984), Swann (1985) and Eggleston et al.
Reference has already been made to Mabey (1986) in an account of the ILEA longitudinal study which had its origins in 1968.

Driver (1980a) drew attention to his study of examination results for 2300 male and female school leavers in five multiracial schools. Two were in the north, two in the Midlands and one in the Home Counties. Driver (1980a) was reporting a trend he had discovered between 1975 and 1978 that:

a) West Indian girls and boys achieved results, for the most part better than those obtained by English boys and girls.

b) In some cases they had overtaken their English classmates in the course of their school careers.

c) West Indian girls do better than West Indian boys at 16-plus while the reverse was true for the English pupils.

d) In 'critical subjects' like English language, Maths and Science, the West Indian pupils obtained better average results than the English pupils.

Driver (1980a) explained this 'achievement' pattern in terms of 'positive qualities' which these West Indian pupils brought to bear on their school work and on their 'staying on' rates in school. These were considerably higher for West Indian pupils than English pupils. Driver (1980a) was cautious however in the presentation of his findings and pointed out that:

West Indian children may, indeed, do worse than their English classmates at primary school - or even into secondary school. Then they pull ahead ... these apparent trends undermine the idea of cumulative deficit in education. They suggest that ethnic communities, such as those represented by the West Indian pupils in my study, have resources to make up ground which to others may have appeared impossible.

Driver (1980a: 112)
Driver (1980a) then went on to provide a sociological explanation of why West Indian girls may be working hard to achieve at school and argued that a re-appraisal may be necessary about the 'supposed underachievement of West Indian pupils'. Driver (1980a) drew upon earlier studies of women's roles in the Caribbean, and especially Jamaica where they had the main responsibility of parenting and providing family subsistence and stability. He suggested that such a tendency was reasserting itself in West Indian households in Britain because of the prevailing high rates of unemployment among West Indian male unskilled workers and that women were taking on the responsibility for becoming breadwinners. He further contrasted this situation with English working class girls whom he claimed are expected to be married soon after school and therefore not expected to persevere at school for a career. He concluded by saying that his evidence 'would show that ethnicity had positive and not merely negative associations for school achievement'.

Driver's (1980a) article generated much comment. Most of it was critical but there were supportive comments with further evidence to support Driver's (1980a) thesis. However, for critics like Williams (1980), Taylor (1981), concern was expressed that the article might generate complacency and remove the urgency to look critically at what was going on in schools and the status of Afro-Caribbean children in the structure of opportunities in the country.

Driver (1980b) presented a fuller account of his findings in a CRE publication and the view that was now beginning to emerge in the literature was that not all West Indian children underachieve in the education system but it was nevertheless recognised widely that, on the whole, there was a great deal of underachievement among West Indian pupils in schools (Taylor 1981). This was further confirmed in the Rampton Report (1981). This interim DES report examined the achievements of pupils in six LEAs and by focussing part of its analysis specifically on the achievement of West Indian pupils was able to state that:
West Indian children as a group are failing in our education system. Urgent action is needed to remedy this.

Rampton (1981: 70)

The Rampton Report (1981) presented a large quantity of data illustrating the performance levels of various groups of pupils. Among its starkest comments was that in all CSEs and 'O' level examinations in six LEAs, only 3 per cent of West Indians obtained 5 or more higher grades (A - C, at 'O' level) compared with 18 per cent of Asians and 16 per cent of other leavers. Also, that from the six LEAs studied, 1 per cent of West Indians went on to university compared to 3 per cent of Asians and 3 per cent of other leavers. It also stated that Driver's (1980a, 1980b) conclusions about West Indian pupil academic success could not be substantiated after carefully scrutinising the data he had collected.

Rampton (1981) was unable to identify a single cause for West Indian pupil underachievement but referred to 'unintentional racism' in the behaviour and attitudes of some teachers. Such unintentional racism would possibly manifest itself through stereotyped or patronising attitudes combined with negative views of academic ability and potential which could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Rampton (1981) went on to make a large number of recommendations for a programme of action which included better pre-school provision, a more appropriate curriculum fostering a multi-cultural approach, better careers education, greater partnership between parents and schools, better initial and in-service training for teachers and the provision of access courses for professional training.

It was generally felt, especially by West Indian groups, that Rampton (1981) had vindicated their view about racism in society and the debilitating effect that it had on West Indian children. In contrast however, others, including a leader in The Times of 18th June 1981
argued that as Asian children appeared to be relatively successful in Rampton's (1981) terms it was therefore not possible to blame 'racism' for West Indian pupil underachievement. Once again, the 'deficit' view of the West Indian home background was beginning to feature as an explanation for their underachievement and a new problem of contrasting Asian and Afro-Caribbean achievement levels appeared on the horizon.

Appreciating the dilemma created, Tomlinson (1983) examined the 'evidence' of Asian 'overachievement' in schools and reported that there was no evidence of overachievement but that the education system had 'treated pupils of West Indian and Asian origin differently' and that the outcome of this was that Asian children had been provided more 'positive educational assistance' and obviously benefitted from it.

Reeves and Chevannes (1981) argued that Rampton (1981) had failed to note that social class was a critical factor impinging on West Indian pupil performance and that if the data presented in the Rampton (1981) report had been analysed along social class as well as ethnic lines, an entirely different interpretation would have been adduced.

Rampton's critique of Driver's (1980a, 1980b) work and its implicit reiteration of the 'underachievement thesis', as well as the work of Tomlinson (1980), Taylor (1981), and Craft and Craft (1983), prompted Figueroa (1984a) as well as Troyna (1984) to examine the conflicting evidence. Troyna (1984) undertook an examination of what he referred to as the 'conceptual and methodological flaws' in studies about the educational achievement of black pupils. By carefully scrutinising statements made by a large number of researchers who 'confirmed' West Indian pupil underachievement, Troyna (1984) provided good examples of 'methodological flaws' in their work or examples of conflicting evidence in relation to conclusions about West Indian underachievement. This led him to conclude that researchers had been 'concerned to trace broad trends and to draw gross over generalised conclusions'. Troyna (1984) was also concerned that many researchers had failed to consider
'social class' as a critical factor which may impinge on pupil performance in their analysis of West Indian underachievement.

Troyna (1984) went on to argue that the concern for West Indian underachievement had led to many 'multicultural' initiatives and while he would be happy if these actually improved the academic performance of black pupils, he expressed concern that:

such an obsessive concern with improving performance may distract educational policy-makers and practitioners from the more pervasive and fundamental barriers confronting black youngsters, namely, racism.

Troyna (1984: 164)

In spite of considerable scrutiny, criticism and interest in Driver's (1980a, 1980b) work, there is growing evidence to support his view that West Indian pupils are keen to gain qualifications and in fact do so the older they get. There is increasing evidence to show that many are staying on at school beyond the statutory school leaving age or continue in Further Education to gain further qualifications. Reference was made to such evidence earlier to Xabey's (1986) work. This indicated that it is not until Afro-Caribbean pupils get to the post-school stage that the evidence becomes clearer of the academic progress, albeit limited, they have begun to make.

Murray and Dawson (1983), in a large-scale study in Manchester, found very positive attitudes among Afro-Caribbean pupils, to continuing education with the express purpose of obtaining further qualifications and also of gaining access to further and higher education.

It is becoming increasing clear that the dilemma for West Indian pupils at sixteen is whether to leave school and enter a labour market that discriminates against them or whether to put their faith in gaining the highest qualifications possible. The evidence over the years suggests
that young West Indians are quite persistent in working towards furthering their qualifications. Townsend and Brittain (1972) found that West Indian pupils were twice as likely as the indigenous pupils to stay on at school beyond the minimum school leaving age.

In a study by Dean (1982) it was found that of school leavers from selected schools 42.4 per cent of the Afro-Caribbean students compared to 18.5 per cent of white students, went on to full-time study in further education in two divisions in the Inner London Education Authority. Likewise Brown's (1984) study relating to educational and vocational aspirations of ethnic minority students compared to indigenous white students is also very revealing. The data suggest that young members of ethnic minorities are beginning to gain the qualifications to which they aspire. The migrants themselves who arrived in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s had not improved on their own qualifications very much. Brown (1984) indicates that 87 per cent of West Indian, 74 per cent of Asian and 64 per cent of white men had no vocational or academic qualifications but among those between 16 and 24, only 35 per cent of West Indians and Asian men compared to 27 per cent of white men have no qualifications at all. Thus the high aspirations for an education within the ethnic minorities who came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s have already begun to manifest themselves through their children.

The Swann Report (1985) followed the interim Rampton Report (1981). In an examination of issues relating to West Indian pupil achievement and underachievement, it provided detailed evidence to show that although some of these children were successful in the educational system, as a social group:

West Indian children are again shown to be performing markedly less well than their fellows from other groups on all the measures used.

Swann (1985: 62)
The report then illustrated the low level of West Indian performance compared with other groups in a series of statements about CSE, GCE 'O' level and GCE 'A' level passes as well as in relation to entry to University. However, and importantly, the report also provided details of improvements in specific academic areas which illustrated a narrowing of the gap between the performance of West Indians and their school fellows from other groups. Thus, while welcoming such improvements, the Report emphasised that there was no room for complacency and in fact reiterated the statement made originally in the interim Rampton report (1981):

West Indian children as a group are underachieving in our education system ... (and) ... this should be a matter of deep concern not only to all those involved in education but also the whole community.

Swann (1985: 63)

In attempting to provide some explanations for underachievement it was noted earlier that the issue of IQ was categorically discounted as a causal factor but after considering a number of contributory factors, such as disadvantaged home backgrounds, prejudice, discrimination and racism in society, and inadequate schooling, Swann (1985) felt that it was impossible to identify a single factor and that one should indeed not try to do so.

Swann emphasised the importance of providing a good education for 'all our children', but among a large number of recommendations to improve the situation regarding West Indian underachievement, and that of other ethnic minorities, considerable emphasis was stressed on better initial and in-service training of teachers and the employment of ethnic minority teachers and this is discussed later in this thesis.

Swann (1985) was criticised by many who felt that it had underplayed the effects of racism in society and schools as a contributory factor
to West Indian pupil underachievement. When the 'Eggleston Report' about the educational and vocational experiences of 15 - 18 year old members of minority ethnic groups, was released by the DES late in 1985, Ruddell (1986) stated that:

The Eggleston Report provided the empirical data which both Rampton and Swann neglected. Eggleston's data is quite damning. It provides 'proof' of the extent to which racism operates, and makes a series of clear, useful recommendation. It is hoped that the DES and LEAs, will take this lower-profile Report as seriously we might expect them to take Swann.

Ruddell (1986)

The TES in its leader comment on 25th October 1985 wrote with reference to the Eggleston Report (1985) that:

It demonstrates beyond a peradventure that racist attitudes and practices are currently doing much to hinder the education of Afro-Caribbean pupils.

TES (25 October 1985)

The Eggleston Report was published in book form (Eggleston et al. 1986) and it is worth ending this section by referring to some of its main conclusions:

a) The single theme throughout the study is that there is evidence of considerable determination of very large numbers of young people from ethnic minority groups to persevere through time, money and effort for education with the aim, and hope of obtaining their desired occupation. Such ambitions are 'realistic' and no higher than those of white pupils in schools and colleges.

b) There are social processes in schools and society that work to counteract the efforts of these young people and these manifest
themselves, for example, in ethnic minority pupils being placed on courses and for examination below their abilities and ambitions. This has the effect of depressing opportunity for obtaining adequate qualifications, access to higher education and better jobs.

c) The effects of racial discrimination upon employment appears to be severe. Even with appropriate qualifications, they do not obtain jobs in equal proportions to whites.

Eggleston et al. (1986) make 39 very clear recommendations for action that should take place in Schools, Further Education, the Careers Service, LEAs, the DES and the Manpower Services Commission. It is difficult to summarise these recommendations briefly, but they stress an urgent need for these institutions to take very positive steps towards institutionalising change in discriminatory practices within them and to provide positive means of translating the legitimate aspirations of young people from ethnic minorities so that the 'quality of educational experience offered to young members of ethnic minorities many be enhanced'. Furthermore while it is generally stated that schools and colleges cannot fundamentally change the labour market and eradicate structural unemployment, 'they can enhance the employability of their young people'.

Following the large number of recommendations to the different social institutions, Eggleston et al. (1986) conclude that:

Achieving greater justice between the races in these ways may well be the way in which the education service can best contribute to the diminution of racial tension and bitterness.

Eggleston et al. (1986: 293)
Finally, reference is often made to an example that is invariably used to illustrate that West Indian pupils can be as successful as anyone else if state schools do not 'depress their potential'. The John Loughborough Seventh-Day Adventist middle and secondary church school in Tottenham, London, had its origins as a West Indian supplementary school. However, the Adventists (Theobald 1981) were unhappy with the 'corrosive influences of an increasingly secular society' and the moral climate of state schools, and when an opportunity arose to acquire premises they began a day school which currently (1987) has an enrolment of 300 fee paying pupils, 98 per cent of whom are black. The school has been depicted in a large number of articles in the literature as a success story as well as in television programmes, the latest of which as referred to earlier was the 'Bandung File' (Channel 4 TV) on 4th July 1987. The programme argued that the 'success rate' in public examinations for black pupils at John Loughborough was twice as good as at ILEA schools and attributed this success to high teacher expectations and high commitment on the part of pupils to academic work. Examples were used to show how black pupils who were underachieving in local state schools had shown significant improvements in their work at John Loughborough. Homan (1986) argued that in this particular school, low expectations are renounced and that low status subjects normally offered in comprehensive schools for specific pupils who are not expected to perform particularly well and 'applauded by educationists as models of curriculum development' do not feature at John Loughborough. The work undertaken is rigorous and demanding and the pupils meet this challenge with enthusiasm and success. The implications of Homan's (1986) account as well as that of others is that West Indian underachievement is largely a result of English schooling, or in Eggleston's (1986) words:

It has been put to us that some blacks have only one fundamental disadvantage in reaching advanced qualifications; they have lived in Britain instead of overseas.

Eggleston et al. (1986: 288)
2.4 Social Movements

The third section of this chapter focuses on the study of social movements. The aim is to examine what light can be thrown through an examination of the theory of social movements on the development of a relatively small social movement like the Black Supplementary School Movement.

The literature illustrates a wide variation in the interpretation of social movements but it is possible to identify perhaps three broad categories of social movements. These are identified as:

a) the large social movements in history as well as in contemporary studies.

b) the relatively small protest movements found in society.

c) the 'new' social movements in the twentieth century.

Clearly these are not discrete categories. They overlap to a considerable extent and reference will be made to each of these categories before considering the detail in the literature on social movements and how such theory can relate to the Black Supplementary School Movement.

Heberle (1951, 1968) has argued that historically, the term 'social movement' first came to be used in the early nineteenth century in Britain when it had a specific meaning. It was essentially, seen as a movement such as that of the 'working class' with its 'socialistic', tendencies. Thus we get the concept of the 'working class movement' in historical studies. It represents an expression for a range of endeavours of the industrial proletariat in resistance to economic exploitation. Some theorists like Foss and Larkin (1986) have argued that social movements are essentially large and that when sociologists study what they claim to be 'small social movements', these are in fact elements of much larger movements. Thus for Foss and Larkin (1986), protest movements like anti-war protest, student disruption, hippie and
civil rights movements were not of themselves 'social movements', but rather, aspects or phases of 'real' and large social movements such as the large middle class youth movement. In Foss and Larkin's (1986) mode of analysis, they can only identify between four and six social movements as such in world history in the twentieth century and the current growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East would, for them, be an example of a genuine social movement which they would equate with revolutionary change. Thus, Foss and Larkin (1986) explicitly reject 'protest' collectives in society as examples of social movements. Instead they make clear their own conception of a social movement in the definition below:

A social movement is the developing collective action of a significant portion of members of a major social category, involving at some point the use of physical force or violence against members of other social categories, their possessions, or their institutional instrumentalities, and interfering at least temporarily — whether by design or by unintended consequence — with the political and cultural reproduction of society.

Foss & Larkin (1986: 2)

It would appear then that the above definition falls within the kind of large scale movement referred to by Heberle (1951, 1968).

There is much written in the sociological literature about the second category identified above. The 'social movement' discussed by Gusfield (1970), Banks (1972) and Wilkinson (1971) refers mainly to small protest movements which emerge in society from time to time. These have fairly limited goals rather than major concerns to bring about fundamental changes in the social order. It would appear that this second category contains social movements which overlap in many ways with some of what are currently termed 'new' social movements and these two are mainly discussed as perhaps reflecting many aspects of the Black Supplementary School Movement.
2.4.1. The 'New' Social Movements

Bocock (1986) has argued that there has been major re-thinking among sociologists in the past two decades about the role of the working class as a major agent of change in advanced industrial society.

According to Bocock (1986) traditional Marxists have held that such change would come about through the revolutionary actions of the industrial working class. However, the reality is that there has been an ineffective and numerically shrinking working class and with such decline, political attention has focussed on new types of social movements such as the Peace Movement, Women's Movement, anti-racist movements and ethnic movements over the past two decades. These new movements have developed largely outside of the conventional political system made up of parties and pressure groups and have developed new forms of social change through consciousness-raising among groups of women, ethnic minorities and other self-help groups.

Theoretical work on these new social movements has been undertaken in recent years by Melucci (1980) Touraine (1981) and Castells (1983) among others. Such theorists have used the concept of the 'urban social movement' to examine emergent patterns of political action and organisation which have now been an important feature of post-industrial societies. Movements such as anti-nuclear and peace movements can be linked in spite of their diversity, to powerful anti-bureaucratic and anti-industrial tendencies.

According to Touraine (1981) the distinctive feature of these new social movements is their capacity to 'universalise' the issue of 'human emancipation' beyond the particularistic interests of industrial workers employed in the process of production. For Melucci (1980) the new social movements can be identified through several core characteristics. For instance, they refuse mediation of their demands by the political system against which they have defined themselves. Hence one key feature which characterises them is the 'non-negotiable' nature of their demands. Another important characteristic is that they
are not primarily interested in instrumental objectives such as the taking and holding of political power but rather veer towards the 'control of a field of autonomy or independence vis-à-vis the system' and this leads to another characteristic - the enthusiasm for direct participation and direct action against institutional authority.

Castells (1983) has developed a theory of the distinctively urban dimensions of the new social movements. He argues that urban social movements share some basic characteristics in spite of their obvious diversity. They consider themselves to be urban, related to the city in their self-denomination, they are locally based, territorially defined and they tend to mobilise around three central goals:

a) 'collective consumption', which refers to the goods and services directly or indirectly provided by the state,

b) 'cultural identity' which becomes an issue when it is closely associated with a specific 'territory' and is defended on that basis,

c) 'political self-management' which relates to the attempt by urban groups to win a degree of autonomy from local governments which directly oversee their immediate environments, provide use values, income and distribution.

According to Castells (1983) it is only when these three goals combine in the practice of an urban movement that social change can occur. The separation of any one goal from the others reduces the potential of the social movement and recasts it in the role of an interest group that may be 'moulded into the established institutions of society, so losing its impact'. He views these social movements as precarious, fragile collectivitites which may be unable to accomplish fully all the projects promised by their organisational rhetoric. Their specific appeal and the popular power they represent cannot necessarily survive contact with the agencies of the state against which they struggle and they lose their identity when they become institutionalised, 'the inevitable outcome of bargaining for social reform within the political system'.
The theory of urban social movements (Fox Piven et al. 1977) emphasises that they are not ready-made agents for structural change but rather, 'symptoms of resistance to domination'. They have their roots in a radical sense of powerlessness and though their resistances may have important effects on cities and societies, they are best understood as defensive organisations which are unlikely to be able to make the transition to more stable forms of politics. This lends these movements certain strengths as well as the obvious weaknesses but they have increasingly begun to make a significant impact on the state through a range of activities which directly 'confront' the government or actively engage in its embarrassment.

By drawing on the theoretical contribution of those sociologists who have written about social movements as relatively small protest movements with fairly limited goals and with those who have discussed the new social movements, referred to earlier, it is possible to identify certain elements which can contribute to our understanding of how social movements function.

Broom et al., (1955) suggested that a social movement usually implies group activity directed towards some social change. Further, that a social movement reflects the assumption that men can change aspects of the social order in some way or the other if they are determined enough to press for a particular goal or objective.

It would appear that definitions in conventional sociological literature correspond closely to popular usages of the term 'social movement', and it has been argued that those who emphasise the nature of the activities of a movement tend to emphasise the conditions that produce movements and the motives of individuals who participate in them. In contrast, those who view social movements primarily as 'collectivities' tend to emphasise the structural elements of social movements and how such elements influence the behaviour of members, and the kind of interaction that takes place between the members.
Wilkinson (1971) among others suggests that a social movement is essentially a collective enterprise. Through a social movement, an individual member experiences a sense of 'belonging' or 'membership' among a number of people who share his 'unease' or 'concern' about an existing social system as well as his alternative vision of a better social system in society. A social movement thus becomes a collectivity with a common aim and a sense of shared values. As members of a group become aware that other people share their perception of what is desirable or not for the collectivity, commitment to a social movement is strengthened through increased participation.

Unseem (1957) has emphasised that a social movement also provides its membership certain 'guidelines' and through its ideology, provides a rationale for the beliefs of its members. The ideology is invariably generated by the intellectuals of the movement to be 'shared' by the larger membership of the movement. Although not every member may accept all aspects of the ideology, it helps to provide him with arguments to support the aims of the movement.

Banks (1972) and others have argued that a social movement normally lasts for a long period - perhaps a number of years. A social movement is thus not seen to be a spontaneous activity which emerges and ends within a few days or a few weeks.

In describing the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, Freeman (1983) argued that while a social movement is typically large, some social movements are relatively small and have fairly limited objectives. The size of a social movement varies, if for no other reason than that the membership is often not very clearly defined or determined. In fact one characteristic of a social movement is the relative informality of its organisational structure.

In considering the organisational characteristics of social movements, Gusfield (1970) argued that the membership is not formally organised and the leaders do not often have clear forms of authority. Consequently, members are attracted to a movement or drawn to it by
other members but they could also withdraw from it very easily. Thus social movements invariably lack defined procedures for selecting and identifying members and while a social movement acts collectively in the furtherance or pursuit of some shared goals, it generally lacks formal procedures for decision making. To overcome this difficulty of an organisational nature, some smaller social movements become associations with formal organisational structures.

The literature suggests that the informal non-contractual quality of membership, the absence of formal-decision making procedures as discussed above, and the requirements of considerable flexibility in strategy and tactics, inevitably place a high premium on maintaining active membership through faith in the movement and obviously, a loss of such faith invariably leads to a loss of membership within a social movement. For Gusfield (1970), Wilkinson (1971) and Fox Piven et al. (1977), what helps to consolidate a social group is a passionate belief in a 'cause'. This may be in terms of fighting an 'injustice' in society or a belief that there is a need to introduce 'new thinking' into a society.

Wilson (1971), McCarthy and Zald (1977) and others refer to the fact that social movements are fundamentally linked to aspects of social change but that social change is a continuous social process too and that therefore, not all of it involves social movements. Further, some social movements do not have a clear coherence and direction and individual members may not even have a strong sense of being part of a social movement. In contrast to this, some social movements are very carefully 'planned' to bring about specific change and they have clear aims and objectives as well as time schedules for the anticipated change.

In seeking to categorise social movements, the literature suggests that it becomes necessary to examine the goals of specific social movements and the means by which social change is to be brought about. Consequently, we get social movements which are variously labelled -
educational, religious, economic, political and so on. However, some writers like Banks (1972) and Gusfield (1970) have suggested that all social movements tend to be either 'religious' or 'political' in character, depending upon whether their aims are to change the moral values of individuals or to influence political structures. In other words, it is suggested that these two elements, singly or in combination, represent the core elements of most social movements.

The literature on social movements also suggests that a commonly used distinction between social movements appears to be that between 'reform' and 'revolutionary' movements. In such a distinction, a 'reform' movement suggests a change that will essentially preserve the existing values but will provide better means by which such values will be implemented in society. In contrast, the 'revolutionary' social movement focusses on a replacement of existing values. Those who hold 'revolutionary' values perceive them as the 'true' values a society should hold while their opponents would clearly perceive such values as subversive of traditional values. Thus Foss and Larkin (1986) appear to reject 'reform' movements which abide strictly by and within the confines of routine politics and clearly have a preference for revolutionary social movements which will bring radical change in society.

Turner and Killian (1972) focus on the concept of 'success' as a means of judging the kind of progress made by social movements. Thus for Turner and Killian (1972), it is possible to categorise social movements in terms of what constitutes 'success' for them. They have claimed that three criteria apply to social movements and that all three are incorporated in varying degrees in all social movements. These three criteria are summarised below:

a) A 'value-oriented' social movement emphasises the implementation of its agenda or programme of social change as the measure of its success.
b) A 'power-oriented' social movement places an emphasis on the achievement of power as a means of bringing about change through the movement.

c) A 'participant-oriented' movement places particular emphasis on the satisfaction that members gain from involvement in a movement in which they have a strong conviction of being 'right' over one or more social issues.

In the above categorisation, in b) above, the point about relating to the 'achievement of power' appears to conflict with the theoretical views of the 'new' social movements, as discussed earlier in this section. Melluci (1980), for instance, claims that the new urban social movements eschew gaining power as a means of bringing about social change.

Some writers like Smelser (1962) differentiate between two types of social movements by focussing on the values they espouse. Thus such theorists argue that the 'norm-oriented' movement endeavours to bring about changes in the normal procedures for attaining the values of a society but refrains from challenging these values themselves. In contrast, the 'value-oriented' movement believes that changes should and can be instituted in one or more of the values of the society and this in turn means that the norms necessary for the implementation of these values should also be changed.

Other aspects of the literature, focus on the direction advocated by social movements and refer to analytical concepts used for research on social movements. Gusfield (1970) referred to four types of social movements - 'withdrawal', 'protest', 'reform' and 'revolution'. Yet others, have used terms such as 'conservative', 'moderate', 'liberal' and 'radical'. Some have used structural-functionalist perspectives to examine social movements but many, understandably, have used 'conflict' perspectives. However, it is important to point out that social movements also attempt to prevent social change or to revert to earlier forms of social practices in society which had been abandoned.
Thus the literature also makes reference to the following kinds of categorisation:

a) 'Reactionary' - when social movements endeavour to restore a former state of affairs.
b) 'Progressive' - when there is an argument presented for a new kind of social arrangement, and
c) 'Conservative' - when there is an opposition to proposed change in preference for preserving or maintaining existing practices, values and norms.

It was stated earlier that some social movements transform themselves into highly structured formal organisations and this means that a social movement is likely to undergo a number of changes during its existence. This has led some theorists to consider the concept of a 'life cycle' or 'natural history' of social movements. However, such a concept appears to have been challenged by many, on the grounds that the implied idea of distinctive stages of development in social movements cannot be sustained for lack of empirical evidence. The researcher however, feels that it may be possible to conceptualise a social movement as having a 'career' because it should be possible to identify its origins, development and stage of 'maturity' as it persists in a given society. However, it is recognised that the sequence of such changes is likely to vary quite considerably from movement to movement.

The issue of 'leadership' of social movements is also fairly important. Foss and Larkin (1986) suggest that social movements are often identified by the outstanding leader who symbolises the movement. However, others have suggested that there is often a 'leadership group' at the helm of social movements. Thus although at an early stage of a social movement, the influence on a movement of a strong charismatic leader may be important, at some point, intellectuals (Gramsci 1971) appear to play a crucial role by contributing to the developing ideology of a movement. The literature also suggests that if a social movement endures and grows over a long period, administrative leaders emerge who
become involved in the practical organisational matters of the social movement and it may then take on the characteristics of a formal association or even that of a political party.

The possibility of such a change suggests that the goals of a social movement rarely remain unchanged and that as a movement grows, its aims may become broader and vaguer and its earlier orientation may give way to the rather different goals of a mature social movement. This also suggests that once social movements achieve their aims, they may simply fade away or take on quite different aims. This aspect of the theory of social movements will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis in relation to the Black Supplementary School Movement.

Having examined some theoretical considerations relating to social movements, it is worth noting that in Britain the literature is fairly critical of West Indian 'failure at political mobilisation' within the West Indian community itself. A variety of explanations have been provided for such a view since the 1950s.

The early work of Glass et al. (1960) and Patterson (1965) attributed a lack of West Indian associations in Brixton, London, to the disruption caused by migration. Rose (1969) stated that West Indians in Britain encountered unexpectedly high levels of prejudice and discrimination in the host society and this disillusioned them to such an extent that they were unable to organise themselves. Such a view is also similar to that of Rex and Moore (1969) who argued that in their study of Sparkbrook West Indians were noticeably seen to lack institutions of their own.

Hinds (1966) argued that there was a lack of West Indian community activity because:

the average West Indian is a 'go-it-aloner'; despite the fact that he probably lives in close proximity with fellow migrants, he prefers ... to fight racial prejudice as he meets it in everyday
life as an individual citizen, rather than to help from a nationwide movement ...

Hinds (1966: 136)

In a study of the first major attempt and failure to form a national body called the 'Campaign Against Racial Discrimination', Heineman (1972) stated that:

The general phenomenon of the West Indian's failure to organise is extraordinarily complicated both to describe and to explain in depth, requiring tools from a multiplicity of disciplines - history, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science and literature.

Heineman (1972: 76)

Foner (1979) argued that there was a low involvement in community organisations among the Jamaicans in Brixton she studied, and Pryce (1979) stated that:

the vast majority of West Indians are indifferent to voluntary organisations

Pryce (1979: 220)

Pearson (1981) in much the same tenor as the above stated that:

They (West Indians) are primarily concerned with their own families and view any problems encountered locally in a personalised sense rather than within a broader West Indian communal organisation. Moreover, individualism is demonstrated in the way that so many West Indians impute motives of personal gain to local West Indian activists rather than accept any claims of altruism from the latter.

Pearson (1981: 153)
The review of the literature in this section on supplementary schooling however would suggest that West Indians are increasingly engaging in much communal activity. This study should therefore be able to throw more light on the nature and intensity of one West Indian initiative — the Black Supplementary School Movement. The findings could then be discussed in relation to those, referred to above, who have argued that West Indians have not been successful at organising themselves communally.

This third section of Chapter 2 brings us to the end of the review of the literature relating to the issue of the Black Supplementary School Movement. The literature review related to three interrelated themes — supplementary schools, the conflicting evidence of achievement and underachievement among pupils of West Indian origin, and the study of social movements. All three 'themes' should help us to understand more clearly the Movement now under study. The account provided of supplementary schools in this chapter would suggest initially that they are perhaps part of a 'community protest movement' aiming to bring about better opportunities for West Indian pupils but it did not appear to be possible to identify a coherent link between the activity of individual supplementary schools and a social movement as such. It therefore becomes an objective of this study to explore if there is indeed such a link and also to explore what kind of social movement the Black Supplementary School Movement is in theory and practice.

In the next very brief section of this chapter, a summary will be presented on the research concern relating to this study.

2.5 The Research Problem

Chapter 1 indicated that the West Indian community is a relatively powerless and disadvantaged ethnic minority in Britain. There is wide agreement that it is now part of an 'underclass' within the British stratification system. This theme is extended in Chapter 2 where a discussion takes place on the educational disadvantage of West Indian pupils in schools and how the community has increasingly developed its
own and distinctive supplementary schools to provide basic literacy and numeracy skills to black children as well as to teach them about Afro-Caribbean history and culture.

The research problem is therefore to find out how supplementary schools originated and why they did so. The literature review on social movements suggests that movements tend to begin when a group is dissatisfied with the way matters are organised in society and it is therefore important to discover what factors actually generated the earliest supplementary schools, where they began and who was involved in their genesis. This will be the subject of Chapter 4, while Chapter 3 will consider the research methodology.

The next aspect of the research problem will be to explore the ideology which informs such a Movement. If a social movement can be sustained over a number of years and clearly appears to be growing in terms of the numbers of people involved and its range of activities, it is important to examine what ideology and factors sustain the Black Supplementary School Movement. This will be considered in Chapter 5.

Next, it becomes important to examine how the ideology of the Movement is translated into practice. Thus the researcher is interested to discover the extent of the Movement and what specific kinds of activities are sustained by it. Through such an orientation, it should be possible to examine the organisational features of the Movement, what kind of pupils attend supplementary schools, who teaches in them and what is actually taught and learned. This will be undertaken through a detailed case-study approach of the work in two Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools rather than through a national survey of a large number of such schools. The view was expressed earlier that an ethnographic in-depth study was the preferred mode of examination instead of a broad survey approach, at least partly, to fill a gap in the research on supplementary schools. The detailed ethnographic work will be reported in Chapters 6 to 11.
Finally, there is a concern to examine the implications of the Black Supplementary School Movement for D.E.S. policy on state provision of education, and especially, the use of ethnic minority teachers. If as the literature suggests, the West Indian community has little or no confidence in the state provision of education in its present form, than the question becomes, what is to be done? Clearly, it becomes important to suspend judgement about the implications of the Movement until the research can reveal specifically what dissatisfies the West Indian community generally and about education in particular and how the community wishes to deal with the difficulties it finds for itself in British society.

In the light of recent serious urban disturbances in Britain, there is also an element of urgency to try to understand the nature of the grievances of members of the Afro-Caribbean community with the hope of addressing at least some of the issues brought to the fore in this research. These matters will be discussed at appropriate stages in Part Four of the thesis and conclusions will be drawn about the implications of the Black Supplementary School Movement for social policy relating to ethnic minorities in Britain.
PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This present research was concerned to study a social movement and felt that the best way to understand it comprehensively was by participating in it as much as possible while making a careful note of everything that took place and obtaining data from participants. Clearly the data needed about the Movement lent themselves to the use of an ethnographic research approach in preference to other approaches available to the researcher. In other words, the perception of the research problem played its part in determining the appropriate research methodology in this study.

The term 'ethnography' derives from anthropology and means literally, a description of the way of life of a race or group of people (Woods, 1986). It is therefore concerned with issues about how people think, behave and interact, and 'aims to uncover beliefs, values, perspectives and motivations', but most importantly:

\[
\text{it tries to do all this from within the group, and from within the perspectives of the group's members. It is their meanings and interpretations that count.}
\]

Woods (1986: 4)

It is clear that in ethnographic work, the researcher's task is to enter the boundaries of a group under study and view it 'from the inside'. As in anthropology such a view cannot be obtained through brief visits to the group. Instead, the researcher has to spend a long period getting to know the group, being accepted by it and learning about its culture. Such a culture requires careful unravelling because
the 'reality' of the group or movement is wrapped in several layers of 'social meanings and interpretive structures'.

The status of ethnography in sociological and educational research has increased considerably in Britain in the past decade. Previously, as in the USA, it tended to be 'dismissed' as a highly subjective and unscientific research method. Today, it is widely accepted as a legitimate and acceptable approach for research purposes in sociology and especially, in the sociology of education (Sharp, 1986). There appears to have been a significant shift among social scientists from their faith in earlier mainstream sociological models and quantitative procedures within the tradition of structural functionalism and positivism and this seeming change requires some explanation.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), among others like Wilson (1971) and Gorbutt (1972), have argued that social scientists have increasingly felt a tension between conceptions of social science based on the practices of natural science on the one hand and social science based on the social world on the other. Although Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) are not keen to dichotomise the two epistemological positions, they feel that there is a significant difference between the two and for purposes of explanation, refer to these as two paradigms - 'positivism' and 'naturalism'. Positivism is viewed as the belief that claims that human behaviour is amenable to study through methods as used in the natural sciences and that the most important feature of scientific theories is that they are subjected to tests which can be confirmed or falsified. Following in the Popperian tradition, the methods used in positivism focus on testing hypotheses against a Durkheimian notion of 'social facts' using a range of standardised experimental, and survey procedures. Such procedures which emphasise the importance of 'objectivity' in research findings permit replication and are centrally concerned with establishing causal relationships between a number of variables in the research process. Such a process is contrasted with 'naturalism' which draws from a wide range of philosophical and sociological ideas and within which it is believed that the social world can only be studied in its 'natural state', and
without the requirement of experimental or measuring instruments favoured by positivism. Thus for Hammersley and Atkinson (1983),

from very different starting points, these various traditions argue that the social world cannot be understood in terms of causal relationships or by the subsumption of social events under universal laws. This is because human actions are based upon, or infused by social meanings: intentions, motives, attitudes, and beliefs.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 7)

From the researcher's point of view, the 'naturalist' criticism of positivism is justified because, while in the natural sciences it is perfectly possible to experiment with a whole range of variables and undertake much testing, such procedures are highly questionable with human beings who do not behave in predictable ways like molecules or atoms. It is argued therefore that human behaviour is highly complex and mainly amenable to study through 'naturalistic' procedures such as ethnography.

Reynolds (1980) has argued that one of the major weaknesses of the positivist paradigm was its failure to give much cognisance to human agency and the creative realm of individual consciousness. Thus within ethnography, instead of focussing on objective 'social facts' for study, the key elements for study are human consciousness and creative projects in which active minds are in interaction with other active minds and engaged in a range of activities subjectively constructed and mediated through daily encounters and relationships.

McCall and Simmons (1969) make it very clear that research has to follow recognised procedures and these are briefly referred to below in fairly broad terms before providing a detailed account of the procedures adopted in this particular research.

Firstly, access has to be gained to the 'area' of study. Next, the field research begins through the recording of observations and
undertaking of interviews where possible. When the data are collected, these have to be ordered and classified in preparation for an analysis of the data. Such analysis should then lead to the generation of theory which can be written up.

The issue of 'analysis' and 'theory generation' will be discussed a little later in this chapter. However, it must be noted that the ethnographer should not necessarily see the 'steps' referred to above as sequential or distinct phases. For example, the procedures for negotiating access and of data collection are not necessarily distinct phases in the research process within ethnography. They overlap significantly. Much can be learned from the problems involved in making contact with groups and much flexibility is required to respond to unexpected openings or constraints faced by the researcher. It must be recognised that unlike some other kinds of research (Atkinson 1979), the course that ethnography will take cannot be predetermined. But this does not mean that the researcher's action in the field has to be uncertain and unclear and take 'the line of least resistance' that appears to be available (Warren 1974). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) emphasise that 'the research design should be a reflexive process operating throughout every stage of a project'. Therefore, it should be noted that unlike positivistic research methodology, it is not possible in ethnographic work, almost by definition, to have a fully designed pre-fieldwork phase. The flexibility permitted by ethnography means that since it does not entail extensive pre-fieldwork design as social surveys and experiments generally do, the strategy and even the direction of the research can be changed relatively easily, in line with changing assessments of what is required in the process of the research.

3.2. Access to Supplementary School(s)

As stated in the introduction to this study, prior to this work on the Black Supplementary School Movement, the researcher had already begun to study the effect of the transition of West Indian pupils from primary to secondary schools in one London Borough. It was whilst
initially exploring avenues for a systematic psychometric study of West Indian pupil attitudes to secondary school that quite unexpectedly an opportunity arose (Riemer 1977) to study the work of one supplementary school by becoming a teacher and a researcher (Stenhouse 1975) at the North London Supplementary School at the end of November 1979. The work for this research developed as from that moment but the direction it would take was totally unclear at that stage to the researcher.

As also stated in the introduction to this study, there were virtually no references to supplementary schools in the literature, except for a few journalistic articles in newspapers when the researcher began to consider possible ways and means of studying supplementary schooling. Thus, having gained access to one school it was felt that the study should examine perhaps as many as half a dozen black supplementary schools for comparative purposes as well as to examine such schools in relation to other ethnic minority schools such as Jewish schools and those of other ethnic minorities. The view was taken that it would not be too difficult to gain access to a number of such schools as a visitor but there was a nagging worry that such a study would have to be confined to visits to schools and provide evidence of a fairly superficial nature. In retrospect, such an avenue was wisely abandoned. Nevertheless, having become aware of other West Indian supplementary schools, visits were made to three other supplementary schools running classes on weekday evenings to assess the ease of access into such schools. At each of these, it was sufficient to make a preliminary telephone call to an organiser, mention the work at the supplementary school where access had already been established and to state that one was a black teacher in a local college and keen to teach in supplementary schools if the opportunity arose. The three supplementary schools thus visited on weekday evenings were in the London area, in Paddington, Brixton and Peckham. All were in areas of large concentrations of West Indian households. All three schools were fairly similar in the way they were organised. An indication that perhaps voluntary teachers were not that easy to obtain lay in the fact that all three schools were keen to involve the researcher in teaching classes on Saturdays or in the evenings. All three expected voluntary
teaching but the one at Brixton indicated the availability of funds to pay minimal bus travel expenses to and from the school.

3.3. Data collection: participant observation

Having gained access to one supplementary school, a decision was taken fairly soon following the visits referred to above, to stay at one school as a teacher and researcher for about half a year and then to move on to another school for another similar period of time and possibly a third school after that. In other words, a decision had been taken to collect data through case study (Cohen and Manion 1980) from a very small number of schools rather than through visits to several schools.

The literature on research methodology (Atkinson, 1979; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Cohen and Manion, 1980) suggested that the most suitable research techniques would be observation, participant observation and the interview. Observational studies are sometimes classified as participant-observation and non-participant observation and this is the usage adopted here. In participant observation the researcher participates and engages in the activities of the group under study to the point that he is relatively indistinguishable from the rest of the participants. A classic study of this type would include that of Whyte (1955) in Street Corner Society.

In non-participant observation, the researcher essentially avoids interaction with the group under study on the assumption that it is important not to influence or affect the activities and dynamics of the group under study in any way. The non-participant observer may also be involved in structured or unstructured non-participant observation depending on the focus of the research and the kind of data that are sought for research purposes. However, there are problems posed by this particular mode of study. While many researchers might claim that in time the non-participant observer ceases to be an object of curiosity in a group or classroom and thus does not affect the normal activities of a group, King's (1978) study of infant classrooms
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suggests that very clear strategies had to be employed by him to maintain a 'social distance' between himself and the infants he was observing, especially avoiding eye contact. Although King (1978) was able to undertake a most interesting sociological study of infants' classrooms and provides a detailed account of the activities there, he draws the researcher's attention to the difficulties of being a non-participant observer and influencing, even if in a small way, the activities of the group or persons under study. He reported it thus:

I asked the teacher if she felt my presence had altered things in any way; by the second visit the answer was usually no although it was clear that she was sometimes a little self-conscious and perhaps even putting on a special performance but this was rare.

King (1978: 5)

Gans (1982) has argued that if a researcher does not participate in the activities of a group in any meaningful way, it becomes difficult to explain his presence, as such presence to the group is so obvious. He goes on to argue that in reality, most studies in natural surroundings are unstructured participant observation studies.

There is of course, accessibility today to a great deal of sophisticated equipment such as the video recorder and the audio tape. However, even these have limitations. The video recorder can be intrusive and invariably needs to be manned by a trained individual who will need to try to record as much of what goes on as possible over fixed periods of time. The audio tape has the disadvantage of not being able to record the expressions of respondents which can be an important element in terms of analysis data.

It became clear that because of the need for as much data as possible in this study, participant observation in the supplementary school was the most appropriate method to adopt with other supporting methods like the conversational interview when necessary.
The particular advantages of participant observation lay in the following:

a) it would be possible to note ongoing behaviour as it occurred. Brief notes could be made immediately and longer ones as soon as possible.

b) the researcher would require a long period for an 'understanding' of what was going on and this could be assisted by a close informed working relationship with the available informants in the natural setting of class teaching groups during teaching sessions and during a range of formal and informal breaks in the activities of the supplementary school.

c) it was also felt that the quality of the data that could be collected through participant observation was inevitably superior to data that were obtainable by questionnaire survey (McCall and Simmons 1969).

Although it was apparent that the participant observer mode of inquiry was the most appropriate way to gather data about a range of activities in the supplementary school, careful note had to be taken of the criticisms of participant observation. Cohen and Manion (1980) state that the criticism has focussed on the following:

The accounts that typically emerge from participant observations are often decried as subjective, biased, impressionistic, idiosyncratic and lacking in the precise quantifiable measures that are the hallmark of survey research and experimentation. Whilst this is probably true that nothing can give better insight into the life of a gang of juvenile delinquents than going to live with them for an extended period, the critic of participant observational studies will point to the dangers of 'going native' as a result of playing a role within such a group. How do we know the observer does not lose his perspective and become blind to the peculiarities that he is supposed to be investigating?

Cohen and Manion (1980: 104)
This is indeed a major problem for the ethnographer. He has to ensure that although he works closely with those individuals he is studying, he is able to distance himself to provide dispassionate accounts of what actually goes on in a social group. He has to make sense of the social actions of the members of the social group under study without projecting his own meaning into such interpretation. This is indeed a difficult task but it gradually becomes a skill, the researcher gradually gets better at it in the research act. However, it can never be proven conclusively that a researcher's own subjective judgement may not have entered a particular interpretation through the process of 'going native' in participant observation. This is the problem the ethnographer lives with.

In the final analysis, the researcher has to consider two kinds of validity in the research evidence that is presented. The first kind is internal validity which indicates that the conclusions arrived at are genuinely 'real' and about the data accumulated in the research activity. Sociologists have also been concerned about external validity, that is, the extent to which the results of one study are applicable to other similar situations. This concern for external validity is of major concern (Blalock, 1960), to 'normative' and 'psychometric' research where great care has to be taken in relation to representative sampling of a given population under study. This is partly to make it possible to replicate studies, but also to make broad generalisations of a scientific nature. The literature indicates that in ethnographic studies, this concern of external validity is less important because essentially one is less concerned about the generalisability of the results. Instead the view is taken that the in-depth subjective examination of a form of social action should be illuminative for other similar situations but not necessarily replicable. In this sense, the ethnographer is engaged in a series of unique studies which may or may not have generalisable properties to them.
3.3.1. Recording procedures

The researcher had concluded that the use of unstructured observations were the best means of recording observations in the first supplementary school being studied. He therefore made notes as frequently as was possible of the weekly Saturday school activity at the North London Supplementary School (NLSS). These notes were usually made during teaching sessions, that is, when the pupils were working on a given task and the researcher as teacher could jot down notes in an exercise book which was identical to a pupil's school exercise book. It was essential not to arouse the pupils' curiosity and to make such recording activity appear as innocuous as possible to the children and the other teachers in the school. As there was limited time available to make such notes in the school, more detailed notes were made at the end of a school day, in the researcher's car which was invariably parked a short distance away from the school in a quiet non-residential road to try to avoid the curiosity of passers by.

The length of the notes varied but care was taken to record as much as was possible about what actually occurred on a given day. Typically, the notes would include the numbers of pupils attending by gender, the number of teachers taking classes, the activities the children were engaged in, the conversations that took place between the researcher and the pupils and with the teachers, as well as notes of the level and kind of interaction between different individuals in the school. When parents were met, notes were made of the ensuing conversations and these are now discussed under the heading of 'interviews and records of conversations'.

3.3.2. Interviews and records of conversations

The interview is essentially a 'transaction' that takes place between the individual seeking information or data for research purposes and the one able to provide the information/data. In this sense, the interview is a very useful research instrument.
Interviews for research purposes vary from the highly structured formal interview which follows a carefully structured schedule of questions to the informal interview:

where the interviewer may have a number of key issues which he raises in conversational style instead of having a set questionnaire.

Cohen and Manion (1980: 241)

Becker and Geer (1969) have provided some clarification of the conversational interview which they also refer to as the unstructured or undirected interview:

In this kind of interview, the interviewer explores many facets of his interviewee's concerns, treating subjects as they come up in conversation, pursuing interesting leads, allowing his imagination and ingenuity full rein as he tries to develop new hypotheses and test them in the course of the interview.

Becker and Geer (1969: 323)

Although the unstructured interview permits the researcher the widest opportunity possible to obtain data from interviews in the form of conversational data, the researcher in this present study felt the need to ensure that some central detailed information from three sources that could provide it was obtained. These three sources were:

a) the children  
b) the teachers  
c) the parents

The researcher therefore had a picture of the kinds of data that could be collected from these three sources and these are now listed below.
(1) Data from the children in the two research schools:

a) Their reasons for attending a supplementary school and their attitudes to the school.
b) Their interpretation of what was taught at the school.
c) Their views of their normal/weekday schools and of their supplementary school teachers.
d) Their views on the value if any, of attending supplementary school.
e) How their supplementary school compared with their weekday school?
f) Their views of their status in British society.
g) Interests outside school.
h) Their aspirations.

(11) Data from the teachers at the supplementary schools:

a) The reasons for the existence of supplementary schools.
b) Why they chose to teach in these schools and what impact they felt the schools were having?
c) Details about the organisational and authority structure of the school.
d) Details about the school curriculum and the teaching/learning within the school.
e) The financing of the schools and the availability of resources/teaching materials.
f) How teachers were recruited?
g) The kind of teachers that were needed.

(111) Data from the parents who came to the school:

a) What functions were met by the school?
b) How did the school benefit the children?
c) How should the schools be funded?
d) How should the schools develop in future and what modifications/changes were needed?
e) The place of black people in British society.
f) The employment prospects of young blacks.
g) Problems of alienation.

3.3.3. Further data collection

Having started as a teacher and researcher at the first supplementary school (NLSS) the researcher gradually established a wide network of contacts within the Movement. This was helped by a series of events which helped the researcher become aware that a number of elements made up the black supplementary school Movement. Towards the middle of 1980, the organisers of the North London Supplementary School (NLSS) decided to hold a one-day Conference on 31st May 1980 on supplementary schools and the researcher took the opportunity to help towards organising this Conference. This he was able to do in a number of ways. Firstly, at negligible cost, he was able to make his Polytechnic premises available for the Conference. He was also requested to make a keynote address and be responsible for writing a Conference report. From an ethnographic point of view such unexpected opportunities began to help the researcher to come across a wide spectrum of opinion within the West Indian community and to become known within it (Cottle, 1982). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that such involvement helps to generate valuable qualitative data in a research project and that the interpretation provided in a study gains immensely through the many shades of meaning to be found in such interaction.

The researcher also attended fund raising socials to get to know the West Indian community better but more specifically, to get to know a lot more about the supplementary school Movement. Throughout, very careful notes were made by the researcher and, like King's (1978) account of his method of data collection, several files of notes were produced. Most of the data are examined in the Parts Three and Four of the dissertation.

Towards the end of the school year in June 1980, the researcher decided to find another supplementary school to work in and ended his teaching and data collection at the North London Supplementary School. This
'break' was helped by the availability of a black student who was keen to teach on Saturday mornings at the NLSS to replace the researcher.

The researcher now gained access to another supplementary school and taught at this one, now referred to as the South London Supplementary School (SLSS), from October 1980 until May 1981. Thus at each school, the research and teaching took place over a seven-month period. Details about how access was gained into the SLSS are provided in the next chapter on the origins of the Black Supplementary School Movement. This is because access to that school throws further light on the methodology used in this study.

Over the teaching/researching period at the South London Supplementary School (Oct. 1980 – May 1981), the researcher increasingly identified a core group of activists/Intellectuals who played a central role in formulating 'a direction' for the future development of the Movement and in establishing an Association for the Movement. The researcher took every opportunity to work closely with this core group of activists and obtained large quantities of data. He also helped them to organise a major Conference on supplementary schools on 27th February 1982. Once again, he undertook to produce a Conference report that year. Details about data collection through that Conference are provided in Chapter 5.

The researcher had by now established a good working relationship with large numbers involved in the Movement which helped to develop a clear understanding of the nature of this social movement (Wilkinson, 1971; Fox Piven et al., 1977).

The last stage of data collection by the researcher involved his spending a residential week-end in June 1984 with a group of eight activists to explore further, not only the supplementary school Movement but also the formation of a new association, the Association of Caribbean, Asian and African Academics. Such data collection approach inevitably became very time-consuming, leaving relatively little time for reading and writing around the theme of the research.
However, by considerable 'immersion' into the Movement, and into a range of activity, the researcher was able to obtain a fairly sharp focus to the study and collect vast quantities of data in the form of handwritten notes, and tape recordings lasting some 50 hours. The distinct components of the data collection are now summarised below:

**DATA COLLECTION PHASES**

a) **Teaching at the NLSS:** - November 1979 - June 1980.

b) **Teaching at the SLSS:** - October 1980 - May 1981.

c) **Involvement with core activists/ Intellectuals in the formation of the Association of Black Supplementary Schools:** - October 1980 - February 1982

d) **Further contact with the Intellectuals of the Supplementary School Movement:** - February 1982 - June 1984

In toto, the integrated data collection (Davies et al. 1985) took four and a half years although in retrospect it would have been possible to have reduced this period by up to a year.

A discussion of the activity in the above phases is contained in the analysis of the data from Chapter 4 to Chapter 11.

**3.4. Progressive refinement of the research techniques**

In Section 3.3, reference was made to techniques relating to observation, participant observation and interviews which were used at the North London Supplementary School (NLSS). The same three methods were used at the South London Supplementary School (SLSS) so that comparisons could be made between the two schools.

In relation to finding out about the origins of the Movement and the central views of the core activists and Intellectuals, three main methods were used:
a) Recording, categorising and analysing their views whether expressed in conversation, official meetings or at the presentations at the two Conferences on supplementary schooling held during the course of the research.

b) Semi-structured interviews - these were taped in most instances or where a tape recorder would not be suitable, notes were made from memory as quickly as possible to ensure a faithful record of what went on. The use of a micro tape recorder proved particularly useful. Its small size made it non-obtrusive and at dictation speed, the micro tapes recorded a surprising quantity of material.

c) The use of official and semi-official documentation like minutes of meetings and reports.

The details below indicate the kind of questions or orientation the researcher set for himself whilst discussing matters associated with the Movement, with individuals or in small group discussions.

(i) Data sought from the key activists and intellectuals:

- What was the central purpose of the Movement?
- Why was a Movement necessary at all?
- Why were the supplementary schools needed?
- What should be taught in the supplementary schools and what should the curriculum consist of?
- How should the schools be funded?
- Who should teach in the schools?
- How is the West Indian community coping with living in Britain and what are its major difficulties?
- What is the future of the black community in Britain?

(ii) Discussion on the concept of achievement/underachievement:

- Reasons for underachievement.
- Attitudes to multicultural educational initiatives.
- Attitudes towards racism.
- Attitudes towards research on black institutions.
(iii) Discussion about all black schools/separate schools:

- Awareness of what went on in mainstream schools.
- Alienation of black youth.
- Rastafarianism, the drug sub-culture.
- The riots.
- Relationship with the indigenous society.
- Relationship with other ethnic minorities.
- The Third World.

Thus it can be seen that the researcher did not go into the field entirely 'empty-handed' even though the methodology was ethnographic in orientation. Every meeting, telephone call or discussion was an opportunity to gather data. At times relatively little new data were obtained and at others, new avenues suddenly availed themselves. (Honigmann 1982).

By June 1984, the researcher felt reasonably satisfied that sufficient data had been collected and that categorisation and analysis could begin. However, in ethnographic work, a form of analysis takes place throughout the data collection period. This has the benefit of alerting the researcher to identify and seek specific forms of data which were not apparent at the design stage (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). This also means that although there were some orientations in collecting data which the researcher had considered prior to actually collecting the data, new orientations inevitably offered themselves throughout the study.

In seeking data on the origins of the Supplementary School Movement and the substance of Chapter 4, it was decided that there were four main questions which had to be addressed:

a) When did the movement start?
b) Why did it start?
c) How did it develop?
d) What were its major problems?
A discussion now follows on the methodological issues relating to the historical account of the Movement.

3.5. The historical account: methodological considerations

Although this is a sociological study, the opportunity was sought to undertake a historical account of the origins of the Movement as no such detailed account through research work existed.

Within the main group of activists who generated strong support for the Black Supplementary School Movement there were three members who had been directly involved in the beginnings of the Movement in North London in 1967. By seeking detailed individual accounts from these informants about their perceptions regarding the birth of the Movement, and by cross-checking such information against each other's account, the researcher was able to piece together (Mouly 1978), how the ideas of the supplementary school began and even to locate a copy of a crucial document that played a significant part in the Movement's history. Thus primary data were obtained to confirm the oral testimony provided by informants.

Historical research encompasses (Mouly 1978; Samuel 1982; Burgess 1982) the systematic evaluation and synthesis of evidence with the aim of determining or establishing facts and drawing conclusions about past events. As a search for historical evidence depends on the recording of events which cannot be repeated, the researcher is dependent on written records or publications, or on verbal accounts of people actually present during the events. According to Cohen and Manion (1980):

In seeking data from the personal experiences and observations of others, from documents and records, the researcher has often to contend with inadequate
information so that his construction tends to be a sketch rather than a portrait.

Cohen and Manion (1980: 32)

The above authors nevertheless, feel that in recent years, there has been a rapprochement between historical research and areas like sociology and psychology and they go on to provide the sociological researcher some guidance on pursuing aspects of historical research which would be particularly relevant to an account of a social movement.

Although a limited historical exercise was to be tackled in finding out about the origins of the Black supplementary School Movement from key respondents, it was felt that some guiding questions were necessary to undertake such exploratory work. These included:

a) Accounts of the approximate timespan of the origins of the Movement.

b) Where did the events take place?

c) Who were the persons involved?

d) What kinds of activity was involved?

Clearly the data generated have to be appraised for their authenticity and accuracy. Best (1970) has argued that primary sources are harder to locate but usually more trustworthy. Further, it is important to countercheck the data because of the danger or tendency to accept a single account or statement as necessarily true when several others agree about it. This is because (Best 1970) it is possible that one may have influenced the others, or that all were influenced by the same inaccurate source of information.

3.6. Access and ethical considerations

Earlier in this chapter details were provided about how fortuitous access to one supplementary school oriented the researcher to look for other avenues into the supplementary school Movement. Throughout the
research, other possible avenues had to be anticipated so that every
opportunity could be grasped to open as many doors as possible into the
Movement. Gradually, every conceivable opening within the Movement was
'penetrated' and it is important to reflect on some of the ways and
means this was achieved.

It had been stated earlier that entry as a black person wishing to
teach in a supplementary school was not very difficult. However, entry
into the inner workings of the Movement were more difficult and needed
fairly subtle means and skills. On reflection, quite a number of
skills were needed. On the one hand the researcher needed the skills
of being able to teach in two main areas of the supplementary school
curriculum, that is, Maths and English. The researcher's school
teaching experience proved very useful in this respect. Another skill
that was required was 'organising ability' to help in the planning and
operation of two Conferences, as well as in presenting one keynote
address and the production of two Conference reports. This proved not
to be a major problem as the researcher was generally accepted as a
lecturer in education with an interest in the education of black
pupils. The harder part was when the researcher was involved in the
inner workings of the Movement, especially with the key activists of
the group. In order to do this successfully, the researcher had to be
acceptable as a member of a broad black (Asian and West Indian) ethnic
minority. Being Asian in appearance helped but only up to a point and
it was necessary to take very great care not to discount in the eyes of
individuals in the broader Afro-Caribbean community of activists that
the researcher might indeed be of Indian origin from Trinidad or
Guyana. By not actively discouraging this view it helped to avoid the
risk of being deemed an outsider (Silverman 1985). Occasionally the
subtle use of a trace of a Guyanese accent when necessary proved to be
an invaluable asset in this phase of the research. The use of an East
Indian Guyanese accent had to be 'acquired' by the researcher and
necessitated some time in careful listening and imitation of a tape of
a Guyanese speaker of Asian origin. Thus when necessary the trace of
a Guyanese accent was sufficient to deflect any direct and outright
challenge to the researcher's legitimacy at meetings of the core group
of activists. On two separate occasions only, the researcher was asked when not in the company of a group, if he was from Trinidad or Guyana but on each occasion after asking the enquirer to guess and then admitting that the researcher was originally from Kenya totally surprised the enquirers and one actually refused to believe it.

An explanation as to why an 'East Indian identity' was worth cultivating by the researcher is necessary. The fairly cosmopolitan communities of the Caribbean basin and Guyana in the northern part of South America received from around 1839 a large number of Indian indentured workers for the sugar plantations following the end of slavery in the region. Although in time tensions developed between the East Indians and the Afro-Caribbean peoples in Guyana some inter-marriage and integration took place between the two groups. Some of these Caribbean East Indians migrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s and are an element of the West Indian community in Britain although the term 'West Indian' tends to conjure up images of the Afro-Caribbean in Britain rather than of the East Indian from that area (Hiro 1973, Robinson 1983). The research also indicated that the people of African origin from the Caribbean most favoured being called 'Afro-Caribbeans' and not 'West Indians'. Also, that for them, the term 'Afro-Caribbean', did not actually include Africans directly from Africa now living in Britain.

The researcher thus took care not to betray his assumed identity on the part of the West Indian community but at the same time at no stage did he say he was what he was not (Beauchamp et al. 1982). On much later reflection, however, the researcher believes he was unnecessarily concerned about his identity as a researcher. He was not aware in the early 1980s that most middle class West Indians now communicate with each other in standard English. A concern about accents from the Caribbean has virtually become an irrelevance to them and this is why most of them assumed the researcher was West Indian because he spoke standard English with middle class West Indians. However, not all West Indians the researcher met were middle class. Many were inevitably contacted who had distinctive West Indian island accents.
There is no doubt in the researcher's mind that a white researcher (except if he were from the Caribbean perhaps) would not have found it at all easy to involve himself in some of the Movement's activities, especially relating to the core group of activists and this echoes the view expressed by Professor Tropp (1984) when he suggested that soon the only people who will be able to undertake research among blacks, will be black people, and that this had many implications for the kind of research that may be possible in specific areas of race relations in sociological theory in the future.

Further discussion about attitudes to research about black activity and institutions is included in a later chapter. Suffice it to say for now, that there is deep suspicion about anyone wanting to undertake research on the black community from individuals outside the community. The researcher however, received tacit approval for the research, provided as stated earlier, it was undertaken discreetly. Thus the organiser at the North London Supplementary School had provided tacit approval for the research and the individual who made it possible for the researcher to teach at the South London Supplementary school did so as well. But this may have been because the research activity was offset by the availability of a qualified, experienced and willing teacher. Additionally some key members of the core group also helped in the research by making themselves available for long tape-recorded interviews and provided much needed documentation from the 1960s which was in their possession and perhaps unlikely to be available from any other source.

The researcher took the view that it was in the interests of this research that as few people in the Movement knew about his research activity as possible. This was to ensure that no individual took it upon himself to arbitrarily object to the research and bring it inevitably to an untimely end. Secondly if more than a very small number of people, especially in the two schools, knew that there was a researcher in their midst, there would have been a tendency 'to play to the gallery' and thus 'contaminate' the data that were being collected (Beauchamp et al. 1982).
It would be reasonable to claim that no covert research activity (Jarvie 1982) as such took place during the four and a half year period in which data were collected. However, such data collection was maintained through a very low profile taken on by the researcher as a researcher but through a major role as a teacher at two of the supplementary schools and also as an 'activist' within the Movement, especially in the organisation and operation of the two Conferences on supplementary schools referred to earlier. The involvement in this particular aspect of the work played a big part in facilitating much of the collection of data.

The time spent in two schools as a teacher and a researcher were meant to provide a great deal of data which are discussed in Chapters 6 to 11 in this thesis. Through such work, the researcher focussed on a case-study approach (Simons 1980) for part of the data collection. It was felt, as stated earlier, that a detailed study of a small number of supplementary schools, two in this instance, would provide particular insights which would not be available in a survey approach to a large number of supplementary schools. It was also felt that such insights could provide considerable illumination about what actually went on in supplementary schools - but as a safeguard, other supplementary schools were also visited to see if they were different in any significant way from the two case studies undertaken. Thus the researcher shared Cohen and Manion's (1980) view of the case study:

The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.

Cohen and Manion (1980: 99)
3.7. Triangulation

The major means of validating accounts and observation is through 'triangulation'. This means that the use of three or more different methods or 'bearings' to explore an issue greatly increases the chances of accuracy (Cohen and Manion 1980; Woods 1986). Triangulation is perhaps particularly important in ethnographic research to help the researcher to make judgements about situations by avoiding 'impressionistic' views obtained from data. Thus, for instance it is important to ascertain the 'accuracy' of what goes on in a school, by not only hearing about it from the Headteacher but also by hearing comments about the school from other vantage points such as the pupils of the school, their parents and the teachers. Through access to such vantage points one would hopefully obtain a more accurate, and comprehensive account coming from more than one source. In the case of this study, a fairly accurate picture of exactly what went on within the activities of the Movement would be to observe day-to-day activity, and listen to accounts from the pupils, teachers and the parents. The elicited information would best be obtained informally through conversation or unstructured interviews so that the informants could be allowed as free an opportunity as possible to discuss an issue rather than be led to answer specific questions designed by the researcher (Measor 1985). However, the researcher has to play a part in ensuring that he also receives answers to questions he has formulated which arise out of the research problem. In interviewing individuals for instance, an attempt to 'saturate' the areas until such time that no 'new' evidence was emerging would lead the researcher to conclude that the theme was 'exhausted' at least for the time being and permit him to go on to another topic.

In discussing triangulation, Woods (1986) suggests that:

through interactive research one aims to penetrate the experience of others, empathize with others, become like them, look out at the world with them, speak and look like them, share with them. We might say that they are all the stronger as a
research tool where used in conjunction with other methods, especially observation, but while this is true, the main point about ethnographic interviews is that they are themselves a form of participant observation.

Woods (1986: 89)

Silverman (1985), however, asks us to be cautious about the use of triangulation especially in research methodology of an ethnographic nature. He reminds us that the sociologist's role is not necessarily 'to adjudicate between participants' competing versions of situations but to understand the 'situated' presentation as they do'. This is, of course, not to imply that the sociologist should avoid generating data in multiple ways. The 'mistake' to be avoided however, is for the researcher to become what Garfinkel (1967) has called an 'ironist', that is, using one account to undercut another, while remaining blind to the sense of each account in the context of which it arises - its quality of 'uniqueness'.

In developing theory in ethnographic work, some ethnographers have argued that a crucial test of accounts provided is whether the actors whose beliefs and behaviour they purport to describe recognise the validity of those accounts. In other words, do they agree with the interpretation that has been provided by the sociologist? The aim according to Bloor (1976) is to ascertain if there is a correspondence between the sociologist's interpretation of an account with the respondent's acceptance that the interpretation is a valid one. This strategy may have advantages but it also has disadvantages in that the sociologist by virtue of his training, reading and experience in research activity may present a sociological interpretation which is perhaps at variance with a respondent's commonsense version of an account. Should this happen, should the sociologist modify his interpretation to correspond with that of the respondent or would it be better to present the interpretation in published form first and then await criticism of the work?
Ball (1982) recounts in his study of a comprehensive school that consultation with his respondents about his interpretation of his findings proved not to be particularly satisfactory. The interpretations differed and indicated for Ball (1982) the limitations of respondent validation. It must also be recognised that it may be in a respondent's interests to misdirect his or her actions to counter the interpretation of the ethnographer.

The conclusion to be drawn is that in any kind of research, great care must be taken that triangulation is undertaken painstakingly so that the researcher can have considerable confidence in the interpretation of the data.

3.8. Considerations relating to analysis of data

In discussing issues relating to the analysis of data and to the generation of theory here and a little later in this chapter, the researcher is particularly indebted to Peter Woods whom he met a number of times and who was also kind enough to allow a research seminar at the University of Surrey (1984) to be tape-recorded by the researcher. Thus many of the ideas discussed here reflect some of the taped discussion with Peter Woods and of course, his ideas from his many publications over the years.

Woods (1986) suggests that there are identifiable components in the process in which analysis of data takes place. He suggests that these include speculative analysis, classifying and categorising, concept formation, models, and typologies and that these eventually lead to theory. Such a view is not unlike that of McCall and Simmons (1969) and Burgess (1985).

The first stage, relating to 'speculative analysis', as the term suggests, requires that a researcher should make comments to himself about the notes being made of his observations in different situations. Such 'noting' of ideas is fairly important as the ideas help to put together sets of ideas which can be woven into the main analysis. It
is important however, according to many ethnographers to distinguish carefully the researcher's comments from the notes of observations by, for example, using markers or even different coloured ink as it may prove difficult later to distinguish between the actual observations and the researcher's comments. The possibility that they may easily merge and be lost to the researcher later on should be noted. Included in the researcher's comments should also be reminders to himself about the scope for potential theoretical linkages that can be used in the analysis. Unfortunately, the researcher in this study did not always translate such 'theoretical linkages' into the written word immediately and as a result believes he lost some of his ideas from time to time.

Most of the literature (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hammersley, 1986; Woods, 1986) reminds the researcher that the speculative analysis is almost by definition tentative and has a certain untidiness and 'bittiness' about it. Its value lies in 'opening up' possible lines of analysis, links with sets of data and the literature and to suggest further lines of enquiry rather than as Woods (1986) suggests, 'to round off in neat, considered packages'.

In discussing the way data can be ordered, classified or categorised, researchers have to be careful to remember that the collected ethnographic data can amount to vast quantities of material. Accounts of such problems (King 1978) and cautions to researchers to try to order their material in some kind of system devised by the researcher is crucial if one is not to become lost in a 'sea of data'. Once again, the researcher in this study cannot claim he was able to organise his data very systematically when they were being collected, because he found this to be a difficult task to cope with at first. It becomes crucial to ensure that the field notes, interview data, and documents collected are organised in some kind of clear and integrated way. The researcher therefore has to identify major categories of data or order the material under thematic categories which must arise from the form and nature of the research project and the interests of the particular researcher. Once one has identified the major categories of
data, then sub-themes or sub-classifications should emerge to produce a fairly coherent link between the different sources of data. The researcher, however, must speculate on a number of possible 'types' of categorisations and there will invariably be a number of competing possibilities for such categorisation. As ethnographic work is mainly 'creative', it is largely up to the researcher to organise the material so that its richness can be projected as well as its value in producing a coherent account of the research activity undertaken (Spradley 1980).

Another important reason for carefully considering the classification and categorisation of data is that this can contribute to the validating procedures that have to be followed in ethnographic research. Categorisation provides an opportunity to cross-reference issues arising in different parts of the data and to 'authenticate' conclusions that can be arrived at from the data (Cohen and Manion 1980).

It had been emphasised earlier that the researcher should make 'comments' in relation to his own field notes which are speculative 'notes' and reminders of links that can be made between the initial data, theory and the literature. Through this activity, the researcher should be formulating concepts which are embedded in the data. Thus, in Woods' work (1981, 1983) he abstracted the concept of 'having a laugh' from the data he collected from the pupils he studied. 'Having a laugh' and the term 'boring', for example, had specific significances for the pupils which provided a repertoire of 'beliefs' and 'understandings' to them. However, they would not be significant to others outside the social group unless their meaning was decoded to form part of a concept towards a sociological explanation (Woods 1986).

Concepts can sometimes arise 'spontaneously' being used by the 'subjects' in research themselves but the formulation of concepts can be greatly aided through discussions with other researchers and sociologists as well as by reference to the literature. This process of 'sharpening up to concepts', spotting weaknesses in a formulation, and clarifying one's thinking is a fairly crucial stage in ethnographic
research (Burgess 1985, Hammersley 1986). The emergent concepts should be generated by the particular research project or study and reflect their origins from within the data and the setting of the data.

From the data collected and from the emergent concepts in ethnographic work, sociologists generally attempt to construct models or typologies (the terms are often used interchangeably) of the meanings or behaviours that groups give to their activities in given settings (Woods 1986). Such typologies help towards clarifying the focus of analysis and in the presentation of the essential components of fairly complicated processes, in a shape or form that can readily be grasped. Sometimes it is tempting to draw on existing models and typologies to explain new ethnographic findings. However, the uniqueness inherent in ethnographic work should invariably help to create new models as a means of theory construction which includes the act of rejecting existing models and typologies. Thus, models when presented, tend to be tentative. Their presentation is generally couched in terms of contributing to an emergent model or the formation of a model (Woods 1986). The net effect of the emergence of a range of models is that they eventually provide an explanation of specific action or activity but along a range of dimensions. The value of models also lies in the way they help to develop further empirical and theoretical work to refine existing models and generate 'emergent' or new ones (Woods 1986).

In ethnography, work towards the presentation of models or typologies can be an end in itself. As such it is primarily a form of description (Woods 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983), but its primary purpose is to aid explanation towards theory construction. This is the ultimate aim of ethnographic work even though the naturalisitic commitment 'to tell it as it is' tends to free the process of analysis to remain implicit and underdeveloped (Woods, 1986).
3.9.1. The generation of theory

It is widely recognised that the seminal work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) has had a very powerful influence on theory construction in ethnographic work. Their central concern was to emphasise the 'discovery' of theory rather than the 'testing' of theory. Thus in ethnographic work the main concern is that theory is 'grounded' in the data rather than merely 'emerging' from them. For Glaser and Strauss (1967) the collection of data is guided strategically by the developing theory and theory building and data collection are dialectically linked.

The term 'grounded' is significant for at least one important reason. It indicates that theory is not easily 'revealed' in ethnographic work but has to be 'extracted' and this process requires specific attitudes to research and qualities of creativity. It is the latter that poses particular difficulties for many ethnographers, that is, in achieving a balance between description and analysis (Burgess 1983; Cottle 1982; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983; Cohen and Manion 1980).

Woods (1986) has argued that 'ethnography is by definition descriptive'. In being creative, ethnographic accounts are very elaborate and:

> great attention is often devoted to the intricate detail of the picture, and the ethnographer, like the artist, works, with great care at capturing both the general and essential characteristics and the myriad finer points that underpin them. The artist, however, has more freedom of interpretation. Faithfulness to a culture as it is found is one of the guiding principles of ethnography and immersion in the culture under study the general strategy towards this end. However, while it may aid descriptive finesse, it may also block theory construction.

Woods (1986: 148)
The point being made above is that ethnography goes beyond description. The literature is quite explicit about this issue. The researcher must be able to keep his distance from the group under study. But as indicated above, this is a difficult and demanding task. Consequently, the richness of data from certain sources and their uniqueness have made some accounts far more descriptive than would be deemed to be acceptable to the academic community of social scientists. This was particularly so earlier when positivistic methodology implicitly assumed and argued its superiority for the development of 'objective' analysis and criticised ethnographic work for its 'subjectivity'. The dilemma for the researcher engaged in ethnographic work is to manage a delicate balancing act between 'how to explain what is happening' from 'how to describe what is happening' (Woods 1986). This dilemma is closely linked to the balance to be achieved between drawing on the sociologist's 'second-order' constructs of meaning and the 'first-order constructs' or accounts of the respondents in the research.

Woods (1986) has claimed that 'ethnographers have for the most part in Britain been riveted to a descriptive approach' and much of the work has been undertaken by isolated individuals with individualised methodological approaches and a premium on description in their work and that the formulation of theory has been a lesser concern to them. But Woods (1986) does not consider this in itself to have been a major weakness in the 'plethora of ethnographic work' in recent years. He argues that although there has been an 'atheoretical ethnographic trend' there are many examples of ethnographies which have provided strong commentaries on existing theories and he cites, among others, Willis' (1979) ethnography of the 'lads' as a good example of a critique of the correspondence theories of Bowles and Gintis (1976). Thus he feels that ethnographic studies have functioned at different levels of theory construction and sophistication. Woods (1986) therefore considers it is 'incorrect to regard many ethnographic studies in themselves as purely descriptive'. For him some of these studies labelled as 'descriptive' are like hypotheses, awaiting testing through further study or they throw light on the behaviour of various
groups and in particular, why such behaviour occurs. He concludes that:

It would be wrong, therefore, to represent ethnographic 'description' as something counterposed to 'theory', and of inferior status. It is itself theoretically laden, and part of the general research enterprise.

Woods (1986: 152)

While Woods (1986) provides here some support to those ethnographic researchers 'struggling' between pressures leading towards 'description' and pressures for 'theory' in their work, a discussion about how theory may be generated becomes necessary and it is important to bear in mind Denzin's concern:

If sociologists forget that the major goal of their discipline is the development of theory, a process of goal displacement can occur such that operational definitions and empirical observations become ends in themselves.

Denzin (1970: 58)

Such a view is echoed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) but they appear to take a 'softer line' on the nature of the theory generated by ethnographers:

We would insist that the mere establishment of a relationship among variables, while providing a basis for prediction, does not constitute a theory. A theory must include reference to mechanisms or processes by which the relationship among the variables identified is generated. Equally, while formalised theories are the goal, we must not allow
this to blind us to the value of more informal theories...

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 20)

Clearly, there is much soul searching among ethnographers about the dilemmas and difficulties of shifting the ground from providing 'descriptive' accounts or informal theory of the ethnographic enterprise to the desire to generate more formal theory from such accounts. Attempts to bridge the gap appear to have fairly limited success to date as ethnographers themselves would be the first to admit.

This chapter can now end by reiterating the difficulties posed in relation to 'theory generation' in ethnographic work. Lofland (1970), has felt that much ethnographic research suffers from 'analytic interruptus' and that many analysts fail to:

follow through to the implied logical ... conclusion ... to reach the initially implied climax

Lofland (1970: 42)

Likewise, Woods (1986) has argued that while ethnographers have made use of rigorous methodology, and paid much attention to matters of access to data, the collection of data, their validity and the ethics of ethnographic research as well as used recognised techniques and routines of research,

... as part of that methodology, we should give equal attention to the cultivation of mental states conducive to the production of theory as to the collection of data ... The first decade of ethnographic revival has inevitably been mainly concerned with exploration, establishment, credibility. The next phase must focus equally on the frames of mind, the circumstances, the
resources that promote the creativity and originality that go into theory construction. Only then will ethnography achieve its full potential.

Woods (1986: 169)

3.9.2. Structure for classification and analysis of data

The account provided of the methodology for this present study illustrates that the research took on a direction in the classic way ethnographic work develops, that is from fairly simple origins to much deeper and more significant detail. Once the data were collected, they were categorised and classified for purposes of analysis. However, such categorisation proved to be a difficult exercise. The categorisation bore little resemblance to some of the investigative themes considered in the planning stage of the field work but this is perhaps not unusual in ethnographic work. The classification of the data increasingly reflected the nature of the data collected and within it a relational logic to the mode of its presentation. Thus, what had initially only been considered as a remote possibility, that is, an account of the origins of the Movement now became the first issue to be examined (in Chapter 4), that is, in the analysis of the data in Part Four of this dissertation. The theme after that centred on the meaning that the 'core group' or 'thinkers' provided for the Movement. These are referred to as the 'Intellectuals' within the Movement in Chapter 5, and their views are examined in relation to a range of theories on the role of intellectuals within social movements. The third classification of the data deals with 'practice' in the two schools studied in the research and is dealt with in Chapters 6 to 11 in this thesis.

As methodology permeates the whole of the study, Chapter 4 on the origins of the Movement begins with an account of gaining access into a group which could provide the necessary data for the rest of the chapter.
PART THREE

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIGINS OF THE BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL MOVEMENT
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ORIGINS OF THE BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

4.1. Introduction

It was pointed out in Chapter 3 that, at first, the inclusion of a study of the origins of the Black Supplementary School Movement had only been considered as a remote possibility within this research. However, as in many ethnographic studies, one door led to another and gradually a broader picture of the Movement emerged than anticipated but the researcher had to probe persistently and exploit every opportunity possible to get to know the Movement's many elements.

Following access into the North London Supplementary School and helping to organise a Conference on supplementary schools in May 1980, the researcher realised that this work at the NLSS represented a 'tip of the iceberg'. Two individuals who played an important part in the Movement and referred to in this research as Mr. AB and Mr. CL addressed the Conference and indicated the need to consolidate the work of the Movement in Greater London.

For the researcher, this Conference in 1980 provided an impetus to extend his knowledge of the Movement and in order to do so, took the following steps to probe further into the research concern and very much in keeping with ethnographic practice (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). He sought the help of an Afro-Caribbean colleague at work to contact Mr. AB to help the researcher to gain entry into a second supplementary school as a teacher, preferably in South East London. This was to facilitate travel to and from the school in relation to the researcher's residence. However, the researcher did indicate his willingness to travel much further if necessary.

Fortunately for the researcher, Mr. AB conveyed a message almost immediately stating that there was a vacancy for one teacher at a supplementary school in South East London. The Afro-Caribbean
colleague's word on behalf of the researcher was sufficient to vouch for his integrity as a researcher and teacher. The researcher was invited to a party 'around 7.00 p.m.' at a Caribbean Teachers' Centre called 'Elimu' in North Paddington, London on 10th October 1980 to meet other supplementary school teachers and to clarify the situation regarding teaching at the supplementary school in South East London.

On arrival at the Centre, the researcher was 'challenged' by two rather 'hostile' women at the entrance and in spite of being told that the researcher had been invited by Mr. AB, whom they knew, they refused entry to the researcher who had no alternative but to sit and wait apprehensively in his car which was parked nearby. Ethnographers (Wintrob 1969; Everhart 1977) invariably describe the dilemmas and stresses of obtaining data and in this instance, the researcher waited patiently for over two and a half hours on a very cold, wet and miserable evening, hoping Mr. AB would make his appearance. At one point, the researcher almost gave up the wait especially when a policeman insisted on searching the researcher's car! Eventually, however, he plucked up enough courage to seek entry into the Centre once again. This time a pleasant young gentleman permitted entry and the researcher was relieved to see Mr. AB, who had just arrived and who in turn introduced the researcher to Mr. HR, the Chairman of the Caribbean Teachers' Association. Some details about the Caribbean Teachers Association and its links with supplementary schools are provided just a little later in this chapter.

Mr. HR informed the researcher that he could start teaching with immediate effect on Saturday mornings at a supplementary school in South East London and that he would be paid £10 per Saturday morning session. The researcher was most surprised to hear about such a payment and indicated no desire to receive any payment. However, Mr. HR insisted and the circumstances at the meeting were such that it was wise not to dissuade him in his determination to make the payment, especially when he claimed it was a small payment to meet travelling expenses. The school in South East London thus became the second
teaching and research school and is referred to in this study as the South London Supplementary School (SLSS).

Both Mr. HR and Mr. AB asked the researcher to inform the organisers at the SLSS that representation was needed for membership of a committee planning an Association of Supplementary Schools. Such meetings would take place on odd weekdays and Sundays. They hoped the researcher himself might be interested in joining the committee and once again, an opportunity (Reimer 1977) appeared to present itself to get to know the Movement even better.

The researcher began to teach at the SLSS on 25th October 1980. Volunteers were not forthcoming to join the committee planning the Association of Supplementary Schools, referred to above, and the researcher's offer to join that committee was gladly accepted by the staff and organisers at the SLSS.

It is through the membership of a core planning group to form an Association of Supplementary Schools that the researcher learned about the main activists and intelligentsia within the Black Supplementary School Movement and such detail becomes the substance of Chapter 5 in this study. This chapter, however, deals with the origins of the Movement.

4.2. Methodological considerations

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out that historical accounts can play an important part in ethnographic research and that while it may be difficult to obtain any reasonable form of documentation on some aspects of urban cultures, for example, in studying prostitutes or drug users, they argue that it is important to take accounts of documents of any kind as part of the social setting under investigation. Thus, clearly, copies of informal and formal correspondence, reports, minutes of meetings and articles in newspapers and magazines can contribute to a study as well as provide confirmatory evidence to verbal accounts of past events. Thus Hammersley and Atkinson argue that:
records construct a 'documentary reality' that, by virtue of its documentation, is often granted a sort of privilege. Although their production is a socially organised activity, official records usually have a sort of anonymity, which warrants their treatment as 'objective', 'factual' statements rather than mere personal 'belief' 'opinion' or 'guesswork'.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 142)

In order to obtain data on the origins of the supplementary school the following possibilities were considered:

a) obtaining documentary evidence of events that took place. Thus an attempt was made to locate minutes of meetings, letters and other forms of correspondence.
b) published accounts by members of the group concerned with the movement.
c) accounts in the media for the period.
d) verbal accounts from participants.

Of these four possible avenues a very limited amount of material was located and a heavy reliance had to be made on the fourth category above, that is, verbal accounts from those actually involved in the events as they occurred. Fortunately, it was possible to obtain interviews exceeding eight hours in total with three key individuals who were involved during the 'conflict' in the Borough of Haringey and who played a central part in the formation of the Movement. The three key informants were interviewed separately in order to get as accurate an account as possible of the events which occurred. As no official written accounts could be obtained of minutes of meetings because their existence and whereabouts were not known to the informants, the researcher felt that it was incumbent upon him to make every effort possible to obtain an account as soon as possible. The task also took an element of urgency because the events had taken place over a decade earlier and no written records of events were available, personal memories of past events were clearly fading and there did not seem to
be much of a possibility that some other researcher might stumble across this small area of recent history or be motivated to study it before all possibility of recording vanished. It clearly made sense to record the events of the late 1960s from the information available through the three key informants who were willing to discuss events as they occurred in the Borough of Haringey.

Their accounts are now put together and attempts are made to provide a 'story' which has not been documented in print before, except for a brief journalistic account in Dhondy et al. (1982) and subsequently drawn from this source by other writers like Carter (1986) and in other brief references in other minor sources.

The evidence from the three informants (referred to as W, CR, and AC) indicates that in their judgement, the Movement began in the London Borough of Haringey in the late 1960s where many West Indians had settled following their arrival in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s.

Most of these West Indians were members of two organisations. One, a local association was called the North London West Indian Association. It was linked to a second organisation, a larger 'parent-body' called the West Indian Standing Conference which represented the general interests of the West Indian community in the UK, (Heineman 1972). Reference will first be made briefly to the West Indian Standing Conference, then to the Caribbean Teachers' Association and then the North London West Indian Association. These three organisations represent a small part of a very large number of West Indian organisations which operate independently but through their own organisational structures and membership have been able to support initiatives like the Black Supplementary School Movement over the years.

4.3. The West Indian Standing Conference

The West Indian Standing Conference was formed during the 'race riots' in Nottingham and in Notting Hill in London during the summer of 1958.
The impetus for its formation was provided by the High Commission of the then federated Government of the West Indies (Heineman 1972). It has been claimed by Glass et al. (1960) that the Standing Conference was established in order to channel communication between the various West Indian organisations in the London area and between these and the High Commission. Further, it also aimed at promoting leadership roles among the West Indian community who would in turn foster social integration and improve relations between races in Britain.

When the West Indian Standing Conference was reasonably well organised, it was composed of independent constituent organisations, each with its own constitution, executive committee, sources of revenue and functions. These organisations became affiliated to the Standing Conference and each sent three delegates to the Standing Conference meetings which took place every month (Heineman 1972).

The relationship between the West Indian Standing Conference and its affiliated organisations proved to be tenuous and following the break-up of the West Indian Federation in 1961 and the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962, the Standing Conference began to tackle a new set of issues, that is, a concern with helping to create a united West Indian community in Britain. This function was deemed to be important because West Indians were increasingly expressing disillusionment about life in Britain (Collins 1965).

Since then, the West Indian Standing Conference has continued with a range of activities relating to the West Indian community, and in July 1987, the researcher was informed by a senior executive of the organisation, that it was preparing to produce a short historical account of its past.

Heineman (1972) indicated that 15 independent constituent organisations were affiliated to the West Indian Standing Conference in 1966, with a total membership of 6000 to 8000 and that this represented only a small fraction of approximately 230,000 West Indians in London. One of the independent constituent organisations of the West Indian Standing
Conference was the North London West Indian Association. Heineman (1972) provides a brief footnote about its existence as follows: 'black, tiny percentage of whites, working class, social welfare'. This minute detail is important if for no other reason than to indicate that in 1966, West Indian organisations in London were often mainly working class in composition, were engaged in the social and welfare concerns of their members and had indigenous white people as members. In some cases, such white and black membership ratios were equal.

Further reference to the North London West Indian Association will soon be made after a brief account is provided of the Caribbean Teachers' Association.

4.4. The Caribbean Teachers' Association

The Caribbean Teachers' Association was founded in 1974 as a voluntary organisation for mutual solidarity and support among West Indian teachers. According to Carter (1986) it emerged at a time when black teachers felt they should organise themselves to promote their professional interests, provide role models for black children, help black parents develop greater involvement with their children's schools and provide positive images for white people to combat stereotyped images of black people.

As a voluntary organisation, the Caribbean Teachers' Association has engaged in a range of activities and worked with organisations such as Teachers Against Racism, the national Association of Multi-racial Education (NAME) and the All London Teachers against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) group. It has also supported black supplementary schools strongly by providing funds for teachers, equipment and resources. In Appendix 3, of this dissertation, there is an illustration of some of its activities in relation to supplementary schooling. Currently, (1987) under the Chairmanship of Henry Thomas, it runs its own supplementary school, the Robert Hart Memorial Supplementary School in Peckham, London, as well as a substantial consultancy service on Afro-
Caribbean matters and a range of teaching and educational projects. Its stated aims and objectives are as follows:

**Aims:**
- To achieve the improvement and betterment of black children.
- To promote the well being and improve the status of teachers of Caribbean origin.
- To promote opportunities for parents to become actively interested in the realities of the existing educational system.

**Objectives:**
- To see black children achieve in schools to their full potential.
- To promote an anti-racist and multi-cultural education service, which is the only valid basis for an education in today's society for all children.
- To promote equal opportunities in employment for black teachers.
- To encourage the participation of black parents in their children's education.

### 4.5. The North London West Indian Association

An account of the events in relation to the North London West Indian Association can now be taken up by reference to the interview data from AB/ , CR/ , and AC/ .

**CR:** From late 1966 and all through 1967, West Indian parents were beginning to express anxiety about their children's schooling among themselves.

**Researcher:** What kind of anxieties were these?

**CR:** They began to feel that their children could barely read, for instance, and they did not feel they were getting very much from
the schools ... they could not add or do Maths very well ... and they had been in English schools for many years.

Researcher: Was this because they had come across from the Caribbean and were new to English schools and the country?

C.R.: Not at all ... these children were born in this country and many of them could not read after going to school ... here ... I mean to English schools.

The view that West Indian parents in North London were expressing concerns about their children's schooling was confirmed by the second interviewee:

A.B': The parents [West Indian] were uneasy about what they felt was happening in schools. They were confused in a sense because ... their instincts told them that their children were failing at school but the added dilemma was that their white teachers kept saying to them ... there was nothing to worry about.

Researcher: But were there many such complaints?

A.B: Oh yes ... as many as fifty or sixty parents came to meetings of the North London West Indian Association in 1967. I remember these meetings so clearly ... there was a consistent complaint that their children were unable to read, write and count satisfactorily. The parents were very worried and wanted the Association to do something about it.

Researcher: What did the Association try to do?

A.B.: It was difficult really ... it was a totally new and unexpected experience. West Indian parents had very high hopes of getting a good education for their children and that is why so many of them had worked so hard in the early years to bring their older
children who were left behind initially to come across for an English education.

Researcher: So ... the children were failing because they came across after spending their early years in the West Indies?

AB: We could accept this if it was true but most of the children who could not read and write were those who were born in this country and not the older ones ... who had already learnt to read and write in the Caribbean ... this is why it was so terrible and frightening really.

Having emphasised the concern felt by West Indian parents in North London, CR had gone on to say:

CR: One organisation sponsored by the North London West Indian Association was the West Indian Young People's Organisation. This organisation was really a youth club ... and it was there that we began to notice many young West Indians who were critical of their schools and becoming alienated from British Society.

Researcher: In what ways were they alienated?

CR: Well let me tell you ... they were dissatisfied with their experience of life in Britain and very soon, they changed the name of the West Indian Young People's Organisation to the Paul Bogle Youth Club. Do you know who Paul Bogle was?

Researcher: I can't say I do.

CR: Paul Bogle was one of those who fought ... in the peasant rebellion in the 1880s in the Caribbean against colonial rule ... symbolically, these youngsters were expressing their resentment and anger at British society and getting to know and
identify more about their own past in the Caribbean ... however, when I and others tried to introduce some teaching to these pupils ... they were not very keen ...

Researcher: I'm not really surprised!

C.R.: It proved extremely difficult to make any headway as the young people had clearly come for sport and entertainment and expressed resentment when school and educational matters were raised at the club ...

The 'readiness' at which members of the North London West Indian Association were keen to introduce 'teaching' and 'learning' for young West Indians is interesting. One could say that there was almost a cultural response to making such provision. Reference has already been made to Stone (1981) and others in the review of the literature, on the historical tradition in the Caribbean whereby parents would insist on children undertaking additional 'schooling' outside normal school hours by undertaking 'learning' organised by teachers working privately in their homes. The interview data with C.R. corresponds with Stone's (1981) view on this matter.

C.R.: It became increasingly clear to members of the North London West Indian Association, that there was a need to start on the principle of supplementary education ... which was firmly rooted in their own historical and cultural backgrounds ...

Researcher: How do you mean?

C.R.: You must remember that in the Caribbean, it was normal for parents to require their children to undertake additional study outside school hours. Education and scholastic performance ... were valued highly ... and consequently, parents were generally prepared to pay for extra lessons ... as a matter of course. Such additional tuition was valued for its own sake,
irrespective of how well or poorly children performed in their schools.

In trying to clarify how West Indian parents conceptualised their children's performance in English schools, at least two views suggest themselves from the above interview data. Firstly, it was clear that there was disappointment, anxiety and concern in their feeling that their children were not achieving at school as well as they might have liked. This must have been painful when they had high hopes of their receiving a good education in this country and it is an issue that is discussed again later. But it is also reasonable to surmise that they felt that they had 'discovered' that just as in the Caribbean, there was now a need for their children in the UK to 'receive' supplementary schooling in addition to normal schooling - a point they may have overlooked before. However, a clearer indication of why the West Indian community was almost spontaneously 'opting' for the supplementary school mode in 1967 is provided in the interview data:

CR: In London, in the late 1960s, the serious concern for the education of young blacks made the community respond by focussing on supplementary schooling in two ways: firstly, and more importantly, on their historical and cultural identity, and secondly, on compensating for the ... deficiency of British schools which manifested themselves through serious weaknesses in literacy and numeracy among young black children.

The order in which the two main reasons for supplementary schooling is presented is a little unusual when contrasted with the views of Stone (1981), Clark (1982) and others referred to in the review of the literature. It would appear that CR was giving primacy of place to factors relating to historical and cultural identity rather than to factors relating to literacy and numeracy and the significance of this will become evident later.

The next elements of the data focussed on factors such as 'bussing', 'banding' and schools for ESN pupils and as the accounts from the
interviewees are fairly similar only one account is included to indicate what occurred in the Borough of Haringey in the late 1960s.

AB: While an embryonic movement towards supplementary schooling was taking place, matters came to a head in Haringey over the issue of 'banding' and ESN schools.

Researcher: Can you please tell me what happened?

AB: Well, school re-organisation on comprehensive lines was undertaken in 1967, and by 1969, there was an attempt to evaluate the change which had been instituted by the Borough of Haringey....

For the West Indian community then resident in the Borough, an evaluation of the system was perceived as a means by which the local authority was keen to assess the effects of black children on the standards attained at the local schools... this belief was based on events that occurred around two popular leading secondary schools in the Borough. One was the Stationers' Company School and the other was the Creighton school for girls.

Researcher: What part did these two schools play?

AB: From the perspectives of West Indian parents of children in these schools, both schools appeared to be concerned about the influx of black families in the area... fears were expressed, fairly discreetly at first that black children tended to lower educational standards of the formerly all white schools. Such fear of the presence of black children in these schools was eventually expressed in a local authority report, generally referred to as the Doulton Report, which became available to the media and the public at large... the local West Indian community however, soon discovered that there were in fact two Doulton Reports - one for public consumption, and one, a secret one, for the makers of local school/educational policy.
In following up the implications of the Doulton Report, another of the three interviewees had the following to add:

**AC:** The secret version of the Report was made available to the North London West Indian Association through a group whom we West Indians called the 'Highgate radicals'. Basically, these 'Highgate radicals' were middle class whites who lived in the up-market area of Highgate, London N.6 and who were concerned about threats to their own schools by rumours of proposals for the bussing of children in the Borough of Haringey. Their reason for providing us the secret Doulton Report to the West Indian community was one of self-interest.

**Researcher:** How on earth did they get the 'secret version' of the Report?

**AC:** That we don't know ... but they were aware that the West Indian community was opposed to a policy of bussing and thus wanted to ensure that bussing did not take place by warning the West Indians of such an imminent possibility ... can you see their self-interest?

Fortunately, one of the interviewees (A.B) had retained a copy of the so-called confidential Doulton Report which appeared to cause so much concern to the North London West Indian Association and a copy of that 'Report' is included in Appendix 1 on page 488 of this thesis.

The interview data collected by the researcher, the booklet by Dhondy et al. (1982) and an account by Carter (1986), indicate that two particular passages in the confidential Doulton Report dated 13th January 1969 (see Appendix 1, page 488) angered most West Indian parents in the Borough of Haringey. One short passage read:

> On a rough calculation about half the immigrants will be West Indians at 7 of the 11 schools, the
significance of this being the general recognition that their I.Q.s work out below their English contemporaries. Thus academic standards will be lower in schools where they form a large group.

Doulton Report, in Appendix 1, page 489.

The second passage that the West Indians found particularly offensive read as follows:

d) The figures for the last three Schools reflect the increasing tendency for pupils to stay on beyond the school leaving age, resulting in the growth of a non-academic 6th form; it is a process that will continue and it could particularly affect Haringey where the immigrant parents will see education as the way to open doors for their children.

Doulton Report, in Appendix 1, page 490.

One of the sub-headings in the Doulton Report read 'Immigrants as a Social problem' and very clearly the West Indian community took very strong exception to specific items in the Report which were specifically about them and were to be discussed without their knowledge. They may indeed have accepted some of the logic of the Report, such as the value of maintaining viable sixth forms, but the underlying assumption of low IQs expressed in the Doulton Report, made it an object of contempt and derision by the West Indian community, and the fact that it was to be implemented secretly aroused intense anger and a determination to 'resist' the implications of the Report.

Two issues raised by the Doulton Report (Dhondy et al. (1982) are now discussed briefly, that is, 'bussing' and 'banding', of pupils in the Borough of Haringey.
a) **Bussing:** A DES circular, 7/65, London (1965) entitled 'The Education of Immigrants', confirmed the practice that had begun as early as 1963 of bussing or dispersing black children from schools with a high concentration of 'immigrant' children to reassure worried white parents that their children's education would not be hampered by the presence of large numbers of non-English speaking pupils, particularly of Asian origin. The circular, DES 7/65, sometimes referred to as 'Boyle's Law' included the following statement:

> As the proportion of immigrant children in a school or class increases, the problems will become difficult to solve, and the chances of assimilation more remote ... up to a fifth of immigrant children in any one group fit with reasonable ease, but if the proportion goes over about one-third in the school as a whole or in any one class, serious strains arise.

DES circular, 7/65

Although, bussing of between four and six hundred Asian school children took place in the Borough of Ealing (Dhondy et al., 1982), the possibility of bussing raised by the Doulton Report in the Borough of Haringey led to one of the first direct confrontations between the North London West Indian Association and the local Education Authority in Haringey. The proposal was thus dropped almost immediately (Carter 1986), and West Indian children were not bussed in the Borough. The interesting observation to make is that bussing in the USA was fought for by black Americans (Cottle 1975) in order to stop segregation in American schools. In contrast, bussing virtually had an opposite connotation in England. It was resisted and did not develop in any significant way (Kirp, 1979; Carter, 1986).

b) **Banding:** An account of the resistance to banding in secondary schools in Haringey is provided by Dhondy et al. (1982). They argue
that resistance to banding was closely linked to the resistance to bussing and report from the Haringey Borough Council's Education Committee Report of March 1969, that the Borough had decided to implement a policy of banding as a means of dispersing immigrant children among the Borough's eleven comprehensive schools. Thus, resistance to bussing among the membership of the North London West Indian Association could not be separated from resistance to banding in the schools.

The North London West Indian Association sent a written response to the Doulton Report, rejecting its basic premise that West Indian pupils had lower IQs than whites and performed less well academically than their 'English contemporaries'. Also, that Mr. Doulton, the author of the Report was the Head of the prestigious Highgate Public School in the locality and lacked adequate knowledge or experience of the state system of education. The interview data can now be drawn upon again.

AB: It was the anger surrounding the publication of the Doulton Report in Haringey which began what we West Indians call the 'struggle for the Black Education Movement'. Closely linked to the issues of banding and bussing in Haringey schools was the issue of the presence of a high proportion of West Indian children in ESN schools. Here too, the community had to argue and fight against the emerging trend in many schools to put large numbers of West Indian children in ESN schools and to bring pressure to bear on the Local Education Authority to justify such action.

Carter (1986) referred to the ESN issue at the height of the controversy over the Doulton Report and stated that in the Inner London Education Authority,

immigrant children formed 28.4 per cent of the pupils in ESN schools compared to 15 per cent in ordinary schools. And out of all immigrant children (West Indian, Indian, Pakistani, Cypriot and others) in ESN schools, no fewer than 75 per
cent were West Indians, although they made up only 54 per cent of the immigrant population of ordinary schools.

Carter (1986: 90)

Likewise, Tomlinson (1982a) provides detailed evidence on ESN-M placements of West Indian children and the 'symbolic significance' of such placements.

The interview data from the three interviewees (AB, CR, and AC) who were at the centre of the resistance to the proposals in the Doulton Report indicate that the West Indian community in North London was mobilised to make public protests to the London Borough of Haringey. These protests were reported in the national and local newspapers and also in news bulletins on television. The campaign to fight matters over banding and ESN numbers was helped in particular by the fortuitous presence of individual West Indians who enjoyed national standing and recognition at the time. One of these was Jeff Crawford, the secretary and publicity officer of the West Indian Standing Conference, and at the same time, the President of the North London West Indian Association. He was able to gain much publicity in the media and made several television appearances about the educational plight of West Indian children with particular reference to ESN schools.

We thus see that the emergent Movement for black supplementary schooling received much needed support from a strong political site in North London. Its message permeated all areas of the country with sizeable West Indian populations through the networks of contacts in the West Indian Standing Conference but also through the help of liberal whites. Jeff Crawford intimated to the researcher that he was assisted greatly over publicity and television presentations, by two white journalists who provided valuable expertise and support for the campaign against the London Borough of Haringey which was keen to implement the proposals in the Doulton Report.
The interview data provide further detail of the campaign:

C.R.: A very large number of meetings began to take place in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Nottingham - in fact wherever there were West Indians in any significant numbers ... the campaign officially began on 21st March 1969 when picketing and leafleting took place outside the Haringey Borough Council Civic Centre and continued for several months.

A.B.: The campaign was very demanding on the community's activists but had the effect of drawing the West Indians together to fight a common battle against banding and ESN placements.

C.R.: Out of the campaign there also emerged a new body called the Caribbean Education and Community Workers' Association (CECWA) which eventually took responsibility for publishing Bernard Coard's book *How the West Indian child is made educationally subnormal in the English Educational System* in 1971 ... however, it was during the campaign that the idea of organising and systematically running supplementary schools emerged and the embryonic Black Supplementary School Movement was born out of discussions taking place in North London.

Researcher: So when could you say the Movement actually began?

C.R.: It is not possible to say whether this Movement began in 1966 ... when West Indian parents began to feel uneasy about their children's education or when we had all these troubles with Doulton. I don't think there can be an exact date but by March 1969 it had established itself. But this was not all ... we had succeeded in stopping Doulton's plans from becoming official policy for the local Education Authority and bussing did not happen although a form of banding was inevitable as it was ILEA policy for all its schools at that time. We wrote to Haringey Borough Council and refuted every one of Doulton's points.
In a continuing reference to the aftermath of the campaign against the Doulton Report, it becomes clear that many West Indians had begun to form small groups to challenge educational policies and practices relating to the West Indian community as the following account suggests:

AC': We began to have lots of meetings in 1969 on Sundays at many places and especially at a centre in London called the West Indian Students' Centre. These meetings involved black parents, the relatively few black teachers at that time, others involved in education and members of the West Indian community generally.

Researcher: What were these meetings attempting to do?

AC: Two themes emerged very clearly from discussions in these meetings. Firstly, the major concern over the scholastic underachievement of children of West Indian origin and secondly, the racism encountered in the educational system and British society in general. But two other issues also received prominence at the West Indian Students' Centre. One was related to the response of state schools to West Indian concern for their children's education. The West Indian community was being accused by white teachers and educational authorities of having unrealistic aspirations for their children and second that the community and especially West Indian parents were being accused of interfering with the school's responsibility for the education of children.

Statements as those above are also reiterated by Carter (1986) who as a black teacher himself found much hostility among white teachers to West Indian parents and activists who were trying to teach black pupils the basic skills of literacy and numeracy. It is therefore interesting to note from the perspectives of the West Indian community that the issue of 'unrealistic aspirations' had emerged as early as the late 1960s and
that it has been a continuing debate and discussion since then (Arora et al. 1985; Gilroy 1987) and therefore some observations are pertinent.

It could be argued that white teachers genuinely felt that their black pupils were performing as well as could be expected and that there was no cause for concern. This in fact appears to be the interpretation suggested in the interview data. But it could also mean that the teachers were unhappy that parents, for that matter, any parents were interfering with their domain of expertise - possibly, even using methods, for example, in Maths work which were different to the ones used in school. A third explanation may lie in white teachers' belief that black parents were not capable of understanding what went on in English schools by virtue of their 'foreign' experience and that either they were ill-informed, unnecessarily anxious and simply incompetent to understand an education system working perfectly well. Whatever the reasons, one thing does become clear - there was a failure on the part of the school to assuage West Indian parents' anxieties and also to take the initiative and address the reality that black pupils were underachieving. It is not as though white teachers were not aware of this. It becomes clear that as large numbers of black pupils were being 'consigned' to ESN schools, black pupils had become 'pathologised' and this may simply have corresponded with the 'climate' of prejudice that existed in the country. Nevertheless, the problem that appeared to arise can be located in terms of failure on the part of the local education authorities to achieve some kind of partnership between themselves, black parents and the West Indian community generally. Instead, the seeds had been sown towards generating disquiet, distrust and antagonism between members of the Afro-Caribbean community and the English educational system and the processes within it.

The West Indian response was to object strongly and to resist the emergence of the 'educational underachievement' syndrome affecting their children by the late 1960s. They placed the blame squarely on an
educational system which in their eyes was contributing directly to 
such educational underachievement.

The account of the origins of the Movement and its initial orientation 
is provided further in the interview transcript from AB.

AB: We were essentially campaigning against the process of 
relegation into the lumpen proletariat of British society. It 
lead to large numbers of West Indians all over the country 
starting a variety of supplementary schools. But these schools 
were never intended to be alternatives to normal state schooling 
but additional to it.

The interview data indicate that classes and meetings took place mainly 
on Saturday mornings or in the evenings on weekdays. In 1972, a 
national conference was held in Islington, London, which brought 
together, for the first time, the organisers of a large number of 
supplementary schools, black parents and black teachers. The 
conference was organised by the Caribbean Education and Community 
Workers' Association (CECWA) referred to earlier and attracted a wide 
range of West Indian activists in areas other than education. Some of 
these were from quasi-political organisations and other Caribbean self- 
help groups. The conference was highly successful according to the 
interviewees and helped the participants 'to clarify the aims and 
purpose of the Black Supplementary Education Movement which was still 
very much in its infancy in 1972'.

Interestingly, the socio-cultural and political dimensions to the 
Movement were reflected in the kind of names chosen for the 
supplementary schools, for example, 'The West Indian Unity 
Supplementary School', 'The Kwame Nkrumah Supplementary School' or the 
'George Padmore School' later renamed, the 'George Padmore Black 
Community School'. It should also be noted that most of the activity 
of these schools took place on Saturday mornings in community and 
church halls which had to be paid for from money raised by parents and 
members of the West Indian community. According to the interviewees,
there were many instances when such black community activity attracted the attention of the police and raised objections from school caretakers. In other words, the schools experienced many difficulties and needed much determination from the organisers to keep them going. Some schools did not survive for very long but some survived for a decade or more.

The researcher was keen to understand the nature of the 'attention of the police'. He discovered from the interviewees that police attention appeared to have been drawn when local white residents seeing numbers of black people congregating at public premises before and after Saturday classes, were inclined to discourage such gatherings in their neighbourhoods by telephoning the police on the pretext that there were numbers of black people who were causing or likely to cause problems. The interviewees indicated the severe frustration the organisers of supplementary schools faced in such circumstances. But their determination echoed the kind of views expressed by Fryer (1984) in his book *Staying Power. The History of Black People in Britain*, in which he vividly described large numbers of instances of the sheer doggedness of black people to fight and struggle for the kind of things they wanted in a relatively hostile society. A reference to police action relating to supplementary schooling was also made by Black (1982) which was referred to in Chapter 2 in this dissertation. The three informants in this study stated that there were fairly persistent objections from the police about supplementary schools on Saturdays and the following quote from CR sums up the situation rather well:

**CR:** One alternative resulting from objections from the police to such 'school activity' that we created, was to run the schools in the homes of the organisers and this also helped to reduce the costs of hiring halls ... The police almost always asked us if we had any authority to run our schools ... somehow, they were convinced that it was illegal for us to run our schools ...

Researcher: But I don't really understand why this was so ...
CR: Deep down, I think they were worried that we might be formenting some kind of insurrection or starting revolutionary activity ... they found it difficult to believe, I think, that black parents were capable of taking all the trouble to organise schools on Saturdays. After all, in their experience, no white parents did mad things like that and, of course, we blacks did not enjoy much status in their eyes. They constantly felt that we were up to no good ... they never said so ... but we knew it.

The part played by the police as described above is also recounted by Carter (1986). The activities of the Black Supplementary school Movement took place at about the same time as Black Power groups were becoming active in London from 1967 and this is referred to later in the thesis.

It was possible to discover the aims of at least one of the early black supplementary schools. CR had a typed copy of the aims of one school, the George Padmore Black Community School in North London. These were:

a) to make pupils aware of their own background history and culture by a study of pan-African history and culture.

b) with the use of material around an African history and culture, to teach black children the best use of standard English and related subjects such as Maths and Science.

The researcher was informed that at the George Padmore Black Community School, there were determined attempts to teach West Indian children about black history, their cultural background and English and Maths. The pupils attended for secondary school work on Monday evenings to study about history, culture and English and on Friday evenings to study Maths and Science subjects. Saturday mornings were set aside for junior school children.

It would appear that a concern for the cultural identity of West Indian children was central to the formation of the Movement. According to
the three informants and early organisers of the Movement, the George Padmore Black Community School was like a model on which other supplementary schools were to be organised. One of the interviewees also emphasised the following:

C.R.: There were also clear principles of pedagogy which gradually became distinctive to the Black Supplementary School Movement. There was to be a close and continuing dialogue between parents, the teachers in the supplementary schools and the children they taught ... for instance, a child's entry to a supplementary school was subject to a discussion about the aims of the school by the organisers, with parents and their children in attendance.

Researcher: So the whole issue of participation was taken very seriously ...

C.R.: Such initial discussions were considered very important and often took an hour at a time. Secondly the parents were required to attend monthly meetings ... these were held on Sundays so that the full attendance of supplementary school organisers, teachers and parents was possible. Also, all were expected to work together to raise funds for basic school materials and the costs of hiring premises for school activities.

The last major point emphasised by the early organisers of supplementary schools related to their belief that a high commitment of teachers in supplementary schools was required. None of them was to receive remuneration as they were deemed to be contributing to a 'cause' and they did not necessarily have to be qualified or trained as teachers. The important and necessary qualities needed related to their willingness to teach, encourage and promote enthusiasm for the subject areas being studied. Another point emphasised was that the teachers were required to be regular and punctual. If they could not comply with this requirement they were requested to withdraw as
teachers from these schools. Clearly, this suggests an emphasis on tight discipline. Such organisational considerations are matters discussed in Chapter 6 in this thesis.

It was the contention of the early organisers of the Black Supplementary School Movement, that in essence, the philosophy and practice encapsulated in the aims and pedagogical approaches outlined above were still the basic aims of all black supplementary schools in the 1980s. Such a contention will be 'tested' in the dissertation in Part Four, through an examination of what goes on in practice in supplementary schools.

4.6. Summary, reflections and commentary

From the data on the origins of the Black Supplementary School Movement in the late 1960s, which have been cross-referenced against accounts provided by three key members of the North London West Indian Association who played a central role when the Movement began, and by drawing on the documentary evidence available, it becomes clear that:

a) West Indian parents initially sensed that all was not well with their children's schooling. They were particularly unhappy about their children's literacy and numeracy skills.

b) The existence of West Indian associations like the North London West Indian Association provided an opportunity to them to express their concerns publicly and to discover that their views were shared by other West Indians.

c) The officials within the North London West Indian Association and the West Indian Standing Conference felt incumbent to take up the matter as a cause for concern.

d) Issues in the Borough of Haringey highlighted by the Doulton Report relating to comprehensivisation, banding and ESN schools initiated resistance from Afro-Caribbeans in North London and a
Struggle began which eventually led to the formation of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

e) The first supplementary schools had clear aims and pedagogic principles which had to be adhered to.

f) There were many obstacles which required much struggle to establish the first supplementary schools.

g) Although the concern at these first supplementary schools appeared to emphasise or put primacy of place on making pupils aware of their own background and culture and through this, to help them in their academic/school work, there is some conflict in the data about which of these had primacy of place, that is, stress on cultural background or on academic achievement.

In terms of a theoretical explanation of the events that occurred in the Borough of Haringey it is possible to view the situation in terms of Gramsci's (1971) concepts of 'hegemonic dominant culture' represented by the Doulton Report and the 'subordinate' working-class culture of the West Indians in Haringey. Gramsci (1971) used the term 'hegemony' to refer to the moment when a ruling class is able not only to coerce a subordinate class to conform to its interests but to exert a 'hegemony' or 'total social authority' over subordinate classes.

According to Gramsci (1971) this involves the exercise of a special kind of power. Lukes (1974) defined this kind of power as the power to define the agenda. Such a description would be particularly apt to describe Doulton's attempt to set the agenda for school reorganisation in the Borough of Haringey to 'shape preferences' and to 'prevent conflict from arising in the first place'.

In Gramsci's (1971) terms, the terrain of civil and state institutions become the sites of struggle. A hegemonic cultural order tries to frame all competing definitions of the social order and it provides the horizon of thought and action within which conflicts are fought through
and experienced or concealed as a 'national interest'. The central concern for the dominant group becomes, how the subordinate groups should be 'contained' for the benefit of the dominant class. Gramsci (1971) suggests that the 'hegemony' of the dominant strata works through ideas, and works primarily by inserting the subordinate classes in those subordinate institutions and structures which support the power and social order of the dominant order and that it is in these structures and relations that a subordinate group lives out its subordination.

In the case of the West Indians in Haringey, the dominant group was represented by Doulton, the Head of a prestigious independent school. His status and power through also being the Vice-Chairman of the Borough Education Committee (Carter 1986) was considerable and he clearly endeavoured to allocate secretly, educational resources and opportunities which were not to the advantage of a subordinate and powerless group like the West Indians in the Borough.

The theory suggests that power is indeed used by dominant groups to maintain control over subordinate groups and that this normally prevails in the case of Britain in an 'all-white' situation. This time however, the racial dimension entered the 'equation' and clearly resistance was anticipated by Doulton, thus forcing him to resort to secrecy. It also illustrates how the dominant group clearly distinguished between the ethnic minority as a 'social problem' and through this process, inevitably anticipated the acquiescence of white working class groups in Haringey to support the aims of the dominant group and its educational policy in the Borough. This kind of alignment of the indigenous working class with the dominant class was discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to the work of Gorz (1970). It further supports Gramsci's (1971) theory that 'hegemony' of a dominant group can only be maintained by incorporating other subordinate groups or 'drawing them in' as allies of the dominant group.

Thus in the Borough of Haringey, the West Indians could not easily be 'won over' by the dominant group, to accept the educational plans of
the dominant group, except possibly by 'stealth' and without them knowing about what was actually happening at the point or stage of policy implementation. In the circumstances, the confidential strategy of the dominant group was exposed and a public campaign and struggle began by the West Indians on the issue of educational provision in the Borough.

The next chapter examines the role of the intellectuals in the Black Supplementary School Movement in formulating the ideology of the Movement.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTELLECTUALS

AND

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL MOVEMENT
CHAPTER 5

5.1. Introduction

In the chapter on Methodology and in the chapter on the origins of the Movement, the researcher had indicated that from October 1980 to February 1982, a core group of activists had got together with the express purpose of providing the disparate supplementary schools an umbrella organisation which would have 'official status' within the West Indian community and also to provide a co-ordinating role for the supplementary schools.

The researcher had also indicated how he had become a member of this core group. The group was centrally concerned to formulate and articulate the ideology of the Movement. Its membership and a small number of others, closely associated with it, are now specifically referred to as the 'Intellectuals' as they clearly were the dominant 'mentors' of the Movement.

There has been a developing interest among sociologists to examine the role of intellectuals within social movements and an ideal opportunity arose in this research to study the way certain Afro-Caribbean individuals participated to formulate an ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement. This Chapter first provides a brief introductory commentary on recent theory on intellectuals, then goes on to provide a detailed, and at times, a necessarily descriptive/ethnographic account of the researcher's exploration into the views of the Intellectuals of the Movement and then relates such data to theory once more before identifying the key elements of the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

Social theorists have indicated that there is general difficulty in attempting to define 'intellectuals' (Poulantzas, 1975; Wright, 1979; Williams, 1976), and as a consequence, much discussion has tended to now focus on examining 'what intellectuals do' rather than 'what their characteristics are'. In the researcher's view, the latter question
about the characteristics of intellectuals has acted as a decoy for sociologists for many years and consequently, for this and other reasons a theoretical difficulty has persisted and a systematic theory of intellectuals has not yet emerged.

A significant revival of interest in intellectuals, following Gramsci's (1971) seminal work originally written in an Italian prison before his death in 1937, appears to emerge with the work of Gouldner (1979). In attempting to provide a general theory on intellectuals, Gouldner (1979) argued that intellectuals were not 'independent groupings' in various societies enjoying varying degrees of autonomy according to what a social system permits, but rather were a globally ascendant 'New Class'. For Gouldner (1979) his 'New Class' consisted of two fractions - the 'intellectuals' and the 'intelligentsia' and these fractions differed in their orientations. The 'intellectuals' for Gouldner (1979) were primarily engaged in critical, emancipatory and often, political work, while the 'intelligentsia' were essentially Khunians who, concentrate on solving 'puzzles' or 'paradigms' on which normal science centres.

Gouldner (1979: 48)

Gouldner's (1979) discourse on the accumulation of 'cultural capital' through the work of the intellectuals and the intelligentsia as a 'New Class' was to make him conceptualise 'cultural capital' to be as significant as 'money capital' in society. It was thus an attempt, albeit not a very successful one, to claim that 'cultural capital' accumulated by the intellectuals could provide the basis for a class formation (Schlesinger 1986). In this, Gouldner (1979) was attempting a shift from a Marxist concern with relations of production to a Weberian focus upon distribution of 'cultural capital' in the market. However, as a number of sociologists have pointed out, it is difficult to see how 'cultural capital' can provide the basis for a class. Gouldner's (1979) view was that the possession of 'cultural capital'
made his 'New Class' into 'a speech community' through the use of a 'culture of critical discourse', sharing an ideology about the 'formal nature of argument'. Thus Gouldner (1979) felt that this could lead to an unified class consciousness across Eastern socialism and Western capitalism. However, as many sociologists have argued, it is difficult not to discount the idealism in such a view.

Somewhat akin to parts of Gouldner's (1979) work is the work of Carillo 1977; Brym 1980; and Rootes 1980. Carillo (1977) for instance, argued that an 'Eurocommunist' approach to the intellectuals has created a 'fusion' between the 'forces of labour and forces of culture'. Thus the question being addressed appears to be whether intellectuals are locked in a class struggle against the state bureaucracies in the Eastern bloc and against capitalism in the West and how respective intellectual strata have been seen to be of particular importance in the transformation of the political systems of different countries.

Schlesinger (1986) has suggested that the issues considered in recent years, in Europe at least, have attempted to address a number of macro concerns and identifies at least three theoretical discourses on the intellectuals:

a) The role of intellectuals in socialist political strategies.

b) Intellectuals and the production of ideology and culture.

c) Attempts to compare intellectual strata in different social formations.

Underpinning much of the recent work on intellectuals is the theory that educated and professional sectors of the population generally considered to be the intellectuals are seen as having a common objective interest in the struggles of the proletariat against dominant social groups. This relates to Gramsci's (1971) concept of mental labour in the organisation of production generally and also, his crucial contribution to the role of different types of intellectuals as
producers of ideologies and how such ideologies can play a part in forms of social transformation. It is Gramsci's (1971) particular contribution in considering how subordinate groups in society produce their own 'organic' intellectuals to fight oppression that the researcher returns to in the latter part of this chapter.

5.2. The data

The monthly meetings of the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement took place at the Gresham Supplementary School, in Brixton, London and were attended on average by twelve individuals, all of whom were initially new to the researcher, except for two individuals he had met previously in relation to supplementary schools. As ethnographic work entails constant adjustment by the researcher (Whyte 1955) to different data gathering circumstances, it would be appropriate to make some reference in this introduction to the practical steps taken to gather data from the meetings with the Intellectuals of the Movement.

The meetings were chaired by Mr. AB and he also acted as secretary to arrange meetings. At the researcher's first meeting, it became clear that individuals volunteered to make notes of the meetings and then passed them on to the chairman who took the responsibility for typing the minutes. It was wise for the researcher to volunteer for the task of making notes in the tradition of Whyte (1955), so he indicated that he was happy to volunteer, but that he preferred to re-write the notes neatly at home and post them within a day or two to Mr. AB for typing and duplication purposes. This offer was acceptable to the committee on a continuing basis and the researcher gained the opportunity to write very full notes quite legitimately during the meetings. Only a brief summary in the form of minutes of such notes, as expected, were posted by the researcher to the chairman a day or two after each meeting. The researcher's notes of these meetings thus represent the first source of data relating to the Intellectuals. The other sources will be referred to a little later.
The meetings got underway at about 6.00 p.m. and continued virtually without a break until 11.00 p.m. or even later. It was clear they would have gone on for longer but for the need for the members to catch the tube home from Brixton before the last train left.

The committee had decided before the researcher had joined it, that its priority lay in producing a constitution for the establishment of an Association of Black Supplementary Schools. However, in order to determine what had to be incorporated into the constitution a considerable amount of discussion went on which at times became very heated indeed. Such discussion encompassed every conceivable factor of concern to the Movement. As the researcher became the 'scribe' who made notes of the discussion, he had the option of telephoning committee members for further details on the grounds that he had not quite followed what somebody or the other had said during a meeting. Such telephone conversations sometimes went on for long periods and helped the researcher to probe more deeply into the views of the core group of Intellectuals.

When the constitution of the Association eventually emerged (included in Appendix 2, page 495) it reflected but a minute part of the discussion that had gone on. The minutes of meetings also recorded but a very small part of the discussion at the meetings. One advantage to the researcher was that it was generally believed that very full discussions at these meetings would help individual supplementary school teachers attending these meetings, to address a range of problems experienced in their respective supplementary schools. Thus, the discussions which are explored fully in this chapter ranged from ideological, practical, political and organisational factors relating not only to supplementary schooling, but also to issues like multicultural education and the place of black people in British society. Because of the wide range of discussion and its sheer quantity, the researcher on one occasion asked if he could record it on a small audio-tape recorder. But hardly had this been agreed upon when one of the members got rather angry over an issue being discussed and said 'put that thing off, I don't think we need to have a tape here'
and the atmosphere of the meeting required that the tape-recorder be switched off. Later, the researcher was told by the chairman that the tape-recorder might inhibit discussion and it was not used again.

It is important to point out that a major conference was held by the Movement on 27th February 1982 in London and the formation of an Association of Black Supplementary Schools was formally agreed to by a general body of at least six hundred people who attended. At the Conference there were certain individuals who were official speakers and some of them made extremely valuable contributions about the Movement and also made it clear that they were unable to attend the core meetings but had kept in touch by telephone with the chairman and indicated the direction they felt the Movement should take. Fortunately, most of the February 1982 Conference was recorded on video-tapes and when the researcher offered to write a report of the Conference with the help of the videos, the offer was accepted and the researcher had the priceless opportunity of watching and listening to the videos a number of times, (even though there were gaps in the recording) and of making an audio recording of all that was on the video tapes before returning them. The video recordings represented a second source of data relating to the role of the Intellectuals.

The third source of data on the Intellectuals was obtained in a slightly ingenious way. Three speakers who stated that they had not been able to attend the core meetings (of the Intellectuals) had made excellent contributions at the Conference. In order to interview them, the researcher telephoned them to say that in order to produce a Conference Report, as well as help his research, he needed further clarification of what they had said at the Conference. All three agreed for the researcher to call on them at their work places and permitted the researcher to tape-record long semi-directed interviews about the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

During 1983, the researcher had got to know several other important members of the Black Supplementary School Movement by being directed to them by individuals within the West Indian community for 'knowing a lot
about the Movement'. These were contacted at their places of work and their views with those of another group of three West Indians out of six people who attended a residential week-end in June 1984, as part of an emergent Association of African, Caribbean and Asian Academics, provided the fourth and final source of taped data on the Intellectuals of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

An indication of the occupational background of the Intellectuals involved in this study illustrates that there were two community workers, six teachers, five CRC officials and one each of a free-lance writer, a civil servant, a lawyer, a CRE official, a local government officer, a journalist working on an ethnic weekly paper and an education officer. Of this total of 20, only two were women but unfortunately the reason for this imbalance did not become clear at any stage of the proceedings.

5.2.1. The data from the Intellectuals

The data from the Intellectuals are categorised under themes which help to 'construct' the ideology of the Movement. In addition, the views among the Intellectuals themselves, on a range of issues are located on a continuum representing the 'Radicals' at one end and the 'Pragmatists' at the other. These are not meant to be exclusive categories but help to identify clear differences between the Intellectuals when they arise. When references are made to individual respondents in the data, their initials are used, as in the last chapter, and the themes discussed below represent very roughly, the order in which many of the issues were discussed. The references to the individual respondents represent a small selection from the vast quantity of data that were collected.

(1) Was there a justification for black supplementary schools?

There were many reasons why black supplementary schools in Britain were considered important and worthy of encouragement and support. The evidence of underachievement was the most significant factor for the
Intellectuals. Apart from their personal knowledge of West Indian pupil underachievement, they were familiar with several of the studies reviewed in the literature on underachievement in Chapter 2. The major concern and fear was that such underachievement would become reified and part of the taken-for-granted 'sociological knowledge' in society. Some of the specific comments relating to this issue, and which emerged in discussion, are presented below:

**AB:** Just like white working class failure in education is taken for granted, we are in great danger that our children [meaning Afro-Caribbean children] will be written off by society and they will end up in the lowest strata of British society.

**TA:** The educational system labels black children and they fail as part of wish fulfillment ... the system wants them to fail as it is racist and wants to keep the black man down ...

**JV:** If we don't do something about it, nobody else will. What other alternatives are there? Only well-to-do parents can pay for private tutors and most of our West Indian brothers and sisters can't afford to pay for private tuition. They are looking upon people like us with some education to help them ... and it is urgent to work on a collective strategy.

**CD:** In order to get jobs of virtually any kind, young pupils have to have qualifications. Without qualifications ... they are virtually unemployable. As the state schools can't seem to help our pupils we have the responsibility to do something about it.

**TA:** In order to oppose or resist the system, you have to be able to read and write very well. With an education you can make the kind of noises people in power might listen to. This is preferrable to rioting in the streets ... but mind you I am not opposed to rioting if nothing else works.
With supplementary schools we can keep young black people off the streets and petty crime and get them to aspire for professional occupations ... they are perfectly capable of. How is it our people got an education if they tried in the Caribbean and they can't do that here? I think the system wants to fail black people before they even start up the ladder ... we have to take a lot of trouble to attract older pupils in our schools ... they need the most help.

We have to have our own schools so that our people can know them not stupid. Education is the only thing that can help overcome our oppression ... the oppression of our people. We cannot depend on state schools one little bit. We have to do it [educate] ourselves with our own hands ...

The supplementary schools were making good progress ... and they must receive encouragement from the black community in every way possible ... these are our community schools and we should be proud of them and support them in every way possible.

It becomes evident that the Intellectuals had a fairly clear view about the importance of supplementary schools. The substantial data collected indicate that they saw them as being vitally important for the following reasons which are presented in note form below:

a) They could help prevent blacks from falling to the lowest levels of the social strata. This issue was emphasised consistently.

b) They could help fight aspects of racism 'which kept the black man down'.

c) Supplementary schools provide the best mechanism for education among a disadvantaged/powerless group.

d) They could help and encourage young blacks to gain academic and other qualifications.
e) The acquisition of education in order to resist the system and make people in power pay attention was important.

f) Helping to keep young blacks away from a life of petty crime and to encourage them to aspire for professional qualifications was important.

g) As a means of fighting oppression and racism these schools were a good idea.

h) They had become community [West Indian] schools and the community should support them in every way possible.

The Intellectuals of the Movement were clearly convinced and determined that strong efforts should be made to help supplementary schools to develop and felt there was every justification for their existence. They therefore concluded that an active Association of Supplementary Schools would be able to help the further development of supplementary schools and this takes us to another related issue.

(ii) The relationship between the proposed Association and the supplementary schools

It was agreed that the role of the proposed Association in relation to the supplementary schools should be two-fold, that is, it should have a 'representational' role and a 'consultative' role.

As each of the supplementary schools worked in relative isolation, the plan was to draw them together symbolically as part of a 'greater black supplementary school Movement' and also organically so that the proposed Association could represent their interests as well as act as an agency for advice, consultation and practical help. For instance, it was felt that the Association could institute training for supplementary school teachers, and establish a centrally located register of supplementary schools and of teachers who would be available and willing to teach when opportunities arose. Great care
was taken however, to insist that each school would continue to
function independently, at least in the foreseeable future.

On reflection the proposed Association of Supplementary Schools was
increasingly following in the organisational structure of the West
Indian Standing Conference in its early days as discussed by Heineman
(1972), and referred to in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. It was
suggested by Heineman (1972) that the local West Indian Associations
which existed prior to the formation of the West Indian Standing
Conference, did not find it particularly useful as a 'parent body', and
in turn, the Standing Conference was unable to gain much loyalty and
support from those West Indian Associations it was supposed to be
representing.

So far, fairly routine matters have been referred to and the more
controversial issues now appear to arise in the discussions that took
place among the Intellectuals during the discussion on the formation of
an Association of Supplementary schools.

(iii) Were they to be designated as 'black' supplementary schools?

Two clear positions were debated at length. The 'radicals' were
clearly in favour of incorporating the concept of 'black' into the
whole edifice of the Movement on the grounds that it represented a
distinctive political statement which emphasised that the schools were:

a) Pointedly resisting white definitions of what they felt should occur
   in 'their' supplementary schools.

b) That the schools clearly meant to transmit through the title, a
   message to all and sundry that they were intentionally for black
   pupils.

c) That the furtherance of black identity and black cultural experience
   was central to these schools.
The 'pragmatists' focused on the disadvantages of using the word 'black' in the title of the schools and the Association. They pointed to the dangers of being accused of a reverse form of discrimination and the likely difficulty in obtaining public funds for such schools. At this point, it was decided to discuss the matter of 'funds' as a separate issue and after considerable effort the opposition to the use of the word 'black' was whittled away by sheer force of argument. Eventually, only one participant would not agree to the use of the term 'black' for the supplementary schools and the Association. He also felt he could no longer accept the offer to attend these meetings and ceased to attend forthwith. His view was that his supplementary school in North West London included children who were Afro-Caribbean, Asian and a small number of whites and that there was no way he could argue that the school was in essence a 'black' supplementary school and no amount of persuasion could get him to change his mind.

Following the above particular meeting, the researcher decided to pursue the matter directly with the gentleman from North West London, by telephoning him next day. The conversation which ensued was most revealing about tensions within the Movement. Firstly, it related to his own background. He had been a headmaster of a secondary school in Nigeria before settling in London to ensure his growing children would have access to British higher education which he obviously admired. He had tried to get a job as a teacher in London but the Department of Education and Science had not recognised his Nigerian teaching qualifications. However, being very keen to teach, he began his own 'evening school', three evenings a week as well as on Saturdays, by renting teaching space in a small school which had closed due to school mergers caused by shrinking pupil numbers.

He was surprised how many parents were keen for him to help their children, and to pay for it, among Nigerians and also among West Indians. In time, a few white pupils in the area also began to attend his school. He therefore sought and received financial help from his Local Education Authority to expand the school. He obtained more teachers, including white teachers, so that about eighty pupils
attended on a regular basis each week. They studied subjects like Maths, English and Science.

It became clear, that this Nigerian gentleman was highly motivated to be identified by his own local community which included many Nigerians, as the 'Principal' of a school in North West Inadan. He emphasised this factor several times in the telephone conversation. He also saw the possibilities of expansion if he could get more 'good' teachers and it also became clear that he was earning an income from his work at his supplementary school and also providing his teachers an income. Thus, his was an entirely pragmatic solution to providing supplementary schooling to anyone who wanted it and his desire to run a school was almost entirely different from the Afro-Caribbean 'radical' concept of a supplementary school. He saw his supplementary school as a school for remedial help to any child whose parents were keen to receive his assistance. His fatherly demeanour and concern to play down any connections with 'blackness' must have played a part in attracting a range of pupils in the neighbourhood of the school. Thus his 'understanding' of supplementary schooling incorporated 'instrumental', 'pragmatic' and 'economic' elements. It was a far cry from the kind of 'political' and 'vocational' calling that epitomised accounts of the early West Indian supplementary schools discussed in Chapter 4.

Although the Nigerian gentleman did not turn up to any more meetings of the Intellectuals, the researcher's increased awareness of views like his were important in getting a clearer picture of variations in views about supplementary schooling among black groups. There was also evidence that Nigerian children and their parents were expressing concerns about their children's education and this issue will be referred to later in this thesis.

We can therefore see that the term 'black' would be included in the title of the proposed Association of Supplementary Schools, but 'victory' on this point by the 'radicals' was no easy task. A surprisingly long time was taken up on this controversy and at least one member of the group withdrew over the issue.
(iv) What was to take place in the schools?

Among the Intellectuals, there was no disagreement that large numbers of black pupils had to be helped academically because they were underachieving in state schools. There was much disagreement however, whether the supplementary schools should basically be concerned with remedial work, especially in Maths and English, or whether, ideally, they should provide a parallel education to normal schools with a range of subjects but taught from an Afro-Caribbean perspective.

From a practical point of view, at least half the group argued initially that by concentrating on Maths and English, the supplementary schools could achieve rapid progress with pupils as:

a) They were in a position to undertaken such work without much effort.

b) It would meet specific needs fairly quickly and make pupils autonomous learners in a fairly short time.

c) It would not necessitate the use of large quantities of textbooks for pupils - in any case, such books were deemed to be relatively easy to obtain.

d) Black parents would readily see the purpose of the schools and support them by sending pupils to them.

In contrast, the rest of the group argued that merely providing black pupils remedial skills was not enough - they had to learn who they were, that is, get to know their background and identify with it and that such awareness would make them better learners. A reference to some of the comments made by individuals representing this view are now presented below. Some of the comments are fairly long but are included because they reflect whole sets of ideas within one long comment that was often like an emotional speech.
I tell you why we need to teach our black pupils about their origins and background ... when I first began to meet alienated West Indian youth in North London and told them that they had to get to know about their African past, they just laughed at me as though I was some kind of nut. I understood this reaction immediately. Centuries of oppression in the Caribbean has separated out our African heritage and made us part of white man's creation ... men and women with no past, only elements of a plantation mentality which prevented them thinking for themselves and believing in their own ability ... instead of believing what the white man, first the slave owners, then the colonial masters and now the white man in Britain getting him to believe about his innate limited abilities. Now you know all this yourselves, I don't have to go on about this ... but unless our black people start seeing themselves as part of a long history stretching back to Africa, they will only be men and women with colonised minds. Colonised minds don't stand up and fight oppression because they believe what their oppressors tell them. If we free black minds, we free people and free people can excel in anything they wish to do. This is why I don't agree that supplementary schools should only help in reading, writing and arithmetic. Of course they need help there ... but this has to be part of the bigger thing I spoke about ...

... I don't disagree with you, but how do we teach what you say we should be doing?

Where are the books for what you want to do and ... how many of the ordinary supplementary schools have teachers who can teach these things?

That will be our job. We will hold seminars and teach the teachers of the supplementary school about our past and what should be emphasised.
I also feel that what has been said [by CR] is very true. Supplementary schools must be more than remedial schools which repair the damage of the state system of education. I am for making young West Indians angry, through knowledge of their past, that they have been systematically deprived of their very beings. They have some idea of it now ... but we should make it fairly central by way of Black Studies in supplementary schools. This must be at the heart of our schools, not just the 3Rs.

What worries me about many supplementary schools is that many of those I have seen, follow the 'banking model'. There is a tendency to think of knowledge as being bankable, ready for a rainy day ... we have to reject this model for supplementary schools ... instead, we have to focus on our cultural heritage and the political dimensions of the struggle we as black people face. The state actively works against black people and presents us as problems, including the problem of academic underachievement. Black youth is seen as being in deficit and there is a danger of defining supplementary schools in terms of meeting such a deficit when instead, we should be concerned about our struggle to survive, and the need for greater power and a slice of the cake and an understanding of the insidious nature of racism ... what I am saying I suppose is that West Indian supplementary schools must be part of a powerful oppositional lobby or strategy to bring about structural change.

In a sense I am a little worried about such fighting talk as it will put black people off our constitution.

If it will put parents off, it is easy to produce a fairly bland constitution together, as we need the support of black parents ... but we can work on the teachers of supplementary schools in seminars ... I really like that idea ... as we have to get to the teachers before we get to the pupils they teach.
There are many good illustrations here of pragmatic stances and ideas for tactical flexibility. After long discussion, the 'radicals' who were keen on getting pupils to focus on their historical background 'won over' the pragmatists who preferred primacy of place to the 3Rs. Clearly, the three Intellectuals (PW, CR, and AB) were well read as in effect they had drawn from sources such as Fanon (1968, 1974); Freire (1972) and James (1980). They did not discount the importance of the 3Rs, but saw these as symptoms of a deeper malaise - that of a relatively powerless group in society facing varieties of social disadvantage of which educational disadvantage was but one.

The 'radicals' also had practical reasons for wishing to emphasise the importance of the history and cultural background of black pupils. They argued that while the provision of 'remedial' work in Maths and English appeared to be the most direct way to help pupils, there was the strong likelihood that many of the pupils needing remedial help were already receiving remedial help in their normal schools and they might therefore 'see attendance at a supplementary school as simply more of the same' - and would hardly be likely to be particularly motivated to attend. Thus for this reason, the 'radicals' felt that an understanding of their former slave and colonial history would help black pupils make linkages between their own and their parents' current disadvantaged positions in Britain, and having understood this, it would act through this motivating force to challenge the system and to 'beat' it through academic achievement.

Thus, in order of priority, the 'remedial' component of supplementary schooling was perceived through a particular logic which is constructed below by the researcher in the form of 'guidance' to pupils, from statements and discussions among the Intellectuals.

a) Understand the long history of your oppression and link it to your present predicament.
b) Understand that historically your oppressor has been the white man and that he is still your oppressor today whether in the Third World, the streets of London, or in school.

c) Fight the oppression by starting to succeed educationally, that is, to want to achieve educationally, to have high aspirations and to work hard to achieve long term educational goals.

The statements above are identical to those made repeatedly in discussions among the Intellectuals and by them to the researcher. Thus, the black child had to believe that he/she could enter the professions as lawyers and doctors, for instance, rather than have limited horizons for entry into mundane occupations. Such an approach has within it, powerful elements of resistance which are meant to counter any low self-concept or doubts black pupils might have of themselves and as a means of challenging the low expectations that school teachers may have of them in weekday schools.

While the approach above might not appear to be an unreasonable one bearing in mind the struggle out of which black supplementary schools emerged as referred to in Chapter 4, the aims would appear to be long-term ones, when instead, the pressure upon black parents is inevitably one of relatively short term objectives. Black parents often looked for remedial help which would make the difference between a child obtaining a pass at CSE or an 'O' level. Such a situation therefore posed tensions between different groups among the Intellectuals within the Movement.

The Intellectuals clearly recognised these dilemmas which had to be faced and accepted that their particular perspectives on the interpretation of the 'theory' which informed pedagogic practice was likely to be a minority view. However, they saw their function primarily in terms of 'leading' (Gramsci 1971) West Indian parents towards what they perceived as an 'enlightened view' through the activities of the Association of Black Supplementary Schools. Their hope was that black parents would recognise the tensions between
contrasting aims and eventually come to accept that the major concern over the 3Rs could not be the major reason for the existence of black supplementary schools. In this sense thus, the studies reviewed on West Indian supplementary schools such as those by Stone (1981) and Clark (1982) do not deal with such tensions within the Black Supplementary School Movement to any great extent.

(v) How should the supplementary schools be organised?

The nature of the relationship between the proposed Association of Supplementary Schools and the individual supplementary schools as discussed a little earlier in this chapter, indicates that the individual schools were likely to develop their own modes of operation, management structure, financing and resourcing. The Association would not be able to play an important part in such processes apart from providing general guidance. However, these were two main areas about which the Association wished to articulate an opinion. These related to:

a) Resources for the schools, and

b) Who should teach in them.

(vi) Resources for the supplementary schools

Obviously, each supplementary school needed a range of resources for its day-to-day running. How were such resources to be obtained? Two clear options emerged. Firstly, there was the avenue of obtaining funds by way of grants, possibly through Urban Aid, LEA funding and from charitable sources. The problem was that the schools would gain financially but in all probability lose all or part of their autonomy through access to such funding. It was expected that any funding body was likely to want to know how funds were spent but also wish to have a say on how the money should be spent. The fear of such understandable and inevitable 'interference' and consequent lack of autonomy led some to recommend strongly that supplementary schools should generate their
own resources mainly through West Indian social activity. The radicals, therefore did not wish to use any money from sources which would impinge upon the autonomy of the supplementary schools. In contrast, the pragmatists argued that it would be foolish to ignore a whole range of resources available from a range of public organisations and tended to play down the 'fear of interference'. In particular, they emphasised that there was nothing subversive about supplementary schooling and some even argued that the LEA school inspectors and advisers, who visited the schools when LEA funds were accepted, might actually help to improve teaching methods and help to provide useful teaching materials. Some of the pragmatists argued that money from Urban Aid and the LEAs 'was our money anyway' and that it would be 'idiotic' to ignore this fact. In this context, one member illustrated how at one Local Education Authority, he was aware that the Asian use of funds for 'ethnic minority activity' was five times greater than that for West Indians. He therefore could not understand the desire among the 'radicals' to reject such funds even further.

The arguments ended up being evenly balanced and it was decided to leave this as an open matter for individual schools to decide on their funding arrangements just as was to be found in the review of the literature on this matter.

(vii) Who should teach in supplementary schools?

The concern to rely exclusively on black teachers in the supplementary schools ran very deep. Some of the most heated debates centred on this issue. Some of the reasons why the Intellectuals felt so strongly about this matter are now listed below:

a) White teachers in state schools had failed black pupils - the poor performance of black pupils in British schools was 'a testimony to this'.

b) Only black teachers could really understand the problems and needs of black children. These problems and needs were not so much,
academic/school performance needs, as the needs to cope and struggle in a socially hostile environment.

c) White teachers tend to expect less from black pupils and consequently dampen the aspirations and hopes of black pupils in normal schools.

In order to illustrate the strength of feeling, the following excerpts from an interview are included here. The respondent, an LEA education officer, stated that he had strong reservations about white teachers teaching in Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools and even Black Studies in comprehensive schools. He presented his views in the following way.

DG: When a Greek child is taught Greek by a Greek teacher, he is not only learning the language ... he is being taught a whole world about Greek feelings, emotions, experiences and so on about Greekness, which no one but a Greek teacher ... and he does not have to be trained ... is capable of teaching. Likewise, a black teacher can teach more than Maths and English ... he can empathise with black children about their experience of being black in a way that no one else can.

In a sense, he was echoing to some extent, the kind of views expressed by Labov (1973) when he demonstrated that while black children were virtually inarticulate in the presence of a white researcher, they were highly voluble and communicative through a complex language structure with a black researcher. The pupils could share an 'understanding' with a black researcher in a way that they could not with a white researcher.

The strength of feeling about who should teach in black supplementary schools can be illustrated through another comment:

RA: ... we have to fight this battle like all our other battles as black people in the only way we know how ... I have no time for those people who say that black supplementary schools have no
trained teachers. It don't matter. We will get the help of committed black trained teachers in time ... that is what our movement is all about.

The above view however, must be contrasted with the view discussed at one of the planning meetings of the Association of Black Supplementary Schools. Most of the members had accepted the Chairman's proposal to establish training facilities for supplementary school teachers. Such training however, was seen as needing to be under the control of the Movement and not delegated to or undertaken by groups outside the black community.

When an offer was made to provide teacher training opportunities at a local Polytechnic by the researcher, at least one committee member angrily and emotionally rejected the offer out of hand and said:

TA': these are our schools and we will train our teachers in the only way we know ... as black people ... we don't want no whitey colleges offering to help train our teachers ... they only want to use us ... they say they is helping the black man and this help them and not us ... to get the students ... for their courses and to keep their jobs.

One member, a teacher at a comprehensive school, who was present at that particular meeting discussed the outburst later with the researcher. His view was that it was vital to get some teacher training off the ground because of the complexity of the Maths syllabus in particular. In his view, there was virtually no understanding of modern Maths (Cockcroft, 1982) among supplementary school teachers and they were all at sea when coping with such work. This issue relating to the teaching of Maths in supplementary schools is considered in Part Four of the thesis.

To sum up this particular element of this chapter, it becomes clear that in terms of the ideology of the Intellectuals, the majority of the teachers in supplementary schools were expected to be black. Secondly,
the majority of the teachers need not be trained. Enthusiasm for teaching black pupils was valued highly and over and above the importance of being trained, but training ought to be provided when possible by the Association. Such issues are considered in relation to practice in supplementary schools in Part Four of this thesis, especially in Chapter 11.

(viii) Relationship between supplementary schools and normal/weekday schools

The pragmatists were keen to have a working relationship between supplementary schools and normal schools so that teachers from state schools could refer black children to the supplementary schools, but this immediately raised the significant point that this would mean that theoretically at least, any child, black or white could be referred to a supplementary school. Was this situation likely to pose problems for the ideology of the Movement? After long deliberation, it was agreed that the best policy to adopt was to let normal schools hear about the existence of supplementary schools in a given area but that they should not be contacted directly to send pupils to supplementary schools. Thus, an informal relationship rather than a positive and active one was viewed as the best kind of relationship between supplementary schools and normal schools.

Fears were expressed in some of the discussion that supplementary schools might end up undertaking a lot of the work of normal schools in two ways:

a) Being constantly under resource constraints, normal schools might reduce their commitment for remedial provision to black children because they felt the supplementary school would undertake such work. In this situation, the supplementary school would be easing the pressure on normal schools and reservations were expressed about this unintended aim of the supplementary school.
b) White teachers in normal schools could increasingly justify low expectations of black pupils' abilities on the grounds that the existence of black supplementary schools would be the necessary 'evidence' for such justification. After much debate and discussion, the radicals who wished to maintain a 'distance' between supplementary schools and normal schools proved to be more powerful than the pragmatists. However, it was accepted that individual supplementary schools would inevitably have policies of their own over this matter.

(ix) Saturday schools or Black Supplementary Schools?

In the literature review, there were several examples of supplementary schools referred to as 'Saturday schools'. Stone (1981) for instance argued that West Indian schools held on Saturdays were like the Socialist Sunday schools which existed up to the end of the Second World War and illustrated some of the similarities between the two. However, the radicals and the pragmatists among the Intellectuals of the Movement were keen to 'distance' black supplementary schools from any comparisons with English schools of any kind and were totally against the practice in some black supplementary schools of calling themselves 'Saturday' schools or even 'Sunday' schools (St. John Brooks 1981). There were two kinds of reasons for such a view:

a) It was feared that in the eyes of the public, black supplementary schools might be linked to the development of the Sunday School (Reid 1980). The Intellectuals felt that Sunday schools, through bible reading, promoted acquiescence among working class pupils to become good members of society which entailed knowing their place in the stratification system of British society. The supplementary school Movement, on the other hand, was concerned with challenging the place of the black person in British society and getting black children to understand their 'oppression' and to resist it.
b) In another sense, the concept of a 'Saturday school' might conjure up images in the general public of an ethnic community school engaged in ethnic cultural activity such as music, ethnic food and drama. In contrast, the Intellectuals were keen to highlight that the West Indian community was aggrieved at the failure of the national education system to meet the normal aspirations of the West Indian community and that it was being forced to draw upon its own resources to compensate for such 'deprivation'.

The main themes of the discussion that took place at the meetings of the 'core group' working towards the formation of an Association of black supplementary schools have been included in the account above. However, the researcher was able to obtain a large number of additional views expressed by the twenty Intellectuals referred to earlier. These views on themes were therefore not always directly concerned with supplementary schooling. However, they are important because they contribute to the broader aspects of a Black Education Movement as referred to by Tomlinson (1984). Some of these views are now referred to below.

An articulate Rastafarian Intellectual and teacher by occupation argued that the main purpose of the Black Supplementary School Movement was to press the point that the 'oppressor', the 'white man', had taken away so much from the black man and that:

a) the black man had a legitimate right to ask for 'it' back;

b) the white man had to make an attempt to return 'it'. When the informant was asked to elaborate on what had been taken away which had now to be returned, the Rastafarian drew extensively on Rastafarian thought including the ideas of Marcus Garvey and the singer Bob Marley. He argued that the white man had 'robbed' the black man of his African heritage and culture by taking him across the Atlantic during slavery and imposed an alien culture upon him. Thus the black man's 'culture and humanity' had been replaced by
an alien culture against which he now 'struggled'. When pressed about what could now be returned, some two hundred and fifty years after transportation from Africa, the Rastafarian indicated that the things sought after were wider recognition and admission in school text books and the media that the black man had been greatly exploited by the white man over the centuries, and through this, a return to the black man of his 'dignity' which he desperately needed in Britain and internationally. This kind of argument, necessarily presented very briefly here, is echoed in studies about Rastafarian resistance and ideology by Campbell (1985) and Cashmore (1979).

Another Intellectual argued that the heart of the supplementary school Movement lay in a quest for liberation from the 'bonds' restraining the black man in a predominantly white society. For him, supplementary schools were a means of preparing black pupils and their parents to 'understand the nature of their bondage in a society like Britain' and to 'educate them for the need to fight such oppression'. Thus the acquisition of the 3Rs merely to enter white collar occupations was not necessarily what supplementary school should spend so much time on. He was also keener to re-direct his energies from supplementary school development to 'racism awareness training'. One other significant point raised by this informant was that there were possibly a few supplementary schools in London before the campaign began by the North London West Indian Association in Haringey as discussed in Chapter 4. In his view, the Shepherds Bush Supplementary School in West London was run by Clinton Sealy as early as 1967 when he saw many black children in the streets after normal school because their parents were still out at work. Such information may well be true although it is generally accepted that the wider Movement of Supplementary Schools in London began with the agitation described earlier about the Doulton Report.

The more political ideas expressed by the Intellectuals as in the above two examples take one away from the minutiae of detail about the shaping ideology of supplementary schools and how they should be organised. These broader issues are now developed a little further.
(x) Separate schools for blacks?

This issue polarised the Intellectuals. The pragmatists could not see on what grounds West Indians could make a claim for separate black schools. While they accepted that denominational schools, whether Roman Catholic, Pentecostal or Muslim schools could be argued for, they felt they could not make a legitimate claim for blacks 'as being black was not a religion'.

The radicals, however, argued that many schools in some urban areas were almost completely black by virtue of their geographical location and consequently, black schools were a physical reality, except that they were still 'white' in terms of their teachers, curriculum and general orientation. For such schools to represent the black experience, the radicals argued that there should be far more black teachers than there were in schools at present. Thus although all black neighbourhood schools with possibly all black teachers were not a viable proposition at present they were to be welcomed in the future. In other words, de facto segregated schools in some urban areas were likely to be a natural development and were not to be resisted. Once again, we see that just as in the argument against bussing, referred to in Chapter 4, all black schools were not seen as disadvantageous in society as in the USA. Segregation in schools along lines of colour was powerfully resisted in the USA while in Britain its inevitability in some urban areas was seen by the radicals of the Movement as having distinct advantages provided there was an equitable allocation of resources to such schools. Giles (1977) saw many significant differences between developments in schooling in Britain and the USA and as in the example provided above, contradictory forces appear to be emerging in the two countries to address the central issue of inequality for ethnic minorities in both countries. For the radicals in the Black Supplementary School Movement, private fee-paying all-black schools like the John Loughborough school referred to in Chapter 2 were producing well motivated and successful black pupils with high levels of self-esteem. They could not see such pupils as having any problems in integrating with the rest of society. In fact the
radicals believed that such pupils were better equipped for social integration after school than other pupils who went to mixed schools 'and got severely damaged in the process'. It could be argued that this instrumental view is closely linked to politico-cultural goals of achieving greater equality for blacks in society.

The radicals nevertheless wished to be very cautious about all black schools. They were acceptable provided they were successful. In this sense, they agreed with the pragmatists who expressed much concern that all black schools which were unsuccessful could be hugely embarrassing. Both groups however, expressed faith that all black schools with all black teachers would have much incentive to be successful and therefore were a viable proposition for the Afro-Caribbean community. Such views for all black schools have been expressed in the literature before. Worrall (1972) argued for them as a means of overcoming the problem of underachievement but it would perhaps be reasonable to say that most people in Britain would view with some concern the development of segregated schools on racial or ethnic lines.

(xi) Links between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians

As Afro-Caribbeans and Asians had migrated to Britain at roughly the same period in the 1950s and 1960s, the Intellectuals within the Movement were keen to forge closer links between the two groups, especially among the grassroots activists concerned with social welfare and equal rights. However, they felt strongly that there were many 'government inspired' attempts to sow seeds of discord between ethnic minority groups and that cleavages were being created between them. In particular, there was a genuine fear about invidious comparisons being made between the educational performance of Asians and West Indians. This was seen as a classic attempt to 'divide and rule' - an experience they had encountered in the Caribbean, especially in the islands of Trinidad and Tobago and in Guyana.

It was felt that the Afro-Caribbeans could learn from the Asian experience of gaining a foothold in the retail trade and that young
Afro-Caribbeans should learn about business skills. It was claimed that although business did not attract West Indians in the past, there was growing evidence that young blacks had begun to realise the limitations of opportunities in the public sector and had begun small enterprises in the field of musical entertainment, small scale printing works, electrical and motor vehicle work and financial services. The media was another avenue increasingly explored by West Indians and F. Dhondy's television work drawing Asian and Afro-Caribbeans together was highly praised. Nevertheless, there was a particular concern to 'educate' those West Indians who instinctively viewed Asians as 'dem is coolie' consequent to their West Indian socialisation about the low status of indentured East Indian labour in the Caribbean in the past. The Intellectuals were very keen to build bridges between Asians and West Indians as both were viewed as oppressed peoples in Britain with similar life chances.

Some final themes as discussed by the Intellectuals are now referred to. There was much overlap between the pragmatists and the radicals on the kinds of views expressed about them as considered below.

(xii) West Indians and social class

While most of the literature as reviewed in Chapter 2 refers to the West Indian community as members of the working class, and in many cases also, as part of a growing underclass, it was the idea that they were part of the working class that caused much resentment among a high proportion of West Indians who associated with supplementary schooling and played an active in the Movement.

Of those who attended conferences and meetings of the Movement, a number of women in particular, strongly objected to be identified as 'working class'. When this issue was explored further, it became clear that many felt that attitudinally, there was a significant difference between the indigenous working class and most members of the Afro-Caribbean community who migrated here. Some of the differences were identified as follows:
a) The indigenous working class were deemed to have a distinctive culture which predominantly did not value education very much. It was argued that many white working class children went to school because the law required school attendance. Consequently, many truanted, many resented teachers and schools and saw them as prisons. They were not particularly keen on educational qualifications and wished to leave school as soon as possible. This was assumed to be because compared with Afro-Caribbeans, they did not have to struggle very hard to obtain work in spite of the existence of high levels of unemployment.

b) The white working class were deemed to be largely areligious. This was particularly difficult for West Indians to understand as most of them had a strict religious upbringing and church attendance was a normal activity, especially on Sundays.

c) There was a feeling that the indigenous working class were 'happy to stay where they are' and not keen on social mobility. Thus the West Indian respondents felt that just as the impoverished Jews who arrived in Britain in the last century and after the Second World War, had made much progress and eventually moved on into better geographical areas compared to where they had first settled, they expected the new immigrants, Asian and West Indians, to do the same because 'they had middle class aspirations'.

d) Finally, they remarked on what was perceived as a lack of resistance on the part of the working class against the dominant class who 'Oppressed them almost as badly as they do the Afro-Caribbeans'. Thus, the Afro-Caribbean Intellectuals felt that the indigenous working class had been 'incorporated' and their resistance blunted (Moorhouse 1973). As one respondent said, 'there wasn't a murmur from the working class when we challenged Doulton ... they sided with their own oppressors against us'.
A further illustration is provided below from two interviewees among the Intellectuals about the issue of social class in relation to Afro-Caribbeans.

AB': One of the problems we face here is that many of us who came here from the Caribbean saw ourselves as middle class. I myself was a teacher ... but when I came here, I had to take on the mantle of being working class. This is happening to all of us ... and this is a nonsense. I had to do manual jobs until I studied further ... I could have done my present job without any further training ... which I was forced to do.

WW: Most of us had to move out of our middle classness and into being working class, but we are middle class at heart ... but the racist system won't let our people into better jobs. They just want to keep us down and Rex ... you know that fellow Rex ... who writes all those books about us people ... he argues that most of us were working class. The truth is ... a fair proportion were middle class. You must understand that in the Caribbean, social mobility is not a fixed thing ... you can move ... it's much more open ... people able to move in and ... those who had cash, could buy your place. You can't do that here. You made it in the Caribbean ... you can't make it here ... there's no way you can make it here ... you remain working class in the eyes of white people ... therefore we have to educate our people ... maybe to even leave the UK and go somewhere else.

DT: A key point ... about the black community is that they have not accepted their position assigned to them ... blacks will not accept the place as the underdogs which is being assigned to them ... we will resist and struggle ... and we will win in the end.

BA: Blacks were initially co-operative. Trusting even ... but the system was giving nothing in return and so blacks began to agitate later. You know, through our efforts, the white working
class child has benefitted. We have forced improvements in schools and they ... white working class children would have been more disadvantaged than they are.

On the last point above, it was argued that extra resources like books, teaching materials and additional teachers were drawn into many schools because of black agitation and that these benefitted white children as well as black children. It was argued that white children would not have got these extra resources but for the 'unwitting agency' of black parents who were concerned about their children's education.

The issue over class is worthy of some comment. It would appear that most of the Intellectuals in the Black Supplementary School Movement perceived their class situation very much in terms of the 'middle class' or those of the 'aspiring working class'. Thus their 'discomfiture' at being portrayed as working class in British society, relates to the kind of issues in the literature on West Indians in the British class structure as discussed in Chapter 1. There would appear to be however, a tendency not to see that a large proportion of West Indians are indeed working class in an 'objective' sense and also through sharing in the subjective values of the indigenous working class with an emphasis on short term goals and hedonism (Pryce 1979) rather than the delayed gratification normally emphasised by the middle classes. Once we begin to note this dimension of the Movement, it is suggested that we are better able to understand the 'middle class' ethos within the ideology of the Movement.

The next two themes related to the above, refer to views about multicultural education and about the place of the black man in British society.

(xiii) Multicultural education

The radicals among the Intellectuals of the Movement were not convinced that multicultural education could be of any benefit to the 'real
problem facing Afro-Caribbean pupils in schools' and a brief account is provided of some of the comments on this issue made to the researcher.

JV: I am not at all convinced that multicultural education ... of what I have seen of it is of any value to black pupils.

Researcher: How do you mean?

JV: It's really for white people ... they need it to salve their consciences ... they need to shake off their racism of which they suffer so much. We have no problems living next door to whites ... or going to school with them ... or going into the swimming pools with them ... so we don't need multicultural education to teach us how to live with other people ... but they [the whites] need it badly ...

Researcher: Do you favour anti-racist education then?

JV: Yes very much so ... I am keen on racism awareness training. We need to educate white people and remind them that they have a problem.

Another interviewee summed up the issue brusquely.

AK: We don't need no multicultural education ... we want high educational standards, excellence in schools and good results. Multicultural education is a strategy to prevent real change for black people. I'll tell you who benefits most from multicultural education ... it's those white liberals who are doing rather nicely organising courses and to ... hang on to their jobs ... and all those people who write about us blacks.

Researcher: How exactly do you mean?

AK: The people who have benefitted the most from our plight are white academics ... who have done very well writing about us.
They suddenly become experts on us black people like that Saifullah Khan ... She's a white woman you know ... but she hides behind that Pakistani name to do research on Asians and blacks ... then they get consulted about policies for us and nobody asks us what we need and what we think is good for us ... when did you ever see a black sociologist or psychologist do any research on say the white working class? It's all about power ... we are the powerless on whom research gets done ... we have become objects of research rather than get into positions where black people can do 'genuine research'. There are white academics ... I heard it the other day ... who are now called 'Caribbeanists' ... now can you beat that? They are supposed to know more about us than we know about ourselves.

Clearly, the Intellectuals were unimpressed with the substantial effort being undertaken in many parts of Britain towards developing multicultural educational initiatives and they resented very strongly that research was undertaken about ethnic minorities. When the researcher reminded one interviewee that he was indeed a researcher finding out about black supplementary schools, the response was:

CL: You're OK ... you're one of us ... you have worked in supplementary schools and given a lot of your time ... how can we object to you doing some research on supplementary schools ... and if you get somewhere in the hierarchy ... you can only but help us ... and we need that sort of help from our Asian brothers ... rather than hope to get any help from those whites who only want to improve their careers ... don't forget, we also know that you can't get very far up anyway ... you are not a threat, but those whites really exploit us when they do research. It always works against us ... so we don't let any of them do any research on black people any more. We were trusting once ... but its all over ... we have to fight our own battles ... no one else will do this for us ...
Such strong feelings about multicultural education and about white researchers raise serious issues about polices to be adopted nationally. Firstly, in relation to multicultural education, the Intellectuals appear to share the views of those like Dhondy et al. (1982); Mullard (1982) and Bullivant (1981) who have argued that multicultural education does not bring about real changes in the conditions of black people. At best, they are seen as palliatives. Instead, they want to see an improvement in the condition of black people much more quickly than the long-term hopes that multicultural education has to offer. For those who argue strongly for multicultural education (Arora et al. 1986; Parekh 1986; DaCosta 1987; Banks and Lynch 1986) this poses a real dilemma. Significant numbers of people sincerely committed to multicultural education closely allied to anti-racist education, and genuinely believing in its ability to bring about change in schools and society are increasingly under pressure from two sources. One critique emerges from what is broadly termed the 'new racism' (Barker 1981) with its emphasis on aspects of sociobiology and related ideologies and likewise from a concerted attack on multicultural education and anti-racism from the right of the political spectrum (Palmer 1986). On the other hand, there is the growing critique from black groups that multicultural education in particular, is hardly likely to improve the life chances of black people in society. Many Afro-Caribbeans take Mullard's (1980, 1982) view that multicultural education is a mere form of tokenism and does not bring about fundamental change in black peoples' lives in a hostile and deeply racist society which has to be confronted more fundamentally than can be achieved through 'cosmetic tinkering' with the curriculum. Moreover, for many West Indians in Britain, it does not address their central demand for high academic standards and high levels of scholastic achievement.

As the issue of multicultural education has implications for policy, it will be considered again later in this thesis. However, a brief reference will now be made to the issue of the detection of strong resentment about black people being researched upon.
It would appear that the Intellectuals felt strongly that black people had become 'objects of research' and in particular that they resented it when such research was carried out by white researchers. This clearly raises the whole issue about who does engage in social research in a country like Britain (Beauchamp et al. 1982; Shipman 1985). It had not struck the researcher previously that indeed, virtually no research is undertaken by black sociologists on white people and thus the ire of the black Intellectuals about the one-directional form of social science research, that is, by white people about ethnic minorities is quite understandable. Consequently, as sociologists, we must accept that if research is not to be resisted strongly by ethnic minority groups in academic work, there should be a concerted effort to address this issue and to train black researchers to study other ethnic groups including white groups and through this process, to make the whole research enterprise more open than it is at present. In short, every effort should be made to make the opportunity for social research available to researchers from all kinds of social backgrounds rather than to 'maintain it' in its present form where the relatively powerless and their environment are the objects of research. Indeed, it would be reasonable to note that there is a marked lack of social research in Britain about the rich and powerful and how such power determines their life chances. Instead, researchers have tended to provide a one-sided analysis of society and social groups by working on studies of the relatively powerless in society.

(xiv) The place of black people in British society

Most discussions with the Intellectuals of the Movement referred to the centrality of racism in British society. All of them argued that it was the most intractable problem facing black people in Britain and elsewhere. It was seen to affect every conceivable aspect of normal living, from a lack of equality in education, to housing and employment. Most of the explanations for 'racism' were couched in terms of Marxist explanations for imperialism, colonialism and 'internal colonisation' (Sivanandan 1982; Rushdie 1982; Blauner 1982).
Thus 'racism' was linked to the historical development of ideas of superiority and inferiority engendered through years of contact by white groups with black groups in the colonies. It was felt that British culture is suffused with racial imagery from the experience of Empire and colonial rule and that the struggle to bring about a change will be a very long and bitter one.

Strong feelings were also expressed about high unemployment rates, low earnings and the ways in which black people were not allowed to rise in the occupational market irrespective of ability or qualifications.

A contrast was often drawn by the Intellectuals, between the situation for the black man and woman in Britain and in the USA in recent years. While it was accepted that a tokenist black bourgeoisie had been created and the majority of the blacks in the USA were severely disadvantaged, it was nevertheless felt that there were role models for young blacks from five-star generals to presidents of corporations which appeared to be totally inconceivable in Britain. The policy of 'affirmative action' enshrined in law in the USA was viewed very favourably and Britain's failure to generate and implement a policy of 'positive discrimination' for past years of 'racist discrimination' was severely criticised. This issue is discussed later in the thesis.

In the final analysis, the Intellectuals of the Movement argued that the key to social change for the black person was the urgent need to 'wrest power' from those who were firmly in its control in British society. Such power was deemed to be held by the male, white middle class, a group who were not prepared to share or relinquish any of the power in their control for the present. In short, the Intellectuals saw themselves, as members of a subordinate group in society determined to fight such subordination with the central aim of fighting for greater equality and opportunity for black groups in British society. Above all, they were resisting their gradual incorporation into British society as an 'accepting' or 'domesticated' underclass.
5.3. Reflections

It becomes clear that a relatively small group of black Intellectuals associated with the Black Supplementary School Movement felt very strongly about articulating the anger of members of an ethnic minority disadvantaged community in Britain and considered a range of avenues to fight such disadvantage. In this instance, the site of struggle, stemming from the conflict in the Borough of Haringey in 1969, was education. The Intellectuals were thus articulating an ideology of protest to be expressed in 'theory' and 'practice' which resisted the circumstances in which they were increasingly finding themselves in British society as an underclass.

Those Intellectuals who worked hard at producing a document (Appendix 2) for an Association of Black Supplementary schools eventually presented it to the wider West Indian Community in Britain for adoption at a national one-day Conference on Supplementary schooling, held in London on 27th February 1982 as stated earlier. Copies of the document were distributed to every known Afro-Caribbean supplementary school and every known West Indian association in the country. Over six hundred black 'representatives' from all over Britain attended. There was much discussion in many small groups organised around selected themes (such as those referred to earlier in this chapter) relating to the Constitution of the Association. At the end of the Conference, the Constitution was endorsed in its entirety and strong support was provided for the acceptance of the Association. Pledges of support were received and the Intellectuals were congratulated for their efforts on behalf of the Afro-Caribbean community in Britain.

To the researcher, it became clear that the role of the black Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement was fairly crucial in providing a coherent interpretation of what was occurring within the supplementary School Movement and how they conceptualised its development and its future development (Carter 1986). It is also reasonable to say that a fairly clear ideology informed their thinking about the importance, role, functions and potential development of
supplementary schooling. All these have been discussed in some detail in this chapter and the discussion now goes on firstly, to a theoretical discussion on the role of intellectuals in relation to the Black Supplementary School Movement and secondly, on the ideology of the Movement.

It is evident from the data that those engaged in the intellectual activity of discussing what should occur in the Black Supplementary School Movement from the late 1960s and up to the middle of the 1980s were essentially black intellectuals who had been born in the Caribbean and migrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. There were no young members forming the group interviewed by the researcher. But there was no evidence that younger members were deliberately excluded from the group. It is likely that the composition of the group that performed the 'intellectual function' emerged through a form of self-selection. It was ascertained however, that this was not on the basis of former familiarity on a Caribbean island of origin. Rather, it appears as though the Intellectuals met each other at different times in Britain and recognised those who were engaged in 'intellectual activity' in the varied roles they played on behalf of the wider membership of the West Indian community. It would be reasonable to claim that the Intellectuals involved in this study 'emerged' out of the West Indian community through their particular awareness and articulation of the disadvantaged status of Afro-Caribbeans in British society.

In trying to arrive at an interpretation of the Afro-Caribbean intellectual within the Movement, the researcher has been particularly attracted to the work of Shils (1974) who has thrown much light on the way the 'immigrant intellectual' perceives himself and articulates his 'intellectuality'. In his general theory of immigrant intellectuals, Shils (1974) argues that there are at least four types of such intellectuals.

a) Established mature intellectuals who had already achieved accomplishments in the country of origin and migrated either
because they found the host society more attractive than their own, or found some situations in their country disagreeable.

b) Those who became established as intellectuals after settling in the host country.

c) Exiled intellectuals who were effectively refugee intellectuals.

d) Intellectual of immigrant parents, for example those of Jewish origin in the UK or the USA.

It was possible to ascertain that all the key intellectuals involved in this research were 'established' in their different Caribbean islands before arrival in the UK. Several had been teachers, one a barrister, one a journalist and a writer, one a trade union official and one a school headmaster. Thus all of them fall in the first of Shils' (1974) categories above. Through careful 'probing' the researcher was able to discover two important elements, that is, the reasons why the Intellectuals came to Britain and why they chose to remain here. The main reason all of them gave was to acquire a higher education. They claimed that in the West Indies opportunities for higher education had been virtually non-existent for them after school age and in particular, 'the opportunity to work and study in evening school' which they knew was available in Britain. Such a view is confirmed in Carter's (1986) autobiographical account of why many educated West Indians came to Britain.

One respondent in this research stated that he worked very hard to 'beat the June 1962 deadline' when the first Commonwealth Act came into effect. He had been most worried that his intention to study in the evenings for an advanced qualification and to work in a full-time job in the UK would have been thwarted if he did not arrive in this country before the said deadline.

It also became clear that a lack of employment in the Caribbean did not make them leave the islands, but rather, the opportunities as they
perceived them of furthering their education on a part-time basis, paid for from their earnings in full-time work. Such knowledge that it was possible to study for a first degree as well as acquire professional qualifications and the knowledge that there was much employment of all kinds available to them, was the most powerful influence on their decision to travel to Britain. Now Shils (1974) echoes this very point. He claims that the 'intellectual' immigrant is already familiar with the culture of the host country in that,

he already possesses a certain amount of some particular part of the intellectual culture of the host country in which he hopes to participate.

Shils (1974: 205)

If we pursue this point further, we can see that in the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s, there existed (Stone 1981) a system of education not very dissimilar to the English educational system but one in which very minimal avenues were available for higher levels of education, that is, at the post 'O' level stage. Those opportunities that did exist according to the respondents, tended to be in teacher-education and it is therefore not surprising that many of the Intellectuals involved in this study were teachers. They had entered teaching as one of the few openings into a form of higher education available to them. Their occupations in Britain as referred to earlier in this chapter were in most cases different from their former ones in the Caribbean.

The data from the respondents suggest that the attractions of an intellectual culture with its wide range of educational institutions and the prospects of a 'superior intellectual conviviality' while at the same time providing income generating work had great attractive power for the Afro-Caribbean Intellectuals. Furthermore, the relative 'closure' of the USA following the McCarran-Walter Act (1952) and the familiarity of 'things British' had made Britain an attractive proposition to these Intellectuals. They were also not entering the
'unknown' but into an intellectual culture with which they felt a
degree of familiarity through their reading of history, geography and
literature and even sport such as cricket.

Shils (1974) is particularly illuminative about how he envisages what
occurs to such intellectual migrants. He claims that often the reality
of the experience of moving to the host country is different from the
one imagined before departure from the home country. Difficulties are
encountered in terms of social acceptance and the problems of making a
livelihood and while the Intellectual may have tried to keep his
distance from his less educated kinsman from the Caribbean, he is
thrust into his company unwittingly. Suddenly, a city like London
becomes a great leveller of those from abroad who had previously had
their own subtle and not so subtle forms of social stratification
(Tajfel and Dawson 1965). The teacher, the headmaster, the journalist
and the uneducated labourer from Trinidad, St. Vincent or Jamaica found
themselves classed together as 'immigrants' and when the 'overseas
teaching qualification', for example, was deemed to be ineligible to
permit teaching in British schools, these Intellectuals were
proletarianised at the very start of their sojourn in Britain.

The net effect was that the black intellectual having perhaps higher
expectations than the less well-educated black worker could well have
rejected the intellectual culture of the host country and even become
alienated from it (Sivanandan 1982). The disappointment could be acute
and they

begin to settle for their own intellectual fellow
countrymen or of other intellectual immigrants who
have suffered similar exclusions and similar
hardships

Shils (1974: 211)

The data collected indicated that the Intellectuals at the heart of the
Movement express many reservations and disappointments with British
society, and yet, as Parekh (1974) suggests, they cannot easily go back to their countries of origin. Many have lived in Britain for longer than they have in the Caribbean and with their families, have sunk deep roots in British society which cannot easily be removed. But it is the position they find themselves, in the researcher's contention, of providing help and advice to fellow countrymen from the Caribbean which prompts them to engage in a great variety of activities of which, the operation of the Black Supplementary School Movement is but one. When members of the intelligentsia were asked what motivated them to work incessantly for the Movement, the replies obtained were reflected in the comments below:

**C.R.**: How can I who can see what damage is being done to my community, not extend a hand and help out ... this is what happened in Haringey ... if you remember ... We also want to be sure that the parents understand the workings of the education system ... this is quite crucial.

The theme is continued by other respondents.

**HR**: I can be of no value to my community if I cannot try to alleviate their educational disadvantage. You know ... it is so obvious to see ... the black people who have made advances in this country are all home grown, that is they were born and educated, at least initially, in the Caribbean. We have a responsibility to try to raise the educational standards of our people, young and old ... we just can't turn a blind eye to what is happening to them.

**C.R.**: Our people, that is the West Indian community, look up to us as elders who have to help them. My phone is always ringing about people in all kinds of difficulties especially to do with the police and schooling ... I have to go to their homes and help them because nobody else will. Can you see ... I therefore can't do the things I really want to do like write poetry and work with black artists.
Mezu (1970) summed up very succinctly the point the above respondent was trying to make:

The black intellectual is one of the few in our time who does not really have the time to pursue his narrow and selfish academic interest; the liberty to close his eyes to the problem of his people. The black intellectual bears a heavy burden, his own cross as well as that of his less fortunate brothers. Whatever his field of studies and specialization he gropes around for help, for a collective solution to the major problems facing his people.

Mezu (1970: 74)

In the case of the black supplementary schools in many urban centres in Britain, the researcher contends that the black intellectuals were groping around for help to the West Indian community and looking for a collective solution. Thus, the earlier views in Chapter 2 which referred to the West Indian as an individualist, only interested in himself, and not in his community become difficult to sustain.

It is now time to go beyond Shils (1974) to theorise about how 'immigrant intellectuals' have begun to provide ethnic leadership roles to members of their community in a wide range of activities, and to consider the relevance of the data on the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement to Gramsci's (1971) theory of intellectuals.

Gramsci's (1971) work encompasses ideas about intellectuals which have increasingly begun to be used by recent sociologists to explain their role in social movements and in society generally. Salanini (1981) has argued that because there is no consensus among sociologists about the term 'intellectual' a theory of intellectuals has yet to be elaborated in social theory, but that although Gramsci through his Prison Notebooks, written in difficult circumstances before he died in 1937, did not produce a systematic work on intellectuals, his:
analysis, despite its fragmentary and sketchy nature, contains the most fundamental elements for the elaboration of a general theory of intellectuals.

Salamini (1981: 101)

Salamini (1981) draws upon Merton's (1957) work to say that studies on intellectuals have traditionally focussed on specific types of intellectuals such as academic intellectuals, bureaucratic intellectuals, and others termed 'technocrats' and 'technicians'. In this process there appeared to be a focus on establishing typologies of intellectuals. Salamini (1981) goes on to argue that some theorists have examined the relationship between intellectuals and their access to power, prestige and status in society, while other theorists have tried to examine prominent intellectual figures or movements in social and political thought. Yet others have examined roles intellectuals perform in societies. This analysis leads Salamini (1981) to reflect that intellectuals have traditionally been marginalised individuals, often alienated in contemporary societies and associated with 'leftist' or Marxist ideologies.

Social theorists who have articulated an interest in the marginal role of intellectuals such as Feuer (1969) Lipset (1963), Coser (1965), felt that Marx had illustrated how one feature of capitalism was its role in the proletarianisation of intellectual professions, that is, it had effectively made the physician, lawyer, poet and man of science into a wage earner. Thus in traditional Marxist analysis of intellectuals, the 'intelligentsia is a consequence of stratified society' and:

Marxism has regarded them (intellectuals) with great suspicion and paradoxically wooed them as important elements in the process of erosion of the capitalist world.

Salamini (1981: 102)
Lenin (1946) for instance despite his contempt for intellectuals and the bourgeois intelligentsia in particular, affirmed the necessity for the proletariat to create their own intellectuals to sustain the revolution in the Soviet Union.

In non-Marxist work on intellectuals, Mannheim (1936) is generally recognised as one who accorded intellectuals a privileged position in society. Mannheim (1936) essentially saw intellectuals as 'free-floating', that is they were not attached to any particular strata of society, their role being to provide an interpretation of the world or society, unhindered by problems of 'belonging' to any one strata of society. In Mannheim's (1936) own words, intellectuals are:

> a relatively classless stratum which is not too firmly situated in the social order

*Mannheim (1936: 154-5)*

Such a view was of course criticised for being a rather arcane theory which could not be empirically validated. Theorists have therefore tended to continue much of the debate on intellectuals with reference to Marxist literature and a reference once again to Salamini (1981) becomes pertinent:

> in Marxist literature, intellectuals have been variously categorised. Generally they have been characterised in terms of the mental nature of their work and criticised on the level of their life-style and personal traits. In the second place, a segment of the intellectual stratum has been identified as ideologists. As such they are the servants of power, the intellectual instrument of oppression of subaltern classes. This category is the subject of criticism, their mystification is denounced and their class interests unmasked. Finally, there is the category of 'critical intellectuals' understood as constituting a smaller segment of the general stratum of intellectuals which tends to ally with and to support the ethos of 'progressive' revolutionary movements, providing them with the necessary intellectual weapons to
assure their continuous development toward the assumption of power. Common to all these categories of definitions is the assumption that intellectuals are characterised either by the nature of their work or the nature of their ideas. In either case their functions are those of creating and diffusing high culture and ideologies.

Salamini (1981: 103)

In contrast to the above, Gramsci's (1971) 'post-Marxist' work essentially departs from traditional Marxist formulations about the concept and role of intellectuals. Instead, he proposes a definition of intellectuals in terms of their role in the process of development of specific historical hegemonic systems. By this he means that instead of elites and the masses in society 'making' history, it is the intellectuals who play a crucial part in relation to such elites and the masses in a progressive development which leads to the formation of ideological and political hegemonies.

Thus, in Gramsci's (1971) terms, the 'ownership' of certain distinctive criteria would not help to provide definitions to certain individuals as 'intellectuals' (Joll, 1977; Boggs, 1976). Rather, Gramsci saw that all forms of activity require a minimum of creative intellectual activity and therefore in this sense, 'all men are intellectuals', but this does not mean that all men have in society the function of intellectuals. Some take on the function of intellectuals while others do not, even though they have the capacity to do so.

The originality in Gramsci's (1971) thought is developed further in his view that intellectuals in the functional sense fall into two groups. In the first category are the 'traditional' professional intellectuals from within a range of fields like law, literature and science. Their position derives ultimately from past and existing dominant class formation. They play an important part in maintaining the status quo in society. In the second category are the 'organic' intellectuals. They are not distinguished by their profession or particular expertise
but by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of subordinate classes. They do not merely reflect class interests but have a dialectical relationship with it. These organic intellectuals have also been termed by Gramsci (1971) as 'critical theorists' or 'critical intellectuals' because they provide the 'subaltern' (subordinate) classes the necessary intellectual 'weaponry' and 'direction' towards fighting their oppression and the dominant hegemony.

If we use Gramsci's concept of 'intellectuals', we can see that those involved in the origins and development of the Black Supplementary School Movement are essentially the organic intellectuals of the Movement. They provide the Movement a rationale for its existence and an ideology which can be meaningful to members of the Afro-Caribbean community as well as to people outside its 'membership'. Such an ideology has within it, guidelines for action to further the interests of the wider Afro-Caribbean community. In this sense, these intellectuals provide a 'transformative' function. This function is now considered in relation to Giroux's (1985) work which attempts to develop further, Gramsci's work. Giroux (1985) specifically focuses on the work of school teachers but it is the researcher's view that this analysis of the 'transformative' function should be equally applicable to black supplementary school teachers who are not normally full-time teachers in weekday schools. Giroux's (1985) work also has a bearing on the theoretical contributions of Hargreaves A. (1982) and Arnot and Whitty (1982).

Giroux (1985) tentatively attempts to extend and develop Gramsci's (1971) ideas about two types of intellectuals in society and goes on to formulate a typology consisting of four categories of intellectuals. Giroux's (1985) four categories of intellectuals are:

a) Transformative intellectuals.
b) Critical intellectuals.
c) Accommodating intellectuals.
d) Hegemonic intellectuals.

The central element in Giroux's (1985) work is the function of the transformative intellectual to 'make the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical'. By this he means that the process of schooling represents in many ways, a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. Within such a view, critical reflection and action consequent to it becomes part of an important social project to help students to generate 'a deep and abiding faith in the struggle to overcome injustices'. As such, the starting point pedagogically for such intellectuals, according to Giroux (1985) is not with the individual and isolated student but with a collection of 'actors' in a range of cultural, class, racial and historical settings along with 'the particularity of their diverse problems, hopes and dreams'. It also means, according to Giroux (1985), that these intellectuals work to create the ideological and material conditions in schools and the larger society that gives students the opportunity to become agents of 'civic courage', that is, actors or citizens who have the knowledge and courage to take seriously the need to make 'despair unconvincing and hope practical'.

The Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement are perhaps very much like the 'transformative' intellectuals hoping to bring about change in black pupils' consciousness but this view will have to be 'tested' out by obtaining empirical evidence of actual practice in supplementary schools. This is explored in Part Four of this thesis but for now, a brief discussion is continued relating to Giroux's (1985) three further categories of intellectuals.

The 'critical intellectuals' in Giroux's (1985) vocabulary are 'ideologically oppositional' but do not see themselves as connected either to a specific social formation or as performing a general social function which is expressly political in nature. Consequently, in most cases the posture of the critical intellectuals is self-consciously 'apolitical' and their relationship to the rest of society is best defined as 'free-floating' to approximate Mannheim's (1936) concept of
intellectuals. As individuals they are critical of inequality and injustice but will make little or no effort towards collective solidarity and struggle. Such intellectuals according to Giroux (1985) tend to be overwhelmed by a highly administered and technically controlled society and refuse to believe that human agency has much effect on history. Thus within the West Indian community there must be intellectuals of this type too but the researcher did not come across them during his study of the Movement, that is, those who actively criticised the social system but at the same time believed that change was not possible. In this sense, members of the West Indian community appeared to believe that change through struggle was an achievable goal.

Giroux's (1985) third category, the accommodating intellectuals generally stand firm within an ideological posture which effectively supports the dominant society and its ruling group. Such intellectuals are generally not aware of this process and do not define themselves as self-conscious agents of the status quo, even though their activity or inactivity furthers the interests of the dominant classes. The intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement were particularly critical of those indigenous whites who appear to be seriously disadvantaged within the educational system in Britain but will make no effort to resist or challenge the system and thus function primarily to produce and mediate uncritically, ideas and social practices that serve to reproduce the status quo in the interests of the dominant classes.

Giroux's (1985) fourth category is that of the hegemonic intellectuals. This stratum of intellectuals provides various 'factions of the dominant classes with a homogeneity and awareness of their economic political and ethical functions'. The nature of their work is tied to the preservation of the existing order. Such intellectuals according to Giroux (1985) are to be found in all big foundations, which include school teaching and higher education.
In the case of Giroux’s (1985) transformative intellectuals we can see that they occupy contradictory roles. On the one hand, such intellectuals earn a living within institutions which play a fundamental role in reproducing the dominant culture such as schools and universities. On the other hand, they offer students forms of alternative discourse and critical social practices whose interests are likely to be at odds with the overall hegemonic role of schools. In the case of the black intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement, many of them could easily become incorporated as part of an emergent black middle class in Britain. The educated and informed backgrounds from which they come could facilitate such social mobility - yet they choose to protest and in Mullard’s (1985) terms, they become 'traitors to their class' through defining their roles as transformative intellectuals who will focus on ways in which people affirm, resist and struggle to project themselves for a fair, and rightful place as equal citizens in society. In this they will have to use appropriate knowledge and skills to challenge those forces which endeavour to promote their subordination in society (Hall and Jefferson 1975).

Giroux (1985) suggests that one benefit of transformative intellectuals working outside normal institutional settings, and this would clearly apply to the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement, is that they can have a freer hand to organise their work without fear of traditional accountability normally demanded in institutions. It provides an opportunity to:

broaden and examine the political nature of their work, to reflect on the theories they employ, and to constantly interrogate the questions they ask and the methods they use, particularly as they relate to emancipatory concerns

Giroux (1985: 28)

It would appear then that in Giroux’s (1985) terms, the transformative intellectuals would be providing a social movement and the individuals
within it, conditions for self empowerment which would help challenge and resist their subordination. The evidence collected through debate discussion, interview and conversation with a number of Intellectuals as part of this study, is fairly convincing, it is argued, that a genuine attempt is being made to bring about a transformation in the consciousness of supplementary school teachers, activists, parents and children in supplementary schools. In this sense, the Movement is both a resistive (Mullard 1985) movement and a constructive movement. Its elements of resistance apply to those non-negotiable characteristics identified in Chapter 2 with reference to Touraine (1981), Melucci (1980) and Castells (1983) in their works on modern social movements. But by the same token, the Movement would appear to have a very clear 'constructive' edge to it. In theory at least, it is engaged in the slow and laborious task of generating a new vitality among pupils who have been generally underachieving in schools. However, it is important to examine to what extent the theory is reflected in practice and this is undertaken from the next chapter onwards in this thesis. But just before proceeding to that phase of the work we need to refer briefly to the concept of 'ideology' and then identify the constituent elements that inform the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

5.4. The concept of ideology

The concept of 'ideology' manifests itself in fairly complex ways in the sociological literature from work relating to the French Enlightenment to Marx and Engels, Mannheim, Gramsci, Durkheim, and Barthes to name but a few of those who have examined the concept. It is one of those concepts which is particularly difficult to use satisfactorily as it is used in so many ways by different scholars (Shils 1968; Larrain 1979).

Bennett et al. (1981) suggest that it is possible to say that the concept of ideology is used in at least two fairly distinct ways but which are frequently confused. The first according to them is to be found in the Marxist use of the term to mean a 'system of ideas and
representations which dominate the mind of a person or social group. These generally correspond to the economic mode of production in a given society. Within such a context, the dominant group in a capitalist society maintain power and control through the transmission of an ideology which is largely accepted by the subordinate classes. In the second use, usually by non-Marxists the concept is used to imply a 'set of ideas' held by individuals and groups in their own interests. Bennett et al. (1981) state that frequently however, both conceptions are drawn upon by writers in different traditions and that this is why discussion about ideology often becomes very confusing.

Many writers when referring to 'ideology' or 'ideological issues' in society use the terms in a Marxist-derived sense to refer to a system of beliefs which give a 'distorted' picture of the 'real' world in the interests of the dominant class in society. But there is much controversy even among Marxist writers about the nature and value of the concept as used in this way. Minimally, according to at least one author,

it begs the question that it would be possible to hold to the possibility of 'undistorted' knowledge - a view which many sociologists would be unhappy to accept.

Esland (1977: 11)

If we explore the features of an ideology as a 'set of ideas' held by individuals and groups, we note that an ideology is characterised by a relatively high degree of explicitness around specific values and it is propounded by highly affective overtones. A corporate collective form of participation is stressed in the interest of disseminating the ideology and those who espouse it claim that they speak for a particular strata or group in society. These elements would appear to manifest themselves in the case of the Black Supplementary School Movement.
Every ideology also arises in the midst of an ongoing or continuing culture and however passionate its reaction against that culture, it cannot entirely distance itself from important elements of that culture. Consequently, ideologies can be viewed as responses to insufficient regard for some particular element in the dominant culture of a society and also as attempts to situate that 'neglected' element in a more central location and bring it into fulfillment (Bendix 1964). Ideology therefore involves a focus on certain key propositions and attitudes which are raised to a position of predominance within or by a social group.

Ideologies, like social movements, tend to be labelled for instance as 'progressive', 'traditional', 'revolutionary' or 'reactionary' (Foss and Larkin 1986) but common to all those who share them is a measure of alienation from the existing society and they thus endeavour some kind of transformation to cope with the alienation. Sometimes this can take the form of 'self-protective withdrawal' from societies even when exponents of an ideology have been successful in attaining key positions from which power is exercised in the central institutional system (Shils 1968). It can also be noted that except through complete withdrawal from society, exponents of ideologies cannot avoid being political as ideologies are always concerned with authority relations in a given society.

It can be argued that ideologies arise in conditions of crisis and in those sectors or parts of society in which some feature has become relatively intolerable. Thus an ideology can be seen to arise because there are strong feelings about specific issues and needs which are not being met in society. But the rejection of the existing state of affairs in society is not enough:

For an ideology to exist, there must also be an attendant vision of a positive alternative to the existing pattern of society and its culture and an intellectual capacity to articulate that vision as part of the order. It requires in other words, a cultural tradition from which to deviate and from
which to draw the elements which it intensifies and raises to centrality.

Shils (1968: 69)

It becomes fairly clear to see that the issues raised in this chapter which arise from the data collected in the research fit ideally into an 'ideology'. In other words there can be no uncertainty that, as articulated by the Intellectuals of the Black Supplementary School Movement, there is indeed a fairly clear and coherent ideology of the Movement.

5.5. Constituent elements of the Movement's Ideology

It remains now to summarise the constituent elements of such an ideology by reiterating the key issues highlighted by the Intellectuals of the Movement. It also becomes possible to construct a model (Woods 1986) which incorporates the key elements of the ideology. These elements are referred to as the (a) Non-negotiable, (b) Ideal and (c) Negotiable elements within the Ideology of Black Supplementary School Movement and are presented below:

(a) Non-negotiable elements

(i) A belief that Afro-Caribbean children underachieve because the educational system has failed to deal successfully with them. In other words, such underachievement should be located entirely at the hands of schools, their personnel and the education system and not on an assumed pathological view of the Afro-Caribbean pupil, family or community.

(ii) That there is nothing inevitable about academic underachievement. Indeed, Afro-Caribbean pupils should achieve as well as any other pupils in the education system.
(iii) Education is to be valued highly and its importance emphasised strongly as a means of achieving social mobility and power to improve individual and group life chances.

(iv) The Afro-Caribbean community is perfectly justified in generating and sustaining a protest movement in relation to the education system which has failed it.

(b) Ideal elements

(i) An adequate state system of education which promotes excellence and equality of opportunity. However, as this is not forthcoming for the present, the Afro-Caribbean community should draw upon its own community resources to compensate for the failure of the educational system in meeting the needs of a very large number of Afro-Caribbean pupils.

(ii) A collectivist strategy of supplementary schooling should be fully developed to alleviate academic disadvantage of Afro-Caribbean pupils.

(iii) For the present, black supplementary schools should be used specifically for black pupils and should use keen, competent but not necessarily trained teachers. The supplementary schools should be resourced adequately for their part-time function and their teachers should receive training in supplementary school teaching where possible.

(iv) The curriculum content and teaching styles should reflect the needs of Afro-Caribbean pupils. The emphasis should be on:

a) Afro-Caribbean history and culture.
b) The 3Rs.
c) The development of a positive self-concept and a preparedness to resist and challenge those forces subordinating black people in British society.

d) Receiving appropriate help to achieve high academic standards in weekday schools as a means of entry into the professions and other high status occupations.

(v) Financial autonomy through self-raised funds within the Afro-Caribbean community to ensure maximum autonomy for individual supplementary schools. Teachers were to be paid if possible but voluntary work was to be valued highly.

(vi) The maintenance of an up-to-date register of functioning supplementary schools and a continuing register of available teachers.

(vii) Legitimation of the Movement's values, espoused through:

a) Afro-Caribbean community support for the Association of Black Supplementary Schools with a representational and a consultative role in relation to individual supplementary schools.

b) Recognition by relevant bodies outside the Afro-Caribbean community, including weekday schools about the role of the Association of Black Supplementary Schools and the supplementary schools affiliated to it.

(viii) The promotion of community development through supplementary schooling and related activities.

(xi) Full Afro-Caribbean parental involvement in a supportive role and in becoming informed about the educational system in order to counsel their children about educational opportunity.
(x) Extensive growth in supplementary school provision and its wide availability to Afro-Caribbean children.

(c) **Negotiable elements**

(i) Recognition that individual supplementary schools may wish to maintain a high level of autonomy and individual arrangements over many of the Ideal elements, especially over funding arrangements, selections from curricula, teaching styles and use of personnel and resources.

(ii) Forms of contact between supplementary schools and weekday/normal schools.

It is argued in this thesis that the central theme underpinning the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement is the resistance of the Afro-Caribbean community, through supplementary schooling in this instance, to accept incorporation as subordinate members of society and the hegemony of the dominant strata in British society.

The next stage of the thesis examines 'practice' in two supplementary schools to see in what ways the Ideology of the Movement is translated into day-to-day activity in supplementary schools.
PART FOUR

CHAPTER SIX

ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS
Chapter 6

ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS RELATING TO THE TWO SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

6.1. Introduction

Sociological theory relating to schools can provide valuable insights into an understanding of the way the research schools were structured and organised. In this chapter we will examine the organisational structure and styles of the schools, and the authority structures within them. Issues related to the guiding principles about the curriculum, the syllabus, teaching styles and methods, and social interaction among participants are considered in subsequent chapters.

However, in order to examine structural and organisational factors satisfactorily it is necessary, first of all, to situate the schools where the data were collected in a social and environmental context and to discuss the individuals associated with them. There are thus at least two broad guiding theoretical frameworks which are used. These are 'objectivist' organisational theory relating to schools, and 'phenomenological' ongoing accounts in which social actors define their situations, their subjective typifications of themselves and others, and the rules which define how reality is subjectively constituted and experienced in interactive settings (Woods 1979).

This introductory chapter to the Fourth Part of this study which relates to the research findings has of necessity to incorporate a reasonable content of a descriptive nature because it becomes essential to provide a clear setting for the study. The view is taken that a clear account of the setting is important at this stage to provide the backdrop to a greater theoretical discussion which takes place in subsequent chapters.

Organisational theory when applied to schools, has traditionally examined the formal structure of the school, emphasising an analysis of its authority system, its hierarchy of positions, its central control,
its divisions of function and responsibility and its channels of communication (Cohen and Manion, 1981). Such an approach has its origins in the work of Weber on bureaucracy leading some sociologists to examine schools as bureaucratic organisations. Warwick (1974) for instance, argued that English education has undergone a complex bureaucratic process arising out of interrelated dominant coalitions such as the DES, Local Government and Higher Education institutions, which were effectively controlled by a legal structure deriving its authority and legitimacy from the 1944 Education Act. More recent work on schools, Bush et al. (1980), Paisley (1981), Day et al. (1985) has argued that schools can only be very partially viewed as bureaucratic organisation as they are involved with activities of human beings working in groups motivated by factors such as self-esteem and self-expression which transcend traditional bureaucratic considerations. Consequently, we see an increasing reference to 'action perspectives' (Silverman 1970) and a 'human relations' approach rather than a bureaucratic approach to organisation theory in schools and related institutions. In a human relations model of organisational theory in schools there is a concern for shared decision-making and involvement in horizontal rather than vertical patterns of authority. Its appeal lies in its democratic ideology, its flexibility and its potential for adaptability in changing situations. This has a particular concern for the problem of 'power' in an organisational structure. In the traditional model of school as a bureaucratic organisation, the matter of 'power' is fairly unproblematic. It is located in the head of the school or institution and delegated through the hierarchical structure. However, in the human relations model, there clearly is a greater involvement of a range of personnel in decision-making although ultimately responsibility does lie with the head of the institution (Hoyle 1973). Bush et al., (1980) for instance argue that a separation of organisations and individuals in an institutional setting is not possible. Rather, they are inextricably intertwined and organisations cannot be administered 'without teaching something unexpectedly human'.

Schools vary quite considerably from each other and attempts have been made to operationalise the concept of 'school climate' (Owens, 1970;
Finlayson, 1975) to highlight the main characteristics of schools. It is with such a concept in mind that an account is provided below of the two schools involved in this research. First however, a brief description of the setting of the two schools used to obtain data for this research is provided.

6.2.1. The North London Supplementary School

The North London Supplementary School which was located in an outer London Borough, lay on a busy road. The traffic was particularly heavy on a Saturday morning and consequently, most of the younger pupils were escorted to the school by their parents. There were shops along the entire length of a mile and a half of road. The shops were largely owned and run by Asian and Cypriot businessmen and their families. The researcher endeavoured to find out if there were any similar businesses run by members of the Afro-Caribbean community but found none. Although the Afro-Caribbean community in Britain is not noted for small business interests generally (Hiro 1973), the marked absence of any such enterprises within the vicinity of the supplementary school was particularly noticeable when the Afro-Caribbean community made up 15 per cent of the local population.

The North London Supplementary School which began in 1978 was located in a medium-sized two-storey building erected circa 1938 as a community centre incorporating baths, a reading room and rooms for holding meetings. It was used during the time of the research as a local office for the Community Relations Council as well as for meetings for a variety of voluntary groups in the Borough. On Saturday mornings, the ground floor consisting of a hall measuring some sixty feet by forty feet, was used as a supplementary school. A small annexe of about ten feet square provided a little extra space where soft drinks and light snacks were dispensed for pupils and teachers. Additionally, there was a small store for furniture comprising tables and chairs. The work of Gould (1976); Dale (1972) and Hardy (1977) suggests that the way space is used in schools can play a significant part in the relative satisfaction learners gain in learning environments. In the
case of this research school, one could argue that compared to normal schooling provision in state schools, the NLSS would appear to be severely disadvantaged and perhaps designated a 'makeshift' school. Further detail below would perhaps provide support for such a description.

The North London Supplementary School on Saturdays began at 9.00 a.m. and ended at 12.30 p.m. A caretaker, employed by the Council normally opened the building for the teachers and pupils. The first teachers to arrive would assist in organising the tables and chairs drawn from the furniture store. The chairs and tables were arranged in four groups permitting approximately 36 pupils to take their places for each session. There were no blackboards, nor was there any other teaching equipment. However, in a large lockable wooden cupboard were stacks of exercise books for the children as well as about sixty-two reading books available to the children on loan for two weeks at a time. These books ranged from children's novels like Lorna Doone, the Three Musketeers and Robinson Crusoe, to a few rather dated text books such as Blackie's Geography of the British Isles (1956) and Reed-Brett's From George III to George VI (1962). There were about twenty-five books containing Maths and English exercises, of the type normally available in high street shops such as W.H. Smith. There were at least thirty paperbacks about West Indian history and black people's lives or their autobiographies. For instance, there were books on black actors and sportsmen like Muhammed Ali, the boxer, two on Mary Seacole, a black nursing auxiliary who worked with Florence Nightingale in the Crimea, and several books about Malcolm X, a radical black activist in the 1960s in the USA. The children thus had access to exercise books for weekly use, books they could borrow to take home to read and many of these were about black people in historical and modern times. The pupils were encouraged to renew books for reading every week.

6.2.2. The South London Supplementary School

The South London Supplementary School was located in a distinctly 'inner-city' (Raynor et al. 1977) disadvantaged area in an inner
Borough of South London. The school lay on a busy double-carriageway carrying a large proportion of heavy trucks, petrol tankers, and other vehicular traffic. The shops in the road were generally small and seedy. They included a couple of Chinese take-away restaurants, mini-cab offices, three petrol stations in close proximity to each other, and forecourts for the sale of cheap second-hand cars. The school itself was a former church building (estimated to have been built around 1900) which had been modified to provide facilities for a youth club in the evenings run by a London Borough Council. The building was used as a supplementary school every Saturday between 9.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m. In contrast to the first school, this South London Supplementary School had provisions for hot snacks at noon at very reasonable rates to the pupils and teachers. The grandmother of one of the pupils prepared hot snacks in a small kitchen alongside the main hall measuring about seventy feet square where most of the teaching and learning took place.

Each Saturday morning, as at the first school, the first teachers to arrive moved tables and chairs from one corner of the hall to form seven groups of pupils and their teachers. Additionally, there was room for one more group of pupils to be formed on the first floor (presumably where the choir formerly stood) which was accessible by a flight of stairs. The groupings of pupils were of uneven size. The smallest consisted of six pupils and the largest, mainly comprising infants, were in a group of sixteen or more pupils, but with three teachers attending them. The average Saturday attendance in this school was a little over forty-eight pupils over the seven month period when this research was undertaken.

After classes were held in both schools, all the tables, chairs and equipment had to be put away into the store by the teachers and pupils. This was done entirely voluntarily. Those who had organisational responsibility shared this mundane task thus minimising any difference in status that may have been attached to being an organiser of a school.
The South London Supplementary School differed in one important respect from the one in North London. This was in relation to the availability of a range of teaching equipment to the teachers. There were two overhead projectors plus two screens for their use. There were also twelve blackboards and easels, blackboard dusters, boxes of white and coloured chalk, and geometrical instruments for blackboard use such as large set squares, protractors, compasses and dividers. Additionally, there were a number of teaching aids for Mathematics such as measuring rods, hour glasses, weights and measures, and charts for teaching set theory and binary numbers. There were also, far more text books at this school than in the North London Supplementary School. These included sets of books to teach Mathematics, English and Social Studies. Many of these were standard school texts normally available at W.H. Smith, the stationers, to help develop literacy and numeracy skills. There also were atlases, and large teaching maps of the world, the different continents, the British Isles and the Caribbean area. All in all this school was much better endowed than the North London Supplementary School. Furthermore, the children stayed within the confines of the school during breaks as the outside environment was not conducive to pupils wandering in and out of shops or shopping area. Again, while the terraced owner-occupied homes of the children, in the North London Supplementary School were easily accessible to those children, all the children in the South London Supplementary School lived in council housing which was about a mile away from the school.

An explanation for the relative difference in the resources available to the two schools will be discussed later. However, a significant difference in the two schools lay in the level of participation in school activity by the children. Those in the South London Supplementary School seemed freer to run in and around the school premises, making a considerable din, especially during the half hour lunch break at noon. The consumption of hot snacks in a relaxed atmosphere also promoted much interaction both between the pupils themselves and between the pupils and their teachers. In contrast, at the North London Supplementary School, the pupils had no opportunity to do other than work with their teachers for most of the morning, apart
from a 'subdued' break for a soft drink and a couple of biscuits. Also, the NLSS children from owner-occupied homes were less lively and exuberant than the children from the council estate in South London. The ethos or climate of the school of the South London Supplementary School appeared to permit considerably more liveliness and friendliness among the children than in the 'stricter ethos' of the North London Supplementary School.

Wood's (1979, 1980a) studies of pupil adaptation, and interaction in schools exemplified the differences between the two schools. One example may help to illustrate this. In the South London Supplementary School, the children would often bring out their personal toys and share their fun with them with the teachers during the breaks. Thus they would challenge their teachers with rubic cubes and electronic games like CAVERMAN. This kind of interaction simply did not take place among the pupils and teachers at the North London Supplementary School. The climate of the latter school ensured a friendly but more formal relationship between the pupils and the teachers. The researcher would surmise that the more middle class values and mores of the NLSS parents, oriented the children more strictly towards academic work than in the SLSS. It would appear that the climate of the school was a reflection of the kind of pupils who came to the school and their more middle class backgrounds. The teachers in turn appeared to reinforce the aspirations of their pupils towards narrower academic values and criteria than those teachers at the South London Supplementary School who had a different clientele.

6.3. The Administrative Structure at both schools

Watts' (1976) work on the role of the Head in 'participatory management' would appear best to illustrate the administrative structure in both schools. Authority lay in the hands of two 'co-ordinators' rather than Heads of schools. The two individuals who acted as co-ordinators are referred to as teachers C and J in this study because it essentially symbolises their ill-defined roles in each school. They had, in general, 'caretaker' roles in the schools rather
than positions of hierarchical authority over the rest of the teachers and pupils. Clearly, they were empowered to take decisions over the day-to-day work in the schools but, in general, they informally consulted the staff over all decisions that had to be made.

In both schools, there was informal liaison with parents and there were regular meetings of what were termed 'parent groups'. These were not unlike Parent Teacher Associations and they met one Sunday afternoon a term at each of the Schools. A discussion about such meetings is provided in Chapter 7.

6.4. The Pupils

Both schools had roughly equal numbers of boys and girls. The North London Supplementary School had an average of 32 pupils attending on a regular basis while, as stated before, the South London Supplementary School had an average attendance of 48 per week over the seven month period when the data were collected.

All the children in the two schools, with the exception of two in the North London Supplementary School, were black. The two exceptions were Asian girls and the significance of this factor is explored a little later in this chapter. Further, apart from one boy at the North London school and two at the South London school who were of African origin (Nigerian) the rest were all of Afro-Caribbean origin. Only one pupil in each school was not born in Britain. In the North London Supplementary School he was the Nigerian while in the South London Supplementary School one pupil was born in New York and had his early schooling there. Further reference is made to these particular pupils later in this work.

At the North London Supplementary School, the age range was eight to fourteen, while at the South London Supplementary School it was from five to sixteen. The age groupings for the two schools differed and are therefore presented separately in Table 6.1.
### TABLE 6.1: CLASS GROUPINGS IN THE RESEARCH SCHOOLS

**North London Supplementary School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGES</th>
<th>NUMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10½</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10½ - 12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 36

**South London Supplementary School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGES</th>
<th>NUMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6½ (3 groups)</td>
<td>16 on roll but occasionally as many as 21 attended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6½ - 8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 55

The table indicates that more younger pupils attend than older ones. Discussion relating to this indicated that the schools found it difficult to attract and retain older pupils. This evidence confirms the concern expressed at different times about older pupils by the Intellectuals of the Black Supplementary School Movement referred to in Chapter 5. Further evidence from Clark (1982), Pryce (1979), Rampton (1981), Scarman (1982) and Swann (1985) suggests that adolescent blacks were largely alienated from mainstream society. The supplementary
schools were not as successful as they would have liked in drawing such pupils into their schools. This issue is examined in detail in Chapter 9. However it is worth noting that these two research schools were fairly small ones. It had been estimated in the researcher's discussion with the Intellectuals that perhaps 3500 West Indian children attended supplementary schools in some 50 schools in the Greater London area in 1982. Clearly, this number also represented a relatively small number of all West Indian pupils in the Greater London area.

6.5. School Attendance and Pupil Recruitment

Attendance at both schools over a period of seven months was consistently high and in the region of 88 per cent for the total of 36 and 55 for each school. When pupils had to stay away, their parents invariably passed word to the school and provided an explanation for such absences. Thus there was strong parental support for school attendance.

Although pupil attitudes to their supplementary schools are explored in a later chapter, and especially their views about attending school for an extra day in the week after attending their normal school, it became clear that for some pupils, perhaps 10 per cent, parental pressure of a subtle or coercive nature was the main reason for regular attendance.

At the North London Supplementary School, three of the parents 'attended' every Saturday and brought in four or their own children. They also monitored the attendance of the children of their relatives, friends and neighbours and kept close contact with the parents of other children who attended. Thus when a child was absent for reasons of ill-health and for some other genuine reason, this was generally known to the teacher or organiser concerned. Because numbers were relatively small, attendance was monitored by teacher A (referred to below) who kept a record of attendance and followed up absentees when no explanation was forthcoming.
At the South London Supplementary School, no fees were charged to the pupils and no teachers were paid for teaching or for their travel expenses. In other words, the service rendered was entirely voluntary. However there was financial expenditure involved and this is discussed towards the end of this chapter.

At the South London Supplementary School, attendance was monitored on attendance registers which were marked by the teachers at the start of the school day. As with the North London Supplementary School liaison between the school and the parents was good and contributed to the high level of attendance referred to earlier. One important difference between the schools was that the South London Supplementary School charged pupils a fee of 50 pence each session. The school experienced no difficulty in obtaining this fee and pupils invariably had the money on their person when they attended school. A pupil who left his or her money at home by mistake would be asked to bring it the following week. In general, obtaining the fee was not a problem for the school and details are provided later about the way this school organised its finances and about the payments made to teachers for each session they taught.

Pupils at both schools were invariably recruited by word of mouth. As discussed in Chapter 2, Stone (1981) argued that lessons in addition to normal school lessons were traditionally accepted as a 'good thing' in the Caribbean and that this tradition had contributed to the establishment of supplementary schools in most cities with sizeable Afro-Caribbean communities in Britain. It was therefore relatively easy to encourage friends and contacts to send their children to supplementary schools but the actual attendance depended largely on the ability of Afro-Caribbean parents to persuade their children to attend 'extra school' on Saturdays. In general, the research suggests that most Afro-Caribbean parents are keen to have these extra classes for their school-age children but such enthusiasm for Saturday classes was not totally and readily shared by their children and reasons for this are explained in Chapter 9 on pupil perspectives on supplementary schools.
6.5. Teacher Background

The data in Table 6.2 summarise information of a factual nature about the number of teachers attached to the two supplementary schools researched. These data relate to age, ethnicity, gender, normal occupation and educational qualifications. Such data were obtained through discussion with the researcher on an individual basis and at varying times when the opportunity arose for obtaining the required information. Although accurate details are provided in the tables below, the ages of the teachers are the researcher's best estimates from appearances and clues from information provided by the respondents.

**TABLE 6.2: TEACHER ATTRIBUTES IN NORTH LONDON SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Normal Occupation</th>
<th>Education Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Afro-Caribbean</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>S.R.N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Clerical Officer in Civil Service</td>
<td>The equivalent of 5 'O' levels taken in the Caribbean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>University Student (husband of A above)</td>
<td>5 'O' levels and 1 'A' level which permitted entry to University to read Caribbean literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Graduate in English in 1980, intentionally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were seven teachers in all for a total of 36 pupils normally attending on a Saturday. However the first teacher 'A', the secretary of this supplementary school, only provided minimal 'teaching' assistance such as operating the lending library, purchasing, transporting and then dispensing the free snacks and soft drinks to teachers and pupils during the morning break. She saw her role as a 'teacher in reserve' should one of the regular teachers be absent for any reason. During the entire period of seven months when data were collected for this research at the North London Supplementary School, she was observed listening to individual children read on not more than three occasions while a teacher taking the younger children was away temporarily. The teachers in this school would normally merge two groups if a colleague was away instead of expecting teacher 'A' to take a class and this practice had become a norm with all the teachers at this school. Hargreaves (1967, 1972) and Woods (1980b) had illustrated how a normative pattern specific to each individual school invariably develops in relation to teacher interaction, use of space and behaviour. For instance, the seats in a school staff room tend to be used by specific individuals and are left unused even if the regular user in the hierarchy was away at a given time.
Basically, teacher A was hesitant to teach as she felt that she did not have the skills to do so. However she claimed that she normally helped her own two children, who attended the supplementary school with language and number work. Her husband, teacher C also taught very little but his attendance was fairly regular. To a certain extent, this couple acted more like organisers than teachers within this supplementary school. In particular, C's role appeared to lie in helping to recruit teachers for the school and to liaise with outside bodies such as the Community Relations Council and the local education authority. Teacher C was also instrumental in contacting the researcher in the first instance when endeavouring to gain teaching assistance at the supplementary school from a Polytechnic Department of Education. He summed his role in the school as a 'roving ambassador' for the school and such a description would be apt for his role in the school.

Teacher B lived locally and had played a part in the formation of this school two years previously following parental concern about the educational performance of black children in the Borough. He was present every single Saturday during the period of the research with his own two children who were pupils at the school. He was very highly committed to the school and stated that he had not missed a single Saturday class in two years. His particular concern was that his children were performing at a much lower scholastic level than he himself had reached when he was their age in the Caribbean and that when he visited his former home in Trinidad he felt that the local children there were achieving much higher academic standards than his children in Britain. Consequently he was extremely concerned about his children's school progress and hoped the supplementary school would provide what he felt the normal school had failed to provide.

Teachers D and E were two white teachers at this school. They had found out about the supplementary school through a chance meeting with teacher C when he had addressed local teachers at a Teacher's Centre about the educational problems black children faced. Having
volunteered and taught for a year they claimed they enjoyed the experience and hoped to continue at the school.

Teacher F was a post office worker who felt that he might eventually study to become a teacher. He was motivated to work at this supplementary school when he read reports in the local paper about the poor performance of black children in local schools.

Teacher G was the researcher and an account of his access to this supplementary school was provided in the introduction to this study.

TABLE 6.3: Teacher Attributes in the South London Supplementary School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Normal Occupation</th>
<th>Educational Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Afro-Caribbean</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>State Enrolled Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Full-time political</td>
<td>science graduate researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Community relations</td>
<td>5 'O' levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>insurance salesman</td>
<td>equivalent of 2 'O' levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>full-time PGCE student</td>
<td>graduate in physics and chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Polytechnic full-time student on DipHE course.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N &amp; O</td>
<td>18/19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Undertaking school leavers secretarial training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>School pupil</td>
<td>School pupil working for 5 'O' levels. Also doubling up as a teacher at the supplementary school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Non-graduate teacher</td>
<td>Teacher of Maths in a secondary school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = G</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Asian M</td>
<td>Polytechnic lecturer and the researcher</td>
<td>Qualified graduate teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teacher H a qualified nurse working in a local hospital, both taught and brought her two children to this school. Her two children were in a group other than hers but she was in close touch with their teacher to see what progress they were making. She also took an active part in all the social activity associated with the school and particularly in the organisation of dances to raise funds for the school.

Teacher I was a political science graduate undertaking a research degree in London. He attended rather irregularly (about a fifth of the time while the researcher was studying the school), but when he did attend, he made his presence felt by taking a leading role during a given session. For instance, he, more than any other teacher, insisted
that an assembly should be held which included a short prayer, a short reference to a theme of concern such as apartheid in South Africa or the problems of nuclear power. Further, he was the only one who insisted that the children would collectively sing 'We shall overcome' at the assembly. When he did not attend, no assembly was held at the school.

Teacher J was a community relations officer whose brief was to oversee the work at the school. She did not play a leading role but monitored pupils and teacher attendance. Noting which teachers turned up for a Saturday session was important at this school as they were paid £10 per session towards their travel expenses. Teacher J ensured that financial matters and accounts (which are discussed later) were dealt with carefully. She also had an important role in liaising with parents, including the arrangements for a meeting of teachers and parents one Sunday afternoon each term. This kind of liaison is discussed in Chapter 7.

Teacher K, an insurance salesman, appeared to be attracted to the work of the school to help children with their school work but perhaps more importantly to increase his contact with the Afro-Caribbean community and thus his potential for clients relating to insurance matters. This view was gleaned through the researcher's discussion with him.

Teacher L was a graduate in physics and chemistry who had just been accepted to study for the one-year course for the post-graduate Certificate in Education in London. Previously, he had tried his hand at freelance journalism but did not feel he had made much progress in that direction.

Teacher M was a full-time student at a local Polytechnic undertaking a course for the Diploma of Higher Education. Her intention was to train as a teacher eventually. This teacher was a strong personality even though very quiet and calm. She effectively took over the role of a deputy Head within this school and complemented the less forceful teacher/coordinator J of the school.
Teachers N & O were young unemployed school leavers who were uncertain about what they should study for a career. Currently, they were undertaking secretarial training but did not enjoy it. They generally assisted at the school and did not get paid like the others.

Teacher P was a school pupil who hoped he might go into teaching at a future date. He therefore taught the younger ones Maths for some of the time on a Saturday. He, too, was not paid by the school.

Teacher Q was a qualified Maths teacher who worked in a local school. She claimed to be motivated to teach reluctant black pupils and also earn a little extra money to help pay for her driving lessons. However, although she said this, it was clear that monetary considerations were not paramount. She made it clear that she could easily give private Maths tuition at home for extra money to black and white children but that she did not enjoy doing such work because parents then expected unrealistic examination results from their children.

Teacher R was the researcher and details of his involvement in this school are provided in the introduction to this study.

A full discussion of teacher views about supplementary school work is incorporated in Chapter 11. However, the brief account of the teachers provided above indicates that the two school had roughly the same kinds of teachers apart from the two white teachers in the North London Supplementary school.

In both schools only six out of eighteen would be deemed to be formally qualified. The rest would not be allowed to teach in state schools. This is discussed in Chapter 11 as it throws a lot of light on the character of the schools studied and the relevance of this factor in relation to the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement as discussed in Chapter 5. An interesting observation is that all the teachers had white-collar backgrounds. However, the most significant difference between the staff in the two schools lay in the
fact that there were two white teachers at the North London Supplementary School. They appeared to be readily accepted by the school but they participated very little in any informal conversations or discussion with the rest of the teachers, although they were always cheerful and extremely hard working. They sat in close proximity to each other and the pupils they tutored and took it in turns to do Maths and English work. These two teachers generally helped individual children with their normal school homework. They were very liberal with their time and could not do enough for the children. They were most certainly very well liked and their role is discussed later.

Another interesting observation was that the particular children making most progress with the two white teachers were, ironically, not Afro-Caribbean children, but two Asian girls of 13 and 14. These two Asian girls also appeared to be the hardest working pupils in the school, confirming similar evidence in the literature including Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985).

Although the two Asian girls worked mainly with the two white teachers, they went to consult other teachers (including the researcher) for specific help, especially in Maths, if their teachers were temporarily busy with other pupils.

In the North London Supplementary School, the two white teachers and the two Asian girls were unusual in terms of the Black Supplementary School Movement's commitment, discussed in Chapter 5, regarding black teachers for black pupils in black supplementary schools. Teacher C, however, the effective Head and co-ordinator of the school, did not share the ideology of the BSSM about the centrality of the issue of black teachers for black pupils in supplementary schools. He argued that any adult, regardless of ethnic background, who could teach black children was welcome to make a contribution to the supplementary school. The rest of the teachers in this school shared this view and expressed their satisfaction with the contribution of the two white teachers and were happy to have other groups of children, that is, white or Asian, provided they did not overload the system and defeat the objective of black supplementary schools to help educationally
disadvantaged black children. A fuller discussion of these factors, including the researcher's own Asian background and the perceptions of the pupils to this reality, is undertaken in Chapters 9 and 10 where the work of Woods (1980a; 1980b) on teachers and pupils in schools provides illumination to the practice at the two supplementary schools studied.

6.6. Teacher Recruitment

As in the case of pupil recruitment, teacher recruitment was by word of mouth. For both schools, there were adequate numbers of teachers for the number of pupils who attended on Saturdays, and only one teacher had stopped working altogether for domestic reasons during the seven month periods of research at each of the schools. However, the researcher was informed that for reasons that could not be anticipated, teacher turnover could sometimes be high for short periods before a stable teaching team established itself. Apparently the problem that often had to be faced was one of matching potential volunteer teacher recruits to the pupils available. Thus, an enthusiastic volunteer could not always be used immediately unless existing pupil groups were broken up into smaller groups. This was not always easy as established groups had developed rapport with their teachers which helped them with their academic work. Yet, when a teacher left unexpectedly or at short notice, an enthusiast's interest might have waned or he/she might no longer be available. However, according to the organisers, those who joined, tended to stay for periods of a year or more. The motivations of teacher recruits is discussed in Chapter 11 but the researcher was informed by teacher C, one of the organisers, that the favoured mode of recruitment was through word of mouth when a teacher was needed either as a replacement or if the teaching team was enlarged to cope with increased pupil demand.

In the survey of the literature on supplementary schools, several of the references had indicated that teacher recruitment was a major problem and the cause of school closures in some areas. In the case of the two schools researched, this factor did not appear to be a problem.
Details about the finance of the schools were obtained from the co-ordinators at each school, that is, teacher C and teacher J for periods up to 31st March for 1980 and 1981 respectively. For the North London Supplementary School, the budget was £2,000 of which £220, or slightly more than 10 per cent was a grant contributed by the local branch of the Community Relations Council. The remaining £1780 was raised through a series of socials-cum-dances organised by the co-ordinator of the school with the assistance of other teachers from the supplementary school and members of the Afro-Caribbean community in the local area. The profit from just two or three dances was enough to raise the required monies and the policy of this school was to utilise all the funds in the day-to-day running of the school and its activities, including the purchase of exercise books and some books for the library, without maintaining a surplus fund for any kind of contingencies. A rationale for this position was provided to the researcher in the following manner. The view was taken that the school could not have any long-term continuity plans as it depended very much on the involvement of its current pupils and parents who supported the school. In time, it was felt that other parents may or may not continue with this particular school and hence there were no compelling reasons to maintain a continuing fund which could be guaranteed to be put to good use. If a fund were built up, it was likely to be in danger of being utilised unscrupulously by persons who would gain access to it at a later date. It was therefore intended that money raised in a given year was spent almost entirely in that year, apart from the maintenance of a small current bank account for the school.

The bulk of the expenditure was spent on termly school outings by coach to places like the Isle of Wight, Windsor Safari Park, Stonehenge and farms like Godstone in Surrey. To date no outings had taken place, according to the school secretary, to places which needed overnight accommodation but the possibility of one outing to France instead of three within the south of England had been mooted at a parent-teacher meeting and received strong support. The view was taken that as the
children were city children, their horizons had to be extended by
taking them to the countryside and to places they might not normally
visit. Visits to places of interest were therefore very much like
those described in Chapter 2 by Clark (1982) at her Dachwyng
supplementary school although those teachers, parents and children went
much further afield.

The rest of the money at the NLSS was spent on exercise books, pens,
pencils, erasers, pencil sharpeners, and on reasonably priced text
books and children's story books. Pupils, however, were expected to
bring their own writing implements each Saturday and were not expected
to be provided with pens and pencils from the school stock. These were
only provided as a last resort such as when a child had forgotten to
bring his/her own.

With reference to the lending library, there was a preference for the
purchase of second hand books from a variety of sources such as second-
hand book sales and jumble sales. Such prudent use of finance for
books was undertaken to ensure that there were adequate funds for
school outings which were prioritised in terms of their importance. On
reflection, it would appear that the outings were meant to be a bonus
to encourage pupil participation in Saturday schooling.

There were three other cost elements which had to be paid for from the
year's budget. These costs related to hire charges for the hall which
amounted to £20 per session, and a contribution to the heating costs
which came to £15 per session for the period from September to March
and £5 per session for the rest of the school year. The caretaker
received £5 per session for his contribution towards keeping the hall
clean and tidy. It should be reiterated that space and facilities used
at the school were already paid for by the local Community Relations
Council which organised a range of activities for the local community.
Details of the income and expenditure are now presented below:
### TABLE 6.4: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AT NORTH LONDON SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL  
(for the year ending 31st March, 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRC contribution</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generated from</td>
<td>Hall hire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socials/fees</td>
<td>£720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/Stationery</td>
<td>£360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caretaker</td>
<td>£1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating</td>
<td>£180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outings (3 x 200)</td>
<td>£600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refreshments</td>
<td>£140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the teachers were paid for teaching at this supplementary school and their work was entirely voluntary. There were no expenses such as travel expenses paid either but the outings were entirely free to the teachers and, of course, to the pupils. As stated earlier, only a quantity of orange squash and a few biscuits were provided free to teachers and pupils during the break each Saturday. This added a small amount to the costs incurred by the school each Saturday morning.

In contrast there was a significant difference to the way financial matters were dealt with at the South London Supplementary School.

The South London Supplementary School generated funds from socials but received additional financial support from two main sources. A Local Education Authority made a grant to the school of £1000 to help run the school. The Caribbean Teachers' Association, referred to earlier in Chapter 4, provided £500 to pay the teachers. Cheques were made out to teachers periodically but sometimes payments were made in cash. Details of the income and expenditure are now presented below:
TABLE 6.5: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AT SOUTH LONDON SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL  
(for the year ending 31st March, 1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CTA</td>
<td>8 teachers @ £10 per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEA grant</td>
<td>for 36 weeks £2880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generated from</td>
<td>books/equipment £500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socials</td>
<td>one outing £200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£3580</td>
<td>£3580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the school was a youth club for most of the week, the heating, water and electricity bills were paid by the Local Education Authority. One important implication of receiving funds from the LEA was that careful accounts had to be kept and submitted for auditing by LEA accountants as well as by the treasurer of the Caribbean Teachers' Association. Additionally, the school was subject to inspections by LEA school inspectors who visited the school. During the observations for this research over a seven-month period, two black LEA inspectors visited the school one Saturday morning. The teachers at the school had no warning the inspectors would arrive. However, the inspectors sat in on several lessons, but did not interfere with the lessons, nor make comments to individual teachers about their observations. They did intimate to the co-ordinator, teacher J, before leaving that they felt reasonably pleased with the work in the school.

It was discussed in Chapter 5 that for practical reasons the BSSM could not take a definitive position on the financing of supplementary schools although it favoured financial autonomy and non-reliance on funding agencies. Consequently, as each school worked out its own approach to its financial arrangements, there was bound to be a range of working arrangements. However, the two positions most common within the Movement are reiterated here:
a) Each school raised its own finance through community fund-raising but without recourse to any institutional funding body. Through such means, the school was entirely free to utilise the funds as it saw fit without having to justify expenditure to any external body.

b) A school made use of funds from bodies like the CRCs and Local Education Authorities so that, although the school would then be accountable for the funds, the school personnel did not have to spend their energies on raising funds.

In this research, the North London Supplementary School approximated to the first position. The co-ordinator, teacher C reiterated that his school definitely preferred not to be accountable to any group other than themselves and therefore sought no money from large external bodies. However, the £220 received from the local CRC represented the CRE's offer of support for a local initiative with relatively no strings attached and was therefore accepted. The close personal relationship between the co-ordinator C and the local CRC personnel facilitated the financial arrangement in the interests of the school.

6.8. Concluding comments on organisational elements relating to the two supplementary schools

Weber's seminal work on organisational theory has been used in many sociological studies to examine how large scale and complex organisations function. Many sociologists have thus studied schools in the past utilising Weber's framework (Banks 1971) by using in particular, his theory contrasting three types of authority - traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. However, such use of Weberian theory was criticised by those like Silverman (1970); Filmer et al., (1972); Holly (1971), who argued that schools do not function like bureaucratic structures in the main and that rather than focus on schools as formal organisations it was more insightful to examine their 'informal rule making' and the human interaction that took place within them.
Attempts were also made to draw upon theoretical models like that of Etzioni's (1964) 'compliance model' and Goffman's (1961) 'total institutions' to study school organisational structures. Having considered what contribution such work could make to this study the researcher concluded that none of these particular theoretical models were particularly suitable to help to explain how supplementary schools functioned. The exception however, was perhaps in relation to Weber's work on charismatic authority in that teacher C, or the co-ordinator of the NLSS was able to use 'charismatic authority' to attract teachers to his school without payment and to maintain a good working relationship with them. Additionally, the ethos of the school represented his particular conception about the purpose and functional operation of the supplementary school. Thus in at least two main ways, that is, by using white teachers and throwing the school open to all, the charismatic authority of the co-ordinator 'challenged' the ideology of the Intellectuals of the Movement which was discussed in Chapter 5. Also, teacher C was able to persuade Afro-Caribbean parents in the local area to send their children to the North London Supplementary School and also to ensure that regular attendance was maintained by the children. He was thus the main driving force behind the school and although he did not himself teach, he attended regularly to ensure the school worked satisfactorily and he made himself available to the parents, children and teachers in order to promote cohesion and consensus in the running of the school through his personal attention to detail.

In contrast, such a charismatic leadership role model did not exist at the South London Supplementary School. Instead, the day-to-day work of the school functioned through a shared understanding among the teachers including the co-ordinator, of the goals of the school and this was transmitted in turn, to the pupils.

It would be reasonable to surmise that the organisational arrangements of the two supplementary schools would appear to agree with Bush et al. (1983) and Day et al. (1985) that a human relations approach rather than a bureaucratic and formal organisational structure would appear to
predominate in both schools. The researcher was quite struck by the way the schools appeared to have distinctive characteristics, arising from how a relatively powerless ethnic minority had 'invented' and sustained its own schools under rather difficult circumstances to meet specific educational goals. There was an overlapping commonality about these educational goals for the two schools but the mechanisms of meeting such goals were 'determined fairly autonomously by the group that set up each school. In Silverman's (1970) terms or 'action frame of reference' their social reality is 'socially constructed' and 'socially sustained', and in these particular cases, this was done through much difficulty and struggle.

The major organisational problem to be overcome as far as the organisers were concerned, appeared to be in obtaining premises/space to run the schools. It was quite difficult to find suitable premises for the specific function of running a school on a Saturday morning. Next, there was the problem that the schools were run in large halls which had to be heated and in which tables and chairs and other equipment had to be carefully arranged by the teachers, only to be completely cleared away at the end of the morning session. This was very much a chore that had to be faced every Saturday morning. Further, the schools in large halls did not allow for any privacy among groups of pupils and their teachers. They were in a sense, truly 'open plan' schools for pupils undertaking primary and secondary school levels of work and thus all the staff and pupils were continuously exposed to each other throughout the period they attended. Thus the nature of the work in each school necessiated an organisational structure which mainly involved a horizontal rather than a vertical pattern of authority. It is further suggested that the 'voluntaristic' nature of the work undertaken by the teachers in both schools (even though a minimal payment was made in one of them) would not easily permit an authoritarian structure nor indeed a hierarchical one. Only an organisational structure based on maximising consensus among participants was the one most likely to succeed in this model of schooling. It is also the reason why the Intellectuals of the Movement recognised the need for 'negotiable' arrangements within the
organisational structure of individual supplementary schools. Clearly too, it was 'human action and intention' that 'constructed' each school's organisational framework. It becomes difficult therefore, to locate the dualism often found in some organisational theory which sometimes conveniently separates people and organisations. In both these research schools, the participants were indeed their own organisations. In this view, there is no abstraction called an 'organisation' - but rather a range of perceptions by groups of individuals about what they can, should, or must do in dealing with situations within circumstances in which they find themselves (Greenfield 1980).

In the next Chapter an examination is undertaken of the curriculum in the supplementary schools.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CURRICULUM IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS
Chapter 7

THE CURRICULUM IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

7.1. Introduction

Educationists and sociologists would agree with Gordon (1981) that:

there is no such thing as a 'natural' curriculum
and that whatever activity, form of teaching or
organisation of schooling is adopted, choices have
to be made in the way that knowledge is presented.

Gordon P. (1981: 3)

Historically in Britain, Williams (1961), Dale et al. (1976),
Hargreaves D.H. (1982) amongst others, have argued that following the
Industrial Revolution, the first state educational institutions were
the industrial schools which provided elementary instruction and
training for manual work, and the Sunday Schools (Reid, 1980) which
were intended to counteract revolutionary ideas among the masses.
Simultaneously, the new middle classes, seeking greater school
provision, pursued it along the lines provided by the established
'public' schools in the country. Thus two distinct traditions became
established:

a) one based on classics for the upper and middle strata of society,
   and
b) one based on the 3Rs for the rest of the population.

Although such a classification may appear to be an over simplification
of the origins of the curriculum in state schools, nevertheless,
differences became enshrined by 1944 in the development of secondary
schools. The effective bi-partite division between grammar schools for
a minority and secondary modern schools for approximately 70 per cent
of children meant that secondary schools followed different traditions
in terms of the curriculum offered to the children (Banks 1955). Grammar schools offered high-status subject-based study (Tapper and Salter 1978) which would prepare entrants for universities while the secondary modern schools provided low-status 'integrated' programmes predominantly for those who would not normally continue their formal education beyond the then school leaving age of 15. The net effect of the bi-partite system of education was that in general, middle class children went to grammar schools and embarked on the route leading to high status positions in the professions with the associated power accoutrements, and working class children went to the secondary modern schools which enjoyed relatively low status and prestige (Banks 1955, 1971; Silver 1973; Rubinstein 1979).

From about the late 1950s when educational sociologists began to argue for a more egalitarian secondary school system of education (Salter and Tapper 1981) through school re-organisation along comprehensive lines, school curricula gradually became less sharply subject-bound. Bernstein (1971), Hirst and Peters (1970) and Halsall (1970), for instance, illustrate that attention began to shift from an emphasis on the most desirable selection of subjects within a curriculum, to that of organising a curriculum according to desired objectives and a consideration of the way school subjects could be integrated within the school curriculum. By 1976, a strong case was presented for the integration of subjects by among others, Pring (1976) and Reynolds and Skilbeck (1976). The view appears to be taken by this stage that an integrated curriculum essentially draws together the different curriculum patterns which had taken root when schooling became widely available following the Industrial Revolution.

However, not all educationalists and sociologists were content to accept a school curriculum which assumed a shared or common culture in British society. Bantock (1965) for example, argued that there was a significant difference between the culture of the main social groups in society. Further, that the reality of this difference necessitated school curricula which were appropriate for different social groups. His central thesis was that there were different levels of cultural and
mental capacities within the community and that the social origins and background of many pupils prevented them from taking advantage of what he saw as the literate culture presented by schools. Bantock's (1965) solution lay in making different kinds of school curricula available for the two main social groups (or classes) in British society - one being essentially grounded in a literate 'high' culture, and the other in an utilitarian culture more suitable for the mass of the population. Such a view was not too unlike the 'two culture' school curriculum depicted by Williams (1961) when describing school curricula following the Industrial Revolution, although he was of course, not advocating such an arrangement himself.

Other factors also played their part in the continuing debate about the nature of school curricula. The Plowden Report (1967) was strongly influential in promoting a child-centred curriculum (Entwistle 1970) in the primary school and initiating what was widely termed the 'progressive movement' in primary school teaching and learning. Thus the traditional teaching of subjects, gave way to the concept and practice of the 'integrated day' for young children in which the child's interest in a topic, project or issue played a central part in the teacher's orientation of work to be undertaken in the classroom. Such ideas were also linked to Piagetian ideas of 'discovery learning' in which the teacher facilitated learning rather than directed it (Richmond 1970).

Many Afro-Caribbean parents who were brought up on a traditional subject-based curriculum in their own primary and secondary schooling in the Caribbean and which had been closely linked to an earlier traditional model of British schooling (Carnoy 1974), found the new approaches, especially in British primary schools, very puzzling to understand. Initially, as discussed in Chapter 4, they appear to have kept their intuitive reservations to themselves, but gradually became critical on the grounds that the work undertaken in their children's primary school was excessively 'play-centred' or based on the principle of 'discovery learning', when they felt that a more rigorous academic style was more appropriate (Stone 1981, Clark 1982). The more
'informed' among the Afro-Caribbean activists and Intellectuals, referred to in Chapter 4, also became aware of increasing criticism of British schools such as that of Coard (1971) as well as the relativist view of knowledge articulated by Young (1971), and especially, his account of the stratification of school knowledge in the curriculum. Black parents coming from the background of a traditional school culture, were inclined to want an educational experience for their children in Britain which was not too dissimilar to their own school experience in the Caribbean and were uneasy, as explained to the researcher, about changes taking place related to comprehensivisation, mixed ability teaching, and discovery learning in primary schools. All these were taking place almost simultaneously and proved to be unsettling to them. The growing evidence (Houghton 1966; Graham and Meadows 1967; Little et al. 1968) that black children were performing poorly in schools, confirmed their worst fears about the English school system and they wanted to do something about it.

The examination and re-appraisal of school curricula in state schools in the 1950s and 1960s corresponded with the period of rapid immigration of Afro-Caribbeans and their children to Britain. There were significant changes to what was taught in schools, how it was taught and how schools were to be organised. According to Evetts (1973) the 'progressives' were pressing for a child-centred, interdisciplinary curriculum which essentially met the needs of a diversity of children. But while enthusiasm and pressure for this approach was mounting, Evetts (1973) also suggests that the 'idealists' were pressing for pupils to be initiated into traditional culture within a curriculum organised to transmit an understanding of established disciplines and subjects. The Afro-Caribbean community understood the form of the latter because it corresponded to their own experience of schooling in the Caribbean during colonial days and we have to ask what kind of curriculum was likely to be developed in the supplementary schools which began to emerge in British urban centres by the late 1960s and well before the clamour began for a common-core curriculum in schools in the 1980s.
Two important observations are perhaps pertinent at this point. Firstly, it should be noted that there was controversy generated among politicians, academics and the public about changes that were taking place in education in the 1960s. A number of articles in educational journals were fairly critical about the changes. Among the themes discussed were fears that a policy for comprehensive schools would force the closure of good grammar schools, that educational standards and discipline would decline in schools; that 'discovery methods' were a regressive step to take in a long tradition of 'sound British education'. These ideas were expressed widely in the media and also published in a series of publications for more than a decade by Cox and Dyson and called the Black Papers. It could be argued that the debate about 'progressive teaching methods' never really ended and that the 'Great Debate' initiated by Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976 was at least partly, a manifestation of a 'concern' about 'educational standards' that has continued over the years (Blenkin and Kelly 1983; 1987). Further discussion on 'progressive' and 'traditional' teaching styles is incorporated later in this chapter.

The second point relates to the theoretical work of Bernstein (1971) on the classification and framing of educational knowledge. Bernstein (1971) argued that two types of curriculum organisation can be identified. The first is the 'collection' type in which the 'contents' are clearly insulated from each other. Thus in this type of curriculum, the pupil 'has to collect a group of these contents, usually guided by some concept of what the collection is to be used for'. Bernstein (1971) contrasts this kind of curriculum from an 'integrated' type where pupils and teachers do not maintain boundaries between 'subject' areas but become involved across or within 'subjects'.

Bernstein (1971) explores the two types of curriculum (collection and integrated) by drawing upon two structural concepts concerning the relative strength of the boundaries between 'contents', 'classification' and 'frame'. For Bernstein (1971), classification refers to the relationship between contents and the way in which they
are differentiated - it is thus a boundary maintenance concept. Frame refers to the relationship between teacher and pupil; to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted in the relationship and its strength determines the degree of control available to the teacher and his pupils.

Thus, teacher autonomy is deemed to be low where classification and framing are strong and the 'received' model is ascendant and curriculum knowledge is presented to pupils in a pre-determined and hierarchical order to which the teacher is bound. In contrast, teacher autonomy is high where classification and framing are weak. Further, autonomy is likely to be even greater when 'declassification' occurs and an integrated curriculum is established.

Bernstein (1971) argued that there was a strong movement towards the institutionalisation of integrated codes with their characteristic weak classification and framing in both primary and secondary schools. In this process, he also saw that there was a challenge to the traditional structures of power and control which helps to 'unfreeze the structure of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness'. In an excellent article 'Open Schools - Open Society', Bernstein (1971) drew upon Durkheimian conceptualisation of a shift from mechanical to organic solidarity in pedagogy and curriculum organisation thus:

There is a shift - from a pedagogy which, for the majority of secondary school pupils, was concerned with the learning of standard operations tied to specific texts - to a pedagogy which emphasises the exploration of principles; from schools which emphasised the teacher as a solution-giver to schools which emphasise the teacher as a problem-poser or creator ... the pedagogy now emphasises the means whereby knowledge is created and principles established, in a context of self-discovery by the pupils. The act of learning itself celebrates choice.

But what about the curriculum? I mean by curriculum the principles governing the selection of, and relations between, subjects. We are witnessing a shift in emphasis away from schools
where the subject is a clear-cut definable unit of the curriculum, to schools where the unit of the curriculum, is not so much a subject as an idea — say topic-centred interdisciplinary inquiry.

Bernstein (1971: 167)

We can therefore see that the significant changes in pedagogy and school organisation in the 1960s were a source of much concern for Afro-Caribbean parents as they felt that their children's underachievement at schools may be caused by 'largely woolly and untested teaching methods' as one of the respondents stated to the researcher.

7.2. Determinants of Curriculum: The North London Supplementary School.

In the North London Supplementary School, decisions about the kind of curriculum for the pupils who attended was determined by the organisers, Teachers A and C (see Chapter 5) following informal consultation with the children's parents and the teachers at the supplementary school.

All the work could be categorised as falling into two groups - the teaching of Mathematics and the teaching of English. Each class group had an equal share of each of these 'subjects' and at a formal level, there was no other work undertaken. However, before exploring what constituted the school curriculum in this supplementary school, it is important to say what central issues helped to determine it.

The central views of the co-ordinators (Teachers A and C) as expressed through interviews and informal discussion, was that normal schools had failed black children. The evidence cited was that the children had poor literacy and numeracy skills and that this deficiency had to be made good by the black supplementary schools which were organised and run by members of the Afro-Caribbean community. Thus, the
supplementary schools were meant to provide scholastic help to pupils which would enhance their ability to undertake work in their weekday schools. Through a form of initial 'remedial' work at the supplementary school, pupils were expected to become proficient at literacy and numeracy skills and develop autonomy to take their learning further in the weekday school. Clearly in such a view, supplementary school curricula were to 'supplement' work of the normal school rather than be seen to provide 'substitute learning' for ethnic minority children.

Discussion with the organisers of the school also highlighted a 'hidden' agenda within the curriculum. The view was expressed that the environment of the supplementary school enhanced black consciousness through continuing debate and discussion about the difficulties, racism and hostility facing black people in Britain.

Another view expressed was that where a black pupil was not necessarily weak in school subjects at normal school, attendance at a black supplementary school would be encouraged as the pupil would learn a great deal about black identity and the black community through contact/attendance at the black supplementary school. This then would appear to be a latent function of this Saturday school. This is an issue about black pupil identity which is examined in Chapter 10 in this thesis.

In terms of the 'ideal elements' of the Black Supplementary School Movement as expressed by the Intellectuals and discussed in Chapter 5, the North London Supplementary School provided only a small part of the desired curriculum.

The school focussed almost entirely on the 3Rs and saw this as its main function. Discussion about black identity and consciousness took place in 'opportunistic' circumstances. It was neither planned nor structured in any meaningful way. This is not to say however that this part of the 'hidden' curriculum was not encouraged. Interspersed within work in Mathematics and English, much informal discussion took
place about the position of the black minority in Britain and the pupils were always encouraged to talk about such issues, especially in language work. At a theoretical level then, it could be argued that a 'subject-centred' curriculum operated in the teaching of Mathematics and English, and that a 'pupil-centred' curriculum operated for at least part of the time informally. The intended net effect was that pupils would gain in two ways. Firstly, their skills in subjects like Mathematics and English would be enhanced. Secondly, they would gain in self-confidence and self-pride. Through such a dual approach, the pupils were expected to eventually gain credentials (Hargreaves, D.H. 1982) and success through the existing educational system and not by opting out of it nor through an alternative system of education. The supplementary school in North London provided 'interim support' to pupils to fit into the mainstream of the English educational system and to benefit from it.

Mastery in the 3Rs was deemed to be especially important and very much in keeping with Gramsci's (1971), and Freire's (1972) view that the disadvantaged in a society should work hard at literacy and numeracy skills if they are to fight the forces which oppressed them in society. This view was also debated extensively by Stone (1981). But in addition to direct help with scholastic work, the informal curriculum provided a powerful boost in individual pupil morale to reject normal school definitions of their relative 'inability' to succeed in normal school work and to gain a sense of positive self-worth and image (Jeffcoate, 1979).

The North London Supplementary school clearly had an implicit set of objectives for the pupils. These objectives were not in written form but they permeated all aspects of the work undertaken at the school and manifested themselves through the charismatic leadership of the main coordinator - Teacher C as discussed earlier.
7.2.1. Teaching/learning programmes and their outcomes (NLSS)

The teaching of Mathematics and English were deemed to be of equal importance and consequently, the teacher of each group simply split the morning into these two subject areas. It did not matter in what order they were undertaken provided the time spent on any one was not undertaken at the expense of the other. Thus when work in say Mathematics appeared to go on longer than it should within a group, the two co-ordinators would gently remind the teachers concerned that it was time to start on the English work for the morning. Such practice is in sharp contrast to the progressive child-centred ideology of the primary school where pupils and teachers are encouraged to work on themes/topics relating to a child's interest and not to be constrained unduly by fixed timetabled lesson periods.

In examining the work in Mathematics first, the policy was to present four basic rules of number (Glenn 1977; Brissenden 1980; Cornelius 1982) in the following order: addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. 'Discovery-learning' appeared to be largely sacrificed for a formal teaching style so that the supplementary school would be teaching in a way likely to be significantly different from the modern primary state school (Shuard 1981). This clearly had the potential of generating conflict between the black pupils' perception of learning in Mathematics and illustrates how Black (1982) and Clark (1982) found resentment among weekday school teachers about the work of some supplementary schools.

All the work in Mathematics followed a very clear continuum from the simplest of mathematical skill and knowledge to more complex work and it is useful here to illustrate the form of such a continuum. It will be seen that mechanical mathematical skills were prioritised and that the application of such mathematical mechanical skills for problem solving, requiring the reading of a set mathematical problem, are not dealt with at the early stages of the work undertaken. The view was expressed that mastery of basic mathematical skills would provide the necessary grounding for all later development in mathematical
understanding. Such a view would represent a fairly traditional view of learning in Mathematics and is at variance with normal school Mathematics which has tended to be exploratory and creative. However, the teachers explained that many pupils could not solve 'problems' set in the Mathematics text books in normal schools by 10 and 11, because often they could not read English very well in the first instance. However, if they did get over this hurdle, they were often bright enough to understand how to solve a problem but failed utterly in the mechanical demands the problems made on them. They might know that 'division' or 'multiplication' was required to solve a problem but they could not go about doing such a mechanical function without invariably arriving at a wrong answer. Thus for these supplementary school teachers, actual learning that could be verified by obtaining correct answers in Mathematics did not occur to any great extent in state schools as far as black pupils were concerned. As one teacher put it, 'they played with a lot of equipment but learned very little' and he totally rejected a primary school headteacher's view that 'there was learning taking place all the time even though one may not be able to see it just yet'. For this teacher this kind of thinking which permeated English primary schools was utter 'rubbish' and central to explain black children's failure in schools. He went on to say very much like Stone (1981), that the teaching methods in primary schools were inappropriate for what black parents wanted for their children. In this respect, Hargreaves (1934) noted that:

many black parents are becoming committed to the kind of academic, rigorous education which is regarded as 'high status' or elite in Britain and traditionally offered by the 'grammar' and 'public' schools but which is increasingly being questioned as a suitable education for the majority of white children.

Hargreaves (1984: 76-77)
7.2.2. The skills continuum in the Mathematics programme

The importance of grasping the four rules in Mathematics is exemplified through actual examples of progression in number work:

\[ 12 \quad 14 \quad 83 \]
\[ +11 \quad \text{to} \quad +16 \quad \text{to} \quad +27 \]

and gradually to the addition of numbers with four or five digits. This was made more complicated gradually by presenting 'addition' with digits placed adjacent to each other as thus:

\[ 16 + 17 + 23 + 36 = \]

In time, pupils were required to learn about mathematical place values through such work as:

\[ 6 + 626 + 27 + 1 + 1002. \]

For such a sum, the pupils had to learn how to place the digits under each other correctly and then add them for a correct answer.

Next the pupils went through the process of mastery at subtraction of figures from:

\[ 6 - 4 \text{ to } 12 - 8 \text{ to } 20 - 9 \text{ to } 32 - 16 \text{ and so on,} \]

until they gained the skill to subtract four or five digits from a large number after correctly placing the different digits in relation to their place values.

The next stage in the progression was the skill of doing 'multiplication'. Once again, the firm belief was that the pupils should start from basic rules which gradually took them through a gradual increase in the level of difficulty in the following kind of progression:
The ability to perform such mechanical calculations correctly was used as a yardstick or measure to assess the level of mathematical competence reached by each child. Thus there was much individualised work generated for the pupils. Either the teacher quickly presented pupils with a series of sums which became progressively more complex or requested that the pupils work from a range of Mathematics text books which were available in the school.

The work in 'division' is also worth illustrating. It began with simple oral and written division sums such as 'give 8 oranges to 4 boys, how many would each boy get?' Such work gradually led to $3 \div 18 = 1 \frac{1}{3}$; $3 \div 26 = 9 \frac{424}{578264}$. Several pupils brought pocket calculators for their personal use to the school and were encouraged to use them, especially if they kept getting wrong answers when calculations were done manually. The aim was to help the children discover where they were going wrong with the help of a calculator.

The pupils invariably made errors over their 'number combinations' making errors at simple additions and subtractions and in the multiplication of sets of numbers. Consequently, much emphasis was stressed on mental arithmetic and especially in the children learning by heart their multiplication tables up to $12 \times 12$. Pupils would be asked to sit in a corner to memorise a set of tables and then to recite them quietly to a teacher - a very far cry from normal primary school practice today!

As the pupils progressed, they moved on to simple fractions and decimals so that by the age of 11 the children were expected to be able to work out the following kinds of mathematical computation which
needed an understanding of proper and improper fractions and the Lowest Common Multiple.

\[ \frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{2}{3} + 7\frac{1}{6} ; \quad 7\frac{3}{4} - 1\frac{4}{7} \]

These gradually became more difficult and eventually involved the use of brackets as in the following example:

\[ 3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2} \div 1\frac{1}{2} \quad \text{leading to} \quad 3\frac{1}{2} + ( \frac{1}{6} \times 2\frac{1}{2} ) + 1\frac{1}{3} \]

The work on decimals progressed from an understanding of the concept of 0.6 to mean \( \frac{6}{10} \) and gradually, how to add, subtract, multiply and divide using decimals. Later pupils learned how to present answers to specific decimal places when dividing in a situation such as \( \frac{22}{7} \).

When the basic rules of number were taught and learned, they were applied to a range of problems such as finding the area or perimeter of a given figure from a square to a triangle to a circle. In one instance, after a teacher explained how to convert \( \frac{22}{7} \) to a decimal, and checked the children could do it correctly, it was noted that the teacher told the children that there was a concept called \( \pi \) and that there was a relationship between the circumference of a circle and the radius of a circle. In observing this particular lesson it was noted that the teacher concerned, moved successfully from helping to change \( \frac{22}{7} \) to 3.1428571, explain how to 'round off' and why at two places after the decimal point, that is 3.14, and then how to measure the circumference of a pupil's plastic hoop which was on hand and even measure its area. Thus, in contrast to a normal primary school which would in all probability let a child discover for herself that there was a relationship between the circumference and radius, and gradually work towards calculating 'circumference' and 'area', the supplementary school teacher believed in reaching the same objective in a direct didactic manner in which he could teach and then verify by testing that learning had indeed taken place. For him, 'discovery learning could not guarantee that definitive learning of a particular objective had indeed taken place'.
All the above proved to be quite hard work for some of the children who often got thoroughly weary when dealing with measurements, especially on metric measurement. However, the older pupils who were thirteen and fourteen years old became fairly competent in coping with a range of mathematical problems dealing with percentages, simple interest, simple equations, and calculations using geometric figures. Even more important is that they felt they had got much better at Mathematics than their fellow pupils at normal school and this kind of issue is discussed in a later chapter.

The above progression in Mathematics would provide perhaps some of the kind of 'benchmarks' currently (1987) emphasised by Mr. Kenneth Baker, the Secretary of State for Education and Science in the proposed White Paper to help improve educational standards in schools. Most weekday teachers, however, would probably claim that the orientation of the Mathematics programme in the North London Supplementary School appeared dreary, monotonous and infinitely mechanistic instead of promoting enjoyable learning by 'discovery' and the exploration of materials and the environment. However, as illustrated already, the teachers of Caribbean origin (4 our of 7) at the NLSS felt strongly that the reason why black children, and indeed white children in the local schools, were failing at Mathematics was because their normal schools paid lip service to a sound grounding in basic number work. They therefore expressed the conviction that they, untrained as they were, could do a better job than what was being done in the local schools in the teaching of Mathematics at the primary level and even in the early stages of secondary school. A remark to the researcher by one Afro-Caribbean teacher clearly emphasises similar points made by other such teachers ... 'how is that I can teach addition, subtraction, multiplication and division to a child within about eight weeks through Saturday schooling when he has spent from age 5 to 11 in a state school and cannot subtract 26 from 53 correctly?' This kind of remark serves to highlight the supplementary school teacher's general criticism of what is seen as the inadequacy of the normal school in the teaching of basic number skills and the urgent need to redress this situation through supplementary schooling. A more detailed discussion of teacher...
views of the role of supplementary schools will however be dealt with in Chapter 11 of this thesis.

In the North London Supplementary School, the four teaching groups were presented with work in Mathematics at a level deemed to be appropriate for the children's ages. This was an intuitive judgement but related to the teachers' experience of mathematical work during their own former school days in the case of the Afro-Caribbean teachers.

It would be reasonable to say that the pupils had to work quite hard to reach the targets set for them by their teachers at the supplementary school. In other words, the level of competence in mathematical skills the children came with from their normal school was relatively low and a great deal of personal help was provided gradually to raise their standards. This was no easy task and at times the pupils had to be cajoled into doing work which they invariably stated was too demanding and at a level well above that expected in their own normal school. However, it was difficult to establish the truth of this pupil view. As no contact was maintained with the normal school (and the reasons for this are provided later) it was never totally clear whether the pupils were in the main doing work at a significantly lower level in their normal schools than was expected by the teachers in the supplementary school, though it appeared to be so; or were making out that they were finding work with the supplementary school teachers quite demanding because they did not wish to undertake more than a minimum amount of work. The researcher felt that at least a third of the pupils at the North London Supplementary School were clearly attempting to 'negotiate' (Woods, 1980a; Geer, 1971) the level at which they were willing to work so that they had a measure of control (Delamont, 1976) over the quantity and quality of academic work they were prepared to undertake. There were times when the pupils shed tears because of the difficulty they apparently faced with their supplementary school work and they frequently worked very slowly or downed their pens and pencils as a gesture of non-cooperation and refusal to work any more. But such gestures did not go to the point of outright hostility and rejection of work. In other words, there was no
evidence of behaviour which could be called 'boisterous, aggressive and disruptive' as was found in Brittain's (1976) study of West Indian pupils as well as in Stewart's (1978) work.

The supplementary school teachers tried to be as encouraging as possible but occasionally had to threaten to speak to the parents of some children to say that they were not working hard enough. Such a threat was often sufficient to make a pupil resort to renewed effort and energy though this was done with relatively little enthusiasm for the work. There were other times, however, when the pace of the work undertaken by pupils was satisfying to both the pupils and the teachers and there even were instances when pupils asked for additional work to be undertaken at home for completion by the following Saturday. But homework, as such was rarely provided because clearly the pupils were likely to be overburdened with work.

It is not easy to present a totally clear statement about the level of enthusiasm/acceptance of Saturday School work by the pupils but the researcher would argue that apart from the two Asian girls (referred to in Chapter 5) who attended the North London Supplementary School and worked with total devotion, enthusiasm and energy, the rest of the pupils who were all black, tended to display enthusiasm for work for perhaps three-quarters of the time and this finding contrasts sharply with that of Stone (1981) who suggested a very high level of pupil participation and enthusiasm for work at supplementary schools.

7.2.3. The English Curriculum (NLSS)

Unlike the Maths curriculum at the North London Supplementary School the English curriculum was not so clearly 'specified' in the consciousness of the organisers and teachers. However, the following guiding principles were advocated. The pupils ought to be able to:

a) spell correctly and read fluently,
b) write short simple sentences grammatically using imaginative vocabulary,
c) incorporate a number of sentences to form reasonable paragraphing,
d) punctuate satisfactorily,
e) indicate that they had adequately comprehended a short passage,
f) write short stories or essays at appropriate levels of competence for different ages at school,

As with the Maths curriculum, there were minimal 'targets' which the organisers had set for work in English but it was not graded in the way it was done for Maths. This clearly is because it is much harder to grade levels of work in English in a mechanistic way. Subjective judgements about the quality of work in language are not only inevitable but perhaps necessary (Barnes, 1976).

The way the English work was 'received' by the pupils varied from pupil to pupil. While at times it was accepted with enthusiasm, to the point where more work was requested to be undertaken at home, at other times, there were expressions of resentment at the demands made by the supplementary school teachers. The teachers often had to 'negotiate' (Geer, 1971; Woods, 1979, 1981; Reid, 1986) with the pupils the level of work deemed to be acceptable and also use a variety of strategies to get the pupils to complete set exercises/work in the school. The strongest sanction (Delamont, 1976) used by the teachers from time to time was that the parents of the children would be informed about their lack of enthusiasm and application for school work and in almost every instance a threat of this nature was sufficient, albeit temporarily, to cajole the pupil to put more effort into his/her work.

In general, the teachers at the North London Supplementary School appeared to be less certain about their skills in the teaching of English than they were in the teaching of Maths. This manifested itself in statements such as:

Teacher B: I am not sure about the best way to help the children to use a greater vocabulary ... or ... I am not sure if I should be encouraging the child to read more to help his
written work or whether I should concentrate on his written work through exercises.

One particular difficulty the children appeared to have was the degree of creole interference in the use of the English language. Thus, numerous examples of creole interference among pupils of Afro-Caribbean origin (Hymes, 1971; Sutcliffe, 1976; Edwards, 1979) were to be found. Brief examples of creole use in one research school are presented below:

'I has a lot of trouble'

'dem all been difficult' (when explaining that the work set by the teacher was demanding)

'this hiss my mother'

'him ah give me lot of grief' (when another pupil was a bit of a nuisance)

What was clear though was that creole was used at times not spontaneously, but in preference to standard English. This was particularly true when the pupils communicated among themselves but not generally true for their communication with the teacher except as a strategy of 'time wasting' (Willis, 1977; Woods, 1979, 1983) in which the teacher's time was taken up interpreting what the pupils were saying and trying to correct them. This was a strategy often employed by pupils in the researcher's group. Such a strategy could not be used with Afro-Caribbean teachers as they readily understood what was being said and were dismissive of it. The use of creole as a 'time wasting' strategy is clearly used extensively in normal secondary schools with white teachers. This information was provided to the researcher by pupils from the South London Supplementary School who claimed that some of their white peers understood creole but not their teachers. It was therefore used as a 'private' language of communication between mainly black pupils.
7.3. The South London Supplementary School

7.3.1. Curriculum Structure

The South London Supplementary School clearly had a more varied curriculum than the North London Supplementary School. To begin with, there was a clear timetable for each class in the school, except for the youngest pupils and an explanation for this is provided a little later. Each class (excepting for the youngest pupils) had a teacher who taught distinct 'subjects' at the joint direction of Teachers J and M. They allocated a group of pupils who represented a class, to a given teacher at the start of the school year in September. Such a teacher would normally teach the following subjects: Maths, English and Social Studies. Eight teachers were available to teach these three subjects to their class groups. However, the organisers attempted to modify such regularity in the teaching pattern in relation to the known skills/expertise of some of the teachers. Two of the teachers, Teacher L, a graduate in Physics and Chemistry, and Teacher Q, a teacher in Maths in a weekday secondary school were perceived as having skills in 'shortage' subject areas which had to be exploited to the full. Consequently, these two teachers only taught Maths in the school as a specialism, although a minimal quantity of Physics work was also undertaken by one of them with the oldest pupil in the school.

Implicit in the consciousness of the two organisers of the South London Supplementary School was the view that the two Maths 'specialists' would be wasting their skills and expertise in Maths by also teaching English and Social Studies within the school. Clearly, the expertise in Maths was valued more highly than expertise in language and Social Studies (Young, 1971; Griffiths and Howson, 1974; Brissenden, 1980). Even when the two teachers offered to teach English and Social Studies, they were discouraged from doing so. The result of this policy was that apart from teaching Maths to their own class groups, these two teachers circulated among the other class groups when their own class groups were taken for English and Social Studies. Thus in this school we note that the teaching of well defined subjects was important but
there was considerable flexibility in the use of the varied teacher skills/expertise available. The two Maths teachers were also available to the other teachers to help them determine the most appropriate teaching approach to follow when teaching Mathematics to the pupils.

The teaching of specific 'subjects' was paramount within the South London Supplementary School, not unlike the situation in the North London Supplementary School, except that the curriculum was broader and there was greater flexibility in the instrumental use of the teachers. The approach to teaching Maths and English was remarkably alike for the two schools and there is no need therefore to go into great detail of the work undertaken at the South London Supplementary School in Mathematics and English. However, some data on the work in these subjects at the SLSS is provided a little later. Both schools focussed on teacher-centred teaching/learning strategies and both schools aimed for maximising literacy and numeracy skills among their pupils. Thus in Gramscian (1971) terms, the schools were meeting the objectives of mastering basic literacy and numeracy skills which he believed the subordinate groups in society must acquire in order to understand and act on the nature of their subordination engendered through hegemonic control by the dominant classes in society. Stone (1981) also argued strongly that the black supplementary schools were essentially adhering to Gramsci's (1971) principle that resistance to hegemony (and the subordinate role of black people in Britain in this instance) could be engendered through the mastery of basic literacy and numeracy skills but also through an increased awareness of such subordination through the study of 'civics' and 'social studies'. In this respect, of the two supplementary schools researched, only the South London Supplementary School focussed on 'Social Studies' and an account is now provided below about this 'subject' which was considered to be 'very important' within the curriculum.

7.3.2. Social Studies (SLSS)

At the South London Supplementary School, all the pupils, except the youngest ones aged 5 to 6½ years, studied Social Studies. This
'subject' encompassed elements of Geography, History and Civics. There was no clearly set out syllabus for Social Studies but two geographical areas were to be emphasised in terms of the policy of the school. These were Social Studies relating to Africa and to the Caribbean and were to include aspects of physical geography, economics, culture, history and politics within these areas and how these related to other parts of the world (Arora and Duncan, 1986; Brandt, 1986).

An account of the orientation of the work undertaken provides useful insights into the progress made at the South London Supplementary School in Social Studies.

At the start of the school year in September, it became clear to the teachers that pupil knowledge of the two geographical areas under scrutiny was quite limited for a class doing Social Studies for the first time at this school. The account below is illustrative of the teaching situation in Teacher R's class. In focussing on the topic of slavery, the teacher failed to elicit from the pupils, knowledge about where black slaves were taken from and where they were shipped to in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. West Africa, the Caribbean and the Eastern regions of the USA were 'non-existent' places to the pupils. However, the pupils were aware of the television serial 'Roots' and through a discussion of the programmes, began to make conceptual links between black people, slavery, white slave owners and sugar and cotton plantations. The pupils stated that they were often called 'slaves' in their normal schools by their fellow white pupils who clearly had also watched the serial 'Roots'. In spite of this, the researcher was struck by pupil difficulty to perceive themselves and their parents as having slave origins in the Caribbean. There could have been a powerful desire to believe that the evidence was not true (Bagley, 1979; Milner, 1975, 1983) and such an affective response appeared to influence their cognitive judgements of historical reality (Milner 1975, 1983).

When the discussion in the Social Studies session explored the geographical origins of their parents, the pupils' knowledge was
remarkably skimpy. Further, although two out of the eight, 12 year old pupils had been to Jamaica and two to St. Kitts on holiday and had very much enjoyed the holiday, they had absolutely no idea on a large map of the world, how far or in what direction those Caribbean destinations were from Britain.

Eventually, the discussion centred on the reasons why the pupils' parents had travelled to live and work in Britain. The reasons provided were most odd. One pupil stated, very seriously, that he thought his parents had travelled to Britain 'to see what snow looked like'. Another expressed the view that his parents came to Britain 'because they found it too hot in Jamaica'. None of the pupils appeared to have any awareness that it was the search for work that predominantly brought Caribbean people to Britain (as discussed at length in Chapter 1) and that Afro-Caribbean pupils in supplementary schools were the offspring of people who came to Britain in relatively recent times. It would appear that many of the pupils providing the kind of responses illustrated above were lacking in 'cultural capital' as discussed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), - the stock of knowledge that middle class children normally have which corresponds with school knowledge and helps them to be relatively successful in school. In terms of the 'need' defined by the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement, of breadth of knowledge, among Afro-Caribbean pupils of their history and culture, the examples highlighted above would confirm that they are right to be very concerned that the knowledge base of many black pupils is far from adequate to cope with the examinations-based curriculum of the normal school and to develop self-confidence. To achieve the kind of credentials the Intellectuals aspire towards for black youth, clearly supplementary schools are required to work very hard with their pupils and overcome considerable educational underachievement highlighted by studies such as Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985).

The case of one pupil of African origin is now presented to illustrate the point being made about the concern relating to underachievement
outside the area of Maths and English at the South London Supplementary School.

Peter, aged 12, was the only African pupil in Teacher R's class but he consistently tried hard to hide the fact that he was not of Afro-Caribbean origin. It became clear at a later stage that this was because he believed that as an African pupil he enjoyed even lower status than a West Indian/Afro-Caribbean individual. Such a factor, according to some adult respondents in this research, has impelled some individual pupils to hide their real identities to avoid ridicule from white pupils and even black pupils and this is an issue which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, in the case of Peter, his knowledge of Nigeria (his country of birth, origin and continuing contact on holiday) and his attitude to it is revealing and sad.

Through a series of questions and answers, it was possible to ascertain that Peter had absolutely no idea about the geographical location of Nigeria on a map of Africa, nor any knowledge of its relative size, its neighbouring countries, or even if Nigeria produced any products for domestic or overseas consumption. So gross was the apparent level of ignorance that the researcher had to make every effort to verify if Peter was, on the contrary, quite brilliant at not disclosing his knowledge of Nigeria in the presence of Afro-Caribbean pupils in the group. However, the interchange below highlights one brief discourse among many during a social studies session. First, Peter was shown where Nigeria was on a large map of the world.

Teacher: Did you know Nigeria was in Africa?

Pupil: No.

Teacher: Are you surprised how big the country is?

Pupil: It is not very big.
Teacher: Well, do you think it is bigger or smaller than Britain?

Pupil: (laughs at the seeming naivety of the teacher)

Teacher: Well, why do you laugh Peter?

Pupil: Well, everyone knows that Britain is much bigger.

At this point the teacher points to the relative sizes of the two countries (Nigeria and Britain) on the map. The pupil shakes his head and says ... 'it can't be'.

Teacher: Do you mean it can't be that Nigeria is larger than Britain?

Pupil: Yes, that's what I mean.

Following this interchange, it took much persuasion for the pupil finally to accept that Britain was a relatively small country and that many countries around the world, and especially African states were larger than Britain.

Next in the session, discussion went on about what Nigeria produced and exported. Peter found it very difficult to accept that Nigeria was a major producer of oil and that like Britain, she was an important oil-producing nation.

What appears to be significant about this type of teacher/pupil exchange is the revelation that some black pupils appear to have very little general knowledge about their backgrounds, and secondly, that some appear to have a crisis of identity relating to their ethnic origins. They appeared to be keen to distance themselves from their origins to the extent of denying all or most knowledge about their immediate ancestry. Such a situation is of major concern for the
Black Supplementary School Movement and the curricula are therefore intended to rectify this situation. Milner, (1983); Jeffcoate, (1979) and Tierney et al. (1982), among many others have argued that unless black children are consciously helped to understand the strength and validity of their own backgrounds, they will be educationally disadvantaged as illustrated in the case of Peter. Consequently, proponents of multicultural education have emphasised strongly the need to 'multiculturalise' the normal school curriculum in the interests of all pupils in a multi-racial society and the supplementary school in South London appeared to be justified in including Social Studies as an essential 'subject' in the curriculum.

7.3.3. The work in Mathematics (SLSS)

At the South London Supplementary School, the work in Mathematics followed a similar pattern to that at the North London Supplementary School as stated earlier. There was a clear awareness of the way the pupils were expected to progress and of the orientation of the work in Mathematics. Much of the teaching material (especially the text books) were identical in both schools. The only significant difference was that the youngest pupils had access to mathematical learning apparatus in a variety of forms and at the upper end, because there were pupils of 15 and 16, the level of Maths undertaken was higher. Here the pupils dealt with calculus, quadratic equations in algebra and a range of theorems in geometry. All the pupils at the upper end of the school were fairly keen to make good progress in Maths and took pride in doing the most advanced work in the school. The availability of the graduate teacher for Maths teaching at this school proved to be a major asset to this particular school and he was quite successful in motivating the pupils to work hard.

7.3.4. The work in English (SLSS)

There was much similarity in the curriculum of the two schools researched. Both schools emphasised good use of grammar, punctuation,
essay/story writing and comprehension. However, at the South London Supplementary School, there was a greater concern over encouraging the development of spelling skills by actually teaching spelling from published books of spelling words, and in encouraging the writing of poetry as part of the children's work. Such an emphasis, especially on the spelling, emanated from the co-ordinators of the school, and the rest of the teachers were often reminded of the importance attached to good spelling.

7.4. Liaison with parents over curricula

As discussed in Chapter 6, both the supplementary schools studied emphasised the importance of maintaining close links with the parents of the children who attended the schools (Stone, 1981; Clark, 1982).

At the North London Supplementary School, contact with parents was relatively informal. The parents of pupils, especially for the younger ones arrived at the school and usually exchanged a few words with the teachers as the teaching area was being organised for classes. These parents also met the teachers briefly at the end of the day sessions. Additionally, the organisers arranged open termly meetings with the parents. The purpose of the termly Saturday afternoon meeting was to inform parents of the progress being made by individual children, what specific difficulties they might be facing and how the parents might help with their children's academic progress. Such meetings were also intended to make arrangements for fund-raising to purchase teaching materials such as exercise books, pens and paper. A core group of parents took responsibility to organise regular dances which brought members of the Afro-Caribbean community together, and thus provided financial and moral support for the school. There was thus a close and positive link between the school and its local Afro-Caribbean community (Clark 1982).

At the South London Supplementary School, the liaison with parents was more formalised. To start with, the school organisers had an address-list of Afro-Caribbean families residing in the vicinity of the
supplementary school and parents were personally called upon to inform
them about the school and to encourage them to send their school-
attending pupils to the Saturday school. On the other hand, parents
who had heard about the supplementary school and were keen for their
children to attend, had to apply formally on an application form to the
organiser of the school for a place at the school. The parents and
their pupils then met the organisers at the school on a Saturday
morning for upwards of half an hour at a time and learned about the way
the school functioned. What was most emphasised was the need for
commitment to the school, regular attendance and consistent pupil
application to school work. The organisers also took much detail of
the pupils' background, normal school attainments, difficulties
experienced and other relevant details which it was believed would be
useful during the child's stay at the supplementary school. Thus,
while at the North London Supplementary School, pupil entry to the
school was very informal, at the South London Supplementary School
there was a fairly elaborate pattern of induction into the school which
gave the parents a feeling that supplementary schooling was being taken
fairly seriously by the organiser and that the parents would in turn
take it seriously. This practice very much followed the practice first
established at the George Padmore School which, as referred to in
Chapter 4 was thought to have been like a model for many subsequent
supplementary schools.

As most of the Afro-Caribbean parents shared the view that their
children's normal schools were failing to provide them an appropriate
level of skills and competencies (Dhondy et al., 1982) it was not
difficult to arrive at a consensus about what the supplementary schools
should focus upon in terms of the work to be undertaken with their
children. Thus parents and supplementary school teachers shared
identical views about the broad aims and objectives of the schools.
Such a shared consensus was almost spontaneous, arising out of their
common experience of living in Britain and their awareness (Little et
al. 1968; Coard, 1971; Mabey, 1981; Rampton, 1981) that their children
underachieved in normal schools. In the two seven-month periods of
observation and direct involvement with all facets of supplementary
school activity, the researcher did not come across a single event or situation where a parent was not in agreement with the orientation of the work undertaken by the supplementary school and there was not one example of a parent withdrawing a child because he or she felt there was no benefit from the supplementary school experience. The views of parents relating to supplementary schools are examined in Chapter 11.

7.5. Links with weekday/normal school

It was 'official' policy of both supplementary schools that they established or maintained no links with the weekday schools the pupils attended during the week. The view was expressed that contact with weekday schools would be of no benefit to supplementary school pupils. Fears were expressed that the normal schools would not 'approve' the attendance of their pupils at supplementary schools for a variety of reasons. These were some of the explanations provided about how normal schools would perceive supplementary schools and also why supplementary schools wished to maintain their distance from normal schools:

a) that the pupils had undertaken enough work in the week and needed to relax from organised school programmes over the week-end,

b) that the pupils at supplementary schools were being taught by untrained teachers, the consequence of which was that teaching approach, method and emphasis on different aspects of work would differ between the two schools to the disadvantage of the pupils,

c) that the additional attendance at school on a Saturday morning would merely help to confirm the suspicion of the weekday school teachers, the stereotyped view that Afro-Caribbean children were poor academically. This view corresponded very closely with Black's (1980) findings and the views expressed by the Intellectuals of the Movement as discussed in Chapter 5,
d) fears that the autonomy the supplementary schools enjoyed to pursue their own goals, and in a manner of their own choosing would be subject to forms of interference by the normal schools. This would only exacerbate matters,

e) the view that the normal schools had failed the Afro-Caribbean children and that distancing the supplementary schools from the normal school was probably in the interest of the pupils.

Thus, the view (Rampton, 1981) that normal schools should liaise with supplementary schools so that a form of partnership emerged between them was rejected outright by the supplementary schools studied and their views corresponded closely with the views of the Intellectuals as discussed in Chapter 5.

A detailed discussion of the views of supplementary school pupils, their teachers and their parents towards the maintenance or non-maintenance of links with normal schools is presented later in this thesis.

7.6. Review of Curriculum content in both schools

The curriculum content for the two schools researched emphasised the 3Rs very considerably. However, the South London Supplementary School was more explicit than the North London Supplementary School about stressing the children's black identity especially when school assembly took place (even though this did not happen often) and in Social Studies lessons. Both schools met the 'ideal elements', referred to in Chapter 5, of the Black Supplementary School Movement in slightly different ways. They emphasised strongly the need to focus on basic literacy and numeracy skills but more significantly, they emphasised elements of black identity and culture as lying at the heart of the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement. This was achieved overtly at the South London Supplementary School and more covertly at the North London Supplementary School. However it would be reasonable to say that there was in total a greater priority given to the 3Rs than
to cultural issues, a situation the Intellectuals might have wished to see reversed.

7.6.1. Teaching/learning styles and their outcomes

At both schools there was a mix of formal teacher-centred and informal pupil-centred pedagogy. Whenever new work was introduced to a class the teaching style was didactic. But there was a great deal of individualised work undertaken with the pupils. This was especially true for the North London Supplementary School because there were no blackboards or other teaching apparatus available. Consequently, in the two subjects taught, that is, Maths and English, each pupil was given work to do, either from a text book or it was generated by the teacher himself/herself. While the children worked on the tasks given them, the teacher monitored what was being done and helped those experiencing difficulties. It was rare for a teacher to stop a class and endeavour to teach new material to the entire class. Also, as the pupils were invariably doing different kinds of work or working at varying levels, they did not have to compare their performance with each other. The net consequence of this teaching/learning approach in the researcher's view was that some pupils learned (Woods, 1979, 1983) not to work too quickly as the speedy completion of work inevitably led to more work generated by the teacher. The pupils also 'bargained' and 'negotiated' with the teachers, offering to do a certain quantity of work, if the teacher agreed to let them sit back and read a story book from the library stock after they had completed the 'negotiated' quota of work. As in Geer's (1971) work, it was never possible for the teacher to make, what the pupils would consider to be 'excessive' demands on them. Sometimes the teacher was able to persuade the pupils to increase the quota of work they were prepared to do but invariably a compromise was reached between teacher and pupils about what was deemed to be a reasonable amount of work. On the whole, the pupils did not discuss their 'tolerance level' for work collectively. In almost all instances, it was negotiated quietly and individually with the teacher. The potential of the pupils to gang up on the teacher did not arise (Delamont, 1976) as the class sizes did not exceed ten pupils per
class. Such small class groups also enabled the teacher to individualise pupil work and to monitor the progress made.

When pupils requested and received permission to undertake silent reading (Bettleheim and Selan, 1982; Oxenham, 1980), the teachers would often listen to individual children read aloud for a few minutes at a time. The pupils were quite keen to read aloud to the teacher, except of course, for those who were poor readers. The poorer readers were often taken a short distance away from the rest of the group by the teacher to monitor the reading standard and to help individual children overcome reading difficulties (Stubbs and Hillier, 1983). In some instances, one of the teachers used a tape recorder (his own) to record children's individual reading and then played back such recordings to illustrate how the reading, especially the pronunciation, could be improved.

At the North London Supplementary School, each pupil used exercise books for Maths and English provided by the School. Exercises undertaken by the pupils were marked and any work done incorrectly was required, as per school policy, to be repeated and done correctly. All marking of pupil work was done within the pupils' exercise books and the teachers kept no other records of pupil progress. As in normal schools, the teachers provided verbal comment on the quality of work undertaken by pupils in addition to providing numerical grades.

On the whole, the pupils produced work which was neat and tidy because this is what was expected from them. Sloppy work was not acceptable to the teachers. Being a self-selected group, the work produced by the children indicated that reasonable effort was invested in the work undertaken at most times. However, as stated earlier, unlike Stone (1981) it would be difficult to state that there was considerable enthusiasm for the work, except as stated previously in Chapter 6, ironically, in the case of the two Asian girls who attended the North London Supplementary School.
At the South London Supplementary School, the pupils appeared to be generally happier than at the North London Supplementary School. This may have been because there was greater interaction between pupils, and between pupils and teachers. While in every other respect the nature of the work undertaken in Maths and English was similar at both schools, the longer school day interspersed with a lunch break at the South London Supplementary School, appeared to enhance the quality of pupil interaction (Delamont, 1976) and make them livelier and more dynamic than their counterparts north of the Thames. The pupils also identified with the school fairly closely and generally appeared to enjoy attending their school on Saturdays. These issues are explored further in Chapter 9.

It would be pertinent now to provide some theoretical commentary on the issues relating to 'progressive' and 'traditional' teaching styles which have proved fairly controversial in educational theory and practice and to see what bearing the data from the supplementary schools may have on such theory.

Bennett (1976) attempted to discover which teaching styles contributed to 'good' teaching. To do this, he developed a typology of 12 teaching 'types' from 'least' to 'most' progressive. He then reduced these 12 types to three styles which he called 'formal', 'informal' and 'mixed' teaching styles. From questionnaires to teachers who indicated their styles of teaching, Bennett (1976) concluded that children in classes taught by informal teachers did worse in Reading than those with mixed and formal teachers. In Maths and English, children taught by formal teachers did much better than those taught by mixed or informal teachers. The conclusion appeared to be that formal teaching methods were best and this 'proved' to be just the kind of information that the 'Black Paperites' (Cox and Dyson) were really keen to hear about.

Following much debate about these research findings, Aitkin, Bennett et al. (1981) undertook a re-analysis of Bennett’s earlier data and used a number of different assumptions and statistical techniques. Once
again, using Bennett's (1976) typology of formal, informal and mixed teaching styles, the findings suggested that in the three subjects examined as previously, (Reading, English and Arithmetic), mixed teaching styles were the worst. In English, formal styles were better than informal while in Reading, informal styles were better than formal while in Maths, no difference was found between formal and informal styles. Such conflicting evidence was further added to by Gray and Satterley's (1981) study which also analysed Bennett's original data and concluded that a 'more formal' approach was better in all three subjects but that none of the findings were statistically significant.

However, one other major study by Galton and Simon (1980), generally referred to as the 'Oracle' (Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation) study is important for seeking clarification on the relative merits of 'progressive' and 'traditional' teaching styles, by using a different methodology from Bennett's (1976) work. The Oracle study based its findings on observational work with teachers in classrooms in contrast to Bennett's (1976) work based on questionnaires. Additionally, Oracle did not confine its study entirely to Reading, English and Arithmetic test scores. Instead, it focussed on the effects of different types of teaching on different types of pupils.

Oracle developed six teaching styles and from a range of findings about their effectiveness, suggested that no single teaching style was superior across Maths, English and Reading. However, the evidence from Oracle was open to a number of interpretations, none of which could be defined as conclusive (Mackinnon 1984). One significant contribution from Oracle was the view that in small group teaching, different types of pupil benefit from different styles of teaching and Oracle thus divided pupils into four types: attention seekers, intermittent workers, solitary workers and quiet collaborators.

The ideal pupil for progressive teaching/learning was found to be the quiet collaborator - 'the child who works, is not disruptive, but interacts with other pupils in doing his or her own work'. It was also
estimated that only 12 per cent of Oracle's sample could be classified as quiet collaborators but even this category of pupil as a percentage appeared to vary depending on the kind of teaching style offered to pupils. The overall conclusion from the Oracle data was that small group teaching was not functioning effectively at present in the way envisaged by Plowden (Mackinnon 1984).

Although none of the evidence stemming from Bennett (1976) Aitkin, Benett et al. (1981), Galton and Simon (1980), Gray and Satterley (1981), Mackinnon (1984) is conclusive for the present, the issue of teaching styles in relation to pupil performance has a bearing on the work of the Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools. We see groups taught in small sizes and by teachers who appear to have a high ideological commitment to the pupils and the Movement. A study specifically geared to the objectives of Bennett (1976) or Oracle (1980) but located within black supplementary schools may be able to throw much light in the future, than can be done at present, on a rather unusual form of teaching and learning that occurs in most large urban centres on Saturday mornings. The teachers at the supplementary schools, are convinced that it is the rigour with which work is undertaken with individual children and the way each child's progress is monitored, that determines the rate of progress made by the children. The researcher's observation did suggest that Oracle 's four categories of pupils - attention seekers, intermittent workers, solitary workers and quiet collaborators were also to be found in the supplementary schools. However, as the schools were basically working on limited curricula and with relatively sparse resources compared to normal schools, an attempt at a comparison between the two types of schools on the criteria of 'progressive' and 'traditional' teaching styles would not be a realistic proposition at present.

7.7. General assessment of the learning process

The researcher would concur with the co-ordinators and teachers of both schools that the pupils who attended school on Saturdays were benefitting in terms of the Maths and Language competence they were
gaining. Because there was much individual attention given to the pupils and a favourable teacher/pupil ratio as discussed in Chapter 6, it was possible to monitor and chart the academic progress (Rowntree, 1977) made by the different pupils. It was clearly simpler to monitor progress in Maths work over a given period of say two months, than it was in English work. The graded levels of work in Maths made it relatively easy to establish the level at which individual pupils were operating and if there was a need to slacken or quicken the pace of work. In contrast, it was harder to establish the rate of progress made over short periods in English work. Yet, there were unmistakable signs of general improvement in reading skills, comprehension, growth of vocabulary and in the presentation of a variety of written work.

A detailed discussion of the effect of Saturday school attendance at the supplementary schools and the impact this has on issues of 'self-concept', identity and awareness is presented in Chapter 10.

7.8. Reflections on the 'ideal elements' of the Black Supplementary School Movement in relation to curricula in the two schools studied

In Chapter 5, the main 'ideal elements' of the Black Supplementary School Movement were discussed in relation to the ideology posited by the Intellectuals of the Movement.

In Gramscian (1971) terms as well as that of Freire (1972, 1985) the 'liberation' and 'emancipation' of the disadvantaged and powerless (Heineman, 1972) is only possible through their own efforts. They have to understand the strategies employed by the dominant strata in society and then use appropriate educational strategies to change the conditions of their subordinate power and status. To this end then, at both the supplementary schools studied, the acquisition of skills to read, write, comprehend and use mathematical skills were being adequately undertaken. There was evidence through the pupils' work to demonstrate that they were gaining in literacy and numeracy. The consequence was that the pupils were clearly being released from the
uncertainty, tension and anxiety generated by not being able to cope with basic literacy and numeracy which in turn had prevented them from advancing and progressing in their normal school work.

However, the wider aim of acquiring a broad knowledge base through Afro-Caribbean history and culture to become a more effective school pupil was not being met within the curriculum of the North London Supplementary School because no explicit provision was made to provide for this aim. Minimally, there was no work undertaken which related to history, geography or Social Studies which would have helped to broaden the intellect and knowledge base of the pupils. In contrast, slow but steady progress was being made at the South London Supplementary School towards equipping the pupils to understand their position as black Britons (Mullard, 1973) within British society and also their understanding of the historic background of their 'social condition' in Britain (Castles et al., 1984; Fryer, 1984; Walvin, 1984). Thus one might conclude that in terms of the wider aim of broadening pupil awareness and consciousness of their status in society, the two schools were at different stages of development. The South London Supplementary School was more sophisticated and closer to the ideal elements within the model of the Black Supplementary School as envisaged by the Intellectuals of the Movement than was the North London Supplementary School.

In Chapter 4 there was a discussion of the general dissatisfaction of the Afro-Caribbean community with the teaching/learning process within normal schools. Most black parents felt that the liberal atmosphere of the child-centred primary school (Entwistle, 1970) was too relaxed to encourage black pupils to work in a systematic and demanding manner. Stone (1981) also argued strongly that black pupils appeared to benefit from the structured teaching/learning approach available in black supplementary schools where 'didactic teaching' replaced 'discovery learning' which normally went on in state primary schools. The evidence from the two schools studied for this research indicated that they closely approximated recommended work on the 3Rs, by the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement. At the
two supplementary schools studied, a 'traditional' teaching and learning style for traditional subjects such as Maths and English was deemed to be superior to the 'progressive' (Entwistle, 1970) teaching and learning styles advocated in British schools since Plowden (1967).

In terms of current (1987) debate about the need for a core curriculum and Mr. Baker's (1986, 1987) concern to establish 'benchmarks' in the proposed White Paper so that pupil progress in schools can be monitored, all the evidence collected from Afro-Caribbean parents and teachers in the supplementary schools for this research would indicate some measure of agreement with Mr. Baker's current proposals for school curricula. In terms of the Afro-Caribbean community and its expression of concern about educational achievement of their children, it is precisely the lack of rigour and criteria to assess performance at regular stages in a child's school career that is a contributory factor to West Indian underachievement and that until state schools begin to take on this task, supplementary schools will have to make up for these deficiencies within the normal school curriculum.

In the next chapter an examination is undertaken of the social interaction in the research schools.
CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE TWO RESEARCH SCHOOLS
CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE TWO RESEARCH SCHOOLS

8.1. Introduction

A major aim of the supplementary schools as discussed in Chapter 4 and 5 was to generate and promote a co-operative school atmosphere for black pupils who were deemed to be underachieving in normal state schools and also to promote in such pupils pride in their West Indian ethnic minority identity and culture, and skills in the 3Rs.

To meet the above aim, supplementary schools had to spend time to get pupils to accept the norms of the schools and to accept behaviour in prescribed ways. Normal schools succeed with many pupils but also fail with others to achieve specific goals and this chapter will examine how individuals and groups of pupils interactively 'adapted' and organised themselves towards meeting the goals of the two supplementary schools studied.

The process of pupil 'adaptation' to school culture has been examined theoretically in a variety of ways. The central concern however has been to explore the range of problems pupils have experienced in accepting aspects of a school's formal culture and becoming a part of it. Merton's (1957) typology which identified two elements in culture: goals (purposes and interests) which are held up as being worth striving for and means - the ways in which the goals should be achieved has been further developed by sociologists of education, Harary (1966), Wakeford (1969), Woods (1977, 1979, 1983) and Pollard (1980, 1982) to examine models of pupil adaptation and social interaction in schools.

Merton (1957) had proposed five major modes of adaptation to the social order based on combinations of 'acceptance' and 'rejection' of official goals and means. These ranged from conformity (acceptance of both) to innovation (acceptance of goals, rejection of means), ritualism (rejection of goals, acceptance of means), retreatism (rejection of
both) to rebellion (rejection of both but with replacement). Since then, reformulations of Merton's (1957) model have incorporated concepts of 'indifference' and 'ambivalence' as possible reactions, and 'colonisation' (indifference to goals, ambivalence to means) in the typology.

Woods (1983) argued that although Merton's adaptation model is rooted in functionalist theory with all its limitations, it nevertheless provides interactionists considerable scope for analysis if it is closely associated with pupils' real life-worlds and helps them to identify various modes of pupil behaviour within the broad framework of pro- and anti-school cultures which had been initially developed in the work of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970). Clearly, the 'adaptation model' referred to above can be particularly relevant to a large school with a broad spectrum of pupils. Its relevance to a small unconventional school with a self-selected range of pupils, as in the supplementary school, may be more limited but the researcher felt that by keeping Merton's (1957) adaptation model in mind for purposes of analysis of the data, it would help to provide a clearer understanding of the nature of the interaction within each of the supplementary schools studied. It was recognised however, that others like Furlong (1976) have argued that Merton's (1957) typology, even in its reformulated state as described earlier, and especially its concern for pro- and anti-school cultures, had no relevance to a realistic portrayal of pupil life in schools because Furlong saw no persistent pupil culture as such, arguing instead, that it is the individual who constructs his or her own action, and not the group that dictates it. For Furlong (1976) teachers, subjects, and methods of teaching mean different things to different pupils and within a single lesson, pupils move in and out of a number of interaction sets.

In response to this view, Woods (1983) conceded that a range of factors determine the individual's choice, including shifts in goals and the influence of different contexts and situations and that the result is 'one not of consistent 'conformity' or 'deviance', but of variable behaviour'. He goes on to say that we also need to recall ourselves
that for pupils as well as for teachers, many definitions are probably 'habitual' rather than 'uniquely personal', and that:

the interactionist concern is that these generalisations should be adequately underpinned by detailed considerations of pupil views, options and judgements.

Woods (1983: 95)

The other major concept apart from 'adaptation' that has engaged interactionists in the study of pupils in classrooms has been that of 'negotiation'. This relates to the daily 'give-and-take' between teachers and pupils and where everyday realities of the classroom are constantly defined and re-defined (Delamont 1976; Woods 1979). The concept of 'negotiation' had its origins in the work of Strauss et al. (1964) when they examined social relationships within different kinds of personnel in psychiatric hospitals. Since then, educational research which embraced the interactionist perspective has increasingly found it a useful concept to help analyse the complex and dynamic process of interplay between pupils, and between pupils and teachers. According to Woods (1983) the apparent anarchy, disorder and 'waste of time' that seems to be so typical of many schools is highly meaningful and rule-bound and an attempt is now made to explore these features in the two supplementary schools studied.

8.2. The North London Supplementary School

8.2.1. Pupil views of teachers

It was noted in Chapter 6 that at the North London Supplementary School, the school organisation was relatively formal compared to the South London Supplementary School. The pupils therefore tended to restrict their comments about the teachers and their teaching very much to the more formal teaching and learning styles than to their personal relationships with their teachers, while the opposite appeared to be true for the South London Supplementary School.
The NLSS children emphasised in their responses to the researcher that good teachers were those who were knowledgeable of their subject area, were well organised, and were able to explain matters relating to Maths and English clearly and in a manner understandable to them. In this respect, they reiterated that they received considerably more help from the supplementary school teachers than their weekday school teachers but agreed that this was related to the fact that a supplementary school 'class' was invariably a quarter to a third the size of their normal school class size.

The next factor emphasised by the NLSS pupils was that they valued the help and encouragement received from their supplementary school teachers. What emerged strongly was the extent of the sympathy and understanding the pupils perceived in their supplementary school teachers. This gave them the confidence to seek help, 'without them thinking us dim'. Again and again, the element of confidence in the teacher emerged as an important contributory factor in promoting learning in this supplementary school. In terms of Taylor's (1962) work on teacher behaviours valued by children, that is, teaching, discipline, personal qualities and organisation, it would appear that three of these but excluding discipline were emphasised by the pupils in the NLSS. Discipline as such was not emphasised nor even referred to because it was a non-issue. In this school, there were seven teachers, including three parents, and consequently there simply was no opportunity for the children to 'muck about' (Woods 1979) and get away with it.

One observation made at the NLSS was that the pupils did not expect the teachers to be 'friendly' with them. They always appeared to maintain some distance between themselves and the teachers as though they needed some 'space' for themselves within the formal structure of the school. This was a kind of informal pupils' 'rule' they had established for themselves to be effected during the short break for refreshments during the middle of the school day. This expectation of an impersonal or non friendly relationship with the teachers contrasted sharply with pupil relationships at the SLSS which will be illustrated later in
this chapter. However, such a situation was also found by Nash (1976) when he tried to discover among twelve-year old pupils what behaviours they valued in their teachers, and 'being friendly' was not one of them.

In the above account, it is not so much that one is concerned about the likes and dislikes of pupils at the NLSS that is under discussion, but rather, the basis of the rules or expectations which the pupils had of the teachers. It is clear that the pupil expectations corresponded fairly closely with the teachers' expectations at the school, that in the limited time available on a Saturday morning, the purpose of attending school was sharply focussed instrumentally towards making advances in literacy and numeracy skills.

Pupil criticism in the NLSS, about their weekday school teachers, was fairly strong and will be discussed further as a major issue in the next chapter. Such criticism illustrated that the pupils were relatively unhappy about day-to-day activity in their normal schools, especially because they were not being very successful there and because they felt that some of their teachers were hostile, racist, authoritarian and arbitrary in their use of power just as was depicted by (Stone 1981).

8.2.2. Notion of pupil role in the NLSS

Sugarman (1967) argued that schools are successful to the extent to which they get children to play the 'pupil role' as defined by teachers and that such a pupil role has two characteristics:

a) deferred gratification - the restriction of present pleasure and replacement by hard work for later pleasures, and

b) subordination to teachers and accepting and carrying out what teachers say and expect from pupils because of their authority as teachers.
Now in the case of the pupils in the NLSS, these two characteristics appeared to be 'accepted' by the pupils, but perhaps not wholeheartedly by all (except for the two Asian girls referred to in Chapter 5). To a large extent, the pupils had little choice but to accept the advice of their parents who were 'aspiring middle class'. Thus the pupils accepted Saturday schooling philosophically at one level but indicated that it would have been nicer not to have to attend school on Saturdays. At another level, they recognised that if they were eventually to gain the non-manual jobs they and their parents wished for, then they had to defer immediate pleasures for longer term goals and that the supplementary school teachers were there to help them achieve such goals. Thus, only two pupils in the entire school of 36 made it obvious that they were not very keen to work hard and defined the supplementary school as a 'bore'. The rest of the pupils were generally co-operative and prepared to please the teachers with expressions of enthusiasm for work and good behaviour at most times. The two pupils could be termed 'retreatists' in Merton's (1957) terminology while on the face of it, the rest were 'conformist'.

But there is more to the above over-simplified explanation. While there was no overt hostility to supplementary school attendance, nor forms of deviance which warranted the attention of the teachers, the slightly grudging acceptance of attendance at supplementary school and the required compliance to work in Maths and English manifested themselves through patterns of individual negotiation with the teachers about how much 'work' would appear to be reasonable in the judgement of the pupils. The level of cooperation with the teacher was thus constantly related to successful outcomes of negotiation about how much work was deemed to be indicative of 'hard work'. The rate of work completion was 'controlled' in the final analysis by the pupils themselves, but the teacher was able to 'draw' greater or limited amounts of 'good will' from the pupils depending on the 'good will' he put into his transactions with them.

The relative success or failure of the teacher to generate pupil work depended largely on the subtlety in understanding the 'message' from
the pupil and ability to obtain co-operation needed to operate at different work levels and intensity. An illustration of such a transaction is provided below when the teacher gave a pupil eight progressively difficult sums to complete in Maths at the start of a lesson. The expectation was that the pupil could easily do eight more sums later.

Pauline: Sir, when I finish this work can I start reading my book?

Teacher: Yes, that should be possible but I want to see how you get on with this work first.

Pauline: Can I do some English work instead first?

Teacher: No, you need to do more Maths work than English, and you know that Pauline.

Pauline: Will you promise not to give me more Maths work if I finish this work quickly?

Teacher: That will depend on ... (teacher reminds another pupil to concentrate on his work and momentarily forgets about Pauline)

Pauline: ... depends on what, Sir?

Teacher: On whether you might need more help in Maths this morning.

In the bargaining and negotiation going on at this point, it became clear that Pauline and the teacher had reached a compromise. Neither had lost the initiative but both had 'gained' in the transaction and Pauline was more likely to work at completing the task given to her because the teacher hinted that he wanted to help her rather than 'impose' Maths work on her because he was determined to do so.

Woods (1983) has argued that negotiation implies a search for agreement and that before teaching and learning can take place, certain rule making has to be established and maintained. Clearly, it is not possible for a teacher to make rules which pupils will unquestioningly accept and obey. Teachers have to come to terms with the reality of
'negotiation' with pupils which has certain parameters by virtue of the role of 'teacher' and that of 'pupil' within the negotiating framework. Such negotiation puts a high premium on relationships between teacher and pupils and where 'norms and rules are constructed in interaction' they become central to successful teaching and learning (Woods 1983).

The North London Supplementary School was relatively 'closed' if we use Bernstein's (1971) concept of 'open' and 'closed' schooling, and consequently, the kind of negotiation about work levels between the teacher and individual pupils was articulated by not more than perhaps four or five pupils in the school for most of the time but was barely an issue with 'other' pupils. Yet, these 'other' pupils used other strategies (Woods 1979) to 'pace' or 'control' their work output. Because they were reticent about overtly 'negotiating' work levels with the teacher they worked at a pace which was implicitly a bargain between the individual pupil and the teacher. In other words, it was 'negotiation in practice' and is described below.

This is how 'negotiation in practice' worked. The pupil set the pace for work completion which was invariably slower than he was capable of doing. In turn, the teacher reminded the pupil that he was working too slow and needed to work faster. The pupil put on a little spurt and worked a little faster which was then the agreed 'pace' or 'norm' for the particular pupil. The researcher concluded that forms of resistance to supplementary schooling on a Saturday expressed themselves through negotiations over work levels in the relatively formal setting of the NLSS. Apart from the voracious appetite for work in Maths and English displayed by the two Asian girls in the school and discussed in Chapter 6, there was no real evidence of the type presented by Stone (1981) in the supplementary school where she undertook research, of pupils working with considerable enthusiasm because the climate of the supplementary school was significantly different from the pupils' normal school.
8.2.3 Co-operation between pupils at the NLSS

The 'middle class' aspirations and white collar backgrounds of the parents of the children at the NLSS appeared to generate attitudes which emphasised individualism and the belief that individual effort was all-important to sustain personal progress and social mobility through the educational system. Thus the pupils tended to individualise their efforts and the fact that most of the teaching and learning was individualised may have helped to sustain this ideology. There was thus relatively little 'chumminess' and 'fraternisation' or collaborative co-operation amongst the pupils. The two pairs of siblings interacted with each other whenever they were free to do so, as during the break. The rest tended to be friends 'at a distance' and this was in complete constrast to the pupils at the SLSS where the pupils were extremely friendly to each other. This is discussed a little later in this chapter. The teachers at the NLSS did try to encourage greater social interaction between pupils by encouraging them to help each other but this was not terribly successful. As the pupils attended different weekday schools and did not live in a common residential area in close touch with each other, attendance at a supplementary school on one morning a week was not enough to promote comradeship amongst the pupils.

8.2.4 Summary of the NLSS

If the major objective of school culture (Reid, 1986) is to produce successful/achieving, well-behaved pupils then the NLSS appeared to have a modicum of success. Most of the pupils worked reasonably hard, made academic progress and got on with their teachers. At the NLSS, the delinquent/disruptive non-achieving culture was non-existent. In all probability, those black pupils who would find schooling on a Saturday morning unacceptable simply kept away from the school. Such a view was echoed by one of the black teachers who said that 'the pupils we want at this school never really come near here' and this is an issue that is discussed later in Chapter 9.
The second important reason why there was an absence of non-cooperation among pupils was because the parents of four of the children were teachers/organisers and spent much time on school premises on Saturdays. They were firm with their own children and expected them to set an example to the others. Thus social control from the adults at the school was fairly firm and traditional. There was little or no opportunity for any of the children to misbehave, lark about or 'have a laugh' (Woods 1979, 1983). One of the parents remarked to the researcher that 'had such black parents been teaching in local weekday schools, then black pupils would not have been able to fool about at school all day and achieve so little'. The theme of the importance of black teachers in weekday schools is considered in a later chapter.

6.3. The South London Supplementary School

In Chapter 6, details were provided of the setting of the SLSS and it was pointed out that in contrast to the NLSS, the SLSS was larger in terms of teacher and pupil numbers, that most of the pupils came from a local council estate, knew each other well and that the institution had an informal atmosphere and school climate. The data collected from this school are now used to illustrate the nature of social interaction at this school and show up the significant differences between the two supplementary schools.

6.3.1. Significant encounters in Class X

When a teacher faces a new class for the first time, both parties to the encounter have expectations of the other, but rules have to be established for the new relationship to develop. The initial encounter between the researcher and the new classes he came face-to-face with are revealing about the kind of social interaction experienced at the SLSS.

The researcher's entry to the school took place four weeks after school began in the autumn term. The school had lost two teachers at very short notice and the researcher, as a new teacher, entered the school
after two specific class groups, among others, had already been established. Consequently, over a short period there was urgency to establish a working relationship with two groups, not knowing which of the two classes would be allocated by the organiser for longer-term teaching purposes.

There is relatively little research on the nature of first encounters between new teachers and pupils because according to Delamont (1976) 'the first meeting of a teacher and class is problematic, observers do not expect access to it, but concentrate on studying established relationships'. There are of course examples of participant observation studies such as Stubbs and Delamont (1976) with superb accounts of a range of encounters. Beynon (1984) illustrates how he noted the way in which first-year pupils in a comprehensive school were set on 'sussing out' the level of their teacher's tolerance, coercive power and knowledge. Ball (1980) suggests that pupils may be exploring several things - from a teacher's coping strategies in dealing with specific pupils, to outright confrontation. Reid (1986) argues that while teachers may be assumed to hold the greater power, they can only sustain it with the agreement (coerced or voluntary) of the class within which there are likely to be differentially disposed groups of pupils.

In the situation at the SLSS where the researcher faced a set of new pupils in the first encounter, the kind of questions asked by pupils in class X could have been unnerving but would appear to illustrate the informal setting of the school rather than a hostile attitude to the teacher.

The researcher was introduced in his role as a new teacher to a temporary class of eight 12 - 14 year old pupils (of whom 6 were girls), by the school organiser who then immediately left the scene. The pupils obviously and immediately noted an unexpected feature in an all black school, that the new teacher was not Afro-Caribbean but Asian. The pupils were asked by the teacher to open their English exercise books so that he could quickly determine their level of
competence through the work undertaken by their previous teacher who had just left the school. As this was happening, one pupil initiated the following discussion with the teacher:

Pupil A (female): Are you a proper teacher then ... I mean can you speak proper English?

Teacher: Yes, I have taught English in England for many years.

Pupil B (female): Does that mean you are a trained teacher then? Have you proper qualifications?

Teacher: Yes, most certainly ... trained and qualified.

Pupil A: What qualifications do you have then?

Teacher: I have a London University degree and a certificate in teaching allowing me to teach in England and Wales.

Pupil C (female): Well you see ... we get teachers here who are not trained and qualified and we don't want to waste our time. We give up our Saturdays at it is ...

Teacher: I am glad you don't want to waste your time as we have work to do. I want to continue with the same kind of work set by your last teacher, that is, getting you to write a short piece of about a page on 'What I hope to do over the week-end'.

From a chorus of voices: Do we have to? Oh no! Cor blimey he means business! But we've hardly got to know you, Sir!
Teacher: Yes, that is what we are going to do and we have to get started straightaway. I am sorry we have lost ten minutes already. Now please get started and I will come around and help you.

The pupils fretted momentarily and then began to work quietly. From time to time they looked around for spare pencils and rulers, asked for the date on three occasions and then genuinely asked for help with the spelling of words like 'entertainment' Piccadilly Circus' and 'skiing' which they were going to include in their written work.

In contrast to the pupils at the NLSS, subsequent discussion illustrated that these pupils were alert and fairly sharp. They were prepared to work but went through the ritual over the following five weeks of feigning dislike of work whilst privately intimating that they wanted to work hard and succeed at normal school. The group was predominantly female as stated earlier and there were clear indications that they meant to work hard and succeed through the education system. Fuller's (1980) account of her work with black girls in a London comprehensive school closely resembled the researcher's experience with the black female pupils in class X at the South London Supplementary School.

Fuller (1980) argued that her sample of black female teenage pupils had a strong sense of their own worth which they considered to be under-valued by others and their behaviour was linked to their positive identity with being black and female. They thus attempted to conform to the behavioural norms of their peer group sufficiently to retain their friendship without forsaking their own academic aims and in this process had come to rely on their own judgements and evaluations of themselves, rather than those of their teachers and others.

What then were class X pupils' views of teachers? Not surprisingly, in the discussion that took place, these pupils had very clear ideas about what they expected from a 'good' teacher. Their previous teacher at
the supplementary school was viewed unfavourably because 'he was not strict about firm discipline'. The pupils were unhappy that they had been able to get away with doing relatively little work and that the previous teacher generally allowed them to chat among themselves a lot of the time whilst they did their work. Thus the views expressed by the pupils in this class related to the findings of Furlong (1976, 1977) and Woods (1979) that pupils valued teachers who were in control and effective in their teaching.

These pupils, like those in the NLSS, also had fairly critical comments about some of their teachers in their weekday schools and as stated before, these are discussed in the next chapter. Their major criticism lay in the relative ineffectiveness and 'poor control' they perceived in their normal school teachers. As for the supplementary school teachers, one pupil expressed what he felt others in his group shared... 'we prefer those [teachers] who mean business and get on with the job of teaching us properly instead of wasting our time doing daft and boring things that won't help us'. Thus the teacher's role as far as class X at the SLSS was concerned lay in not only knowing a subject or subjects and how to teach but especially how to motivate pupils to work hard so that they were successful academically. A very clear instrumental view was consistently expressed by these pupils, confirming the kind of evidence in Davies' (1984) study which illustrated that his female pupils rejected those teachers who did not make them work, tolerated poor work, or failed to provide pupils with marketable skills.

It was not possible to stay longer than five weeks with class X. The organiser of the SLSS took the view that there was another group which needed 'a firm hand' and the researcher (as teacher) was given a group, Class Y of eight, 10 - 12 year olds who consisted of six males and two girls and the account below provides a picture of the social interaction in a class which was quite different from Class X discussed above.
8.3.2. 'Mucking about' in Class Y

Class Y consisted of three male relatives - a pair of twins and their cousin; two girls, one a very hard worker, the other relatively indifferent; one African pupil (referred to as Peter, previously); one remedial pupil, and one pupil just arrived from the USA.

The three relatives got on well together but made it very clear that they disliked doing work in school. They indicated in the very terminology used by sociologists that they preferred 'doing nothing' (Corrigan 1974) or 'having a laugh' (Woods 1979, 1983). All three were clearly street-wise (Brake, 1985) and reasonably big and knowledgeable for their ages. James the 'brightest' of the three constantly provided a variety of reasons why he should be excused from doing work set by the teacher, irrespective of whether it was in Maths, English or Social Studies. He would be a 'handful' for the most dedicated and experienced weekday school teacher! He constantly asked if he could write poetry and would sometimes agree to work at Maths and English if he got a free hand at poetry later in the day. The quality of his poetry, at which he could spend much time, was not particularly original or good and he would easily regress to lavatorial standards and, what's more, he was very keen to read his work aloud to the rest of the class.

The three relatives in Class Y took great pleasure in taunting the Nigerian pupil in the group called Peter, who was previously discussed in Chapter 7. The social interaction between the three West Indian pupils and Peter was constantly of a bullying nature. James, his brother and cousin took every opportunity to tease Peter by a name he resented intensely and forced him to suffer in silence and occasionally display outbursts of sheer anger. He was called 'Kunta Kinte' - the name of an African rebellious slave taken from Africa to the New World in Alex Hayley's novel Roots which had been serialised on British television. The 'fun' the three West Indians got by teasing Peter about being an 'African', a 'slave' or 'Kunta Kinte' was revealing about their own notions of social stratification among black people in
this country. They clearly saw themselves as having higher status than
the only African (Peter) in the group and could never stop 'having a
laugh' at poor Peter for being an African although born in Britain.
While they accepted that their own origins were African in the distant
past, they felt once removed from Africa and therefore 'above' Peter.
In turn, Peter tried very hard to distance himself from his African
connections and origins and preferred to see himself as simply British.

It is clear that tensions do exist between West Indian and African
pupils when they study together as illustrated above. Following from
Ososanwo's (1985) work on Nigerian pupils in London schools, it is
possible to see that each group perhaps views the other group as having
less status than itself for totally different reasons. The African
pupil may judge status to accrue through membership of a new and
emergent African continent on the world stage, with a long history and
within it a number of distinctive cultures. The one Nigerian pupil at
the NLSS had indeed expressed such a view and felt proudly African and
was keen to return to Nigeria as soon as possible. Interestingly too,
he was not at all overwhelmed as Peter (SLSS) appeared to be. The West
Indian pupil on the other hand might perceive himself as being
thoroughly 'Westernised' in an advanced technological culture which is
to him, some 'distance' from a more 'primitive' African culture.
Clearly much useful micro-sociological research can be carried out
about tensions and conflicts within ethnic minority groups themselves
in Britain.

The issue of pupil identity was a matter that arose many times during
the research at both supplementary schools and much useful data were
gathered which will be examined and discussed in the next chapter.

The part played by the use of humour by the three relatives in class Y
is worth some discussion here. It was as though the opportunity to
'have a laugh' or 'muck about' was fairly central to their desire to
attend school on a Saturday morning. There were 'in' jokes which were
meaningful to the other pupils in the class but to which the teacher
was not privy and therefore unable to understand in order to share or
reprimand the pupils. Then there were jokes about Peter (the Nigerian pupil) eating 'posho' (a kind of porridge made of maize flour) and to him being an African chief with several wives but studying in London for the present. Also, there were incessant jokes in very bad taste about farts and their musical tonality! The above are but a minor illustration of the kind of irritation the three relatives constantly caused but the literature is revealing about this particular form of social interaction. In examining the 'having a laugh' pastime, Willis (1977) and Woods (1976) have suggested that two forms can be identified of what Woods (1976) calls 'institutional laughter'.

a) 'mucking about' - rather aimless behaviour, often dismissed as 'silly' by teachers; and

b) 'subversive laughter' - aimed at undermining the authority of the teacher.

In the case of the three pupils identified in class Y there was clearly an element of each of the above but the researcher viewed the humour, from the pupils concerned, as a means of avoiding control by the teacher and to provide light relief and breaks in activity. It was also interesting to note that such 'mucking about' also reflected the degree of commitment to the school by different sets of pupils. Those pupils in classes working for examinations such as CSEs and O levels were not involved in 'mucking about' or forms of 'subversive laughter' unlike class Y the non-examination class. And as far as the three relatives in class Y were concerned, they attended supplementary school for the opportunity to have some 'fun' rather than to do serious work, and they said so when the teacher suggested they might stay away if they were not prepared to work hard.

The rest of group Y was not much easier to work with either. Although one of the girls was keen to gain entry to a local independent school and worked very hard (and consequently her nickname, the 'swot') on a variety of test materials in English and Maths, the other female member of the group preferred to spend most of her time silently reading books
of her choice. She consistently requested that she be excused from doing any written work in English or Maths and only did such work reluctantly or at least with minimal enthusiasm because her mother, who assisted at school, constantly kept a watch on her to see if she was working hard or not. In contrast, her younger brother in another class worked hard quietly and was most co-operative at all times.

A slightly unusual member of class Y was Esmond, a pupil who joined the class at the start of the Spring Term. He had been brought to London from New York by his aunt because she felt sure that 'he would get a better schooling here than he would in a New York ghetto'. He worked hard, was keen to make as much progress as possible at his weekday school and felt that the supplementary school was a great help to him. He was also particularly useful as a source of a great deal of information to the other pupils about North America when they worked on Social Studies as part of their work.

Finally, one pupil called Oscar was quite difficult in that he simply turned up and 'did his thing' irrespective of what other work he was expected to do by the teacher. The problem lay in that Oscar was educationally subnormal (such pupils were referred to in the survey of the literature on supplementary schools) and could have done with special help which was not available at the SLSS. Clearly, his regular attendance was beneficial to him socially through his interaction with fellow pupils but understandably, it was difficult to establish if he was learning very much at all. There were times when he would get sufficiently angry over trivial matters to get ready to punch one of the other pupils on the nose if the teacher did not intervene to defuse the situation. The fact that the others dismissed him as the 'moron' did not help matters at all but even worse was the additional nickname K9 (Canine) inflicted on Oscar by James and his relatives. The teacher was able to learn from the pupils that K9 (Canine) was a 'daft' dog in a children's television cartoon series!

With reference to the work of Hargreaves A (1978) on classroom coping strategies, it would be appropriate here to refer briefly to the
teaching strategy adopted for class Y. Subsequent reading of the literature indicated that it was not very different from strategies adopted by teachers in a comprehensive school studied by Burgess (1983) when dealing with less able pupils. Burgess (1983) referred to three strategies: 'adaptation of rules', 'flexibility' and 'developing relationships'. In the case of class Y discussed above, 'adaptation of rules' occurred when, for instance, language use which bordered on the obscene was 'tolerated' up to a point. 'Flexibility' prevailed in terms of alternation between work and play in class so that pupils using electronic toys in class were not dismissed out of hand but permitted to make them useful elements in the class for learning purposes. However, great care had to be taken to ensure that the organisers of the supplementary school and parents did not view such activity as 'mere fun and games' instead of academic work. Finally, 'developing relationships' emerged through some sharing of jokes, permitting pupils to walk freely around the school arena (hall) for short periods and the swapping of stories and anecdotes. It must be accepted however that such strategies were possible because the class group was quite small.

There is no doubt that class Y was particularly problematic because of certain members in the group and there was a need for what Hammersley (1977) calls a 'pragmatic approach'. The coping strategies for achieving success with 'difficult' pupils involves opportunism, alertness and flexibility and it is worth referring to aspects of pupils' concerns with the teacher's ability to maintain order and control in the classroom and over them. Reid (1986) suggests that this feature is shared by all pupils, the 'good' and the 'bad':

while concern [about behaviour] may be simply seen as in the self-interest of the well-behaved, it is less obvious that the badly behaved not only expect teachers to keep them in order, but often blame teachers for not doing it and, implicitly, for their own misbehaviour.

Reid (1986: 100)
Reid also notes (1986) that even Sunday school teachers in the past, working with very small groups of between four and seven children, reported discipline problems as one of their major concerns in teaching.

In the case of class Y, the behaviour of individual pupils appeared to have one thing in common — they expected to be 'controlled' through teacher attention of them and through what Meighan (1981) has suggested, a certain 'style' in doing so. Such 'style', according to the researcher, necessarily had to match the 'style of the pattern of ritualistic misbehaviour generated by members of class Y. The teacher had to develop a repartee which matched in wit and style, the 'fun culture' promoted by the pupils, in order to get them to be cooperative and undertake the kind of academic work for which the supplementary school was established. Good progress was made in getting the 'deviant' pupils to work satisfactorily in a relatively short while but before this could be consolidated, the researcher as teacher was asked to spend a lot of his time with a class of older pupils who needed specific help in English work to prepare them for examination work and class Y was taken over after a period of seven weeks by teacher M who had previously helped to do work with the infants.

8.3.3. Fragility of Pupil Involvement: Elroy

The third class Z, taught by the researcher at the SLSS, constituted the oldest pupils in school, from age 14 to 16. These were a particularly hard-working group made up of four boys and two girls. Their class was held upstairs where the choir originally stood in the church building. As referred to in Chapter 7, they were taught Maths and Science by teacher L, the Maths 'specialist' and the researcher taught them English. They studied no other subjects. All the pupils in this class were keen to gain CSEs and 'O' level examination successes and had aspirations to go to colleges of Further Education with the eventual aim of entering occupations such as journalism, nursing, teaching and the law. This would be in keeping with Mabey's
(1986) and Eggleston's (1986) studies referred to in Chapter 2 which argued that as Afro-Caribbean pupils get older, many decide to stay on at school or college to increase academic qualifications. However, one pupil in this group, Elroy, generally wasted his time at the school by putting very little effort into undertaking and completing work set for the class.

Elroy consistently argued that he did not feel that any schools had much to offer the black child in a racist Britain and was very critical of white teachers in weekday schools. He fully backed the riots in Brixton in 1981 and stated that he manned the barricades on the 'front line' in Railton Road, South London, where much of the confrontation between the police and members of the black community took place in April 1981. It was difficult to get such a pupil in class Z, to take much interest in academic work as in Merton's (1957) typology, he was clearly rebellious. But Elroy was an intelligent and articulate pupil. For instance he was able to present a critique of race relations in British society, though clearly not in as sophisticated a manner, as some writers like Sivanandan (1982) have done. He was also able to look critically at Rastafarian ideas (Garrison 1977), presented by one eighteen-year old 'Rasta' pupil who freely 'attended' this class from time to time. Perhaps it was his native intelligence which powerfully alienated this pupil from mainstream society. Elroy only attended the supplementary school because his mother absolutely insisted that he should. An incident relating to him is worth recounting briefly below to highlight the variety of pupils attending the SLSS and the range of perspectives they brought with them to the school.

Towards the end of the teaching year in the Summer Term of 1981, a woman unexpectedly called at the SLSS at lunch time and was introduced to the researcher as Elroy's mother. When she enquired if Elroy was working hard the researcher inadvertently and perhaps unwittingly stated that Elroy was bright and capable to doing much more work than he did at the school. Hardly had this been said when Elroy's mother held him by one hand and slapped him squarely across the face with the other hand. Obviously she lost her temper on learning that he was not
working harder than he should. She then left him behind and departed saying 'wait till you come home'. At this point, Elroy turned to his classmates and the researcher and said aloud for all to hear. 'See what I told you ... this man is white, he is no friend of ours'. In one brief moment, almost two term's work of patient and painstaking effort to motivate Elroy to work at improving his English had been lost. In terms of his construct, his teacher had callously let him down and he saw him as no different from all those in British society who were deemed by him in previous discussion, to be his oppressors - the police and his white teachers at the weekday school. In an instant, all his fears, apprehension and alienation in British society were crystalised and re-confirmed.

It was difficult to see how the teacher could possibly retrieve the situation in relation to this pupil in the remaining four weeks of term. But Elroy did not return to the school after this incident. Word reached the school that he no longer had any faith in the supplementary school and that he had totally refused his mother's requests to attend. In a sense, this illustrates the relative fragility of the hold the supplementary school can have on its pupils. As attendance cannot be compulsory, the supplementary school is dependent for its clients on the level of good will it generates towards the pupils who attend. In general, such good will and warmth towards the pupils is ever present in black supplementary schools but the clients can leave at any time from the school without the need to provide reasons for their departure. It is a mark of their general success that supplementary schools are able to retain so many pupils in a relatively 'open school' situation as at the South London Supplementary School.

8.4 Conclusions about the two schools

The general picture that emerges from the three groups of pupils taught by the researcher and his observations of the week-by-week running of the South London Supplementary School was that there is a great
diversity of pupil personalities in interaction with fellow pupils and teachers. While class groups developed their own pupil cultures as in normal schools, some pupils and classes were clearly more difficult to cope with than others and were needy of different kinds of attention (Werthman, 1971). The researcher would argue that some of the studies of supplementary schools discussed in Chapter 2 present a slightly rosier and romantic picture of what actually goes on in such schools than the reality might suggest. This may be particularly true of Stone's (1981) work compared to others such as Black (1982), Clark (1982) and Chevannes (1979), who tend perhaps to portray more realistic views of supplementary schools than does Stone (1981). Another point worth reiterating is that the accounts of supplementary schools by those who actually work in them or spend time in them are qualitatively superior to those written by people who merely visit the schools, albeit a number of times, and get impressionistic views of the schools which are then presented as 'accounts' of the schools. The researcher would argue from experience, that only ethnographic work within supplementary schools can provide the qualitative data to provide a fair assessment of what goes on in supplementary schools on a day-to-day basis. In essence, the struggle involved in starting supplementary schools in the late 1960s and the struggle by the Intellectuals to articulate the Movement's ideology lives on in the struggle to make supplementary schools successful. In spite of all the difficulties, they appear to be meeting their aims.

At the SLSS as stated earlier the school day on Saturdays began at 9.00 a.m. and ended at 2.00 p.m. At noon there was a half hour break and the pupils and teachers could buy hot snacks and drinks provided from a small kitchen at one corner of the teaching area, by a grandmother of one of the pupils. The setting and provision of hot food provided the pupils an opportunity to interact freely with other pupils from across the school and with the teachers. The half hour break was therefore full of bustle and lively activity. Some pupils munched crisps and shared them with teachers, others played a variety of indoor games to keep them amused and occupied. The teachers all sat in groups in the main arena of the school hall and discussed a range of issues from
personal matters to professional/school issues. These informal discussions provided the researcher an ideal opportunity to explore a great variety of issues relating to teacher views of supplementary schooling which are incorporated in Chapter 11.

The more formal structure of the NLSS contrasted sharply with the greater informality of the SLSS. Pupils at the SLSS had more positive views about attendance at the school and their attendance rate was in the region of 88 per cent over a period of seven months when the data were collected for this research. It would be fair to say that a relatively 'mono school culture' emerged at the NLSS but several sub-cultures', for example, academic and non-academic, within groups of pupils at the SLSS. The friendly 'rough-and-tumble' atmosphere at the SLSS engendered a learning atmosphere which was close to the spirit of a mainstream comprehensive school. There was much at this school which agreed with the observations of Ball (1980) that comprehensive school pupils, including those who were most pro-school, were quick to take advantage of teachers who failed to act when necessary, for example to reprimand pupils when necessary, got angry, lost control or displayed signs of confusion.

The North London Supplementary School had in contrast to the SLSS, the atmosphere of a slightly stilted selective school where a narrowly focussed curriculum geared the pupils towards an exaggerated concern over the study of basics in Maths and English and the pupils' social development became very much an incidental and secondary issue. Also, there was relatively little mixing among the staff, and the absence of a lunch break, because the school ended by 12.30 p.m., reduced the opportunity for greater social interaction among pupils and the teachers.

Pupils in the two schools interacted in a variety of ways among themselves and with their respective teachers. It would be reasonable to say that by drawing upon Merton's (1957) reformulated typology and the work of Hargreaves (1972) and Woods (1983), three distinct types of pupils were discernible:
a) Those who pleased the teacher and were 'supportive'. In Merton's typology they would be the conformists.

b) Those who were relatively indifferent and detached, and

c) Those who were 'delinquent' or oppositional to the best efforts of the supplementary schools.

At the NLSS school, categories a) and b) above predominated, while at the SLSS all three categories were to be found in roughly equal proportions.

At least one tenth of the pupils attended the supplementary school a little begrudgingly because it took up their free time on a Saturday morning. They would have preferred to attend a supplementary school during normal school time. However, practically no pupil was opposed to the concept of the supplementary school and in fact most strongly supported the idea of such schools. This is discussed further in Chapter 9.

The 'practice' of supplementary schooling on a week-by-week basis is complex and relatively demanding on the teachers and organisers. Nevertheless it works and in many ways meets the 'ideal elements' articulated by the Intellectuals in the 'model' of supplementary schooling as discussed in Chapter 5.

The next chapter focuses on pupil perspectives within the two research schools.
CHAPTER NINE

PUPIL PERSPECTIVES
PUPIL PERSPECTIVES

9.1. Perspectives on Supplementary Schools

This chapter examines the views of the pupils attending the supplementary schools in relation to three main areas:

a) How the pupils came to be attending supplementary school, their attitudes to it, their perception of their progress there and how they perceived supplementary school teachers, and discipline.

b) Their weekdays schools/teachers.

c) How they perceive the further development of supplementary schools.

9.1.1. Contrasting views relating to attendance

At the NLSS the responses indicated two mains reasons for pupil attendance at supplementary school:

i) their parents required them to attend, and

ii) their success at their weekday school work was not as good as their parents would have wished.

To recapitulate, the NLSS was essentially set up as discussed in Chapter 6 to provide pupils basic help with Maths and English. Two main organisers included their four children in the school and attracted school attending children of friends, acquaintances and others who could be persuaded to join classes on Saturday mornings.
In response to the question why the pupils attended the supplementary school, a selection of responses from pupils at the NLSS is provided below to illustrate the main reasons for pupil attendance:

Researcher: Can you tell me why you attend this school on Saturdays?

Pupil (male 12): My parents told me about this school and that it would be important for me to attend.

Researcher: Well, did you feel the need to attend?

Pupil: Not really, but I could not go against my parents’ wishes.

Researcher: Are you saying you had no choice in the matter?

Pupil: That is right. I had to come here ...

Researcher: But do you find it useful ... now that you attend regularly?

Pupil: Yes, quite useful; I learn a lot and can do much better work in school (referring to his weekday school).

Researcher: In what way do you mean?

Pupil: My Maths work has improved - my teacher says so.

Researcher: And your English?

Pupil: Not yet I think, but I have been here only three months.
Researcher: Would you like more black pupils to attend this school?

Pupil: Sometimes I hate coming here, but I think it is useful. Yes I would like more of them to come here.

There were many other pupil responses like the one illustrated above. The pupils attended because of the persuasion/pressure from their parents to attend. It is unlikely that the younger ones would have attended of their own volition, but once there, they felt it was worth attending because they benefitted in relation to normal work at school.

The interaction below illustrates a rather different response - a marked reluctance to attend, but it was a bit of an exception at the NLSS.

Researcher: Do you like attending this supplementary school?

Pupil (female, 11) Not at all. I don't see why I have to come here.

Researcher: Why do you attend then?

Pupil: It's my father. He insisting I come and he teach here ...

Researcher: So you wouldn't come on your own.

Pupil: No, never.

Researcher: But do you find it useful to come here?

Pupil: I suppose so ... my teacher (referring to weekday school), she says I keep getting my spelling wrong and don't know me sums.

Researcher: Has this school helped you at least a little then?
Pupil: I think it helped a lot. I can read and spell better.

Researcher: So is it worth coming then?

Pupil: I suppose so, but I could have been playing instead.

Researcher: Playing at what Charlene?

Pupil: What do you think? Just playing, doing nothin'.

Clearly, a few pupils like Charlene resented having to attend supplementary school on a Saturday morning, but admitted, albeit reluctantly, that it was of benefit to her. It is very unlikely she would have attended without the level of 'compulsion' provided by her father. It could be argued that she had not yet internalised the 'value' of attending, as illustrated by other pupils seen in a group of 12 - 14 year olds at the NLSS.

Researcher: Well, do you find it useful to attend supplementary school on Saturdays?

Pupil (one of 2 Asian females) Very useful. We learn so much here. We are lucky to be able to come here.

Researcher: In what way do you mean?

Pupil: We do lots of work here, especially in Maths. We are getting better at it all the time. At school [referring to weekday school] we can't do so much individual work because there are too many children, but here we have two teachers and eight or nine pupils. It's just great!

Researcher: And what about English work then?
Pupil (2nd Asian female) We like Maths better than English but we are getting quite good at English as well.

Pupil (black, male) Yes, we learn a lot here. It's great to have this chance and do well at school.

Researcher: Are you now a lot better at school?

Pupil (black, male) Lot's better ... God, so much better.

Researcher: Would you come here if your parents did not insist?

In response to the above question, six out of eight pupils said that their parents did not insist at all. They had come with their permission but of their own volition. The other two had accepted their parents' advice to attend.

The responses from the pupils in this group would correspond closely with the comments in the Rampton Report (1981), which although referred to in Chapter 2, are reiterated here:

The commitment shown by West Indian parents to (supplementary) schools and the encouragement that they give to their children to attend are impressive. The children have told us that they go willingly to supplementary schools because they are encouraged to work hard and made to feel they can achieve.

Rampton (1981: 45)

This research, as stated elsewhere, had highlighted that not all pupils attend supplementary school willingly but that most of those who attend share Rampton's (1981) view that 'they are encouraged to work hard and made to feel they can achieve'. In the case of the pupils at the NLSS, those pupils working towards public examinations were clearly much more
motivated to work hard than other pupils who expressed the view that supplementary schooling was an imposition on them by their parents.

How did these responses at the NLSS compare with responses to similar questions to pupils at the SLSS? A few brief illustrations below provide fairly similar findings.

Researcher: And why do you think you attend supplementary school then?

Pupil (female, 12) Because my mother insists. She helps at the school as well and comes here every Saturday.

Researcher: Do you only come here because she insists?

Pupil: I suppose so, but I find it useful really. I like the Social Studies, but they make you work hard here in Maths.

Researcher: Do you not like Maths then?

Pupil: I don't mind it, but we do so much more here than in our real school.

Researcher: Is that bad?

Pupil: I suppose not. I get good marks in Maths now, and the girls there wonder how this is.

Researcher: Have you not told them about this supplementary school?

Pupil: Of course not ... this is our school ... for black kids only.
In reality, the SLSS school was only intended for black children and according to the co-ordinator no other groups ever attended. However, the point about not making white pupils at weekdays school aware of supplementary schooling is an important point which was discussed in relation to the Intellectuals in Chapter 5 and is discussed in relation to the pupils' views later in this chapter.

At both schools, the 'value' of attending supplementary school is recognised by the pupils but this is not always expressed enthusiastically as Rampton (1981) would have us believe.

The keenest pupils across the two schools were six Afro-Caribbean girls from the SLSS aged 12 to 14 and the two Asian girls also between 12 and 14 at the NLSS. They consistently emphasised the value of hard work and requested additional work from time to time. The group from the SLSS in class X as referred to in Chapter 8, had clarified whether the researcher was adequately qualified to teach them! Thus research by Furlong (1976) and Fuller (1980, 1983) which had indicated that female West Indian pupils were prepared to work very hard to achieve good academic standards received further support from this small sample of girls at the SLSS. Also, at the SLSS, as with the NLSS, those pupils who were facing CSE and 'O' level examinations had very positive views about attending supplementary school, except for a single pupil, Elroy, who was discussed at some length in the previous chapter. Even the three particularly mischievous pupils at the SLSS (also referred to in the last chapter) who admitted to attending the supplementary school 'for a laugh', stated when they were serious, that they enjoyed attending and found supplementary school of value academically and socially.

In general, this section can be summed up by saying that those pupils at the upper levels of both schools appeared to be able to work autonomously and attended supplementary school to obtain scholastic benefit. Those at the lower levels had not yet begun to study autonomously and expressed some resentment, as illustrated, over their parents' insistence on supplementary school attendance - yet in their
own different ways, articulated the benefits of attending. Perhaps the statement from one pupil best sums up the mixed feelings about supplementary school attendance among many of the pupils at the two schools:

I suppose I should be working harder at my school subjects, but I ain't getting much time to play if I work so hard. But I like this school because it is a black school and I can learn better ... black kids can do better in black schools like this ...

(SLSS, male, 12)

The pupils were unanimous that they would like more of their black friends to attend to 'help them get better at school' and because, in their own different ways, it would help black pupils develop positive identities as black pupils in weekday schools. This important issue of the significance of black identity and its relationship to academic achievement is developed in the following chapter.

9.2. Supplementary schools and weekday schools

9.2.1. The teachers

Prior to obtaining the necessary data, the researcher had anticipated difficulties in discovering what supplementary school pupils thought of their teachers both in the supplementary school and in their weekday school. However, it proved surprisingly easy to obtain data with the researcher taking on the role of a teacher in the supplementary schools. The quality of the data obtained and their richness could not have been gleaned if the research mode was not predominantly ethnographic (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Yates, 1986) in its orientation.

At both the schools studied, the pupils had positive views about their supplementary school teachers. They recognised that they gave up their free time on Saturdays to teach and were quite aware that at the NLSS
no payment at all was received by the teachers and that at the SLSS there were only small payments for travel purposes to and from school. But the positive views arising from the voluntaristic effort put in by the teachers were qualified. For instance, the pupils at the SLSS made it clear that a few teachers at supplementary schools had 'wasted their time' in the past through lack of teaching ability and skill. As indicated in Chapter 8 the pupils were keen to have the best qualified and best skilled teachers who were available. They did not feel that these two factors could be compensated for by other factors such as personal enthusiasm or 'discovering teaching by trying'. In other words, the pupils were quite clear that if they acquiesced with their parents' wishes to attend supplementary school, then it was up to the parents and the school organisers to ensure that the teachers were reasonably competent, whether they were qualified or not. Generalised statements like these presented below, were made a number of times by various pupils in which supplementary school teachers were viewed positively compared to their weekday teachers:

these teachers don't let you mess around like our other teachers

'(SLSS female, 13)

these teachers know us black kids; we can't fool them like we can our other teachers

(NLSS male, 12)

if we mess around here for long, our parents will be upon us like a ton of bricks ... so we have to be careful

(SLSS male, 15)

The black pupils at both the supplementary schools appeared to value teachers who could maintain discipline and make them work hard even though they themselves felt justified in 'mucking about' from time to time as though to test out the teachers' ability to maintain order (Reid, 1986).
In trying to establish pupil views of their weekday schools/teachers, the researcher took as his starting point in interviews, pupil responses to a question about what differences they felt they perceived between their supplementary schools and their weekday schools. The responses provided by the pupils can be categorised under the following headings:

a) Quantity and quality of work undertaken.

b) Teacher responses to difficulties faced by pupils in their work, and their understanding and sympathy for them as pupils; and

c) Teacher attitudes to pupil behaviour.

9.2.2. Quantity and quality of work undertaken

The view expressed by about 60 per cent of the pupils at both schools was that the amount of work expected and undertaken at the two Saturday schools was often as much as or more than the work they undertook during a whole day's work at their weekday school. But it was recognised that the range of work undertaken at the weekday school was wider though not necessarily all equally important. Work at the supplementary school was deemed to be intensive and sustained with the teachers 'not letting up for a minute except during the breaks'. In contrast, most pupils felt that the atmosphere at the weekday school was considerably more relaxed and that the pupils could invariably while away the time if they chose not to work too hard. In other words, most pupils expressed the view that weekday teachers made relatively few demands on them and were not too strict about the completion of schoolwork that was set for them. Such a view was also expressed by one of the Maths teachers 'Q' at the SLSS who normally taught Maths at a comprehensive school. She argued that black pupils under-perform and underachieve because their weekday white teachers have a liberal and 'easy going' attitude to all pupils about their work and that:
any kid will get away from doing work if he can get away with it at school.

(Teacher Q, SLSS)

Three other teachers (two at NLSS and one from the SLSS) also expressed similar views and there was thus some correspondence, in the views about weekday schools/teachers, between the black pupils and their black teachers at the supplementary schools. Such teacher views are discussed in Chapter 11, but it has to be noted that Stone (1981) had similarly argued that the liberal atmosphere in most state schools was not conducive to getting black children to work hard and she called for the return of formal teaching methods for black pupils. This view was of course criticised by the media as discussed in Chapter 2.

Most of the black pupils at both supplementary schools indicated however that their weekday teachers expressed concern when they were not working satisfactorily. A comment from one pupil stated that:

my teacher [i.e. in the weekday school] says I keep getting my sums wrong and I don't know my times tables.

(SLSS female, 13)

However, while agreeing that their weekday teachers drew their attention to the importance of diligence and application in the classroom, they also indicated that there was relatively little pressure, compulsion or insistence to make the pupils work harder and the absence of such pressure contrasted sharply with the demands made on the pupils at the supplementary schools. As a consequence, the pupils invariably expressed the view that they were not motivated to strive to improve the quality of their work in weekday schools. Such a view has of course been articulated in the series of Black Papers attacking comprehensive schools by Cox and Dyson (1969, 1970, 1975, 1977).
9.2.3. Teacher responses to difficulties faced by pupils in their weekday schools

A majority of the pupils, individually and in groups, at the two supplementary schools expressed the view (also noted in the review of the literature in Chapter 2) that they found it easier to seek help relating to their work from the supplementary school teachers than their weekday school teachers. Two main reasons were attributed for this. Firstly, all the pupils who responded, recognised that it was easier to seek help in their work at the supplementary school because the number of pupils per group/class was about one third to one quarter the size of a class at a normal school. Secondly, the seating arrangements (often around a small rectangle of tables) made it relatively easy for the teacher to note a pupil's progress and for the pupil to seek help from the teacher. However, the third point expressed was more significant in terms of the interactive process between pupils and teachers. The pupils felt that they were more easily able to seek help from their supplementary school teachers because they did not feel a barrier between them and were less afraid to disclose their difficulties than to their weekday teachers. The following view from one pupil best sums up such a position:

we are afraid to ask them [weekday teachers] to help us too much because we are afraid they think us dim. Also, the white pupils call us 'stupid' if we ask the teacher for help.

(NLSS, female, 12)

Clearly, these black pupils appear to be sensitive as perhaps many white working class pupils must be, to the reactions of their peers and especially the weekday class teacher, and are afraid to disclose the extent of help they need to undertaken school work. In contrast, the disclosure of inabilities and uncertainties about how to
undertake/complete tasks, was not a problem for the pupils at either of the supplementary schools. Indeed, so ready were the pupils to seek teacher assistance with their work at the supplementary school that it seemed to the researcher that at times, they were becoming over-dependent in a way that would be of disadvantage to them at the normal school.

It would appear then that the pupils were not particularly critical of their weekday school teachers about their general willingness to understand and help them and others in their work but they felt a social distance at the point of seeking some help and there is no doubt that this was partly related to normative peer group pressure on them not to appear too enthusiastic about school work. There is much evidence in the literature (Lacey, 1970; Hargreaves, 1967; Willis, 1977; Corrigan, 1979; Woods, 1979, 1983; and Turner, 1983), to suggest that pupils in state schools develop cultures which can be broadly termed, pro- and anti/oppositional school cultures. As a consequence, pupils with pro-school cultures can be sneered at and ridiculed by those who espouse an anti-school culture. Furlong (1986) suggests that West Indian pupils operate in normal schools in contradictory ways in which both pro- and anti-school stances are acted out with confusing results and that:

> these contradictions between work and misbehaviour and between accepting and rejecting authority are seen as typical of West Indian pupils by many teachers.

(Furlong, 1986: 216).

This is an issue discussed again towards the end of this chapter.

9.3 Weekday teacher attitudes to black pupils

If, as suggested above, there is no noticeable perception among black supplementary school pupils about their teachers' demands or comments
on their work in weekday schools, do they perceive any differential treatment at all by teachers between black and white pupils? It is at this point that the interview data presented a rather different picture. Virtually all the older pupils in each of the two supplementary schools indicated that they were critical of their weekday teachers about the way they responded to pupil behaviour infringements in the weekday schools.

Most of the older pupils seemed able to recount numerous examples of situations when their behaviour in classrooms, school corridors and play areas had been put into question, and they were particularly critical of what they considered to be the over-reaction of their white teachers to minor rule-breaking in school. What appeared to be represented most was the access to power that was available to the teacher but denied to the pupil. In such situations the pupils claimed that resistance was legitimate (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1983). However, the data from the pupils appeared to pose contradictions. On the one hand, they were critical because their weekday teachers appeared to lack control in the classroom and on the other hand, their teachers were also being blamed for over-reacting to pupil misdemeanour. It therefore became necessary to explore this issue further.

The specific form of black pupil criticism, which was quite vehement in many instances, was typically expressed in statements such as:

white teachers pick on you for doing nothin', or they pick you up 'cos you're black

As such criticism of white teachers was so pointed, fairly detailed responses were obtained from the pupils and these are referred to below following the researcher's observation that while the supplementary school pupils were not too critical of their weekday teachers for reminding them when they were not working hard enough or not producing work of a satisfactory standard, the black pupils were very critical if they detected or perceived such criticism as having a racial slant to
it. It was as though very clear lines and rules were drawn up between weekday school teacher behaviour towards pupils that was acceptable and that which was not. As in Rosser and Harré's (1976) work, teacher criticism of pupils and their work, if neutral, was perfectly acceptable, but criticism which to them had the slightest hint or trace of being linked to their colour or ethnicity touched a raw nerve and made them totally dismissive of their teachers. Some examples arising in interview are provided below:

I told him (the weekday class teacher) I had a bad headache and could not do my English homework. The teacher immediately implied I was lying by suggesting that I watched a late night Afro-Caribbean TV programme ... it made me really mad.

(SLSS, male, 13)

Another pupil at the NLSS recounted how he informed his teacher he had to go home at lunch time to collect his money for a school outing. 'Oh says the teacher to me ... that's a long way to go to Jamaica and back!' The pupil was born in England, lived close to his school and always identified himself as British. He was most annoyed about his teacher's sense of humour.

Yet other examples highlight black pupil sensitivity to their ethnicity:

... like I really hate being addressed by teachers as 'hello sunshine' ... it is too much like 'hello sambo' which I have been called so often by white pupils.

(NLSS, male, 12)

if you wash you hands properly, you might even get some of the colour off

(NLSS, female, 11, about his weekday school teacher)
Many white teachers may unthinkingly make such kind of comments but clearly, an awareness of the sensitivity and perception by black pupils of their normal teachers becomes a very important consideration in the classroom. From the researcher's point of view, the white child perhaps does not face the same kind of issue in terms of his/her sensitivity to teacher comment. We can agree that careless statements, ridicule and sarcasm from teachers cannot be helpful to any pupils but perhaps this is not as critical an issue as it is with black minority pupils in a predominantly white society and an overwhelming majority of white teachers even in inner-city areas with large ethnic minority populations. Black children will inevitably have a construct of teacher response to them which is rooted in their black experience (Verma and Bagley, 1979, 1982; Milner, 1983).

The central concern here must therefore, be to try to make sense of the criticism that the young supplementary school pupils levelled at their weekday teachers, all of whom, with two exceptions, were white.

Here are some examples of pupil comment from a mixed group of pupils at the SLSS aged 14 to 16.

Researcher: Why do you feel so strongly that white teachers do not like black kids?

Pupil (1) female: Well they get to you all the time ...

Researcher: All the time ...?

Pupil (1): Well most of the time. You can't do nothin' and they shout at you.

Researcher: Why do they shout at you?

Pupil (1): 'Cos they don't like you.

Researcher: And why is that?

Pupil (1): 'Cos you're black isn't it?

Researcher: O.K. but how do you know it's because you are black?
Pupil (2) male
In school all the black kids know the white teachers don't like you.

Researcher:
But how do you know this? How can you say all white teachers dislike black kids?

Pupil (3) male
O.K. Some of them may not be like that ... but most of them is ... they don't like us black kids and that is why we get into trouble ...

Researcher:
But surely, if a white kid did say what you did, the teacher, because he has a job to do, would be equally hard on him.

Pupils (in chorus) Never!

Pupil (3)
See, my friend Kevin, he's white you see, but sir never picks on him when he does something wrong sort of ... but me, and the black kids, we can't do nothin'.

Researcher:
O.K. Let's say you are right about white teachers and black kids, but do you say its all white teachers who are like you say?

Pupil (4) Elroy male
Most of them. But some is really bad. There was this guy, I hit him the other day in the corridor 'cos he won't leave off.

Researcher:
You actually hit him? You're kidding! I don't believe you

Pupil (4)
Yeah I hit him ...

Researcher:
Well what happened then?

Pupil (4)
He stopped messing me about and pretended nothing happened as no one else was around.

The researcher found it very difficult then, to believe that Elroy had actually struck a white teacher in the corridor even though he looked as though he was capable of doing so. But it was not until reading Grundsell (1980) and Furlong (1986) that he realised that there was evidence to make Elroy's statement perfectly credible. Furlong (1986: 223) quotes one of his pupil respondents thus and then goes on to comment about the issue:
P: If I hit a teacher my mum would tell me off, but if it was something like the teacher hit me and I hit him back and I got suspended, then my mum wouldn't say nothing, because at my other school the teachers used to hit me and I never used to do anything ... But now, if the teacher hits me - I hit him back.

Furlong (1986) goes on to say:

If teachers were rude or aggressive or in the boys' eyes 'shamed' them in front of their peers then they would withdraw their support and become openly hostile, aggressive and even violent.

Furlong (1986: 223)

Recent television reportage (1987) also indicates that physical violence between teachers and pupils is not as uncommon in some British schools as one might imagine and that many LEAs have created 'special units' for disruptive and violent pupils. This is a major concern for black parents who now view such 'special units' as a continuation from the former position when many black pupils had ended up in large numbers in ESN schools (Coard, 1971; Tomlinson, 1982b; Carter, 1986).

The interview with Elroy and his group is reported further here because it illustrates other significant issues relating to supplementary school pupils' perception of their weekday school teachers.

Researcher: O.K. Let's say you are right ... why do you think white teachers are like that to the black kids?

Pupil (4) Elroy Cause they're white!

Researcher: How do you mean?

Pupil (4) See ... black people in this country are not wanted by white people ... they think its their country and sort of ...
Researcher: But surely teachers do try to be fair to all children ...

Pupil (5) female: Most of them ain't.

Researcher: Why is that?

Pupil (4) Elroy: Because they're all the same, know what I mean? The police, the teachers, they all the same. They don't like black people and that's why black people don't get the jobs and that ... 

Pupil (5): See on TV, you see black people always doing the jobs, shit jobs, no one else wants. Dirty jobs, washing up, cleanin' ... 

Pupil (6) male: Yeah ... they dress in clothes as servants for rich people.

Researcher: But where ...?

Pupil (6): American TV programmes. See these films they always say "yes sir, no sir"... you see it in Roots and the black people get beaten up ... all for nothin'.

Researcher: Yes, sure, but that was a little while ago, surely things have changed ...

Pupil (4) Elroy: But it happens all the time now. The police, they beat the black people. Stop and search ... know what I mean? You can't go nowhere ... and they pick you up. See man? Where you been all the time man? Asking these stupid questions ...

Similar responses were provided by the pupils at the NLSS about the way they saw black people 'degraded' in society:

Pupil (1, male, 12): You just got to see the TV and how they show black people in this country. You see the other day they pump this black man ... and he fly away in space. They think we black is stupid and the white kids, in school I mean, they keep talkin' about the film and they say they is going to do it to me ...

Researcher: I do know what you're talking about ... yes, it was that Bond film on TV the other day.
Pupil (1) See what I say about white people; they think you is stupid ... the teacher, he think so too.

Pupil (2, male, 11½) All the time the teacher want to know what you doing ... so we speak patois and he can know nothin'.

Researcher: Can all of you speak patois?

Pupil (2) Sure ... we speak it in school when we don't want them to know nothing ... but some of the white kids can understand us ... so it can be difficult ... but those white kids don't matter ... the teacher can't understand.

Researcher: But do all white teachers think black kids are stupid ... as you say?

Pupil (3, male, 12) Most of dem. See we give them a lot of trouble and make life hard ...

Researcher: Is this true for black teachers too?

Pupil (3) No ... but they is put in a difficult position. He (the black teacher) in school ... he has to act like a white teacher ... when he don't want to ...

9.4. Being black in Britain

What is clear from the above data is that the black pupils were very conscious that in their terms, black people in Britain or for that matter the USA, are disadvantaged compared to white people and see their weekday teachers, policemen, social security personnel and other white people in positions of authority as active participants in a system which oppresses and confirms the low status of black people in society. In this sense, they were presenting views, albeit in an unsophisticated manner, very much like those articulated in Chapters 4 and 5 by the Intellectuals, that black people were being incorporated into an underclass in British society and had to fight such subordination and liberate themselves and enter all walks of life in mainstream society (Tomlinson 1984). Education was one site of struggle (Hall et al., 1975) and this manifested itself for the pupils at the supplementary schools when they argued that normal schools/teachers thwarted their aspirations through mundane rules and
restrictions which were administered unfairly. Further, they could not dissociate such 'unfairness' at school from a very unfair society in which they lived. For instance, the pupils' concern about being 'picked on' is an issue according to Woods (1979, 1983) that his sample of white pupils were particularly critical about their teachers. Likewise, being 'unfair' was according to Rosser and Harré's (1976) pupil sample, one of the worst kinds of sins possible, including being 'put down' or 'picked on' and suffering penalties unrelated to particular rule infractions. The implication of black pupils being 'picked on' by white teachers becomes even more significant in ethnically and racially mixed schools.

It is difficult to see how any children who perceive individuals within an authority or institutional structure as hostile to them or who place them in a lowly status or disadvantaged position, can take advantage of an educational system that purports to be fair. Bowles and Gintis (1976), Sarup (1982) and other radical authors would claim that the educational system perpetuates the ideology of 'fairness' but that it inherently promotes inequality for the majority while permitting some degree of individual mobility. The black pupils at the supplementary school were aware that some black people had indeed been socially mobile and gave the examples of Trevor McDonald and Moira Stewart as successful black TV personalities, but they perceived this as a form of tokenism. They even joked about this by saying 'black people should not apply to ITV for a job as Trevor McDonald had already got it!'

The significant point being made from the data obtained from the pupils attending supplementary school is that they perceive receiving an education in weekday school from white teachers to be an extension of a society which 'oppresses' them. This must therefore be a major issue of concern to educationalists in British society.

The kind of evidence referred to above confirms the findings of Stone (1981) who provided illustrations of West Indian pupils' views of teachers as hostile, authoritarian and arbitrary in their use of power, and Ratcliffe (1981) who had found West Indian youths who had not
achieved CSEs to resent teachers' authority and to be dissatisfied with their teachers' lack of interest in them.

To provide explanations for the poor performance of black pupils in British schools, many writers have suggested that there is a conscious rejection by black pupils of the education on offer as a reaction to racism (Coard, 1971; Dhondy, 1974, 1978; Henry, 1979). This raises the question whether young blacks are complicit in their own educational failure. But the logic of the young pupils involved in this research is perfectly understandable. Consciously or unconsciously they develop a distinctive culture of resistance to the problems they feel they face. They reject white perceptions of the black man's place in an underclass. They are not prepared to believe that they cannot succeed in this society but they perceive it as fundamentally hostile, or at least unsympathetic, with a majority population deeply opposed to accepting black people on a basis of equality (Reeves and Chevannes, 1984). Black parents increasingly understand the posture of their children and have even learned from them, but are anxious to cope with a difficult situation by endeavouring to 'correct' the existing 'mobilisation of bias' (Bacharach and Baratz, 1962) thus enabling 'oppressed' groups like themselves to engage in the process towards greater equality through education.

Furlong (1986) suggests that in spite of predictions of growing alienation and rejection of the dominant institutions of society including schools by West Indian pupils (Rex, 1970; Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979), West Indian boys in particular have not yet become totally alienated and that apart from the distinctive group of a minority of Rastafarians, West Indian pupils generally looked to education as a means towards social mobility. But they did this in contradictory ways in his sample:

The jobs to which these boys aspired demanded considerable entrance qualifications and there was therefore an essential congruence between what the
school felt it could offer these boys by way of certification and the sorts of jobs to which they aspired; but it is here where the contradiction lies. Although the boys aspired to employment that demanded entrance qualifications and therefore examinations passes, a reputation for style within the school could not be gained by being conformist and settling down to work. Even the most ambitious black boys seemed to engage in a precarious balancing act. To maintain their sense of dignity they had to work in class and flout rules of the school and develop a reputation as a man. Unlike their white counterparts, they did not see unskilled work as an acceptable path to adulthood and independence. Their rejection of school could therefore never be complete because they were always tied to a recognition of its importance.

Furlong (1986: 225)

Furlong (1986) contrasts West Indian pupils with Willis' (1977) 'lads' who voluntarily decided not to aspire academically because far from feeling envious of the conformist pupils, they definitely felt superior to them. Their counter-culture was not simply a reaction to official policy to be defined in terms of negative, oppositional elements, but represented a way of life in its own right. Such an explanation of white working class pupil counter-school culture is not unlike Corrigan's (1979) view that his working class pupil sample rejected school because of its irrelevance for them. They essentially 'struggled' with the repressive power of the state and its compulsory school attendance. They were carrying on in class 'despite the occupying army of teachers and the power of the school' (Corrigan, 1979).

If we accept that black pupils perceive school and education in different ways to the pupils characterised by Willis (1979) and Corrigan (1979), it would be possible to draw on some aspects of Furlong's (1986) work and possibly argue that the culture of resistance among West Indian pupils in weekday schools, may and does spill into supplementary schools as there were many illustrations of this in the
data collected. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of the supplementary school 'permitted' them to work and conform towards academic goals, which were their real and recognised goals, to a greater extent than at the weekday school. This was especially so among older pupils, because the 'style' associated with their sub-culture 'prevented' overt enthusiasm for school work at the weekday school. The supplementary school did not require black pupils to develop reputations outside academic work and this may be one of the reasons why black pupils are most reluctant that their white peers should know about their attendance at supplementary schools. They also wanted 'to keep a good thing to themselves'. We therefore see a form of closure (Parkin, 1979) in practice.

9.5. Progress at supplementary school

In general, the pupils felt that by attending supplementary schools, even if reluctantly, they did gain as the standard of their scholastic work improved. There was a firm belief that progress was being made as indicated in the statements below:

see, I couldn't multiply properly before but now I can do it all

(NLSS, female, 10)

it helped me with my reading and writing

(NLSS, male, 9)

I can do a lot more algebra now which I really found difficult before ... my teacher is now pleased with my progress ... but I haven't told him about this school!

(SLSS, male, 15)

I can do better at my sums now at school ... this is because you can't muck about here

(SLSS, female, 12)
In a large number of instances, the black pupils stated that at their weekday schools their teachers let them 'mess around' because 'they find it difficult to control us kids'. These pupils appeared to be echoing Rosser and Harré's (1976) comment that pupils invariably felt insulted by weakness on the part of those in authority like teachers who they generally expect to be strong and that this weakness if once established, provokes more playing up by the pupils.

With one exception, all the pupils were keen for more black pupils to attend supplementary school but they were not at all keen to allow white pupils to join the schools. They felt that these schools were intended for black pupils and should stay that way. They made allowances for Asian pupil attendance but definitely did not want their white peers even to know that they attended supplementary schools on Saturdays. It was meant to be a well kept secret. As suggested earlier, enthusiasm for 'extra schooling' might not go down well with their white peers and there was the danger of being teased about Saturday school attendance when they might be expected to be having 'fun' instead.

The black supplementary school pupils were keen to keep their attendance at these schools a private matter for three main reasons:

a) the matter was deemed to be outside the domain of their normal schools and not to be shared with them,

b) they wished to keep a 'good thing' to themselves, and most certainly not share it with their white peers, and

c) they did not wish to be at the receiving end of opprobrium from their white peers for attending additional schooling. They were most concerned that their peers would interpret such attendance as confirming that they were not terribly bright and therefore needed extra schooling in the form of remedial work on Saturday mornings.
In summing up this part of the chapter, black children who attend such schools see them as essentially supportive of their general well-being in ways which were not exclusively academic. In addition to general help and assistance with their weekday school work, they greatly valued a 'dimension' which they felt unable to gain at their normal schools. This was to do with being involved with an active black community. The following responses from the 14 to 16 year old pupils at the SLSS bear this out fairly clearly in another group discussion that took place:

Pupil (1) ... you see, supplementary schools help us to think for ourselves ... and not how white teachers tell you ...

Researcher: How do you mean?

Pupil (1) Black teachers who are here [at the supplementary school] had a tough time when they first came here. They can help us so that we know what to do.

Researcher: But surely white teachers also prepare you for the hard world outside school ... about trying to get jobs and so on?

Pupil (2) Getting a job ... huh that is a joke isn't it? 'Cos the white teacher, he only care about white kids getting jobs. Some of them is NF, they is not going to help us.

Researcher: You mean you have teachers who are members of the National Front?

Pupil (2) Yeah ... I mean some of them is no different. They see you is a black kid, they don't want to help you. Only this kind of school can help black kids because they know how you feel.

Researcher: But surely you have black teachers in your school?

Pupil (3) Yes we have one Indian and one is black but they can't help you in a white school.

Researcher: Why is that?

Pupil (3) Because they is not allowed to think like black people. They have to be like the white teachers knocking you about and saying this and that ...

Researcher: Would you have liked it if those black teachers also taught in this sort of school?
Pupil (4) Yeah ... that would be good. We like the teachers here, but they make you work bloody hard - they don't let you blink ... you just work from start to finish - except for the break that is ...

In discussions about what supplementary schools had to offer black children and in terms of what they cannot get from their normal schools it emerged that the most important issues were:

a) a sense of themselves as people who are worthy of attention, care, affection and pride.

b) additional help in their work.

It is clear that the children do take tremendous pride in what they consider to be 'their' schools. They may not always work very hard and may not in fact achieve a very great deal in terms of academic learning. But it is the development of themselves as members of a community of fellow black people that appears to be of greater value than anything else that the supplementary schools can offer to them. Stone (1981) tended to argue that supplementary schools are successful because they emphasise the 3Rs and traditional teaching. While this may be true up to a point this present research suggests that the black children attend supplementary to benefit from the communal black atmosphere which promotes their self-concept and secondarily to help them with their normal school work. It is likely that a heightened awareness of self and the confidence and emotional support provided by black teachers in supplementary schools motivates black children to try harder than they would otherwise and that a gradual improvement in their work is likely to take place.

9.6. Further developments in Supplementary Schools

When asked if they wished to see the continuation of black supplementary schools, with one exception, all the pupils voiced strong support for them and stated that they felt they would grow in strength,
get bigger and bigger, until they were exactly like normal schools but with all black pupils and black teachers thus virtually echoing the views of the Intellectuals (Chapter 5). These pupils perceived no dangers/problems in having such segregated schools and argued that there are many all white schools in the country and nobody questions their existence. The pupils also believed that these all black schools should be 'funded by the state because our parents pay their taxes and we do not get a good education now' (older pupil at SLSS). None of the pupils were aware, for example, of the John Loughborough all-black Adventist church fee-paying school in North London, but when informed about it, felt they would like to visit it. However, they were not happy that it was a fee-paying school when the 'state could so easily pay for it instead'.

The pupils also felt that many of their 'good supplementary school teachers' (SLSS) who were not qualified to teach in weekday schools should be given an opportunity to understand and learn about what goes on in normal schools so that they would be better prepared to run the larger black supplementary schools which they felt sure were going to develop and grow into 'normal' all black comprehensive schools.

9.7. Concluding comments

There are two remaining substantive issues in the interview data which clearly need some commentary from the researcher. These relate to racism and to the role of the media and the way these impinge on pupils of Afro-Caribbean origin.

According to Syer (1982); Troyna and Williams (1986), racism is the belief that racial categories provide valid explanations and necessary predictions of social differences and that it is assumed that people's life-styles, their attainments at school and position in society are a result of racial origin.

A discussion about the way racism was used as an explanatory factor for Afro-Caribbean underachievement at school was undertaken in Chapter 2
and it was noted that after careful consideration, Swann (1985) rejected the view that racism was a significant factor to explain such underachievement. However, in this study of supplementary schools, several of the pupils felt that racism influenced the way their weekday teachers responded to them as black pupils. This suggests that the pupils' views have a bearing on Rampton's (1981) comment that 'unintentional racism' was to be found among teachers and that it had an influence on the way black pupils responded to teachers and schooling.

The issue of racism is dealt with extensively in the literature (Husband et al. 1982; Miles, 1982; Moore, 1975; Cashmore, 1987; Phizacklea and Miles 1980) and there is no need to debate the concept in an elaborate way at this point. However, there would appear to be a need to try and make sense of the supplementary school pupils' construct of racism. The feature identified by the pupils appeared to be linked to the view that racism is a structural feature of society, that is, it is to be found at all levels and within a wide range of institutions in society. Such a structural perspective of racism takes the view that racist beliefs and ideas are constantly being constructed and sustained by practices and operations within society and that racism is created and maintained through relationships based on domination and subordination.

In such a view, racism is not centrally the product of prejudice but one of power in society. As an ideology, it is a set of beliefs and way of structuring lives which are rooted in material existences. By this is meant that racism is rooted in considerable inequality between the dominant and subordinate groups in society and in which the ethnic minorities now constitute an underclass. In such a situation, it is not surprising that some academics and of course the Intellectuals referred to in Chapter 5, question attempts to develop multicultural education, when such an avenue does not appear to lead to addressing the central concern of greater opportunity and equality for subordinate groups.
In order to deal with the kind of problems associated with racism identified by the pupils at the supplementary schools, it is useful to refer to ALTARF (All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism), an organisation which has suggested ways and means of dealing with racism and its effects on schools.

It is suggested that all teachers have a responsibility to examine the racist assumptions under which they may be working and interacting with their pupils. It is recognised however, that one should not underestimate the demands of such a task nor to underestimate the level at which issues about race are charged emotionally and are often very difficult to discuss.

Secondly, ALTARF argues that there is a need to support black teachers and pupils exposed to racist abuse or attacks either from pupils or from staff and to support them when actually facing such situations. The point being made is that it is not enough to just identify such acts but to be actively involved in fighting such racist situations (Brandt 1986).

A third major point emphasised is that institutional and societal racist practices have to be examined and addressed in educational institutions like schools. Thus efforts have to be made to formulate and influence pivotal issues relating to equality in employment, training, housing, education and welfare. It is argued that these issues cannot be 'relegated' to the outside of school for they are the very bases of racist underpinnings of the state. Thus for instance, a teacher who is not aware and sympathetic to black pupils' major concern of the strong possibility of unemployment when they eventually leave school, because of racism, cannot gain much credibility from black pupils when he tries to teach them History, Mathematics or Science at school.

What is being suggested above is best summed up by Hall (1980) who said when discussing how to 'Teach Race',
Somehow one has to steer that difficult line while not selling short the complexity of the issues with which you are dealing. Instead of thinking that the questions of race are some sort of moral duty, moral intellectual academic duty which white people with good feelings do for blacks, one has to remember that the issue of race provides one of the most important ways of understanding how this society actually works and how it has arrived where it is. It is one of the most important keys, not into the margins of the society, but right into its dynamic centre. It is a very good way of getting into the political and social issues of contemporary Britain because it touches and connects with so many facts. That does make it a difficult problem to handle and to explain adequately and one mustn't try to go for simple explanations because one does want to create a dynamic which involves people in the problems of trying to build anti-racist policies.

Hall (1980: 13)

The role of the media is closely linked to the points made above and there is a need to consider the growing importance of aspects of media-racism (Cashmore and Troyna, 1983). At a time when the average child in Britain spends about 30 hours a week watching television, which makes it as much or more time than in the classroom, and the average adult watches for about 23 hours a week, Twitchin (1987), with reference to Swann (1985), argues that TV often serves to legitimate and reinforce common prejudices held by adults and children - not only by perpetuating negative stereotypical images in comedy and drama, but also through stereotypical thinking in news and current affairs programmes.

Twitchin (1987), like Anwar and Shang (1976), goes on to argue that within any effective multi-cultural and anti-racist education, teachers should 'deconstruct' the negative images and thinking referred to above, on themselves and then on their pupils. Further, that teaching children to see the racism in materials and books inside schools needs to be extended to the media influences that work on them outside school, not just in specific media studies but across the curriculum.
The kind of issues raised by the pupils at the NLSS about the portrayal of black people on television, are addressed in a number of studies (Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Braham, 1982) and others. In particular, they have stressed the way black people are presented as 'the problem' and a 'threat' to a predominantly white society. Thus over a whole range of issues, they illustrate forms of unfair reportage and poor portrayal which has a deleterious effect on ethnic minorities. Moreover, their disadvantaged position in relation to power, education, housing and employment is not addressed adequately. The consequence is that an unfavourable view or image is sustained of the kind which the pupils at the supplementary schools so strongly resented in this research.

In the next chapter the issue of pupil identity in the supplementary schools is considered.
CHAPTER TEN

PUPIL IDENTITY IN THE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS
Chapter 10

Pupil Identity in the Supplementary Schools

10.1. Black British Identity

This research offered an opportunity to explore how pupils, albeit a relatively small self-selected sample in two supplementary schools, perceived their own situations in school and society in Britain so that it would be possible to make further advances in our knowledge about how black youth make sense of their status and life chances in British society.

This part of the research was therefore not centrally about black pupil self-concept (Milner 1975, 1983; Stone, 1981; Verma and Bagley, 1979). Unfortunately, the research on self-concept has not yet yielded unequivocal evidence about whether black pupils have poor self-concepts or not and if these have a direct bearing on their educational achievement. This part of the research therefore took an ethnographic perspective into the meaning that black youth give to their day-to-day educational experience in Britain and thus shares Rex's (1982) view that 'detailed ethnographic studies of black youth appear to be the most necessary and productive formulation for further studies' in this area.

The first theme explored was the pupils' view of their own identities which would collectively provide an answer to the broad question 'How would you describe/see yourself in British society?' The presentation of the data takes into consideration the differences within and between the two schools studied. The responses were obtained from group discussions with pupils aged eleven and over as the nature of this part of the enquiry would have been too demanding for the younger children in the time available.

Excerpts are extracted from pupil responses from both schools as there was much similarity in the early parts of the discussions.
I suppose I am a black person in my school. I am different from the white pupils because of my colour.

Researcher: Is colour the most important difference?

I suppose so, there is no other difference really. I can do anything ... just like they [the whites] can.

Researcher: How would you describe yourself then?

Well I'm a black person ... a member of a minority ... yeah ... that's what my dad says ...

Researcher: Are you better off or worse off for being a black person in society?

How can I be better off? No blacks are better off than white people. We get all the lousy jobs in the country ...

Researcher: Why do you say that? Does anyone else feel the same way?

Black people have to take the jobs the whites don't want.

Researcher Is that what your dad says ...?

No I don't think he says that but I know that for myself ... all the black pupils and the white pupils at my school know that also.

You see our parents came here to work and that's why we are here ...

Researcher: What does that make you in Britain then? English?

Oh no, we're not English ... but I suppose British really.

Researcher: Well, is there a difference?

We're black British and that's different from being English.

Researcher: Do you think of yourself as West Indian?

Not really, we are not part of the West Indies ... 'cos there are only two groups here ... the whites who are English and the rest who are black British.
The Indians here who run the shops are also black British.

Researcher: These two groups that you say ... are they really separate groups in society?

Pupil (6) (SLSS, female, 13) They sort of mix in the streets and in schools but they really are separate actually. That is because we can be seen as separate.

It could be argued that although relatively young, the pupils were quite aware of being members of a 'visible' ethnic minority and believed that they were relatively disadvantaged by such status in society. This is like stating the obvious but such black pupil awareness is nevertheless confirmed in research by Rex (1982) and Cashmore and Troya (1983).

Further interview data explored the implication of membership of a disadvantaged ethnic minority.

Researcher: Would you have enjoyed better opportunities if you were white?

Pupil (7) (NLSS, male, 13) Of course ... but it is not possible for all people to be of one colour. But we should have equal rights for all.

Researcher: In time, will black and white people be treated as equals?

Pupil (7) Never, I don't think so.

Pupil (8) (NLSS, female, 12) Maybe in many years from now ... but we want it now.

Pupil (2) We have to fight to be equal ... nobody give it [equality] to you ...

The responses from the pupils would suggest a fairly realistic assessment of who they felt they were in society. Interestingly, none of them identified themselves as being Afro-Caribbean or West Indian in
any significant way, except of course indicating the facts of their origins. An identity of 'Black Britishness' lay at the heart of who they felt they were and this term incorporated notions of belonging to a disadvantaged group generally.

Most of the pupils at both schools positively indicated a dislike for the descriptive term 'coloured' when identifying themselves. Yet, they would invariably use that term in conversation. For example, it was not unusual to hear the following:

... see there was this other kid at school ... a coloured kid O.K.? ... And he was in the playground ...

The notion of 'black' as a 'political' label (Garrison, 1977; Lashley, 1983) for a distinctive visible minority had clearly permeated these pupils' consciousness. It was what growing up in Britain was all about for this sample of pupils. An explanation for the significance of being black is provided very clearly in the following quotation:

... there is something special about the experience of being black and ... this experience structures the position of black youth. We have drawn on our empirical work to suggest that, as young blacks become aware of their colour and realise that it can be depreciated and used as a basis for exclusion, they fuse this blackness with a new significance, incorporate it into their consciousness, organise their subjective biographies so as to include it, strike up allegiances and perceive adversaries on the understanding of it; in general, position themselves in relation to that quality of blackness.

Cashmore and Troyna (1982: 26)
But what other significances did being 'black' have for the pupils at the two supplementary schools? Did they for instance relate it to their origins?

At the NLSS, through discussion, it became clear that the pupils were reasonably well informed about their parents' origins. They knew about the Caribbean and the islands their parents had come from. Also, about a third had been there on short visits. They also knew about the existence of slavery and of their own slave ancestry. In this knowledge, they projected a strong sense of grievance at the way former slaves were treated but were also able to relate the harsh treatment of slaves and their lack of rights and freedom, to their own status as black people in the UK in the late twentieth century. The following statements are revealing:

The blacks have suffered at the hands of white people. First they were slaves and now they have to do all the dirty work in the cities ... I mean like sweeping for the Council and what not ...

(NLSS, female, 12)

It's the same all over the world where there are black and white people together ... the black people are the slaves even today ...

(NLSS, female, 13)

At school they [white pupils] still call us slaves ...

(SLSS, male, 12)

At the SLSS, the researcher detected a general concern among the pupils to play down the role of their slave ancestry. It was not totally clear to the researcher, whether they were not well informed about the days of slavery or whether they wished to distance themselves from such historical information. Instead, they were much keener to discuss being disadvantaged 'here and now in Britain'. One pupil indeed said '... it's no use talking about the past ... we have to discuss the
present and try to change it so that things improve for us in Britain'.
This sentiment was also evident in the research work of Cashmore and Troyna (1982) who argued that black youth in Britain, unlike their parents, increasingly saw themselves as removed and at some social distance from the Caribbean. The younger females in this research in particular, were keener to be more 'distanced' than the males. They wanted to become socially mobile in Britain and not have some nostalgic sentiments for the Caribbean of which they did not feel themselves to be materially a part. Several of the pupils also expressed the view that young black people should qualify in Britain and then seek better opportunities elsewhere, such as the USA where they felt that the blacks had 'a much better deal than us here'.

Pupil awareness of their status as black people in Britain did not vary very much from pupil to pupil and such awareness appears to have emerged fairly early in their lives as suggested by Milner (1975).

The first time I really realised I was different from the others ... that I was black was when the infant teacher said to another pupil ... 'Sharon ask the black girl to help you get the book ... she is taller than you ... '. it was quite a shock really. From then on I began to feel sort of different. It never left me really in my primary school... but now I don't care about it ...

(SLSS, female, 13)

10.2 Awareness of Social Disadvantage

In this section we will consider some of the implications of being a member of a black ethnic minority in Britain. The central question being addressed here was: 'In what ways are you affected, if at all, by being a member of a black ethnic minority in Britain?'

The pupils were able to identify specific factors which they felt distinguished their status/opportunity from the majority population and
this was viewed as a form of social disadvantage in housing, employment and education.

(a) Housing

Pupil (1) Black people have to pay a lot of money for their houses.

(NLSS, male, 13)

Researcher: How do you mean?

Pupil (2) When my dad tried to buy a house, all the agents said 'the house is just gone'. Then one agent he was helpful, but my dad says this was because he ... my dad ... indicated he would pay extra for a house to get it ...

Other pupils suggested that black people ended up staying in those parts of London ... 'which are not so nice ... so we get ghettos like Brixton'. Another argued that black people have to be extra careful with white neighbours next door to them, otherwise the police would be informed about the noise level. Yet two pupils indicated that they had very good, understanding, white neighbours who were very helpful to them.

(b) Jobs and Work

Without exception, the black pupils at both schools were aware that black people found it difficult to get work and that many young blacks did not have jobs or places on training schemes. They provided many examples of their close friends and relatives without jobs. They were sure that this was due to discrimination as they felt that white people got jobs more easily than blacks. This is not terribly surprising as there is much published evidence in a variety of official publications attesting to this fact and the disadvantage of black people in the job
market. The work of Lee and Wrench (1981), for instance indicates clearly that recruitment to apprenticeships operates systematically against young members of minority groups. Yet the pupils in both schools, with the exception of Elroy in the SLSS generally felt that it was important to study and gain qualifications 'because you have a better chance for a job then'.

(c) Education

The major grievance of the pupils lay in their 'knowledge' that many black pupils are not allowed to sit for 'O' level examinations and are channelled towards CSEs in secondary schools. Illustrations of the strong feelings on this issue are provided below:

... see my mum, she got very angry when all the time she went to school to see the teachers, they told her I was doing well ... there was nothing to worry about. But then, when it came to choosing examination subjects, the teacher said I hadn't done well enough in the mocks to sit any 'O' levels. Also many other black parents were very angry.

(SLSS, female, 15)

Such a view was also echoed by a male pupil at the SLSS who said that he had expected to sit for seven 'O' levels but was only allowed to sit for two instead while the rest of his subjects were to be CSEs. He crossly dismissed the researcher's suggestion that he could aim for a CSE grade 1 to be counted as the equivalent of an 'O' level by saying ...

... a CSE is a CSE and not an 'O' level even at grade 1 ... that is how the employers see it and it's easier to pass an 'O' level than get a CSE grade 1 anyhow!

(SLSS, male 15)
Overall, there was very considerable unhappiness that many of the pupils were being 'directed' towards CSEs rather than 'O' levels and Furlong's account (1986) of this as an issue is interesting. He suggests that in his study in a comprehensive school, the full reality of the fact that this sample of black pupils was failing ...

was not revealed to them until their mock CSEs during the fifth year, by which time they could be gently eased out of the school or their absences ignored.

Furlong (1986: 217)

The implication of the above is that the black pupils would have been very difficult to control in school if they had been forewarned that they were unlikely to be successful at the 'O' level stage. Further discussion on this issue is presented a little later.

Next this discussion goes on to consider domestic issues affecting the pupils.

10.3. Relations at home

The major criticism the pupils had in relation to their domestic situation was that they felt they were less free to do what they wanted than their white peers. In the discussion it emerged that most of the Afro-Caribbean parents were quite strict about what time their children got home in the evenings. None of them were permitted to get home later than 7.00 p.m. in the winter months and 9.00 p.m. in the summer months and this applied equally to the boys and the girls. Also, their parents were keen to know exactly where they were when not at home. The pupils stated that in contrast, their white peers could get home by 11.00 p.m. if they wanted to and one pupil (15) said her white girlfriend was sometimes at her boyfriend's house until 2.00 a.m. at the weekend. 'My mother would kill me if I tried that ... ' she said.
There appeared to be two main reasons why their parents expected the black pupils to be at home by a specified hour. Firstly, they wanted them to do their homework 'strictly without the television being on' and to eat supper together as far as possible. The second reason stated by the pupils was that their parents were very wary of the possibility of physical attack by skinhead gangs entering the neighbourhoods where they lived. Indeed, two pupils at the SLSS recounted being assaulted on their way home and they also said they were afraid of getting 'roughed up by the fuzz' (the police] if they were on their own or in a group.

As an observation, it would probably be fair to say that if white pupils of the same age were providing responses to the questions asked, they too might recount being 'mugged', a media term for a range of petty street crime attributed to young blacks in deprived inner-city areas, (Hall et al. 1978) and that their parents would also express concern about how late they were returning home. Nevertheless the literature does suggest that, in general, white parents may indeed be more liberal than black parents about the amount of time spent away from home by their children.

The literature (Pryce 1979; Cashmore and Troyna, 1982; CRE, 1974, 1980) suggests that there are conflicts between many West Indian parents and their children in Britain. There is a wide belief that much tension exists between them and that in many cases, young blacks, especially males leave home in anger and there are alarming 'levels of homelessness' (CRE, 1974) among them. Most certainly, in official circles, the accepted view has been that:

West Indians suffer from weak family units and that young people are alienated from British society in part by the failure of the family unit to provide support. The implication is normally that there are strong generational differences, perhaps exacerbated by the differing expectations and
reference groups adopted by migrants and their offspring.

Cross (1982: 37)

In contrast to the above view, which incidentally Cross (1982) himself does not hold, Foner (1979) has argued that:

despite the bases for cleavage between young and old, Jamaican age related differences do not become the basis for sharp and bitter struggles between them.

Foner (1979: 182)

Fisher and Joshua (1982) have also argued that among the West Indian community, the intergenerational disjunction is a myth and that young West Indians are not significantly estranged from their parents.

In order to obtain some clarification on the above issue, the researcher, through group discussions, sought responses to the following question: 'What kind of tensions do you see, if any, between young blacks and their parents?'

This time, the responses from the two schools were consistent within each school but differed between them. At the NLSS, the tension between the pupils and their parents were centred around the need to work hard academically at home and school (Stone, 1981; Tomlinson, 1984). The pupils were clearly at the receiving end of a certain amount of pressure to achieve better marks in class and in their homework, with the clear aim of being successful at 'O' levels and then continuing their education into College if possible. The following pupil comments illustrate parental concern very clearly:

My mum, she really makes me work hard after school at my homework and gets upset if I don't do well at school.

(NLSS, female, 12)
After coming home from school, my sister and I are allowed to play and watch TV until the 6 o'clock news. When the headlines appear, we have to switch off the television and get down to work. None of my white friends work like this ...

(NLSS, male, 11)

As suggested in earlier chapters the parents of the children at the NLSS had middle class aspirations and were keen for their children to enter white-collar occupations like themselves.

In contrast, the pupils at the SLSS, who lived on a large council estate, emphasised tensions between them and their parents which were related to behaviour problems to a greater extent, though also emphasising the importance of doing well at school. The example below illustrates this point quite clearly:

There are two things my parents are worried about ... one, they don't want me to go ... Rasta ... and second, they don't want me to become a hustler on the streets ...

(SLSS, male, 13)

Most West Indian parents are really worried about ganga (marijuana) and us not being able to find a job

(SLSS, male, 14)

An enormous amount of data were collected on this interesting theme and are summarised in an explanatory manner as briefly as possible here.

It became very clear that both pupils and parents had a distinct awareness that to be black in Britain was to be severely disadvantaged
because of factors relating to discrimination, racism and prejudice (CRE, 1977). The response of many young blacks to this has been to become massively disillusioned and alienated (Sarup, 1986). Some sought an outlet through 'hustling' which included petty thieving and generally 'surviving' in the street culture of the black ghetto (Pryce, 1979). In such 'twilight activities', thieving and hustling were seen as almost inevitable alternatives to mainstream existence. This was viewed as a legitimate activity in a society which had basically 'rejected' them (Cashmore and Troya, 1983). Parental concern was very great at the age when the pupils were about to leave school in search of a job. As jobs were hard to find, the parents were keen for their children to go to College or enter a job training scheme for skilled manual work. But the greatest concern was to try to prevent their children, especially the boys, drifting into crime in the absence of work after school. The SLSS performed this important function of keeping pupil interest in a range of activities so that they 'escaped' the attraction of an early 'career' (Becker, 1971) of petty criminality and drug use.

The pupils at the SLSS also illustrated vividly how Rastafarianism was powerfully attractive to a large number of young black men who immediately after school were disillusioned with what Britain had to offer them. For those in the Rastafarian cult, Britain was depicted as 'Babylon', a land and society that had to be rejected with everything it stood for (Carby, 1982). In its place they were attracted to a mystical Black Jerusalem and 'return' to Africa and Ethiopia specifically (Campbell, 1985). The pupils at the SLSS expressed an understanding and sympathy for Rastafarianism although none had seriously considered joining the movement. The one pupil at the SLSS who rejected Rastafarianism out of hand was Elroy. He was inclined to think that the 'Rastaman was laughed at by most people'.

In discussing the role of the Intellectuals in relation to the formation of the Black Supplementary School Movement in Chapter 5, reference was made to the views of only one Rastafarian who was
available and agreeable to discuss the plight of young blacks in Britain from his perspective. He normally worked as a Science teacher in a comprehensive school in North London. His views were always carefully listened to by the rest of the core group within the BSSM, the more so because he was very articulate and expressed himself in a soft, gentle and pleasant voice. He was keen to see Rastafarian 'oriented' pupils attend supplementary schools and he taught in one himself. However, no pupil manifesting the external appearance of dreadlocks and the distinctive coloured cap of a Rastafarian ever attended classes at either of the two supplementary schools. One did turn up from time to time and wandered about quietly in the SLSS always in a highly contemplative mood. The rest of the pupils generally appeared not to take much interest in him but what was very clear was that none of the pupils' parents wanted their children to follow in the footsteps of the increasingly popular movement among young West Indians in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s (Garrison, 1977; Cashmore, 1979).

The third worry the pupils identified was their parents' concern that young people were increasingly becoming very dissatisfied with the social conditions in the inner-cities and being attracted to confrontational 'possibilities' such as taking to the streets and being prepared to fight there against any authority and especially the police. The riots in Brixton and Bristol (Scarman, 1982) and the enormous potential to engage in 'copycat riots' were still very much in the minds of the pupils and the parents during the field work of this present study (1980 - 84).

At the SLSS, then, the pupils were very aware that their parents wanted them to conform to normal schooling and behaviour patterns and thus avoid the three 'evils' which could influence their older sons in particular:

a) a career in drugs, thieving and hustling.

b) entry into the cult of Rastafarianism, and
c) entry into politicised, confrontational strategies against the agents of law and order.

In addition of course, they wanted them to succeed academically so that they could gain qualifications as passports to worthwhile jobs.

At the NLSS, the 'pressures' upon the pupils were of an academic nature to a greater extent than at the SLSS. The three concerns highlighted at the SLSS were hardly referred to at the NLSS and this was a significant difference between the two schools. There appeared to be two main reasons for this difference. There was firstly, a 'class' difference in the backgrounds of the two sets of pupils. The pupils at the NLSS as stated earlier, came mainly from owner occupied homes and their parents were engaged in white collar occupations. In contrast, the SLSS children were more clearly of working class background. The second reason may be attributable to age. The pupils at the NLSS school were slightly younger than those at the SLSS.

Although West Indian youth are increasingly alienated within British society as suggested by Giles (1977), Dhondy et al. (1982) and Rex (1982) and feel a sense of hopelessness because of their impotence to play any significant part in British society, the pupils at the two schools with the exception of only one pupil (Elroy) referred to earlier, were clearly not yet disaffected and alienated. The two schools may have contributed to bolstering pupil self-esteem and to fighting educational failure. In this sense, the schools appeared to have a positive effect on them even though the pupils were fully aware of their disadvantage through automatic membership of an ethnic black minority in British society.

10.4. Concluding comments

Two further points are considered briefly. These relate to the tensions the pupils referred to in relation to the situation in their homes and to the difficulties created by being 'directed' into the CSE route instead of the 'O' level route at school.
Ososanwo's (1985) work on Nigerian pupils in London schools found that her sample of pupils in two schools and their parents also raised these two issues as being problematic. Clearly, black pupils brought up in an urban Western culture will want to emulate their peers and experience the same kind of 'freedom' they feel that white indigenous children enjoy. Although much has been written about how families living 'between two cultures' (Watson, 1977) experience many domestic conflicts, such studies have tended to focus on conflict among the more traditional Asian families. But it is clear that black parents and children, whether West African or West Indian are also facing many personal/family problems.

There appears to be a tension between ethnic minority parental desires that their children should work hard and be successful academically so that they can enter white collar occupations, and their children's views that they are being excessively controlled, made to work very hard at academic work and denied other more pleasurable activities. It is generally recognised that white collar occupations were less accessible to the parents when they arrived here and that they were willing to accept low level work for a variety of reasons (Eggleston et al. 1986) when they first settled in this country. However, these parents invariably do find it difficult to accept weekday teacher perceptions of 'unrealistic aspirations' among ethnic minority children and believe strongly that their children should be able to succeed academically if determined to do so.

However, apart from the effects of racism in society and the reality that West Indian children underachieve (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985) compared to other groups in society, it should be noted that academic success requires much effort and sacrifice and 'deferred gratification'. Minimally, the children have to sacrifice many immediate pleasures to concentrate on academic work and a conflictual situation is likely to arise between the parents and the children. The resolution of such conflict is not easy, especially as ethnic minority parents may have middle class aspirations but live in inner-city working class areas (Cross 1987) where educational standards are
relatively low. The net effect as Cross argues, is that Caribbean people:

pursue education ... with a vigour and determination that would put the white middle class pupils of our suburbs to shame ...

Cross (1987: 18)

Yet, Cross conceded that all this determination had not yielded the desired educational objectives for their children and it would appear that the tensions between the older members of ethnic minorities and their children are likely to continue in the foreseeable future unless greater institutional efforts are made to combat much racist inequality especially in an area like employment. If this were to happen, it might allow ethnic minority parents to ease the pressures they put on their children to achieve academically and to maintain their traditional cultures and practices.

With reference again to the reality of Afro-Caribbean pupil underachievement, and the consistent complaints from black pupils and parents that opportunities for 'O' level work and examinations are denied them (as also widely reported in the literature), and that they are inevitably led to work on the CSE instead, it is perhaps not always realised how demanding even the 'O' level is meant to be and that it is intended to be for a relatively small number of pupils. As only about a quarter of all pupils are expected to gain 5 or more 'O' levels, clearly a large number and possibly the majority of pupils are expected to take the CSE while the remainder take no school-leaving examination at all. Broadfoot (1979) has argued that the British public examination system acts as a powerful control mechanism through the importance stressed on 'formal external examinations on a mass basis at 16+'. She argued further, that Britain's pre-occupation with public examinations at an early age to perform a rigorous selection function has resulted in it lagging behind a world trend against selection based on formal certification even at 18+. Consequently she did not feel
that the GCSE might improve matters very much in opening up educational opportunities for more people.

We can therefore see that as with other groups, the West Indians are underachieving in a highly selective educational system which essentially works in the interests of the middle classes (Tapper and Salter 1978) with 'cultural capital' to draw upon and which the West Indians tend not to possess through no fault of their own. Consequently according to Rex (1979b) not many young West Indians are making their way into the middle class and only a handful are getting into higher education. The latter point is of course confirmed by Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985). Dummett (1983) has described the education system which prevents white working class children and black children to go beyond their 'proper station in life' [as subordinates] as 'a huge system of restrictive practice'.

Figueroa (1984b) argued that the educational underachievement of children of West Indian children was a case of educational inequality stemming from inequality enjoyed by their parents in society, including housing and occupational inequality. In other words social equality was a prerequisite if we were to have educational equality.

Likewise Verma (1985) has argued in relation to West Indians, that:

the dilemma in which these young people are placed is an extremely difficult one. Their parents have by and large found themselves on the lowest rungs of the ladder of British society. This has led to great pressure from the family for success in the second generation. Prejudice and discrimination both in school and in the wider society add to this pressure. In order to overcome these adverse factors, many of these young people stressed their determination and need to do exceptionally well in school.

Verma (1985: 474)
The responses from the supplementary school pupils to their identity in Britain in this chapter, correspond fairly closely to Troyna's (1979) view that it is the perception of racism and discrimination as salient constraints on life chances, by youths of West Indian origin, which is the most significant determinant of their reactions to living in Britain. And in another article, Cashmore (1982) argued that as West Indian children approach school-leaving age, most of them begin to see the horizons of the future possibilities available to them contracting and 'they understand their futures to be structured by their blackness'.

In the case of the supplementary school pupils in this study, they too are aware of the odds stacked against them of achieving equality and success in British society. However, most of them have indicated their determination to try to succeed educationally and in this sense they are resisting their subordination, and supporting the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement as articulated by the Intellectuals in Chapter 5.

The next chapter examines teacher and parent perspectives on supplementary schooling.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

TEACHER AND PARENT PERSPECTIVES
Chapter 11

TEACHER AND PARENT PERSPECTIVES

11.1 Introduction

At the two supplementary schools studied, some teachers were also the parents of the children who attended the two schools studied for this research. At the NLSS, of the three parents who attended on Saturday mornings, one teacher was a parent of two pupils who attended, while two others who organised/co-ordinated the running of the school had two children who attended. Thus there were three parents out of a total of seven adults who normally taught/assisted at the school.

At the SLSS, one teacher was a parent of two children, one non-teaching assistant was a grandmother of one of the pupils, and there were two aunts of four other pupils there. This initial discussion about teacher perspectives is also therefore a discussion of seven 'parents/close relatives' who were teachers, organisers and assistants at the two schools. However, it was also possible to obtain the views of those parents who came up to the school for a variety of reasons and were accessible to the teachers as well as to the researcher, and their views are incorporated in the latter part of this chapter.

Data on activity within the two schools studied were collected by the researcher in the form of observational notes, participant observation, non-directed interviews and records of conversation relating to the weekly activities that took place at the two schools. Additionally, the researcher met teachers and parents socially at fund-raising events like socials and at organised outings. Following the collection of data, they were categorised and analysed in the form presented below so that a detailed account could be presented of supplementary schooling from the perspectives of the teachers and parents involved in the school.
A detailed account of the circumstances in which the different teachers became involved in the teaching and running of the school was provided earlier in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. Details were also provided about their occupational background outside supplementary school teaching/activity, and therefore, cross referencing is provided between this chapter and Chapter 6, as well as other chapters where appropriate.

11.2 Pupil socialisation in school and society

The collected data suggest that supplementary school teacher perspectives on pupil roles in relation to socialisation into weekday and supplementary school focused centrally on a 'vocabulary of motive' (Mills, 1977) relating to the black minority child growing into adulthood and seeking equitable membership of society at large. Thus the acquisition of skills and knowledge which would equip the individual into the world of work and normal family and community life in British society influenced much thinking about what supplementary schooling and normal schooling was for. This was true for both supplementary schools studied. A consistent focus lay on what pupils must achieve academically in order to be prepared for the adult world. This concern stemmed from supplementary school teacher awareness, that black pupils were underachieving in weekday schools, that they were not adequately equipped for the world of work, and that even if they did succeed in gaining qualifications they were significantly disadvantaged in the job market. The aim then was that there should be clear achievement targets within the supplementary schools, as discussed in Chapter 7, which would allow pupils to progress to greater competence, gain personal autonomy and be motivated to succeed at school and beyond by gaining entry into high status and rewarding occupations. The evidence suggests that the teachers and parents were concerned that without adequate basic skills of literacy and numeracy, black pupils were likely to end up inevitably as part of the sub-proletariat or underclass in Britain, as discussed in Chapter 5. Help to black pupils to achieve academically would, in the views of the teachers at the supplementary schools, enable them to prevent or at least make
difficult their incorporation into a black underclass formation. Thus a determination to engage in a form of resistance to such incorporation appeared to lie as the major motivating force among the majority of teachers at the two supplementary schools studied. This was definitely true for all the black (bearing in mind that Chapter 6 discussed the presence of two white teachers at the NLSS) teachers and black parents. Illustrations of such expressed concerns are provided below in selections from interviews and conversational data. Where appropriate, the respondents are identified by letters of the alphabet to correspond with the details of the teachers provided in Chapter 6.

Teacher C There is already the making of a black problem in the eyes of the majority of the people in Britain. Our concern is to fight and resist such a pathological view of black people here ... otherwise it will solidify as it has done in the USA and become a caste like element in society from which escape is difficult ...

Researcher: But black people have made progress in the USA, have they not?

Teacher C A few blacks have done very well and become part of a black bourgeoisie. But you know, they have tended to turn their backs on the vast majority of blacks who are ghettoised and part of a sub-disadvantaged proletariat. You could say the successful blacks have gone 'white' ... you know what I mean?

Researcher: Yes I understand the point you are making.

At the SLSS, the concern about black pupil underachievement was expressed thus by one respondent:

Teacher K To get anywhere in this country, young blacks must study and work hard to qualify. If they qualify they may stand some chance of moving out of a disadvantaged position in society - mind you, it is no guarantee. There are plenty of well qualified young blacks who can't get jobs simply because they are black.

Teacher K Blacks have to move into areas and qualify in areas where white pupils tend not to enter ...
Researcher: How do you mean?

Teacher M: Well I mean areas like Maths and Physics. Most whites give up in Maths and Physics quite easily ... just like blacks in the 1960s who came here and took up jobs the whites did not want, our young people have to search for avenues ... like I say, Maths and Science which will be needed most of the time. It's no use going into areas where there is too much competition ... as blacks don't have a chance in this country against the whites where there is competition.

Such examples selected from the very large number of comments and views expressed by teachers at the two supplementary schools in this research, highlight the central concern for the need for black pupils to achieve academically to overcome what were seen as those forces which were disadvantaging them in a variety of ways. The black teachers and parents clearly had a pessimistic view of the society in which they lived. They were convinced that opportunities were relatively closed to the black section of British society and that as a consequence, special efforts had to be made by black people to overcome such 'closure' (Parkin 1979) and that the education of young blacks became crucial towards this end. Thus the achievement necessary for black people was grounded in social rather than only in academic advancement.

Such a view could be contrasted with a discernible difference in the way the two white teachers at the NLSS (Teachers D and E) seemed to 'understand' the significance of what they were trying to do at the school. They appeared to project a considerable enthusiasm for learning for its own sake. Thus they expressed real joy in seeing their 'class group' make progress - especially in Mathematics. From the researcher's point of view these two teachers did not really 'see' the pupils as being black or Asian. Their real satisfaction arose when the pupils understood mathematical concepts and demonstrated their use. At no stage in conversations with the researcher over a period of seven months at the school, did they express a 'feeling' for the social condition of black pupils. However, such an observation cannot imply with any certainty that they were not aware of the social
conditions/needs of black pupils. Yet, at least on the surface, the concern of the white teachers at the NLSS appeared to be less to do with 'social concerns' than academic/subject development and expertise. It would suggest that the black teachers were bringing in their lived experiences of being a black minority in Britain, in a way that did not and perhaps could not manifest itself in the two white teachers. Some could of course argue that this did not really matter and that helping all children with academic work was what really mattered.

Such a view however would be distanced from the views of the Intellectuals within the Movement (as discussed in Chapter 5) who were clear that it was not possible to separate out the purpose of schooling with its function in society to help black people compete in the market place for employment and other related opportunities. In this view, black pupils were a special category for special help because they were disadvantaged and had to be perceived as such if alleviation of the disadvantage was to take place. Thus for the Intellectuals within the Movement and for the black supplementary school teachers, who were clearly, in Gramscian (1971) terms, engaged in intellectual activity, the acquisition of qualifications was an essential means to an end, that is, the battle against discrimination and 'relegation to an underclass'.

The Intellectuals of the Movement and the black supplementary school teachers also expressed the view that economic and social prospects for black people may not improve in Britain because of its continuing decline as a major industrial nation. However, they were very keen for black pupils to acquire British qualifications because 'British qualifications are still recognised as good qualifications worldwide'. Most certainly, the possibility of emigration to other countries in need of manpower was linked to work undertaken in supplementary schools. Interestingly, Canada was often cited as one example where blacks of Afro-Caribbean origin had 'got a much better deal than in Britain', a view also expressed by Thomas-Hope (1982) when comparing the way peoples of West Indian origins had adjusted to settlement since the 1950s in the USA, Canada and Britain. Although such a view is
disputed by Dodd (1987), the supplementary school teachers saw potential developments for qualified young black people in parts of Africa but they would definitely discourage blacks from going to Australia. For reasons which were not very clearly articulated, Australia was deemed to be particularly racist as far as Afro-Caribbean people were concerned.

11.3 Socialisation into relevant knowledge areas

The earlier commentary from the perspectives of the black supplementary school teachers was indicative that black pupils must succeed at academic work in schools but this raises the problem about what was meant by the term 'academic work'? Was all school knowledge academic work, or were there parts within it which were valued more than others? In other words, what assumptions (Young, 1971; Hammersley, 1977; Whitty, 1985) were there about the nature of school knowledge? It would be no surprise to note that the black teachers invariably valued some aspects of the school curriculum as being of greater worth than others. At the NLSS this manifested itself in the fact that only two subjects were taught there - Maths and English. Most of the teacher comment from there reinforced the view expressed by one teacher that:

Teacher F  Mastery of these two subjects was more important than mastery in other areas like History and Geography and most certainly, far more important than PE and Art.

The teachers also expressed concern that too many black pupils were being channelled into sport, a view also expressed in studies of black youth and sport by Carrington (1983, 1986) who argued that as a consequence of active direction into sport by white teachers, black pupils were losing out on academic work. This issue was also discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.
The black supplementary school teachers at both schools felt that subjects like Art and Pottery were essentially 'fringe' school subjects which were to be available to pupils mainly as recreational subjects after 'substantial work was done in Maths and English'. The humanities were deemed to be important provided there was a 'truer' perspective within it which reflected a multi-racial Britain rather than a study of 'purely white achievement and domination of the world'. One black teacher said:

Teacher I A lot of the history taught in schools is totally unsuitable because it is too biased.

He cited examples of work by Hugh Trevor Roper whom he claimed had said that 'there was no African history worth talking about until the white man went there'. Another black teacher denounced 'the theme of the white missionary going into darkest Africa to civilise the natives'. He went on to say:

Teacher L Why on earth could not these missionaries civilise the white natives of East London and Peckham who are making hell for us black people?

Another teacher added:

Teacher K Christianity was for export ... man ... to make black people docile so that their lands and minerals could be expropriated ... we're not into giving any respectability to that kind of exploitation ... and we have to make our black pupils understand this in their Social Studies at this school.

It seems clear, then, that the black teachers valued some aspects of the curriculum more highly than others and also expressed strong reservations about subjects like History as currently taught in state schools. We might therefore move on to clarify how knowledge itself was perceived. For instance, was it viewed as objective or as personal
and relative; was it heirarchically structured and was it embodied in
distinct disciplines or forms?

By seeking answers to these questions from the data collected, it is
possible to construct how from the point of view of the black
supplementary school teachers, actual learning ought to take place.
Also, for purposes of analysis, Hammersley's (1977) work can be
usefully drawn upon to examine the perspectives of the black
supplementary school teachers and this is done below.

i) Is there a required curriculum that is a body of knowledge and
skills which every child should normally acquire, or is the aim of
education to draw upon pupils' personal knowledge and experiences? For
the teachers at the two supplementary schools, although they would not
discount the personal knowledge of pupils, and especially, the way in
which this is related to black pupils' experience of being members of
an ethnic minority, they nevertheless held great store by the view that
schooling was centrally about providing children access and skills into
an existing framework of knowledge. Further, that such knowledge is
hierarchically structured in terms of its difficulty and complexity.
Further, that in an 'important' subject like Maths there was a need to
develop understanding and develop skills which became progressively
more difficult and ones in which the understanding of earlier concepts
were a pre-requisite to an understanding of subsequent ones. All the
teachers at the two schools supported such a view except for one, a
trained, non graduate Maths teacher at the SLSS (Teacher Q), who argued
that ... 'I am not absolutely sure, but it actually might be possible
to teach a Maths syllabus without assuming a hierarchical structure
within it'. But even she admitted that 'if pupils understood basic
principles in Maths, for example, the four rules of addition, subtraction,
multiplication and division, it would help a child to
undertake more complex Maths work at a later stage'. However, other
teachers echoed the words of the teacher and also a parent that:
Teacher H Something that really angers me about English schools is that as a pupil moves up the school, the class teacher will blame the previous teacher for not preparing the pupils adequately in Maths or English ... I've seen this happen in the case of my nieces and my own children. The effect is that the child suffers a cumulative effect of inadequate understanding of basic principles and can't cope with more difficult work as he moves up the school ... eventually the child wants to drop Maths especially.

The supplementary school teachers were prepared to accept that this was not so for some subjects like Geography and Art and presumably it is for this reason that such subjects enjoyed less status in their eyes than Maths and English.

ii) Another issue examined by Hammersley (1977) was whether knowledge is embodied in distinct disciplines or whether it permeated a whole range of problems which did not necessitate the study of distinct disciplines? The teachers and parents at both schools definitely favoured a view which emphasised subject disciplines not only in secondary schools but also in the primary school. This was made explicit in a statement such as the following:

Teacher B In my own education in the Caribbean, we studied subjects like History and Geography. We knew where we stood in each of these subjects but now we have trendy subjects like human studies or social studies and even environmentaal studies and the children lose out on getting to know a set of distinct subjects well.

It is clear that such a teacher/parent does not recognise that what may have been appropriate a generation or more ago in schools may not be appropriate today. The researcher invariably had to restrain himself in situations like the one above of immediately trying to 'enlighten' the particular teacher to more recent views about education. For
methodological rigour such 'enlightenment' had to be reserved for the period after the research data had been collected.

A concern for 'known' ways of learning which the supplementary school teachers emphasised throughout were exemplified in the following criticism of progressive schooling and especially, the Integrated Day (Entwistle, 1970) by a supplementary teacher's observations on her daughter's junior school experience:

Teacher A although pupils could have a good teacher who could cope with the aims and practice of the Integrated Day, too often the children messed around and did very little real work.

Such a view is not unfamiliar among parents, both black and white in Britain and has been a source of much public media debate and discussion especially generated by the Black Paperites as discussed earlier. Such unease about modern teaching methods in primary schools recently prompted the Inner London Education Authority to demonstrate as publicly as possible, the working of the Integrated Day in a month-long display of pupils and their teachers at work, at the Royal Festival Hall, London, in July, 1987. However, there are pressures from the current Secretary of State (July, 1987) to require primary schools to get teachers to specialise in subject disciplines once again and it is clear that Mr. Baker's Consultative Document (July, 1987) and proposals for a core curriculum consisting of Maths, English and Science and examinations for pupils at 7, 11, 14 and 16 would perhaps be welcomed by the teachers and parents of the two supplementary schools studied. For them, it would be a vindication of what they believed in very strongly and intitiated to some extent in their supplementary schools over the years.

If the two subjects, Maths and English, were viewed as of very great importance in primary and secondary schools, how did the teachers and parents in the supplementary schools envisage the rest of the normal
school curriculum? There was a measure of agreement to this question in both schools. They wanted to see Maths and English taught alongside Computer Studies and other subjects which would lead pupils to the 'O' level or equivalent standard for a number of subjects. Thus traditional school subjects like History ('with its Eurocentric bias removed'), Geography, Physics, Chemistry and one European Language were deemed to be important to provide the average pupil an avenue from school to entry into Sixth form work which would eventually lead to degree level work or work for a range of professions. A source of particular anger, as stated in the previous chapter, related to 'the CSE route which was always available to black pupils instead of the 'O' level'. With the introduction of the GCSE in 1986/87 some of this anger may gradually be dissipated but clearly, supplementary school teachers and the parents of pupils who attended, had higher expectations of black pupils than their weekday teachers and were quite critical of weekday school teachers, as was Stone (1981), for not making a greater effort to make black and white pupils work harder through more formal teaching. An observation from one teacher and parent who took her children to Barbados on holiday is very revealing in this respect:

Teacher A

When I went to Barbados on holiday with my two children aged 10 and 11, I was really shocked to see my nieces and nephews and other Barbadian children who went to the ordinary church schools there, working on Maths and English at a much higher level than my two who were well behind ... I was really torn between wanting to give up everything here in Britain and taking them for a good education to Barbados. Now can you honestly beat that? But I decided to stay on for a little longer to see what progress could be made with the help of this supplementary school.

The researcher was familiar with the above kind of response, for within the Asian community, he had previously come across a number of parents who were so concerned about their children's education that they were definitely going to send them to India or Pakistan 'for a good education'. This will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.
Another issue explored with the supplementary school teachers was that of Black Studies in normal schools and of the introduction of Creole in reading poetry and in school drama sessions. At the SLSS, very strong reservations were expressed about white teachers endeavouring to teach Black Studies. This is because it was felt that white teachers, with the best will in the world, could not make an adequate success of Black Studies. As one teacher put it thus:

Teacher J their experience of the world precludes them from an understanding of what it means to be a black person in a hostile white society.

The teachers at the SLSS were even harsher about the use of Creole in schools. It was felt that Creole did not help black pupils to develop skills in areas or subjects associated with gaining power in British society:

Teacher I Creole may be of sociological interest to liberal white language teachers but it is of no benefit to black pupils who can invariably use it if they want to use it ... that is.

It is clear that the attempt of some schools to introduce the use of Creole by black and white teachers in weekday schools is viewed with a great deal of suspicion by black supplementary school teachers.

Having now had a picture of the supplementary school teachers' perspectives on the nature of what ought to be taught in weekday schools, and therefore by definition in the supplementary schools, it becomes important to ask how such knowledge and the associated skills should be taught? What techniques were deemed to be suitable and how was this related to aspects of control in the classroom?
11.4. Perspectives on learning and control in the classroom

Theoretical work on learning (Hammersley, 1977; Entwistle, 1970; Barnes, 1976) can help us explore a number of perspectives and practices on how learning takes place and these are drawn upon to help categorise the available data for purposes of analysis.

11.4.1. Is learning best achieved through individual effort or through collective work?

The views of the supplementary school teachers suggest that a little of each is important. At one level, the emphasis was on the advantages of relying on one's own particular capabilities in which a competitive element was likely to be beneficial. Thus most of the teachers bemoaned the fact that weekday schools did not provide them adequate feedback on how their own children were performing in schools by way of:

1) seeing their school exercise books, except if they visited the school on an Open Day or specially arranged to see the Head or class teacher,

2) regular, that is termly school reports (which it was claimed were produced in schools in the West Indies) which provided numerical grading of the pupils' performance, and also a class position so that they were very clear about how a child was performing,

3) regular homework, at least for the older pupils with work marked regularly and conscientiously.

Such pointed criticism would indicate that the teachers and parents directly involved with supplementary schools put individual pupil effort and success, as measured by grades achieved, as of crucial importance for advancement in schools. In this respect, it is worth noting that the exercise books at the supplementary schools were required to be marked meticulously and readily available to any parent
enquiring about the progress of his/her children. There were no regular end-of-term or end-of-year reports made out for parents but there was a desire to introduce these at the SLSS.

Although the emphasis in the above account has been about individual learning in weekday schools, such importance was also emphasised within the Saturday Supplementary School. Except for the youngest pupils at the SLSS who used a great deal of learning apparatus, individual learning took place within the close proximity of other similar learners in a class group, so that little or no shared learning took place. In other words, individualised 'competitive learning', was the mode through which most learning took place at the two schools but as stated earlier, to an even greater extent at the NLSS than at the SLSS.

11.4.2. Learning through production or reproduction

Theoretical work on learning (Entwistle, 1970; Bernstein, 1971; Barnes, 1976) suggests that learning can be concerned with the production of new knowledge in situations where the teacher effectively does not teach but acts as a facilitator to help learning. In such a situation, it is conceivable that new 'knowledges' (Young, 1971) are created through the interaction of pupils and teachers. It is essentially teaching and learning of an interactive nature (Woods, 1983). In contrast, traditional teaching styles have been termed 'transmissive' (Barnes, 1976) or 'didactic' or 'teacher-centred', in which 'received' knowledge from the teacher is essentially reproduced by the pupil.

In the view of the researcher, the working situation in the two supplementary schools provided in many ways, the ideal situation for non-teacher directed learning because each class group was very small, that is, not exceeding ten pupils across the age ranges, and work which was carefully thought out and planned for the pupils across the age ranges, could generate interesting and imaginative non-directed teacher-initiated learning. However, it must be remembered that the declared aim of the Supplementary School was 'to make up for
deficiencies of the state schooling system in which progressive education was deemed to have:

Teacher Q made learning an enjoyable experience for young children but not really helped them to learn many skills they will need as they go on through school.

However, a statement as the one above should not be deemed to demonstrate outright rejection of the progressive school with its integrated day in the primary school. There was no evidence that any of the pupils at either of the two supplementary schools were expected to undertake rote learning, except perhaps for the individual learning of their multiplication tables. But there was evidence that the supplementary school teachers were defensive about criticisms of their teaching methods by weekday school teachers as is indicated in the following statement:

Teacher F it was not a terribly difficult task for all the children (presumably in the supplementary school) to have memorised multiplication tables up to 12, in the time-honoured way in the Caribbean ... and I don't call that rote learning... which is what white teachers blame us for doing ... 

Thus while on the whole, the reproduction of the teachers' knowledge in the three main areas taught at the SLSS, that is, English, Maths and Social Studies, and in the two subjects, English and Maths, at the NLSS was the normal mode of learning for the pupils, it did not imply undue importance to rote learning except, as stated above, in the case of the learning of multiplication tables. However, this was not done through collective pupil chanting at school, but intended for the privacy of individual pupil homes. Opportunities were provided so that pupils could 'discover' teachers' knowledge through the way tasks were set for
the pupils as illustrated in Chapter 7 and two further examples are provided below to elaborate this point.

Pupils at the SLSS were provided blank maps of the Caribbean area and required to consult atlases to discover and name specific islands and also to do exploratory work from books from the school library, to try to find out if possible, how the names of the islands were derived. At the NLSS, the pupils in one class group were asked to read about the work of Mary Seacole, a black nurse who worked in the Crimea at the same time as Florence Nightingale, and to then write an account of her work, as a requirement for an exercise in English. Thus directed discovery-learning rather than simple transmission of knowledge was an important feature in the learning mode available to the pupils for at least some of the time.

11.4.3. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

Hammersley (1977) suggests that another dimension in learning relates to whether we believe that learning is best accomplished in an atmosphere which generates intrinsic motivation or conversely, whether learning inevitably requires extrinsic motivation such as pressure to complete work, achieve grades and even utilise the use of physical punishment to meet learning ends.

The researcher noted that at both schools, the oldest pupils were encouraged and motivated to work by the teachers to obtain examination successes like 'O' levels and CSEs so as to ensure access to greater employment opportunities and college entry than would be possible without them. Thus the hope was that their interest in their work would be partly intrinsic and partly extrinsic. However, in the case of the younger pupils, as suggested in earlier chapters, a fair amount of 'pressure' to complete set work was applied and much 'negotiation' took place about how much work was deemed to be adequate or 'reasonable' on any given Saturday morning.
One of the teachers in the SLSS (Teacher Q) and also a teacher at a weekday school, was particularly critical of teaching approaches in secondary schools. According to her, too many white teachers were too liberal with pupils and permitted them to do far less work than they were capable of doing. In particular, she argued that too often, white teachers fraternised (Woods, 1983) with black pupils 'in order to buy peace in the classroom' and that in turn black pupils 'despised them for not being able to teach' a mixed group of pupils. Like Stone (1981) she was inclined to believe that many black pupils need to be dealt with firmly. She claimed that she herself experienced no difficulties in dealing with black and white pupils even though 'those same pupils proved themselves very difficult with other white teachers'. She believed in being firm through extrinsic forms of motivation and recommend her approach to others at the SLSS if they took up teaching in normal schools.

11.5. Pupil allocation to classes by age and ability

One issue which emerged in discussions about normal schools in Britain was whether pupils should move up in school by age or whether an additional factor should come into such progression - that of ability. Concern at both schools was expressed that in Britain a child simply progressed from year to year irrespective of his/her ability to cope with academic work at a given Year level. In the Caribbean, the teachers claimed that a pupil could be left behind for a year or longer if his/her work was not deemed to have been successful at an end-of-year class examination. Because of this constraint, teachers had to make considerable efforts to ensure that only a very small number, if any at all, were required to repeat a Year with a younger set of pupils. At both supplementary schools, the teachers did not advocate the model used in the Caribbean for British schools, but at the same time underlined the inherent problems when pupils moved up a Year irrespective of whether they had made any academic progress or not. They used this situation to imply that teachers in Britain did not have to work very hard if they chose not to. They felt that teachers 'elsewhere' worked harder and claimed that for the majority of the
pupils in Britain, their academic standards compared unfavourably with pupils in Japan and Germany because of an absence of 'markers' to achieve throughout their school careers. Ironically, the current Secretary of State for Education, Mr. Baker (July, 1987) has been saying much the same thing as the Afro-Caribbeans kept saying to the researcher four and more years ago, except that Mr. Baker tends to use the word 'benchmarks' instead of 'markers'.

11.6. Control and Teaching and Learning Techniques

A clear preference was made by the supplementary school teachers for formal classroom organisation in normal schools in preference to informal organisation. This clearly is in sharp contrast to the encouragement of informal teaching and learning in state schools (Hargreaves, 1967; Flodden, 1967; Entwistle, 1970; Woods, 1979, 1981, 1983). The researcher obtained responses which very much agreed with Stone (1981) that informal teaching methods were not helping black pupils in schools. The following comment illustrates this point clearly:

Teacher A the freedom of the informal teaching situation, especially true for the primary school, permits the possibility of a child doing little or no work ... to its disadvantage.

In generally supporting the need for formal teaching, the researcher, however, did not get the impression that the supplementary school teachers were saying that it was specifically needed for black pupils in a pathological sense. Rather, they were arguing that formal teaching methods would also benefit large numbers of white children who also underachieved in schools and this relates to the discussion undertaken in an earlier chapter on Bennett's (1976) work. In their view, teachers had low expectations and low opinions of black and white
working class children and that this lead to low performance from these children.

A conclusion that can be reached from the many comments made above is that the majority of the black supplementary school teachers saw a need for supervision and intervention in teacher-pupil interaction in classrooms in preference to a non-interventionist participatory mode. Thus teacher control in the classroom was viewed as fairly central in which positional appeals were more important than emotional and personal appeals for pupil co-operation over a wide range of issues in the classroom and school.

Reference has already been made to reservations expressed about age groupings in classrooms irrespective of pupil ability but another issue promoted fairly strong feelings among the supplementary school teachers and parents. This was to do with the practice of 'vertical grouping' (Ridgeway and Lawton 1968) in normal primary schools. None of the respondents were in the least bit happy with any forms of vertical or family grouping. They argued that by putting pupils together into wide age bands so that the difference between the youngest and oldest pupils could be over two years simply because the school only had a fixed allocation of teachers to teach classes not exceeding thirty pupils to a teacher, resulted in boredom for some pupils who might merely repeat work done previously, or pose considerable difficulty for some who were perhaps not able to cope with pupils much older than themselves.

In contrast, where integrated teaching took place on the basis of grouping by pupil choice or friendship patterns, they were reasonably happy with the practice, provided some pupils were not isolated and made unhappy if they were not too popular. But they were not always convinced that pupils in small groups 'some of whom sit with their backs to the blackboard ... and are so busy talking to their friends all day' (NLSS, teacher A) might provide the best learning opportunity except with high quality experienced teachers (Dummett, 1983).
Clearly, the views of most of the supplementary school teachers were not related to actual teaching experience within the English state educational system. Their criticism of English schools appeared to be an outcome of two factors:

i) They had personal knowledge of Afro-Caribbean pupils or had heard of such pupils who had apparently acquired relatively few numeracy and literacy skills in normal British schools.

ii) They were aware of perhaps upwards of a million illiterate people in Britain and blamed this squarely on the English educational system. How is it, asked one teacher, that a person can stay in school in Britain until 16 and be illiterate? He did not want this to happen to black pupils if he could help it.

iii) They were engaged in helping black pupils to master skills, for example, Maths and English, which in their estimation, the pupils should have acquired at weekday school and not be in need of aspects of 'remedial' work undertaken at a supplementary school. Almost by definition, the existence of the supplementary school implied a criticism of weekday schools, for creating a need for them and additional work for supplementary school teachers and parents.

The 'intervention' in black children's education through supplementary schooling may be viewed by some as a form of 'strategic action' of the type described by Sharp and Green (1975). They argued that successful parents in weekday schools, whilst presenting the image of conformity to the teacher's role definition in which parents are not actively to teach their children nevertheless engaged in 'surreptitious' teaching themselves and as a result, the children showed 'readiness' and therefore did well at school.
11.7. The supplementary teacher's role

Reference has already been made to the 'compensatory' nature of work undertaken within supplementary schools. Such work, especially in Maths and English, is meant to ensure that black pupils acquire skills deemed necessary for advancement in academic work at school and college and also as preparation for the world of work and life in the wider community. There was, however, an additional consequence that lay at the heart of all the work undertaken formally and informally. The view was consistently expressed that through supplementary schooling:

Teacher J: Black pupils gained considerable confidence in their own belief in themselves and their abilities ... and through such a process, generated enough pressure on the system upwards so as to challenge stereotypes of black people and to demand opportunities that might be denied to them were they not to have the necessary qualifications.

Such a view was also expressed by teachers at the NLSS. In respect to this particular issue, that is, of promoting self-confidence in the pupils, the ideology of the teachers at the two supplementary schools corresponded closely with that of the Intellectuals within the BSSM referred to in Chapter 5. As would be expected, practices would invariably differ from one supplementary school to another for a variety of reasons, including the availability of material resources, but there was in general, much agreement with the ideals of the Movement among Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools and this is discussed more fully in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

The supplementary teacher's role from the data analysed can be summarised in the following way.

1) There was clearly a preference for a specialised and authoritative teacher role as opposed to a diffused role.
The teacher role was defined and legitimated in terms of expertise and access to distinctive knowledge areas of the curriculum in contrast to one defined in terms of process criteria.

iii) The teacher role was relatively narrowly defined in relation to expertise, knowledge and teaching techniques for older pupils, but less narrowly circumscribed for younger pupils. Thus the 'good' teacher had specialist skills.

iv) The role was to exert a relatively high degree of control over pupil action.

v) The teacher role emphasised 'universalism' (Hammersley, 1977), that is, a concern over agreed norms and standards in teaching and learning, as opposed to 'particularism' in which individual pupil characteristics and attention to these predominate.

vi) A 'product' orientation to learning rather than a 'process' orientation was emphasised strongly within the teacher role.

However, some of the above conclusions need to be qualified. For instance, the accepted view of knowledge required the supplementary school teacher to be a specialist as pupil work was deemed to become progressively more demanding intellectually. However, at another level, for example at more elementary levels, any adult was expected to be able to teach basic number work and literacy. And it is precisely the relative success that supplementary teachers have with pupils at this level which makes them wonder why those same pupils cannot be equally successful with basic number work and literacy as a result of having spent five or more years at normal school. For supplementary school teachers, anyone who is able to read with a certain degree of competence can indeed help others to read as also argued by Kohl (1974).

The main typification of black pupils by supplementary school teachers is that they are academically able and that they should achieve far
more than they were doing in weekday schools. Such a typification is significantly different from those made by weekday teachers of West Indian pupils as reported by Brittain (1976), Townsend and Brittain (1972), Carrington (1983) and Stewart (1978). In this sense, at least four of the unqualified supplementary teachers from the two schools expressed the view that were they allowed to teach pupils in a weekday school, they would probably be able to motivate them to achieve much more than they were currently achieving with white trained teachers. In other words, they were also expressing concern at the dearth of black teachers in normal schools who they felt could motivate black pupils very considerably, and were sceptical about the relative importance attached to trained teachers by the state and society, especially in relation to undertaking basic literacy and numeracy work with young children.

11.8. Views of parents who were not teachers or directly involved in supplementary schools.

The parents of the children who attended the supplementary schools were easily accessible to the researcher when they:

1) arrived at the schools to see their children to and from school,

2) met socially at the fund-raising socials for schools, and

3) stopped to provide assistance to the normal running of the school.

None of these black parents were formally interviewed as the amount of informal contact was sufficient for the purpose of making careful note of their views about the supplementary schools.

It is significant that there was very close agreement between the views and aims of the parents and the supplementary school teachers and organisers. Typical reasons they gave why black children attend/should attend supplementary schools are indicated below:
Because our children are falling behind at school ... as the white teachers don't care too much about them ... here we can make up for it ...

(SLSS, female parent)

The extent to which our children are falling behind is frightening

(NLSS, male parent)

Because if we as black parents ... not doin' something about it [their children's schooling/achievement] we be going to have people in this country, includin' the Asians around here, say there is a black problem ... I think they is already sayin' it.

(NLSS, male parent)

I think we have already lost the first generation of black teenagers born in this country. These supplementary schools must catch black youngsters and help them fast ... and they can do that you know ... I really believe in supplementary schools.

(SLSS, male parent).

Clearly, these parents shared the views of the teachers in the supplementary schools, referred to earlier, and emphasised the seriousness with which they viewed the role of these schools to compensate for the educational and social disadvantage which members of the black community were experiencing.

11.9. Views about what goes on in the supplementary schools

Once again, the parents' support was very evident in the kind of comments made to the researcher:

I am really pleased with what you teachers are doing for our kids ... especially giving up your free time on Saturdays ... we are most grateful as it really helps our children ... we can see the
improvement in their work and in their confidence in themselves.

(NLSS, male parent)

I am Nigerian and was not sure about this idea of a supplementary school at first ... but now I am sure they are a great idea. I am sure many Nigerian children could do with this kind of help ... maybe we can have Nigerian supplementary schools, but I don't think there are as many Nigerian children in North London as there are West Indian children but they have lots of problems ... my Nigerian friends are very concerned about their children's education in this country.

(NLSS, male parent)

The above comment from the only Nigerian parent of a pupil at the NLSS echoed sentiments expressed by Nigerian parents in a study referred to earlier, (Ososanwo, 1985), who reported that her sample of Nigerian parents were very concerned that their children gained very little from the educational system in Britain and were not expected to do very well by their white teachers.

Another parent at the NLSS said:

I am convinced that schools [weekday] cause a great deal of psychological damage to our children's personalities ... They are made to feel inferior by white teachers, so we need black teachers to undo the damage by giving them back their self-confidence in a supplementary school like this ... it is sad, really sad, ... that our children have to go through all this ... and damn it ... they were born here ...

(NLSS, male parent)

Maths and English are the two most important subjects in school ... once my children can do this well ... and the teachers here teach them really well I think, they will be happier people and be able to compete with others for good jobs or college ... you know, our children are being damaged, really damaged, in schools here. I have visited relatives in Canada and the USA and of
course I have known Barbados, and the West Indian children are doing much better than our children in Britain. Many Caribbean parents here know this ... and it hurts ...

(SLSS, female parent)

There were innumerable comments like the one above and clearly it is mainly through ethnographic work (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) within a community that one can gauge the depth of feelings about specific issues as described above. In most respects, the views of the parents and teachers were very close and this is discussed to a greater extent towards the end of the chapter.

The researcher was also keen to discover what improvements the parents felt could be made about the supplementary schools and the following points were identified by them:

1) A longer day so that the children might begin at 9.00 a.m. and finish at about 4.00 p.m. It was felt that half a day a week was too limited a period. The parents at the SLSS, where the teachers received a small payment deemed to be for travel, were very willing to raise funds through organising socials in order to help pay for the teachers to work for longer periods.

2) The possibility of more schooling or children's activities so that they might have direct help with their homework between 4.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. on two evenings a week in addition to Saturday attendance.

3) Access to more spacious premises and better equipment and teaching/learning materials.

11.10. A synthesis of teacher and parent views

The underachievement of black children in the English educational system (Little, 1975; Giles, 1977; Stone, 1981; Rampton, 1981) was
viewed by the teachers and parents associated with the supplementary schools as a tragic waste of black children's potential. Supplementary school activity was seen as an important means by which children could be helped to acquire and develop skills primarily in numeracy and literacy which were deemed to be seriously lacking prior to the children attending the supplementary schools. It was believed that the acquisition of skills in numeracy and literacy helped the children in their normal school work, provided them confidence in their abilities and a sense of their own worth.

A concern for the children's future social status and employment prospects was of particular worry to the parents as the unemployment rates for young blacks were consistently and disproportionately high in Britain. Further, they felt that compared to their relatives who had migrated from the Caribbean to the USA, and Canada, their children appeared to be the most disadvantaged having lived and received their schooling in Britain. This led to an acute awareness and desire to resist those forces which were increasingly constraining their children to becoming members of a sub-proletariat or underclass in Britain when the community network of kith and kin in parts of the world other than Britain provided an incentive to black parents to have high aspirations for their children and to be personally involved in helping them through their school work.

There was virtually no confidence in the normal school and its ability to help the educational progress of black pupils. When some black teachers and parents associated with the two supplementary schools, compared their own level of competence when in the Caribbean in numeracy and literacy at roughly the same age as their children were now functioning in Britain, they felt a sense of unease because they believed their children were performing at lower levels than they themselves had done all those years ago. They believed they had 'deluded' themselves that their children would gain a better education in the UK than they had in the Caribbean. Further, when they visited their children's weekday schools they sensed the teachers there to be
rather protective of their professional autonomy (Sharp and Green, 1975) and that they were invariably told that there was not much to be concerned about their children's progress at school, when instead, the parents felt fairly sure that their children were making far less academic progress than they were capable of.

Ososanwo's (1985) study had also found this feature in her research with Nigerian children and their parents and referred to this process as the 'doing-well' syndrome by which she meant that the parents were effectively 'fobbed off' when seeking details of their children's progress in school.

Some of the parents believed that black children 'played up white teachers' and 'got away with it' and that often, white teachers could not control children in class because they were not trained properly. They thus agreed with Stone (1981) that if teachers were firmer with their charges, then black and white children in mainly working class areas would begin to work harder and achieve more at school. In the researcher's view, however, the last comment may perhaps not take enough cognisance of the reality that teaching in urban inner-city areas is increasingly difficult and that as Woods (1983) says, contemporary schooling increasingly forces teachers to 'think of survival first and education second'.

Yet other supplementary teachers and parents blamed racism in society (Miles, 1982; Rampton, 1981; Troyna, 1979) which had the effect of expecting less from black children than they were capable of. It was also argued that racism in society also prevented the emergence of role models for black children so that they could work hard believing that hard work would eventually pay by gaining them high status positions in society.

Most discussion in the literature about supplementary schools tends to focus mainly on the help black children receive with their school/academic work. However, the teachers and parents involved with
supplementary schools were quite convinced that they were making an important contribution towards fighting the subordinate position in which black people find themselves in British society (Miles, 1982; Sivanandan, 1982; Castles et al., 1984). It is in this sense that their view is similar to Gramsci (1971) and Freire (1985) that subordinate groups in society must be actively engaged to 'liberate' themselves from their subordination through a variety of means and especially, through education. In this sense too, they shared the intellectual function (Gramsci, 1971) which was conceptualised and articulated by the Intellectuals within the Movement and discussed in Chapter 5.

There was one other reason why the black children were being urged to make greater educational progress. As referred to earlier, several of the teachers and parents believed that young blacks should not limit their horizons to Britain alone, especially as the level of employment was high and likely to remain so. They felt that educational qualifications would prove useful in much of the developing world and in particularly saw parts of Africa as potential sources of future employment and livelihood. In this respect, too, they were determined that the next generation of black people in this country should not have to take on the worst jobs (Hiro, 1973) as an earlier generation of West Indian people had to when they first arrived in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s.

A major criticism was directed at white teachers in weekday schools. It was believed by the black supplementary school teachers and parents that white teachers did not work particularly hard as the children they taught simply moved up from year to year irrespective of their ability and teacher efforts, while in the Caribbean, the children had to reach a certain standard before being allowed to move to the next year in school. The supplementary school teachers argued that teachers in the West Indies generally worked much harder and in much poorer conditions than their counterparts in Britain but also that the class structure in Britain militated against the educational achievement of children of white working class backgrounds and of black children. In the
Caribbean, they felt that the educational system was genuinely more open to children who could be materially disadvantaged, but by willing to work hard could 'make the grade through such hard work' but that the position was quite different in Britain where social and racial factors became significant in relation to educational opportunity. Such a view echoed almost exactly some of the views of the Intellectuals in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

11.11. Scope for future development

Both teachers and parents associated with supplementary schools wished to see them develop to the stage where they did not find it impossible to conceive of existing supplementary schools gradually giving way to fully-fledged black schools funded by the state or some other agency and run predominantly by black personnel for black pupils. Such schools exist in the USA in the southern states where, for historical reasons, segregation policies forced black people to produce their own schools, colleges and universities. In the researcher's conversations with black academics from the USA he was led to understand that in a very unexpected way, until recent measures of 'affirmative action' to enhance the standing of black people in the country, the 'liberal' north which theoretically at least, permitted blacks to enter a wide range of occupations in open competition with whites, resulted in a black underclass in which blacks obtained low status jobs that the whites did not want. In the south in contrast, blacks were forced by the segregation laws to generate their own wide range of qualified personnel to fill all kinds of occupations and succeeded in doing so. Thus they had their own judges, university professors, authors, legal, and police personnel. Thus these black American academics felt that the blacks in Britain today were in much the same position as the blacks in the northern states of the USA, that is, they were becoming part of an underclass and that a phenomenal institutional effort had to be made if change was to become a reality. Above all, they felt that such subordination had to be resisted strongly by black people.
Both teachers and parents in the two supplementary schools wished to obtain better facilities for their respective schools and also much better resources. They were particularly keen to have the use of proper classrooms instead of a common space or hall for their work. They believed that supplementary schools would gradually develop, but they wanted them to grow with distinctive black identities and were therefore apprehensive about seeking Government and local authority finances which would inevitably reduce the high degree of autonomy they cherished.

A feature both schools were keen to introduce was proper monitoring and record keeping of pupil progress. This was inevitably lacking for the moment and they were keen to provide parents with end-of-term and annual sessional school reports. They felt that even though they were in very close touch with the parents through much informal contact, and also at termly meetings and at socials, both pupils and parents should have available carefully produced school reports which illustrated what progress was made by each pupil.

The literature on teacher perspectives (Sharp and Green, 1975; Hammersley, 1977; Reid, 1986) suggests that often there is a discrepancy between 'paradigm and practice' in that teachers, as educationalists, have one belief system; for example, that grouping practices such as streaming and banding were unacceptable, but that in reality, they were drawn into such practices in their schools and gradually accepted them. In this sense, they argue that there are pressures on teachers from the media and especially parents, to undertake the practice of education which is different from the ideal 'paradigm' or model they have constructed in their minds as educationalists and that this situation can lead to a form of role strain (Grace, 1972).

In the researcher's view, such a conflictual situation did not arise in the two supplementary schools studied. The conceptual 'paradigm' and actual 'practice' for the teachers were not two separate features but merged into each other relatively easily. This may be further
explained by reference to Mackinnon (1977) who argued in his illustration of progressive and traditional teaching, that:

Discrepancies are often found in both types of teaching between 'paradigm' and 'practice', that is to say between the ideals teachers set themselves and what they do in their present circumstances. There is some evidence that the practice of teachers holding a progressive paradigm often tends towards more traditional methods than that paradigm would suggest, for example towards greater teacher control, or product orientation and similarly that the practice of traditional teachers is often more progressive than their paradigm.

Mackinnon (1977: 63)

Likewise, Cohen and Manion (1981) suggest that:

Even where diversity in teaching is explicitly recognised ... the most common response is to formulate it in terms of a contrast between two types. Thus we have traditional versus progressive, formal versus informal, child-centred versus subject-centred and open versus closed. However, the diversity of teaching forms is more complex than is represented by such dichotomies. Researchers investigating variations in teaching have tended to specify dimensions and interpret the data in too simplistic terms.

Cohen and Manion (1981: 98)

The references quoted above would suggest that descriptions of supplementary schools as merely undertaking 'traditional' forms of teaching may not be allowing for the wide range of activity that goes on there in varying forms in hundreds of such schools in urban centres in Britain.

Similarly, where the literature (Hargreaves D.H., 1967, 1982; Woods, 1979, 1980b, 1983) refers to teaching as a conflictual activity in which there can be much tension between teachers and pupils, the
supplementary schools can be characterised as having relatively little or no overt hostility between black teachers and pupils even though a small number of pupils clearly indicated some frustration at being controlled and made to concentrate on academic work when their preference may have been to be out on the streets. However, in the researcher's view, it could be argued that in reality, such pupils resented the fact that their weekday schools were not succeeding with them sufficiently, to necessitate the undertaking of extra schooling at their parents' behest. Except for one pupil (Elroy) discussed at some length previously, the majority of the pupils accepted the value of attending supplementary schooling.

Many studies, (Craft et al. 1980; Tomlinson, 1980, 1984; Reid, 1986) have referred to the importance of establishing good home-school links so that a kind of partnership between the two can help to improve the academic work of the pupils. Schools with a middle-class clientele have generally been deemed to be more successful than schools of mainly working class composition. However, in the case of the two supplementary schools studied, the close relationship between parents, teachers and organisers of supplementary schools was apparent, although it must be recognised that the size of the schools (as discussed in Chapter 6) was very small indeed and that inevitably, school size must feature as a significant factor in determining the quality of interaction between teachers, parents and their pupils in any school.

With respect to views about society, the conception of knowledge, children and their abilities, there was much consensus about these among the teachers, parents and pupils at the two supplementary schools. A particularly revealing feature was that most teachers and parents also articulated the view that young blacks had 'educated' their mentors/parents on the issue of race, discrimination and resistance in British society. The parents in particular, freely admitted that their children often pointed the way to perceiving the world differently from 'the older generation'. While the parents were more readily prepared to a degree to turn a blind eye to discrimination and accept this reality as a price for living as a visible minority in
a predominant white society, the children who were born and bred here argued for equality and justice under the law and with the rights of citizenship. This difference of opinion initially led to conflict according to the teachers and parents, but in time, the parents, in particular, came to understand their children's position and gradually to share their beliefs with them. It must be emphasised, however, that the teachers and parents were not prepared to condone the practice of 'hustling' (Pryce, 1979), petty thieving and street crime to which some young West Indians had demonstrated a clear proclivity. Instead, the main emphasis in tackling discrimination and incorporation into an underclass was to provide resistance which manifested itself through fighting stereotyping, on the one hand, and involvement in hard work to gain educational qualifications on the other.

A significant difference in the two schools lay in the issue of whether or not teachers in supplementary schools should only be black. At the SLSS, the assumption was that the supplementary school teacher had to be black, but at the NLSS it did not matter, as discussed in Chapter 6. The essence of being 'black' lay in membership of a visible ethnic group with a shared understanding of being disadvantaged and 'oppressed', but who were also aware of their underclass status and saw the need to resist it. Thus the term 'black' had social and political connotations so that a person who was visibly black could be 'white' if he or she did not comprehend class and racial disadvantage and actively articulate and work against it. Such 'symbolic solidarity' was crucial and therefore the kind of teacher most wanted to provide help to the pupils at the SLSS very closely approximated the teacher/worker 'identified' by Clark (1982) and discussed in Chapter 2 and also by the Intellectuals within the Movement, as discussed in Chapter 5. It will be recalled that it was argued in Chapter 5, that the 'black' teacher had to have an awareness of the disadvantaged position of black people in Britain as a racial and class group and want to work positively to resist incorporation into an underclass in British stratified society. As the NLSS did not specify nor demand black teachers at the school, the organisation of that supplementary school differed in a significant way from the 'ideal elements' of the ideology of the Black
Supplementary School Movement and it is worth pursuing this issue a little further at this point.

At the NLSS, the organisers and teachers, even more so than the parents, felt that the betterment of the black person in Britain could be achieved through the support of white liberals who would be willing to provide some help if approached. In this, at the NLSS, they had the example of two very dedicated white teachers who sacrificed their Saturday mornings to teach Maths and English without any payment whatsoever. In contrast, at the SLSS, the entire ethos of the school was totally 'black' by which is meant that a white liberal trying to step in there might feel positively unwanted and even experience hostility. Such hostility to liberal whites had manifested itself strongly at the Conference on Supplementary Schools (27th February, 1982), to inaugurate the ABSS. Liberal white spokespeople who ventured to speak were booed and dismissed as 'hypocrites' at that large meeting when they bravely ventured to make statements like 'we want to help you and your children in our schools (state schools) but you must allow us and help us to do so'.

Such a situation epitomises in the literature the classic conflict situation faced by blacks, especially in the USA. One body of black opinion wants to have a partnership with members of other groups, especially white liberals and intellectuals, but another section of blacks does not trust such white liberals and intellectuals and expresses views such as 'in the final analysis, the white liberal will let you down when he has the power to choose between black and white for jobs and positions of status in society' (SLSS, teacher I). Such a view can perhaps be understood in the reality that limited change and advancement for the black man in the USA has come about, not through overt support from white liberals, but by the 'uprising especially by black youth' against injustice in large cities like Los Angeles, Detroit and San Francisco, and that such resistance forced the legislature in the USA to implement laws relating to 'affirmative action' and a policy of 'contract compliance' to firms which would lose
important government contracts if they were not able to demonstrate why their work force did not reflect the ethnic composition of the geographical area at any given time (Kilson, 1983).

Thus taking the above analogy and applying it to Britain, the teachers at the SLSS and the Intellectuals within the BSSM believed firmly that power to improve the lot of members of the Afro-Caribbean community should arise out of their own endeavours. Their share of power had to be 'taken' or 'appropriated' as a legitimate right within British society (Mullard, 1985) and they argued that supplementary schools should sow the seeds of such understanding within young blacks so that the quest for power to help determine their own life-chances was understood to be not only a legitimate end in itself but an attainable end.

There were two other points raised by both groups of teachers at the two supplementary schools. These issues agreed closely with the views expressed by the Intellectuals as discussed in Chapter 5, and firstly related to the issue of generating a training scheme for supplementary school teachers, either from within the Movement itself or through the use of expertise available in, for example, public sector institutions in inner-city areas. The second feature called for, was the opportunity for supplementary school teachers to visit other supplementary schools to increase their awareness of a range and variety of teaching techniques. Interestingly, absolutely no desire was expressed about also visiting weekday schools in order to learn about teaching techniques from trained teachers and a number of reasons are suggested for this below.

Firstly, entry into a weekday school for one who is not a parent of a child there, entails a large degree of correspondence with officialdom which understandably is concerned about who should and should not have access to normal schools. Secondly, as most of the supplementary school teachers are in regular full-time work, a visit to a normal school would require one to give up a day's pay or part of paid leave. Thirdly, in the eyes of the weekday school teacher and the Head, the
supplementary school teacher, being untrained and unqualified would not normally be welcomed into a weekday school except perhaps if he/she had indicated a desire to train to enter the teaching profession. But it can also be hypothesised that to the supplementary school teacher, the weekday school and teacher has nothing particularly useful to offer him or her. After all, the supplementary school teacher is led to believe, and in fact does believe, that the normal school is 'deficient' in relation to black pupils and that he/she functions in the supplementary school to compensate for such 'deficit'. Inevitably, a measure of inverted snobbery emerges where we have the paradox of an untrained and unqualified part-time teacher who believes, and is certainly led to believe by the Black Supplementary School Movement, that his/her role, on an absolutely minimal budget, is vital to compensate for the deficiencies of the normal school. In such a situation, the supplementary school teacher might indeed believe that instead of paying the weekday school a visit, the weekday school teacher could well pay him/her a visit and learn from him or her at the supplementary school. Thus in the researcher's view, those who advocate that there should be closer links between supplementary schools and normal schools (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985) do not comprehend the complex dynamics involved and that they are proposing a form of institutional incorporation which is precisely what the Movement is so strongly resisting.

A further tentative hypothesis emerging from this discussion about teacher perspectives in black supplementary schools is the provocative idea that by drawing in untrained black 'teachers', perhaps as Instructors in weekday schools, we might actually see an improvement in the achievement of black pupils in weekday schools. This issue will be considered among others in the following concluding chapter. The various strands of the study will be drawn together to formulate a 'theory' of resistance against incorporation into an underclass by a section of the Afro-Caribbean community through active involvement in the Black Supplementary School Movement.
PART FIVE

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSIONS
12.1. Continuity between ideology and practice

It is first important to examine the degree of continuity between the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement as articulated by the Intellectuals and the practice as manifested in the two research schools.

On reflection the ideology of the Movement was formulated by a core group of Intellectuals leading to the formation of the Association of Black Supplementary Schools in February 1982 in order to assess the progress of the Movement and to provide it a clear orientation for its future development. About fifteen out of twenty individuals had remained in close touch with the Movement since its inception in the Borough of Haringey in 1969. As such, they had been engaged in running supplementary schools themselves and gained much experience from such activity, as well as through working on other community initiatives related to housing and social security matters. They had also progressed in their own careers in white collar professional occupations and some had reached fairly senior positions in the public services. By the 1980s, some were middle-aged individuals who had time to reflect on the progress of the Movement over more than a decade and to project their experience on the developing Movement. From such perspectives, they tended to emphasise strongly the need to persist in an active engagement in resistance against the forces which subordinate the black man in British society. Thus the maintenance of such resistance through struggle lay at the heart of the Movement and it is relevant to consider the implications of what a 'culture of resistance' actually signifies by drawing upon the work of Hall and Jefferson (1975) who state that:

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 mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shape in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. A culture includes the 'maps of meanings' which make things intelligible to its members. These 'maps of meanings' are not simply carried around in the heads: they are objectivized in the patterns of social organisation and relationship 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: 10-11)

Thus the culture of resistance articulated by the Intellectuals of the Movement, embodied in most respects the understanding most Afro-Caribbeans have of their structural position in British society - that of a relatively powerless group and the need to work together to oppose the dominant structure for greater equality and justice. However, at any one time, a relatively small number of West Indians express such resistance through active support for black supplementary schools. Others are likely to focus their resistance through other forms of political activity to better the condition of the Afro-Caribbean in Britain (Carter 1986). Thus the Supplementary School Movement is only part of the black man's struggle in Britain (Dhondy et al. 1982; Gilroy, 1987). What then was emphasised by the Intellectuals of the Movement?

Two central themes appear to be incorporated in their culture of resistance against the process of subordination. The first feature evident to many people interested in the supplementary school Movement is that it focusses on developing the skills of black pupils in the 3Rs. There appears to be an uncompromising stance that black children must have a good grounding in the basic skills of literacy and numeracy and that this does not happen adequately in most state schools Afro-Caribbean pupils attend. To offset this disadvantage, the Afro-Caribbean community takes responsibility to help children develop such
skills in a specific way considered most appropriate by the community. The taking of uncompromising stances reflects one distinctive characteristic of social movements as discussed in Chapter 2 and this was further elaborated in terms of the ideology of the Movement in Chapter 5. However, those who make short visits to schools and then report about them, tend to notice only the narrow component of work in the 3Rs undertaken at the schools. They tend not to comprehend the larger concern of the Movement to resist subordination - the more important objective emphasised by the Intellectuals, that is, the need to promote a black identity among pupils, rooted in their historical background and culture. The account in Chapter 5, illustrates that it is the latter concern that the Intellectuals of the Movement prioritise although they are forced to recognise that, in practice, in varying supplementary schools, the more immediate and instrumental concern for the 3Rs will predominate.

Having examined both the ideology and the practice of supplementary schooling in this thesis, we note that the practitioners of supplementary schooling do indeed spend a lot of time on the 3Rs, but in both schools studied, the concern for the cultural identity of the black child was also emphasised considerably. In the SLSS it was explicit while in the NLSS it was less explicit and the conclusion one can draw on the relationship between the Movement's ideology and its practice is that there is a high level of correspondence between the ideology as formulated by the Intellectuals who provide 'leadership' for the Movement and the actual practice on the ground. But a third link can also be established through reference to the literature on black pupil-achievement in schools especially since the 1980s. There are indications that Afro-Caribbean pupils are beginning, albeit in a small way, to achieve more in terms of gaining academic qualifications at school and college. Thus the evidence from Mabey (1986); Eggleston et al., (1986) and Tomlinson, (1986a, 1986b), suggests that the faith of those who chose to resist subordination through the acquisition of educational qualifications were indeed justified in their beliefs. Their conviction that educational qualifications were attainable by black pupils against the growing consensus that most black pupils
underachieve has been vindicated, even if in a very small way. In this sense, black pupils also appear to have begun to believe in their own abilities. Such belief would appear to correspond with the cherished beliefs of the Black Supplementary School Movement. Clearly, it is not possible to suggest a causal link between the activities of the BSSM and the apparent growing confidence in black children about their academic abilities. Such a link would be quite impossible to establish without further research but the salient point is that the existence of the Movement and its many activities may have been a contributory factor in providing the necessary confidence among black parents and their children not to accept that black underachievement had a certain inevitability about it.

It would therefore be reasonable to arrive at one conclusion at this stage - that there is a high degree of correspondence between the ideology and the practice of the Movement and that further improvement in black pupil achievement in schools can perhaps be anticipated. Such improvement may not be causally attributable to the Movement but is likely to reflect the beliefs of the Movement.

12.2 Generalisability from the two case studies

In an ethnographic study such as this, there is inevitably a period of time when the data are collected and the stage of writing and completing the thesis. It was therefore not possible in this limited study to keep closely in touch with the Association of Black Supplementary Schools after its formation in February 1982, nor to spend too much time in supplementary schools and with the Intellectuals, after the middle of 1984, to be able to write authoritatively about further developments after the data were collected.

However, in order to examine to what extent the data on the two research schools reflected what went on in other supplementary schools, the researcher visited eight other supplementary schools in Greater London. It is possible to ascertain that these schools broadly
reflected the findings within the North and South London Supplementary Schools. This related to organisational styles, curricula, attendance patterns, accommodation, resources and finance. The only notable feature was that only one white teacher taught in one of the eight schools visited. The rest of the supplementary schools visited all had black teachers with roughly the same characteristics as those in the two research schools. On enquiry, it was discovered that the single white teacher was married to an Afro-Caribbean woman and was accepted as a 'soul brother' by the supplementary school.

It is also possible to state that individual supplementary schools appear to be increasing in numbers and are flourishing. The kind of advertisements for teachers appearing in July 1987 in the Caribbean Teachers' Association Newsletter and presented in Appendix 3 of this study would attest to the considerable enthusiasm for supplementary schooling and the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement among the Afro-Caribbean community in Britain.

It also became clear at the time of completing this thesis in 1987, that Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools were widely recognised as providing a valuable service to the West Indian community by weekday schools, LEAs and the DES. An authority like the Inner London Educational Authority even mounts conferences on Black Supplementary Schooling and such 'enthusiasm' for supplementary schooling must inevitably pose problems for the Movement as commented on by Carter (1986) and referred to earlier and again later in this study. The Movement has to take note of Dale's (1976) caution that:

it is only what cannot be incorporated by the dominant culture ... which is repressed.

Dale (1976: 65)

This would suggest that the Black Supplementary School Movement will have to be very vigilant to resist incorporation by agencies of the
dominant culture which will endeavour to mute effectively the resistance to the education system of the Afro-Caribbean community which has continued for about two decades.

12.3. The particular relevance of Gramsci and Freire to the theoretical underpinning of the Movement's ideology and practice.

Throughout this study, reference had been made to a large number of theoretical ideas which have a bearing on the work of the Black Supplementary Movement and an attempt is made here to reiterate some of the views with particular reference to the work of firstly Gramsci and then of Freire.

Gramsci's (1957, 1971), contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the dominant culture in a society and the dominated groups suggests that hegemonic control although pervasive is never total because the dominated groups still continue to hold their own 'unofficial' view of the world which is grounded in their own experience of the world. In this view then individual consciousness derives primarily from material existence (MacDonald, 1977).

Gramsci (1971) related the above to an original view relating to intellectuals in society whereby every individual is an intellectual who interprets the world in a particular way and contributes to sustaining the world as it is or tries to bring into it new modes of thought.

However, through the use of the power and authority of their position, the dominant groups are able to 'redirect, integrate, suppress or nullify' the basic commonsense of the masses. Through this process, the dominant group are able to incorporate aspects of the subordinate culture into the dominant culture. But such incorporation is always contested and some will not be incorporated making the resistance truly 'oppositional' (Williams, 1960).
It would appear that in the discussion of the ideology of the BSSM in Chapter 5, the 'non-negotiable elements' of the ideology represent the truly 'oppositional' elements which resist incorporation by the dominant class in society and the role of the Intellectuals of the Movement and the educational practice they espouse take on a particular significance. Their role becomes one of creating and articulating a 'world view' of the underclass of which they are a part. In Gramsci's vocabulary, the Intellectuals who emerged within the BSSM, are clearly the organic Intellectuals or 'functionaries' of their social group whose role is to articulate and generate resistance to the dominant class.

The particular focus of this study was on the way the prevailing education system was being challenged by the Intellectuals within the Black Supplementary School Movement. They argued in almost the very style and 'language' used by Gramsci almost half a century ago. They claimed that although the function of education is to provide for a democratic society in which all are equal participating members, the reality was that the education system had the effect of reinforcing class divisions in which Afro-Caribbean pupils were being reproduced into an underclass. Thus, Gramsci's (1971) thoughts in the Italian context in which he wrote, about the kind of schooling needed, did have a bearing on the BSSM. Gramsci (1971) had argued that it was essential that the children from the subordinate class:

would achieve self-discipline, moral independence, as well as being critically aware of the conditions of their social environment and the prevailing world-view which legitimated it.

MacDonald (1977: 71)

The Intellectuals within the BSSM essentially provided the setting for such a challenge to the educational system. However, it was not in order to change the system as Gramsci wished to but rather, to have an
equal share in it and through the process to refuse to accept a
subordinate role within it. Thus, Gramsci's (1971) rather unique form
of resistance, to the dominant class through the schooling process had
certain parallels with the aims of the Intellectuals of the Black
Supplementary School Movement and this is developed further.

Entwistle (1979) draws our attention to the apparent contradiction in
Gramsci's work in relation to education. On the one hand Gramsci
(1971) was keen to have a social revolution based upon a radical reform
of schools, especially their curriculum and pedagogical processes and
yet, he was encouraging a curriculum and teaching methods which were
essentially conservative and which stressed the value of traditional
educational practice. Entwistle (1979) feels that in reading Gramsci's
'prescriptions' for pedagogic practice it is almost like reading the
Black Papers (Cox and Dyson) and the 'back to basics' movement in
education. In a sense it is even stranger that an interest in
Gramsci's 'conservative views' should attract the attention of neo-
Marxist thinkers in the 1970s and 1980s. The question then becomes,
how can Gramsci's apparent conservative educational theory be useful to
serve a radical political ideology?

Gramsci (1971) believed that formal instruction associated with
schooling to be a necessary basis for understanding one's personal and
class predicaments through knowledge of history, for example, and for
articulating one's needs and interests through a mastery of the skills
of literacy.

Gramsci's (1971) work argues strongly for rigorous standards of
literacy for the working class which includes playing down the role of
local dialects in favour of a good command of the standard language in
use. Thus in Gramscian terms there would be little sympathy for Black
English or 'working class English' in today's debate among teachers and
academics about education and social class. For Gramsci, the object of
schooling was the:
complete mastery of the standard form of the language and a high standard of literacy. The current questioning of the value of literacy follows from the assumption that the teaching of reading is itself a means of social control ... Gramsci seemed committed to the opposite view of the politics of literacy. Without mastery of the common, standard version of a national language, one is inevitably destined to function only at the periphery of national life and, especially, outside its political mainstream. Teaching of the standard written and spoken forms of a language, is therefore, a democratic necessity. And if he did not explicitly commend literacy as a tool of revolution, Gramsci did recognise that absolute mastery of written communication was necessary for anyone engaged in the communication of ideas.

Entwistle (1979: 25)

A careful reading of Gramsci's (1971) work on education illustrates that he was concerned that children from the 'lower-social classes' enter schools significantly disadvantaged compared to those from a 'traditional intellectual family'. The way to overcome the disadvantage, for Gramsci, was not to seek alternatives to the content and pedagogy of the traditional school, but to invest in 'hard work, tears and blood'. In other words, there were unprecedented difficulties to overcome to reach a high degree of specialisation and this needed appropriate attitudes to academic study. Thus Entwistle (1979) has argued that Gramsci believed in the 'active' teacher, transmitting the mainstream culture and 'enforcing linguistic discipline and accuracy'.

Gramsci's conception of knowledge also differs from Young's (1971) relativist view of knowledge. Gramsci (1971) viewed some forms of knowledge as superior to others and that it was the use of such knowledge which helped the dominant classes to maintain their hegemony over subordinate groups. Therefore, he was very keen for subordinate groups to acquire such forms of knowledge so that access to such categories of knowledge would be beneficial to understand the mechanism
of social control and to then oppose it. Thus, one of Gramsci's persistent themes was to argue that one must learn from one's adversary 'whom one should be careful not to belittle' (Femia, 1981).

We can see in Gramsci's thought then, that it is the initiation of working class children into the traditional mainstream culture which is most likely to lead to a redistribution of rewards in terms of wealth, prestige and power and that according to Entwistle (1979) Gramsci was committed to the notion of 'a didactic pedagogy, a hard working desk-bound pupil and a traditional view of academic standards and the function of examinations'.

The Intellectuals within the BSSM clearly appeared to share much of Gramsci's thought about the kind of learning experience black pupils needed in the supplementary schools. They also emphasised the importance of their own history just as Gramsci did when he argued that:

it [history in schools] provides a basis for the subsequent development of an historical, dialectical conception of the world, which understands movements and change; which appreciates the sum of effort and sacrifice which the present has cost the past and which the future is costing the present, and which conceives the contemporary world as a synthesis of the past, of all past generations, which projects itself into the future.

Gramsci (1971: 34-35)

History in a Gramscian perspective and in its 'proper context', would not just be an academic subject but be appropriate to everyday life and help to meet the interests and aspirations of the proletariat (Showstack Sassoon, 1982). In the case of Afro-Caribbean pupils, they would understand how the historical exploitation of black people contributed to the development of Western economies (Rodney, 1972), and why they should feel that they should have a much greater stake in
society than they have at present as members of an underclass in Britain.

Gramsci (1971) emphasised just as the Intellectuals within the BSSM did, that learning was not only a process but also a product - a store of knowledge available to the learner as an outcome of his schooling. This helps to develop the pupil's 'cognitive baggage' which in turn facilitates his understanding of cultural artefacts he comes across in the ongoing experiences of life.

Gramsci (1971) stressed the importance of received knowledge and the capacity for reproducing this in examinations so that marks and grades could be used to monitor academic progress. In this sense, he would reject the views of 'progressive' theorists of education who would abandon examinations on the grounds that they are anti-educational. It was illustrated earlier in this thesis how the parents of children in the supplementary schools were very keen to see a monitoring of pupil progress in weekday schools and it was also suggested that they would perhaps welcome new proposals to have children tested at a number of stages in their educational careers. However, it was also pointed out that examinations can be stressful and also discouraging to pupils who are not very successful. Gramsci, however, argued that examinations can help to produce a fairer system of education in which they become instruments of fair and equitable competition instead of promoting nepotism, patronage and privilege for some. Thus, whilst recognising the limitations of examinations, Gramsci (1971) believed that they would provide for a more equitable form of education than other forms of assessment which might depend on social criteria which could work to the disadvantage of the subordinate classes. He would therefore reject teacher assessments of pupils in preference for formal examinations.

Gramsci (1971) emphasised many other elements which feature in black supplementary schools. For example, he stressed the importance of hard work, physical self-discipline, self-control, rigour, good spelling and aiming for high academic standards in the 'preparation of
working-class intellectuals'. Also, the views of some of the teachers at the supplementary schools and the parents of pupils correspond with that of Gramsci's (1971) view that an emphasis upon the child's spontaneous [discovery] learning would lead to a chaotic form of learning of which he clearly disapproved. Likewise he emphasised the importance of 'instruction' and rejected the view that it was somehow 'counter-educational, narrow, formal or sterile'. In this sense, Gramsci's (1971) views echo those of Barzun (1959) who argued that there cannot be 'education without instruction, nor instruction without authority'. Barzun (1959) also argued that there was a degeneration of schooling in modern day progressive methods through the tendency to displace the notion of instruction by that of 'education' a notion 'notoriously elusive of definition' and also that the attempt to achieve education without instruction involves 'the abdication of the teaching power'. Interestingly, the Intellectuals of the BSSK emphasised the word 'instruction' very very considerably for what was to go on in supplementary schools.

It is useful therefore to see why Gramsci (1971) emphasised 'instruction'. Curiously, he took the view that there was no such thing as a passive pupil in whom an instructor could 'fill' his mind with knowledge. Rather, Gramsci (1971) argued that despite the instructor's intentions, the pupil's active intelligence will structure or use the knowledge in ways which suit his own purpose and dispositions. Thus this view suggests that children should be engaged in an 'active pedagogy' which stresses pupil intellectual activity and through the teacher's didactic activity, the pupils need not be passive. Gramsci (1971) stressed strongly the point that the 'living work of the teacher', as instructor is essential to provide systematic initiation into knowledge and skill to pupils and that this was the distinctive function of the school. In the current debate (1987) about the kind of education that should be provided in schools, the irony is that the 'right' of the political spectrum can now unembarrassingly argue for Gramsci's ideas which are normally espoused as neo-Marxist views - although of course, Gramsci (1971) was keen on his 'model' of
education to generate a counter-hegemony while the present Government (1987) would appear to want to use a similar teaching model as Gramsci in education but as a means of further incorporating any opposition to the 'grand aim' of making national productivity even greater in a capitalist system.

The views of the Intellectuals discussed in Chapter 5 and the views of supplementary school teachers and the parents of pupils as discussed in Chapter 11 also correspond fairly closely with Gramsci's (1971) views about the authority structure in schools, teachers and teaching. He was keen to have teachers who had a 'traditional' view of knowledge and pedagogy and who were also drawn from among the organic intellectuals of a social class. He clearly also had a preference for teachers who were rigorous, thorough, persistent and patient rather than charismatic. Thus, we noted earlier his instance that pupils need to acquire 'cognitive baggage or equipment' to make 'undistorted interpretations' of the environment and that the 'mediocre' teacher can devote a 'scrupulous and bureaucratic conscientiousness to the mechanical part of teaching, managing to see to it that the pupils become more informed' (Entwistle, 1979). In such a process,

the relationship between teacher and pupil is active and reciprocal so that every teacher is also a pupil and every pupil a teacher.

Gramsci (1971: 350)

In this context, it is important to bear in mind that black teachers can perhaps have a 'reciprocal' relationship with black pupils because of their common 'life experiences' and it is perhaps for this reason too that supplementary school pupils tend to emphasise the benefit they see in having black teachers to teach them. Clearly then, the speed at which black teachers can be brought into the education system has to be
accelerated very considerably. This is a matter discussed a little later in this chapter.

Finally, in this part of the chapter, with reference to the 'correspondence' between Gramsci's (1971) ideas and the ideas of the Intellectuals of the BSSM, it becomes clear that in endeavouring to deal with the difficult problem of reconciling equality and excellence, Gramsci as well as the Intellectuals of the BSSM, were determined to discover ways of bringing to the socially and economically disadvantaged, the benefits of the kind of education which has traditionally been available for those in the dominant class. In this sense, Gramsci's (1971) position and that of the Intellectuals, mirrors the position of the traditional European left who have consistently argued as have the Marxists of the British Communist Party, that working class children are denied 'what our best schools offer'. In this view, class injustice is seen powerfully in terms of unequal opportunities (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). The issue of access into those parts of a system of education which enjoys high status and aspects of power in society is an important concern within the ideology of the BSSM. Thus, in the case of Gramsci (1971) and in the case of the Intellectuals of the BSSM, the hegemony of the dominant class is to be challenged. For Gramsci, there was a need for a 'radical' counter-hegemonic education dedicated to revolutionary social change. In contrast, the social change sought by the ideology of the BSSM was to challenge the hegemony of the dominant class so that the Afro-Caribbean community's underclass position was not to be reified and become a permanent feature of British social structure.

The second set of theoretical views to have a particular bearing on the work of the BSSM relates to Freire's (1972, 1985), work. The common link between Gramsci's (1971) work and that of Freire (1972, 1985) relates to the possibilities of creating emergent forms of consciousness among individuals and subordinate groups which may transcend the situation of domination.
Freire (1972) argued that large numbers of people experience the power of their oppressors as given, inevitable and untouchable. In such a situation, the 'oppressed house the oppressors within themselves'. They thus:

fear freedom and therefore co-operate in the conspiracy of the dominating elites by their acceptance of both their passive role and their repression.

MacDonald (1977: 78)

Freire (1972) goes on to consider how education instils conformity among young people and socialises or 'domesticates' them to accept the existing order. Education then, as in classical Marxist theory, exists in the interests of the dominant class and is an agency of social control. Centrally for Freire (1972), education is not 'neutral', however this is not self-evident. It requires individuals to be engaged in critical thinking before they can penetrate the ideology of the dominant class and understand how systematic education functions as an instrument of social control.

In one of his books Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire (1972) introduces us to two important concepts in his thinking. He refers to 'education for domestication' or 'banking education' and secondly, 'education for liberation' or 'dialogical education'. Both concepts use particular concepts of man and his place in the world.

When Freire (1972) refers to 'banking' education, he considers the situation where the student is a recipient of 'knowledge' from the teacher. By this he means that the student relies heavily upon the teacher's judgement about what is worth learning. Freire (1972) argues that in this kind of education learners become passive objects and unable to grasp the reality of their own experiences or understand the way they have been conditioned by the educational system. They
effectively become 'alienated, inert and ignorant' and through this process their 'domestication' becomes complete.

In contrast, Freire (1972) clearly has a preference for 'dialogical education' in which there is active participation between the educator and the educatee. This kind of education is crucial according to Freire (1972) because if education is to have a liberating function from the situation of domination, then it has to actively create political consciousness. For this to happen, there has to be a dialectical relationship between teacher and taught.

At first it would appear that the supplementary schools studied indeed use Freire's (1972) 'banking model' in which the teacher's knowledge of a factual nature is transmitted into the pupil so that learning is restricted to receiving, memorising and consuming 'facts'. However, on closer examination, we note that the teachers in the supplementary schools do not teach such 'facts' but try to develop literacy, numeracy and critical thinking skills so that pupils become competent to analyse the 'facts' that they will encounter in school knowledge, including particular interpretations of an area like the history curriculum. But more importantly, a form of dialogical education takes place which actively requires the pupils to resist 'domestication' into an educational system which actively oppresses them. Through such a process, Freire's (1972) hope of creating political consciousness is met, and to translate this consciousness into a form of cultural action, a specific pedagogy is created in the supplementary schools which has a liberating function for Afro-Caribbean pupils. The intellectuals were particularly keen to ensure that 'banking education' was avoided in supplementary schools and this was referred to in Chapter 5 as well as the role of education for 'liberation'.

Thus for both Gramsci (1971) and Freire (1972) 'education' constitutes not only a recognition of the constraints of the existing form of education as a system of social control, but also a statement and active commitment to forms of political action which are resistive to domination. Both thinkers appear to emphasise the need to understand
the nature of oppression and subordination and the need to work actively to oppose this through the vehicle of education and clearly, the ideology and practice of the Black Supplementary School Movement would appear to be closely linked to such theoretical work.

12.4. The BSSM and the mobilisation of Afro-Caribbeans in Britain

The literature surveyed in Chapter 2, suggested that although there were a large number of typologies of social movements, two broad types could be identified by the researcher. Firstly, there were the very large social movements which had a significant influence on society and these would include those like the Islamic fundamentalist movement referred to by Foss and Larkin (1986). The second broad category discussed in Chapter 2 was what mainstream sociologists (Banks, 1972; Wilkinson, 1971) have discussed as a 'social movement' and include those characterised as the urban social movement experienced in post-industrial society and studied by Touraine (1981); Melucci (1980) Castells (1983) and Bocock (1986). These were concerned about bringing about changes in consciousness about ecology as well as in disadvantaged groups like women in society and ethnic minorities. Typologies of social movements are not consistent and as no definitive theory of social movements exists as yet, one writer's 'concept of a 'nationalist' movement becomes another writer's 'revolutionary' movement but nevertheless it becomes important to clarify what a movement like the BSSM actually believes in and practices.

Firstly, it was established that the West Indian community is a disadvantaged ethnic minority community as indicated by most of the evidence available to us and also, as discussed in Chapter 1, that it is effectively part of an underclass in British society. Secondly, the evidence presented throughout the thesis indicates that the West Indian community clearly recognises its disadvantaged position in society. It then becomes possible to hypothesise that there are at least five options available to its members:
a) Conforming to the underclass status and adapting to and accepting the status quo.

b) Withdrawal from the society by leaving the country, but this is clearly not a realistic option at least at present for most West Indians in Britain.

c) Withdrawal from society symbolically. Indeed such symbolic 'withdrawal' into a variety of cults has taken place for some (Campbell 1985).

d) 'Survive' in the society and system through a life of petty thieving, and 'hustling' (Pryce 1979). This life-style may or may not have links with the urban riots of the 1980s in mainland Britain but it is a manifestation of resistance which becomes 'amplified' at appropriate times (Kettle and Hodges 1982).

e) Resistance through constructive action as in the case of the Black Supplementary School Movement.

If we consider the two Afro-Caribbean groups who offer resistance, those who are most alienated in society among school pupils, do not attend supplementary schools. They may be 'pressurised' to do so as depicted in the case of one pupil (Elroy) in Chapter 8. For black pupils like him there is a fundamental belief that they cannot succeed in British society through normal educational and employment channels and that they are expected by society to become mere members of an exploitible cheap labour force. In Pryce's (1979) study, the young West Indian groups in his sample believed that white society will simply not let them succeed and they feel perfectly justified in engaging in deviant behaviour. In the extreme case, looting, burning and rioting become an acceptable way of 'getting back' at society. In some instances it is almost like an engagement in a 'scorched earth' policy when the opportunity arises - so great is the relief and ecstasy for some when riots materialise (Gilroy, 1987).
The path chosen by the majority of West Indians in Britain is to live with the system but to resist 'appropriately' and to wrest greater justice, equality and power from it. But to do this, the community must try to preserve those aspects it considers to be worthy of preservation while a demand for social change is made in other areas. In the case of the BSSM it clearly values a social structure which will permit people to receive a reasonable education within it and provide equal opportunities to obtain suitable employment and satisfactory life chances in society. Through an emphasis on education and sheer industry in running supplementary schools, the BSSM implicitly indicates that it does not aim to modify the educational system but to be equitably accommodated by it. Such accommodation however is demanded on the basis of equal opportunity which in turn means that West Indian pupils must not underachieve academically and the community must not be relegated to an underclass by the majority white population consisting of the dominant strata and the indigenous white working class aligned with the dominant group along the race divide (Pearson 1981). In its role as a resistance movement, the BSSM believes it is worth fighting against subordination and for a greater share of the resources available to the wider community at large. It is therefore optimistic about the possibilities of change through struggle and as Reeves and Chevannes (1984) have suggested, determined to succeed against many odds.

Another feature about the BSSM is that because it has arisen out of ethnic minority protest about the inadequacies of the English educational system many West Indians are genuinely puzzled that there is no general protest from the indigenous working class about the educational system when there has been much evidence over the years that there is much white working class failure in the education system. It has led many West Indians to conclude that the English working class is effectively incorporated by the dominant strata. In other words, it has 'consented' to the hegemony of the dominant groups (Gramsci, 1957, 1971). To explain this paradoxical situation, we can refer to Hall and Jefferson (1975) who suggest that:
The quote above is particularly relevant to the issue in question because it suggests that the dominant group succeeds in gaining the acceptance of its hegemony over some groups. Gramsci (1971) further argues that they would not be able to maintain their domination if they did not receive the acquiescence from subordinate groups. For the West Indian community, the indigenous white working class accepts the hegemony of the dominant class, especially in the way it accepts the kind of education made available to it through state schooling. Although large numbers of the white working class underachieve (Reid 1986) in the education system they appear to accept such a situation and through this process their domination is confirmed even further. The quote from Hall and Jefferson (1975) above, is also significant for the second point it makes, namely, that some social groups '... will not be subordinate to this dominant order: they will enter into struggle with it ... ' Clearly, the West Indian community has engaged in a struggle with the dominant order which endeavours to relegate it to the lowest sector of the social order. The West Indian community has engaged in struggle to resist hegemony for almost two decades at the time this study was being completed and education does appear as though it will continue to be a site of struggle in the foreseeable future.

In the struggle so far, it is the researcher's view that the Black Supplementary School Movement has effectively proceeded to embarrass
the dominant order by publicly offering supplementary schooling to highlight the inadequacies of the state school system. Rather than try to assist black children 'quietly' to do better at school, the Movement has proclaimed loudly and clearly that it was in fact undertaking the work of an educational system that had failed in its responsibilities to educate all of its children. Thus, it is noticeable that the BSSM gradually forced the system to take cognisance of the Movement and even to participate actively in its range of activities. Over the years, Urban Aid, the CRE and the LEAs have been involved in assisting supplementary school projects financially and continue to do so (Carter 1986).

The Inner London Education Authority for instance, has been particularly keen to support supplementary school projects partly, according to the Intellectuals within the BSSM, because it is embarrassed that so many black supplementary schools actually function in the inner London area. Thus one way to deflect the 'attacks' on the Authority for failing to educate black pupils adequately in the first place is to support supplementary schools through funding schemes. Calls have been made from several sources to support supplementary schools. For example, Little (1982) in a public lecture attended by the researcher, at Goldsmith's College, London, urged strong support for West Indian supplementary schools 'because they were doing a good job and needed all our encouragement'. However, the financial support provided and received by supplementary school projects also creates contradictions. While for public authorities they may be 'admitting' through such support that state schools have indeed failed black pupils it also poses difficulties for the ideology of the Movement as discussed in Chapter 5. The acceptance of funds acts as a constraint on freedom and autonomy to run supplementary schools totally independently and many black intellectuals and activists feel that there is a very real possibility that the Movement will gradually be incorporated into the education system and become dissipated in the process. Stone (1981) expressed such a concern in her work and Carter (1986) referred to an activist's comment thus:
I'm worried that the supplementary school movement has been colonised by the state. Having access to grants has lost our independence and autonomy. I'm suspicious of strings being attached - a certain level of attendance, this or that on the curriculum. In the early days the struggle to keep the school alive financially was an important focus for community development and involvement, and for keeping up front the concerns of the black community about the education of our children. With state funding we could lose that involvement and that talent. A different type of person is thrown up: the ones who are good at presenting grant-aid proposals, but who may lack exposure to that all-important early experience, or who may even not be aware of it. It's easy to sit back and not bother with the consciousness-raising any more, with the result that our supplementary schools become passive rather than active instruments of change.

Carter (1986: 132-133)

However, self-help initiatives and consciousness raising also have their own limitations. As new technology increasingly plays an important part in school curricula, supplementary schools which have traditionally relied on voluntary teaching assistance, and used very basic texts and teaching materials, will not be able to provide new kinds of help that pupils will need in an electronic age. Computer literacy will increasingly be vitally necessary for people to enter the employment market and such computer literacy is dependent on relatively expensive equipment. Few, if any, supplementary schools will be able to cope adequately with this new challenge. They may have no alternative to arriving at some 'accommodation' with LEAs to obtain for supplementary school pupils, access to expensive computer hardware and software. They will thus have to mediate with LEAs over a new situation which they are likely not be able to handle themselves. It will be of interest to see how supplementary schools cope with this new issue in the near future.
The moral and financial support that in recent years LEAs have provided supplementary schools might also indicate that they are generally satisfied that the work undertaken by Afro-Caribbean pupils has actually benefitted them. This might seem a reasonable view to take because LEA advisers and inspectors do visit supplementary schools to obtain evidence that the funds provided are being utilised properly. Such available evidence that black supplementary schools are succeeding in helping black pupils, even if the teaching methods between LEA weekday schools and supplementary schools are significantly different, can only confirm views from the Afro-Caribbean community that their supplementary schools are indeed successful and should develop further. Such development may help to promote greater cohesion within the wider membership of the Afro-Caribbean community (Cohen, 1985).

Reference is now made to the review of the literature in Chapter 2 where a number of instances were provided where Afro-Caribbeans were criticised for their 'failure at political mobilisation' at the local community level and nationally. West Indians were blamed for being interested in themselves only and not in their community and fellow Afro-Caribbeans. Throughout the four and a half year period of data collection, the researcher found considerable co-operation among West Indians on a very large number of occasions - at meetings, conferences, a week-end seminar and at socials. The level of organisation for all such activity was excellent and the BSSM was undoubtedly a 'thriving success story'. From the researcher's point of view the references to the literature in Chapter 2 which are highly critical of West Indian ability to organise communal activity (Pearson, 1981; Heineman, 1972; Hinds, 1966) are surprising to say the least. The researcher feels that earlier studies about West Indian organisations may have been excessively concerned to demonstrate that West Indians were less successful than Asians and this may indeed have been so for a while. However, in the 1980s it can be seen that there is very considerable West Indian social, and political activity and that three out of four new black MPs have been of West Indian origin in the 1987 general election. Likewise, the local councils have a large number of very active West Indian members. Thus the researchers may need to re-assess
their views about West Indian ability to organise formal and informal organisations and to mobilise themselves in the interests of their community.

12.5 Comment on DES initiatives (1987)

Earlier in this thesis the view was expressed that most West Indians associated with the Black Supplementary School Movement are perhaps likely to welcome Mr. Kenneth Baker's proposals for a core curriculum and 'benchmarks' to measure attainment and to have tests at 7, 11, 14 and 16 to monitor the progress of pupils at school. The data suggest that West Indian parents would welcome this innovation in schools, not because they think that tests and 'benchmarks' are inherently a good idea or because they are inordinately keen on tests as such. Rather, such tests would provide West Indian parents the vital and timely diagnostic feedback they feel they are not currently receiving from schools. They are keen to detect when their children need help in academic work so that they can respond to such need immediately. West Indian parents might even accept that the frequency of testing as proposed might be a retrograde educational step and result in additional stress for pupils but at least it would be better than 'disinformation' from teachers that 'there is nothing to worry about'. Very similar views were expressed by Nigerian parents in Ososanwo's (1985) study undertaken in London.

The advantage West Indian parents see in regular testing of pupil progress is that they would be able to monitor their children's educational performance throughout their school careers instead of discovering too late that their children were underachieving. Currently, they feel that they do not have the opportunity to retrieve the developing situation of 'failure' at school and very much want the opportunity to intervene through additional teaching provision especially through supplementary schooling.

As an observation about significant sections of the black ethnic minorities in Britain, the unease Afro-Caribbeans and Nigerians feel
about the English education system is also expressed by many Asian parents although Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) expressed the view that apart from some groups like the Bangladeshis, Asian children were indeed achieving well in schools. The researcher for instance has met Asian parents who were keen to send their children for a 'good education' to India and Pakistan as stated in the last chapter and this issue is worth pursuing briefly. There were two kinds of reasons for this unease among Asian parents. Firstly, the parents appeared to be generally unhappy about the standard of behaviour of children in English schools and secondly, what they detect as a lack of rigour in the academic work undertaken in many state schools. Within some Asian groups, the English educational system is now referred to as the 'hit and miss' system because many Asians feel that there is a good chance that their children will not receive a 'good' education and they are therefore inclined to either try and get their children into private fee-paying schools in Britain which are expensive for them or to send them to good quality private boarding schools on the sub-continent which they can afford. It is not known how many Asian pupils born in Britain may indeed have left for an education in India for instance, but the personnel at the Indian High Commission in London were known to seek verbal assurances from Asian families visiting India, that (although younger British born Asian children do not need visas to travel to India) their children would indeed return to Britain and not take up school places in India - a worthy research study in itself!

The researcher would only surmise from the above that generally, ethnic minority cultures value education highly and that such a concern for education may be one consequence of their underclass status in British society. This is not to say however that all groups within the ethnic minorities invariably value an education highly and strive for it.

12.6.1 Theory in relation to ideologies and social movements

In Chapter 5, discussion focussed on the elements which constituted the ideology of the Black Supplementary School Movement and then went on in Part IV of the thesis to consider how the ideology manifested itself
through the Movement in practice. We can now consider the possible effects of the Movement's success in mobilising continuing numbers of black parents and children over the years into its ideology. It may be reasonable to assume that in time the need to sustain the culture of resistance which created the Movement and sustained it, may gradually be eroded for a variety of reasons. The factor of black pupil underachievement which sustained the Movement may possibly not persist as a permanent issue.

The factor which could put a strain on the ideology and the Movement could be the gradual diminution of the crises which originally gave rise to the Movement and the consequent dissipation of the necessary impetus that sustained it. Thus, those for whom a crisis had generated action may need either to withdraw from it or loosen their links with the original group who strongly propounded the ideology and sustained the Movement. In such situations, the contours of the ideology and Movement may gradually become blurred (Wilkinson, 1971).

Also, those who sustained the Movement for a long period may either feel they have striven hard enough, and wish others to take their place, or they themselves may move on to other spheres of interest (Heberle, 1968).

Ideologies and movements however, have a self-reproductive power (Shils, 1968). They are often espoused by other groups which may arise and draw upon the beliefs and experience gained by earlier groups and movements. Thus, fragments of ideologies go on after the initial force of the movement has gradually dissipated. However, if we assume that the battle over 'underachievement' of West Indian pupils in British schools is gradually won, the theory about social movements (Banks, 1972; Wilkinson, 1971) suggests that in all probability, the core element of the culture of resistance within the BSSM will persist in fighting the forces of subordination, but on a different 'war of position' (Gramsci 1971). This new 'front', using military metaphors like Gramsci (1971) is from the researcher's perspective, already in the making and highlighted by many studies, but in particular, in the
work of Eggleston et al. (1986). As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, Eggleston et al. (1986) make clear that although young blacks may obtain the necessary qualifications through sheer determination, there is little evidence that the employment market is willing to permit them the mobility into jobs they are qualified for and desire. Many young blacks are quite bitter (Gilroy, 1987) about this Catch 22 situation and in all probability then, the Black Supplementary School Movement may need to re-orient itself to a Black Supplementary School and Employment Movement. The taking on of a much greater role in the future, so that the greater dimensions of the Black Civil Rights and protest movements found in the USA, may feature widely in Britain. This in turn may stimulate greater discussion on policies of 'affirmative action' (Killian and McLean, 1981; Robbins, 1983), or its equivalent of 'positive discrimination' in Britain. The evidence of the American experience (Killian and McLean, 1981; Pinkney, 1983; Winston, 1977) however is contradictory. On the one hand, critics have argued that affirmative action succeeds in creating a small black middle class but that the majority of the black people in the USA continue in their disadvantaged underclass position. However, like Kilson (1983), the researcher is in greater sympathy with those who argue that role models become available to black disadvantaged groups to aspire towards better jobs than they might otherwise have done. Also, an emergent black middle class increasingly has greater access to power in society and its members can play an active part in helping to undermine those forces and processes which help the formation and persistence of an underclass. Affirmative action for ethnic minorities is a means of speeding up the process of generating greater equality and justice in society and there are indications that continued opposition towards such an aim from the dominant groups in British society will generate further resistance from ethnic minorities in the near future through a broader 'black resistance movement'. Those elements which constituted earlier ideologies and social movements in history begin to constitute an ideological tradition which becomes available to subsequent ideologists (Wilkinson, 1971). As in the USA, a programmatic ideological orientation concentrating on social advancement of significant segments of the social stratum such as a
broad composite formation of ethnic minority groups can take on the characteristics of 'reform movements' demanding from the dominant social institutions, 'the conformity of conduct with moral principles that can neither be yielded nor compromised' (Shils, 1968). In short, the researcher hypothesises that the Black Supplementary School Movement is likely to be a forerunner of a much larger Afro-Caribbean/Black Social Movement.

12.6.2. Links with earlier studies of supplementary schools

The discussion in Chapter 2 on the literature on supplementary schooling illustrated that most of the details about the Movement were fairly descriptive accounts with relatively little explanatory power about the relationship between a social movement and its links with macro-societal issues and especially, in relation to power in society. Nevertheless, they were important in drawing attention to the existence of many small groups of supplementary schools. The authors of many such accounts clearly did not have the benefit of a prolonged 'attachment' to the Movement to comprehend the highly complex and dynamic elements at play within the Movement and also, its potential linkages with black movements in Britain of the future. In this respect, the researcher feels especially fortunate to have been able to study the BSSM at a particular phase of its development in the early 1980s. In many respects, it would appear that the 1980s represent the Movement's 'middle phase' when it was taking stock of itself, and assessing its future development (Carter, 1986). As there are indications that the BSSM is likely to lead to ethnic minority movements of broader significance for the black population of Britain, the Movement was 'captured' in this present study at a particular stage of development that is of sociological and socio-historical significance for further research.

In Chapter 2 also, reference was made to the John Loughborough Seventh-Day Adventist school where most of the children are black and where as stated earlier, they are twice as successful as neighbouring ILEA schools in gaining academic results. It was not surprising in this
Research therefore, to discover that the kind of schooling Afro-Caribbean parents wished for their children was epitomised in their perceptions of a school like the John Loughborough school. But this is not because the John Loughborough school is virtually an all-black secondary school with a black Headteacher and mainly black teachers. Rather, it is because it is a school in which black pupils are seen to succeed through the school's aims for high standards, high expectations from pupils and academic success with black pupils. The researcher contends that it also represents for many West Indian parents who migrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, the kind of school of which they had an idealised picture in their minds. Images of excellent British schools in which pupils wore smart uniforms including blazers, played cricket or hockey on green fields, spoke politely and behaved impeccably, were widely presented to people in the former colonies in the West Indies and elsewhere through film-newsreels and accounts from former public schoolboys in the colonial service. It became clear to the researcher that it was this particular kind of idealised education that West Indian parents have wanted and still ideally want and are willing to pay for if they can find the funds to do so. Serious television programmes like 'Skin' (14th December 1980) and articles in the press have also provided clear glimpses of the vision many black parents with middle class aspirations have of 'good schools' and how they find it very frustrating that they have had to live cheek by jowl in run-down inner-city areas with some of the worst housing and disadvantaged schooling available to them (Little, 1978).

Thus, it would appear that for many West Indians, the 'halfway house' towards getting to the idealised versions of school like John Loughborough (Homan, 1986) is not through the gradual process of improvement through multi-cultural education but on relying to a greater extent on slightly faster possibilities - that of using black teachers in black supplementary schools and also in mainstream schools. Rampton (1981), Swann (1985) and various LEA reports have encouraged such development and LEAs have indeed recruited black teachers but the numbers are very small indeed. This issue is discussed a little later in this chapter.
There is however a very real danger looming ahead in terms of proposals for schools to be able to opt out of LEA control. If this were to happen when the proposed White Paper (1987) is processed through Parliament, there is a very real danger that the poorest areas will be deprived even further in terms of the quality of schooling available to some children. Afro-Caribbean children in poor neighbourhoods could become even more disadvantaged than they are at present.

12.7. Policy proposals emanating from this research

12.7.1. Process and product issues

One of Stone's (1981) main proposals following her study of the education of the black child in Britain was that a formal teaching mode should be introduced into schools. This suggestion caused much debate and discussion as stated in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

In this research, it is not possible to arrive at a similar conclusion for two main reasons. Although there was evidence that perhaps much more formal teaching took place than informal teaching at the supplementary schools, it was not possible to dichotomise the teaching and learning as simply two distinctive types of activities, just as Mackinnon (1977) argued that the dichotomy created between the two is not really true in practice, because teachers move from formal to informal teaching methods during normal teaching situations. This was clearly evident in the teaching at the two supplementary schools, in that it varied from formal work to relatively informal work.

The significant difference however may lie in that in weekday schools, there may indeed be an over-emphasis on 'process' issues. By this is meant that professional teacher trainers in initial and in-service courses for teachers may be focussing rather narrowly on matters relating to the quality of teacher-pupil interaction and pupil-pupil interaction and, in this process, ignoring the relatively important factor of 'product' in education. Children do attend school to learn
about things including factual information and ability to acquire skills like literacy and numeracy, in addition to acquiring important social-interaction skills. In the past few years, because of the influence of new ideas about knowledge and pedagogy, schools may have increasingly overemphasised 'process' issues and relatively sacrificed 'product' issues. Thus we may be getting in schools, pupils who are fairly good at discussing matters and interacting with each other and even understanding fairly complex ideas without 'learning' these from texts, but they may not be particularly proficient in number work and in written work. In this context, Holly (1976) had argued that in progressive education, 'mysticism of method' or the belief that the only thing that mattered was learning techniques or at best, the social relationships between learners and the teacher in a narrow sense can take place. As a consequence, Holly (1976) argued further that while traditionalists value 'standards' and 'discipline', progressivists 'delight in enquiry as an end in itself and rejoice when the classroom atmosphere is happy, no matter what bunkum is being learned'. In a culture which emphasises the written word (Young, 1971), this weakness may appear to be a source of worry to parents and clearly, increasingly, parents and employers are seeking assurances from the education system that pupils will be more numerate and literate than they are. In other words, although overall literacy and numeracy may well be improving for the mass of the population, such improvement is not deemed to be enough for the young people entering the labour market and West Indian parents in particular have begun to argue strongly for much greater improvements in state schools or that otherwise they will take it upon themselves to 'compensate' for the inadequacy of state schooling. The proposal therefore is that teacher-trainers should focus on gaining a better balance between 'process' and 'product' issues in education and spend more time on verifying if their student-teachers develop skills which ensure that verifiable learning actually takes place, especially in relation to number and literacy among the children they will eventually teach. Much of the lay and professional discussion about education today indicates that there will be increased demands made on teachers with regard to excellence and rigour in teaching outcomes. Consequently, the old adage that 'nothing
is taught until it is learned' may indeed need to be reconsidered in the light of criticisms of the education system from the Black Supplementary School Movement.

12.7.2. Black Teachers

Secondly it is proposed that the introduction of black teachers into the education system needs to be made an absolute priority in which much larger numbers of black teachers are employed in weekday schools. However, there are many reasons why black teachers have not been forthcoming into the profession and it is worth considering some of these reasons as provided by research carried out for the CRE by Ranger (1986). These are summarised in note form so as to present selected information as briefly as possible. However, the information is presented in much the same terminology as used by Ranger (1986).

a) Of 1189 schools surveyed, only 431 out of 20245, or 2.1% were teachers of ethnic minority origin.

b) These ethnic minority teachers were disproportionately on the lowest scales and 78% were on scales 1 and 2 compared with 57% of white teachers. Also, 5% of ethnic minority teachers were deputy head or head teachers, compared with 13% of white teachers.

c) 70% of black male teachers were on scale 1 or 2, only 38% of white male teachers were at that level. The corresponding figures for black female teachers and white female teachers were 84% and 71% respectively.

d) Black teachers were disproportionately concentrated in subject areas such as Science and Maths. 29% of them taught these subjects, compared with 16% of white teachers.

e) Only 38% of ethnic minority teachers were under 34, compared with 43% of white teachers. 36% of ethnic minority teachers were over
45, compared with 19% of white teachers. Thus there was likely to be an acceleration of the retirement of ethnic minority teachers.

f) Nearly 70% of ethnic minority teachers (interviewed as a sample) obtained their highest qualifications in the UK and 14% held no UK qualification. The main differences between ethnic minority teachers and white teachers (from the interviewed sample) were the post-graduate qualifications held by many Indian teachers and the higher proportion of white teachers (44%) who held a certificate of education. 25% of ethnic minority teachers held a certificate of education.

g) White teachers spent an average of 11.2 terms in their first school and 26% of them had achieved a higher scale before leaving. In contrast, black teachers spent an average of 9.9 terms in their first post and only 18% of them achieved a rise in scale before departure.

h) 67% of white teachers had special responsibilities compared with 44% of ethnic minority teachers in their schools. When distinguished by sex, 79% of white males had special responsibilities compared with 60% for white females, 49% for ethnic minority males and 38% for white females.

i) 62% of ethnic minority teachers had made unsuccessful job applications in the previous five years compared with 51% of white teachers.

j) 52% of ethnic minority teachers said they had personally experienced racial discrimination in employment in teaching generally.

The evidence from the CRE above, is indicative like that of Gibbs (1980) and Carter (1986) that ethnic minority teachers are far from satisfied with their professional prospects. Further, with the general public image of teaching as a low paid career, it is likely that black teacher recruitment may not increase as quickly as it should.
Swann (1985) addressed this issue at quite some length and also focussed on special 'access courses' for ethnic minority teachers and ways and means of drawing into the teaching force, those teachers with overseas teaching qualifications and teaching experience. Unfortunately, many such ideas are not translated into practice and some teacher training institutions producing black teachers among others have either been prevented from continuing with teacher education courses or been forced to reduce their numbers in a series of arbitrary 'cuts' in teacher education over the years. By virtue of his work in teacher education, the researcher is also aware of the hurdles and difficulties faced by many excellent teachers with overseas qualifications and experience who are keen to teach in Britain but are prevented from doing so through unnecessary barriers placed in their paths. For instance, well qualified and experienced Asian and black teachers from pre-independence Kenya who arrived in Britain up to 1968 were accepted to teach in schools without further training and in many instances, have made excellent progress and hold senior positions in schools, Colleges of Education, Institutes of Higher Education and Polytechnics. Their peers however, with exactly the same qualifications acquired at exactly the same period of time and with much the same and sometimes greater teaching experience, but who arrived in Britain soon after 1968 were arbitrarily denied 'qualified teacher status' by the DES and although extremely keen to teach in British schools were forced to work in industry and other public services outside teaching. Even more bizarre is the fact that some of these teachers from Kenya who could now not enter teaching without studying for at least a 'shortened' two-year full time course, had come to Britain before 1968 on short visits and got their qualifications recognised by the DES. They then returned to Kenya to wind up their affairs or complete temporary contracts only to find that the DES had withdrawn their qualified teacher status in the meantime. These teachers were not informed about such arbitrary withdrawal of QTS by the DES. They had to learn to their embarrassment that qualified teacher status had been withdrawn from them after they had been accepted for teaching posts by LEAs in Britain. In one instance known to the researcher, the aggrieved teacher employed a solicitor at
considerable cost to himself to battle with the DES. After a long period he managed to get himself reinstated as a qualified teacher but he had lost all confidence in the DES to want to teach any more and in effect the DES had lost a superb Maths teacher. It is therefore not surprising that black people in Britain, and especially West Indians have very little faith in British institutions which claim to be doing their best on their behalf. For many West Indians, this research suggests that the hopes expressed by Rampton (1981), Swann (1985) and a host of other official reports, committees and studies are simply not good enough. To say that black teachers are not available to teach in schools is indeed an admission of abject failure on the part of the DES to genuinely try to obtain such teachers and this is because the officials at the DES are too far removed from the lived experience of black people in this country or not really genuine about recruiting black teachers, whatever the official reports may say. Connolly (1984) illustrates how the DES sent a letter of invitation (R 116/89/01) dated 2nd August 1978 addressed to seven LEAs to encourage the development of pilot access courses for black prospective teachers. However, Connolly (1984) demonstrates that the attitude of inexplicitness, (Kirp, 1979) was much in evidence when although the DES appeared to be committed to equal opportunity for those in the community who lacked the necessary qualifications for entry to the teaching profession, no funds were allocated to the LEAs to respond adequately and consequently, the 'LEA response was muted'. This led Connolly (1984) to conclude that:

the need for more black or ethnic minority teachers is not a priority with the government, in spite of a number of years of pressure from various groups including the House of Commons. The DES response to this need was tentative and financially subversive ... DES attitudes to the pressing needs of ethnic minorities are, in my view seriously deficient and represent a further chapter in that long and unwholesome tradition of British attitudes to ethnic minorities.

Connolly (1984: 48)
Connolly's (1984) comment above, very much echoes Tomlinson's (1981) critique of inexplicit policies in race and education following the riots in London in 1981 when she said that:

> a policy process that involves passing the buck from central to local level and back, has now become, quite literally, a matter of fiddling while Rome burns.

Tomlinson (1981: 153)

It is proposed that if the DES genuinely wishes to draw more black teachers into education, it can at least attempt two approaches which might possibly have an immediate impact. Firstly, it can initiate tailor-made, award-bearing courses, perhaps in the 'university sector' rather than the 'public sector' of higher education. This is because it takes at least two years to reach LEA agreement to have a course and then to design, plan, validate and start a course through CNAA validation procedures. Connolly (1984) again illustrates how at the Polytechnic of North London, a proposal to start an access-linked B.Ed. (Hons.) course, was initiated in October 1974 and the course did not begin until October 1979.

If funded appropriately it is suggested that universities can mount courses fairly rapidly. These could produce new black teachers or provide appropriate re-training for experienced black teachers on shortened courses. One possibility is that such prospective teachers, especially those with overseas qualifications could be employed as Instructors in schools for half the week while they studied for the rest of the week in an institution of higher education and in time, obtain qualified teacher status. There are a few such 'experimental schemes' in some parts of England but there ought to be a much bigger and concerted effort in this direction than exists at the present.
Secondly, this research on the Black Supplementary School Movement indicates that at any one time, as many as perhaps sixty or more untrained and unqualified people teach in Afro-Caribbean supplementary schools in the Greater London Area alone. Many of these teachers are able to teach quite competently. This is attested by the 'approval' that such teachers receive from LEA inspectors who visit the 'funded' supplementary schools. Thus following such 'successful' teaching experience, many such teachers have expressed a desire to take up full-time teaching and should be encouraged to do so through 'access' courses which give adequate recognition to their prior education and work experience. It is argued that the LEAs and the DES should not wait for such applicants to apply for 'access-linked' teacher education courses - they should actively go out and through the help of black activists recruit such people and produce the necessary teachers from among the black community. This research suggests that such black teachers would bring a special dimension into their work with black pupils. They would not only provide role models for black pupils, they would also provide empathy and understanding about their common struggle as members of a disadvantaged community with black pupils and a sense of sharing in that community struggle. Black pupils themselves have also indicated that they want to see more black teachers teaching them. This research also suggests that there would be a marked reduction in teacher complaints of 'discipline' problems in schools with black pupils if there were many more competent black teachers teaching them.

When the media report from time to time that there are all black schools in existence in some parts of Britain, they fail to state that the authority structure in such schools, comprising the Head and teachers is invariably white. Getting good quality black teachers into all-black schools as well as into mixed and all white schools could bring about much change for the better in British schools. But such black teachers should also enjoy equal opportunities for promotion and career advancement than exist at present as illustrated in the work of Ranger (1986).
12.7.3. Policies for equal opportunities

The third proposal is that there ought to be accelerated and increased efforts towards initiating and implementing policies of equal opportunities which are currently at the very early stages of development in some institutions. The evidence from this study as well as those of others, indicates that specific social groups like ethnic minorities and women are considerably disadvantaged in all walks of life. The frustration that ethnic minority members feel, and as expressed clearly by the Afro-Caribbeans to the researcher throughout this study, indicates that a concern for fairer opportunities for employment, promotion in jobs and a more equitable share of resources, must penetrate the consciousness of those in positions of power if there is likely to be greater harmony in a multi-racial society like Britain. Moreover, the disadvantaged must have an active part and say in the process of generating equal opportunities.

12.8. Reflections on 'resistance' and implications for theory and further research

There are many illustrations of black resistance in the literature (Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Dhondy, et al. 1982; Moore, 1975; Sivanandan, 1982) but a coherent theory of black resistance has yet to develop in sociological work. Mullard's (1975, 1985) theoretical studies on black resistance and struggle are examples of the fairly limited debates and discussions available to us about the difficulties of conceptualising 'black resistance'. From his empirical work, Mullard (1985) concludes that the search for an empirically grounded theory of 'black resistance' becomes in effect, a theory about social change or 'more precisely, a political part of a more general theory of social change'.

In relation to the events which occurred in the Borough of Haringey in the late 1960s, the chronological ordering of events is useful to illustrate how specific events had the effect of motivating a group to act through an implicit ideology of resistance, and how it led to the
formation of a resistance or protest movement which has been sustained with varying levels of intensity for a period of almost two decades at the time this research was being written up. The important concern therefore for the analyst must be to examine the framework within which the resistance occurred, the form it took and the wider implications of the resistance in society.

Clearly, the 'resistive struggle' was not entirely unrelated to other issues and events occurring at about the same time in the late 1960s. In the USA, great upheavals had taken place in which black people aggressively challenged the status quo on matters of segregation, bussing, voting rights and opportunities for employment (Staple 1976; Thompson 1974; Pinkney 1983). The West Indians in Britain in the 1960s were also aware of colonial liberation movements in Africa and the independence movement in the Caribbean leading to the break-up of the West Indian Federation in 1961 (Heineman 1972). Thus, their experience of living in a relatively 'hostile' Britain was in all probability part of their conscious self-awareness of their own position in this country, in relation to other black people whether in Algeria or Kenya who had fought to seek their liberation from colonial rule, or black people in the USA agitating for a range of demands from the dominant strata of society. It is being suggested that the black members of the North London West Indian Association where the conflict first began, would have been conscious of 'symbolic links' between their position in Britain and the black man's struggle in other parts of the world. Thus it would be reasonable to assume that they intuitively realised that a struggle was necessary to ensure that the West Indian community would be 'spoken for' and then mobilised if necessary to oppose Councillor Doulton's plans for the education of West Indian children in the Borough of Haringey as discussed in Chapter 4.

The potential conflict in 1968/69 had a chance of success for at least one more reason. The secretary and chief spokesperson for the NLWIA and a key respondent in this research had successfully challenged and won a dispute between a mobilised West Indian community and the London Transport and General Workers' Union over their refusal to promote a
black person to the post of inspector on the buses. Details of this campaign were provided by Jeff Crawford to the researcher and are also confirmed by Carter (1986). With such experience of resistive action, and by virtue of being the secretary of the NLWIA, it became virtually incumbent upon him to challenge the Doulton Report through the active support of the West Indian community in North London where the Movement began.

Thus, in the action taken by the NLWIA against the Haringey Borough Council, the West Indian community had combined into one strong integrated social entity regarding the objects and methods of resistance. The struggle was crystallised for them through a clear perception of being 'an exploited, irrelevant and powerless people in British society'. Their very sense of 'peoplehood' was challenged by the Doulton Report and they rose to the challenge.

In the pattern of resistance that they formulated, there were specific negating definitional aspects of struggle which included:

a) the rejection of dominant white definitions, beliefs and values of black pupils.

b) The rejection of the Borough of Haringey's discriminatory plans for West Indian pupils, to which the West Indian community had not been consulted nor even been made aware, prior to their 'discovery' of the confidential Doulton Report.

The struggle also included positive definitional aspects and values and these were:

a) the articulation of an alternative conception of the 'educational problems' the Borough of Haringey was trying to resolve.

b) The emergence of an 'embryonic model' of a supplementary school system for Afro-Caribbean pupils.
It is also important to be aware of the political setting preceding the events in the London Borough of Haringey. Carter (1986) argues that West Indian activists in the 1950s and 1960s were involved in the struggle for equality and that:

the trade union and labour movement was the centre of our activity during this period; later on, as our children were born and grew older, the arena of black activism expanded, or even shifted, to the education system.

Carter (1986: 43)

The struggle for equality referred to by Carter (1986) also received a boost from the visit to black political groups in Britain in 1967 of Stokely Carmichael, a Black Power leader from the USA and his subsequent ban by the Home Secretary from returning to Britain because of fears of the emergence of a significant Black Power Movement in Britain. Additionally, the first 'national civil rights movement' in Britain, the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) had some limited success between 1964 and 1967 (Heineman 1972). An awareness therefore of the opportunity for engaging in struggle between a subordinate group and a dominant one is central to understanding the origins of the resistance movement and the progress of the Movement as discussed in this thesis. Throughout, the emphasis has been that the Afro-Caribbean community has consistently resisted 'incorporation' (Moorhouse 1973) and that the Black Supplementary School Movement essentially functions towards this end today.

If we accept Mullard's (1985) view that a theory of black resistance is essentially a theory about the political part of a more general theory of social change, we can at least claim that the BSSM has initiated social change through its resistance on several educational sites of struggle. This began in the Borough of Haringey in the late 1960s and gradually spread throughout Britain. Such sites of struggle included battles contributing to some change in attitudes and policies relating
to bussing, race and IQ, ESN placements of black children, the development and use of culture free tests in schools, and changes in school practice and curricula to reflect the changing clientele of pupils in schools.

It is argued in this thesis that serious discussions (linked to the anticipated White Paper, 1987) about changes in schools relating to organisational factors, teachers, curricula and pedagogy have at least emerged as issues to be discussed (with the possibilities of real change occurring) at least partly because of black resistance to schooling and the educational system over the past two decades. It is of course not possible to claim that the BSSM and a broader black education movement (Tomlinson 1984) has had a very significant effect on the educational system. There are after all, so many pressures upon a system of education at any given moment to make it impossible to claim that a particular factor has specifically generated change. However, it would be hard to dispute that the consistent criticism from Afro-Caribbeans, and for that matter, from other ethnic minorities about the British educational system, has not focussed attention on the need for change in educational thinking in recent years, especially in relation to issues like racism, equal opportunities and the multicultural curriculum (Lynch 1986).

Three suggestions are now presented for further research to emerge fairly directly from this study. Firstly, it would be of considerable sociological interest to discover why any significant resistance to the relatively low levels of educational achievement of indigenous white working class children has not occurred in recent years in spite of all the sociological evidence about their underachievement. Instead, such resistance has clearly emerged from the ethnic minorities who migrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. A study of the apparent significant difference in the attitude to educational underachievement between the white working class community and the ethnic minority communities may reveal the complex nature and process of political incorporation (Moorhouse 1973) in Britain. In relation to this issue, it would also be of considerable interest to examine what parallels or contrasts
there are if any, in the attitudes to education of ethnic minorities who have migrated to other countries of Western Europe and become settled communities since the 1960s.

The second suggestion for further study is that there is a need to follow-up children who attended black supplementary schooling in the past and who are now in work, higher education or professional training, to examine how they feel they benefitted from supplementary schooling. The Caribbean Teachers' Association is keen to do this and has suggested to the researcher that he might wish to pursue such a complementary study following the completion of this thesis.

The third suggestion for further study is the need to consider patterns of integration and conflict among ethnic minorities themselves. Relatively little is known through serious study, about the ethnic minorities who migrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s and the extent to which they may or may not have built 'alliances' among themselves to counteract the hegemony and racism of the dominant strata in society. It is relatively unclear at this stage about the tensions and conflicts within the underclass itself. It may well be important to focus on this issue if we are to prevent the former classic three-tiered colonial pattern of stratification becoming established in metropolitan Britain today.
12.9. Final Reflections

This part-time study proved to be immensely demanding and yet immensely satisfying, especially as the work neared completion and its coherence became more perceptible.

These final reflections are intended to be fairly brief and to incorporate aspects of 'summative evaluation'. Throughout the study, 'formative evaluation' of the work was provided towards the end of each chapter. Further, discussion of the methodology permeated different parts of the study. In other words, the methodology component was not confined to Chapter 3 in this study; the problems inherent in undertaking ethnographic work are reflected in the way details are provided about how the data were collected, analysed and interpreted throughout the study.

The greatest value of this study to the researcher is likely to be that it has helped him to learn and understand how to undertake research and thus perhaps help others to organise their studies for advanced work very much better than he did himself. It has become clear that the research act should ideally be an exploration into the unknown and in this study, the orientation of the thesis took on a direction that was entirely unpredictable at the start of the work.

However, it also led to many fruitless searches and blind-alleys which were most time-consuming. Yet such uncertainty of orientation generated its own excitement and stimulation, thus making the study in many ways, quite different from the more predictable outcome of work done by the researcher, using psychometric techniques, in a previous study.

In terms of the overall methodology within the study, the decision to use ethnographic methodology proved to be the right one. For all its limitations, participant-observation was most appropriate for the work undertaken and the relatively unstructured interviews yielded richer
data than had been anticipated. The difficulties in making notes of observations and of recording interview data proved less demanding than expected but the 'penetration' into the Movement, especially among the core group of Intellectuals, where much heated debate took place, was stressful and required high levels of concentration and determination to continue collecting the data. There were many moments too of anxiety, especially when meeting new people for the first time, and many situations when the data collecting demands became sheer 'hard work'. The biggest problem was that the researcher was not able to overcome his sensitivity to being an 'outsider' however hard he tried during the data collection phase. In contrast, the subjects providing the data seemed quite ready and willing to accept the researcher's presence and questions, and other requests for data. The pupils in particular, would switch into and out of standard English quite often and express opinions about a range of issues quite candidly. This indicated that at most times they did not see the researcher as an 'outsider'.

In relation to the data collected, on hindsight, the researcher could have begun to classify the data much sooner than he did. The urge to collect data was very powerful, perhaps because of the relatively undefined nature of ethnographic work. The net result was that masses of data were collected and listening to data on audio-tape, video-tape and their transcription became extremely time-consuming. Moreover, all this had to be done whilst maintaining a heavy full-time teaching load, course planning/validation, and administrative work load which was not at all conducive to research activity.

The collection of data also required teaching on Saturday mornings at two supplementary schools, attending innumerable meetings and socials and a residential weekend as well as helping to organise two major conferences on supplementary schooling. One consequence of such a demanding form of data collection was that a greater separation took place between the data collection phase and the writing-up phase of the work than was intended. On reflection, this time lapse between the two research functions ought to have been managed much better than it was.
Another issue that needs comment is that the nature of the study was such that it was incumbent upon the researcher to obtain data without overtly informing all and sundry that he was researching the Black Supplementary School Movement. This approach was essential as in Fielding's (1981) work, to ensure that the informants did not feel unduly constrained about matters under discussion because of the presence of a researcher. The researcher is however, satisfied that no 'ethical rules' (Beauchamp, et al. 1982) were infringed relating to research using ethnographic methodology in the case of this study. It is recognised that a fine balance has to be drawn sometimes between overt and covert research using ethnographic approaches but that the researcher has to be satisfied and be able to demonstrate that due regard was paid to this very important function.

By way of a final personal comment, this study has truly been a rewarding learning experience and exercise in undertaking research. Even though the financial costs were not inconsiderable and privately borne, it has whetted the researcher's appetite to engage in further research. He now also feels more confident and better prepared to make some research contributions to the literature than he was in the past. Such aspirations however, must be viewed in the light of significant pressures being put upon academics by new government proposals (1987) over research activities in higher educational institutions. If as proposed, there will be a three-tier university 'pecking order' whereby some will be deemed to be research institutions and the rest (presumably including the Polytechnics) as purely teaching institutions, the opportunities for research will be severely curtailed for some. The researcher feels strongly opposed to such a division of function in higher education and believes that the research and teaching functions must continue to work in close partnership for the general benefit of students, teaching and learning, academics, and the wider society.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSS</td>
<td>Association of black supplementary schools.</td>
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<td>ACAAA</td>
<td>Association of Caribbean, Asian and African Academics.</td>
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<td>BSSM</td>
<td>Black Supplementary School Movement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPVE</td>
<td>Certificate of pre-vocational education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CECVA</td>
<td>Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association.</td>
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<td>CNAA</td>
<td>Council for National and Academic Awards.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Community Relations Council.</td>
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<td>CRE</td>
<td>Commission for Racial Equality.</td>
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<td>CSE</td>
<td>Certificate of Secondary Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Department of Education and Science.</td>
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<td>EPA</td>
<td>Educational Priority Area.</td>
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<td>GB</td>
<td>Great Britain.</td>
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<td>GCE</td>
<td>General Certificate of Education.</td>
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<td>GCSE</td>
<td>General Certificate of Secondary Education.</td>
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<td>ILEA</td>
<td>Inner London Education Authority.</td>
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<td>IQ</td>
<td>Intelligence Quotient.</td>
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<td>NLSS</td>
<td>North London Supplementary School.</td>
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<td>NLVIA</td>
<td>North London West Indian Association.</td>
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<td>QTS</td>
<td>Qualified Teacher Status.</td>
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<td>SLSS</td>
<td>South London Supplementary School.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TES</td>
<td>Times Educational Supplement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TVEI</td>
<td>Technical and Vocational Education Initiative.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America.</td>
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HARINGEY COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

1. This paper excludes the four denominational Schools.

2. The aim is to provide the appropriate education for each individual pupil.

3. Certain factors make the aim less easy of attainment. Among these are:
   (a) Unsuitable premises;
   (b) The high proportion of immigrants in the Borough;
   (c) The small size of the majority of the Schools;
   (d) The historical background.

4. The first factor can only be overcome by the provision of more Government money for School building. Each of the other three presents problems which affect the quality of education, particularly for the more able pupil, and the first involves as difficult a social problem as it would be possible to face.

5. Immigrants. (The word is used in its technical, quasi-legal sense throughout).
   (a) A comparison of the percentage of immigrants in the Infant and Junior schools shows how steep the rise will eventually be in the Comprehensives. As examples, the contrasting percentages at Bounds Green are 41% against 20%, at Bruce Grove 59.5% against 30%, at Crowland 61% against 45%, at Stroud Green 67% against 54%, at N. Harringey 70% against 55%.
   (b) If the Comprehensive continue to draw from the same schools as at present, all will see an increase in immigrants, the majority a very large increase. Only Creighton and Tottenham are likely to have under one quarter, Wood Green a little over; the remainder will be around the 50% mark, with one over that (Stationers') and Hornsey Close (48.5%).
   (c) On a rough calculation about half the immigrants will be West Indians at 7 of the 11 schools, the significance of this being the general recognition that their I.Q.'s work out below their English contemporaries. Thus academic standards will be lower in schools where they form a large group.

6. Size of Schools
   (a) A Schools Council study assumed as a reasonable basis a 6th form of 200 divided up by years into groups of 90, 90 and 20, the last figure being for those staying on a third year. Such numbers, it was calculated, would enable 18 "A" level subjects to be taught in teaching units of 12.
(b) None of the Haringey schools is at present large enough to produce such 6th forms in the accepted sense of the term. Only one (Creighton) is above an 8 form entry school, the rest are that or lower, and assuming that 20% of a year's intake are 6th form material, the 6th in an 8 form entry school will be 96+. This will either limit the range of subjects that can be offered, or, if an attempt is made to cover the normal range, will mean teaching to small groups, which is an uneconomical use of staff and produces a lack of competition for pupils.

(c) The present figures for 6th forms in the Haringey Comprehensives conceal the probable shape of the future as 7 of the 11 schools will have a Grammar school nucleus for a further four years from the start of the academic year 1969/70. The contrast is striking. At Creighton, based on Tollington G.S., out of 160 a mere 16 are not 'A' level pupils; at Hornsey, based on Hornsey High School, 18 out of 159; at Stationers 20 out of 133. But at Downhills the figures are 50 out of 97; at Drayton 41 out of 57; at Highgate Wood 57 out of 102.

(d) The figures for the last three Schools reflect the increasing tendency for pupils to stay on beyond the school leaving age, resulting in the growth of a non-academic 6th form; it is a process that will continue and it could particularly affect Haringey where the immigrant parents will see education as the way to open doors for their children. But it does mean that projected figures for 6th forms want very careful analysis, for which accurate statistics are probably not yet available, and it would be wrong to equate over-all numbers with the numbers of 'A' level candidates.

(e) The biggest imponderable here is the assessment of the intelligence of the immigrant pupils. I venture to doubt whether in 10 years' time the academic 6ths in the majority of the schools will be above 80, which brings up the objections raised in 6(b), quite apart from the complications of running academic and non-academic 6ths side by side.

7. **Historical Background**

This influences the situation in these respects:

(a) The four schools without a G.S. base have started out on their existence as Comprehensives without an academic tradition, which could be a severe handicap to an intelligent child. The temptation here will be to lop off the tops of these schools, but this would amount to strangulation at birth and the reduction of the schools to Comprehensive Secondary Moderns.

(b) The schools are not homogeneous in that four are single sex and seven are mixed, and this, coupled with the location of all the schools, makes it far from easy to evolve a plan of rationalisation whereby not every school would offer the full range of 'A' level subjects.
8. **Summary of paragraphs 5-7**

The evidence indicates that the large number of immigrants, with West Indians in the majority, will result in a lower level of intelligence than average and that this, when added to the size of the schools, will produce small academic 6ths. If, then, able pupils are to be given their fair chance, as equality of opportunity demands that they should be, special arrangements will be required to ensure this.

It can be added that these conclusions accord with evidence from America. There the experience in the great cities is that Comprehensive schools are neighbourhood schools and an educationalist with very close acquaintance of the scene has written, "the high ability student has always been penalised in our Comprehensive schools". What, then should be done?

9. **Immigrants as a Social Problem**

(a) It is not possible to consider solutions without turning first to this, the more fundamental, problem. Briefly, it reduces to a simple question - is it, or is it not, in the interests of the country, faced with the complexities of the racial issue to allow events to take their course? If so, the outcome so far as Haringey Education is concerned, will be that some schools will become predominantly immigrant, which will in itself reinforce divisions, and if, as the evidence already given suggests, some of these schools are weaker academically than others, that will make matters worse.

(b) It is hard not to conclude that events should not be allowed to take their course. But any attempt to arrest the course of events is fraught with peril. A head-on assault on the problem, whereby a limit is set on the percentage of immigrants in any one school, will fairly certainly produce an outcry - immigrants not permitted the school of their choice will shout about racial discrimination, non-immigrants will object that their children are being unfairly handicapped.

(c) Thus a less direct solution must be sought, and those that seem possible are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

10 **Categorising of Schools**

(a) Under this system, some schools would have sixth forms, others would not, and the effect of this would be for the latter to become Comprehensive Secondary Moderns, with able pupils transferring at the 6th form stage.

(b) The advantages of this scheme are:

(i) the concentration of scarce teaching and expensive equipment resources, and therefore,
(11) satisfactory teaching at the 6th form level over a wide range of subjects. BUT

(c) The disadvantages are clear: for

(i) the solution does not begin to touch the immigrant problem between the ages of 11 - 16;

(ii) pupils in the Grammar Comprehensives from the start would be at a considerable advantage and the majority of parents would be opting for these;

(iii) recruitment of staff would be uneven in quality, with the well qualified shunning the Secondary Modern Comprehensive;

(iv) if the School Leaving Age is raised in 1972, those schools would be left to cope with what could prove a very awkward rump.

11. Banding by ability

(a) This system is used by I.L.E.A. Pupils at the primary stage are classified in ability groups and the Comprehensives are allocated an agreed proportion of each group so that they cover the whole range of ability. Parents choose schools under a degree of direction from Primary School Head Teachers.

(b) While this method is not a complete solution to the racial problem, it helps to meet it indirectly through ensuring that the varying ability ranges are more evenly distributed among schools, and this makes the schools stronger Educational Units. The method certainly ensures that all are given an equal chance at the start of the Secondary stage. BUT

(c) It does require roughly the same 6th form provision in all schools, it is not certain to produce really powerful 6th forms (this depends on the quality of intelligence in Haringey and it seems that it must involve some limitation on parental choice which is a principle written into the 1944 Education Act).

12. Sixth Form College

(a) Strong arguments can be adduced in its favour for:

(i) It fits into a Comprehensive pattern;

(ii) Administratively, it is attractive in the economical use of staff and of laboratory and library resources;

(iii) It will provide a full range of courses;
(iv) It meets the current theory that earlier maturity makes the 16 year old unsuitable material for the disciplined atmosphere of a school.

BUT

(b) As strong, or stronger, arguments can be brought on the other side:

(i) To remove the ablest staff is to impoverish the Secondary Schools; these people teach below the 6th form level and their influence is disseminated throughout a school. Secondary teaching could become a secondary profession;

(ii) Similarly the influence of a 6th form is felt all through a school;

(iii) It is not clear that the scheme would encourage pupils to stay on at 16;

(iv) In any case continuous assessment of pupils and continuously planned courses go by the board, and continuity of contact between school and parent will be lost;

(v) A two year period is too short a period to establish roots; there will be no community;

(vi) It can be said that 16 is a bad age for transfer and could be described as the age of maximum insecurity. How far are the arguments from earlier maturity valid? Is identification with a peer group the best way to become mature? Is not membership of a school community, with its restraints and responsibilities, a better way?

Briefly, this solution is not to be "taken in hand unadvisably, lightly or wantonly". Nor could it be done without having a purpose-built College - and the feed into it from neighbourhood Secondary Schools could work out very unevenly.

13. Conclusions

(a) All the 11 schools have a G.S. base. This is a strength which is prudent to use;

(b) Our problems would increase if some schools developed into second class institutions;

(c) Neither the categorising of schools nor a 6th Form College deals with the immigrant problem at the roots;
(d) The banding scheme does in some degree, though it does not guarantee that all intelligent pupils will have the best possible chance. Nevertheless,

(e) At the present early stage in Comprehensive Education when further upheavals are to avoided, this is, in my opinion, the solution to adopt though two corollaries are important:

(i) Streaming, after the second year in a Comprehensive School, is essential;

(ii) Some rationalisation of 6th form courses must be introduced for efficiency and economy.

A.J.F. Doulton
13 January, 1969.
THE ASSOCIATION OF BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS
The rise of the Black Supplementary School Movement over the past fifteen years or more has been a direct result of the failure of the British Education System to educate our children adequately. This movement which started from very small beginnings in the London Borough of Haringey quickly gained momentum and spread spontaneously across the length and breadth of the country as the black community felt the need to take the initiative to correct this neglect.

It was not only in the area of the academic subjects that the system had failed our children. It had and has continued to disregard the cultural contribution which the black community was and is making to the society generally. Thus in an attempt to deny the existence of a valid black culture it had tried desperately to assimilate our black children into the so-called British culture and by so doing undermine the self-concept and identity of the black child.

This gross act of denigration and de-culturalisation of the black community by the British education system helped to determine the kind of educational philosophy and programme that has developed within the Black Supplementary School movement.

This philosophy underlines the importance of black history and culture to the development of the social cultural and intellectual development of the black child. It underscores the crucial role which black civilization has played throughout the ages and will continue to play in the development of present-day societies the world over.

The philosophy further attempts to reverse the misguided notions held by British educators concerning the education of the black child. It emphasises the need for a different perspective to curriculum development within the schools. The new approach contends, that Black culture has a valid place in British education. It also recognises and endorses the fact that it must be embedded in the whole fabric of British Society and be given its proper place in world history and culture.

In addition to the philosophical perspective, there has also been the need to provide further support to our children in those academic areas of the curriculum where inadequate teaching has led to the failure of black children acquiring the necessary skills to cope with adult life in this society. Thus, the supplementary schools have attempted to respond to this failure by mobilising the resources within the black community in order to supplement our children's education in the three R's as well as in social and political history.

Functioning in the first instance as separate and individual groups the need for closer and more effective collaboration soon made itself very evident. Hence, the birth of the new Association of Black Supplementary Schools as an umbrella organization to which the individual Supplementary Schools could refer for advice, help and guidance. This association is not unique in itself, but it is hoped that with determination and will of all those representatives from the affiliated bodies this organization will grow and develop.
2. **NAME:** THE NAME OF THE ASSOCIATION SHALL BE THE ASSOCIATION OF BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

3. **AIM:** To foster among black people, pride in their identity and background and through the SSM to equip our young black people with the social, educational, and political skills necessary for their development, progress and ultimate success in this society.

**OBJECTIVES:**

a. To co-ordinate the work of all Supplementary Schools who are affiliated to the Association.

b. To provide training for all workers who are involved in Supplementary Schools.

c. To provide suitable persons who can act as Visitors/advisers to Supplementary Schools.

d. To compile and maintain a register of all persons who are willing to participate in the work of Supplementary Schools.

e. To collaborate with Black Teachers Associations, for example, the Caribbean Teachers Association (where appropriate) and/or any other agencies to provide adequate training for personnel.

f. To give advice and assistance where necessary in the raising of funds for the efficient administration of Supplementary Schools.

g. To be a media resource service and to assist in the dissemination of information to parents, workers and teachers at the discretion of the Association.

h. To set up a careers' advisory and counselling service.

i. To work jointly with interested organizations and other appropriate bodies conducting seminars, conferences etc. for the benefit of parents, students and staff.

j. To support and make representation on behalf of members in their daily educational and other allied problems.

k. To work as a pressure group on behalf of members when and if necessary.

l. To counter-act where it occurs, the detrimental effects of British schooling on black children.
MEMBERSHIP

There shall be three types of membership:

(i) Affiliated membership
(ii) Individual membership
(iii) Associate membership

4. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

4.1. AFFILIATED MEMBERSHIP

Supplementary Schools may apply for membership and when given nomination elect two members as delegate representatives to represent the said organization and if elected to the Executive to play a full part in the running of the Management Committee Members shall be bound by the constitution and rules of the association.

4. (ii) Membership shall be renewable annually through the payment of the annual subscription fee.

4.2 (ii) INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

Individuals who support the aims and objects of the Association, provided they are not already members of an affiliated organisation may apply for membership.

4.2. (iii) ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

Individuals who support the aims and objectives of the Association but who are debarred from full individual membership, may apply for associate membership without voting rights.

4.3. Subscription Membership Fees

(i) Affiliated Membership
Affiliated organization shall pay a fee of £5.00 per annum.

(ii) Individual Membership
Individual members shall pay an annual subscription fee of £2.00.

(iii) Subscription fees are subject to review and may be altered from time to time.

5. OFFICERS

The Council shall elect at its annual general meeting a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary, and may appoint paid officers as it may require for the conduct of its business.

5.1. Executive

(i) The executive shall be elected consisting of at least ten members of the association.

(ii) The officers of the council, i.e. the Chairperson Vice-Chairperson Secretary, Treasurers shall be ex-officio members of the Executive and the remaining members shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting.
6. **DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE**

(i) To carry out the general policy and business of the Association.

(ii) To provide for the administration and management and control of the affairs and the property of the Association.

(iii) Vacancies in the Executive may be filled temporarily by the Executive, and any persons so appointed shall hold office until the conclusion of the next Annual General Meeting.

6. **POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE**

The executive shall have powers to terminate membership of any organisation or individual whose continued membership is not in the opinion of the executive, conducive to the best interests of the association. The organisation/member concerned shall have the right to appear before the Executive at the meeting at which the question of his membership is being decided and shall have a right to appeal to a general meeting within a period of six months.

7. **SUB COMMITTEES**

The Executive shall have power to appoint sub-committees for any purpose and the Chairperson or his nominee. The sub-committee shall report directly to the executive committee.

8. **MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION**

(i) The association shall meet at least three monthly and more often at the discretion of the Executive Committee at least one third of the membership of the Association shall be entitled to call an Extra-ordinary general meeting which shall be held within 21 days of a request being received by the Secretary or Chairman.

(ii) The Executive shall meet at least once per month.

9. **QUORUM**

The Executive Committee shall consist of not less than ten (10) members of which any four (4) members including at least one officer present shall constitute quorum of the Executive Committee.

(ii) The quorum of the association shall consist of at least one third of the membership.

10. **ASSOCIATION YEAR OF AUDIT**

(i) The Associations financial year shall run from April to March in every year.

(ii) At least once in every financial year the accounts of the Association shall be audited.
(ii) BANKING A/C

(i) The Association shall maintain such banking account as it thinks fit into which shall be paid forthwith all sums of cash or cheques belonging to the Association.

(iii) Cheques shall be signed by any two of the following four officers: Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary or Treasurer.

DISSOLUTION

11. The Association may at any time be dissolved by a resolution passed by a two third majority vote at any extraordinary meeting of the Association. A resolution to dissolve the Association shall not be valid unless:

(i) It has been proposed and seconded by members of the Association.

(ii) Notice of intention of the proposer and the seconder to move the same has been given to the secretary not less than six (6) weeks before the meeting at which it is proposed to move the same.

(iii) Notice of the said intention to move the resolution has been given in writing to all members of the Association by the Secretary not less than twenty-one (21) days before the meeting at which it is proposed to move the same. Any cash or property remaining after the payment of debts and liabilities, such property shall be given or transferred to such other institution or institutions having objectives similar to some or all of the objectives of the Association as the Association may determine.

12. AMENDMENTS/ALTERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

This constitution confers the authority to amend/alter any of its provisions at its annual General Meeting. An amended resolution shall not be valid unless:

(i) It has been proposed and seconded by members of the Association.

(ii) Notice of the intention of the proposer and the seconder to move the same has been given to the Secretary not less than six (6) weeks before the meeting at which it is proposed to move the same.

(iii) Notice of the said intention to move the amending resolution has been given in writing to all members of the association by the Secretary not less than twenty-one (21) days before the meeting at which it is proposed to move the same.

(iv) The motion is carried by two-thirds majority of voting members present.

13. NOTICE

(i) Any notice shall be deemed served to any member having been sent pre-paid through the post addressed to the last known address of such member.

(ii) An accidental omission to send a notice of any meeting to a member of the Association or of the Executive shall not invalidate the proceedings at such a meeting.
**DISCIPLINARY ACTION**

14. (i) A member of the Executive Committee who has missed three consecutive meetings without an acceptable apology shall be assumed to have resigned from the Executive Committee as from the date of the third absence, unless in the meantime the Executive agrees to grant that member leave of absence.

(ii) The Executive shall have power to summon, before it, any member officer, or member of the Resolution and call on the same to account for any monies of the organisation or for any gross laxity of conduct or dereliction of duty or refusal to pay contributions or unreasonable opposition to the aims and objects of the organisation, and if such person fails to satisfy the Executive on such matters or unreasonably fails to attend, the Association may suspend or expel such person from the Association provided that two other members shall be present at such disciplinary hearing.

(iii) Organisations or individual members who fail without good reason after repeated requests to pay their membership fees will be disaffiliated from membership.

15. **VOTING**

At meetings of the Association every voting member present shall have one vote, and in the case of equality of votes the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

16. **WHO IS ENTITLED TO VOTE**

All fully paid up members and members whose subscription/membership fee is not more than 3 calendar months in arrears.

17. **EXTRA-ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING**

Any fifteen (15) members of the Council by signed requisition can call on the Executive Committee to convene an extra-ordinary general meeting which shall be held within 14 days of the request being received by the Secretary of Chairman.

18. **STANDING ORDERS**

This constitution empowers the Executive to make standing orders as the Executive sees fit.
APPENDIX 3

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PUBLICITY MATERIAL RELATING TO SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLING
ROBERT HART MEMORIAL SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

The Supplementary School was established as a major arm of the Teaching and Educational Project of the Caribbean Teachers' Association. Its overall aim is to help black children achieve their full potential in the educational system by providing additional necessary tuition and support. Parents are also encouraged and supported in their efforts to ensure that their children take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the system.

HELP WITH

- Basic skills in literacy/numeracy and computers
- Essay/report writing, study of literature
- Public examination courses
- Help with revision

For further information, contact:
TEACHER IN CHARGE
ROBERT HART MEMORIAL SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL
6/7/8 HORDLE PROMENADE EAST, PECKHAM, LONDON SE15
TELEPHONE: 01-701 7668

Caribbean Teachers Association
The Chairman and Members of the Board of Management
of A Teaching and Educational Project
cordially invite you to the opening of
(a) The Association's Meeting Place
(b) The Project's Supplementary School
on Friday, 14th May, 1982, from 6.00 p.m. to 8.00 p.m.
at 567 Hordle Promenade East, North Peckham Estate,
Sumner Road, Peckham, S.E.15; opposite the “Apple Tree,” Pub.
His Worship the Mayor of Southwark, Councillor Charles Coveney
has kindly consented to declare the premises open
and Canon Wilfred Wood has kindly promised to attend
and to ask God's Blessing on the endeavour

R.S.V.P. The Secretary, CTA, 8 Camberwell Green, S.E.5 Tel.: 01-708 1293
One of the main objects of this Project is to take to black children and young people the simple message that since we live in this country, then we ought to do so with purpose. If we intend to survive then we must achieve academically in order that we may contribute to the debate about our own future well being. They need to be convinced of the commonsense inherent in the full exploitation of the educational resources at their disposal.

There can be no opting out of the system since such action would result in their remaining at the bottom of this society, a fate to which we feel they should not resign themselves.
What is TEP all about?
Black Children and Young People

As teachers we seek answers to the contradiction that the black child is usually a student in the West Indies but usually an underachiever in England and therefore work to eliminate the effects which cause this underachievement.

TEP at work

We assist in solving educational or social problems.

In our supplementary school, classes are organised to all levels. The emphasis is on the work of the secondary school.

We aim to alleviate any effects of disaffection. We help to prepare pupils for public examinations. We share our expertise with other supplementary schools.

We also assist bright black pupils to develop their talents to the full.

We provide weekend seminars and teach-ins.

Advocacy

In disciplinary matters a child is sometimes in confrontation with authority and it is not usual to find the school administrator acting as accuser, prosecutor, chief witness and judge, all at the same time.

This is acceptable when the teacher functions in loco parentis. Where the penalties so frequently inflicted, however, are suspension and even expulsion from the school community, then we see it as our duty to assist.
ROBERT HART
SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL
Robert Hart Supplementary School is seeking Tutors for flourishing Supplementary School. Tutors are urgently required for French, English, Science and Maths.
Contact Mr G De La Mothe 01-701 7668.

SLOUGH SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL
Slough Supplementary School are urgently seeking Tutors for the following subjects: French, English, Science and Maths.
Any members interested should contact David Lowers on 0753 222857.

CARIBBEAN SATURDAY SCHOOL
C.S.S. requires volunteer tutors for Saturday School 10.30am—3.00pm in Maths, English, Creative Arts and History.
Contact: 70 Margetson House, Stanstead Hill, London N16. 01-739 0840.

SIMBA COMMUNITY PROJECT
Simba Community Project are about to start a new Supplementary School and would be happy to hear from any member willing to help as Tutors.
They can be contacted at 237 Oxbridge Road, W12 or on 01-740 6879.