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Racism in Memories of British Schooling, 1960-1989

Joe Hopkinson

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in collaboration with the Heritage Consortium for a PhD in History

August 2021

Content Warning: Racist terms are quoted regularly in this work. The content throughout covers distressing themes.

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Statement about the author's publications

This thesis includes small amounts of material which also features in two published articles and my MA by research:

Joe Hopkinson, 'A Sociological Tableau of Inter-Ethnic Relations In Huddersfield: The Duncan Scott Archive At Heritage Quay', *Postgraduate perspectives on the past* 2, 1 (2016).

Joe Hopkinson, 'Dispersing the Problem: Immigrant Children in Huddersfield, 1964-1975', an unpublished MA thesis at The University of Huddersfield (2017).

Joe Hopkinson, 'Dispersal Bussing in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s: Solving 'the Problem' of Immigrant Children', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 29 (2018/2019), pp. 59-69.

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Abstract

This thesis is an oral history analysis of multiethnic education history in Britain which emphasises, above all, the experiences, and memories of the visible minoritised people who lived through it as children. It details eighteen interviews with people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds who either arrived during the era of mass post-war migration or were born in Britain to earlier migrants. Each was educated in the Liverpool area or the West Yorkshire towns that formed the Metropolitan Borough of Kirklees in 1974. The focus is the interviewees' experiences of racial discrimination in the British education system during the three decades after 1960, and how their memories were shaped by popular discourses surrounding race at the time and ever since. These issues are linked to the development of a multiethnic education discourse in Britain and changes that were taking place in the language of race and race-thinking in post-war Britain. A range of theories from the Sociology of Education, and Critical Race Theory in particular underpin the oral history analysis which is contextualised by a variety of primary sources relating to racism and multiethnic education in Britain. The conclusions emphasise that racism was uniquely unpleasant for visible minoritised schoolchildren during this period in history because of the enduring strength of traditional eugenic style racist views combined with the development of new, systemic, covert forms of racism. It is also argued that popular narratives about race have shaped collective memory in Britain in ways which have to varying degrees gaslighted the interviewees into an ambiguity surrounding their own experiences of racism.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the eighteen interviewees to this research and writing. I am thankful to them for their willingness to give up their time and to help me produce this thesis. I am also profoundly grateful to my supervisor Lindsey Dodd for helping me throughout my time at the University of Huddersfield from being an undergraduate to completing this PhD, and to my co-supervisors Wendy Webster, and Manuel Madriaga, and former supervisor Paul Ward. Thank you also to the Heritage Consortium, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, my colleagues at the University of Huddersfield's History department, my wife Mayra and the rest of my family.

Introduction

This thesis draws on eighteen interviews with British visible minoritised people who attended school in either Liverpool or Kirklees in England between 1960 and 1989 to examine their schooltime experiences of racism, and how they remember them as adults. Interviewee Humayun Mirza, who migrated from Pakistan to Liverpool and started school there aged six in 1963 perhaps answered both questions best when he stated, 'my generation bore the brunt of it'.[1] The analysis is produced through contextualising oral history data with a range of archival sources.[2] It considers how educational racism developed in Britain from the perspectives of the victims. Liverpool and Kirklees were chosen due to their contrasting migration histories, and because many existing studies focus on the South of England or the Midlands.[3] A small number of visible minoritised children were present in British schools from the outset of mass education in the 1870s, but considerable numbers of New Commonwealth migrants first arrived in Britain from the late 1950s onwards. Some brought their children and others birthed what are now considered the first generations of British-born infants with Asian or African heritage. Traditional white supremacist thinking remained

[1] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.

[2] Archival research was conducted at Liverpool Central Library, the West Yorkshire Archive Service, the University of Liverpool's archive service, and the University of Huddersfield's Heritage Quay archive service. Gale's online British newspaper archives provided numerous sources. National multiethnic education sources were found in the libraries of British universities or online at The Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Collection for example. Many were produced by the Institute for Race Relations, the Community Relations Committee, the Commission for Racial Equality, or various individual researchers and antiracist activists. They contain useful qualitative data such as quotes and field notes relating to the perspectives of White British teachers, and experiences of British visible minoritised schoolchildren from 1960-1989. A substantial personal collection of textual sources was also donated to this research. The Jane Lane Archive: a collection of British multiethnic education texts from a founding member of several antiracist groups including the Anti-Racist Teacher's Network, and author of *Young Children and Racial Justice: Taking Action for Racial Equality in the Early Years – Understanding the Past, Thinking about the Present, Planning for the Future* (London, 2008). Many of Jane's materials were in the process of being donated to Heritage Quay prior to the disruption of the Covid-19 pandemic.

[3] This is unsurprising because of the large percentage of Britain visible minoritised populations residing in London and other areas of the South of England which is why the Black Cultural Archives are located in Brixton.

highly evident among Britain's leaders and general population during this time, but it was also a period when covert, systemic, and institutional racisms were developing through the efforts of various local establishments to assimilate visible minoritised newcomers.[4] Children like Humayun were therefore constantly exposed to a confusing mix of traditional white supremacist racism, and the emerging covert, institutional, and systemic racisms. Race also became highly politicised in Britain during this period so, as Humayun's comment suggests, educational racism was uniquely heightened and unpleasant for visible minoritised schoolchildren from 1960 to 1989.

Experiencing racism as a child can already be confusing but White British people have consistently denied the existence or severity of British racism throughout the interviewees' lives.[5] When a group or individual is manipulated in this way it is a form of psychological abuse known as gaslighting. This is where the victim or victims are made to question their own memories, perception, and sanity. What is described here amounts to mass racial gaslighting because it seems that many visible minoritised people have been made to doubt the severity and existence of their own experiences with British racism.[6] While some interviewees implied or even stated like Humayun that their 'generation bore the brunt', others to varying degrees presented their memories of racism equivocally. The white identity

[4] Covert racism is racism that is not necessarily obvious, like a teacher who never voices racist thoughts or uses racist terms yet discriminates against visible minoritised pupils by assuming they are less intelligent and providing them with less opportunities. Institutional racism is where these discriminatory practices are often tolerated and even protected within an institutional setting, such as a school. Systemic racism is the interaction of racism across the different institutions of society including the education system, the criminal justice system and healthcare. It was well established by Sir William Macpherson that Britain has significant problems with systemic and institutional racism. See 'The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry', Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty (February, 1999), p. 47. Subsequent research by authors such as David Gillborn demonstrate that little changed in reality after the report: 'A change of mind? The retreat from the Lawrence inquiry', in David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (London, 2008), pp. 130-131.

[5] Throughout this thesis White British is used as an ethnic identifier. 'White' is also used at times without capitalisation as it is not an ethnic identifier.

[6] For an explanation of racial gaslighting see Angelique M. Davis and Rose Ernst, 'Racial Gaslighting', *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7, 4 (2019) pp. 761-774.

of the author-interviewer likely played some role in their reticence, but the ambiguity also seemingly relates to how they learned at school to cognitively distance themselves from racism as a survival technique.[7] The interviewees sometimes struggled to discuss racism – despite experiencing a great deal of it – in part because they have learned as children to cognitively distance themselves from its affects. There is also the shame associated with victimhood, and the silencing effect of White British people denying the existence of systemic racism. Discussing these sensitive issues was managed through sharing authority with the interviewees and coproducing the thesis with those who were willing. Each of their featured statements and the author's analysis of their words was discussed prior to submission. Their comments are noted throughout. This was done to ease their reticence to discuss these topics, and avoid unpleasant issues with interpretative conflict, but also to ensure that the interviewees felt that their memories were represented accurately and sensitively.

British people's memories of racism are shaped by popular narratives such as the post-racial myth. The impact of the myth upon the interviewees is central to this thesis. Remi Joseph-Salisbury describes 'The "post-racial" turn' as 'the transition into an epoch in which, particularly among whites, race is no longer believed to be a determinant of life chances'.[8] The term was first used in America in 1971, but became a regular discussion point in the late 2000s following the election of Barack Obama as the first Black President of the United States.[9] Similarly, the marriage of Meghan Markle into the British royal family in 2018 was

[7] This idea is related to Richard Majors and Janet M. Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992) and is described thoroughly in the methodological section.
[8] Remi Joseph-Salisbury, 'Black mixed-race men, perceptions of the family, and the cultivation of "post-racial" resilience', *Ethnicities*, 18, 1 (2018), p. 89.
[9] The first reference to a 'post-racial' America occurred in this article: James T. Wootens, 'Compact Set Up for "Post-Racial" South', *The New York Times* (5 October, 1971). See also, Catarina Fritz and John Stone, 'A Post-Racial America: Myth or Reality?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32, 6 (2009), pp. 1083-1088.

held up as evidence that Britain was post-racial.[10] The idea is linked by Kalwant Bhopal to the dominance of neoliberalism in Western politics because an 'emphasis on the privatisation of goods and services has resulted in the dilution of the importance of inequalities such as race in society'.[11] The post-racial myth has also gained credence through the seeming decline of overt racism in Britain in recent decades.[12] British systemic racism does however remain serious, but it is less visible and harder to understand than overt racism.[13] The post-racial myth makes it even harder to perceive. The particular form of the myth is recent, but in Britain it has longstanding roots in popular conceptions of national values which portray British people as liberal-minded progressive believers in fair play.[14] Although gaining new adherents and life in recent decades, the idea that Britain has few or no race relations problems has existed for many years.[15] Newspapers at the turn of the twentieth century argued that formerly enslaved Americans of African descent would be treated better in Britain, while stories about the good treatment of Black military servicemen in British pubs during the Second World War continue to foster the idea that White British people are less

[10] Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly, '"Post-race" racisms in the narratives of "Brexit" voters', *The Sociological Review*, 67, 5 (2019), p. 971.
[11] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-Racial Society* (Bristol, 2018), p. 8.
[12] Robert Ford, 'Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?', *British Journal of Sociology*, 59 (2008), pp. 609-636.
[13] *Race Disparity Audit Summary Findings from the Ethnicity Facts and Figures Website* (London, 2017). *The Lammy Review: An Independent Review into the Treatment of, and Outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic individuals in the Criminal Justice System* (London, 2017).
[14] An early example of the idea that Britain has no problems with racism appeared in the following article, 'American News', *The Daily Mail*, (19 October, 1896), p. 5. The author cites an American correspondent suggesting 'that American Negroes should emigrate to Britain' as evidencing 'the absence of racial prejudice in England'.
[15] Of course, the recent rises in hate crimes recorded following the Brexit vote, and the rise in popularity of the Black Lives Matter movements has significantly affected popular debates, but throughout the 2000s and most of the 2010s the idea that Britain was a post-racial, or soon to be post-racial society was widespread: Trevor Phillips, 'Why Britain is now the LEAST Racist Country in Europe', *The Daily Mail* (19 January 2009). Aufa Hirsch, 'General election 2010: If Britain really is post-racial, why is the election so white?', *The Guardian* (27 April 2010). Michael Collins, 'Why We Should Question the Term 'Institutional Racism', *The Independent* (19 March 2015); Clarissa Tan, 'Britain Has Many Major Problems - Racism Isn't One of Them', *The Spectator*, (15 February 2014). Douglas Murray, 'Meghan Markle and the Myth of 'Racist' Britain', *The Spectator*, online blog (May, 2018).

racist than white Americans.[16] These narratives are collective memories which take precedence over alternative memories stressing the severity of British racism. This creates social unity by spreading the agreeable idea of Britain as a non-racist society.[17] As a form of collective memory the post-racial myth thus invalidates visible minoritised people's experiences of racism by positioning them outside the popular discourse.

This research was conducted at a time when British public opinion on systemic racism was polarised by events such as the 2016 vote to leave the European Union, the Windrush scandal, the murder of George Floyd in the US, the presidency of Donald Trump, and the global rise of the Black Lives Matter movement.[18] Following Britain's European referendum the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) noted that Brexit had seemingly 'taken the shame out of racism' and that just like in the 1970s, communities up and down the country are experiencing an upsurge in racist violence.[19] Patrick English noted in 2019 that, 'Throughout a large literature on public attitudes toward immigration in Britain there is a consensus that, in recent years at least, opinion toward immigrants has generally been worsening'.[20] On the other hand, British racism may change and fluctuate, but in the words of William Marsden the 'deeply entrenched […] feelings on race among the general mass of the [British] population' have been 'reproduced through the generations, fostering a cumulative and widespread and covertly racist consciousness that is difficult for antiracist education to

[16] Emily Charles, '"They Treated us Royally", Black Americans in Britain during WW2', *The Imperial War Museum*. Alan Rice, 'Black Troops Were Welcome in Britain, but Jim Crow Wasn't: The Race Riot of One Night in June 1943', *The Conversation* (22 June, 2018).
[17] Maurice Halbwachs, 'On Collective Memory', in Lynn Abrams *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010) p. 96
[18] Patrick English, 'Visibly Restricted: Public Opinion and the Representation of Immigrant Origin Communities Across Great Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42, 9 (2019), p. 1442.
[19] Ian Grosvenor, 'What Do They Know of England Who Only England Know': A Case for An Alternative Narrative of the Ordinary in Twentyfirst-Century Britain', *History of Education*, 47, 2, (2018), p. 148.
[20] English, 'Visibly restricted', p. 1442.

palliate'.[21] In an environment where racism is supposedly not a problem, yet systemic racial prejudice persists, it can be difficult for people to openly discuss their experiences of racism without feeling like they are attacking the reputation of their own, often beloved, nation. The presence of a White British interviewer make may these feelings particularly acute. Some interviewees were naturally unwilling to recall unpleasant childhood memories, and cautious about labelling something as racist, even their own experiences. Memories of racism can be highly personal, but because the interviewees primarily identify as British their reticence to recall racism also indicates their national pride and the polarised nature of race in contemporary British society.[22]

'Visible minoritised people' is used throughout this thesis as it is an appropriate scholarly descriptor for those who are discriminated against because of their perceived race. David Gillborn argues that 'minoritised' is more accurate than 'minorities' because it emphasises that while ethnic minorities outnumber white people globally they have been minoritised in terms of access to wealth and power.[23] This is why 'visible minoritised people' more precisely highlights racial inequality than other popular contemporary phrases such as People of Colour (PoC) or BAME (Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic).[24] An inclusive definition of 'black' also became popular among British antiracists during the 1980s.[25] A similar term remains popular in Liverpool although as interviewee Ray Said noted, 'in Liverpool "Black" didn't mean the same that it meant in London. There it tended to mean

[21] William E. Marsden, 'Rooting Racism into the Educational Experience of Childhood and Youth in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Centuries', *History of Education*, 19, 4 (1990), p. 353.
[22] Each interviewee holds a form of British identity. Most used a multiple British identity such as Black British or British Asian, whereas some preferred a localised variant such as Liverpool Black.
[23] David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (London, 2008), p. 2.
[24] For more on these terms see: 'Stonewall BAME/PoC LGBTQ Role Models programmes', *Stonewall* (2020), https://www.stonewall.org.uk/sites/default/files/stonewall_bame-poc_lgbtq_role_models_faqs.pdf.
[25] Tariq Modood, 'Political Blackness and British Asians', *Sociology*, 28, 4 (1994), p. 859.

African Caribbean. In Liverpool it meant anyone that wasn't white'.[26] Authors quoted throughout this work use 'black' in this way, but it has become less favoured since being rejected by British Asian communities.[27]

Invisible minoritised people, such as white European or Irish migrants, are not the subjects of this research although they often faced similar prejudices.[28] Kathleen Paul argues that policymakers treated newcomers 'as belonging to different communities of Britishness' and emphasised that they experienced Britishness differently due to this hierarchy conditioning their ability to gain wealth and privilege.[29] Visible minoritised people were also undoubtedly the focal point of post-war immigration debates.[30] White migrants from Europe, Ireland and the Dominions consistently arrived in greater numbers, yet the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968 was passed to keep out British Kenyan Asian people.[31] According to Jodi Burkett, African Caribbean and South Asian newcomers 'became synonymous' with the word 'immigrant'.[32] This is partly because white migrants only become visible in Britain when they speak. After learning English and losing their accents their children are, in the words of Andrew Pilkington, 'easily accepted and assimilated into British society after a generation'.[33] In contrast, people of African or Asian descent remain visible targets for discrimination regardless of how they speak. The popular usage of the phrase 'coloured

[26] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.
[27] See above and also Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35 (2001), p.309.
[28] Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 155-156. Webster notes White British displeasure at marriages between European migrants and local women, and that signs which refused accommodation to 'coloureds' also often said 'No Irish'.
[29] Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era* (London, 1997), pp. xi-xii.
[30] Rob Witte, *Racist Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Britain, France and the Netherlands* (New York, 1996), p. 26.
[31] Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), p. 15
[32] Jodi Burkett, *Constructing Post-Imperial Britain: Britishness, 'Race' and the Radical Left in the 1960s* (London, 2013), p. 6.
[33] Andrew Pilkington, *Racial Disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (Hampshire, 2003), pp. 42-46.

immigrants' during the post-war period further indicates the centrality of visible racial difference to shaping White British reactions to newcomers and their descendants.[34]

The case study regions in this work are both English, but the writing has some relevance to the rest of Britain. Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn write that despite partial devolution of education policy 'the systems in Scotland, Wales, and England share many key features, not least their failure adequately to address racism and race inequality'.[35] Nevertheless, this research does not claim to thoroughly engage with the nuances of experiencing racism throughout Scotland, Wales, and particularly Northern Ireland – which was exempt from British antiracist legislation until 1997.[36] It is also necessary to state that the experiences of British visible minoritised people like the interviewees in this project are not reducible to race. Their lives were uniquely shaped by different social forces, circumstances, and their own choices. Visible minoritised schoolchildren throughout Britain from 1960 to 1989 were nevertheless affected by similar issues because they were seen and treated as non-white-non-British others. At school they faced the negation of their identities, othering, and baffling experiences of overt and covert racism. Many learned as they progressed through the British schooling system that different authoritative voices including their teachers and peers considered them un-British, or even racially inferior. This research highlights that this was an unpleasant and widespread experience with an enduring legacy in Britain.

The introduction is followed by a historiographical section and methodological discussion. Chapter three delineates the British racial paradigm during this era and discusses developments in race-thinking and the language of race from 1960-1989. It suggests why these three decades were unique while demonstrating that continuities in race-thinking were

[34] See chapter three for more on this.
[35] Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn (eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education* (London, 2004), p. 4.
[36] Jack Crangle, 'Left to Fend for Themselves': Immigration, Race Relations and the State in Twentieth Century Northern Ireland, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 36, 1 (2018), p. 20.

more significant than developments in the language of race. Chapter four links these ideas to the shallow nature of progress in British multiethnic education practices during this period. It emphasises the consistent renewal of assimilationist principles and describes how the press collaborated with Right-leaning politicians to effectively slander antiracism, a point which demonstrates the establishment's unwillingness to tackle racial inequality in education. The chapter concludes by using ideas from Critical Race Theory to explain the true function of British multiculturalism and multiethnic education practices. Chapter five describes historic race relations in Liverpool and Kirklees and contextualises the interviewees' recollections by explaining the severity of racism in those areas from the 1960s to the 1980s. In Liverpool, the discussion comments on long-standing British racism. In Kirklees, it examines how systemic racism rapidly developed in the towns of Batley, Dewsbury, and Huddersfield as large numbers of people from New Commonwealth nations settled there in the post-war period. An argument is also made about the development of localised versions of the post-racial myth in both case study areas which suggests how they link to broader national and international narratives. These initial chapters form the foundations of the oral history analysis which features more prominently thereafter. Their purpose is to reveal the nature of British multiethnic education practices and emphasise that understanding the enduring nature of white supremacist and assimilationist thinking in Britain is key to analysing visible minoritised people's schooltime memories during this period.

Chapter six brings together an archival and oral history analysis to explain how early multiethnic education researchers empathised with the teachers of multiethnic classrooms, and fundamentally collaborated with them to shift blame for underachievement away from British racism and towards visible minoritised families and cultures. It challenges these narratives with the interviewees' memories and describes the substantive disadvantages they faced in their lives outside of school. Chapter seven considers how the interviewees first

became aware of race and experienced othering upon starting school, often on the first day. It predominantly engages with pre-adolescent experiences and discusses how racism develops in children from a young age. The chapter examines the impact of childhood racism and ends by contrasting the experiences of interviewees who started school in Britain at the beginning and end of the period. Chapter eight explains how the school, after first teaching the interviewees that they were different, then taught them that they were inferior, and negated or ignored their experiences of racism. It provides examples of the racism experienced by the interviewees and an analysis of how they remember it to further evoke the enduring impacts. The chapter's final section considers visible minoritised school-leavers finding work during this period, and how discrimination in the job market related to them being taught that they were inferior at school. Chapter nine focuses on how the interviewees resisted racism even while they were taught at school that explicit resistance was bad or could result in them being considered a trouble-causer. It considers how an everyday resilience to racism, or a 'cool pose', was the most common and notable form of resistance available to the interviewees as children. Chapter ten examines how the resilience that the interviewees developed relates to the sometimes ambivalent and ambiguous nature of their childhood memories of racism. It then considers how the post-racial myth has affected the interviewees' narration of their memories of racism in a way which is revealed through their memories of defending their own children again racism.

Chapter 1: Historiography[1]

Despite the passage of almost sixty years since the emergence of a multiethnic education discourse in Britain, few historians have engaged with the subject. Research into British visible minoritised communities proliferated during the 1980s, but for many years these histories have been distanced from mainstream British history and heritage. The publication of the interim and final reports of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (The Rampton Report 1981 and The Swann Report 1985) were key to developing the British academic conversation about race in education. While certainly relevant, a traditional literature review of British multiethnic education studies will not feature here as chapter four discusses the development of the discourse, and features primary source materials from the 1960s to the 1990s. Sociologists of education such as Sally Tomlinson, Richard Majors, Peter Stevens and Gill Crozier have also written comprehensive literature reviews at their point of publication.[2] This chapter first discusses the scant historical writing on the topic, comments on the study of racism and affect in psychology, and then discusses British oral history studies of ethnicity and migration. The second section details general histories of visible minoritised groups in Britain and examines the relevance of early sociological research into their communities.

[1] Some quotations used across this essay were also used in an unpublished literature review produced for the University of Hull in a submission for a postgraduate certificate in Heritage that was a mandatory component of my PhD scholarship with the Heritage Consortium: 'The Experiences of Visible Minoritized Groups at School: A Literature Review', submitted via Turnitin (July, 2018).

[2] Sally Tomlinson, *Ethnic Minorities in British Schools: A Review of the Literature, 1960-82* (London, 1983). Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 3.
Peter A. J. Stevens and Gill Crozier, 'England', in Peter A. J. Stevens and Anthony G. Dworkin (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* (London, 2014), p. 290.

i. British multiethnic education research

The history of the multicultural education in Britain has primarily been written by sociologists who have tended to examine the issue through a policy perspective as opposed to that of the schoolchildren. In 2009 Kevin Myers described this as 'a significant silence in the history of education in Europe' and noted that research in the UK amounted 'to perhaps no more than three significant monographs and a handful of journal articles and essays over forty years'.[3] A similar silence exists in the history of childhood due to the privileging of elite white perspectives in British archives.[4] Ian Grosvenor's 1997 book on racism in British education policy after 1945 is a rare substantial contribution.[5] Grosvenor's primary argument was that assimilationism, the British government's official stance towards all immigrants at the start of the 1960s which emphasised that they should assimilate without altering British society, had been consistently re-packaged despite progressive sounding shifts in official rhetoric from the 1960s to the 1990s. Lorna Chessum's study of the African Caribbean community in Leicester, published in 2000, is another important work that highlighted how African Caribbean children in Leicester were problematised by local education policy and the lack of efforts to challenge this.[6] For Chessum, although multicultural education emerged in Leicester during the 1970s the racist construction of visible minoritised people as problematic immigrants 'was set' which is why multiculturalism developed alongside the old racial system as opposed to replacing it.[7] Myers cites Grosvenor's and Chessum's works as the only two substantial historical works on the experiences of post-war migrant students in British

[3] Kevin Myers, 'Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the History of Education', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45, 6, (2009), p. 801.
[4] Kristine Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 4, 1 (2012), p. 132.
[5] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997).
[6] Lorna Chessum, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority: Making Black Community in Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 189.
[7] Ibid, p. 190.

schools and notes that only three articles in the *History of Education* journal covered the topic since 1970 – two being earlier publications by Grosvenor and Chessum.[8] The ideas of Grosvenor and Chessum are significant to this oral history analysis because they emphasise the lack of progress for visible minoritised schoolchildren, and that the racist characterisations of such students, widely evident during the 1960s, remained influential for decades despite positive sounding changes in rhetoric. Both have continued to write on the subject, and others like Myers have made significant contributions, but few works so far have thoroughly considered the voices and perspectives of visible minoritised people who experienced these issues as children.

Although not a traditional historian Sally Tomlinson is perhaps the most prominent author in the field. Tomlinson has researched multicultural education as a sociologist of education since the 1970s, was notable enough to be invited to give evidence for both the Rampton and Swann reports during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and to advise Tony Blair's Labour government during the 1990s.[9] Tomlinson produced a seminal historical account of race in British education policy in 2005 which charted attempts to re-organise education for visible minoritised children in the 1960s and 1970s, and the subsequent dismantling of multicultural and antiracist education practices by Margaret Thatcher's governments in the 1980s.[10] Tomlinson's recent works discuss the historic failure of the British education system to challenge racial prejudice and how this relates to Britain's vote to

[8] Myers, 'Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the History of Education', p. 806. The articles cited are Ian Grosvenor, 'A Different Reality: Education and the Racialization of the Black Child', *History of Education,* 16, 4 (1987), pp. 299-308. Lorna Chessum, '"Sit Down, You Haven't Reached that Stage Yet": African Caribbean Children in Leicester Schools 1960–74', *History of Education*, 26, 4 (1997), pp. 409-429. Paul Bracey, 'Teaching for Diversity? Exploring an Irish Dimension in the History School Curriculum since c. 1970', *History of Education*, 35, 6 (2006), pp. 619-635.
[9] Sally Tomlinson, 'Race and Education in Britain 1960-77 – An Overview of the Literature', *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, 2, 4 (1977), pp 3-30.
[10] Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (Berkshire, 2008).

the leave the European Union in 2016.[11] Perhaps more than any other researcher, Tomlinson lays bare the issues generated by the deep-rooted failure of the education system to teach more inclusive histories, and challenge racism. Research by British critical race theorists, particularly David Gillborn, also engages with British multiethnic histories, but there are few authors who have dedicated much time to telling the stories of British visible minoritised schoolchildren.[12] Tomlinson's writing and CRT research are also crucial reading for those seeking to understanding the experiences of British visible minoritised schoolchildren.

One facet of British multicultural education history that has recently garnered notable attention from researchers is dispersal school bussing which was essentially the only national government policy relating to race and education to directly affect visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s in Britain. Julia McNeal produced an early essay on what came to be known in the UK by those affected as bussing in 1971 for a chapter on education in an Institute of Race Relations (IRR) survey of racial discrimination in Britain.[13] McNeal was critical yet stated that a lack of information prevented her from denying its effectiveness.[14] Such benign assessments of bussing were undoubtedly influenced by the popularity of desegregation 'busing' in the United States.[15] The controversies over busing and bussing led two US researchers, David Kirp and Lewis Killian, to produce comparative studies in the UK and US.[16] Thereafter, British bussing tended to remain a footnote in multicultural education or historical education research until 2015 when US historian Brett

[11] Sally Tomlinson, *Education and Race from Empire to Brexit* (Bristol, 2019).
[12] Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), pp. 929-946.
[13] Visible minoritised parent groups and other activists who opposed dispersal described the policy as 'bussing'. The US version was spelt with a single 'S'.
[14] Julia G. McNeal, "Education," in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, (London, 1971), p. 121-129.
[15] Matt Delmont, 'Buses from Nowhere: Television and Anti-Busing Activism in 1970s Urban America', *Urban History*, 43, 4 (2016), p. 643. Elaine R. Whitlock, 'Getting Ready for the Future of Brown v. Board of Education, *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 37, 3 (2004), p. 183.
[16] McNeal's claims about Huddersfield are repeated in Lewis M. Killian, 'School Busing in Britain: Policies and Perceptions', *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 2, (1979), p. 189.

Bebber published the first historical article on the policy.[17] Then, in 2019 French sociologist Olivier Esteves published the first book length study of bussing and segregation in English schools.[18] These two authors created powerful critiques of British bussing emphasising its overtly racial nature. Theirs is also some of the first historical research to draw upon interviews with visible minoritised adults who attended school during this period. Bussing is significant because as Roy Lowe argues, it 'stands as an indictment of the deeply racist nature of the way in which the State in Britain construed immigration. In practice, it meant that pupils from immigrant communities were made to feel part of an inferior minority'.[19] The discourse surrounding bussing is relevant to this research because it demonstrates the primary impulses of the national and local authorities towards visible minoritised schoolchildren at the point when multiethnic education discourses and practices first emerged.

The psychology of experiencing racism is another area of study linked to multiethnic education studies. While the economic effects of racism upon visible minoritised people are well-researched, Moin Syed points out 'that psychological research has historically omitted ethnic minorities from its theoretical and research base, and despite strong efforts, not much has changed'.[20] Numerous post-war studies examined racial prejudice in Britain and attempted to estimate the extent of tolerance and prejudice towards migrant newcomers among White British people.[21] Consequently, according to Sumie Okazaki

> in comparison with how much we know about cognition and behaviour of White individuals who hold varying levels of racial bias, we know relatively little about how

[17] Brett Bebber, 'We were just Unwanted": Bussing, Migrant Dispersal, and South Asians in London', *Journal of Social History*, 48, 3 (2015), pp. 635-661.
[18] Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s,* (Manchester, 2019).
[19] Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change 1964-1990* (London, 1997), p. 120.
[20] Moin Syed, 'Why Traditional Metrics May Not Adequately Represent Ethnic Minority Psychology', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12, 6 (2017), p. 1163.
[21] Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), p. 33.

being an actual or potential target of those racially biased encounters affect racial minorities' mental health.[22]

Jessica Decuir-Gunby and Meca Williams describe schools as 'overflowing' with emotions, yet similarly note that 'little research examines how issues of race and racism impact emotions within the school context'.[23] Studies influenced by the affective turn have also somewhat advanced discussions of experiencing racism.[24] Sara Ahmed has for instance produced a powerful analysis of the socially constructed nature of emotions and how they affect those who experience othering and racism.[25] Similarly, Richard Majors and Janet Billson's 'cool pose theory' is imperative for understanding emotional reactions to racism at school. While written to describe a specifically masculine and African reaction to societal racism an inclusive interpretation of the idea suggests the strategies that different groups and individuals develop to resist racism's negative emotional affects.[26] These ideas relate to the emotionally complex nature of British visible minoritised schoolchildren's experiences from 1960 to 1980 but little has been written specifically about that subject.

Oral history projects capturing the experiences of British visible minoritised people have become increasingly popular in recent years and provide useful data to contextualise memories of the early years of multiethnic education in Britain. The pages of the *Oral History* journal which catalogue ongoing British work are replete with projects financed by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) that seek to capture migrant experiences in recent British

[22] Sumie Okazaki, 'Impact of Racism on Ethnic Minority Mental Health', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4, 1 (2009), p. 104.
[23] Jessica T. Decuir-Gunby and Meca R. Williams, 'The Impact of Race and Racism on Students' Emotions: A Critical Race Analysis', in Paul A. Schutz et al (eds.), *Emotion in Education* (London, 2007), p. 205.
[24] Michalinos Zembylas, 'Rethinking Race and Racism as Technologies of Affect: Theorizing the Implications for Anti-Racist Politics and Practice in Education', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 18, 2 (2015), p. 146.
[25] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh, 2004). Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012).
[26] Richard Majors and Janet M. Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992).

history.[27] The HLF funded Manchester based project 'Coming in from the Cold' is a prime example that connects local visible minoritised communities with academic advisors, training, and the resources necessary to produce their own heritage projects.[28] The British Library contains a diverse range of projects on the refugee experience, ethnicity, and migration which cover, for instance, the memories of Vietnamese, Polish, Jewish, and East African Asian British people.[29] The Runnymede trust has a collection of audio interviews and oral history projects linked to a timeline of race and immigration in Britain, but neither archive contains material which relates specifically to education.[30] In Huddersfield a number of projects have captured the voices of local migrants and their descendants.[31] The seventieth anniversary of the partition of India in 2017 prompted a study and accompanying documentary about the oral histories of South Asian migrants in the town, for instance.[32] Similarly, the seventieth anniversary of HMS Empire Windrush bringing Caribbean migrants to Britain stimulated a video oral history project about the Huddersfield's African Caribbean

[27] The following projects featured in this section of the journal from 2017 onwards: The Japanese Association UK's 'Wasurena-gusa' (Forget-Me Not) Project which records video interviews with Japanese people who settled in the UK after 1950. The Modus Arts 'Tape Letters' oral history which identifies, collects, and archives messages recorded on cassette tape from the 1960s to the 1980s by families who migrated from Pakistan to Britain between 1950 and 1970. A great deal of work has been undertaken in Birmingham such as The Library of Birmingham and British Library's collaborative effort, with money from the HLF, in partnership with the British Library, presenting a major exhibition and public programme of events and workshops to record and laud South Asian people's culture in Birmingham's history. Walsall's British Indian project similarly captures local stories from the British Indian community. The University of Leicester's HLF funded migration project 'Making Waves' records multigenerational stories about Black Britons in Nottingham and Leicester.

[28] 'Coming in from the cold', https://cominginfromthecold.com/about/.

[29] 'Oral Histories of Ethnicity and Post-Colonialism', British Library Collection Guides, https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/oral-histories-of-ethnicity-and-post-colonialism.

[30] 'The Struggle for Racial Equality: An Oral History of the Runnymede Trust, 1968-1988', https://www.runnymedetrust.org/histories/index.html.

[31] Ali Nafhesa, *Asian Voices: First Generation Migrants* (Huddersfield, 2011), Paul Huxtable et al, *Sound System Culture: Celebrating Huddersfield's Sound Systems* (London, 2014). Razia Parveen, 'Food to Remember: Culinary Practice and Diasporic Identity', *Oral History*, 44, 1 (2016), pp. 47-56.

[32] Mandeep Samra et al, 'Memories of partition and migration', a trailer for the film can be viewed here: https://filmfreeway.com/ANewLifeInHuddersfield. A member of the team also wrote a dissertation on the research: Jamal, Fatima, 'A New Life in Huddersfield: The Memories of Partition and Migration. What is the legacy of Partition in the diaspora community in the UK?', submitted for an MA by Research (2019) University of Huddersfield. For a national project on the oral histories of partition see Kavita Puri, *Partition Voices: Untold British Stories* (London, 2019).

community in 2018.[33] Comparable recent projects in Liverpool like the Sankofa Project in 2017 have also sought to capture their local area's rich multiethnic oral histories.[34] Overall, such projects are necessary to improving community relations in Britain through creating a shared multicultural British heritage, yet few if any have had a focus on memories of education.

Scholarly oral histories of visible minoritised people in British schools are sparse, but for the last three decades sociologists of education have used interviewing in their research. Heidi Safia Mirza captured the voices of British schoolgirls of African descent in 1992.[35] Tehmina Naz Basit did the same for Muslim British schoolgirls in 1995.[36] Paul Ghuman's 1994 study of South Asian teachers includes British schooltime recollections from the 1950s onwards.[37] More recently, Farzana Shain, and Nicola Rollock analysed how South Asian and Black British girls respectively continue to be discriminated against in the education system.[38] Lauri Johnson's research on Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic British teachers and head teachers provided a similar view.[39] Akin to this research Carole Vincent et al used Critical Race Theory and concepts such as cultural capital to analyse interviews with middle-class Black British parents in 2013.[40] The aforementioned works of Bebber and Esteves were also significant. Although, Bebber did not use original interviews tailored to discuss education. He

[33] See https://www.facebook.com/WindrushFilm/about/ and https://www.communityarchives.org.uk/content/organisation/kirklees-local-tv-kltv-yorkshire-the-years-after.
[34] 'Exploring Liverpool's Black experience', *Sankofa Project* https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/sankofa.
[35] Heidi Safia Mirza, *Young, Female and Black* (London, 1992).
[36] Tehmina Naz Basit, 'Educational, Social and Career Aspirations of Teenage Muslim Girls in Britain: An Ethnographic Case Study', University of Cambridge (1995).
[37] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995).
[38] Farzana Shain, *The Schooling and Identity of Asian Girls* (Stoke-on-Trent, 2003). Nicola Rollock, 'Why Black girls don't matter: Exploring how Race and Gender shape Academic Success in an Inner City School', *Support for learning*, 22, 4 (2007), pp. 197-202.
[39] Lauri Johnson, 'The Lives and Identities of UK Black and South Asian Head Teachers: Metaphors of Leadership', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 45, 5 (2017), pp. 842-862.
[40] Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), pp. 929-946.

drew upon a pre-existing London based South Asian oral history archive.[41] Esteves' original interviews on the other hand only feature heavily in one chapter, and archival research is more significant to his overall analysis.[42] In 2017, I interviewed four visible minoritised people from Huddersfied about their experiences being bussed to school during the 1960s and 1970s for an MA by research. Aspects of the research were later published in Huddersfield's local history society journal.[43] My colleague at Huddersfield Shabina Aslam was bussed to school in Bradford during the late 1960s and began a PhD on the subject in 2017. The aim of her research is to create a piece of verbatim theatre which draws on the memories of other bussed children.[44] Antiracists and sociologists have used interviewing for at least the last three decades, but there is perhaps a new trend among historians for using interviews with British visible minoritised adults to analyse historic schooltime experiences of racism.[45] This application of oral history interviewing is an exciting historiographical development which, when utilised alongside current theory, particularly CRT, places the memories and experiences of visible minoritised people at the centre of British discussions about racism in education.

[41] Bebber quotes numerous oral history interviews from the South Asian Project. The recordings are held at the Gunnersbury Park Museum in London.
[42] 'Babylon by Bus: The Quotidian Experience of Being Bussed', in Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s,* (Manchester, 2019).
[43] Joe Hopkinson, 'Dispersing the Problem: Immigrant Children in Huddersfield, 1964-1975', an unpublished MA thesis at The University of Huddersfield (2017). Some of this work was also used in Joe Hopkinson, 'Dispersal Bussing in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s: Solving 'the Problem' of Immigrant Children', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 29 (2018/2019), pp. 59-69.
[44] John Roberts, 'Appeal to Find Bradford Pupils Who Were "Bussed Out" of Inner-City in Controversial 1960s Dispersal Policy', *The Yorkshire Post* (21 February, 2016).
[45] Some early multiethnic education studies included interviewing visible minoritised children in their methodology, yet often provided few substantial quotes. Gus John and Derek Humphry conducted numerous interviews for their various works on the Black British experience in the 1970s, some of which could be considered early oral histories of race in education. For another oral history of visible minoritised people in Britain which discusses education see Beverley Bryan et al, *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (London, 1986).

ii. Sociological research and general histories

The first academics to write about the history of visible minoritised groups in Britain were social anthropologists who often worked closely with the government and provided the intellectual justification for assimilationist policies.[46] When communities of visible minoritised people began to grow in the UK these individuals, who had often begun their careers studying population groups across the Empire, became 'race relations experts' by studying the new communities and white reactions to them.[47] Participant observation, a methodology in anthropology wherein the researcher studies different communities by participating in them, became popular within British anthropological circles during this time.[48] Western researchers applied its techniques in European colonies among indigenous groups in Africa, the Americas, and Asia during the early twentieth century.[49] In the words of Sue Benson, 'from the 1970s onwards as research funding dried up and countries overseas became less accommodating, they sought to replicate, at home, what they studied abroad.[50] Physical anthropologist Kenneth Little for instance produced an important early work on British race relations which included a section that was perhaps the first attempt to write a history of the presence of visible minoritised people in Britain.[51] During the early post-war era many of these researchers also began to engage with sociology, which was emerging as a

[46] Michael Banton, *The Coloured Quarter: Negro Immigrants in an English City* (London, 1955). Anthony H. Richmond, *The Colour Problem: A Study of Racial Relations* (Middlesex, 1955). Sheila Patterson, *Dark Strangers: A Sociological Study of the Absorption of a Recent West Indian Migrant Group in Brixton* (London, 1963). John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race: Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (London, 1967).
[47] Ian Law, *Racism and Ethnicity: Global Debates, Dilemmas, Directions* (London, 2009), p.69.
[48] Susan Benson, 'Asians Have Culture, West Indians Have Problems: Discourses of Race and Ethnicity in and out of Anthropology', in Terence Ranger (ed.), *Culture, Identity and Politics: Ethnic Minorities in Britain* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 50.
[49] William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago, 1943). This was a pioneering participant observation study which inspired British Social Anthropologists such as Duncan Scott who conducted his PhD research in Huddersfield during the late 1960s and early 1970s.
[50] Benson, 'Asians Have Culture, West Indians Have Problems', p. 50.
[51] Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Race Relations in English Society* (London, 1948).

fully-fledged academic discipline and gaining currency with the establishment.[52] Little's contemporaries like Michael Banton, for example, served on Home Office committees as advisors for race relations and policy.[53] Others worked for think tanks which advised the government, like the Institute for Race Relations (IRR). The IRR published early studies of multiracial education in Britain and conducted large surveys of British race relations.[54] Elliot Rose's and Nicholas Deakin's massive 1969 study, *Colour and Citizenship* for the IRR, was perhaps the most important of these, and was always intended to influence government policy.[55]

It is important to remember that while many early race relations experts may have been (or become?) avowed antiracists, they were raised and educated at a time when eugenics thoroughly permeated academia. They saw themselves as opposed to racial discrimination and held enlightened views compared to most others, but as Chris Waters argues 'It was the knowledge of race, nation, and difference articulated by these writers that built upon and helped to define apparently common-sense notions of race and, as a consequence, the post-war boundaries of national belonging'.[56] Waters also notes that Little had initially travelled to Cardiff's docks in the late 1940s to measure the heads of children of African descent, but stayed to examine social conditions in their community, a fact which as much as anything demonstrates the racist origins of British sociological research.[57] Many researchers turned race relations experts became influenced by Robert Parks and his Chicago School of

[52] George Steinmetz, 'A Child of the Empire: British Sociology and Colonialism, 1940s-1960s', *The History of Behavioural Sciences*, 49, 4 (2014), p. 353.
[53] Rohit Barot, 'Reflections on Michael Banton's contribution to race and ethnic studies', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29, 5 (2006), p. 787.
[54] For example, David Beetham, *Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham* (London, 1967).
[55] Elliot J Rose and Nicholas Deakin, *Colour and Citizenship: Report on British Race Relations* (London, 1969).
[56] Chris Waters, '"Dark Strangers" in our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 36, 2 (1997), p. 209.
[57] Ibid, p. 218.

Sociology. For Parks racial prejudice was caused by 'an instinctive and spontaneous disposition to maintain social distance' which he believed was learned through group socialisation.[58] The Chicago School generated early discussions and research into the assimilation of migrant groups in the US and UK which provided justification for assimilationist policies such as dispersal school bussing.[59] The proximity of race relations experts to the British establishment is therefore highly relevant to understanding how visible minoritised people were treated by the authorities in Britain, as is the fact that their ideas about race were generally formed during an openly white supremacist social zeitgeist.[60]

The regressive thinking of British experts on race relations during the post-war period undoubtedly strengthened arguments for racist education policies which effectively segregated visible minoritised pupils and treated them as inferior. Waters argues for example that early race relations experts influenced national policy with discussions of 'the coloured problem' and 'dark strangers'.[61] Their arguments were key to the formation of cultural racism which emphasised the supposed deficiencies of visible minoritised people's families and pre-migration cultures.[62] Many academics in general during this period additionally remained somewhat enthralled by eugenics, particularly the idea that intelligence was hereditary.[63] During a local inquiry into the education of African Caribbean children in Redbridge in 1978 it was noted that

[58] Robert Ezra Park, 'The Concept of Social Distance', in Chris Waters, '"Dark Strangers" in our Midst', p. 220.
[59] Barbara Schmitter Heisler, 'The Sociology of Immigration: From Assimilation to Segmented Assimilation, from the American experience to the Global Arena', in Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield (eds.), *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (New York, 2008), p. 83.
[60] Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York, 2001), p. 2.
[61] Waters, '"Dark Strangers" in our Midst', p. 208.
[62] Cyril Burt, 'Comments on Arthur R. Jensen's: "Do Schools Cheat Minority Children"', *Educational Research*, 14, 1 (1971), pp. 87-92. Arthur R. Jensen, *Educational Differences* (London, 1973).
[63] Clyde Chitty and Tony Benn, *Eugenics, Race and Intelligence in Education* (London, 2009), p. 65.

> We were disturbed to find that on a number of occasions when discussing this Enquiry in the Borough that the names of Jensen and Eysenck were mentioned quite spontaneously by local teachers. Although no teacher admitted to believing in the genetic inferiority of black people, the claim by Professor Arthur Jensen to have shown that negroes were of lower intelligence than whites was clearly close to these teachers' thoughts.[64]

Correspondingly, in 1968 early multiethnic education researcher Gordon Bowker described psychologist P. E. Vernon's discussion of how 'West Indian boys' were 'retarded' by factors including their culture and 'family instability' as 'the most important research in Britain on the question of intelligence among immigrants'.[65] Bhikhu Parekh noted in 1981 that the views of racist educational psychologists were 'far more widely held than is realised and is favoured by conservative writers'.[66] Theories of race and intelligence clearly had a great influence upon policy-makers and although they were later proven false their influence was difficult to reverse.[67] On the other hand, Mica Nava highlights that not every British academic writing about race and policy from a sociological or social anthropology perspective was a racist or ardent assimilationist.[68] Nevertheless, those who were evidently held great political influence during the formation of race-based education policies and practises in Britain.

British visible minoritised parents and activists began to write about their own histories, and analyse the experiences of their youth in the British education system during

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[64] Jan McKenley, 'The Way We Were: Conspiracies of Silence in the Wake of the Empire Windrush', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4, 4 (2001), pp. 317.
[65] Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), p. 64.
[66] Bhikhu Parekh, 'Educational Opportunity in Multi-Ethnic Britain', in Nathan Glazer and Ken Young (eds.), *Ethnic Pluralism and Public Policy: Achieving Equality in the United States and Britain* (London, 1983), p. 110.
[67] Melvin Konner, *The Tangled Wing: Biological Constraints on the Human Spirit* (New York, 1982).
[68] Mica Nava, 'Sometimes Antagonistic, Sometimes Ardently Sympathetic: Contradictory Responses to Migrants in Post-war Britain', *Ethnicities*, 14, 3 (2014), p. 466-471.

the 1970s producing far more intellectually enduring works than most White British authors at that time. British Indian author Dilip Hiro iterates in preface to the 1992 reprint of his famous work that he was an early proponent of the idea that racism was 'deeply embedded in White British society, and eradicating it would take generations'.[69] Ambalavaner Sivanandan was a central figure in the study of race relations in Britain who examined the intersection of race, class and youth. Sivanandan famously led staff at the IRR to seize control from the management board, and was well known for his contributions to the institute's journal *Race and Class*.[70] Other visible minoritised authors such as Bernard Coard, Len Garrison and Gus John inspired the creation of nationwide antiracist parent movements through their early contributions to the study of racism in education.[71] Coard's ground-breaking 1971 pamphlet on *How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System* was initially a conference paper for the Black Parents Movement.[72] In their 1971 book *Because They're Black*, Derek Humphry and Gus John became some of the first British researchers to utilise a historical analysis and interviews to discuss the experiences of visible minoritised children, and to engage with the idea of institutional racism.[73] In the words of Dennis Dean, parent groups who were inspired by these figures 'were ultimately successful in

[69] Dilip Hiro, *Black British White British: A History of Race Relations in Britain* (London, 1971), p. vii.
[70] Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'Race and resistance: the IRR story', *Race and Class*, 50, 2 (2008), pp. 1-30.
[71] Bernard Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain* (London, 1971). Derek Humphrey and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1972). Ambalavaner Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*, (London, 1982). Len Garrison, *Black Youth Rastafarianism and Identity Crisis in Britain* (London, 1979).
[72] Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal in the British School System.* Authors such as Alan Little were inspired to examine the same topic following Coard's pamphlet: 'The Performance of Children from Ethnic Minority Backgrounds', *Oxford Review of Education*, 1 (1975). Maureen Stone, *The Education of the Black Child in Britain: The Myth of Multiracial Education* (Glasgow, 1981). Dimela Yekwai, *British Racism, Miseducation and the Afrikan Child* (London, 1988). Its republication was the centre piece of the 2005 book Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell It Like It Is: How Our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005).
[73] Humphry and John, 'Because They're Black' in Kevin Myers, 'Faith in History: Memory, Multiculturalism and the Legacies of Empire in Post-war England', *History of Education*, 40, 6 (2011), p. 788.

exposing a "hidden curriculum" that presented, in textbooks and written materials, or by the manner of teachers, powerful images of white superiority or black inferiority'.[74] The abovementioned authors also wrote for publications such as *Black Voice*, *Race Today*, and *Race and Class*, which produced their own Black British histories during the early 1980s.[75]

It was not until the 1980s that White British historians began thoroughly examining the presence of visible minoritised people in Britain. Wendy Webster argues that 'Historians have produced substantial work on British policy making on immigration, but mainstream history was slow to situate questions of migration, race, and ethnicity within a domestic context, especially by comparison with other disciplines'.[76] In the eyes of Panikos Panayi this was at least partially because many saw Britain as lacking ethnic diversity until the 1960s so many historians focus on class in British history instead of race.[77] Grosvenor makes the similar argument that many British historians positioned the experiences of visible minoritised people as 'outside' traditional understandings of Britain's past.[78] Historians consequently failed to engage thoroughly with race in British history for many years but have in recent decades produced some great works on Black and Asian British histories, trans-Atlantic slavery, Empire and decolonisation. In 1981 the first and to this date only journal to exclusively cover immigration history, *Immigrants and Minorities*, produced its inaugural issue. Then, in 1984 Peter Fryer evoked E. P. Thompson when he sought to rescue the history of British visible minoritised people from 'the enormous condescension of posterity' with his landmark book highlighting their presence in Britain over the last two millennia.[79] Colin

[74] Dennis Dean, 'The "Liberal Hour"?', p. 119.
[75] Rob Waters, 'Thinking Black: Peter Fryer's Staying Power and the Politics of Writing Black British History in the 1980s', *History Workshop Journal*, 82 (2016), p. 111.
[76] Wendy Webster, 'The Empire Comes Home: Commonwealth Migration to Britain', in Andrew Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2012), p. 124.
[77] Panikos Panayi, 'The Historiography of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Britain Compared with the USA', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19, 4 (1996), pp. 823-840.
[78] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 153.
[79] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 2010).

Holmes' 1988 study, *John Bull's Island*, is another foundational text.[80] Historians such as Shompa Lahiri, Rozina Visram, Mary Chamberlain, Panikos Panayi, Bill Schwarz, Avtar Brah, Barbara Bush, Diane Frost, Kathleen Paul, Wendy Webster and Winston James have also made significant contributions to these topics.[81] Regardless of their efforts, prominent public historian David Olusoga described Black British History as 'a forgotten history' in 2017.[82] When he said this Olusoga did not deny their great body of work. He instead suggested that popular perceptions of British history often ignore or discount the parts that relate to visible minoritised British people. While these subjects slowly enter the historical mainstream it is appropriate, as Olusoga points out, to note that there has been a disconnect with the wider populace over a long period of time which has yet to be fully bridged.

Historians tend to consider topics with contemporary relevance outside their remit, but the lack of mainstream historical focus on visible minoritised people in British History contributed towards the popular amnesia that Olusoga describes. British undergraduate historians are for instance presented with surveys of British History which understate or ignore issues relating to race and multiculturalism. Of my undergraduate textbooks circa 2012-2015 perhaps the best to comment on British multiculturalism and immigration was Panayi's admittedly short chapter in Francesca Carnevali's and Julie-Marie Strange's 2007

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[80] Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (London, 1988).
[81] Michael H. Fisher et al, *A South Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent* (Oxford, 2007). Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London, 2002). Mary Chamberlain and Harry Goulbourne (eds.), *Caribbean Families in Britain and the Trans-Atlantic World* (London, 2001). Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Modern Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800* (London, 2010). Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford, 2011). Avtar Brah, 'The "Asian" in Britain', in N. Ali et al (eds.), *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain* (London, 2006). Barbara Bush, 'Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies', *History Workshop Journal*, 36, 1 (1993), pp. 83-99. Diane Frost, 'Ambiguous Identities: Constructing and De-Constructing Black and White 'Scouse' Identities in Twentieth Century Liverpool' in Neville Kirk (ed.), *Northern Identities: The Construction of Identity in Northern England from 1800 to the Present* (London, 1999). Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era* (New York, 1997). Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford, 2005). Winston James and Clive Harris (eds.), *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London, 1993).
[82] David Olusoga, 'Black and British History: A Forgotten History', A talk at Sheffield Hallam University (9 October 2017).

survey of twentieth century British history.[83] Arthur Marwick's 2000 history of Britain since the Great War, and the 2012 edition of Martin Pugh's history of Britain since 1870 were also key undergraduate texts, yet neither portrayed immigration as particularly significant.[84] Grosvenor states that authors like Marwick wrote histories 'in which black people appear on the page as "immigrants", as the cause of "race" riots in the late 1950s and as leading actors in inner city disturbances in the 1980s'.[85] Despite somewhat criticising successive governments for their handling of British racism, another undergraduate text, Kenneth O. Morgan's post-war survey from 2001, similarly focused more on the problems and internal conflicts that visible minoritised newcomers were seen to bring to Britain than their experiences as British people.[86] Overall, it is clear that historians and other academics interested in race have problematised certain groups, and contributed towards the ways that the public and political establishment misunderstand or ignore racism towards them.

Conclusion

British multiethnic education history and the oral histories of British visible minoritised schoolchildren are important yet understudied topics. Only a handful of works emphasise the perspectives of the visible minoritised adults who experienced the early years of multiethnic education in Britain. Although there has been some recent historical interest in dispersal school bussing historians have rarely produced histories of British multicultural education or oral histories that engage with the experiences of visible minoritised schoolchildren. Moreover, early 'race relations experts' who did engage with the experiences of British visible minoritised groups problematised them and contributed towards the development of

[83] Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange (eds.), *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (Harlow, 2007).
[84] Arthur Marwick, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1914-1999: Circumstances, Events and Outcomes* (Oxford, 2000). Martin Pugh's, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (London, 2012).
[85] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 153.
[86] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Britain After 1945: The People's Peace* (Oxford, 2001), p. 204 and p. 284.

regressive race-based government policies which arguably continue to shape policy-making and popular thought. Since the 1980s the British Empire, immigration, and the histories of minoritised British peoples have become increasingly prominent historical topics. Although, authors from minoritised groups like Dilip Hiro had decades earlier begun producing their own histories and wrote some of the most enduring and persuasive arguments in the field. Yet, these histories went under-acknowledged for many years which is why the British public are generally thought to be largely proud of the Empire and have a poor understanding of its consequences.[87]

It seems that as Paul Gilroy stated in 1987, the existence of racism depends in some part on denying the past.[88] Olusoga points towards the those who praise Britain's Empire without acknowledging its brutality and exploitation, and those who highlight abolition and William Wilberforce instead of Britain's role in enslaving and brutalising millions of African people.[89] Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly point out that ideas like the post-racial myth would fall apart if not for white people forgetting their histories.[90] Histories of migration and ethnicity in Britain are becoming more popular including individual analyses of the experiences of different ethnic communities.[91] The 2018 Royal Historical Society 'Race, Ethnicity and Equality Report' nevertheless found that visible minoritised students and staff are under-represented in university History programmes, and claimed that racial discrimination experienced by visible minoritised historians in UK universities was

[87] Jon Stone, 'British People Are Proud of Colonialism and the British Empire, Poll Finds', *The Independent* (19 January 2016).
[88] Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1987), pp. 11-12.
[89] David Olusoga, 'Black and British History: A Forgotten History'. See also, Stone, 'British People Are Proud of Colonialism and the British Empire, Poll Finds'.
[90] Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly, '"Post-race" racisms in the narratives of "Brexit" voters', *The Sociological Review*, 67, 5 (2019), p. 975.
[91] For example, Michael H. Fisher et al, *A South Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent* (Oxford, 2007). Hakim Adi, *The History of African and Caribbean Communities in Britain* (London, 1995).

'substantial'.[92] Universities can improve the situation by funding more historical research into the experiences of British visible minoritised people, including those who attended school in post-war Britain. Their memories are part of Britain's multicultural heritage and important pieces of information which put Britain's contemporary issues with racism in context. The recent increase in oral history projects that engage with the experiences of British visible minoritised people is heartening but a large-scale national project which purposefully sought to capture memories of schooltime experiences would be timely and significant development in the historiography.

[92] Hannah Atkinson et al, 'Race, Ethnicity and Equality in UK History: A Report and Resource for Change', *Royal Historical Society* (London, 2018).

Chapter 2: Methodology[1]

This thesis draws on archival and oral sources, the co-production of knowledge with historical actors, and a variety of theories. The methodological approaches are outlined here. First, the theoretical bases of the analysis including sociological, psychological and critical race theories. Second, the use of oral history as essential to the study of this subject. Archival evidence suggests that visible minoritised children were not wholeheartedly welcomed by the British education system, but memories and life-stories are nuanced and little data in the archive thoroughly evokes their lived experiences. Through oral history interviewing and analysis, we can interpret this variety or mass of inconsistencies, and as Patricia Leavy describes build 'holistic understandings of life experiences', which in this project seek to evoke the effects of historic educational racism.[2] This approach embraces qualitative data for the feelings it can convey and embraces the ethos of nonrepresentational ethnographic research which strives, in the word of Phillip Vannini, 'to animate rather than simply mimic, to rupture rather than merely account, to evoke rather than just report, and to reverberate instead of more modestly resonating'.[3] After discussing archival sources the sample of interviewees is described, as is the approach to interviewing, and the clash of subjectivities in the interview. The role of nostalgia is also considered alongside the localised working-class perspective of the individual, and collective memories of racism or the post-racial myth.

[1] Some quotations used across this essay were also used in an unpublished literature review produced for the University of Hull in a submission for a postgraduate certificate in Heritage that was a mandatory component of my PhD scholarship with the Heritage Consortium: 'The Experiences of Visible Minoritized Groups at School: A Literature Review', submitted via Turnitin (July, 2018).
[2] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford, 2011), p. 15.
[3] Phillip Vannini, 'Non-Representational Ethnography: New Ways of Animating Lifeworlds', *Cultural Geographies*, 22, 2 (2015), pp. 319.

i. Theory

a. Sociological theory

This section describes how the works of philosophical and sociological thinkers continue to underpin multiethnic education literature and recognises the contributions of Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, and Antonio Gramsci. Through their ideas about power-knowledge, the power structures of society, and hegemony these authors profoundly shaped contemporary perspectives on how schooling can stimulate internalised racism in visible minoritised children.[4] For Foucault, 'any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry'.[5] 'Knowledges' relates to things like class, gender identity, nationality, and race which are passed on through the content of structured lessons and general contact with teachers or peers. Structuralist thinker Althusser, whose ideas were related to yet in conflict with Foucault's, similarly described schools as part of an 'ideological state apparatus'.[6] Schools for Althusser teach '"know-how", but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its "practice"'.[7] In Gramscian terms, education systems and schools are vessels through which dominant groups exert hegemonic control.[8] Gramsci's delineation of hegemony is broad and encompasses more than the institutions of an education system but like the thought of Foucault and Althusser it also suggests how schools maintain the hegemony of the dominant classes in any society by

[4] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse: Inaugural lecture at the Collége de France, given 2 December 1970', in Robert Young (ed.), *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (London, 1981). Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)', *La Pensée*, 151, (1970), pp. 67-125.
[5] Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', p. 64.
[6] Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', pp. 67-125.
[7] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York 2001), p. 89.
[8] Antonio Gramsci et al, 'Selections from the Prison Notebooks', in Peter Mayo, 'Gramsci and the Politics of Education', in Antonia Kupfer, *Power and Education: Contexts of Oppression and Opportunity* (London, 2015), p. 45.

conditioning the ideologies of the oppressed. Gramsci's hegemony drew influence from Karl Marx's false consciousness which explains how subordinate groups adopt and advocate the ideologies of the ruling class even when they go against their interests.[9] This relates to understanding racism in the present because, as Keith Osajima states, who is quoting bell hooks, 'White racism can infiltrate the world view of the racially oppressed without their conscious consent in a subtle process some refer to as "indoctrination" and "mental colonialization"'.[10] Schooling contributes to this process by fostering a false consciousness among the subordinated, and even a 'psychological dependence' which, as John Jost comments, further protects the hegemony of the dominant group.[11]

Together these ideas suggest how visible minoritised children were forced to adopt White British culture from the 1960s onwards and how those viewed as less successful at adopting 'the British way' were considered deficient.[12] By the end of the 1970s the Department for Education and Science had adopted a multicultural ethos in education, yet assimilating visible minoritised children through schooling remained a tacit goal.[13] In part, this is why the early years of multiethnic education practices in Britain are often represented as a humiliating and oppressive experience for visible minoritised pupils by visible minoritised authors.[14] Yet, as adults the interviewees in this research were often reticent to be so critical. It was common for them to defend their teachers and speak positively about British schooling. Jost highlights that,

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[9] Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, 'The German Ideology' in Mayo, 'Gramsci and the Politics of Education', p. 45.
[10] Keith Osajima, 'The Hidden Injuries of Race' and bell hooks, 'Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem' in Karen D. Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), p. 556.
[11] John T. Jost, 'Negative Illusions: Conceptual Clarification and Psychological Evidence concerning False Consciousness', *Political Psychology*, 16, 2 (1995), pp. 397-424, p. 411.
[12] Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern, *The World in a Classroom: Language in Education in Britain and Canada* (Somerset, 1992), p. 99.
[13] See the first part of chapter three.
[14] Bernard Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell it like it is: How our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005).

> a cognitive dissonance analysis of the effect of initiation rites on commitment […suggests] people attempt to justify their participation in painful or humiliating activities by increasing rather than decreasing their commitment to the group or institution. Thus, the most horrific systems may produce the highest degrees of loyalty and dependence.[15]

This is why victims of abuse often remain committed to their abusers, and how schooling for visible minoritised people in Western societies can mistreat visible minoritised students while initiating them into the hegemonically white society. Pyke makes the similar point that when the oppressors interests are presented as best for all oppressed groups commonly 'accept the dominant group's interests as their own and minimize conflict'.[16] Britain, like the US, was a capitalist, white supremacist and patriarchal society during the era of this research.[17] Learning to adhere to these ideologies at school forced some visible minoritised pupils to deny their own culture, ignore their ancestral histories, and adopt or at least imitate White British social norms.[18] Considering that White British assimilationism during the 1960s positioned visible minoritised people, their cultures, and families as inferior to White Britishness this system of control undoubtedly had the potential to instil feelings of shame or low self-esteem among visible minoritised schoolchildren.

Pierre Bourdieu also developed theories which have had a powerful influence upon those who seek to understand how schools disadvantage visible minoritised children. His ideas centred on social class, but certainly apply to race. Bourdieu's key conceptual

[15] Jost, 'Negative Illusions', p. 411.
[16] Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It?', p. 556.
[17] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York, 1994), p. 26.
[18] Gus John expressed frustration at the fact that antiracists were being forced to engage so much with whiteness to succeed in 1987 at the National Association of Multicultural Education conference: 'We seem to spend so much time talking to, with or about white people, or posturing for their benefit on matters to do with race and antiracism; the whole system has got us so caught up in this activity', in Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (London, 2013), p. 14.

innovation was the idea of cultural capital which he defined as a person's social assets, such as their level of education and intelligence, which determine social mobility.[19] He argued that one of the main social roles played by schooling was to limited access to higher forms of knowledge and better quality of life.[20] Olivia Marcucci and Rowhea Elmesky state that this negatively affects visible minoritised children because schools work 'to normalize forms of cultural capital considered valuable in the White, middle to upper-middle class communities while simultaneously discrediting and preventing less dominant forms of capital'.[21] In the words of Tahir Abbas 'Children socialised into the dominant culture have a big advantage over children not socialised into this culture' because they can '"speak the language" of the educational system' and thereby 'appear to the teacher to be "more gifted".[22] The level of cultural capital held by the interviewees in this project thus related to their respective ability to 'speak the language' of the British education system. Class was undoubtedly key, but as Adrienne Dixson and Ceilia Rousseau Anderson note research from the UK highlights the 'difficulty that middle-class Black parents have in drawing advantage from the greater material and cultural capital at their disposal'.[23] Such ideas contextualise the experiences of the interviewees in this project because, as described in chapters seven and eight, they often learned at school that their cultures were not valued by White British society and generally finished school with the demotivational knowledge that they were not expected to achieve highly or might struggle to find well-paid work.

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[19] Derron Wallace, 'Reading "Race" in Bourdieu? Examining Black Cultural Capital Among Black Caribbean Youth in South London', *Sociology*, 51, 5 (2017), pp. 907-923. See also Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Paris, 1977).
[20] Tahir Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure* (New York, 2004), p. 144.
[21] Olivia Marcucci and Rowhea Elmesky, 'Roadblocks on the Way to Higher Education: Non-Dominant Cultural Capital, Race, and the "Schools are Equaliser" Myth', in William Tate et al (eds.), *The Crisis of Race in Higher Education: A Day of Discovery and Dialogue* (Bingley, 2016), p. 86.
[22] Tahir Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure* (New York, 2004), p. 143-144.
[23] Adrienne D. Dixson and Ceilia K. Rousseau Anderson, 'And We Are *Still* Not Saved: 20 Years of CRT and Education', in Adrienne D. Dixson et al (eds.), *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children got a Song* (Oxford, 2017), p. 45.

b. Psychological theory

Power-knowledge, ideology, hegemony, and cultural capital explain the mechanisms that enforce disadvantage and make groups like visible minoritised people conform to their proscribed socio-economic position. In Jack Barbalet's eye these 'mechanisms of conformity' are only part of the story because because consideration must also be given to 'the actor's relation to self, possibly including emotions generated through processes of social perception […such as] pride and shame'.[24] Frantz Fanon is the earliest thinker to consider how this applied to visible minoritised people's experiences of racism. His ideas essentially created the academic discourse on the mental health of visible minoritised people in white dominant societies. Fanon wrote about the impact of growing up in Martinique being taught that he was French, and then witnessing the racism of white French people towards him once he had moved to France after fighting for the Free French in the Second World War. He argued from experience that this could result in a person rejecting their skin colour in different ways and refusing to identify as a member of their ethnic group.[25] Fanon described how interacting with majority white societies creates feelings of shame, inadequacy, and dependency in colonised peoples.[26] He wrote that

> When the Negro makes contact with the White world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his psychic structure is weak, one observes a collapse of the ego. The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behaviour will be the Other (in the guise of the white man), for the Other alone can give him worth.[27]

[24] Jack. M. Barbalet, *Emotion, Social Theory, and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 117.
[25] Erica Burman, 'Fanon and the child: Pedagogies of subjectification and transformation', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 46, 3 (2016), p. 271. pp. 265-285.
[26] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks* (New York, 1952).
[27] Ibid, p. 154

The point for Fanon was that blackness is defined in relation to and as having less worth than whiteness because people of African descent must assume 'the guise of the white man' to gain worth. The influence of Fanon's ideas is evident in the emphasis on identity and self-esteem in much multiethnic education writing.

Black British teacher authors during the 1960s and 1970s purposefully gave examples of their student's behaviour which seemed to confirm Fanon's conclusions. Beryl Gilroy described a child of African descent that she taught in the 1960s who 'just couldn't relate to black people. He even disowned his own photograph. And when I persuaded him to paint his self-portrait and colour it, he wailed, "Stop it! I don't want all that blackness on me'.[28] Bernard Coard witnessed similar instances in the early 1970s: 'Desmond, the West Indian boy, asked me to draw a picture of him […]. Having completed the outline, I began shading his face Black. He immediately said, 'What – what are you doing? You are *spoiling* me!"'. Coard also taught an Indian girl who, despite her mother wearing traditional Tilaka markings and a sari, denied that she was Indian when speaking to English friends.[29] Derek Humphry and Gus John discussed a shared-heritage couple from Leeds during the 1960s whose

> children were among the first to enter the local schools, meeting the inevitable boyish taunts […]. The eldest boy, Glenroy, came home from school one day and said: 'They're calling me blackie at school. Am I black? Am I black? I'm not black! Look! Dad's black but I'm not black!'.[30]

Similar concerns were generated by David Milner's recreation of the famous doll experiments in the US. His study found that fifty per cent of the infant British visible minoritised participants believed themselves to better resemble the white dolls than the

[28] Beryl Gilroy, *Black Teacher* (London, 1976), p. 183.
[29] Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System', p. 44.
[30] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 76.

'coloured dolls' while seventy-two per cent said that they would prefer to be the white doll.[31] British Asian writer, researcher and teacher Darren Chetty provides a more recent example. He recalled a British Congolese pupil reacting in class to a story featuring a character with a traditional Nigerian name by exclaiming, 'You can't say that! Stories have to be about White People'.[32] These stories are anecdotal but disturbing, and while the extent of the issue is unknowable it is clear why these discussions form a significant aspect of the multiethnic education discourse.

Fanon's ideas continue to influence contemporary debates in multiethnic education having been reinterpreted to reflect subsequent intellectual developments. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate noted in their ground-breaking article on CRT in education that individuals from marginalised groups can become demoralised through internalising the stereotypic images that white people project onto them.[33] Similarly, Cheryl Harris evoked Fanon's thought in the early 1990s when she made her influential argument about the construction of whiteness as the ultimate form of property.[34] Harris's point was that visible minoritised children are likely to realise, through their experience of school, the benefits of accepting white cultural norms as it makes them understand their position and the importance of advancing it by appearing white. Indeed, numerous studies agree, as Jason Osborne highlights, that 'it is difficult for students of colour to view themselves as good students, to define the self through academics, to value academics while still maintaining the integrity of the self'.[35] Erica Burman argues that 'schooling, at the level of curriculum as well as

[31] David Milner, 'Prejudice and the Immigrant Child', *New Society* (September 1971).
[32] Darren Chetty, 'You Can't Say That! Stories Have to Be About White People', in Nikesh Shukla (ed.), *The Good Immigrant* (London, 2017), pp. 96-97.
[33] Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate, 'Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education', *Teachers College Records*, 97, 1 (1995), p. 57.
[34] Cheryl I. Harris, 'Whiteness as Property', *Harvard Law Review*, 106, 8 (1993), p. 1721.
[35] Jason W. Osborne, 'Academic Disidentification: Unravelling Underachievement among Black boys', on Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 45.

everyday social practice, function[s] to install and maintain structures of racialised subjectivity that have profound affective or emotional impacts and investments'.[36] Multiethnic education researchers accordingly continue to engage with Fanon's to create persuasive and increasingly nuanced critiques of how white education systems and societies affect visible minoritised students.

It is also significant that British educators have always racialised different communities in often related but sometimes contrasting ways. Deborah Youdell argued in 2006 for instance that stereotypic images of minoritised students are not merely descriptive, but instead are projected onto the students and thus 'implicated in creating students in these terms'.[37] David Gillborn correspondingly states that, 'Racists have always played favourites, viewing some groups as exotic, mysterious and alluring, while others are seen as bestial, savage and threatening: the same processes are at play in contemporary classrooms and staffrooms'.[38] African Caribbean people's educational problems were often believed to stem from a lack of culture or them having an 'invented' culture, whereas South Asian children were believed to suffer in the British education system because of the strength of their 'primordial' cultures.[39] Put simply, African Caribbean people, as the descendants of enslaved people, were thought to lack a cultural identity. This is why they are often described as having 'a chip on their shoulder', which, as an aside, is a comment which only makes sense in this context if it is understood that the speaker believes racism has been banished to the

[36] Erica Burman, 'Fanon and the Child: Pedagogies of Subjectification and Transformation', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 46, 3 (2016), p. 271.
[37] Deborah Youdell, *Impossible Bodies, Impossible Selves: Exclusions and Student Subjectivities* (New York, 2006), p. 97.
[38] David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (London, 2008), p. 153
[39] Susan Benson, 'Asians Have Culture, West Indians Have Problems: Discourses of Race and Ethnicity in and out of Anthropology' in Terence Ranger (ed.), *Culture, Identity and Politics: Ethnic Minorities in Britain* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 54.

past and is no longer a serious problem.[40] A 1968 Study in Liverpool found that most teachers claimed racism did not exist in their schools and that the children making complaints had a 'chip on their shoulder', were 'over sensitive' or that only those of 'poor character' were making complaints.[41] South Asian people on the other hand were often portrayed in education research as isolated, too aloof from British culture and thus unable to assimilate as desired by the establishment due to the strength of their pre-migratory traditions.[42]

Each group had some positive attributes assigned to them – African Caribbean people were widely racialised as athletic for instance – but all groups were also undoubtedly racialised in educationally damaging ways. Gillborn notes for example how teachers often contrast 'their positive evaluation of Chinese students against their negative expectations of other, less highly achieving, minoritised groups'.[43] This is not to say that racism towards ethnically Chinese people and schoolchildren in Britain was or is negligible. It is not.[44] They have however been viewed in Britain as a more intellectually capable and sophisticated group than people of African Caribbean or Pakistani Muslim descent.[45] In their study of the experiences of British Chinese schoolchildren Louise Archer and Becky Francis emphasised however that, 'Whilst the majority of teachers that we interviewed did not think that Chinese pupils experienced much racism, the views of British Chinese pupils and parents were quite

[40] Anoop Nayak, '"White English Ethnicities": Racism, Anti-Racism and Student Perspectives, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 2, 2 (1999), p. 189. In a 2014 blogpost British poet Lemn Sissay wrote about his experiences of overt racism in Britain, and how a white friend had told him that he had a chip on his shoulder, Lemm Sissay, 'Chip on the Shoulder (22 June, 2014), http://blog.lemnsissay.com/2014/06/22/chip-shoulder/#sthash.1AiJS8jL.dpbs.

[41] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 10.

[42] For example, Commission for Racial Equality, *Between Two Cultures: A Study of Relationships between Generations in the Asian Community in Britain* (London, 1981), p. 3.

[43] Gillborn, *Racism and Education*, p. 151.

[44] Ruby C. M. Chau and Sam W. K. Yu, 'Social Exclusion of Chinese people in Britain', *Critical Social Policy*, 21, 1 (2001), pp. 103-125.

[45] Muriel Fletcher, *Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports* (Liverpool, 1930), p. 11. Louise Archer and Becky Francis, '"They Never Go Off the Rails Like Other Ethnic Groups": Teachers Constructions of British Chinese Pupils' Gender Identities and Approaches to Learning', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26, 2 (2005), pp. 165-182.

different. For British Chinese pupils, racism was a relatively everyday occurrence'.[46] Archer and Francis also drew attention towards their respondents' issues with identity conflicts and noted that they 'experienced the seemingly "positive" stereotypes of British Chinese pupils as clever and hardworking as highly negative' because they create additional pressure to succeed academically and promote negative stereotypes of Chinese pupils as overly studious 'geeks'.[47]

Men of African descent in Britain have according to Claire Alexander been 'constructed through images of deviance and violence […in] a conflation of assumed raced, gendered and generational deficiencies which […] place them in the public imagination as fully formed "folk devils"'.[48] Girls of African descent on the other hand are, according to Heidi Mirza,

> subject to a very different type of stereotypical image than black men. The specific image of them as unfeminine and sexually overt has consequences for the way in which black females are treated by others and the opportunities available to them.[49]

A survey from the Birmingham Christian News published in 1961 characterised 'West Indians' as sexually amoral due to their heritage as enslaved people and claimed that 'this attitude goes back 100 years when they were our slaves and we didn't allow them to marry'.[50] Corresponding stereotypes have longstanding roots in Liverpool. A report from the city's Youth Organisations Committee in 1968 argued that 'coloured girls' were considered more likely to become prostitutes, similar concerns were raised in Muriel Fletcher's infamous

[46] Louise Archer and Becky Francis, 'Constructions of Racism by British Chinese Pupils and Parents', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8, 4 (2005), p. 391.
[47] Ibid, p. 387.
[48] Claire Alexander, '(Dis)entangling the "Asian Gang": Ethnicity, Identity, Masculinity', in Barnor Hesse (ed.), *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions* (New York, 2000), pp. 124-125.
[49] Heidi Safia Mirza, *Young, Female and Black* (London, 1992), p. 15.
[50] 'Moral Behaviour and the Immigrant', *The Guardian* (12 September, 1961), p. 2.

report on 'half-caste' children in Liverpool from 1930.[51] Although South Asian people are often characterised as potentially dangerous in Britain today, they were less likely to be racialised as dangerous terrorists or criminals from the 1960s to the 1980s. They were instead understood through older orientalist stereotypes.[52] South Asian children were for instance more likely than children of African descent to be viewed by their teachers as socially reserved but diligent, intelligent and committed to learning.[53] Stereotypes of South Asian men as weak and effeminate also remained prevalent, whereas South Asian women and girls were often viewed by White British people as meek, unwomanly and lacking agency.[54] Following events such as the 11 September attacks in New York and the Bradford riots in 2001 men of South Asian descent in Britain began, as Alexander points out, to occupy the same ideological space as men of African descent.[55] These ideas therefore stress the ways that widespread racial stereotypes change over time, and the ways that racial stereotyping can impact visible minoritised students.[56]

Although there are few if any detailed studies of racism and psychological affect in the British context studies of Americans of African descent generally seem to concur that racism can be psychologically damaging enough to have physiological consequences.[57]

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[51] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 15.
[52] Sumita Mukherjee, 'The Reception Given to Sadhu Sundar Singh, the Itinerant Indian Christian "Mystic", in Interwar Britain, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 35, 1 (2017), p. 21. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).
[53] Barry Troyna, 'Fact or Artefact? The 'Educational Underachievement' of Black Pupils', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5, 2 (1984), p. 157.
[54] Tariq Modood, *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* (Minnesota, 2005), p. 3. Monica J. Taylor and Seamus Hegarty, *The Best of Both Worlds…? A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of South Asian Origin* (Berkshire, 1985), p. 6. Judith Butler, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (Oxford, 1995), p. 136. Isobel Bowler, 'They're Not the Same as Us: Midwives Stereotypes of South Asian Descent Maternity Patients', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 15, 2 (1993), pp. 157-178.
[55] Alexander, '(Dis)entangling the "Asian Gang", p. 129.
[56] Peter Stevens and Gill Crozier, 'England' in Peter Stevens and Anthony Dworkin (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* (London, 2014), p. 290.
[57] Thelma Bryant-Davis and Carlota Ocampo, 'Racist Incident–Based Trauma', *The Counselling Psychologist*, 33, 4, (2005), p. 483.

Sumie Okazaki notes studies which indicate that experiences of racism 'act as a stressor that elicit coping responses as well as psychological and physiological stress response, which in turn can lead to negative health outcomes'.[58] Okazaki also highlights research which 'showed that perceived racism by African American pregnant women over their lifetime as well as during their childhood predicted their infants' birth weight, above and beyond the effects of medical and sociodemographic factors'.[59] It has also been demonstrated that regularly experiencing covert racism can increase blood pressure during stressful situations such as academic tests when compared with people who are not subjected to widespread racial stereotypes.[60] Commenting on the instant impact of experiencing racist speech, Jessica Decuir-Gunby and Meca Williams conclude that 'there is an instinctive, defensive psychological and emotional reaction on the part of the victim of racist speech […]. These emotions range from shock, fear, anger, and anxiety, which may all happen before rational thinking takes place'.[61] When asked about how she remembers experiencing racism interviewee Margaret Hanson replied, 'Erm, very short sharp [pause] bolts of lightning [laughs]. Very precise individual incidents that stand out that you'll never forget'.[62] The interviews given by Margaret and other interviewees also emphasised that racism is generally experienced by children in the playground and outside of school as a form of bullying. Even when stripped of the racial element bullying is consistently shown to have adverse consequences for the victims physical and mental health.[63] How people reacted as children and feel about these moments as adults is of course incredibly personal and unique, but it is

[58] Sumie Okazaki, 'Impact of Racism on Ethnic Minority Mental Health', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4, 1 (2009), p. 104.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Jim Blascovich et al, 'African Americans and High Blood Pressure: The Role of Stereotype Threat', *Psychological Science*, 12, 3 (2001), pp. 225-229.
[61] Jessica T. Decuir-Gunby and Meca R. Williams, 'The Impact of Race and Racism on Students' Emotions: A Critical Race Analysis', in Paul A. Schutz et al (eds.), *Emotion in Education* (London, 2007), pp. 208-209.
[62] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.
[63] Dieter Wolke and Suzet T. Lereya, 'Long-Term Effects of Bullying', *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 100, 9, (2015), pp. 879-885.

obvious that racism in British schools was often memorable, shocking, bewildering, and traumatising for those who experienced it in ways that could have lasting consequences.

Richard Majors and Janet Billson's 'cool pose theory' is particularly significant to this research and is an idea which simultaneously extrapolates and inverts Fanon's thought.[64] It describes how African American men react to societal racism by appearing unbothered by their unequal social status and projecting fearlessness.[65] Jason Osbourne notes that

> Black males adopt a 'cool pose', or a ritualized form of masculinity that allows that boy or man to cope and survive in an environment of social oppression and racism […]. [C]ool pose allows the Black male to survive by projecting a front of emotionlessness, fearlessness and aloofness that counters inner pain from damaged pride, poor self-confidence, and fragile social competence that comes from existing as a member of a subjugated group.[66]

Others have since developed or advanced Majors' and Billson's theory.[67] Yet, as James Unnever and Cecilia Chouhy highlight cool pose is seen to 'uniquely' describe a Black male construction of masculinity.[68] This relates to the emphasis on 'Black male exceptionalism' in the US, an idea which portrays them as faring less well than any other group.[69] It also reflects the cultural essentialism of some researchers and ignores the common elements of being

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[64] Richard Majors and Janet M. Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992).
[65] Richard Majors, 'Introduction: Understanding the Current Educational Status of Black Children', in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 7.
[66] Jason W. Osborne, 'Academic Disidentification: Unravelling Underachievement among Black boys', in Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children*, p. 48.
[67] Ronald E. Hall, 'Cool Pose, Black Manhood, and Juvenile Delinquency', *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment*, 19, 5 (2009), pp. 531-539; Frank Harris III et al, '"Cool Posing" on Campus: A Qualitative Study of Masculinities and Gender Expression among Black Men at a Private Research Institution', *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80, 1 (2011), pp. 47-62. James D. Unnever and Cecilia Chouhy, 'Race, Racism, and the Cool Pose: Exploring Black and White Male Masculinity', *Social Problems*, 0 (2020), pp. 1-23.
[68] Unnever and Chouhy, 'Race, Racism, and the Cool Pose', p. 1.
[69] Paul D. Butler, 'Black Male Exceptionalism? The Problems and Potential of Black Male-Focused Interventions', *The Du Bois Review*, 10, 2 (2013), p. 485.

racially discriminated against as a child. Racism can psychologically harm any visible minoritised person which is why the underlying principles of cool pose conceivably have a broader relevance to anyone who ideally wants to grow up being unbothered by racism. Psychologists attempt to study the emotions that people feel, but as Jeanne Tsai writes it is also important to consider 'the affective states that people ideally want to feel'.[70] This is known as 'ideal affect' and cool pose is a great example of the phenomenon. It describes how American men with African heritage present themselves in ways which reflect their ideal internal state of being unbothered by societal racism to explain how their resilience to racism is expressed in their perspectives, social norms, habits, and behaviours. British researchers often avoid transplanting American ideas to a British context, but the basic concept of cool pose describes something more broadly applicable than some researchers might suggest.

In the ways that they remembered their schooldays from 1960-1989, the interviewees in this project often demonstrated what could be described as an everyday resilience to racism which echoes descriptions of cool pose. Majors and Billson include the definition of cool featured in the *Dictionary of American Slang* as being 'in complete control of one's emotions; hip but having a quiet, objective, aloof attitude; indifferent to those things considered nonessential to one's individual beliefs, likes, and desires'.[71] Visible minoritised interviewees of different ethnicities in this research demonstrated how they cognitively distance themselves from racism's negative effect to maintain control over their emotions, and that they reacted to racism with an aloofness, or displays of toughness.[72] This is because cool pose is a form of social resilience which could be practiced by anyone in different

[70] Jeanne L. Tsai, 'Ideal Affect Cultural Causes and Behavioural Consequences', *Perspectives of Psychological Science*, 2, 3 (2007), p. 242.
[71] Majors and Billson, *Cool Pose*, pp. 3-4.
[72] For more on cognitive distancing see: Becky Kochenderfer-Ladd and Karey Skinner, 'Children's Coping Strategies: Moderators of the Effects of Peer Victimization?', *Developmental Psychology*, 38, 2, (2002), p. 268, or Leandra Parris et al, 'Coping with Bullying: The Moderating Effects of Self-Reliance', *Journal of School Violence*, 18, 1 (2019), p. 64.

circumstances. Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont describe social resilience as the 'creative processes in which people assemble a variety of tools, including collective resources and new images of themselves, to sustain their well-being'.[73] Victims of generic bullying can use these techniques to cognitively distance themselves from individual or multiple instances of bullying, whereas a cool pose is a communally developed mechanism built to repel constant societal bullying (racism). Homosexual men for example often exhibit a cool aloofness and other coping behaviours when faced with homophobia which include cognitive distancing.[74] These behaviours reflect the concept of fierceness which is popular amongst members of the homosexual community and certainly has similarities to definitions of cool pose; Kirsten Zemke and Jared Mackley-Crump fierceness as, 'The act of being bold, displaying confidence, creativity or self-reliance'.[75] An inclusive definition of cool pose could accordingly be understood as the collective forms of social resilience performed by different minoritised communities.

c. Critical Race Theory

CRT is a recent theoretical development in the global landscape of multiethnic education studies which has significantly shaped the approach to this project including the terminology used, and the author's understanding of racism in recent history. It was developed from Critical Legal Studies during the 1970s and 1980s by American authors from visible minoritised groups such as Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado who combined the ideas of radical feminists and critical theorists to fight what they saw as the stalling and reversal of

[73] Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont, *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 14.
[74] Jonathan Charlesworth, *That's So Gay!: Challenging Homophobic Bullying* (London, 2015), p. 72. Kirsten Zemke and Jared Mackley-Crump, '"I'ma School that Bitch": Gay Rappers Defying Binaries and Expressing Fierceness', in Gavin Lee (ed.), *Re-thinking Difference in Gender, Sexuality and Popular Music: Theory and Politics of Ambiguity* (Oxford, 2018).
[75] Zemke and Mackley-Crump, 'I'ma School that Bitch', p. 143.

civil rights era advances.[76] International critical race theorists now collaborate to examine multiethnic educationa around the world.[77] Gillborn describes, 'The starting point for CRT [as] a focus on racism; in particular, its central importance in society and its routine (often unrecognised) character'.[78] CRT emphasises a conception of white supremacy which highlights that racism is not simply about the far-Right. Instead, as Gillborn notes, 'supremacy is seen to relate to the operation of forces that saturate the everyday mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interests of White people'.[79] In like manner, Charlotte Chadderton notes arguments that gender and class are always at play in human relations, and that 'Critical race theorists argue that all social interaction has a racial aspect to it'.[80] This is why the word 'racism' is used throughout this thesis to describes the bigotry experienced by the interviewees. Much of it could feasibly be xenophobia which describes a dislike of strangers or foreigners. Racism is similar but tied to a history of oppression and implies a belief in racial traits or hierarchies. In the words of John Solomos racism describes

> ideologies and social processes that discriminate against others on the basis of their putatively different racial membership. There is little to be gained from seeing racism merely as a signifier of claims to biological superiority since it has become clear in recent years that the focus on attributed biological inferiority is being replaced in

[76] Derrick Bell, *Race, Racism and American Law* (New York, 1973). Alan D. Freeman, 'Legitimizing Racial Discrimination through Antidiscrimination Law: A Critical Review of Supreme Court Doctrine', *Minnesota Law Review*, 62, 6 (1978), pp. 1049-1119. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York, 2012), p. 4.
[77] Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn (eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education* (London, 2004). Peter A. J. Stevens et al, (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* (London, 2014). Adrienne D. Dixson et al (eds.), *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children got a Song* (Oxford, 2017).
[78] Gillborn, *Racism and Education*, p. 27
[79] Ibid, p. 35.
[80] Charlotte Chadderton, 'Problematising the Role of the White Researcher in Social Justice Research', *Ethnography and Education*, 7, 3 (2012), pp. 363-380.

> contemporary forms of racist discourse by a concern with culture and ethnicity as historically fixed categories.[81]

Nevertheless, the omnipresence of racial stereotyping in British education materials and children's literature from 1960-1989 certainly points towards the persistence of beliefs in racial hierarchies and traits, as does the prominence of eugenic thought in developmental psychology during the 1960s and 1970s.[82] Either way, the bigotry experienced by the interviewees at school was undoubtedly linked to historic racial prejudices and posed a political threat to their communities. The prejudice experienced by the interviewees at school should be described as racism regardless of whether individual perpetrators believed in racial hierarchies because it contributed towards maintaining racial inequality.

CRT is inherently about challenging racial inequality. Richard Delgado's 'call to context' for instance insists on the importance of utilising the voices and stories of visible minoritised people to challenge the sanitising effect of discourses like the post-racial myth which downplay the role of race in shaping society.[83] Peggy McIntosh's work on white privilege, which described it as a knapsack of advantageous tools for navigating society, aids the understanding of how visible minoritised people have been disadvantaged throughout recent history in Britain.[84] Microaggression Theory, another important feature of CRT, highlights the constant impact of brief everyday commonplace intentional and unintentional slights towards any minoritised groups.[85] Adrienne Dixson and Celia Rousseau-Anderson note that:

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[81] John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain* (Hampshire, 2003), p. 11.
[82] Arthur R. Jensen, *Educational Differences* (London, 1973). Cyril Burt, 'Comments on Arthur R. Jensen's: "Do Schools Cheat Minority Children"', *Educational Research*, 14, 1 (1971), pp. 87-92
[83] David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (London, 2008), p. 30.
[84] Peggy McIntosh, 'White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack', *Independent School*, Winter (1990), pp. 31-36.
[85] Rita Kohlia and Daniel G. Solórzanob, 'Teachers, Please Learn our Names!: Racial Microaggressions and the K-12 classroom', *Race Ethnicity and Education* 15, 4, (2012), pp. 441-462.

> studying microaggressions […] challenges the mainstream belief that racism only manifests in egregious and blatant acts of exclusion and assault […and] demonstrates how, in this post-Civil Rights […] era, racism is instead shrouded in discourses of merit, fairness, and personal responsibility.[86]

Instead of only discussing racism that is shocking and overt, critical race theorists generally emphasise 'everyday racism' to challenge the idea that Western societies have become tolerant and post-racial nations.[87] At its core, CRT in education is about changing the dominant narrative – which sees Western societies as progressing towards racial parity through their supposedly benevolent education systems – by contextualising racism in the past and present, and highlighting its negative impact through analysing and disseminating the voices and experiences of minoritised peoples. This is why oral history research into British visible minoritised people's memories of growing up and experiencing racism can be improved by CRT. While people like the interviewees in this project certainly experienced overt and obvious racism, much of the prejudice they faced was also systemic, covert, and normalised in ways which only become obvious when racism is viewed as an everyday phenomenon.

ii. Oral history

Although they are not entirely absent the historical record contains a meagre number of British visible minoritised schoolchildren's voices and words from 1960 to 1989, but those of adults in the present day clearly represent the largest untapped source. A small number reside in government documents which can be found in local, community, and national archives, or now battered copies of sociological research from the era in question, although successive

[86] Adrienne D. Dixson and Celia K. Rousseau-Anderson, 'Critical Race Theory and Education: Singing a "New" Song', in Adrienne D. Dixson et al (eds.), *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children got a Song* (Oxford, 2017), p. 44.
[87] Philomena Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (London, 1991).

British national and local governments were poor at collecting data on multiethnic education practises and their outcomes.[88] Various studies by the Community Relations Committee and its successor the Commission for Racial Equality included direct quotes from young visible minoritised people.[89] Some predominantly visible minoritised authors captured schoolchildren and young adults discussing their schooling during the 1970s and 1980s or wrote about their own past experiences.[90] Chris Mullard for example ruminated in 1973 on the psychological effects of his educational experiences in Britain noting that 'In an extremely subtle way school taught me to consider the colour of my skin as ugly'.[91] Activist authors quoted schoolchildren during the 1970s and 1980s but they presumably selected the examples which best illustrated their points about racism in education. This does not necessarily invalidate their conclusions, but they potentially imposed their international postcolonial antiracist perspectives over some childrens' localised and personal experiences. The record improved substantially however following the publication of the Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) reports as numerous antiracists and multiculturalists began to discuss visible minoritised schoolchildren's lives.[92] Many began to quote then current and former schoolchildren, yet few analysed their experiences and perspectives in detail. What the visible minoritised schoolchildren from 1960 to 1989 now think about their experiences as adults is of great interest because the historical record is so poor, and their stories have yet to be told fully or publicly in their own words.

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[88] Francine Taylor details the poor collection of data on numbers of migrant children and their language capabilities in *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), pp. 43-44. Julia G. McNeal details the lack of data available on dispersal school bussing and the fact that no authorities had published any statistics on their usage of the policy in, 'Education', in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, (London, 1971), p. 121.

[89] Lionel Morrison, *As They See It: A Race Relations Study of Three Areas from a Black Viewpoint* (London, 1976). Commission for Racial Equality, *Looking for Work: Black and White School Leavers in Lewisham* (London, 1978).

[90] Bernard Coard, *How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System* (London, 1971). Derek Humphrey and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1972). Len Garrison, *Black Youth, Rastafarianism and Identity Crisis in Britain* (London, 1979).

[91] Chris Mullard, *Black Britain* (Plymouth, 1973), p. 14.

[92] Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (Berkshire, 2008), p. 90.

This thesis uses newspapers, local government documents such as education committee minutes and reports, and early research studies of multiethnic education in Britain to contextualise the interviewees' memories. Donations by other researchers have also provided significant documents.[93] National and local newspaper stories contributed to the popular discourses which shaped the views of British people, including the interviewees in this project. Early studies of multiethnic education practices constitute another key body of primary sources despite often being better at noting the opinions of teachers and headteachers than those of visible minoritised schoolchildren.[94] It is important though, as Chris Waters advocates, to 're-read' such documents 'within their historical context, as texts, especially for the ways in which they constituted the "experience" they claimed, transparently and unproblematically, to document'.[95] Scant information regarding the education of visible minoritised children in British schools can also be found in the minute books and reports produced by local education committees. In Huddersfield, these materials contain evidence of the town's early local multiethnic policies – dispersal bussing and reception centres – but nothing on what was being done in the classroom. Whereas in Liverpool, the resounding silence on all matters relating to visible minoritised children evidences the almost total lack of action from the authority on multiethnic education over two decades. A limited oral history sample can only reveal so much about the British experience but, as Alessandro Portelli argues, an individual life narrative can include 'enough collective and shared elements […] to justify viewing it as a representative document' of a particular local culture.[96] The life narratives of the interviewees in this research are richer sources for analysis than the majority

[93] These include materials from a visit to the personal archive of Jane Lane, and my pre-existing familiarity with the Duncan Scott Archive held at the University of Huddersfield. Sally Tomlinson also some materials.
[94] See Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects: History-Writing, Education and Race Categories', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33, 3 (1997), pp. 882-908.
[95] Chris Waters, '"Dark Strangers" in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 36, 2 (1997), p. 210. See chapter six of this thesis.
[96] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (New York, 1991), pp. 117-137.

of existing texts and their words gives voice to people whose experiences have been largely outside popular understandings of racism in Britain.

a. Sample and recruitment

The eighteen visible minoritised interviewees were found through a combination of my own social network, social media, colleagues, advertising in newspapers, and approaching businesses as well as religious and community organisations. The youngest is in their mid-forties whereas the oldest is in their mid-sixties. Five of the interviewees are African Caribbean, three have shared heritage, two have Chinese heritage and eight have South Asian heritage. Ten were British-born, although Delmara Green and Dexter Franklyn were born in Huddersfield but spent most of their infancy in Trinidad prior to permanently settling in Huddersfield. The other eight migrated to Britain from China, Hong Kong, the islands of Grenada in the Caribbean, Pakistan, or India. Today, each can be considered a successful individual who – often primarily – identifies as British. Tariq Modood reflects that it has become common for 'minority ethnic groups' to identify as British.[97] Many interviewees are also familiar with each other due to growing up in similar areas but also because snow balling – the research technique in which interviewees are used to find additional project participants – was used in some instances.[98] Notwithstanding their connections, each interviewee has led a uniquely interesting life. Most experienced lower-working class precarity as children and a struggle to find suitable careers as young adults, but all seemingly found contentment and security as adults. This means that the sample lacks people whose life trajectories were less pleasant overall. Some may have left the places in which they grew up, others may be dead, incarcerated, too ill, or disabled, or otherwise incapable of participating. Additionally, there

[97] Tariq Modood, 'Culture and Identity', in Andrew Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2012).
[98] Neuman, W. Lawrence, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (New York, 2014), p. 273.

are visible minoritised people who have been involved in the project in other ways who for their own reasons did not wish to be interviewed or dwell on their time at school.[99]

b. Approach, and intersubjectivity

Ethical clearance for this research was obtained from the University of Huddersfield in June 2018. As part of the process the author considered the risk of causing harm to the participants. To this end the research was carried out in the most sensitive manner possible and with the full informed consent of the interviewees. The author also took measures to ensure that each participant was not left distressed by the discussions in their interview. For instance, after ending the formal interview and turning off the recorder the interviewer purposefully engaged the interviewees in light conversation – particularly if the official discussion had ended by covering some upsetting themes. This sought to ensure that the interviewees did not leave our interactions in an unpleasant state of mind. The interviewees consented in writing to their appearances in the project following a process which ensured that they were fully informed as to the project's outcomes, their role in the research, and how their words and personal information would be used. Interviewees were only asked to sign a form in which they consented to appearing in the thesis after having their role thoroughly explained by the author and after they had been provided with a chance to read the near finalised thesis for themselves. Due to the sensitive nature of this research it seemed necessary to ensure that each participant was completely aware of how they would be participating. Each interviewee was, from the moment of first contact, offered the chance to participate in the research anonymously. This was explained in a document that each

[99] A Liverpool community activist called Joe Farrag was kind enough to share his photographic archive with me and to allow me to use his Liverpool social media group to advertise for interviewees. Initially, Joe also agreed to an interview, but eventually rescinded the offer and explained to that he had no desire to talk about his childhood or experiences of schooling in Liverpool. I shared a draft copy with Joe to get his opinions on the thesis and confirmed that he was comfortable with this reference and his name being included.

participant received prior to our first meeting which also described other aspects of the research and how they would participate. A copy of this document and the consent form used can be found in the final appendix to this thesis. Only one interviewee chose to be anonymised in the thesis. Another interviewee was also anonymised by the author after they became uncontactable. They had already consented to their testimony being utilised in a previous piece of work. It was felt that due to this, and the limited nature of their testimony, it was appropriate for their words to remain in the thesis but that they should be anonymised.

Authority was shared with the participants in this project in a co-productive way, particularly during the final stages of producing the thesis. In oral history research interviewees are often seen as already sharing authority with the researcher for creating primary sources.[100] Patricia Leavy argues however that the researcher and interviewee can also be considered 'co-creators' in the inherently 'collaborative oral history process'.[101] Here this was achieved through repeated contact with the interviewees to update them, ask additional questions which arose through analysing their initial interviews, and to discuss ongoing ideas and conclusions. Each analysis of their memories was read and approved by them prior to submission. This undoubtedly improved the quality of the thesis by removing some guesswork regarding their memories and ensuring that each interviewee was comfortable with their portrayal. Co-productive research can also be beneficial for the participants as it improves their own knowledge.[102] Interviewees in this researcher certainly learned more about the history of their own childhoods through our interactions. Nevertheless, co-productive methodologies are not without their critics as some believe that

[100] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (New York, 1990), p. xx.
[101] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford, 2011), p. 10.
[102] Michael Cuthill, 'Working Together: A Methodological Case Study of "Engaged Scholarship"', *International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*, 3 (2010), p. 22.

only historians are capable of disseminating effective analyses of the past.[103] Some have also noted that there is little evidence or evaluation of the impact of participatory research.[104] On the other hand, Paul Ward and Elizabeth Pente conclude that, 'The co-production of historical knowledge provides an approach or methodology that allows for a deeper comprehension of people's self-identities in their social context'.[105] In the UK this is perhaps especially important when the researcher is white. It is certainly problematic for a white academic to be telling visible minoritised people about their own past, benefiting from collecting their life stories, and analysing them, without thorough consideration of their perspectives and gaining full informed consent. Keeping the interviewees informed about the research was also essential to calming anxieties surrounding their portrayal in the writing and dealing with the difference in our racial subjectivities.

After conducting at least one long life-history style interview with each interviewee most were contacted later for further questions and to discuss ongoing ideas.[106] Months prior to submission the interviewees were contacted again to thoroughly discuss each of their featured quotes and references to their memories in the thesis. The purpose of each chapter was also described to them, and their opinions sought on the content and conclusions. Drafts

[103] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, (London, 2015), p. 41.
[104] Caricia Catalani and Meredith Minkler, 'Photovoice: A Review of the Literature in Health and Public Health', *Health Education and Behaviour*, 37, 3 (2010), pp. 424-451.
[105] Paul Ward and Elizabeth Pente, Let's Change History!: Community Histories and the Co-production of Historical Knowledge', in Katie Pickles et al (eds.), *History Making a Difference: New Approaches from Aotearoa* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 95.
[106] Some interviewees were happy to provide an interview but desired less contact thereafter than others. One interviewee stopped replying to messages shortly after our recorded conversation having stated at the time that he was happy for his words to feature in this writing, and also giving permission to quote him in a talk that I gave at the 2018 History of Education Society conference in Limerick: 'Visible Minoritised Groups at School, 1960-1981: A Case Study of Liverpool'. Repeated efforts to regain contact through the religious institution which first facilitated the meeting have failed. Full informed consent could therefore not be gained in this single instance but as we only spoke on the record once his narratives and memories were somewhat less detailed than others. His words still feature but there has been little critical analysis of them, so it was decided to simply anonymise him as opposed to removing his contributions entirely.

of the thesis were also provided before the deadline.[107] This strengthened the writing through ensuring accuracy and that the analysis accurately reflects the experiences of most interviewees. Geertje Boschma notes that giving interviewees the opportunity to review quoted materials is also 'essential to the ethical integrity of the oral history process'.[108] All of this was done prior to the interviewees officially confirming their willingness to participate in the project. Although none had any serious issues with the writing – due in large part to our conversations throughout the writing process – some did have concerns regarding certain choices of phrase, and other minor details. Their approval or disapproval is noted throughout as are their recommended amendments. This also limited issues with interpretative conflict.[109] At times the interviewees did disagree with the conclusions, or at least feel that they were not fully represented by them. However, by thoroughly discussing the thesis all accepted the broader validity of the arguments and felt comfortable with their portrayal. Ultimately, I was responsible for designing the research, and writing this thesis, but sharing authority and co-producing with interview participants improved its quality and ensured my accountability to the interviewees was strong.[110]

The participants initially seemed to view me as an earnest yet inexperienced young white student asking questions for his university project. Each facet of my identity as a researcher was however relevant to how I was perceived, and my questions answered. For

[107] The thesis was provided to everyone except for the anonymous man noted above. There was no obligation to read it, but many did. Engagement varied person to person, but the majority gave useful feedback which was then integrated into the writing, or at least stated their approval. Notes in the text and footnotes can be found throughout detailing their contributions.
[108] Geertje Boschma et al, 'Consent in Oral History Interviews: Unique Challenges', *Qualitative Health Research*, 13, 1 (2003), p. 135.
[109] Katherine Borland, '"That's Not What I Said", Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narrative Research', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015).
[110] Catherine Durose et al, 'Connected Communities: Towards Co-Production in Research with Communities', *Arts and Humanities Research Council* (2014), p. 9.

Melanie Carter, this is something to be 'embraced'.[111] David Mould argues that if the interviewer and interviewee are of the same ethnicity the interviewee might not mention things they feel the other person would obviously already know.[112] However, just as certain thinkers question the validity of male researchers examining female histories due to their lack of experience with sexism, others posit that white people should not explore the experiences of visible minoritised people due to their lack of experience with racism.[113] British race equality activist Natasha Sivanandan argues for example that 'oral history could become yet another example of whites prying into the black community'.[114] Similarly, indigenous scholars propose that non-native academics should not study tribal communities; however, as Chadderton points out 'the quality of research is not improved simply by having Aboriginal people doing the writing. It is improved by a more detailed analysis that includes the perspectives and location of both Natives and non-Natives'.[115] In this situation I am a British person like each of the interviewees, and that certainly facilitated rapport. Through a desire to help me learn, some told stories that they seemed to have rarely discussed with their close families and friends, if at all. A number discussed racism at school with parents and siblings decades after finishing school and mentioned describing their experiences to their own children. Interviewee Sue Mackay lamented however that her daughters did not seem to believe that racism was as bad as she described.[116] In many cases the interviewees' children and I are around similar ages which is perhaps why they were so eager to teach me about what it was like during their youth.

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[111] Melanie Carter, 'Telling Tales Out of School', in Gerardo R. López and Laurence Parker, *Interrogating Racism in Qualitative Research Methodology* (New York, 2003), p. 30.
[112] David H. Mould, 'Interviewing' in Donna M. DeBlasio et al, *Catching Stories: A Practical Guide to Oral History* (Athens Ohio, 2009), pp. 101-102.
[113] Chadderton, 'Problematising the Role of the White Researcher in Social Justice Research', p. 366.
[114] Lorna Chessum, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority: Making Black Community in Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 13.
[115] Chadderton, 'Problematising the Role of the White Researcher in Social Justice Research', p. 367.
[116] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.

Navigating the interviews and analysing their contents nevertheless required challenging my preconceptions about race in British history and understanding my place within it as a white person. In the words of Ian Grosvenor, white historians 'In particular […] need to understand how living and working in a racist (and sexist) society has shaped their identity, and affected their ideas and actions'.[117] When researchers, in the words of Aristotelis Santas, view racism as something 'that he or she is above and beyond and can look at from afar', then the 'underlying reality remains invisible to those who profess to unveil it'.[118] An issue arose for instance when I aggravated British-born interviewee Khatija Lunat by implying that she was born in India. I was already aware that Khatija was born in Dewsbury but misspoke through asking when she last visited 'home'.[119] The error was however an egregious example of the prejudice that British visible minoritised people constantly face and demonstrates how white interviewers could potentially silence their interviewees. Anthropologists have argued that women's expressions of their womanhood can be silenced when their experiences are perceived to be at odds with those of men.[120] It seems equally likely that white interviewers in white supremacist societies could have a similar affect upon visible minoritised interviewees. This is because white people, as Khatija, several other interviewees, and academics such as Jennifer Wang et al have emphasised, often question or refuse to recognise British visible minoritised people's Britishness.[121] Developing good communication between myself and the interviewees, learning about these issues, and

[117] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 196.
[118] Aristotelis Santas, 'Introduction to Symposium on Racism and Education', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 19 (2000), p. 297.
[119] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.
[120] Katheryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis', in Robert Parks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 179.
[121] Jennifer Wang, 'Generational Differences in Vulnerability to Identity Denial: The Role of Group Identification', *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 16, 5 (2012), pp. 600-617. Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019.

apologising sincerely for mistakes was pivotal to conducting successful interviews and being able to analyse them in a useful way that was acceptable to the participants.

Males and females often narrate their lives in different ways, but gender also affected the interviews in terms of how the interviewees reacted to me as a white male interviewer. Lindsey Dodd notes that gender 'affects the narration of the story; a woman is more likely to tie a narrative to the relationships of kin networks, while men tend to portray themselves', in the words of Alessandro Portelli, as 'self-willed individuals'.[122] Mary Gergen describes this as 'manstories' and suggests that male interviewees commonly 'adopt linear, progressive narratives leading to goal achievement', that are 'individualist' and, 'seem to celebrate the song of the self'.[123] Although the narratives of the male interviewees in this project were less self-obsessed than Gergen's description implies, the men did seem less likely to explicitly acknowledge the significance of external forces like racism than female interviewees. The narrative of Tariq Masuad Cheema is told in detail in chapter nine and is the best example of cool pose among the interviewees and of an individualist male narrative. Tariq, like several of the other male interviewees positioned himself as unbothered by racism despite experiencing much of it. Others male interviewees were somewhat less certain or strident than Tariq for various reasons, while most female interviewees were more ambiguous about their treatment or likely to reflect upon the impact of racism when they were a school pupil. Perhaps some of the male interviewees were reticent to appear vulnerable before another man, especially a white stranger.

[122] Lindsey Dodd, 'Small Fish, Big Pond: Using a Single Oral History Narrative to Reveal Broader Social Change', in Joan Tumblety, *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject* (London, 2013), p. 36.
[123] Mary Gergen, 'Life Stories: Pieces of a Dream', in Jodie Boyd, 'His Narrative, My History: Problematising Subjectivity and the uses of Oral History Interviews', *Oral History*, 43, 2 (2015), p. 63.

Due to recording equipment errors the anonymous African Caribbean participant became the male interviewee with whom I had the most contact and we developed a rapport through our repeated face-to-face interactions.[124] He became less reticent to discuss the unpleasantness of his experiences of racism at school in a way which some other interviewees perhaps did not. Although, his reticence was still evident in the way that he often gave indirect answers and in his unwillingness to be named in this thesis. For example, when asked directly about racism from teachers the man initially described generally good relations with them, but when pressed for any negative memories with teachers he provided two anecdotes which explained how they discriminated against him in subtle ways. Focusing, like Portelli, on 'the implications of the verbal strategies used by narrators', such as anecdotes and digressions, can be used to overcome reticence and reveal the subjectivities of the story-teller.[125] Similarly, Margaret Hanson, another interviewee with whom for various reasons I developed a good rapport, inexplicitly expressed that racism creates feelings of paranoia in her through an anecdote about someone else.[126] These kinds of stories were exceptionally revealing parts of our conversations but they took a toll on the interviewees. Both became uncharacteristically sombre during those moments. This suggests the limitations of these

[124] Most interviewees were interviewed in depth once, and then contacted again with additional questions over the phone prior to the final conversations where the interviewees' informed consent to feature in the project was obtained. The anonymous African Caribbean interviewee has a disability which limits his mobility. He lives near my own home, so it was easier to visit him in person than interview over the phone. After our initial face-to face interview the recording file corrupted. He kindly agreed to do the interview again but as I was leaving his home for the second time, stood by the door having put my recorder away, he told me a significant anecdote which features in chapter eight. When I later considered the significance of the story, I had to return to capture it fully. This led to more questions and a third interview was conducted in 2020. Interviews with anonymous African Caribbean male, 18 July, 23 August 2018, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

[125] Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other* Stories, pp. 48-49.

[126] Interviews with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, and 9 July 2019 conducted by author. The anecdote features in part three of chapter seven. Margaret was already a family friend having worked with my father for several years. While producing this thesis I volunteered to help Margaret produce a short video to advertise a project she is running to revitalise a local African Caribbean community centre. The video can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG4xBkRm_Qo&t=53s.

techniques and the value of detailed oral history interviewing, particularly for overcoming the boundaries of gender and race.[127]

Reticence in this research was not limited to male interviewees, and undoubtedly shaped discussions of racism with most interviewees in different ways. The four categories of reticence described by Lenore Layman are useful for understanding the experiences of the interviewees in this research:

> that which did not fit narrators' purpose in agreeing to the interview, that which did not fit within narrators' bounds of social discourse, that which was painful or disturbing to discuss, and that which did not fit with public, commemorative memory.[128]

Highlighting childhood memories of racism likely did clash with some of the interviewees' purposes. Oral history interviewees have their own reasons for putting their life stories on record, and not all wish to dwell on unhappy memories. For some, the subject of racism may also feel outside the bounds of social discourse. It is described by British antiracist organisation the National Assembly Against Racism as a topic that few 'would like to speak about in polite conversation, let alone in public'.[129] The interviewees' reticence in this regard was evident for example whenever they hesitated to narrate their memories with era accurate racial terminologies, and used politer, more modern ethnic terminologies.[130] The latter two of

[127] As our conversations progressed discussions of racism at school often became more detailed and open, so it became necessary to think about how to end each interview in a way which did not leave the interviewee in a low mood and possibly dwelling on unhappy thoughts. Often this was done through talking about their children, upcoming holidays, and other typical conversational topics before ending the interview by discussing future stages of this research.
[128] Lenore Layman, 'Reticence in Oral History Interviews', *The Oral History Review*, 36, 2 (2009), p. 212.
[129] National Assembly Against Racism, https://www.naar.org.uk/national-assembly-against-racism/.
[130] In a quote that can be found in the first part of chapter eight interviewee Shazia Azhar described a white child telling her, 'You can't do that because you're a [pause] you know from that ethnicity or the other'. Presumably, the pause likely hides the racial slur that would have been used by the white child in the original instance. This suggests Shazia's reticence to explicitly discuss the racism she

Layman's categories of reticence are however especially relevant to discussing experiences of racism among the interviewees in this project. Experiencing racism as a child can undoubtedly be traumatising and British collective memories of racism arguably deny its significance and even existence in ways which make victims of racism resist discussing their experiences. These ideas about reticence also relate to Alistair Thomson's explanation of how interviewees '"compose" or construct memories using the public language of our culture'.[131] This is done according to Thomson to make the past fit a person's present identity to make a 'safe past', and to find 'coherence out of unresolved, risky or painful pieces of the past'.[132] Each interviewee is different, but many displayed the forms of reticence described by Layman and seemingly composed their memories in ways which circumvented topics that ran counter to popular narratives.

Each interviewee was sent a document outlining the project's intentions and knew prior to our meeting that racism would be discussed. At first, I intended to avoid asking questions about racism until towards the end of the conversation. This allowed me to capture their early memories and recollections of attending school in Britain without affecting their testimonies by immediately demanding memories of racism. The topic often arose naturally, however, so probing questions were improvised. This demonstrated that many were, in their own ways, unwilling to discuss racism. As a result, the majority of quoted materials in this thesis come from first interviews. While most opened up about racism more in subsequent conversations, some appeared to avoid raising the issue themselves or were reticent in various ways when asked directly about their experiences in our first interview. This suggests how the conflict between our agendas, and subjectivities in the interview shaped the ways that

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experienced in full as she edited the memory to instead use contemporary terminology. Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

[131] Alistair Thomson, 'Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practise in Australia', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 344.

[132] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, 1994), p. 10.

they recounted their memory narratives.[133] Interviews are a clash of ideologies and politics. Ron Grele argues that they are shaped by the 'interplay' between 'the professional ideology of the historian/interviewer and the public ideology of the interviewee'.[134] While I was interested in recording experiences of racism at school some interviewees wanted to avoid the subject or seemed to accord it little significance.

Developing a good rapport was useful to overcoming their reticence to discuss racism, but it was also necessary to push the boundaries of polite conversation, and explicitly ask at times for them to discuss things that made them uncomfortable. Portelli explains that,

> One of the clichés of field work is that the interviewer must endeavour to win the confidence and trust of the interviewee […]. But the plural authorship of history-telling requires a plurality of subjects, and therefore a degree of difference. Thus, much of the eloquence and drama of the interview [is] generated precisely by the awareness of the distance and difference that [stands] between us.[135]

My perspective that racism was and remains a serious contemporary issue in the British education system consequently shaped the conversation by forcing some interviewees to deviate from their autobiographical narratives which emphasised progress and success to engage with uncomfortable childhood memories of being discriminated against. Our contrasting perspectives on racism – theirs, personal and localised, mine, academic and global – led to interesting interactions.[136] Writing about topics that interviewees are reluctant

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[133] The significance of intersubjectivity in oral history interviewing is discussed by Lynn Abrams *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010), p. 58. Lorraine Sitzia, 'A Shared Authority: An Impossible Goal?', *The Oral History Review*, 30, 1 (2003), pp. 94-95.

[134] Ron Grele, 'History and the Languages of History in the Oral History Interview: Who Answers Whose Questions and Why', paper presented at, *The Wits History Workshop: Structure and Experience in the Making of Apartheid* (6-10 February, 1990), p. 9.

[135] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (London, 1997), p. 38-39.

[136] Although each interviewee shared memories of experiencing racism, they also often qualified and contextualised their experiences in ways which emphasised its local and personal nature and seemed

to discuss is, however, as Layman describes, 'ethically challenging' for researchers.[137] This was mediated and the well-being of the interviewees protected through involving them in the research to the extent they wished and producing the thesis with their informed consent.

c. Nostalgia, the post-racial myth, and collective memory

Nostalgia for their childhood communities shaped some of the interviewees' memories of racism and the 'happy memories' they chose to share.[138] Several became involved in the project through answering to posts in local history groups on social media websites. As Rebecca Wheeler writes such groups 'are frequently accused of indulging in yearning for a romanticised past at the expense of modernity and development'.[139] This community based nostalgia can often lead individuals to dwell fondly on the positive aspects of their memories as opposed to acknowledging conflicts and unhappy memories.[140] Americans of African descent have for example been recorded affectionately remembering their segregated schools in the early to mid-twentieth century, and emphasising the strength of their communities over racial discrimination.[141] The interviewees are accordingly as likely as anyone to take a Panglossian view of their childhoods, or indulge in what Nadia Atia and Jeremy Davis describe as a 'generalised longing' that is 'a defining characteristic of the postmodern age'.[142]

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to purposefully challenge my academic and global perspective on racism. See for instance, Mo Jogee's comments in chapter ten where he indirectly contrasts my perspective with his own when he notes that I might describe the people who attacked him as racists, whereas he describes them as idiots. Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.

[137] Lenore Layman, 'Reticence in Oral History Interviews', *The Oral History Review*, 36, 2 (2009), p. 212.

[138] Mike Featherstone, 'Localism, Globalism and Cultural Identity', in Linda Martin Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta (eds.), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality* (Oxford, 2003), p. 345. Carrie Hamilton, 'Happy Memories', *New Formations*, 63 (2007), pp. 65-82.

[139] Rebecca Wheeler, 'Local History as Productive Nostalgia? Change, Continuity and Sense of Place in Rural England', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 18, 4 (2017), p. 467.

[140] Stefan Ramsden, 'The Community Spirit Was a Wonderful Thing': On Nostalgia and the Politics of Belonging', *Oral History*, 44, 1 (2016), p. 89.

[141] Barbara Shircliffe, '"We Got the Best of that World": A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Segregation', *Oral History Review*, 28, 2 (2001), pp. 59-84.

[142] Nadia Atia and Jeremy Davies, 'Nostalgia and the Shapes of History', *Memory Studies*, 3, 3 (2010), pp. 181-186, p. 182.

On the other hand, Carrie Hamilton notes that choosing to present their pasts through 'happy memories' suggests the agency that interviewees exert, that they 'have some choice in their feelings about the past, and that this past need not be defined exclusively by pain and suffering'.[143] A person's 'happy memories' do not necessarily absolve perpetrators of guilt or deny trauma. Hamilton states they do not 'refer to unmediated reflections of past "true feelings" (feelings that were likely at the time already complex and possibly contradictory or mixed), but to retrospectively constructed representations of the past'.[144] The fact that many of the interviewees still reside near where they grew up in Britain and have childhood friends in their social milieu is also relevant.[145] Some conceivably declined to emphasise racism in their memories because of strong emotional attachments to their childhood (and often present) communities. Some also identified with the motives of white working-class racists, present them as understandably concerned about changes to their communities, and view their behaviour as more nuanced than simply being about hate. This emphasises the agency of the interviewees over the racism they faced, but also that local identities and community-based nostalgia are can shape memories of racism.[146]

Most interviewees expressed ambiguity or ambivalence towards the racism they experienced as children and narrated their lives in ways which suggested that race relations have subsequently improved. Some describe their experiences of racism during their childhood as normalised and part of a different era.[147] Linda Levine states 'that memories for emotional responses are partially constructed or inferred on the basis of current appraisals of

[143] Ibid.
[144] Hamilton, 'Happy Memories', p. 66.
[145] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York, 1983), p. 313.
[146] Benjamin Baez, 'Agency, Structure, and Power: An Inquiry into Racism and Resistance for Education', *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 19 (2000), p. 329.
[147] Interviews with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018. Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020. David Yau, 29 April 2020 and 1 December 2020. Shazia Azhar, 3 and 4 March 2020, and 23 December 2020, Tariq Masaud Cheema, 25 July 2018. Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019. Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, all conducted by author.

events'.[148] The apparent decline in overt old style biological racism in Britain and the post-racial myth have accordingly shaped how the interviewees remember their past experiences.[149] Arun Kundnani points out that, 'The standard view, in which Victorian imperialism introduced colour-based racism to British society while the end of empire left behind a residue of racial attitudes that have been progressively eradicated, is mistaken'.[150] This is nevertheless 'the standard view', which makes it difficult for visible minoritised people to publicly discuss racism's impact upon their lives. In the words of Tina Patel and Laura Connelly, the 'post-racial' illusion works to repudiate the structural conditions of race and limits racism to 'individual acts of bigotry'.[151] Such a perspective is problematic because it is easy to discard the individual bigots as social outsiders without perceiving the broader racial ideologies or institutional and systemic forms of racism.[152] When racism is constricted by this simplistic definition covert systemic racism becomes increasingly ambiguous, particularly for children, and as chapter eight describes racism can cloud or fog children's perception of reality.

It is significant that several interviewees recall experiencing racism from people whom they subsequently befriended, or from teachers that they respected.[153] This suggests that recalling racist incidents at school may lead some people to experience internal conflict or cognitive dissonance as such memories clash with their view of their friends, of Britain as a non-racist country, their happy nostalgic memories of teachers and white classmates, or

[148] Linda J. Levine, 'Reconstructing Memory for Emotions', *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* ,126, 2 (1997), p. 165.
[149] Robert Ford, 'Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?', *British Journal of Sociology*, 59, 4 (2008) pp. 609-636.
[150] Arun Kundnani, *The End of Tolerance: Racism in 21st Century Britain* (London, 2007), p. 15.
[151] Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly, '"Post-Race" Racisms in the Narratives of "Brexit" Voters', *The Sociological Review*, 67, 5 (2019), p. 971.
[152] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), p. 150.
[153] Levi Tafari for instance had a teacher who called the Police on him for bringing martial arts training equipment to school to show his class and friends. The same teacher however apologised years later saying that he did not know why he did it, and fully redeemed himself in Levi's eyes by taking him on a trip to see Bob Marley perform in Manchester.

their view of themselves as having integrated successfully. Others may, like Ahmed, have preferred not to think about their experiences of racism throughout most of their adulthood or found that 'it took time' for them to find the strength to do so.[154] Ahmed notes for example that

> Forgetting has its uses; unpleasant experiences are often the ones that are hard to recall. I had not wanted to think about race; I had not wanted to think about my experiences growing up, as someone who did not belong.[155]

The ambiguities of racism in the memories of the interviewees thus link to the confusing nature of experiencing racism as a child, nostalgia for youth, and thoughts regarding generational difference which, like the post-racial myth, promote the forgetting of racism.

As a form of collective memory, the post-racial myth seeks to create unity through understating or ignoring the severity of racism in ways that can manipulate visible minoritised people. Maurice Halbwachs famously described how 'society tends to erase from its memory all that might separate individuals, or that might distance groups from each other'.[156] In Britain this has arguably prevented people from engaging with the impact of British racism. Arguments which deny its existence or severity have been given great prominence over the last half century and shaped how many White British people react to discussions of racism. One of Britain's first head teachers of African descent, Beryl Gilroy, was accused by white critics of exaggerating the extent of racism that she experienced when she published her autobiographical narrative about working in British schools in 1976.[157] Over forty years later gold medal winning British Paralympian Kadeena Cox, who states she

[154] Ahmed, *On Being Included*, p. 2.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Maurice Halbwachs, 'On Collective Memory', cited in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (London, 2010), p. 83
[157] Sandra Courtman, 'Woman Version: Beryl Gilroy's *Black Teacher*', *British Library, Discovering Literature: 20th Century* (October, 2018).

has experienced racism 'in some form my entire life', was told by a white teammate that, 'We're in 2020. Racism doesn't exist'.[158] These are direct examples of racial gaslighting perpetrated against British visible minoritised people which suggest how collective memories of British racism have shaped popular thinking for generations.[159] Psychological gaslighting, as described by Tobias Heston and Ameil Joseph, is a form of 'abuse that is used to manipulate object(s) in order to deceive and undermine the credibility of the target'.[160] It is a concept that is primarily used to analyse abusive personal relationships. This idea was evoked by British Asian actor and musician Riz Ahmed in his 2020 album *The Long Goodbye* which laments the 'toxic' and 'abusive' relationship that Ahmed sees between British society, and British visible minoritised people.[161] The ideologies and rhetoric about race embraced by the British establishment such as assimilationism, New Racism, and the post-racial myth have all contributed towards creating this toxic relationship. Through their effect on collective memory they have also gaslighted visible minoritised people like the interviewees in this research into doubting their own memories of racial abuse.[162]

The ideas of Sara Ahmed and Arlie Hochschild are useful for understanding how racial gaslighting is so effective. Drawing upon Hochschild's concept of 'emotion work' recent authors have argued that children supress negative experiences to protect their family's

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[158] 'Black and Disabled and Female and I Was Told Racism Doesn't Exist in 2020', *BBC News,* (7 July, 2020).
[159] For an explanation of this term and phenomenon see Angelique M. Davis and Rose Ernst, 'Racial Gaslighting', *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7, 4 (2019) pp. 761-774.
[160] Heston Tobias and Ameil Joseph, 'Sustaining Systemic Racism Through Psychological Gaslighting: Denials of Racial Profiling and Justifications of Carding by Police Utilising Local News Media', *Race and Justice*, 10, 4 (2020), p. 424.
[161] In the album's first song Ahmed narrates his relationship with Britain using the metaphor of a relationship with a white woman called Brittany. After describing, through the metaphor, South Asian people's contribution to British society and his own love of Britain/Brittany Ahmed then evokes the idea of racial gaslighting by lamenting that Brittany 'blames me for how lately she's been feeling lost'. Lyrics freely available online, see also Ian Youngs, 'Riz Ahmed on The Long Goodbye: Why he says "Britain's broken up with me"', *BBC News* (6 March, 2020).
[162] Assimilationism gaslights British visible minoritised people by placing the burden upon them to assimilate, implying that racism does not exist or is not serious, and positioning their Britishness as a privilege that they have to earn, as opposed to being the result of government policies.

happiness at home.[163] Kristine Alexander explains for instance how in lieu of the actual labour that children performed in the recent past prior to the introduction of child labour laws, 'family based emotion work' comes from the expectation that modern young people will maintain and produce happiness in their families.[164] The expectation that children should maintain their family's happiness is significant for visible minoritised children because it becomes difficult for them to discuss their experiences of racism at school when each member is suffering racism alone outside the home. The child suppresses their experience of racism at school instead of discussing them openly with parents and siblings. This is partly why writers like Ahmed consider that one effect of racism is it makes it difficult for visible minoritised people to discuss their experiences of racism.[165] Alexander's use of Hochschild's theory suggests how this operates within families whereas Ahmed's research into racism in institutional settings demonstrates how accusations of racism in schools or workplaces can become

> personalised, as if the institution is 'the one' suffering a blow to its reputation. Those who speak about racism become the blow, the cause of injury. The belief that there is not a problem with racism can take the form of a belief in the happiness of the organisation.[166]

Victims of societal racism can also experience paranoia which leads them to doubt their own experiences of racism.[167] This interacts with another of Ahmed's ideas about how migrant communities strengthen themselves 'through the collective act of remembering in the absence

[163] Arlie R. Hochschild, 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, 3 (1979), pp. 551-575.
[164] Kristine Alexander, 'Agency and Emotion Work', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 7, 2 (2015), p. 124.
[165] Ahmed, *On Being Included*, p. 3 and p. 158.
[166] Ibid, p. 146.
[167] Ibid, pp. 155-156.

of a common terrain'.[168] Consequently, it is possible that resisting racism has become harder for migrant communities in recent years as collective memories of racism have been stunted by the post-racial myth. The paranoia that racism creates would also be lessened if racism were not a taboo subject at home, school, the workplace or misrepresented in the popular media.

Conclusion

This research engages with sociological, psychological, CRT and oral history discourses to understand racism and its impact upon British visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s. These ideas suggest how British schools devalued visible minoritised people's cultures while focusing more on shaping their ideologies and social status in line with the expectations of the dominant White British norm than on providing an equal education. British schooling for the interviewees undoubtedly entailed varying degrees of being conditioned to adopt or at least imitate White British social norms, be it through the structure of the education system or the socially dominant forms of knowledge to which they were exposed. The works of Fanon delineate how schooling in Britain can also generate feelings of inferiority and lead to the internalisation of racism among visible minoritised people. Subsequent works drawing influence from Fanon have further demonstrated the impact of lifelong experiences with systemic racism and make it clear that the psychological and even physiological implications can be severe. Critical Race Theory collects these ideas together in a critique of white supremacy and everyday racism which is essential for understanding the experiences of visible minoritised people in the present and recent past.

Understanding how collective memory has shaped the ways that all British people think about race and made some interviewees reticent to remember it is key to analysing

[168] Sara Ahmed, 'Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural* Studies, 2, 3 (1999), p. 344.

experiences of racism. The post-racial myth is racial gaslighting writ large. It takes place on a national and international scale to affect collective memory. Even today the existence of systemic racism is presented as doubtful in British popular media as a result. Black guests on news programmes are often forced to explain institutional and systemic racism, or to provide their own experiences and other examples as evidence, despite there being a mountain of reports that pre and post-date Macpherson's which could have provided the answer instead.[169] Discussions of institutional and systemic racisms in the media often exemplify how British visible minoritised people are consistently told to ignore or doubt their own experiences of racism. In part this is because multiculturalism and antiracism have never gained broad acceptance across the political spectrum. Prominent figures such as Trevor Phillips, the former chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, denounced multiculturalism in the 2000s, characterised Muslim groups in particular as un-British, and demanded the formation of a more unified British cultural identity.[170] The Macpherson Report was framed as a 'watershed' moment for British race relations, but since its publication visible minoritised groups have consistently been demonised and the concepts of institutional and systemic racisms attacked in the press.[171] It is important to note these issues and their impact

[169] 'Is Racism at the Heart of Meghan and Harry's Departure?', *This Morning*, *ITV* (London, broadcast 13 January 2020), https://youtu.be/Yn3DEC79FIk?t=262. At the start of this time-stamped clip Dr Shola Mos-Shogbamimu is being introduced by presenter Holly Willoughby as someone who is tired of having to always explain racism to white people. At five minutes twenty-one seconds Dr Mos-Shogbamimu is interrupted by presenter Phillip Schofield who claims he has not seen examples of racism in the press in recent years and asks her to give him examples of the racism she experiences. This exemplifies how the media injects ambiguity into discussions of racism and questions visible minoritised people's experiences of racism. All of this was noted by former Huddersfield journalist student and now reporter for the BBC, Daniel Henry, 'Reporting from the Black Lives Matter Protests', Research Seminar, The University of Huddersfield (17 November 2020). For another example of this in the British media, also highlighted by Henry, see 'George the Poet refutes Emily Maitlis's claims racism is "not the same" in UK as US', *The Independent* (2 June 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xn6t74KJoO8.

[170] 'Labour suspends race pioneer Trevor Phillips over Islamophobia claims', *The Times* (9 March, 2020).

[171] John Grieve et al, 'A Watershed for British Policing', *The Guardian* (23 February, 2003). Steve Doughty, 'Racism slur on the word "British"', *The Daily Mail* (11 October, 2000), pp. 6-7. See the following letters from Richard Stone and Clark Cross, 'Is Sir David Right About British Racism?', *The Daily Mail* (27 June, 2002). Lynda Lee-Potter, 'Do Our Real Values Now Count for Nothing?',

upon this research because in the words of Luisa Passerini when encouraging oppressed groups to 'speak for themselves' oral historians must still critically examine how their interpretations may be influenced by dominant popular narratives.[172] Overall, British visible minoritised people have had their Britishness questioned and their experiences of racism negated by the media throughout this century and the last. The end result is that it can become understandably difficult for them to discuss their own experiences.[173]

The Daily Mail (20 October 2004), p. 13. Melanie Philips, 'At Last We Know the Truth: Labour Despises Anyone Who Loves Britain, Its Values and Its History', *The Daily Mail* (24 February 2010): 'They did this mainly because they hated what Britain was, a largely homogeneous society rooted in 1,000 years of history […] And they then had the gall to declare that to have love for or pride in that authentic British identity, and to want to protect and uphold it, was racist'. Munira Mirza, 'We Should Be Concerned About How Politicians Are Obsessed with Saying Britain Is Racist - As Grievance Culture Hurts Relations', *The Sun* (15 September 2017), Clarissa Tan, 'Britain Has Many Major Problems - Racism Isn't One of Them', *The Spectator* (15 February 2014): 'It has less prejudice than the countries where I've lived before – and more people taking offence'. Sherelle Jacobs, 'It Is Absurd to Blame the Harry and Meghan Fiasco on "British Racism"', *The Daily Telegraph* (10 January, 2020): 'the suggestion that the public at large is instinctively hostile to the couple because a dingy, residual bigotry claws at the inner depths of the British zeitgeist is absurd. So too the idea that the country's press is institutionally prejudiced'.

[172] Luisa Passerini, 'Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 5.

[173] All interviewees agreed with this conclusion when reviewing this thesis.

Chapter 3: Race and the Language of Race in Britain

Changes were taking place in race-thinking and language in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s which are imperative to understanding the experiences of the interviewees in this research. Overt racial discrimination slowly became taboo yet a more subtle form – known as New Racism – began to veil racial prejudice from the 1960s onwards.[1] These developments were in part stimulated by academics after the Second World War who argued that the idea of race was not backed by science.[2] The concept of ethnicity then proliferated in academia and began entering the minds of the general public, but few have truly considered the meaning of this development.[3] It is also apparent that few have thoroughly considered the meaning of race and its role in British history. Britain certainly appears to be moving away from its racist past, but in hindsight many of the changes have been superficial. Multicultural education policies were emerging, and some of the strongest antiracist legislature in Europe was enacted from the 1960s to the 1980s.[4] These are of course not superficial developments. Nevertheless, while British governments legislated against racism and published examinations of institutional racism they continued to use racist politics which rallied White British people against visible minoritised communities.[5] British leaders subsequently failed to thoroughly challenge race-thinking among British people. The purpose of this chapter is to

[1] Geoffrey Short and Bruce Carrington, 'Anti-Racist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', *Educational Review*, 48, 1 (1996), pp. 65-77.
[2] Reza Afshari and Raj S. Bhopal, 'Changing Pattern of Use of "Ethnicity" and "Race" in Scientific Literature', *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31, 5, (2002), pp. 1074-1076. Charlotte Williams and Mark R. D. Johnson, *Race and Ethnicity in a Welfare Society* (Berkshire, 2010), p. 1.
[3] Thomas Erickson, 'Ethnicity, Race, Class and Nation', in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds), *Ethnicity*, (Oxford, 1996), pp. 2834.
[4] Jack Crangle, 'Left to Fend for Themselves': Immigration, Race Relations and the State in Twentieth Century Northern Ireland, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 36, 1 (2018), p. 24.
[5] Ashley Dawson, *Mongrel Nation: Diasporic Culture and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Michigan, 2010), p. 6.

establish the British racial paradigm during the era of this research. This is achieved through briefly explaining the emergence of race as a concept, and the history of white supremacy and racism in post-war Britain. It is then argued that the developments in the language of human difference were more significant than those in thought because while people in general slowly began to speak in terms of ethnic difference from the 1960s to the 1980s, older race-thinking strongly persisted.

i. The history of race

Racial hierarchies and their social consequences are an invention of the modern world which have had dramatic consequences in recent centuries. Ancient societies including the Greeks and Romans had no concept comparable to race in modern society.[6] From antiquity until the renaissance, medical science was based on humorism as human difference was understood to be caused by the interactions of different climates with the four humours – blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm.[7] It was only when European merchants began creating and expanding empires, encountering indigenous American peoples, and enslaving Africans, that the usage of race in European languages began to coalesce into the modern understanding of the term.[8] The spread of print media and literacy in Europe began before the formation of European colonies and facilitated the development of race-thinking through popularising racial descriptions of indigenous groups.[9] In Ian Law's view this led, by the end of the

[6] George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (New Jersey, 2002), p. 17.
[7] Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 2.
[8] Margo Hendricks, 'Surveying 'Race' in Shakespeare', in Catherine M. Alexander and Stanley Wells (eds.), *Shakespeare and Race* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 18.
[9] Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1997).

nineteenth century, to the entry of racist ideologies and practises 'into virtually every area of British society'.[10]

Race-thinking justified Britain's position as the world's most powerful nation while cloaking the fact that this power was won through enslaving and violently exploiting indigenous groups and their territories. Mass Observation materials collected during the Second World War demonstrated that White British people then still practiced racial hygiene and remained strongly influenced by Social Darwinism or eugenics. They also commonly viewed people of African descent for example as child-like, predatory, animalistic and 'dog-like'.[11] The point here is not that every White British person pre-1945 was an ardent racist who hated all non-whites, but that such ideas were prominent and even those who disagreed with them understood humanity through racial hierarchies. J. R. R. Tolkien is a great example of this. There has been much debate surrounding the people of Middle Earth – his literary creations – particularly Tolkien's descriptions of Orcs and the suggestion that racial mixing was evil. One review of the early 2000s film adaptions of *Lord of the Rings* noted for instance that 'there was something about watching a bunch of pale faces setting off into the east to hack some guys with dark faces into little bits that made me feel a little queasy'.[12] It is however clear in several letters to his son, and one sent through his publishers to the German Nazi Party in 1938 regarding the German publication of *The Hobbit*, that Tolkien held antiracist views. Presumably, like many other British people during the early twentieth century, Tolkien opposed racial discrimination, but the vision of humanity expressed in his mythos reflects the hierarchical and racial mode of understanding humanity and human history that was then dominant in European, and American societies.

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[10] Ian Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool, 1660-1950* (Liverpool, 1981), p. 21. Carolyn Betensky, 'Casual Racism in Victorian Literature', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 47, 4 (2019), p. 724.

[11] Gavin Schaffer, 'Fighting Racism: Black Soldiers and Workers in Britain during the Second World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28, 2/3 (2010), p. 252.

[12]John Yatt, 'Wraiths and Race', *The Guardian* (2 December, 2002).

Until the Second World War and subsequent events like decolonisation, the civil rights movement, and the arrival in Britain of large numbers of post-war migrants from New Commonwealth nations, there was little popular support for a challenge to the white supremacist worldview in the United States or Europe.[13] In 2001 Howard Winant argued that in bringing about these events the Second World War created a challenge to the overt acceptance of white supremacy in the West: 'over the *longue durée* of the modern epoch […] the upsurge of anti-racist activity since World War II constitutes a fundamental and historical shift, a global rupture or "break", in the continuity of worldwide white supremacy'.[14] In popular terms, Winant's idea is often understood in the reductive way described by George Frederickson who states that, 'Hitler, it has been said, gave racism a bad name'.[15] The difference between this and Winant's idea is however significant because it circumvents discussions of the inherently white supremacist nature of Western societies prior to the Second World War, and reduces racism in the eyes of the public to the obvious hatred of the Nazis. It also glosses over the fact that the war only created the conditions for change. For the first time in history, widespread, cross-cultural, and sustained support for antiracist campaigns developed, but it was events years after 1945 such as the civil rights movement, and anti-apartheid protests which created what Gavin Schaffer characterises as 'an international crescendo of racial politics'.[16] These social changes were preceded by scientific developments after the war as anthropologists in particular began to feel responsible for how

[13] Numerous resistance movements developed from the eighteenth century onwards, and there is as Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor describe in, 'Exploring Supplementary Education: Margins, Theories and Methods', *History of Education*, 40, 4 (2011), pp. 516-517, a 'long tradition of black activism in Britain with links to the anti-slavery and anti-imperial movements'. These campaigns could be viewed as predecessors to the antiracist campaigns of the 1960s onwards. These were however anti-slavery or anti-imperialist campaigns, and it has been noted by Douglas Lorimer that it would be 'anachronistic' to describe any movement as antiracist prior to the First World War. Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870–1914* (Manchester, 2013), p. 9.
[14] Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York, 2001), p. 2.
[15] Frederickson, *Racism*, pp. 2-3.
[16] Gavin Schaffer, *Racial Science and British Society, 1930-62* (London, 2008), p. 4.

their discussions of race had been used politically during the first half of the century.[17] In 1950 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sought to remedy this with the first of several well-publicised statements about race which argued 'that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, homo sapiens […] the likenesses among men are far greater than their differences'.[18] These were some of the first important public statements to suggest that the 'break' described by Winant had begun.

The changes to scientific race-thinking after 1945 did not immediately sway politicians and the public. Kevin Myers argues that traditional race-thinking continued to play 'a crucial role in the reassessment of what constituted national culture and, ultimately, had the cumulative effect of defining certain ways of being British in the post-war period'.[19] Ambalavaner Sivanandan reflected in 1982 that 'Each epoch carries with it a burden of the past […]. And the longer and more durable the previous epoch, the more halting is the emergence of the new'.[20] Many British people during the 1960s and 1970s undoubtedly remained strongly affected by racist imperial perspectives which left them feeling superior to those who migrated from New Commonwealth nations.[21] Their arrival certainly did encourage some White British people to face the inherent falsehoods behind their views. Nevertheless, a YouGov survey found in 2014 that two-thirds of British people over sixty years old, the people who were anywhere from children to young adults during the period of study in this project, think Britain's Empire is 'something to be proud of'.[22] Although overtly racist language was being purged from academic and public discourses by the 1960s it would

[17] Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 18.
[18] Ernest Beaglehole et al, 'Statement on Race: Paris, July 1950', in *Four Statements on the Race Question* (Paris, 1969), p. 30.
[19] Kevin Myers, *Struggles for a Past: Irish and Afro-Caribbean histories in England, 1951–2000* (Manchester, 2015), p. 4.
[20] Ambalavaner Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*, (London, 1982), p. 143.
[21] Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (Berkshire, 2008), p. 23.
[22] Anna Claeys, 'Britannia's Children Grow Up: English Education at Empire's End', *History of Education*, 47, 6 (2018), p. 823.

nevertheless be foolish to believe that most British people had by then also begun to eschew racist beliefs because the underlying ideas about Empire and White British superiority remain popular among those generations today.

The interviewees in this project often inadvertently referred to Winant's 'break' when emphasising generational difference and how racism was normalised during their youth. When discussing the racism of her teachers, interviewee Shazia Azhar noted for example that, 'I think it was very different in those days'.[23] Interviewee Sue Mackay and her twin sister were the only children with African heritage at their schools in Liverpool throughout the 1960s and 1970s. These ideas about generational difference are present in Sue's memories when she contrasts herself with her sister: 'whereas I'm gabby [overly talkative], I also don't like trouble, my sister will stand and argue with our Lord. So, if she had a teacher who she thought was picking on her she would say "That's cos you're racist"'.[24] Sue went on to describe how her sister believed their elderly deputy head teacher was a racist and was often in conflict with him. Sue also stated that the man would constantly put both twins in detention because of this,

> I hadn't done nothing but because I was her twin, he didn't like me either. And I'd say, 'Hang on I haven't done nothing', 'You're both in detention'. I'd say, 'But er, I'm not even in her class!'.
>
> *Why did she think he was racist?*

[23] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.
[24] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.

> He was an old, old teacher do you know what I mean, most of the others were youngish teachers but he was an old old teacher. She always said he was racist, always. He just didn't like her.[25]

This difference of opinion between Sue and her sister suggests how children experienced and interpreted racism in their own ways. Interviewee Khatija Lunat described talking about this with South Asian schoolfriends, 'Not everybody thought it was a race thing and it may not have been. Whereas others would definitely say that "Yes he's definitely or she has definitely got a grudge against us"'.[26] Sue's comments also suggest that she considered labelling her teacher's actions racist as potentially offensive, or as causing trouble.[27] Sue felt aggrieved by this teacher's obviously prejudiced behaviour but unlike her sister did not explicitly label him a racist. Instead, she explains the man's behaviour by highlighting his age.

The same idea is evident in another of Sue's anecdotes about being mistreated by a different teacher:

> Oh, he was another one, dirty old perve[ert]. He went to smack me backside didn't he, in front of everyone [pause] but I was bigger than him. He never smacked me, but he refused to have me in the lesson. So, three years I had to sit outside. See he's another one, old-school.
>
> *Did that happen to anyone else?*
>
> No, just me. Three whole years outside in the corridor. I couldn't say anything because he was head of year.
>
> *Why do you think he did that?*

[25] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.
[26] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.
[27] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), p. 147.

He didn't like me, I think I [pause] Because of his old ways.[28]

Sue appears relatively sanguine about this experience despite it costing her the final three years of Mathematics teaching and an O-Level in the subject, but the story demonstrates that individual teacher's wielded great power over the futures of their visible minoritised pupils. Primarily though, Sue's anecdote is about generational difference, and how she was treated by elderly teachers who had lived through an earlier social zeitgeist. It demonstrates how the interviewees' awareness of the changes that were taking place in British racial politics, language and thought can be seen in their memories of uncomfortable experiences like these with older teachers at school.

ii. White supremacy and racism

To understand the memories of visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s necessitates recognising the enduring strength of white supremacist thinking among the British establishment and populace. Memories of Britain's imperial glory lingered during those decades as did a bitterness regarding the decolonisation process. The question 'Which party do you best think can best handle the problem of coloured people?', featured on a Gallup poll in 1968, for example.[29] In the late 1970s researcher Rob Jeffcoate was told by a twelve-year-old White British girl that 'once we owned the whole world and now we've only got a little piece. There are too many coloured in our country'.[30] Fears of miscegenation also endured throughout the 1960s as inter-ethnic couples were generally portrayed as scandalous by the British press.[31] For Schaffer, the longevity of such anxieties demonstrates 'the power

[28] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.
[29] Marcus Collins, 'Immigration and Opinion Polls in Post-war Britain', *Modern History Review*, 18, 4 (2016), p. 8.
[30] Robert Jeffcoate, 'Positive Image: Towards a Multicultural Curriculum', in Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 23.
[31] David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London, 2016), p. 17.

and persistence of these concerns about racial type and quality'.[32] Francine Taylor describes how British sociologists failed to recognise the extent of White British racism during this period, and how they recorded a great deal of racial prejudice yet believed it was somehow not racial and unlike the obvious and historic racism in America and South America.[33] Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton first delineated the term 'institutional racism', in their 1967 book *Black Power*.[34] In the same year Martin Luther King Junior wrote that 'the doctrine of white supremacy was imbedded in every textbook and preached in practically every pulpit. It became a structural part of the culture'.[35] These authors referred to the United States, but as the rest of this section describes, 'the doctrine of white supremacy' was also entrenched in Britain.

It is often noted that white supremacy and racial stereotypes of visible minoritised people were reinforced by their lack of visibility and poor representation in school curriculums and the popular media of the day from the 1960s to the 1980s.[36] The result of this is that few White British people, even the well-educated, know much about the histories of Britain's Empire and former colonies.[37] During Stokely Carmichael's 1967 visit to the UK a member of the audience with African descent was recorded as having stated to Carmichael that

[32] Gavin Schaffer, 'Fighting Racism: Black Soldiers and Workers in Britain during the Second World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28, 2/3 (2010), p. 257. Lucy Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain After the Great War', *Gender and History*, 17, 1 (2005), pp. 29-61.
[33] Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), p. 12.
[34] Karim Murji, 'Sociological Engagements: Institutional Racism and Beyond', *Sociology*, 4, 4 (2007), p. 844.
[35] Martin Luther King Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1967, 2010), p. 79.
[36] Barry Troyna, *Public Awareness and the Media: A Study of Reporting on Race* (London, 1981).
[37] Sally Tomlinson, *Education and Race: From Empire to Brexit* (Bristol, 2019), p. 1.

> We're not even noticed till we're moving in next door, or going down the street with a pretty chick or something like that […]. Then people'll look at you, and say 'look at that black man'. Otherwise, they don't even know we're here.[38]

In 1979 the annual conference proceedings for the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent raised similar concerns noting that British visible minoritised women are 'conspicuous by their absence. We are not even abused; we do not exist; we are invisible'.[39] Researchers also often highlight that when visible minoritised people were portrayed on British Television it was crudely done and damaging. Spike Milligan's *Curry and Chips* (1969) which featured Milligan in brownface affecting a subcontinental accent, using poor syntax, and making quips about there being 'too many wogs' in England is one well cited example.[40] *The Black and White Minstrel Show* which ran on the BBC during prime-time for over twenty years until 1978 in another. Rob Waters points out that 'the community imagined in British television programming of this era was overwhelmingly white, and black people were featured most often only as a marker of social difference or social "problems"'.[41] There are also numerous well noted examples of popular children's books, comics and Television programmes which featured racism and subtly promoted white supremacy during the era of this research such as Tintin, Marvel Comics, DC Comics, the Beano, the Dandy, or Noddy to name a few.[42] Overall, it is fair to conclude, like Brian Jackson did in 1979, that the media children consumed outside of school during this period was saturated with racial messages.[43]

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[38] Rob Waters, 'Black Power on the Telly: America, Television, and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain ', *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), p. 955.
[39] Black Women in Britain Speak Out', *Annual Conference Proceedings for the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent* (London, 1979), p. 8.
[40] Chitra Ramaswamy, 'Lenny Henry's Race Through Comedy review – Britain's Blackface Shame', *The Guardian* (15 October, 2019).
[41] Waters, 'Black Power on the Telly', pp. 947-970.
[42] 'Tintin Racism Row Puts Spotlight on Children's Literature', *The Guardian* (15 October 2012). It is well noted that Marvel and DC comics featured racist caricatures of enemy peoples during the Second World War, but these remained present during the 1960s and 1970s. For an example of American

British Chinese writer Daniel York Loh remembers seeing comedians on British Television making racist jokes and noted that, 'There appeared to be no "Oriental" comedians […] to take the piss back', before also lamenting that 'we "Orientals" didn't even have any "Oriental" pop stars'.[44] Interviewees in this project such as Amina Chichangiri correspondingly recalled being affected by white comedians mocking Asian people on Television during their childhood.[45] Interviewee Shazia Azhar highlighted how these issues negated her cultural identity:

> myself and the other Muslim children had an understanding that it was Ramadan, but the teachers never mentioned it, so they didn't acknowledge it in any way. So, we always thought, almost thought that they didn't know about it. So that all then you know as a human being, it doesn't validate you does it. It is almost as if it's not important. It wasn't in the media either, so it wasn't reflected on the TV that this is an important time of year for people.[46]

Moments when visible minoritised people appeared on British television often became significant memories as a result, particular for those who experienced them as children. Interviewee Margaret Hanson remembers her parents calling her into the living room simply because a person of African descent was on the television.[47] Trevor Carter recalled

> When the black American athletes at the 1968 Mexico Olympics gave their Black Power salutes as they received their medals, thousands of black people in Britain, from our generation and our children's, felt we were on the map. People remember

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comic book racism see the DC Comics character Egg-Fu, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egg_Fu. Laura Waddell. 'Enid Blyton's Racism Needs to be Challenged', *The Scotsman* (29 August 2019).

[43] Brian Jackson, *Starting School* (London, 1979), p. 113.

[44] Daniel York Loh, 'Kendo Nagasaki and me', in Nikesh Shukla (ed.), *The Good Immigrant* (London, 2017), p. 53.

[45] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.

[46] Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020.

[47] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019 conducted by author.

> that occasion like they remember President Kennedy's assassination: a symbolic moment in our history.[48]

The Mexican Olympics had a similar impact on Hanif Kureishi who also wrote in his memoir of growing up South London about it being 'too embarrassing, too degrading' to watch television because Pakistanis were 'derided', and that one of his teachers would always imitate Peter Sellers' mock Indian accent when speaking to him.[49] Some interviewees also had strong memories of programmes like *Love Thy Neighbour*, *The Bill Cosby Show* and *Sanford and Son* which offered a modicum of representation. It is obvious however that British visible minoritised children must have strongly desired more visibility and better representation in the popular media of the day and at school.

Children's literature and educational texts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries promoted racial stereotypes and white supremacy.[50] For example, *Little People in Far-Off Lands: Land of Sugar-Cane*, first published in the early twentieth century and reprinted many times, described Caribbean 'negroes' as 'musical', 'lazy', 'comical', 'quaint', 'carefree', and 'simple'.[51] Book one of the *Reading On* series – an early year's book published in 1958 and reprinted for the eleventh time in 1975 – described how British ethnographer Mary Kingsley studied cannibals and looked after 'these backward races'.[52] This is why Chris Proctor wrote in 1975 that

> The whole myth of white superiority is rebuilt in schools as the whole history of Europeans encroaching on the rights, aspirations and land of any inhabitants is once

[48] Rob Waters, 'Black Power on the Telly', p. 952.
[49] Ibid, p. 954.
[50] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 188. Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, p. 137.
[51] *Little People in Far-off Lands: The Land of the Sugar Cane* published and re-printed numerous times by E. J. Arnold Ltd Educational Publishers in Leeds and Glasgow during the early twentieth century.
[52] Gillian Klein, *Reading into Racism: Bias in Children's Literature and Learning Materials* (Oxford, 1985), p. 1.

> again painted as the great imperial crusade against ignorance. History seems to begin only when a white man arrives.[53]

By the 1980s imperial imagery doubtless remained prominent in the public's consciousness.[54] School textbooks like *Britain in the Modern World – The Twentieth Century*, published in 1970, stated that 'at the end of the nineteenth century the European countries became interested in building empires for themselves in Asia and tropical Africa and agreed to share out the continent'.[55] Proctors argues that when such histories are presented to children in these ways the implied inferiority of colonial societies and superiority of the British was accepted through 'bias by implication'.[56] Sara Ahmed correspondingly notes that lessons about empire present it as a 'gift' to indigenous peoples and that, 'To become British is to accept empire as a gift of happiness, which might involve an implicit judgement to forget or not to remember the violence of colonial rule'.[57] Interviewee Shazia remembered 'thinking that Britain [slight chuckle] fixed the world, and that Europeans must be very clever because they discovered America and colonised all these huge swathes of land […]. And they invented everything as well'.[58] Many children's books seemingly promoted white supremacist biases, while also instilling damaging racial stereotypes of visible minoritised people which is why they were central to the spread and persistence of racist stereotypes and biases.

Another element of the implicit biases taught at school was that visible minoritised people's histories and cultures rarely featured in British curriculums. In the early 1970s Derek Humphry and Gus John spoke to 'about 200 kids and about two-thirds felt they were being taught a great deal about Britain and British standards and values and not enough about

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[53] Chris Proctor, *Racist Textbooks* (London, 1975), p. 17.
[54] Dave Hicks, 'Images of the World: An Introduction to Bias in Teaching Materials', *Department for Education in Developing Countries and the Centre for Multicultural Education*, 2, (1980), p. 7.
[55] Proctor, *Racist Textbooks*, p. 18.
[56] Ibid, pp. 17-19.
[57] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (London, 2010), p. 131.
[58] Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020.

other cultures'.[59] Of his schooling in Liverpool during the 1960s and 1970s interviewee Humayun Mirza recalled, 'History was mainly about the Stuarts and the Elizabethans' and there was nothing 'about you know the British Indian Raj' and 'no lessons with any regards to foreign countries'.[60] Correspondingly, Liverpool-born interviewee Ray Said remembered of his schooling in the 1960s and 1970s, 'It was very much, "Here's the history", and it was very much a history of the British Empire, and how it brought peace and civilisation. And then only foolish people would rebel against that'.[61] Eminent historian Hugh Trevor-Roper for instance claimed in 1965 that Africa had no history prior to the arrival of Europeans. For Trevor-Roper it was obvious that the study of history should be Eurocentric because it was pointless 'to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe'.[62]

Interviewee Levi Tafari remembers asking his secondary school history teacher if he could learn about Black History:

> First, he told us there was no such thing as Black History, but we knew about Marcus Garvey and the Maroons, so I said, 'What about them?'. The following week he brought a textbook in about slavery, but we didn't want to learn about slavery.[63]

Interviewee Margaret Hanson remembered having a lesson on slavery in which she had 'to draw little stick men with chains around their neck […]. It wasn't a good introduction to knowing who you were supposed to be'.[64] In a later conversation Margaret argued:

> Africa was rich before it was colonised, why don't you show us any of that stuff? It's all part of an agenda to break certain groups of people down. Political agenda isn't it.

[59] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 12.
[60] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.
[61] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.
[62] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Rise of Christian Europe* (London, 1965), p. 9.
[63] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[64] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.

> It's part of keeping, I don't know. I can't explain it all. It just feels part of a bigger plan, for the working class, for different groups of people. But certainly, it has had an impact right across a generation of young people.[65]

Liverpool-born historian Ray Costello recalled how

> At school I became aware that the 'People of Many Lands' lessons about people of African descent were not always about the black people I met in the streets in the course of my daily life and not always of direct relevance to my black schoolmates […] it seemed that all black people were presented as a people living overseas, with different cultures and lifestyles – belonging elsewhere and un-British.[66]

In 1972 the Merseyside Community Relations Council noted 'sparse references' to the slave trade or migration in the texts used by Liverpool's schools and recommended 'that the centuries-long growth of British communities of Chinese, African and West Indian origin be given much more prominence in accounts of the local and national past'.[67] Despite such efforts these histories remained untaught in most British schools by the late 1980s.[68] Overall, the interviewees learned little about visible minoritised people at school, were constantly presented with biased images of white supremacy, and when their histories were taught it was largely done in a problematic and damaging manner.

The US Television series *Roots* (1977) often features strongly in the memories of British people of African descent and exemplifies how the mis-teaching of history in schools interacted with the popular media of the day to the detriment of visible minoritised

[65] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.
[66] Ray Costello, *Black Liverpool: The Early History of Britain's Oldest Black Community 1730-1918* (Liverpool, 2001), p. 5. This is an example of the author using an inclusive definition of the term 'black'.
[67] Kevin Myers, *Struggles for a Past: Irish and Afro-Caribbean histories in England, 1951–2000* (Manchester, 2015), p. 120.
[68] Godfrey L. Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986), p. 105.

schoolchildren.[69] British African Caribbean Member of Parliament David Lammy noted, *Roots* 'shocked and empowered' Black British people for whom it was likely the first depiction of trans-Atlantic slavery that they experienced.[70] Interviewee Margaret recalled the emotional experience of watching *Roots* at home, 'We all cried. We all cursed. We all said what we needed to say. But you did it as a family unit, so you felt safe, and it were okay'.[71] The initial airing led to memorable interactions at school the next day. Black British comedian Lenny Henry recalled 'going to school on the Monday and people somehow didn't mess with you that day because all the black kids had this look in their eyes that said you better back off'; playwright and actor Kwame Kwei-Armah, who changed his name to reflect his African Ancestry in part as a result of watching *Roots*, recalled on the other hand that, 'the show proved to be a source for teasing – the name Kunta Kinte sounding not like a proud warrior, but a rude joke'.[72] Interviewee Delmara Green recalled white children referring to their Black classmates as Kunte Kinte, and interviewee Margaret remembered being called Kizzy, the name of an enslaved female character in the programme.[73] Interviewee Levi remembered that *Roots* was

> the talk of the times really. Certain white people would come in and make the sound of a whip cracking and saying, 'Youse lot are the sons of slaves'. Just trying to belittle

[69] *Roots* as a historical moment has been well discussed in various news articles. It was mentioned unprompted by several African Caribbean interviewees in this project who attended school when it first aired in 1977 which led to ask others about the miniseries. Several African Caribbean respondents in the following study similarly mentioned the effect that seeing *Roots* had upon them, Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), p. 944.
[70] David Lammy, 'Roots - A Graphic Depiction of Slavery that Shocked and Empowered', *The Guardian* (15 August, 2015).
[71] Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.
[72] 'Going Back to my Roots', *BBC News* (23 March 2007).
[73] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author. Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017.

> us. We would say that eventually his ancestors fought for freedom and liberation; but we were still made to feel ashamed.[74]

If discussed at all in school trans-Atlantic slavery was presented as the totality of Black History and taught in a way that could make African Caribbean pupils feel humiliated. When *Roots* aired on Television something that had potentially been empowering at home thus became demeaning at school in part because British visible minoritised people's histories were not respected and properly taught. British history teaching was one dimensional and contributed towards the general ignorance of the British public towards the histories of British colonies.[75] It promoted white supremacist thinking among numerous generations of British pupils. For visible minoritised schoolchildren their ancestors were either denigrated or ignored.

iii. Developments

'Racism' only entered common parlance in recent years and the term is commonly misunderstood. Frederickson writes, 'that "racism" is often used in a loose and unreflective way to describe the hostile or negative feelings of one ethnic group or "people" toward another and the actions resulting from such attitudes'.[76] This is why the general public seem to detach racism from history and view it as synonymous with xenophobia. 'Racism' was first listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1903 and is synonymous with 'racialism' which first entered the dictionary in 1880 but was likely coined in the late nineteenth century after the earlier French form '*racisme*'. 'Racist' first appeared in 1919, again likely being related to the French version, '*raciste*'. Harvard Professor J. Anton de Haas wrote in November 1938 that, 'This word [racism], has come into use the last six months, both in

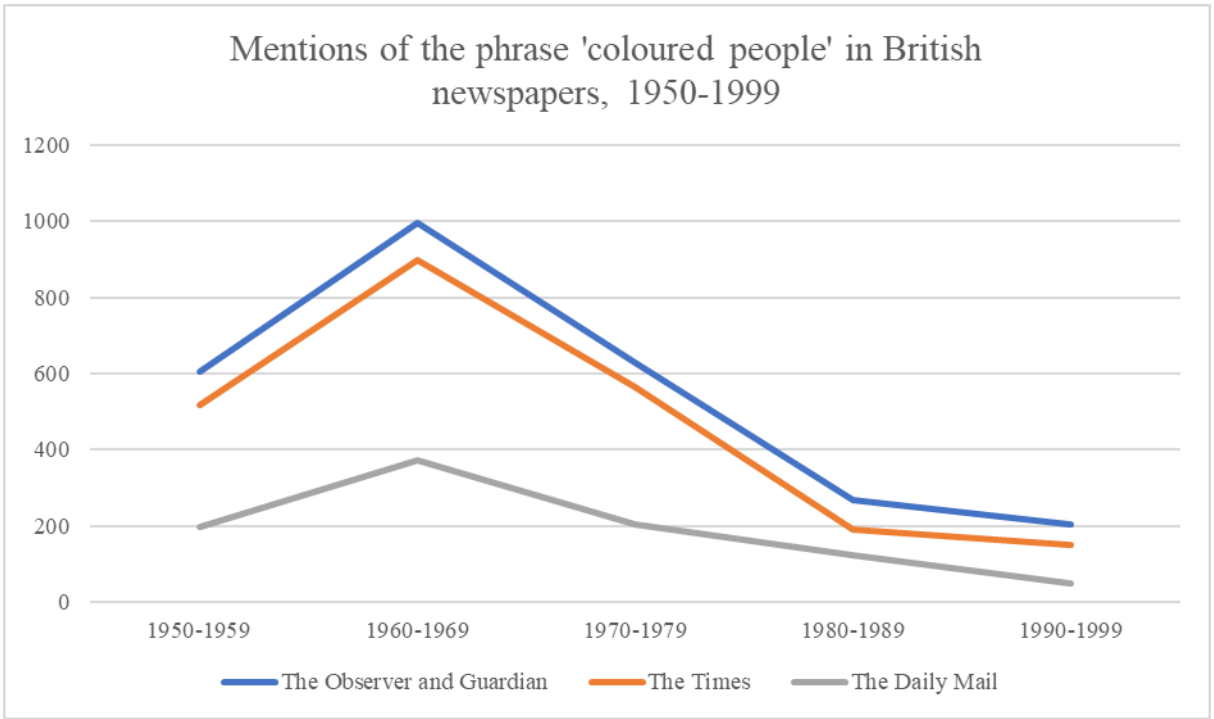
[74] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[75] Wendy Webster, 'The Empire Comes Home: Commonwealth Migration to Britain' in Andrew Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2012), p. 126.
[76] Frederickson, *Racism*, p. 1.

Europe and this country'.[77] References to 'racial prejudice' in *The Times* and other British papers predate these terms featuring in a handful of articles from the 1860s onwards.[78] The first uses of 'racism' in British print journalism seemingly came during the 1920s in reference to German Nazism.[79] References to 'racialism' can also be found in discussions of South Africa or the US during the early twentieth century.[80] The online databases of *The Times*, the *Guardian*, and the *Daily Mail* suggest however that the words 'racism' or 'racist' were unlikely to feature in British newspapers with any regularity until the 1970s.[81] In Britain, and possibly also in the US, these words likely entered the popular lexicon because of the civil rights movements during the 1960s.[82] Some interviewees in this research recall an awareness of the words 'racism' and 'racist' from the late 1960s to 1970s onwards. Although others were unsure if they had heard them noted with much regularity in Britain prior to the 1990s and the murder of Stephen Lawrence, despite them experiencing racism much earlier in their lives. It is revealing that while the language of racial taxonomies spread from the late

[77] William Safire, *Safire's Political Dictionary* (Oxford, 2008), p. 600.
[78] These were mostly referencing to Scotland, Ireland and Wales. For example, see: 'Ireland and Wales', *The Times* (15 April, 1868), p. 9.
[79] 'The New Italy: Press Chorus on Duce's Speech, No Locarno Bluff from Austria, German Sabre-Rattling', *The Manchester Guardian* (9 February, 1926), p. 7.
[80] 'South African Union', *The Times* (14 February, 1910), p. 5
[81] A number of references to the term appear to exist in much earlier publications but upon inspection these results were caused by issues with the digital scanning and transcribing of the newspapers which led certain names or words like 'ostracism' or 'criticism' to sometimes be recorded as 'racism'. Other results were presumably due to the algorithms being used by the databases which attempted to find relevant terms, or articles that were discussing racism without actually using the word. It is also interesting that racism was apparently more likely to be described as 'racial prejudice' or 'racialism' during the early twentieth century yet rarely in relation to British subjects.
[82] Using a Google Image search to contrast photographs from civil rights marches towards the start of the decade with those after the assassination of Dr King in 1968 suggest that the words 'racism' and 'racist' did not feature strongly in their popular messaging at the start of the decade. For example, at the March on Washington in 1963 – where Dr King famously gave his 'I have a dream' speech – demonstrators carried placards which demanded better treatment, jobs, and an end to police brutality. The closest indirect reference to racism appears to be 'We demand an end to bias now!'. Whereas, in photographs taken at marches immediately following King's death the most popular slogan appears to be 'Honour King: End Racism'. It is therefore likely that as the civil rights conflicts heightened throughout the 1960s stronger and more critical words and phrases became more commonly used in the US and spread to the UK.

fifteenth century onwards, negative labels for the phenomenon only entered popular parlance surprisingly recently.

The 1960s to the 1980s saw shifts in academic and popular racial terminologies which falsely implied that comparably significant developments also occurred in race-thinking. The use of older terms like 'Negro' and 'Asiatic' in the press appear to have declined exponentially each decade since the 1930s.[83] Nevertheless, in 1966 the British Footwear Manufacturers Federation apparently had to ask their members not to use the phrases 'nigger-brown' and 'nigger-suede' as descriptions on shoe box labels 'so not to offend coloured people' and 'in the hope that their example may persuade manufacturers of other goods to do likewise'.[84] In 1979 Jackson recorded a teacher in a Huddersfield school entering another's classroom to ask, 'How do you like my nigger-brown coat?'.[85] Although older racial terms



[83] According to searches of the Gale online databases for the Daily Mail Historical Archive (1896-2004), the Guardian (1821-2003) and Observer (1791-2003) Historical Archive, The Times Digital Archive (1785-2012).
[84] 'Shoes Must Not Be "Nigger" Brown', *The Times* (29 January, 1966), p. 6.
[85] Jackson, *Starting School*, p. 144.

were being replaced by ‘coloured’ they evidently remained common parlance in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s. Searching for ‘coloured people’ in British newspaper archives demonstrates, in the graph above, that the usage of the term in fact peaked during the 1960s, remained commonplace by the early 1980s, but had begun to decline in use by the end of that decade. As older racial terminologies fell out of fashion, writers and the public adopted this newer phrase for several decades before it was superseded by ethnic terminologies. Writing about phrases like ‘coloured’ and ‘immigrant’ in 1985 Monica Taylor and Seamus Hegarty noted that, ‘Quite properly there have been changes in the use of terminology in over twenty years’ and that terms used in the ‘research of the 1960s and 1970s are no longer tenable without incurring-suspicions of racism and overtones of repatriation’.[86] The extent to which this applied to the general populace is however debatable. Interviewee Sue Mackay and her sister were known as ‘the coloured twins’ during their childhoods in the 1960s and 1970s and are still described as such whenever they return to their predominantly white former district in Liverpool.[87] Furthermore, while older racial terminologies were at least somewhat falling out of fashion by the 1960s the phrases of the day, such as ‘coloured’, were also based on difference from normative whiteness and remained racial in essence. Clearly, the changes that were taking place in race-thinking following Winant’s break were not especially immediate or dramatic among the general populace.

The adjective ‘ethnic’ has been present in the English language since at least the early modern period, but apparently entered common parlance in Britain during the latter half of the twentieth century.[88] Notwithstanding, the British press only began to use the words ‘ethnic’ or ‘ethnicity’ with any regularity after the 1960s when the pace of migration from the New Commonwealth dramatically increased. Of the 6519 mentions of ‘ethnic’ in in the *Daily*

[86] Monica J. Taylor and Seamus Hegarty, *The Best of Both Worlds…? A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of South Asian Origin* (Berkshire, 1985), p. 17.
[87] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.
[88] John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnicity* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 3-4.

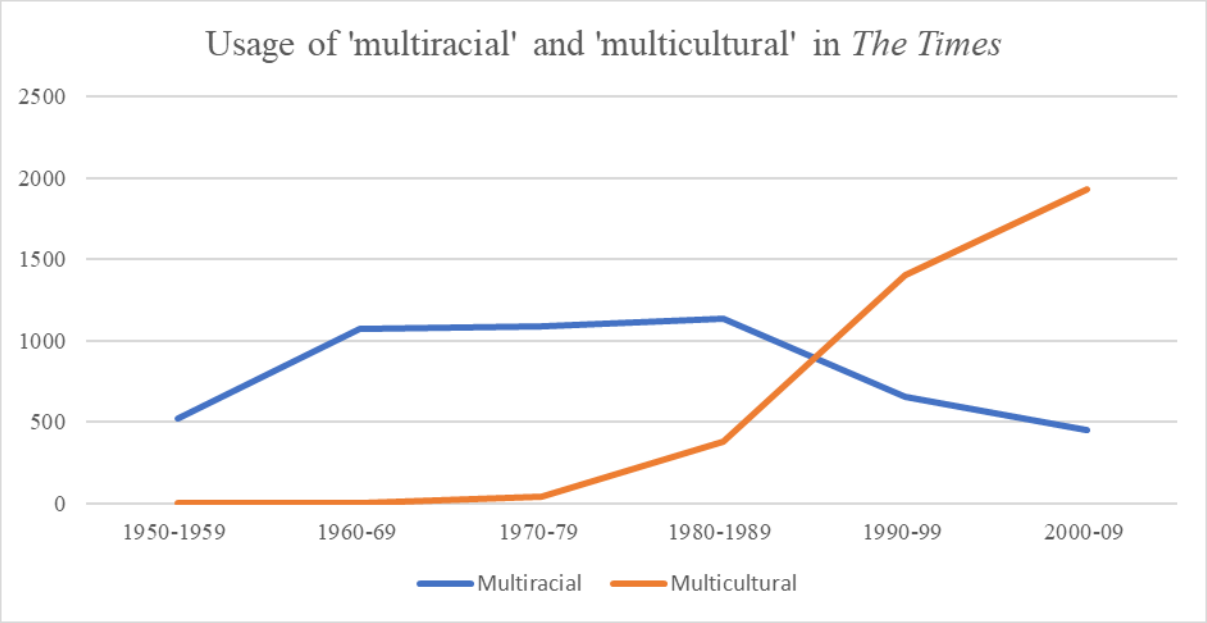
Mail History Archive, 1896-2003 only thirty-six occurred prior to 1960.[89] This is because over the last sixty years ethnicity has begun replacing race. In their previously mentioned announcements about race UNESCO scientists recommended in 1950 that 'it would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term "race" altogether and speak of "ethnic groups"'.[90] Andrew Pilkington describes the difference between the two terms as being that, 'While members of a purported race may not identify themselves as sharing a common racial identify, members of an ethnic group necessarily recognise that they share a common ethnic identity with other members of their ethnic group'.[91] Ethnicity is therefore a cultural identity which is often centred around nation yet can be used in reference to any community with its own culture and or religion. Both race and ethnicity in the ways they are used today and historically are social constructs, but ethnicity is preferable as people choose their ethnic identity whereas racial identities were defined by white European taxonomists, pseudo-scientists, and Anthropologists over the last few centuries.

Understandings of cultural or ethnic difference certainly began to propagate during the era of this research in Britain, but race-thinking persisted, and the two in fact began (and continue) to coexist. The social anthropologist Sandra Wallman wrote in 1977 that, 'The term "ethnic" popularly connotes "race" in Britain, only less precisely, and with a lighter value load'.[92] Consequently, the language of ethnicity was spreading by the 1970s, but it was likely not until the 1980s that ethnic terminology truly began to replace racial language. My White British parents for example were both born in 1962 and recalled thinking of all people of African descent as 'wogs' and all South Asian people as 'Pakis' until the 1980s. They claimed to have been unaware that these words were slurs and had no understanding of the

[89] According to searches of the Gale online database for the Daily Mail Historical Archive (1896-2004).
[90] Ernest Beaglehole et al, 'Statement on Race: Paris, July 1950', in *Four Statements on the Race Question* (Paris, 1969), pp. 30-35.
[91] Andrew Pilkington, *Racial Disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (Hampshire, 2003), p. 2.
[92] Sandra Wallman, 'Ethnicity Research in Britain', *Current Anthropology*, 18, 3 (1977), p. 531.

variety of cultural groups that the two terms described. Millions of White British people like them presumably experienced a fundamental shift in their understanding of human difference, from racial to ethnic, during this period as the multiracialism of the 1960s and early 1970s was slowly rearticulated into multiculturalism.[93]

To further examine the terminological developments taking place the graph below plots changes in the usage of the words multiracial and multicultural in *The Times* from the 1950s to the 2000s.[94] References to multicultural evidently increased during the 1980s and surpassed the usage of multiracial by the 1990s. The graph thereby indicates several notable points; first, that multicultural was not used with much regularity in *The Times* prior to the 1980s. The word entered the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1935 and according to *The Times Digital Archive* it was first used in *The Times* in 1941, once in the 1950s, and once again in the 1960s, but it was the 1970s when usage first notably increased, and the 1980s before readers of the paper were likely to see the word several times a week. Second, the graph suggests that 'multiracial' was the most common phrase used to describe a plurality of human



[93] Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching*, pp. 14-15.
[94] The hyphenated variations of multi-racial and multi-cultural are included in the data used to create the graph.

groups until at least the 1980s, but that the popularity of the term has since declined while the usage of multicultural increased exponentionally. This further implies that despite the emergence of ethnic terminologies and thinking British people were still likely to write and presumably to think in terms of racial difference from the 1960s to the 1980s.

The limited nature of the conceptual transformation that was slowly taking place can be seen in the ambiguous and even conflated ways that these terminologies were used during the 1970s. For example, Alexander Lyon, Minister of State at the Home Office under Labour noted in 1975 that 'Britain is and will remain a multiracial, multicultural society.[95] Penny Symon of *The Times* wrote in 1976 about 'The ideal of a multiracial and multicultural society'.[96] These quotations suggest the centrality of race to the authors' perceptions of humanity, but that they had also begun to understand that different cultural groups existed within their understanding of race. It seems they were in the midst of an intellectual transition as their perspective was more nuanced than those, like my adolescent parents, who simply used older racial terminologies, racial slurs, or phrases like 'coloured immigrants'. Nevertheless, this also indicates the persistence of old-style race thinking alongside the emergence of the new. Similarly, when a headmaster wrote to *The Times* in 1977 about the necessity 'in multiracial schools to create a multicultural ambience', he presumably meant that schools needed to acknowledge the cultures of the recently arrived 'West Indian' and 'Asian' pupils.[97] When in the late 1970s the Department of Education and Science made the decision to adopt a multicultural approach to education their statement demonstrated their conflated understanding of race and ethnicity: 'our society is a multicultural, multiethnic one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and

[95] Peter Evans, 'New Law on Immigrants After Citizen Definition', *The Times* (7 April, 1975), p. 2.
[96] Penny Symon, 'Asians Seek Pledge on Multiracial Society', *The Times* (23 June, 1976), p. 2.
[97] Max Morris, 'Race and Education', *The Times* (31 October, 1977), p. 13.

races that now make up the society'.[98] Overall it seems evident that British people in general, including those in charge of provisioning education during this period, viewed visible minoritised pupils through the lens of race and continued to talk and think in terms of racial difference even while attempting to shift towards talking and thinking in terms of cultural difference.

The developments were seemingly confusing because even well-educated journalists appeared to struggle with the changes. In 1977 the children's books editor for *The Times*, Brian Alderson, commented on Collins publishers' decision to hold a competition to promote books that 'reflect the experience of living in multi-ethnic Britain'. Alderson commented that:

> 'multi-ethnic Britain' could legitimately be interpreted as not just a Britain of many races (ie, 'multi-racial') – which is presumably what Collins really mean – but a Britain of many tribes or, possibly, of many religious groups. In other words – as with that even worse bit of modern jargon 'multicultural' – theoretical boundaries begin to disappear in practise.[99]

Alderson's comments suggest there was mild controversy over the replacement of racial with cultural taxonomies which likely stemmed from social conservatism and nostalgia. A year after Alderson's article the *Guardian* published a story which similarly described multicultural education as an 'unlovely phrase'.[100] More importantly Anderson's quote indicates that he believed racial differences to be far more fixed and real than cultural differences, which is essentially the main issue. He was writing an article which discussed

[98] My emphasis. Sally Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', in James A. Banks (ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (Oxford, 2009), p. 126.
[99] Brian Alderson, 'Writers Can Find More Than One Way of Portraying "Multi-Ethnic" Britain', *The Time* (12 January, 1977), p. 8.
[100] 'Can White Children Appreciate the Nature of Slavery and What It Did. Can Black Children Believe That It Was a Trade of Its Time?', *The Guardian* (11 July, 1978), p. 15.

and critiqued new ethnic terminologies while acknowledging that he preferred, or at least understood, older racial terminologies as better indicators of human difference. He demonstrates an awareness of the change, and an unwillingness to accept this, yet was apparently unaware of the fact that the theoretical boundaries of racial terminologies were similarly invisible to ethnic identifiers. The general population must have been equally confused which is plausibly one significant reason that traditional race-thinking has persisted.

iv. New Racism and multiculturalism

As ethnic terminologies began to enter the popular consciousness and parlance, and as old forms of racism became less publicly acceptable, new ways of articulating racial prejudice emerged. 'New Racism' is used to describe this phenomenon. The term was coined by Martin Barker specifically in reference to the rise of Margaret Thatcher to describe how she co-opted the anti-immigrant message of Powell and the National Front, but expressed it through opposition to cultural, not racial difference.[101] In the words of Winant, 'by defining Englishness as a framework redolent of the old imperial glories, by elevating the supposed national virtues to a high altar, Thatcher tacitly denigrated the "others" who, she implied, did not share these qualities'.[102] Accordingly, New Racism is a description of what was, by the 1980s, the dominant form of rhetoric critiquing immigration and the emergence of a multiethnic Britain. Barker argued that the Conservatives had reframed the debate by eschewing the old and increasingly controversial language of race and presenting themselves

[101] Martin Barker, *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe* (London, 1981). See also Rita Chin et al, *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2009), p. 92, see also Short and Carrington, 'Antiracist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', p. 65.
[102] Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York, 2001), p. 274.

as the defenders of Britishness against the cultures of visible minoritised communities.[103] David Gillborn describes New Racism as

> a perspective that asserts a strong cultural homogeneity among the majority population as a basis for privileging the views, needs and assumptions of that group over minority communities. The focus on '*race*' and *superiority* of older time was replaced by a discourse that stressed *culture* and *difference*.[104]

New and old racism are tied to ethnicity and race respectively, but both create disadvantage for visible minoritised people. Geoffrey Short and Bruce Carrington stated in 1996 that it is also not clear if New Racism has 'eclipsed the old or whether the two ideologies, to some extent, run in parallel'.[105] Many white supremacists evidently continue to cloak their old-style racism in the language of the New, for example.[106] New Racism therefore functions by allowing racial inequality and race-thinking to persist despite racism ostensibly going against the values espoused by much of the population.

The fact that ethnic terminologies only entered the popular lexicon after visible minoritised people arrived in large numbers in the UK, and the way in which multicultural education policies emerged, suggests the centrality of race to the development of multiculturalism in Britain. Multiculturalism was always about 'coloured immigrants' otherwise multicultural politics and policies would have developed much earlier when white migrants from Ireland and Europe were arriving in great numbers. Unlike most Irish and European migrants many from the New Commonwealth already thought of themselves as

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[103] Barker, 'The New Racism', in Rita Chin et al, *After the Nazi Racial State*, p. 92.
[104] [Their emphasis]. David Gillborn, 'Racism, Policy and the (Mis)education of Black Children'.in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 17.
[105] Short and Carrington, 'Antiracist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', p. 66.
[106] The Twitter or Facebook pages of current British Far-Right organisation Patriotic Alternative for instance: https://twitter.com/PatAlternative/status/1336364701823987713.
https://twitter.com/PatAlternative/status/1333791720819945472.
https://twitter.com/PatAlternative/status/1333777741141872641.

British Citizens prior to migrating. Regardless, in the words of Gilroy, 'it was the presence of black communities, and the threat that they posed to white homogeneity, that was depicted as problematic'.[107] New Racism provided White British people with the language to criticise visible minoritised communities in ways which even convince themselves that their intentions are not racist. The next chapter further explains how multicultural education was always about race, regardless of the apparent changes in language used by practitioners and researchers.

Conclusion

Scientists in the post-war period admonished a move away from perceptions of humanity that were based on race, and towards embracing the idea of ethnicity yet few British people seemed to understand why. The long epoch in which white supremacy remained unchallenged in the West had begun to end by the 1960s yet the persistence of the white supremacist thinking in British educational materials and the media ensured that changes were slow. While the move from old to New Racism did represent a change in how people thought about each other in the sense that they also began to perceive and think in terms of cultural difference, this did not necessarily challenge racial prejudices.[108] Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor state that 'people once perceived through the prism of "race" identities were reconstructed as "ethnics"; this despite the fact that both designations treat the attributes of pupils — and their parents — as limited, irreducible and fixed'.[109] The extent to which the general public understood why society was no longer supposed to be talking about race is questionable, and there was clearly resistance to the dropping of older terminologies. The

[107] Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1987), p. 49.
[108] See the Race Disparity Audit Summary Findings from the Ethnicity Facts and Figures website', *Cabinet Office* (October 2017), https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/686071/Revised_RDA_report_March_2018.pdf.
[109] Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects: History-Writing, Education and Race Categories', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33, 3 (1997), p. 907.

evidence also suggests that from the 1960s to the 1980s the language of race began to change but old perceptions of racial difference continued much as before. This partly explains why the first period of British multiethnic education history is a significant moment in recent British history. It was a time when visible minoritised people's cultures first began to change British culture, and when antiracist campaigns first gained popular support. The changes affected the ways that British people talk about and understand each other. Subsequently, the educational experiences of all visible minoritised schoolchildren in Britain during this period were uniquely affected by the muddying of old, traditional style racism with the rhetoric of New Racism. These issues are however little known or discussed. As the interviewees expressed in different ways, they were the last generations to receive an education provisioned by teachers, local officials, and national policy makers who had grown up in a Britain where white supremacy was the openly acknowledged norm. This is crucial to understanding their experiences and how they interpret them as adults.

Chapter 4: Multiethnic Education in Britain

> In political philosophy, multiculturalism is regarded as an ideology, while in political science it is often presented as a coherent policy approach. An historical study, by tracing multiculturalism's development at local and national levels over a broad period, would demonstrate that these understandings of multiculturalism overstate its coherence, intentionality and uniformity.
>
> *Jed Fazakarley.*[1]

> The various multiracial education models developed and employed since the early sixties have attempted to foster the cultural subordination and political neutralization of Blacks.
>
> *Chris Mullard, 1982.*[2]

> The late 1980s, the 1990s and the start of the twenty-first century witnessed a succession of education reforms that left no publicly funded school untouched. In terms of ethnic diversity and racism, however, little of substance has changed. Although there are pockets of good anti-racist practice, at the national level it is clear that 'race' equality has never been a major concern.
>
> *David Gillborn, 2001.*[3]

Multiethnic education is used throughout this thesis as an overarching term for all educational research and practices that relate specifically to visible minoritised pupils. In Britain from

[1] Jed Fazakarley, 'British Multiculturalism: An Emerging Field for Historians', in Sam Wiseman (ed.), *Assembling Identities* (Newcastle, 2014), p. 85.
[2] Chris Mullard, 'Multiracial Education in Britain, from Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism', in Godfrey L. Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986), p. 42. Mullard is almost certainly using the inclusive definition of Black in this quote.
[3] David Gillborn, 'Racism, Policy and the (Mis)education of Black Children' in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 24.

1960 to 1989 there were three competing sets of ideas: multiracial education, multicultural education, and antiracist education. One emerged after the other, they coexisted, some practitioners and education authorities engaged with more than one strand, but there was no linear progression or coherence in terms of their application. The move from multiracial to multicultural education suggests that substantial ideological changes were taking place, but, as numerous sociologists of education and historians have argued, the changes were more rhetorical than ideological.[4] Multiracial education policies were guided by the ideology of assimilationism which saw that immigrants should assimilate into British society without altering it. Government policy then changed in the late 1970s as the education department adopted a multicultural ethos. Although multicultural education became popular in some localities, and antiracist policies were also adopted, Ian Grosvenor and others have argued that assimilationism always exerted a strong influence over the establishment's approach towards multiethnic education during this period.[5] Multiculturalism and antiracism certainly became popular among academics and different British Local Education Authorities (LEAs) but the latter in particular was thoroughly rejected at a national level, and slandered in the press in a way which demonstrates the political establishment's lack of interest in racial equality.[6] This chapter examines developments which affected the educational experiences of visible minoritised pupils; from the early years of multiracial education style policies such as dispersal school bussing to the arrival of multicultural education, and the subsequent failure of antiracist education. It is argued throughout that despite the progression implied by these developments and the language used by multiethnic education practitioners and researchers

[4] Godfrey L. Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986), p. 14. Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 92.
[5] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities.*
[6] In their article, 'Exploring Supplementary Education: Margins, Theories and Methods', *History of Education*, 40, 4 (2011), p. 514, Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor point their readers towards the following detailed accounts of how multicultural education and antiracist education developed: Barry Troyna and Jenny Williams, R*acism, Education and the State* (London, 1986). Barry Troyna and Bruce Carrington, *Education, Racism and Reform* (London, 1990).

from the 1960s to the 1980s the treatment of visible minoritised schoolchildren improved little if at all during those decades.

In part due to the way that education was organised in Britain there was a lack of national government interest in multiethnic education practices and policies throughout this period. Until the Education Reform Act 1988 schooling in Britain was organised in a decentralised manner by the Department of Education and Science (DES) which oversaw the 146 LEAs.[7] The Minister of Education, known after 1964 as the Secretary of State for Education and Science, was considered 'a dead-end ministerial post' according to David Cannadine because it lacked real power; Margaret Thatcher was apparently assigned to the position in 1970 because her then boss Edward Heath thought her unlikely to rise higher for example.[8] The department did have a large budget however, but as Cannadine also notes 'this was primarily spent on buildings and infrastructure. In schools the employment of teachers and the control of the curriculum remained local authority matters'.[9] On multiethnic education the DES provided some official advice, but the LEAs made most of the impactful decisions. The situation was also complicated by broader changes to the British education system during the 1960s, a decade described by Sally Tomlinson 'as the "Liberal Hour" of education'.[10] Education spending increased rapidly and attitudes towards childhood and teaching were also changing.[11] Beryl Gilroy, one of the first African Caribbean people to become a head teacher in Britain described the 1960s as an 'era of enlightenment' and noted that teachers 'seemed eager to discuss, to probe and to ponder the mysteries of how children learnt [...]. Terms such as 'Child-centred' and 'Creativity' were flashed around like torches in

[7] Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (2008), p. 29.
[8] David Cannadine, 'Thatcher [née Roberts], Margaret Hilda, Baroness Thatcher, (1925–2013)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2017).
[9] Ibid.
[10] Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 27.
[11] Ken Jones, *Education in Britain: 1944 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 36.

the dark'.[12] The salient point here is that multiethnic education developed in Britain during the contentious comprehensive education debate and at a time when new methods of teaching were emerging.[13] For Olivier Esteves, the lack of official records on multiracial education and the plethora of documents on comprehensive education demonstrates where the education department's interests truly lay.[14] While multiethnic education practises and policies spread slowly in Britain from the 1960s and then sharply from the 1980s across various LEAs there was little national government interest or oversight throughout the period.

i. Assimilationism

The British government's official stances towards 'immigrants' is often linked to the development of multiethnic education practises and presented as shifting through three distinct rhetorical stages from the 1960s to the 1980s: from promoting assimilation, to arguing for the necessity of two-way integration, before eventually adopting the idea of a multicultural society.[15] The first stage, assimilationism, arguably guided the thinking of most local and national governments, and the public, more than any belief in multiculturalism throughout those thirty years. Political philosophers might present it as an ideology, political scientists might see it as a coherent policy direction but in reality assimilationism was racially motivated widespread wishful thinking. The idea was that the newcomers would assimilate into British society, the fantastical element was that they could do so without altering it in a one-way process which involved no effort from White British people. Such a view necessarily rested upon denying the existence or severity of British racism, the idea that

[12] Beryl Gilroy, *Black Teacher* (London, 1976), p. 121-122.
[13] Jan McKenley, 'The Way We Were: Conspiracies of Silence in the Wake of the Empire Windrush', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4, 4 (2001), p. 311.
[14] Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s*, (Manchester, 2019), p. 7.
[15] Brandt, *The Realisation of Antiracist Teaching*, pp. 13-16. Sally Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', in James A. Banks (ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (Oxford, 2009), p. 126.

British culture was superior, and by implication the belief that migrant cultures were inferior. It was a popular cross party position which was influenced by Social Darwinist and eugenic thinking that held saw over the public and political establishment.[16] In the words of Labour MP Richard Crossman his party learned after the 1963 Smethwick bye-election that immigration would cost them votes 'if we are seen to allow a flood of immigrants to come in and blight the areas of our inner cities'.[17] A Labour spokesperson noted in 1963, that 'only immigrants most likely to be assimilated into our national life should be permitted to stay in Britain'.[18] The Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Committee, set up by the Conservative Party to advise on immigration, stated in 1964 that 'a national system cannot be expected to promote the values of immigrant groups'.[19] Politicians undoubtedly felt this way during the early 1960s because of the strongly negative reactions among pre-existing residents to new migrant communities in areas like Huddersfield.[20] Few national laws or policies were created which explicitly applied to visible minoritised schoolchildren during this period, yet the racism and wishful thinking of assimilationism strongly shaped the ways that British teachers, schools, and the general public interacted with them.

Britain introduced some of Europe's first antiracist legislation but successive British governments from the 1960s to the 1980s were unwilling to legislate in favour of visible minoritised adults or children. The Race Relations Act 1965 made it illegal to discriminate against people based on race in 'places of public resort', including locations such as pubs,

[16] Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change 1964-1990* (London, 1997), p. 120.
[17] Richard Crossman, 'Diaries of a Cabinet Minister', cited in Sally Tomlinson, 'Enoch Powell, Empires, Immigrants and Education', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21, 1 (2018), p. 6.
[18] Cited in Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 25.
[19] Commonwealth Advisory Committee. (1964). *Second Report*, cited in Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 125.
[20] 'Michael Charlton Reports on the Racial Problems in Huddersfield, *BBC Panorama*, BBC One (London, broadcast 1 December 1969). Much of the programme is concerned with assimilationism, even though it is never named. In particular there is an interview featured throughout with a local estate agent who articulates many of the concerns held by Huddersfield residents regarding the culture of migrant newcomers.

hotels, and restaurants, yet schools were not on the list.[21] The act also created the Community Relations Commission (CRC) which was able to produce advice on multiethnic education practises, but had no legal recourse to pursue racism in schools.[22] In 1967 the Plowden Report introduced Educational Priority Areas (EPAs). This was widely supported and drew upon the earlier thinking of the 1963 Newsom Report and its concern for 'Education in the Slums'.[23] The emphasis of EPAs was upon improving the condition of the 'socially deprived child'. No special focus was given to migrant children. The National Association of Schoolmasters supported EPAs and argued that the socially deprived child had more problems than the 'immigrant' child.[24] EPA policies funded new schools buildings, after school programmes, and financial incentives to attract and retain good teachers – so some visible minoritised pupils could benefit indirectly.[25] This is why David Kirp argued, in his 1979 book *Doing Good by Doing Little*, that the policies of multiple British government's towards visible minoritised schoolchildren could be described as 'racial inexplicitness' because it was their intent that any benefits they did receive should come from indirect non-racially targeted policies.[26] Similarly, Barry Troyna and Jenny Williams described the government's rhetoric towards immigrants as a 'nonracialised discourse'.[27] Figueroa points out, however, that as terms such as 'coloured' and 'immigrant' were common parlance in educational writings in this period neither Kirps', nor Troyna's and Williams's definition, accurately typifies British educational approaches to visible minoritised students at that

[21] Parliament of the United Kingdom, 'Race Relations Act 1965', c73, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/pdfs/ukpga_19650073_en.pdf.
[22] Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), p. 135.
[23] George Smith, 'Whatever Happened to Educational Priority Areas?', *Oxford Review of Education*, 13, 1 (1987), p. 24.
[24] Taylor, *Race, School and Community*, p. 4.
[25] Smith, 'Whatever Happened to Educational Priority Areas?', p. 24.
[26] David L. Kirp, *Doing Good by Doing Little: Race and Schooling in Britain* (New York, 1979).
[27] Barry Troyna and Jenny Williams, *Racism, Education and the State* (London, 1986).

time.[28] The explicitly racial nature of dispersal school bussing also contradicts these ideas. Regardless, it is notable that assimilationist thinking prevented successive national governments from challenging racism in education or favouring visible minoritised schoolchildren in anyway.

Multiethnic education research and practises – often designated in the early years as multiracial education – were of little interest to anyone outside of LEAs that received large numbers of Commonwealth migrants in the 1960s. Researcher Nicholas Hawkes described them in 1966 as 'a local, semi-secret affair, a worry to sub-committees, the object of a few items in the local or educational press, and principally, one extra problem for already hard-pressed teachers'.[29] Geoffrey Driver observed similarly in 1979 that 'the problem appeared dramatic to those involved but it was a localised phenomenon'.[30] Herbert Townsend noted in 1971 that of the 146 British LEAs only forty-eight had more than 1000 immigrant pupils but that within those LEAs 'there is considerable unevenness so that schools are affected to varying degrees'.[31] A total of 569 out of around 26,000 British schools accommodated a third of all migrant pupils in 1971 for example.[32] In the same year Dipak Nany noted that, 'The failure to have a [national] policy meant that, in the field of education, schools and teachers were left to recognise and then respond to the problems and challenges of a multi-racial society on their own'.[33] Although little local policy guidance was received most LEAs nevertheless took similar approaches. Those with few newcomers often decided that the children would assimilate without any planned intervention with regular class teachers

[28] Peter Figueroa, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', in James A. Banks (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, Second Edition* (San Francisco CA, 2004), p. 999.
[29] Nicholas Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools* (London, 1966), p. 1.
[30] Geoffrey Driver, 'Classroom Stress and School Achievement', in Verity S. Khan (ed.), *Minority Families in Britain*, (London, 1979), p. 132.
[31] Herbert E. Townsend, *Immigrant Pupils in England: the LEA response* (Windsor,1971), p. 22.
[32] Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 7.
[33] Dipak Nany, 'Foreword', in Julia McNeal and Margaret Rogers (eds.), *The Multi-Racial School: A Professional Perspective* (London, 1971), p. 7.

providing additional support as they had in the past.[34] Those with large numbers of newcomers instead focused on English as a Second Language training and implementing assimilationist policies that segregated and spread visible minoritised children around their schools or sequestered them in reception centres. At these centres, the children were given a potentially degrading medical assessment, and had their English language skills assessed before being allowed to enter regular schools.[35] Areas like Huddersfield and Bradford for instance turned spare local buildings into reception centres for the newcomers which could be considerable distances from their associated schools.[36]

New arrivals received English language training at their reception centre for an indeterminate amount of time prior to being assigned to a local school which again often segregated them in separate buildings while they continued learning English. One former special language teacher at Almondbury Primary School in Huddersfield recalled that her classroom of South Asian children was bussed to the main school buildings, but then had a twenty-minute walk to their off-campus classroom. Some children spent several years with her. They received at least forty minutes less schooling per day than white children due to their walks and learned nothing but English.[37] This was seemingly the case in other schools around Huddersfield.[38] South Asian children in particular often fell behind in other subjects

[34] This was the experience of two interviewees in this project. Helen Owen and the anonymous male British Pakistani interviewee. Neither was Anglophone upon arrival in Britain or experienced special measures like bussing or separate language classes. They were simply given extra help with their English learning by teachers when they arrived. Interview with Helen Owen, 30 April 2018, and interview with anonymous British Pakistani male, 1 May 2018, both conducted by author.
[35] This was the case in Bradford, and Huddersfield. Huddersfield Education Committee Minutes, 1965-1966, Minute 80.
[36] Department of Education and Science, *The Education of Immigrants: Education Survey 13* (London, 1971), http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/des/survey13.html.
[37] Interview with anonymous Almondbury teacher, 4 August 2018, conducted by author. Interviewees Margaret Hanson and Delmara Green both attended Almondbury Primary and neither remembered this class existing or having any contact with the bussed children. Interviews with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, and Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, both conducted by author.
[38] The Spring Grove Reception centre was a short walk away from the main school building in a former drill hall. MA interviewee Raj Samra attended Cowersley Primary but was educated in a

for several years while they learned English. African Caribbean migrant children on the other hand often spoke patois or standard English with a Caribbean accent. Nevertheless, akin to regional accents and Scottish, Welsh, or Irish accents this could be a disadvantage in English schools. Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern noted in 1992 that it remained 'common for departures from East Midlands speech, now codified as standard English, to be labelled as "sloppy", "ungrammatical" and "disfigured"'.[39] It was of course important for many New Commonwealth migrant children to learn how to speak, read, and write English. The problem was that educators at the time viewed it as so critical to the assimilation process that they created unnecessary disadvantages for visible minoritised pupils and let the other elements of a full education fall by the wayside.

Dispersal school bussing and the over-representation of visible minoritised pupils in schools for the Educationally Sub-Normal (ESN) are famous examples of racial discrimination in British education history that were rooted in the assimilationist ethos. Both policies received funding through section eleven of the assimilationist era Local Government Act 1966 which sought to help LEA's cope with 'the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants whose language and customs are different from the rest of the community'.[40] ESN schools were intended for those with intellectual disabilities, but as Tomlinson highlights the criteria adopted by headteachers for sending a child to an ESN school 'corresponded very closely to what they perceived as the "natural", problems of children of West Indian origin'.[41] African Caribbean pupils were certainly more over-

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former working man's club around a twenty-minute walk away from the actual school. Interview with Raj Samra, 20 July 2016, conducted by the author.

[39] Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern, *The World in a Classroom: Language in Education in Britain and Canada* (Somerset, 1992), p. 7.

[40] Local Government Act, 1966, Section 11, cited in Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change*, p. 120.

[41] Sally Tomlinson, 'Minority Groups in English Conurbations', in Phillip Williams (ed.), *Special Education in Minority Communities* (Stratford, 1984), p. 23.

represented in those schools than other groups.[42] Asian children were however also more likely to be sent to ESN schools than White British children during the 1970s.[43] One interviewee in a study of British first-generation Asian schoolteachers in 1995 claimed that

> Asian children, in my experience, end up in remedial or bottom streams. They are placed in these streams without any test […]. Low expectations of Asian and Black children is common among white teachers. I am very sorry to say that kids in my last school were treated like dirt – they were ridiculed.[44]

Similarly, Gus John argued that Black children were 'assumed to be stupid' which 'meant that teachers treated them as stupid [and] expected them to perform as if they were stupid, and even when they performed well academically, they were dealt with as if some momentous freak of nature had occurred'.[45] A DES working paper from 1967 demonstrated the influence of eugenic style racial thinking upon assimilationism when it noted that the chances of successful assimilation varied between 'immigrant groups' as they were 'formed by different breeding and ordered by different manners'.[46] Bernard Coard famously argued that Black and Asian children were not sent to ESN schools because they had genuine learning difficulties. Instead, through being racialised and miseducated they were 'made'

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[42] Figueroa, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 1004. Concerns about underachievement among all 'immigrant' pupils, but particularly 'West Indians', were first raised by an Inner-London Education Authority study in 1967. Bernard Coard's 1971 research paper and then pamphlet let to a flurry of interest in the subject, see for instance: Christopher Lancelot, 'Nottingham: West Indian Education in Crisis', *Race Today*, 4, 6 (1972).

[43] Chris Searle, *An Exclusive Education: Race, Class and Exclusion in British Schools* (London, 2001), p. 43. Searle – using the inclusive definition of 'black' that became popular in the 1980s – also notes that, 'In 1985, the black press exposed the fact that black children in general were, as the *Caribbean Times* reported, six times more likely to be suspended from schools than other pupils'. David Matheson notes a Commission for Racial Equality report on Birmingham from 1974-1980 that visible minoritised pupils were four times more likely than white pupils to be excluded from schools, *An Introduction to the Study of Education* (London, 2008), p. 117.

[44] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 54.

[45] Gus John, *The Black Working Class Movement: In Education and Schooling and the 1986-86 Teachers Dispute* (London, 1986), p. 3.

[46] 'DES Working Paper 13: The Immigrant Child in School and Society', cited in Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 52.

intellectually inferior.[47] Coard's points suggest that assimilationist thinking often prevented educators from viewing visible minoritised pupils as capable learners, or as British.

Bussing spread visible minoritised children around British schools with the ostensible purpose of helping them to learn English and assimilate. The national association for multiracial education journal considered English language teaching in 1977 central to successful assimilation so New Commonwealth migrant children could, in the words of Alan James, 'be fed into the educational machine on completion of this treatment without causing it to seize up'.[48] The *Guardian* noted in 1972 that bussing was introduced in 1963 because

> One of the assumptions then was that if there were more than a certain proportion of coloured children in a school white parents would stop sending their children there. The other argument was that, for educational reasons, the proportion must be kept down – so that English-speaking pupils did not suffer because teachers had to pay more attention to immigrant children.[49]

When Huddersfield's LEA introduced bussing in 1966 it recorded that 'Asiatics' were being bussed to help them acquire the English language 'and English ways of life' prior to entering normal schools, whereas 'West Indians' were bussed because the authority viewed them as more likely to suffer from 'educational retardation' and put stress on the remedial services.[50] Consequently, assimilationist thinking and policies implicitly linked visible minoritised children with intellectual inferiority to shape policies like dispersal bussing locally and nationally while also creating the conditions in which educators were more likely to send them to ESN schools.

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[47] Bernard Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell it like it is: How our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005).
[48] Alan James, 'Why language matters', in Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 52.
[49] Martin Adeney, 'Bussing of Coloured Children to End', *The Guardian* (30 May 1972), p. 8.
[50] Huddersfield Education Committee Minutes, 1965-1966, Minute 80.

Although none of interviewees in this research were sent to ESN schools, several were affected by dispersal policies. Detailed discussions of bussing can already be found elsewhere, so after briefly introducing the topic the remaining paragraphs in this section will present unique memories and information collected from interviews and local history research for this project and my MA research.[51] The British narrative of bussing begins with white parents protesting outside Beaconsfield Road School in Southall in 1963 – an area and school that had attracted a large number of predominantly Indian Sikh migrants – leading to Conservative Minister of Education Edward Boyle speaking in parliament about the educational 'danger point' caused by large numbers of 'immigrants' in certain schools.[52] Southall was granted a bussing pilot in 1963 and the official acceptance of dispersal bussing as a national policy by the DES came under a Labour government in 1965.[53] The DES recommended that LEAs disperse their 'coloured immigrants', for 'the successful assimilation of immigrant children', and noted that this was dependent upon 'a realistic understanding of the adjustments the [pupils] have to make'; as Grosvenor notes, this emphasises that the burden of assimilation was always expected to be carried by visible minoritised children.[54] Bussing is known to have been used in at least eleven LEAs, including Huddersfield, but is also suspected to have been used in others such as Dewsbury.[55] There is little archival information on bussing however due to poor data collection and a lack of official national oversight.[56] Rising concerns and criticisms also likely stimulated places like

[51] The most comprehensive discussion of British bussing is Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s,* (Manchester, 2019).
[52] '"Danger point" in school', *The Guardian* (16 October 1963), p. 1. It is commonly believed that Boyle was referring to Beaconsfield Road, although he may have actually been referring to Spring Grove Primary in Huddersfield according to Trevor Burgin in our interviews, and Gail Lewis in her chapter, 'Welfare and the Social Construction of "Race"', in Esther Saraga (ed.), *Embodying the Social: Constructions of Difference* (London, 1998), p. 106.
[53] Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change*, p. 119.
[54] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities,* p. 53.
[55] Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools,* p. 139.
[56] Julia G. McNeal, "Education," in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, (London, 1971), p. 121-129.

Huddersfield to pre-emptively reduce their dispersal programme from 1972 onwards, and end it in 1975.[57] After its creation by the Race Relations Act 1976 the Committee for Racial Equality pursued the London Borough of Ealing for the explicitly racist nature of their bussing policy in court; bussing is thought to have ended there and elsewhere around the country by the early 1980s. Although, the CRE did investigate Calderdale LEA and concluded it was using similar policies later in that decade.[58]

The methods for bussing African Caribbean and South Asian Children in Huddersfield and other northern towns and cities such as Bradford, and Halifax had the potential for alienating both groups. Raj Samra, an interviewee in my MA project on bussing described his experience of school as 'completely segregated […] whereas [white children] would walk home together, which I think is quite critical to forming friendships […] we were just dropped in, dropped out, and left quite isolated'.[59] In this way Bussing alienated visible minoritised children from their white peers while also making parental involvement and after-school activities harder. MA interviewee Jo Radcliffe noted for instance that bussing 'did make things a bit difficult because obviously you couldn't formulate relationships because you know the children at those schools weren't your friends at home'.[60] It forced a longer school day upon visible minoritised children, and it was apparently common for bussed children to receive threats and abuse during the process. This bullying became a well-known issue in October 1974 when a fifteen-year-old South Asian boy died in Ealing after being attacked at his bus stop.[61] Interviewee Dexter Franklyn recalled white children shouting racial

[57] '"Bussing" Immigrants is Dying out in Huddersfield', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (9 June, 1972), p. 10, and Denis Kilcommons, 'Kirklees Schools Teaching English to Immigrants being phased out', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (17 May, 1975), p. 5.
[58] Commission for Racial Equality, *Teaching English as a Second Language: Report of a Formal Investigation in Calderdale LEA (Education Formal Investigation Reports)*, (1986), pp. 9-12.
[59] Interview with Raj Samra, 20 July 2016, conducted by the author.
[60] Interviews with Jo Radcliffe, 7 June 2016, and 2 July 2016, conducted by author.
[61] Loaded coaches: Bussing is Well Known as a Source of Trouble in the United States but Amrit Wilson Finds that it also Causes Problems in this Country', *The Guardian* (14 October 1975), p. 18.

slurs at him and the other children on his bus in Huddersfield.[62] Interviewee Amina Chichangiri similarly remembered being abused by onlooking white children as she caught the bus to school in Batley.[63] My own interest in bussing developed after hearing my father describe abusing the children who arrived at his primary school each day on what was apparently known as 'the Paki bus'. With his friends he pelted the disembarking children with sticks and stones in summer, and ice balls in winter during the late 1960s and early 1970s in Huddersfield.[64] He remembered having no lessons with the bussed children, stated that they did not mix at play time, and reflected that it was no wonder the white children saw immigrant pupils as separate when they stood at their own bus stop.

Few interviewees featured in my MA and this PhD were aware of the logic behind dispersal bussing prior to becoming involved in the research. Jo Radcliffe was born in Huddersfield to parents who had migrated from Anguilla and Jamaica but was bussed throughout her primary years. Prior to reading a news article several years ago Jo believed that she had to take an hour and a half long journey each way because the schools in her area were full.[65] Pakistani born MA interviewee Kalsoom Bashir lived in Britain from the age of two. By five Kalsoom was fluent in English but instead of being allowed to attend her local school her father was simply told that she was to be bussed to 'the immigrant school' in the centre of Huddersfield – Spring Grove Primary. Interviewee Delmara Green was born in Huddersfield but travelled to Grenada as a baby before spending several years in Trinidad.[66] When they migrated back to Huddersfield Delmara and her siblings were bussed to separate schools. She remembered thinking that the bus was intended to protect visible minoritised children from being attacked on the walk to school.

[62] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.
[63] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[64] Conversation with my father, summer 2015.
[65] Interviews with Jo Radcliffe.
[66] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.

Dexter Franklyn's family also came from Grenada and shared accommodation with Delmara's family. He was bussed to a different school from Delmara and remembered

> when we came over here obviously us parents sorted it out and I think the nearest school to us was Spring Grove, or Birkby, and for some reason we didn't go there […]. All I can remember is getting ready to go and catch a bus which they called the 'Special Bus'.[67]

The interviewees were of course young when they were bussed so perhaps their parents chose not to tell them exactly why. Yet, it also seems that contrasting reasons were given to their parents and it is striking that most only became aware of why they were bussed through our conversations. Grosvenor points out that, 'The DES recommendation that only black children be dispersed, and the lack of consultation with black parents, clearly categorised black children and their parents as unequal citizens in British society'.[68] These memories appear to indicate that visible minoritised parents were being systematically misled regarding the true nature of bussing, but they undoubtedly highlight that the LEAs communication with them was poor – a point which also emphasises the lower status of visible minoritised families in the eyes of the British education authorities.

Bussing disadvantaged visible minoritised children but white educators could financially benefit. Some received pay increases, in Huddersfield at least, for having a certain amount of 'immigrant' children in their schools and classes on the same scales as educators working with disabled children.[69] That educators in classes with more than twenty-five per cent 'immigrant' students should receive pay increases in line with 'special school' staff was

[67] Interview with Dexter Franklyn.
[68] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 55.
[69] Huddersfield Education Committee Minutes, 1965-66, Minute 174 proposes the idea of paying teachers engaged with 'immigrant' pupils on the same scales as those teaching 'handicapped' children. Huddersfield Education Committee Minutes, 1965-66, Minute 341 confirms the adoption of this policy.

mooted and passed by the National Association of Schoolmasters at their national conference in 1965.[70] Whilst educators salaries increased due to bussing visible minoritised families often ended up having to pay for their child's bus fares if they wanted to go to the same secondary school as their friends when their bussing programmes ended after primary school. Either the formerly bussed child made their own way to the secondary school near where they had been bussed, like Delmara whose family paid her bus fare so she could stay with her friends from primary school, or they started secondary education nearer to their actual home but with fewer schoolfriends or acquaintances, like MA interviewee Jo Radcliffe.[71] Bussing was resultingly more beneficial for White British teachers than it was for visible minoritised children who it put at a disadvantage, even when it ended. It was explicitly about race. White children were not affected, but if you had African Caribbean or South Asian heritage you might have been bussed regardless of whether you had been born in the UK, already had an education, or even spoke English.

The treatment of visible minoritised pupils of course varied greatly between LEAs, schools, and teachers. Nevertheless, the generally prejudiced approach towards teaching visible minoritised schoolchildren was justified as facilitating their assimilation. For Grosvenor assimilationism has 'nourished and developed the racialised identities which began to emerge in political discourse in the 1950s and […] has consistently cast Black people as both a problem and as a threat to the unified cultural community'.[72] More recently it has been argued by Douglas Lorimer that assimilationism has been the goal of liberal

[70] 'Extra pay wanted for teaching immigrants', *The Guardian* (31 December, 1965), p. 4.
[71] Delmara Green and Enoch Gay, an interviewee in my MA project, both ended up paying for their buses to secondary school for instance, whereas MA interviewees Jo Radcliffe and Raj Samra both attended high schools closer to home with barely any of their primary school friends. Interview with Delmara Green. Interview with Enoch Gay, 23 May 2016, conducted by author. Interviews with Jo Radcliffe. Interview with Raj Samra.
[72] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 92.

imperialists since the late nineteenth century.[73] This, and the persistence of assimilationism following the arrival of multiculturalism demonstrates the enduring nature of assimilationist thought in British society. Through the policies that it influenced and the perspective on visible minoritised people that it spread, assimilationism cast visible minoritised children as second-class pupils. It also enforced white hegemony and could be damaging to the self-esteem of children who deviated from normative White Britishness.

ii. Multiculturalism

Although multiethnic education practises and research developed slowly from the 1960s onwards in certain LEAs and spread more rapidly in the 1980s there were few significant changes in national policy or serious challenges to racism in the British education system throughout this period. Due to the decentralised organisation of British education the move away from multiracial policies towards multicultural ones was slow and uneven across the country.[74] The second phase of the British government's rhetoric towards New Commonwealth migrants is often thought to have emerged in 1966 when Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins backed a move towards what he described as the more two-way process of 'integration'. Instead of expecting visible minoritised people to assimilate the host society was, according to Jenkins, also expected to adapt to the newcomers. Shinder Thandi described this as one of 'the first signs of multiculturalist thinking which would dominate the 1980s'.[75] The Bullock committee's 1975 *Language for Life* report preceded the full adoption of multiculturalism in education when it persuaded the government 'that children should not

[73] Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870–1914* (Manchester, 2013), p. 9.
[74] Edwards and Redfern, *The World in a Classroom*, p. 29.
[75] Michael H. Fisher et al, *A South Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent* (Oxford, 2007), p. 167.

have to abandon their culture and language when they crossed the school threshold'.[76] The DES then officially adopted a multicultural ethos in 1977 when they announced that 'our society is a multicultural, multiethnic one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up the society'.[77] The last of the government's rhetorical shifts had begun as multiculturalism – the apparent acceptance of multiple cultures in British society, sometimes described as cultural pluralism – emerged in the British education system. The locally controlled nature of the system meant that the DES had little power to enforce this, however. This was largely the responsibility of the LEAs and their schools.

It is reasonable to doubt the extent to which all educators complied with the apparent rise of multicultural education because assimilationism remained popular and evidently influenced or reflected many White British people's thinking. Lowe notes that,

> As late as 1977 one correspondent to [the journal] *Multiracial School* was calling for the renewal of assimilationist style methods where new migrants received 'a dose of systematic language teaching, preferably carried out in the monastic security of a special class or centre'.[78]

Educators continued to make similar and well publicised claims into the late 1980s. In 1986 *The Times* detailed the case of a teacher who claimed that he was 'being harassed' because he expressed the view that multiethnic education practises 'should concentrate upon teaching useful language skills to minority children rather than upon uncovering the supposedly entrenched racism of British society'.[79] Similarly, a former Inner-London Education

[76] Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 126. Edwards and Redfern, *The World in a Classroom,* pp. 26-27.
[77] Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 126.
[78] Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change,* p. 118.
[79] 'The New Intolerance', *The Times* (28 March, 1986), p. 13.

Authority employee wrote to *The Times* in 1987 to argue that by dismissing assimilation the authority was endangering the children's educations.[80]

Chris Gaine noted in 1987 that the funding for what were by then officially known as multicultural education policies continued to be provisioned through section eleven of the Local Government Act 1966.[81] This act came at a time when assimilationism was the accepted norm. Gaine considers that 'one effect of having to use the term "immigrant" in all documentation about section eleven is partly to be seen in the persistence of the genuine belief that this is what racial education is about'.[82] Put simply, in the late 1980s Gaine was referring to the continuation of a multiracial or assimilationist way of thinking about and provisioning education at a time when multicultural education was ostensibly the dominant form. Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern stated equivalently in 1992 that British teachers have not 'abandoned assimilationist ideas and progressed uniformly through a multicultural phase before realising that an antiracist dimension is needed to inform a multicultural philosophy'.[83] Grosvenor argued along the same lines in 1997 that, 'assimilation has over the years been reformulated and repackaged to accommodate changing social cultural and political imperatives, but it has remained a major objective of education policy which is based on a racist belief in British cultural superiority'.[84] It appears clear that the British establishment maintained a commitment to assimilationism which survived long after the arrival of multiculturalism.

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[80] Peter Sutton, 'When Staff are Ruled by Ideology', *The Times* (27 August, 1987), p. 10.
[81] Chris Gaine, *No Problem Here: A Practical Approach to Education and 'Race' in White Schools* (London, 1987), p. 23.
[82] Ibid, p. 23. Also, see the Local Government Act 1966 Chapter 42, found at http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1966-local-government-act.pdf. The terminology on the government's official legislation website has been changed to state that section eleven mades special provision for 'ethnic minorities' whose language or customs differ from those of the rest of the community', https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1966/42/section/11.
[83] Edwards and Redfern, *The World in a Classroom*, p. 22.
[84] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 92.

The lack of national multiethnic education policies reflected the desire of consecutive British governments to avoid creating legislation which acknowledged educational racism as a problem. The Race Relations Act 1965 had banned racial discrimination in various public places and institutions but made no mention of schools. The Race Relations Act 1976 finally made racism in schools and the education system illegal and was seemingly the first significant national legislative development for British visible minoritised schoolchildren. It also created the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE): a controversial non-government organisation which produced teacher training materials and combatted racial discrimination by pursuing people and institutions in court.[85] The CRE had limited resources however and relied in some measure on the honesty and compliance of teachers and heads who had already proven themselves unreliable witnesses numerous times over.[86] The CRE wrote to local authorities two years after the 1976 act to state that

> It is necessary to find out from Head teachers the nature and degree of racist political activity going on in schools. Local authorities must make clear to Head teachers that they have a duty to make efforts, in consultation with their staff, to counteract racist propaganda.[87]

In that same year the National Union of Teachers' Conference passed a resolution which noted 'grave concern' at 'the inability to date of the Race Relations Act to prevent the propagation of racialist ideas' in schools.[88] Researcher Heidi Mirza recorded witnessing the efforts of one teacher to comply with an Inner-London Education Authority directive from 1983 to establish a Multi-Racial Working Party in her school being consistently and

[85] David Matheson, *An Introduction to the Study of Education* (London, 2008), p. 119.
[86] This is discussed thoroughly in chapter six.
[87] 'Racism in Schools' in CRE, *Local Authorities and Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976* (London, 1978), p. 9.
[88] National Union of Teachers, *In Black and White: Guidelines for Teachers on Racial Stereotyping in Textbooks and Learning Materials* (London, 1979), p. 11.

purposefully thwarted by colleagues and the head teacher.[89] The 1976 act did however come with some legal teeth and the CRE pursued local authorities in court for breaches.[90] Nevertheless, the main issue remained the lack of government interest in tackling racism in education, and the fact that by the late 1980s, according to the CRE, 'Very little work has been done in the field of racial harassment in educational institutions'.[91] The 1976 act was a positive development, but greater interventions and a more supportive establishment were needed to fight the deep-rooted racial thinking among British educators and to improve the racial climates of British classrooms.

Although assimilationism remained popular from the 1960s onwards certain LEAs were producing their own multiethnic education policies, appointing advisors, and hiring new teachers to provide specifically for the needs of visible minoritised students.[92] In Huddersfield Trevor Burgin was appointed as the educational organiser for 'Immigrants and Remedial Education' in 1967. In his own words the remedial part of Burgin's title was added so that his remit encompassed West Indian children.[93] Nonetheless, people like Burgin did begin to question the Anglo-centric curriculum, and consciously tried to promote more 'harmonious' relations between their local ethnic communities.[94] Gaine argued in 1987 that if such individuals were removed from these positions then their LEA's multicultural education policies might have collapsed or never come about so early on.[95] The extent to which people like Burgin were able to foster sustainable change was much promoted at the time, yet today

[89] Heidi Safia Mirza, *Young, Female and Black* (London, 1992), p. 66-7.
[90] Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change*, p. 120.
[91] Commission for Racial Equality, *Learning in Terror: A Survey of Racial Harassment in Schools and Colleges in England, Scotland and Wales, 1985-1987* (London, 1988), p. 9.
[92] Sandra Courtman, 'A Black British Canon?', *Wasafiri*, 17, 36 (2002), p. 54.
[93] Interviews with Trevor Burgin, 7 and 9 March 2016, conducted by author.
[94] Burgin spoke about his hopes for Huddersfield's future at a local conference: 'Children Will Lead Way to Racial Integration – Conference Told', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (19 October, 1968), p. 8.
[95] Gaine, *No Problem Here*, p. 144.

seems debatable.[96] Burgin was for example in charge of administrating the assimilationist and racist dispersal school bussing policy in Huddersfield.[97] Moreover, none of the interviewees who attended Huddersfield schools from the 1960s to the 1980s in this or my MA projected remember any multicultural or antiracist lessons. It is likely that they had some, but they were unlikely to have been especially significant and were clearly not memorable.

Liverpool during this period cannot claim to be a leader in multiethnic education practises, and no Liverpool based interviewee recalled any lessons that could be described as multicultural or antiracist either. One CRC report from 1974 noted that few teachers in towns with considerable numbers of 'immigrants' had received training in teaching a 'multiracial class'.[98] In 1977 a study of early years multiracial education argued that most carers felt they lacked training in working with visible minoritised communities.[99] A 1975 study of eight 'multiracial' urban areas demonstrated that all continued to promote assimilationist era policies and none had reviewed their services in terms of what Figueroa describes as 'the needs of a multiracial area'.[100] The CRC and its successor the CRE published and republished useful guides for teachers such as *Teacher Education for a Multicultural Society* (first published by the CRC in 1974 and republished by the CRE in 1978) but according to Vincent McClelland and Ved Varma this 'made little impact upon teacher-trainers generally'.[101] In summary, it seems that while some LEAs were more forward thinking than others real

[96] As presenter Michael Charlton stated in the 1969 BBC Panorama film 'the push towards integration came largely at the urging of a man [Burgin] whose initiative has put Huddersfield ahead of many other towns'. 'Michael Charlton Reports on the Racial Problems in Huddersfield', *BBC Panorama*, BBC One (London, broadcast 1 December 1969).
[97] Interviews with Trevor Burgin.
[98] Tim Devilin, 'Black Children's Needs Not Recognised, Group Complain', *The Times*, 24 Oct. 1974, p. 4.
[99] Commission for Racial Equality, *Caring for Under-Fives in a Multi-Racial Society* (London, 1977), p. 7.
[100] Figueroa, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', pp. 1005-1006.
[101] Vincent A. McClelland and Ved Varma, (eds.), *Advances in Teacher Education* (London, 2012), p. 124.

positive developments in multiethnic education in Britain which challenged racism and improved the curriculum were slow to arrive across the country.

It may have taken visible minoritised activists and parent organisations some time to appreciate and react to educational racism, but they did not take the racism against their children meekly. Their complaints began to rise in the 1960s against dispersal bussing, ESN, and banding – the placement of children in lower-sets with less possibility for academic advancement.[102] Although many won early local victories within their children's school, by the late 1970s their protests had begun to bear fruit at a national level. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration highlighted their concerns and recommended that 'as a matter of urgency the government [should] institute a high level and independent inquiry into the causes of the underachievement of children of West Indian origin'.[103] In 1979 when the committee was finally convened the Secretary of State for Education included all 'ethnic minority' children in its remit.[104] It produced an interim report under Anthony Rampton in 1981 which strongly criticised racism in British schools and society.[105] Rampton appeared to take the issues seriously. The final report was however published in 1985 and chaired by Lord Swann.[106] Rampton had been made to resign after the interim report's publication in 1981. *The Times* recorded that this was because he had 'fudged' the report by pandering to migrant groups who did not want to see the inquiry continue the trend of questioning their cultures and parenting skills.[107] Researchers have noted however that Rampton was fired for

[102] Farrukh Donday et al, *The Black Explosion in British Schools* (London, 1982), p. 10.
[103] Commons HC 180-I-III. February 1977 from Derek Gillard, 'The Rampton Report (1981)', *Education in England: The History of our Schools*, http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/rampton/index.html.
[104] Green and Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects', p. 904.
[105] The Rampton Report (1981), 'West Indian Children in our Schools: Interim report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups', (London, 1981), p. 12 and p. 78.
[106] The Swann Report (1985), 'Education for All: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups', (London, 1985).
[107] 'Looking the facts in the face', *The Times* (18 June 1981), p. 18.

his strong conclusion that the achievement gap between white and visible minoritised students was caused by low teacher expectations, and racial discrimination from society and teachers.[108]

Sally Tomlinson gave evidence to the Rampton inquiry and attended to discuss Rampton's preliminary report in November 1981 following its publication on 17 June 1981. In Tomlinson's handwritten notes from the end of day plenary session she recorded the widespread 'feeling that Rampton got it right'.[109] The National Union of Teachers 'wholeheartedly' supported most of Rampton's recommendations and criticised the government for their 'lukewarm' and 'non-existent' response.[110] It was therefore Rampton's successor, Lord Swann, who fudged it. Like Tomlinson and other researchers who contributed he came to similar conclusions to Rampton, but instead of acting upon them he buried them by using language which diminished their impact. Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor argue that the Swann Report understated the impact of race prejudice in favour of highlighting 'class-cultural' differences which effectively removed the state's responsibility for the issue.[111] That it is possible to go through the report and find antiracist elements and sections which advocate assimilationism is noted by Godfrey Brandt who argues that it is possible to use Swann to make a case for the implementation of both.[112] The conclusions seem to have been deliberately ambiguous. Shortly after Swann's publication Conservative education secretary Keith Joseph emphasised his government's interpretation as being that white groups also suffered from underachievement and stated that their policies would benefit

[108] Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35 (2001), pp. 305–317, p. 307.
[109] One Day National Conference to Discuss Interim Report "West Indian Children in Our Schools"', Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, 17 November, 1981. Image of this Tomlinson's handwritten notes included in appendixes.
[110] The National Union of Teachers, *Education for a Multicultural Society: Evidence to the Swann Committee Submitted by the National Union of Teachers* (London, 1982), p. 1.
[111] Green and Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects', p. 904.
[112] Brandt, *The Realisation of Antiracist Teaching*, p. 62.

all pupils; for David Gillborn this demonstrated 'the repeated historic refusal of British governments to take serious targeted action on the inequalities endured by minority communities and their children.[113] In the moment that the British government seemed poised to finally challenge racism meaningfully in British schools the decision was reversed by a political intervention in the inquiry to obscure and ignore its conclusions.

The 1980s were a period where the pace of transformations in the study and provision of multiethnic education quickened yet the establishment continued to resist progressive developments and promote assimilationism. Mark Garnett describes how the 1981 riots in British multiethnic urban areas, the publication of the Rampton Report, and the Labour Party's victories in local council election had 'significant consequences […] for cultural and educational activity in migrant groups'.[114] By the early 1980s visible minoritised youth cultures and movements were proliferating due to the new generations that had grown up in a multiethnic society.[115] Groups like the Asian Youth Movement gave strength to children and adolescents throughout the country, heightened awareness of the problems they faced at school, and led antiracism protests.[116] The Rampton (1981) and Swann Reports (1985) stimulated masses of research.[117] Their impact upon academic discourse is undeniable, but as Tomlinson notes, the 'outpouring of literature and comment expressed in writings from just about every academic, practical and political viewpoint on the subject of multicultural and antiracist education during the 1980s far surpassed any actual action in schools, LEAs or the

[113] David Gillborn, 'Racism, Policy and the (Mis)education of Black Children', in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 17.
[114] Mark Garnett, *From Anger to Apathy: The British Experience since 1975* (London, 2007), p. 10.
[115] Anandi Ramamurthy, 'The Politics of Britain's Asian Youth Movements', *Race and Class*, 48, 2 (2006), pp. 38-60.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Sally Tomlinson, *Ethnic Minorities in British Schools: A Review of the Literature, 1960-82* (London, 1982). Barry Troyna, 'Fact or Artefact? The 'Educational Underachievement' of Black Pupils', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5, 2 (1984), pp. 153-166. Brandt, *The Realisation of Antiracist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986). Barry Troyna and Jenny Williams, *Racism, Education and the State* (London, 1986).

DES'.[118] Regardless, in the wake of the reports a commitment to multiculturalism was growing among teachers and in an increasing number of LEAs at the same times as the government was attempting to understate the extent to which this was necessary.[119] Tomlinson also points out that by the end of the 1980s examining boards for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) 'were required to have regard to cultural and linguistic diversity [… and] some two-thirds of local education authorities had produced multicultural and antiracist policies'.[120] Despite the British government's fudging of the Swann Report and lack of action, and the persistence of assimilationist thinking, many educators made their own decisions based on the available evidence and started attempting to create positive change, yet this was anathema to political-Right who held power throughout the 1980s.

Notwithstanding the developments in local authorities, by the end of the 1980s assimilationism was the overt basis of government thinking once again. Even while antiracist practices emerged in some LEAs, multiracial style education policies akin to those in the early 1960s had continued taking place in others. In 1986 the CRE investigated English as a Second language teaching in Calderdale LEA, a council area that borders Kirklees, and found that South Asian children were being segregated in language centres in a similar manner to children who were bussed or sent to reception centres in years prior. Their report concluded that:

> children in both language centres have no access to a normal school environment […] the range of subjects […] was narrower than that covered by the mainstream classes

[118] Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 90.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 127.

> […with] no practical classes, no music, no foreign languages and no specific periods for religious education.[121]

Those LEAs that were attempting to create positive change were also essentially attacked by Conservative government's policies throughout the 1980s. At the start of the decade the newly elected Thatcher government had begun the process of adding market forces into the education system which made it easier for white parents to move their children away from schools in areas well populated by visible minoritised people.[122] By the end of the decade Thatcher had also introduced a national curriculum through the Education Reform Act 1988 in large part to remove control from LEAs who were perceived as putting too much emphasis on multicultural and antiracist education. In W. E. Marsden's eyes the Conservatives sought 'to restore the primacy of British history in the history curriculum'.[123] Chris Searle describes the act as 'a major assault on the gains of the 1960s and 1970s' that attempted 'to reassert traditional English values'.[124] Despite the intensity of the debates, the national adoption of multicultural education, the increasing popularity of antiracism, and the many positive actions taken by individual teachers and LEAs during the 1980s the result was a national re-affirmation of assimilationism.

iii. Antiracism

In British newspapers the earliest instances of the word antiracism came during the 1970s in reference to South Africa, but later in the decade the term gained prominence through

[121] The Commission for Racial Equality, *Teaching English as a Second Language: Report of a Formal Investigation in Calderdale LEA (Education Formal Investigation Reports)*, (1986), pp. 9-12.
[122] Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 71.
[123] William E. Marsden, 'Rooting Racism into the Educational Experience of Childhood and Youth in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Centuries', *History of Education*, 19, 4 (1990), p. 353.
[124] Searle, *An Exclusive Education*, p. 26. The two-tiered system has changed somewhat since Searle's comment in that the comprehensive tier is now also made up of academy and free schools which derive even less direction from their local authority.

discussions of Black or Asian British activists or the actions of students.[125] In like manner to multicultural education an antiracist movement in education studies developed in the 1970s but was spurred on by the Rampton and Swann reports in the 1980s. It directly challenged racism but failed to win mainstream acceptance and was essentially snuffed out in British schools and local authorities by the Education Reform Act 1988. Tomlinson argued in 2008 that this was because 'a powerful lobby' opposed 'anything under the label of multicultural or antiracist education'.[126] It is also relevant that the proponents of multicultural and antiracist education research engaged in esoteric and internecine debates despite having much in common.[127] The main point of contention lay in their explanations for educational underachievement among visible minoritised students. The multiculturalists emphasised cultural difference and the home environment whereas the antiracists highlighted the impact of institutional racism in the school and systemic racism in society.[128] In the classroom multiculturalists aimed to solve educational underachievement by bringing aspects of visible minoritised communities' cultures into teaching. Antiracists such as Gaine believed however that on its own this approach was insufficient because 'to hope that by some process of osmosis, ideas about cultural relativity or knowledge about Ramadan will transform the view on "race" of many white schoolchildren is to hope for far too much'.[129] The lines between multiculturalism and antiracism often blurred and both stances were adopted, sometimes

[125] Peter Wilby, 'Students Keep Ban on Racists', *The Observer* (16 June, 1974), p. 3. Wilby notes the National Union of Students confirming a vote to ban fascist or racist speakers. Penny Symon, **'**Government's Policy on Immigration Has Hardened, Report Says', *The Times* (29 October, 1977), p. 3. Symon cites a report by the Council for the Welfare of Immigrants which claimed that antiracist movement had been gaining strength from 1976-1977.
[126] Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 86.
[127] Peter A. J. Stevens and Gill Crozier, 'England', in Peter A. J. Stevens et al (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* (London, 2014), p. 277. Geoffrey Short and Bruce Carrington, 'Anti-racist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', *Educational Review*, 48, 1 (1996), p. 67. Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate', *International Journal of Educational Research* 35, 3 (2001), p. 308.
[128] Tahir Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure* (New York, 2004), p. 134.
[129] Gaine, *No Problem Here*, p. 1.

simultaneously, by different education authorities. Yet, it was multicultural education which the political establishment, most begrudgingly, accepted. Antiracism on the other hand won the academic debate as it drew adherents like researcher Barry Troyna who had initially advocated a multiculturalist stance and laid the foundations for Critical Race Theory.[130] In the words of Ray Costello, multicultural and antiracist discourses have nevertheless both failed 'to fill a void in British (and local) history'.[131]

Multiculturalism and antiracism were controversial during the 1980s, but antiracism garnered the most opprobrium. *Daily Mail* writers often criticised all progressive attempts to improve multiethnic education sometimes confusing multiculturalism and antiracism, and advocating assimilationism through re-focusing on Christian and British values.[132] One 1987 article cried that 'Children as young as five are to be the target of a new antiracism drive in schools' before describing multicultural education practises such as teaching elements of Caribbean history and learning to count with fruits more exotic than bananas. The article went on to quote Conservative MP for Birmingham Dame Jill Knight arguing that, 'Wherever small children are being indoctrinated in this way there is a strong adverse and totally understandable reaction from parents'.[133] Clearly, Knight and others missed the irony of describing multicultural education as indoctrination while suggesting that 'immigrants' assimilate into British society, but her comments also demonstrate the political resistance to making the British education system more inclusive and less prejudiced.

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[130] David Gillborn, 'Critical Race Theory Beyond North America: Towards a Trans-Atlantic Dialogue on Racism and Antiracism in Education Theory and Praxis', In Adrienne D. Dixson et al (eds.), *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children got a Song* (Oxford, 2017), p. 89.
[131] Ray Costello, *Black Liverpool: The Early History of Britain's Oldest Black Community 1730-1918* (Liverpool, 2001), p. 6.
[132] 'Ethnic Opportunity', *The Daily Mail* (10 November, 1984), p. 6. See also, Christopher Rowlands, 'Why Don't They Just Let Us Teach?', *The Daily Mail* (12 May, 1983), p. 9.
[133] Aubrey Chalmers, 'New Race Lessons for White Children', *The Daily Mail* (28 August, 1987), p. 19.

Various tropes quickly developed during the 1980s which cast the antiracist movement as a militant conspiracy that erodes freedom of expression.[134] The introduction to a 1986 collection of essays, *Anti-Racism: An Assault on Education and Value,* included a quote from George Orwell's *Nineteen Eight-Four. Daily Mail* columnist Russell Lewis published his own book length attack in 1988: *Antiracism: A Mania Exposed* with an introduction by Enoch Powell. Ali Rattansi succinctly sums up the right-wing hysteria of the period as a series of

> moral panics [...] orchestrated around 'loony-left councils' supposedly banning black dustbin liners, insisting on renaming black coffee 'coffee without milk', and banning 'Ba-ba black sheep' from the classroom – scares which turned out to rest on complete fabrications […] while many of the events were taken out of context, exaggerated, or simply invented, this did not seem to detract from a 'common-sense' understanding of anti-racism and multiculturalism as an attack on white cultural practices.[135]

When the Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network circulated a letter claiming that Britain was a racist state Godfrey Brandt noted that 'there was a tremendous defensive response' by teachers and education organisations. One teacher wrote to *The Times* education supplement stating that 'the whole ethos of the letter is wrong […] it represents an extreme statement of the situation and it is conceptually naïve to say we're a racist society'.[136] The idea that Leftists were falsely using the charge of 'racism' to coerce cooperation was also widely propagated. As if daring someone to call him a racist *The Times* journalist Ronald Butt made the bizarre statement in 1986 that 'liberals capitulate to the incantation "racist", much as the

[134] Anne Sofer, 'Race: Making Sure Nobody Loses', *The Times* (22 April, 1985), p. 10. Ronald Butt, 'An Erosion of Freedom', *The Times* (13 March 1986), p. 16. 'The New Intolerance', *The Times* (28 March, 1986), p. 13. Peter Sutton, 'When Staff Are Ruled by Ideology', *The Times*, (27 August, 1987), p. 10.
[135] Ali Rattansi, 'Changing the Subject? Racism, Culture and Education', in James Donald and Ali Rattansi (eds.), *Race, Culture and Difference* (London, 1993), p.13.
[136] Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986), p. 31.

spellbound victims of a primitive Australian aboriginal curse lay down and died without a blow being struck'.[137] These diatribes may appear hysterical, but they indicate the concerted efforts made during the 1980s to undermine antiracism in general and in education.

Criticism of antiracism was led by those seeking to re-strengthen assimilationism in education through the Education Reform Act 1988. Two years prior to its enactment it was reported that the bill was being designed to attack authorities such as the Inner-London Education Authority (ILEA) who were seen as allowing progressive issues like antiracism and antisexism to overtake 'traditional values'.[138] Former ILEA employee Peter Sutton wrote in *The Times* to argue for instance that 'in its abrupt dismissal of "assimilation" and the importance of mastery of the English language for exams and employment' staff at the ILEA were 'endangering the education success of the very students it most seeks to help'.[139] When an Asian school boy was stabbed to death in a racist attack at Burnage Academy for Boys in 1986 – a school in a local authority which had implemented antiracist policies – the press collaborated with Conservative politicians to discredit antiracism by misrepresenting the results. The inquiry was held in 1987 by Queen's Council Ian MacDonald, and a team of researchers including Gus John and other visible minoritised academics.[140] The publication of their report was however blocked for several years by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Kenneth Baker.[141] Aspects of the report which suggested that the school's application of antiracist policies, not racism, was in fact to blame for the playground murder were however surreptitiously leaked to the press.[142] Jack Tinker wrote gleefully in the *Daily Mail* – two months before royal assent was given to the Education Reform Act 1988 – that, 'It took an official report, not by a member of the Establishment but by a Left-wing lawyer,

[137] Butt, 'An Erosion of Freedom', p. 16.
[138] '"Syllabus Reform" to Curb Leftists', *The Times* (24 November, 1986), p. 2.
[139] Sutton, 'When Staff Are Ruled by Ideology', p. 10.
[140] 'School Violence Inquiry', *The Guardian* (1 May, 1987), p. 4.
[141] Tyler Broom and David Douglas, 'Baker Blocks Murder Report', *The Times* (14 July, 1988), p. 3.
[142] 'How Scarman Got It Wrong', *The Times* (31 May 1988), p. 16.

to show that it was the opposite – antiracism – which did the damage'.[143] Tinker even wrote this after the authors of the report had spoken to the *Guardian* a month earlier to state that they were in fact in favour of antiracist education. They had found racism at Burnage Academy to be so rife that the application of antiracist policies there was 'flawed by racism itself'.[144] The fact that the report was only allowed to be published in 1989, after the education reform act had already passed, indicates that such conclusions were rejected by those behind the bill.

Conclusion

British educators, researchers, policy makers and notable elements of the press rejected the idea that racism was a significant barrier over three decades, collaborated to discredit those who earnestly sought to tackle it, and then refused to act themselves. Their attempts to improve the condition of visible minoritised schoolchildren were influenced by assimilationist thinking and centred on making newcomers adopt White British culture. Multiracial education policies like bussing were a panicked reaction to the arrival of large numbers of visible minoritised schoolchildren in the 1960s. They were largely done to assuage the fears of white parents and to facilitate assimilation, while the multicultural policies of the 1970s and 1980s sought to mollify visible minoritised parents and activists. Tomlinson labels it a 'Reluctant multicultural education', whereas Grosvenor describes the government's commitment to multiculturalism as 'only in the terms of rhetoric'.[145] Educators and researchers who sincerely fought for a change to Britain' racial paradigm did of course exist, but their efforts were constantly hampered by an establishment which largely protected

[143] Jack Tinker, 'The Race Wreckers', *The Daily Mail* (27 April, 1988), p. 6.
[144] 'Glimmer of Light in the Racist Gloom', *The Guardian* (3 May 1988), p. 25.
[145] Tomlinson, 'Enoch Powell, Empires, Immigrants and Education', in Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 92.

white interests. The desire to avoid criticism was greater than the desire to change the status quo and fight racism. Tomlinson argues that

> What became known as the 'new right' – a coalition of neoliberals interested in free markets, competition and control of public spending, allied to Conservative groups interested in preserving nineteenth century notions of tradition, hierarchy, authority and social order – were able to influence significantly the direction of education policies.[146]

After achieving the reversal of multiethnic education advances through the Education Reform Act 1988 the British government continued to ignore racial tensions in British schools. Antiracist and multicultural education training courses began to decline in number during the 1990s.[147] The willingness of some local authorities and educators to adopt antiracist and multicultural policies during the 1970s and 1980s demonstrates the extent to which those in power obstructed progress.

Despite the many differences in context, the ideas of pioneering critical race theorists from the US are useful for explaining the function and failure of British multiethnic education practices. See for instance Richard Delgado's description how Civil Rights laws functioned in the US:

> Civil rights laws efficiently and smoothly replicate social reality, particularly black-white power relations. They are a little like the thermostat in your home or office. They assume that there is just the right amount of racism. Too much would be

[146] Tomlinson, *Race and Education*, p. 71.
[147] Tomlinson, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 124. Alastair Bonnett and Bruce Carrington, 'Constructions of Anti-Racist Education in Britain and Canada', *Comparative Education*, 32, 3 (1996), p. 271.

> destabilizing – the victims would rebel. Too little would forfeit important pecuniary and psychic advantages for those in power.[148]

British multiculturalism functioned similarly as it moderated the destabilising effects of British racism while stunting progress towards racial parity. Godfrey Brandt argued in 1986 that visible minoritised people had been 'screaming to the powers that be' about racism in education for years and that when an official inquiry was called 'only those elements which are seen as least likely to upset the status quo or better likely to maintain the status quo are implemented'.[149] These points about British multiculturalism evoke Critical Race Theorist Derrick Bell's description of 'contradiction closing cases' in US civil rights laws. Gillborn summarises Bell's idea as 'those situations where an inequity becomes so visible and/or so large that the present situation threatens to become unsustainable' and notes Bell's point that such cases 'serve as a shield against excesses in the exercise of white power, yet they bring no real change in the status of blacks'.[150] Despite having little to do with the law or courts, British multicultural education policies exemplify the basic concept of a contradiction closing case.

Visible minoritised schoolchildren suffered prejudice in British schools, yet the establishment refused to acknowledge racism as a significant problem. They could not however completely ignore parental calls for action, so, to metaphorically close the case, politicians supported the vague concept of a multicultural ethos in education. This is why Figueroa is right to conclude that 'developments in multicultural, and later antiracist, education came more from the bottom than the top'.[151] There certainly were many sincere white educators, policymakers, and participants in the debates surrounding multiethnic

[148] Gillborn, *Racism and Education,* p. 132.
[149] Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching,* p. 65.
[150] Gillborn, *Racism and Education,* p. 32.
[151] Figueroa, 'Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom', p. 1004.

education in Britain. Some LEAs did begin practising antiracism and introduced multicultural lessons to their curriculum. The point therefore is not that there was no change at all. Visible minoritised parents fought for an inquiry that, despite national government inaction, led many educators and local policy makers to progress their thinking. The more significant conclusion is however that few truly positive changes occurred in British classrooms overall for visible minoritised children during the first thirty years of British multiethnic education practices due in large part to the persistent reticence of the national leadership. This was particularly evident during the 1980s when the press and political establishment seemingly collaborated to misrepresent antiracism and attack local authorities for adhering to its principles. It is worth noting that in 2020 Critical Race Theory came under similar attacks in Britain and the US to those against antiracism during the 1980s. History is repeating itself as the British establishment is once again working to denounce contemporary scholarly thought on racism and arguing against it being used in British schools.[152]

[152] Calvin Robinson, 'Time to End the Teaching of Divisive Critical Race Theory in British Schools', *The Telegraph* (21 October, 2020).

Chapter 5: Racism and Education in Liverpool and Kirklees

Due to their contrasting economic histories and experiences of migration the City of Liverpool and Metropolitan Borough of Kirklees were chosen as the central case studies.[1] Liverpool has well-known and longstanding populations of visible minoritised people from across the world, whereas the towns that formed Kirklees in 1974 first gained large communities of people from the Caribbean islands and Indian subcontinent after 1945. Akin to studies focused on the capital or South of England, a thesis based on these case studies cannot be representative of the UK or even England. The staff and social climate of individual schools is also more central to shaping a schoolchild's experience than regional differences, regardless of ethnic group.[2] This is why Tahir Abbas describes it as 'fundamental' to consider 'the overall impact of the schools – their individual habitus. Within them, there exist differing teachers with differing aspirations and expectations of themselves, their school in the education system and their pupils'.[3] Significantly, despite the contrasts in their area's histories, interviewees from the Liverpool and Kirklees areas had largely comparable experiences of racism at school from 1960-1989 due to the strength of racism and assimilationism in Britain. Although their local authorities interpreted assimilationism in different ways it explains why Liverpool did nothing to tackle racism or engage with multiethnic education practices, and why places like Huddersfield were quick to introduce

[1] Not all of the Liverpool interviewees attended school in the centre of Liverpool, and one was in fact born and raised 'across the water' in Birkenhead prior to attending school in Liverpool, so while Merseyside may be a more accurate way to describe the locality of this case study the focus was upon experiences of Liverpool, particularly those in Liverpool 8.
[2] David J. Smith and Sally Tomlinson, *The School Effect: A Study of Multi-Racial Comprehensives* (London, 1989), p. 305.
[3] Tahir Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure* (New York, 2004), p. 134.

multiracial education style policies which often created inequality. This chapter reviews the local histories of the two areas and argues that despite the different ways their education authorities reacted to multiethnic education from the 1960s to the 1980s racism and assimilationism were powerful influences in both areas which notably shaped the lives of local visible minoritised schoolchildren. It also discusses how narratives exist in Kirklees and Liverpool that are local forms of the international post-racial myth phenomenon which function to stifle criticism of racism.

i. Liverpool

Visible minoritised people have resided in certain districts of Liverpool for centuries due to the city's historic links to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and Empire.[4] This means that racism in Liverpool also has a longer history than it does in many other parts of the UK. Through the infamous trade Liverpool became key to Britain's economic and imperial strength, laying claims throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century to be the second city of the United Kingdom.[5] The legacy of the trade remains evident on city centre buildings adorned with images of enslaved people, slave trading ships, and African iconography.[6] British slave ownership may have been abolished in 1833 but in the words of Ian Law 'The cultural reservoir of racism was not to be abolished so easily'.[7] Liverpool's migration history somewhat reflects that of the capital and other port towns and cities such as Bristol or South

[4] An early draft of this work noted in error that Liverpool had the second longest standing population of people of African descent. This was corrected by interviewee Pamela Browne whose comments prompted additional research. Interview with Pamela Browne, 5 November 2018, conducted by author. Colin Clarke, 'Race, Place and Space: Liverpool's Local-Born Blacks', *Antipode*, 39, 2 (2007), p. 367, and 'More Yin than Yang: Europe's Oldest China Town Fights for Survival, *The Economist*, 427, 9094 (2 June 2018), p. 30.
[5] Simon Hill, 'The Socio-Cultural Impact of the War of American Independence on Liverpool, 1775-83', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40, 2 (2017), p. 163.
[6] 'Liverpool and the North West', *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/slave-traders-and-plantation-wealth/liverpool-and-the-north-west/.
[7] Ian Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool, 1660-1950* (Liverpool, 1981), pp. 9-10.

Shields which have been home to longstanding visible minoritised communities. During the 1960s and 1970s Liverpool's local population was shrinking however due to emigration, and it received a smaller proportion of people from New Commonwealth nations than places such as Kirklees.[8] In Liverpool visible minoritised communities have always lived close to the docks, and still commonly reside near the River Mersey in postal codes like Liverpool 1, 17; Liverpool 8 in particular has for many years been associated with Black people in the city.[9] One report from Liverpool Hope University described Liverpool 8 in the late 1970s as 'nationally known for its squalor and ghettoes'.[10]

Despite the longstanding nature of Liverpool's visible minoritised populations the historic levels of racial intolerance in the city are disturbing and continued well into the twentieth century. After the First World War Black sailors were racially abused and denied equal access to jobs; riots famously erupted after a Black sailor was stabbed in 1919, and during the disturbances a ships fireman from Bermuda called Charles Wootton was drowned by a lynch mob.[11] A 1974 study found that while white Liverpudlians attempted to articulate their racial grievances in economic terms their violence during those post-war riots was primarily motivated, according to researchers Roy May and Robin Cohen, by 'sexual

[8] John Belcham, 'Race Relations in 20th-century Liverpool', *Oxford University Press Blog* (2015), https://blog.oup.com/2015/04/race-relations-liverpool-uk/.
[9] The phrase Liverpool Black often refers more generally to visible minoritised people from Liverpool as opposed to specifically referring to those of African descent. Although this identity is proudly claimed to this day by some not all visible minoritised people from Liverpool associate with it. Jacqueline Nassy Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool* (New Jersey, 2005), p. 13.
[10] Martin Bradley and Regina Kucharski, 'Final Report on Survey of Pre-School Needs in Liverpool', Liverpool Institute of Higher Education: Voluntary Pre-School Groups Aid/Research Project (1977), p. 2.
[11] That the riot could best be described as a lynching is noted by Martin Kettle and Lucy Hodges, *UPRISING! The Police, the People and the Riots in Britain's Cities* (London, 1982), p. 40. See also: Michael Noble, 'From Great War to Race Riots', *The Centre for Hidden Histories: Community, Commemoration and the First World War*, http://hiddenhistorieswwi.ac.uk/uncategorized/2015/06/from-great-war-to-race-riots/.

competition and fears of miscegenation'.[12] Following the lynching a Liverpool police officer was quoted as saying:

> The people here understand the negroes […]. They know that most of them are only big children who when they get money like to make a show [...]. The negroes would not have been touched [beaten] but for their relations with white women. This caused the entire trouble.[13]

Such instances of unrest were used to justify the passing of the Coloured Alien Seamen's Order in Liverpool in 1925 which required all visible minoritised sailors to register with local police when they arrived.[14] With the enacting of this order visible minoritised sailors in Liverpool were denied the same rights as their white colleagues as the city sought to limit their numbers, and officially instituted racist legislation.[15]

Despite the order, more visible minoritised sailors arrived and settled in Liverpool during the inter-war period and increasing numbers of children with dual heritage were born, and problematised by city officials. Their fears prompted the commissioning of Muriel Fletcher's infamous 'Report on an investigation into the colour problem in Liverpool and other ports', by The Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children in 1930. It was steeped in the eugenic thinking of the era viewing children of shared heritage as genetic abnormalities, and was highly critical of the local Black community.[16] John Belchem points out that the report also 'drew upon the new eugenic binary orthodoxy, contrasting the virtue

[12] Roy May and Robin Cohen, 'The Interaction Between Race and Colonialism: A Case Study of the Liverpool Race Riots of 1919', *Race and Class*, 16, 2 (1974), pp. 111-126.
[13] Mark Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness', *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 21, 2/3 (2008), p. 216.
[14] Muriel Fletcher, *Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports* (Liverpool, 1930), p. 8.
[15] Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, (Cambridge, 1986).
[16] Wally Brown, 'The Future Before Us', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell It Like It Is: How Our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005), p. 74.

of the (now rehabilitated) Chinese with the vice and "real social menace" of the "negro"'.[17] Fletcher noted for instance that 'the Anglo-Chinese child is said to be equal if not superior to the white, and the colouring and features being far less distinctive than those of the Anglo-Negroids, are not such a handicap'.[18] Alongside indicating negative views of all visible minoritised people this also demonstrates how people of Chinese origin have historically been racialised as less handicapped and problematic in Britain than people of African descent.[19] Fletcher stated that it was white prostitutes who tended to have children with 'coloured men' and that they 'almost invariably regret their alliance with a coloured man' as they realise 'that they have chosen a life which is repugnant'.[20] These are enduring aspects of local prejudice towards visible minoritised men and the white women who had relationships with them. John Mays noted in 1962 for example that 'many of the racially mixed marriages in this area presented lasting problems to both church and school'.[21] Following the Liverpool 8 uprising in 1981 Liverpool's chief constable described the participants as 'the products of liaisons between white prostitutes and African sailors'.[22] This is why Mark Christian states, 'there can be little doubt that many of the stereotypes concerning the make-up of Liverpool's Black community could be traced back to [Fletcher's] report'.[23] It is a record of the highly unpleasant attitudes towards visible minoritised people in Liverpool that were embedded in the community during the 1920s and 1930s which evidently remained influential throughout the era of this research.

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[17] John Belchem, *Before the Windrush: Race Relations in 20th-Century Liverpool* (Liverpool, 2014), p. 4.
[18] Muriel Fletcher, *Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports* (Liverpool, 1930), p. 11.
[19] Louise Archer and Becky Francis, '"They Never Go Off the Rails Like Other Ethnic Groups": Teachers' Constructions of British Chinese Pupils' Gender Identities and Approaches to Learning', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26, 2 (2005), pp. 165-182.
[20] Fletcher, *Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports*, p. 21.
[21] John B. Mays, *Education and the Urban Child* (Liverpool, 1962), p. 62.
[22] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 2010), p. 398.
[23] Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930', pp. 213-214.

The Legacy Gallery at the International Slavery Museum at Albert Dock in Liverpool chronicles the racism experienced by Liverpool-born Black people in the twentieth century. It includes the story of Clint Agard who was physically attacked by skinheads as a child with his grandmother whilst leaving church in the 1960s.[24] They were spat at, and Clint's grandmother required stitches after being hit on the head with a brick. The same display includes a quote from local race equality activist Mariah O'Reilly which describes how her grandmother stopped leaving her father outside in his pram during the 1920s 'because one time she brought him in and he was full of spit'.[25] Similarly, in a Liverpool oral history project local activist Michelle Charters, who was born to a white woman and Black sailor from Barbados, remembered her mother being stigmatised by the community, and being told that people had spat in her pram when she was a baby during the 1960s.[26] Interviewees in Kirklees also mentioned spitting in their memories and it seems to be a common facet of how migrants are disrespected by dominant societies.[27] Interviewee Ray Said, who has Yemeni heritage from his father, was told that when his family moved from Liverpool 8 to 7 in 1948 'we had all sorts of things like dog muck put through the letter box, and things like that'.[28] Violence also seems to have been common in Liverpool's schools as one teacher told Mays in 1960:

> Racial hostility is always simmering below the surface. It is not noticeable among the younger children but with the twelve-year-olds a quarrel in the playground may bring out such violent expressions (almost certainly learned from local adults) as 'black

[24] In the legacy gallery of the International Slavery Museum Liverpool.
[25] Ibid.
[26] 'New Exhibition Highlights Experiences of Black Liverpudlians', *The Voice Online* (11 October 2014).
[27] Carina Listerborn, 'Geographies of the Veil: Violent Encounters in Urban Public Spaces in Malmö, Sweden', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 16, 1 (2015), pp. 95-115. White children spitting in the playground was also mentioned in Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.
[28] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.

> bastard' or 'bloody nigger' which trigger off further conflicts and lead to fights in the streets.[29]

Consequently, visible minoritised people like the interviewees in this project were likely to live in fear of violence and to learn, as children, to not leave the relative safety of areas like Liverpool 8 because of the visceral and longstanding racism in the city.[30]

Many of the problems that visible minoritised children faced on the streets of Liverpool were compounded by their mistreatment at school. Wally Brown described Liverpool as

> a city where its Black community failed to achieve educationally and were invisible in jobs across the city, with the exception of low paid shipping-associated jobs […] or as cheap labour on ships as their fathers had been. Policy makers ignored the experience of Liverpool.[31]

In 1973 a report from the Race Relations Select Committee concluded that the Liverpool Black community was being discriminated against in education and society in general, and criticised Liverpool for its failure to lead other Local Education Authorities (LEA's) with more recently developed visible minoritised populations.[32] In the many pages of the Liverpool education committee minutes and reports from 1958 to the early 1980s there appear to have been almost no efforts towards introducing any multiethnic education practices or taking part in groups such as the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI), or National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME).[33] A 1968 report by the Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee on the situation of so called

[29] Mays, *Education and the Urban* Child, p. 62.
[30] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[31] Brown, 'The Future Before Us', p. 74.
[32] Ibid, p. 75.
[33] Liverpool Education Committee Minutes and Reports, 1958 – 1982.

'coloured' children in Liverpool noted that, 'At an early stage we were baffled by the lack of facts on all matters concerning the coloured population in Liverpool'.[34] Similarly, the author of a draft Community Relations Council Report from 1972 described often recieving requests regarding the authority's actions on integrating 'coloured immigrants' before stating 'I ask myself the same question'.[35] According to the Liverpool Education Committee Reports the city only began employing a 'Teacher/Advisor for Multi-Racial Education', in 1975; this was eight years after Huddersfield had founded a similar position, and was also completely insufficient considering the size of city's population.[36] In part Liverpool LEA's lack of engagement with these issues stemmed from the national preoccupation with 'immigrants'. Their high levels of British-born visible minoritised people and low levels of New Commonwealth migrants prevented Liverpool from accessing Urban Aid funding, part of section eleven of the Local Government Act 1966, that was used by places like Huddersfield to pay for multiracial education policies like bussing and hiring extra staff. Nevertheless, there was almost no impetus among the council to direct any help towards visible minoritised schoolchildren throughout this period.

The only assimilationist project of note in Liverpool during the 1960s was the use of Educational Priority Area funding to build a new school in 1968, Paddington Comprehensive. Belchem describes the school as 'a purpose built "multi-racial" secondary'.[37] Several former Paddington students and interviewees in this project, including Pamela Browne, noted the location of Paddington bordered several postal codes but that 'Paddington Comp wasn't in "a Black area", but lots of Black kids went there. It was on the outskirts of Grove St, and easy

[34] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 2.
[35] 'Community Relations and Education', *Liverpool Community Relations Council: Multicultural Committee draft report*, (March, 1972), p. 1.
[36] 'Teacher/Advisor for Multi-Racial Education', in Liverpool Education Committee Reports, May 1975 – March 1976, p. 6.
[37] Belchem, *Before the Windrush*, p. 211.

for Black kids to get to'.[38] Presumably, the school was designed to bring the local visible minoritised populations into greater contact with neighbouring lower-working class white communities. Interviewee David Yau recalled that he was given 'the hard sell' for Paddington Comprehensive in the late 1960s while attending Granby Street Primary, a school in Liverpool 8, and being told that it would be a modern and well-furnished school.[39] Interviewee Humayun Mirza was in the year below David and had the same experience.[40] The interviewees who attended Paddington all described serious racial tensions. Interviewee Zia Mirza, Humayun's sister, noted, 'Paddington Comp was one of those schools where the whites had a problem with the Blacks'.[41] David recalled:

> It was a rough school, I'll say that. You've probably heard that. It was well known in Liverpool that it was one of the roughest and hardest schools. They were organised as well [laughs] I'll give them that. Some of the bullies would get together and get groups to bus, they would bus groups of people to other schools in outlying districts just to beat them up. The bus drivers, as I said I used to catch the bus through Paddington, the bus drivers particularly the number twenty-five and forty-six numbers wouldn't stop to pick up the kids because they were just running riot […]. It was like St. Trinian's on speed if you like. I used to go to the bus stop prior to Paddington and use my brothers school tie just so I could get on the bus.[42]

The author of an online database of Liverpool schools commented on the entry for Paddington that, 'We were always told terrible things about the students from this school, and

[38] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.
[39] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[40] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 2 December 2020, conducted by author.
[41] Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018, conducted by author.
[42] David Yau, 29 April 2020. St Trinian's was a British comic strip series created by Ronald Searle which ran from 1946 until 1952. The comic was reimagined as a series of popular films in the 1950s and 1960s and has subsequently been re-booted for cinemas twice: first in 1980 and again in 2007 with a sequel in 2009. The cartoons and films all centre on a fictional anarchic girls' boarding school where the pupils are petty criminals and the teachers eccentric sadists.

lived in constant terror'.[43] Despite the local authority's multiethnic aspirations local white families who could avoid sending their children to Paddington seemingly did. Pamela noted that local Black families 'with some sense' would send their children to different schools like Arundel Comprehensive.[44]

The Select Committee on Immigration and Race Relations visited Paddington Comprehensive in 1973 and 'left with "a profound sense of unease", regarding Paddington as "symbolic of the situation in Liverpool as a whole" […] the school stood half empty, shunned by white parents'.[45] Belchem notes that Liverpool-born visible minoritised pupils constituted twenty-four per cent of the pupil roll in 1973, but that there was only one Liverpool-born visible minoritised person on the teaching staff, and that the school had no plans for introducing Black studies.[46] Overall, it seems that Paddington Comprehensive was Liverpool LEA's only serious attempt to introduce a multiracial education type policy to assimilate the visible minoritised population during the 1960s and 1970s, but because that was the full extent of their idea the school, by all accounts, succeeded in doing little more than providing local youths with an interesting battleground.

The lack of emphasis on visible minoritised children and engagement with any multiethnic education practices in Liverpool conceivably contributed towards the famous uprisings which occurred in Liverpool 8 in the summer of 1981. Liverpool LEA was still waiting for permission to apply for section eleven funding in September 1980 which means that for two decades they received no earmarked money from the national government to improve the condition of visible minoritised schoolchildren.[47] Furthermore, Liverpool schools

[43] Liverpool Schools, http://www.liverpool-schools.co.uk/html/m_-_q.html.
[44] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.
[45] Belchem, *Before the Windrush*, pp. 211-212.
[46] Ibid.
[47] 'Council Motion: Grant Aid for Immigrant Communities – Local Government Act 1966' (23 September. 1980), in Liverpool Education Committee Minutes, 1980 May – 1981 April, Minute 101.

throughout the 1970s suffered in general from a lack of staff, equipment, and furniture. In the Liverpool Education Committee Reports, 1979-1980 it was noted that the authority was on a 'standstill' budget, running a deficit of seven-and-a-half million pounds.[48] This had a clear negative impact upon local visible minoritised communities. In Liverpool 8, several schools were closed or amalgamated during the late 1970s and early 1980s including Toxteth Country Primary, which was approved for closure in November 1980 despite the protests of 500 local parents who signed a letter stating 'that the school has been "picked off" in isolation, instead of being considered a key contributor to the future pattern of education in the Toxteth area'.[49] By 1980 the authority was discussing a new government bill which sought to enable 'Local Authorities with black communities of long standing to make application for grant aid'.[50] At the same time the LEA was 'as a matter of urgency' setting up a committee of teachers 'to produce a report and recommendations on Multicultural Education in Liverpool'.[51] These efforts were doubtless too little too late. Within a year Liverpool 8 erupted into shocking violence at the same time as several other multiethnic lower working-class districts in different urban areas of England. These uprisings were predominantly motivated by heavy handed policing – conflict between police and visible minoritised people catalysed the eruption of each disturbance – but educational disadvantage was one area that the subsequent inquiry described as a key underlying cause.[52] One month after the riots in 1981 a Home Affairs Select Committee stated that 'Racial disadvantage in Liverpool is in a sense the most disturbing case of racial disadvantage in the UK […] it offers a grim warning to all of

[48] 'Conditions of Service for Teachers on Full-Time Permanent Appointments in Liverpool Establishments of Further Education', Note of a Meeting' (6 February, 1980), in the Liverpool Education Committee Reports, 1979 April – 1980 May, p. 2.
[49] 'Primary School Reorganisation, Report of the Director of Education' (2 December 1980), in Liverpool Education Committee Reports, 1980 May – 1981 April.
[50] 'Grant Aid for Immigrant Communities', in Liverpool Education Committee Minutes, 1980 May – 1981 April.
[51] 'Notice of Motion by Mr T. G. Bennett - Multicultural Education in Liverpool' (28 April, 1981), in Liverpool Education Committee Minutes, 1980 May – 1981 April, Minute 275.
[52] This is the central argument of Martin Kettle and Lucy Hodges, *UPRISING! The Police, the People and the Riots in Britain's Cities* (London, 1982).

Britain's cities that racial disadvantage cannot be expected to disappear by natural causes'.[53] This sums up the approach taken in Liverpool. It also emphasises the severity of the disadvantages faced by visible minoritised youths during this period, and the extent to which their LEA and national government failed them.

The history of visible minoritised schoolchildren in Liverpool from the 1960s to the 1980s is of key importance to challenging narratives which downplay racism and describe Liverpool's history as racially harmonious. Belchem noted that for years 'the discrimination and disadvantage experienced by Liverpool-born black youths lay concealed (and festering) beneath the spurious local rhetoric of harmonious relations'.[54] Derek Humphry similarly noted the double viewpoint on race in Liverpool as being, 'Look how well things are going in our city! Intermarriage, racial harmony, no Black Power', while on the other-hand, 'The half-castes have sensed their isolated position and are bitter, withdrawn and near to violence'.[55] When attempting to find interview participants for this project I discovered the enduring popularity of narratives which emphasise racial harmony among Liverpudlians. I posted advertisements requesting visible minoritised interviewees in various social media groups for sharing photographs and memories of growing up in Liverpool. These received several indignant replies from white posters about the strength of multiethnic unity in their area and lack of racism, whereas members of African descent privately messaged me to express interest in an interview. Nevertheless, the image of Liverpool 8 as a racially tolerant place should not be ignored. Liverpudlian interviewees recalled the multiethnic harmony of Liverpool 8 during their youth with nostalgic pride and noted that working class people from

[53] Brown, 'The Future Before Us', p. 75.
[54] Belchem, *Before the Windrush*, p. 204.
[55] Derek Humphry, 'Police Power and Black People', in Belchem, *Before the Windrush*, pp. 217-218.

a variety of ancestries amicably lived in close quarters.[56] The interviewees also stated, however, that racial disharmony lingered threateningly around the edges and effectively ghettoised them within these communities. Liverpool's multiethnic areas from 1960-1989 are rightly remembered with some positivity but it would be wrong to describe the City of Liverpool as a harmonious multiethnic community during this period. Nevertheless, it appears that Liverpool's multiethnic history is being mobilised by those who adhere to the post-racial myth to convince otherwise.

ii. Kirklees

Unlike Liverpool the towns and villages in the area that is today known as Kirklees only developed large New Commonwealth migrant populations after 1945.[57] Despite having little previous experience of visible minoritised people the local authorities that formed Kirklees in 1974 were however quick to develop discrimination in housing, education, work, and policing which amounted to systemic racism. Huddersfield, Dewsbury, and Batley are the largest towns in the metropolitan borough which was composed of eleven local government districts and created by the Local Government Act 1972. In 1961 Huddersfield was home to 130,652 people, Dewsbury to 52,963 and Batley to 39,639.[58] These areas were dominated by the textile industry and desperate for labour during the post-war years which is why Laura Price argues that, 'Whilst immigrant workers were often viewed by white contemporaries as a problem, they were in fact part of the solution to a crisis in the post-war wool textile

[56] This was noted by the following interviewees: Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018. Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020. Interviews with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, 30 November 2020, and 2 December 2020. All conducted by author.
[57] Ron Johnston et al, 'Are There Ethnic Enclaves/Ghettos in English Cities?', *Urban Studies*, 39, 4, (2002), pp. 591-618.
[58] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Huddersfield MB/CB, Dewsbury MB/CB, and Batley MB through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*.

industry'.[59] Prior to the Second World War there were only a handful of British Citizens of the Empire in Huddersfield.[60] By 1961 this had changed dramatically as around 3000 Commonwealth newcomers had arrived; in 1964 there were 7000, and by 1967 the number had risen to 12,000.[61] By 1971 Batley housed over 2500 people from the Indian subcontinent.[62] Due to the number of new arrivals Huddersfield and Dewsbury were among the first thirty-four local authorities to receive urban aid ear-marked for dealing with problems facing 'immigrant' communities.[63] While Huddersfield developed a large population of people with African Caribbean heritage, as well as Sikh, Muslim, and Hindu communities from the Indian subcontinent, Dewsbury and Batley primarily received large numbers of Muslim people – predominantly from Pakistan but also from the Gujarat region in India.

When the families of the first migrant workers began to arrive in Kirklees their children were enrolled throughout the school year. A 1958 survey of immigrant children in Huddersfield's schools found thirty-two; nineteen Indians, one Pakistani and twelve Europeans.[64] By 1967 the number had risen to 1400.[65] Being considerably smaller towns today and in the 1960s Dewsbury and Batley received less visible minoritised newcomers

[59] Laura Price, 'Immigrants and Apprentices: Solutions to the Post-War Labour Shortage in the West Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry, 1945–1980', *Textile History*, 45, 1 (2014), p. 36.
[60] 'The first Asian immigrants came to [Huddersfield] in the early 1930s – usually as pedlars based in Barnsley and their 'round' of the south Yorkshire coalfields. By the late 1930's there were about half a dozen men equally divided between Muslim and Sikh – one of the Muslims had married a girl from a mining village and the came to the town in 1937 […] by 1945 there were only about twenty people' - Duncan Scott, 'A Political Sociology of Minorities', and unpublished PhD thesis at The University of Bristol (1972), p. 101.
[61] Eric Butterworth and John Goodall, 'Immigrants in West Yorkshire: Social Conditions and the Lives of Pakistanis, Indians and West Indians', *Institute of Race Relations, Special Series* (1967), p. 44.
[62] Morag McGrath, 'The Economic Position of Immigrants in Batley', *New Community*, 5, 3 (1976), p. 239.
[63] 'More Immigrants Under Tory Plan Callaghan Says', *The Times* (8 October, 1968), p. 2.
[64] Trevor Burgin and Patricia Edson, *Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children* (London, 1967), p. 28.
[65] G. H. Grattan-Guinness, 'Huddersfield', in John Power, *Immigrants in School: A Survey of Administrative Policies* (London, 1967), p. 43.

overall and proportionately to their total population than Huddersfield. By 1967 Batley had 445 'immigrant' schoolchildren representing 3.3 per cent of local pupils, Dewsbury had 346 at 3.7 per cent whereas in Huddersfield 'immigrants' represented 7.5 per cent of the town's pupils according to a survey of West Yorkshire.[66] In 1968, the number rose to 2000, and the Huddersfield education authority noted in the committee minutes that it was expecting an increase of 500 per year 'for the next six years or so'.[67] Each town gained more than a school's worth of pupils from New Commonwealth nations over a period of eight years in the 1960s but in Huddersfield's case the numbers were greater, and newcomers continued to arrive throughout the 1970s despite the restrictions imposed by the 1962, 1968 and 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Acts.

Racial violence in Liverpool appears to have been particularly serious and ever present, but visible minoritised people in the towns of Kirklees certainly experienced comparable levels of threat. During the 1960s unprompted drunken attacks on male migrant workers featured occasionally in the local press in Dewsbury for instance.[68] Violence then seemingly became more organised from the late 1970s onwards as racism gained new recognition in British politics following Enoch Powell's infamous speech in 1968. Support for the National Front grew following Powell's speech, and while apparently never capturing more than a minority of locals, was considered so strong in Huddersfield that the group considered setting up a regional headquarters there in 1970.[69] National Front members harassed local visible minoritised owned-businesses.[70] They clashed with antiracist

[66] Butterworth and Goodall, 'Immigrants in West Yorkshire', p. 20.
[67] Huddersfield Education Committee Minutes, 1967-1968, Minute 286.
[68] 'Three Months at a Detention Centre: For Assault on a Pakistani', *The Dewsbury Reporter* (19 March 1960), or 'Alleged attack on Pakistani' *The Dewsbury Reporter* (16 June 1962).
[69] 'Dividing People', Huddersfield Weekly Examiner (5 September, 1970), p. 1.
[70] 'Note about white youths being dropped off by a known National Front member to break Mr X's rear shop windows', *The Duncan Scott Archive*, notes folder titled: Huddersfield - Indian (Mostly Sikh).

protestors.[71] They also provoked a small battle in Huddersfield in the early 1970s that was recalled by local man Faisal Khan during an anti-Fascism witness seminar in the town: 'about fifty [National Front] demonstrators attacked a Pakistani café, but having been forewarned counter-demonstrators had armed themselves with hockey sticks and gave the Front "a thumping" after debilitating them with chilli powder'.[72]

It is significant that the visible minoritised people in Kirklees decided to defend themselves as opposed to involving the police. In the late 1970s activists worked in West Yorkshire to defend African Caribbean youths facing police harassment and unfair treatment in court.[73] When asked about interactions with the police during his youth the anonymous African Caribbean male interviewee replied that 'The first thing you learned was to avoid them'. He then told a story about his cousin being arrested after a party and getting beaten up by the police in the back of the van. He was accused of assaulting the police and was sentenced to nine months in prison, but apparently told the interviewee, 'Assaulting them? I didn't know who hit me first I was on the floor'. The interviewee ended the anecdote by stating 'So the thing is avoid the police because you'll always lose'.[74] White Social Anthropologist researcher Duncan Scott personally witnessed police harassment towards local migrant businessmen and antiracist organisations during the late 1960s and early 1970s in Huddersfield.[75] Police harassment was one facet of the system which oppressed visible minoritised people during this period, and something that Black and Asian British youth

[71] 'Human Rights Group in Town Centre Clash', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (24 December 1970), p. 4.
[72] Paul Ward et al, 'Witness Seminar: Anti-Fascism in 1970s Huddersfield', Contemporary British History, 20, 1 (2006), p. 121.
[73] Ruth Bush, 'African Connections at New Beacon Books: A Conversation with Sarah White and Ali Hussein', *Wasafiri*, 31, 4 (2016), p. 3
[74] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 2 February 2020, conducted by author.
[75] 'Interviews with various IWA members', *The Duncan Scott Archive*, notes folder titled: Huddersfield - Indian (Mostly Sikh).

movements railed against during the 1970s and 1980s.[76] As discussed further in chapter six, it is clear that many of the interviewees in this project grew up fearing racist violence in their local communities. Overall, visible minoritised communities in Kirklees as in Liverpool from the likely felt, to varying degrees, threatened by white people, and unsupported by their local police.

Just as the authorities in Liverpool had historically ghettoised Black, Arabic, and Chinese sailors in Liverpool 8, unofficial segregation was quickly instituted in the towns of Kirklees. Audrey Robinson, community relations officer for Huddersfield's Council of Churches, claimed in 1973 that immigrants were kept out of white areas of Huddersfield by a housing colour bar, and that where Black and Asian people move in 'other people are moving out'.[77] In Dewsbury councillor K. C. Howe wrote to the local paper about 'lengthy debates' in the council chamber regarding the re-housing of Indian and Pakistani people from properties that were being demolished under the slum clearance program. He 'frankly' admitted to believing that segregation was necessary claiming that it

> is unwise for coloured immigrants to be intermingled with our own white residents. These coloured people […] their way of life, their customs, their religion and their standards of hygiene are totally different from ours, it is absolutely wrong and completely unfair to our own people to allow this intermingling.[78]

Although councillor Howe stated that these views were his own, he noted his belief that most fellow councillors agreed with him 'in the main'. The first housing discrimination case taken to court in Britain by the Race Relations Board was against a Huddersfield builder who refused to sell a house on a new estate to a South Asian British family. When Mr Mahesh

[76] Kalbir Shukra, *The Changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain* (London, 1998), pp. 45-46.
[77] 'Racial Bar on Housing – "We Move In, They Move Out"', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (31 March 1973), p. 10.
[78] 'Readers Opinions – Colour and Segregation', *The Dewsbury Reporter* (February 3 1962).

Upadhyaya telephoned George H. Haigh and Co. Ltd in 1969 to make a purchase he was apparently told, 'We would not jeopardise our business by selling a house to you'.[79] African Caribbean British interviewee Delmara Green recalled her father mentioning that he had been told he had to pay an extra £1000 for their house by the estate agent because their family would reduce the value of neighbouring properties.[80] The idea popular in contemporary Britain that small enclaves of visible minoritised populations, particularly South Asian communities, have self-segregated is therefore patently false because segregation was largely forced upon them during this era. Although Britain never enshrined segregation in national law it existed informally in different ways throughout the country. This was done by racist estate agents, white families who fled inner city areas when migrants arrived, and local authorities who either tacitly or – in the case of the above quoted Dewsbury councillor – openly supported segregation.

Local businesses and clubs also operated their own unofficial 'colour bars'. In 1970 Duncan Scott interviewed a former convenor for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers (AEF) at David Brown's tractors in Huddersfield. The man justified the 'absence of coloured immigrant labour' in Meltham by claiming that they were not skilled enough to do the work and that the local climate was too harsh for them.[81] Similarly, Price recorded how 'British wool workers of this period often suggested that Asian workers 'resent[ed] telling the truth' or African-Caribbean migrants '[did not have] spinning fingers'.[82] Another AEF representative also confided in Scott that local engineering firms Broadbent's and Hopkinson's both operated restrictions on 'coloured' immigrants of ten and

[79] 'Selling House to Immigrant May be Bad Business – Court Told', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (21 June 1969), p. 1.
[80] Interview with Delmara Green, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[81] 'Interviews with AEF members', *The Duncan Scott Archive*, notes folder titled: Huddersfield-Industrial Life-Wool, Riverside, TGWU, AEF.
[82] Laura Price, 'Immigrants and Apprentices: Solutions to the Post-War Labour Shortage in the West Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry, 1945–1980', *Textile History*, 45, 1 (2014), p. 36.

five per cent respectively before the Race Relations Act 1968 banned such practices.[83] Although such blatant discrimination in employment became more difficult visible minoritised people still faced discrimination at work, and restrictions or 'colour bars' also affected their social lives. The Batley Trades and Friendly Club for example voted to bar 'coloured people from membership and coloured artists from performing' in 1968.[84] The club had over 1000 members and was continuing to enforce the colour bar in 1972. After being reported to the Race Relations Board the Vice President of the club, Mr Arthur Spooner, stated to the press:

> The club is surrounded by immigrants and is opposite a Mosque. After living and working all day among coloured immigrants our members like to feel that they can come in here at night and enjoy themselves with their own kind.[85]

There was therefore an unofficial effort among the authorities, the general populace, unions, and business owners throughout the towns that formed Kirklees to discriminate against visible minoritised people which amounted to segregation and systemic racism.

Like Liverpool, perceptions of race relations in Kirklees have also been shaped by the post-racial myth, but there are contrasting perspectives across the towns of the area. Huddersfield is often viewed as more racially harmonious than Batley or Dewsbury, and was lauded in early multiethnic education studies for taking a supposedly progressive approach.[86] A correspondent for *The Times* stated in 1968 for instance that, 'The Yorkshireman's placid and confident outlook on life seems to manifest itself in many ways – in the way in which large coloured immigrant populations have been absorbed in the Bradford and Huddersfield

[83] Ibid.
[84] 'Immigrants Protest at Club's Ban', *The Guardian* (24 August, 1968), p. 14.
[85] 'Colour Bar on Firemen', *The Guardian* (14 July 1972), p. 6.
[86] Julia G. McNeal, 'Education', in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, (London, 1971); also, Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Windsor, 1974), p. 52.

areas with few outward signs of stress'.[87] In part the perceived success of Huddersfield's schools in teaching visible minoritised students was due to the work of Trevor Burgin and his colleagues during his time as the head teacher of Spring Grove Primary, and as the local authority's Educational Organiser for 'Immigrants and Remedial Education'. Burgin demonstrated his optimistic view of Huddersfield in the following remarks at a conference in 1968:

> there is already a multi-racial atmosphere in Huddersfield's schools […] the town [has] been one of the forerunners in the educational approach to integration […] these children will grow up to accept each other as citizens of a multi-racial Huddersfield of the future […]. We have been extremely fortunate in that we have had a more enlightened education authority than in other places […]. We no longer think of this race or that race. They are all pupils.[88]

This quotation lays out Burgin's positive vision, but he optimistically overstates Huddersfield's success. Some education policies over-seen by Burgin were in fact assimilationist and racist policies which involved segregating visible minoritised pupils like bussing or reception centres. The view of the town as racially harmonious was however not shared by everyone at the time. In 1975 a local group of white people formed in Huddersfield's Thornton Lodge and Springdale areas presenting themselves as a 'white minority group'; their representative Mr Colin Beever stated their 'intention is to shake up the authorities out of their attitude that race relations are good in Huddersfield. In odd cases they might be, but round here they are definitely bad'. Mr Beever then went on to complain about

[87] John Chartres, 'Yorkshire and Humberside', *The Times* (26 June, 1968), p. 1.
[88] 'Children Will Lead Way to Racial Integration – Conference Told', Huddersfield Weekly Examiner (19 October, 1968), p. 8.

the hygiene of his South Asian neighbours and plans to build a local mosque.[89] These areas of Huddersfield are today predominantly populated with people of South Asian descent. Many local white people, including my own Grandparents, moved to homes in other areas of Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s due to a dislike of South Asian newcomers. In Huddersfield today there are people who will point towards villages with higher numbers of visible minoritised people and note that race relations in the town are not perfect, yet Burgin's positive sounding view of race relations continues to shape contemporary discussions of racism in Huddersfield.[90]

Positive perceptions of multiethnic education history in Huddersfield undoubtedly relate to the particular form of the post-racial myth there and why it is commonly viewed as a well-integrated and harmonious town, but they were also formed in contrast with popular views of the other towns in Kirklees. Dewsbury for instance made the national press in the late 1980s when local white parents refused to send their children to a school with a high number of South Asian children, and chose instead to educate them in a local pub.[91] Mehboob Khan, the former leader of Kirklees council described Huddersfield in 2015 as having 'all the ingredients for a good, cohesive community', while characterising communities in Dewsbury as living 'parallel lives'.[92] Similarly, Batley was named among the top ten 'least integrated' areas in the UK in 2016.[93] These are however fairly recent perceptions of these areas which relate to the Islamic nature of Dewsbury's and Batley's

[89] Denis Kilcommons, 'Town's Newest Minority Group Is for Whites', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (13 November, 1975), p. 1.
[90] Burgin's work and the supposed success of Huddersfield's education authority was for example touted by several members of the audience at a talk on given by Olivier Esteves, 'Babylon by Bus? Dispersal and the Desegregation of English Schools in the 1960s and 1970s', research seminar, The University of Huddersfield (27 April, 2016).
[91] Ikhlaq Din, *The New British: The Impact of Culture and Community on Youth Pakistanis* (Oxford, 2006), p. 57.
[92] John McDermott, 'Mixed Blessings of Immigration in God's Own Country', *Financial Times* (6 March 2015).
[93] Jonathan Brown, 'Divided They Fall: Bradford, Batley, Halifax and Keighley among UK's Top 10 "Least Integrated" Areas', *The Yorkshire Post* (28 January, 2016).

populations, and the rise in Islamophobia across Britain from the 1990s to the early 2000s.[94] The Cantle Report (2001) also argued that British Muslims in Kirklees lead 'parallel lives' to their white neighbours and that they sought 'self-segregation'.[95] Popular images of Muslim people as non-British, and self-segregating therefore allow white racists to simultaneously believe that racism is no longer a serious issue in their area, while also blaming all problems on Muslim people.[96]

In Huddersfield, the Pakistani Muslim communities in particular draw similar ire and comments about self-segregating to those in Batley and Dewsbury, but the relative wealth of Huddersfield perhaps quietens some complaints. An attendee at a screening of my documentary film on dispersal bussing in 2018 commented for example, 'haven't they all chosen to live separately from us in [districts of Huddersfield such as] Birkby and Lockwood?'. Huddersfield is however somewhat better connected to the other large urban areas in the north of England and the rest of the UK by train than Dewsbury and Batley. Primarily due to the success of the University of Huddersfield it is also more economically successful as the university reportedly brings hundreds of millions of pounds into the local economy.[97] Poverty is perhaps less significant in Huddersfield and has likely stoked fewer racial tensions in recent years, so, if by some quantifiable measure race relations in Huddersfield are better than in Dewsbury and Batley it seems that the differences would

[94] Scott Poynting and Victoria Mason, 'The Resistible Rise of Islamophobia Anti-Muslim Racism in the UK and Australia Before 11 September 2001', *Journal of Sociology*, 43, 1 (2007), pp. 61-86.
[95] Paul Wetherly et al, '"Islam", "the West" and "Multiculturalism"', in Max Farrar (ed), *Islam in the West: Key Issues in Multiculturalism* (London, 2012), p. 16.
[96] 'Kirklees Named One of WORST Areas in Britain for Integration by Casey Review', *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner* (5 December 2016), Dame Louise Casey's report on social integration names Kirklees on of the worst areas in Britain but apparently confuses race, ethnicity and faith throughout. Casey's report 'acknowledged that elements would be "hard to read", particularly for Muslim communities', emphasised the number of Muslim women in Kirklees who cannot speak English, and proposed the introduction of an 'integration oath'.
[97] Nick Lavigueur, 'Fears Huddersfield University Cuts Will Damage Local Economy', *Examiner Live*, (5 July, 2020).

primarily relate to Huddersfield being the quickest to regenerate after the collapse of the local textiles industries.

Conclusion

The local histories of Liverpool and Kirklees are unique yet central to the history of race relations in the UK outside the capital during this period. The severity of racism in twentieth century Liverpool demonstrates the strength of racist sentiment among British people with longstanding experiences of direct contact with visible minoritised people. It also demonstrates how racism festers instead of healing if left unattended by the authorities. In the words of Maud Blair this is because

> schools that take a 'colour-blind' approach are more likely to interpret students' needs as meaning white students' needs […]. Instead of creating a warm and welcoming environment for black and minority ethnic group students and their parents, 'colour-bind' schools are more likely to develop a 'racially hot' environment marked not only by resentment and conflict but by disaffection and more likely than not, 'underachievement'.[98]

The experience of the towns in Kirklees on the other hand suggests how racist systems of oppression rapidly developed in British regions where visible minoritised populations had historically been negligible in size. The experiences of both areas with multiethnic education undoubtedly relate to the popularity of assimilationist thinking in Britain during this era. In Liverpool, the visible minoritised communities were characterised as already assimilated, so the introduction of multiethnic education policies was considered largely unnecessary. In Kirklees, but particularly in Huddersfield, the arrival of large numbers of visible minoritised

[98] Maud Blair, 'The Education of Black Children: Why Do Some Schools Do Better than Others?', in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 30.

migrants prompted fears surrounding their assimilation which is why Huddersfield was so quick to introduce policies like dispersal school bussing.

The fact that residents from both Liverpool and Kirklees articulate their own local versions of the post-racial myth to assert that race relations in their areas are relatively good is significant because of the contrasts in their historical experiences of migration and race. The local myth in Liverpool is based on an idealistic perception of the longstanding local minoritised communities and their interactions with local white people. In Huddersfield it is based on the purportedly progressive actions of their local authority from the 1960s onwards in comparison with Batley and Dewsbury. These ideas are powerful because in a local sense there are elements of truth to them. In Liverpool white and visible minoritised people have lived alongside each other for many years, inter-married, and formed friendly relationships. In Huddersfield, the LEA was quick to introduce assimilationist multiracial style education policies. It does not necessarily follow however that these whole areas were racially harmonious or that Britain in general has become racially harmonious since the 1970s, but the fact that many people seemingly assume this is the case suggests that the post-racial myth is a powerful impulse. In these case studies it seems to have been partly generated by the widespread desire of people in general to think of their communities positively and of British people to view themselves as liberal and fair. Yet, the Liverpool and Kirklees areas were obviously steeped in racism and even purposefully mapped by their local white led establishments according to racial lines throughout the era of this research. Children attending schools there undoubtedly had different experiences; this thesis does not claim that the stories of children from Liverpool and Kirklees can somehow perfectly encapsulate the totality of visible minoritised schoolchildren's experiences in England from 1960 to 1989. Nevertheless, the interviewees in this project experienced similar issues at school precisely because systemic racism was so engrained nationwide. In Liverpool we can see the impact of

longstanding British racism, whereas the situation in Kirklees demonstrates how historic attitudes and impulses towards ‘others’ were quickly applied to post-war migrants from the New Commonwealth.

Chapter 6: Educators and Misinterpreting Racial Disadvantage

> This book is about children – little Indian and Pakistani children who have been switched, with no preparation, from their village homes in the Punjab to a manufacturing town in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The children's efforts to come to terms with a strange new life, one that their own mothers cannot understand, with the routine of an ordinary English school, with a climate that to them is horrible, with foreign eating and social habits, and with an entirely new language, have called for enormous sympathy, flexibility and ingenuity from their teachers – including Rachel Scott. No-one before has shown in such rich detail just what the problems are for these floundering, pathetic immigrant children and for those working with them.
>
> *Quote from the dust jacket of Rachel Scott's A Wedding Man is Nicer than Cats, Miss* (1972).[1]

This quotation appears fair benign. White British teachers from 1960 to 1989 are quoted in this work making far more contentious sounding statements, but it is included here because it encapsulates something unpleasant about the perspectives of many apparently well-meaning White British teachers who taught during the emergence of multiethnic education in Britain.[2] The author, or editor who wrote the accurate summary of their purpose, hints that New

[1] Rachel Scott, *A Wedding Man is Nicer than Cats, Miss. A Teacher at Work with Immigrant Children* (London, 1972). Scott is the pseudonym of a White British primary school teacher who worked in Huddersfield at Spring Grove Primary School during the sharp increases of New Commonwealth migrant students that the school experienced during the 1960s.

[2] Although none of their testimonies feature in this work, I have conducted several interviews with former educators from Liverpool and Huddersfield including Trevor Burgin and several of his colleagues at Spring Grove. These will eventually be discussed in a separate project on the oral histories of those who taught during the emergence of multiracial education in Britain.

Commonwealth migrant children inspired pathos in White British teachers who viewed them as potentially traumatised or otherwise rendered unable to learn by their experiences of migration. It emphasises how White British teachers primarily appreciated New Commonwealth migrant children as a problem to their profession and the point about children migrating 'with no preparation' demonstrates a view of their parents as careless or ignorant. This chapter challenges the stereotypes propagated by White British teachers which appear in early literature. It describes the disadvantages faced by the interviewees outside of school and in their home lives and explains how they were almost entirely misunderstood and misrepresented by British educators and the researchers who consulted them.

i. The influence of educators

Teachers, heads, and local education policymakers, not visible minoritised schoolchildren or their parents, were the main groups to provide information to White British multiethnic education researchers during the 1960s and 1970s. This explains why early academic research generally portrayed visible minoritised children as problematic for British teachers and their schools.[3] Official government documents such as the 1971 Department of Education and Science (DES) survey *The Education of Immigrants* entirely avoided the topic of teacher racism and Select Committee reports from as late as 1977 refused to even admit that racism existed in the British education system.[4] It of course suited the British political establishment not to highlight racism in their schools, but White British teachers provided early multiethnic researchers and then politicians with the justification for ignoring educational racism through consistently dismissing it as insignificant. Their ideas were also often repeated in the press to rationalise multiracial education policies, or as a counterpoint to the lack of action against

[3] Alan G. James, *Sikh Children in Britain* (London, 1974), p. 66.
[4] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 61 and 67.

racism in schools. One teacher quoted in *The Times* argued that 'West Indian parents 'gave less home motivation than white parents' in reply to accusations of racism being 'rife' in British schools.[5] A teacher from Coventry claimed in the *Guardian* that Indian and Pakistani children 'presented very great problems' due to their 'home background' and because their 'parents often showed no wish to integrate'.[6] In defending their profession against racism White British teachers thus widely spread negative stereotypes regarding their British visible minoritised pupils.

White British educators clearly rejected the idea that racism affected their visible minoritised pupils. They used racial stereotypes to dismiss rising complaints from visible minoritised communities and consistently over-emphasised problems relating to language, family and culture to deflect comments about racism.[7] David Smith and Sally Tomlinson argue that 'For those who want to avoid taking a hard line against racial discrimination, it has always been convenient to emphasise these educational and cultural factors'.[8] Teachers are not alone in deserving blame for this, but their contribution was substantial. Most teachers were as Jan McKenley described 'ill equipped and unprepared' for the arrival of so many new migrant children but 'by 1970, a culture of "blaming the victim" was in place'.[9] A widespread myth also clouded their ability to understand racism. Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern state that it took 'the form of British "fair play"' and led many among the general public 'to believe that we live in a basically just society'.[10] The Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee report from 1968 noted for example that the teachers they

[5] Diana Geddes, 'Cases of Racialism and Indirect Discrimination "Rife" in Schools', *The Times* (2 August, 1980), p. 5.
[6] 'Extra Pay Wanted for Teaching Immigrants', *The Guardian* (31 December, 1965), p. 4.
[7] Kamala Nehaul, *The Schooling of Children of Caribbean Heritage* (London, 1996), p. 24.
[8] David J. Smith and Sally Tomlinson, *The School Effect: A Study of Multi-Racial Comprehensives* (London, 1989), p. 2.
[9] Jan McKenley, 'The Way We Were: Conspiracies of Silence in the Wake of the Empire Windrush', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4, 4 (2001), pp. 317-318/
[10] Viv Edwards and Angela Redfern, *The World in a Classroom: Language in Education in Britain and Canada* (Somerset, 1992), p. 108.

interviewed claimed there was 'no racism in their schools'.[11] An article in *The Times* from 1967 noted equivalently that few head teachers 'openly admit that racial problems exist, and education authorities seem obsessed with proving that they don't'.[12] This is why there was so much resistance to the multicultural and antiracist forms of education which gained prominence in the late 1970s and 1980s: many educators and policymakers simply did not understand racism or want to believe in its existence.

White British teachers provided researchers with comments that were saturated with racial stereotypes and created damaging portrayals of visible minoritised parents.[13]. Huddersfield educators Trevor Burgin and Patricia Edson made generalisations for instance about 'West Indians' immediately seeking unemployment benefits due to their '"easy-come, easy-go" nature'.[14] They characterised South Asian mothers as 'absent' and as having 'an innate shyness, and an almost universal inability to speak our language'.[15] Such ideas had an enduring impact because studies in the mid-1990s continued to find that Muslim fathers were largely portrayed by teachers as 'authoritarian' and Muslim mothers as 'passive'.[16] According to Burgin and Edson 'West Indian' children were 'unwanted and uncared-for' by their families.[17] Despite the widespread use of corporal punishment among White British families, they also portrayed African Caribbean fathers who physically punished their children as particularly violent emphasising that 'We have on more than one occasion heard a West

[11] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 10.
[12] 'Growing Up with Pinky', *The Observer* (10 September, 1967), p. 17.
[13] One education officer from the midlands told Gordon Bowker in the late 1960s that, 'The West Indian goes to school with a smack on his bottom, anxious to benefit from his education but not valuing it in itself. The Indian goes as he might go to church, to sit at the feet of his guru'. Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), p. 67.
[14] Trevor Burgin and Patricia Edson, *Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children* (London, 1967), p. 8.
[15] Burgin and Edson, *Spring Grove*, p. 26
[16] Tehmina Naz Basit, 'Educational, Social and Career Aspirations of Teenage Muslim Girls in Britain: An Ethnographic Case Study', University of Cambridge (1995), p. 236.
[17] Ibid, *Spring Grove*, p. 24.

Indian father say "I'se gonna give him a beating"'.[18] Upon reading this section the anonymous African Caribbean male interviewee noted that in the Caribbean 'beating' was the generic term for smacking a child with an open palm, the same method used by most White British parents at this time, so it may be that elements of this issue were a simple misunderstanding.[19] Although, it also seems that White British educators were quick to accept violent stereotypes of African Caribbean men and to propagate them. John Mays in his 1962 Liverpool based study noted that teachers portrayed 'racially mixed marriages' there as presenting 'lasting problems to both church and school'. He then quoted a teacher who reported constantly fighting 'the unsatisfactory conditions of many of the homes and often the bad moral example of some parents'.[20] A 1976 survey of over 500 British teachers from twenty-five schools situated in London, Yorkshire, the Midlands, Lincolnshire and the Home Counties recorded numerous comments which suggested 'that in the teachers' eyes the cause of difficulties with black children lay principally in their upbringing, in their home environment, in innate characteristics or in the disruptive effects of immigration itself'.[21] The main conclusion to be drawn from this is that White British teachers were quick to see examples of poor parenting among migrants as representative of whole ethnic communities, and to stigmatise them.

White British multiethnic education researchers tended to empathise with teachers, and directly reproduced their racist assumptions in reports which influenced government thinking. It was for example common for researchers to highlight teacher's concerns surrounding what Nicholas Hawkes described as the 'obvious technical difficulties' that

[18] Ibid, p. 26.
[19] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 17 August 2020.
[20] John B. Mays, *Education and the Urban Child* (Liverpool, 1962), p. 62.
[21] Elaine Brittan, 'Multiracial Education -->2. Teacher Opinion on Aspects of School Life. Part 2: Pupils and Teachers', *Educational Research*, 18, 3 (1976), p. 190.

'immigrant' children brought to their profession.[22] Hawkes also literally defended his primary sources – the teachers – when he argued that

> Again and again teachers and observers have said that language is the key to the problem of integration in the educational system […]. That this is a real difficulty for them and for their teachers should not be overlooked by humanitarian enthusiasts who are eager to show that all the fuss is due to prejudice alone.[23]

Gordon Bowker appeared similarly sympathetic for teachers with multiethnic classrooms in 1968 when he noted that 'Some teachers have, perhaps understandably, been discouraged [by the arrival of New Commonwealth migrant children] and have moved on to teach in what they feel are more congenial conditions'.[24] In like manner Julia McNeal and Margaret Rogers empathised with teachers in 1971 who felt their schools lost 'prestige' due to the arrival of visible minoritised children.[25] It is not unusual for researchers to defend their sources but the issue is that their informants were often amongst the culprits of the educational problems they were attempting to analyse. These were not isolated opinions, either. Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor cite other studies from the 1960s to the 1980s in which educators were seemingly the primary source of information used to emphasise cultural deficiency and family problems among migrants, including official government documents.[26] Works by Hawkes, Bowker and others have been widely cited in multiethnic education research since their publication and wielded great influence.

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[22] Nicholas Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools* (London, 1966), p. 11.
[23] Ibid, p. 15.
[24] Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), p. 3
[25] Julia McNeal and Margaret Rogers (eds), *The Multi-Racial School: A Professional Perspective* (London, 1971), p. 14,
[26] Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects: History-Writing, Education and Race Categories', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33, 3 (1997), pp. 882-908.

The stereotypes that teachers created and conveyed to researchers had an enduring legacy through influencing the discourse and even government thinking.[27] The portrayals of visible minoritised pupils that they propagated also demonstrate how those children were seen to lack the forms of cultural capital valued by the British education system.[28] Education minister Margaret Thatcher for example blamed the over-representation of visible minoritised children in schools for the educationally subnormal (ESN) on language and issues at home in 1969. Similarly, the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1972-1973 recorded that children from New Commonwealth nations

> will continue to come here for many years, a large number of them ill-educated, most of them illiterate in English. Even many of those born here, of all ethnic groups, will be handicapped by language difficulties, family backgrounds and different cultures.[29]

By the 1970s the British political establishment viewed young visible minoritised people as 'a social time bomb', yet no emphasis was placed on antiracism in education at a national level in part because much of the evidence, collected from teachers, portrayed migrant homes as deficient and denied the salience of racism.[30] Nevertheless, the Rampton Report made it clear in 1981 that the failure to tackle racism in British schools had 'a direct and important bearing' on under-achievement among visible minoritised groups.[31] These issues have had a long term impact and account for why in 2021 certain visible minoritised groups struggled to

[27] Peter A. J. Stevens and Gill Crozier, 'England', in Peter A. J. Stevens et al (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* (London, 2014), p. 263.
[28] Tahir Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure* (New York, 2004), p. 143-144.
[29] 'Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, *Education Report*, vol. 1. HMSO, 1973', cited in Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 63.
[30] Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change 1964-1990* (London, Routledge, 1997), p. 121.
[31] The Rampton Report (1981), 'West Indian Children in our Schools: Interim report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups', (London, 1981), p. 12.

accumulate the cultural capital required to thrive and participate equally in British society.[32] Studies which uncritically spread teacher's racial stereotypes were therefore instrumental in allowing racial inequality to emerge and fester in the British education system.

ii. Home lives

Children in Britain throughout this period of study were held to standards of behaviour and treated in ways that might seem strange to some readers in the twenty-first century. This is significant because it contributed to children in general being largely voiceless in educational research from the 1960s to the 1970s. It also partly explains why visible minoritised adults today might be reticent to criticise the racism they experienced at school. Proverbs in certain African or South American cultures position children as a social investment or extol the virtues of guiding children through their development but the most famous British phrase about childhood is that 'children should be seen and not heard'. [33] Although not as relevant as it once was this phrase undoubtedly shaped many children's lives in the twentieth-century and as Kay Tisdall argues it was a perspective that 'suggests cultural views, perceptions of children and childhood, which would not support children and young people's involvement at all in individual or collective decision-making'.[34] A misinterpretation of the biblical phrase 'spare the rod and spoil the child' which presented beating children as virtuous was also popular among British parents throughout much of the twentieth century.[35] These

[32] Sean McLoughlin, 'Writing a BrAsian City', in N. Ali, V.S. Kalya and S. Sayyid (eds.), *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain* (London, 2006), p. 112.
[33] Kay M. Tisdall, 'Children Should be Seen and Heard? Children and Young People's Participation in the UK', in E. Kay M. Tisdall et al (eds.), *Children and Young People's Participation and Its Transformative Potential: Learning from across Countries* (London, 2014), p. 168.
[34] Tisdall, 'Children Should Be Seen and Heard?', p. 168.
[35] The Biblical reference is believed by scholar to advocate providing children with guidance as opposed to beating them because the proverbial 'rod' was used by shepherds for guiding, not beating, their flocks. Antwon Chavis et al, 'A brief intervention affects parents' attitudes toward using less physical punishment', *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 37, 12 (2013), p. 1195. See also, Philip J. Greven, *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Physical Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse* (New York, 1991). While beating children may have begun declining in some areas of

perspectives relate to why corporal punishment featured prominently at that time in British schools and why children were unlikely to be consulted by researchers.[36] Concerns regarding the impact of child abuse and neglect were nonetheless emerging but it was not until the 1980s that new understandings of childhood developed which emphasised a commitment to children's human rights.[37] Communication between British teachers, pupils, and parents in the recent past was definitely stunted by these perspectives. Several interviewees, including Mo Jogee, attributed some of their childhood experiences of racism to historic attitudes towards children noting, 'I was just a kid growing up, and in those days, you didn't really say a great deal to the teachers'.[38] Consider the title of this 1977 Community Relations Committee study: *The Education of Ethnic Minority Children from the Perspectives of Parents, Teachers and Education Authorities*. It suggests whose opinions mattered and that the perspectives of British visible minoritised children themselves were less valued.

As children the interviewees were working-class, and many of the disadvantages they faced at school certainly related to their class status. Many of them in fact emphasised that they grew up alongside white working-class families sharing much of the accompanying precarity that can impact daily life. Of the multiethnic Liverpool 8 community David Yau noted for example that, 'We were all in it together and it was all about socio-economics and

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England by the 1980s I was raised in the West Yorkshire during the 1990s and 2000s. Smacking children or the threat of it remained a common punishment in my own family and amongst my childhood friends.

[36] Jacob Middleton, 'The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890–1940', *History of Education*, 37, 2 (2008), p. 253.

[37] Jennifer Crane, 'The Bones Tell a Story the Child is Too Young or Too Frightened to Tell': The Battered Child Syndrome in Post-war Britain and America', *Social History of Medicine*, 28, 4 (2015), pp. 767-788. Susan Elsley, 'Review of Societal Attitudes of Children for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry', *Susan Elsey Policy Research and Development* (May 2017), commissioned by the 206 Child Abuse Inquiry.

[38] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.

survival. We all mucked in'.[39] Interviewee Mo described his secondary modern in Dewsbury as

> a rough school, you know. People who had failed their exam went there, but most of the people were good. If you look back, we all came from a very poor socio-economical background. Poor families. Parents probably working all day earning a basic minimum wage. People living in back-to-back rented council houses.[40]

British schools are often portrayed as promoting middle-class values, so the poverty that many children experienced meant that working-class British children from all ethnic groups often experienced stark contrasts between their home and school lives during this period. A working-class schoolgirl told Brian Jackson in the early 1960s for example that she felt she had

> two personalities. At school I was extrovert, confident, full of life. I knew what I was doing all the time. I was heroine in the school play, first violin in the school orchestra […]. But at home I was oh, so quiet, so timid, never said a word out of place. I just shrank inside myself and mother ruled the roost.[41]

Jackson's point that, 'Behind the assurance of the school personality was frequently this lack of reciprocal flow between parent and child' relates to the experiences of many working-class British children during this period, regardless of ethnicity.[42] The salient point however is that

[39] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[40] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[41] Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden, *Education and the Working Class* (Oxford, 1962), p. 153
[42] Ibid.

visible minoritised children, as Maureen Stone emphasised in 1981, suffered 'the disadvantages of the urban working-class and the additional ones of prejudice and racism'.[43]

Alongside the usual lower-working-class concerns, discrimination in employment and housing made life more difficult for many visible minoritised families from 1960 to 1989. In 1983 Arthur Cropley described how many visible minoritised migrants were concentrated in certain areas living

> in cramped, shared accommodations lacking some of the basic amenities such as a bathroom or separate living and sleeping quarters. They usually live in areas where the housing is deteriorating and where other services such as public transport, entertainment, shops and the like are either lacking or are themselves of deteriorating standard.[44]

Notwithstanding their pre-migration qualifications most adults had to accept low-paid work and unsocial working hours. Many families relied upon public transport which could complicate visiting their childrens' schools although language difficulties also made this difficult. Multiracial education policies like dispersal busing and reception centres often separated their children in different schools that were considerable distances from home.[45] Some families therefore spent little time together, and the children frequently had to look after themselves. Living communally made childcare arrangements easier, but older adolescents often provided childcare after school. Interviewee Amina Chichangiri's mother, who arrived in Dewsbury as a young girl from India in the early 1960s, frequently missed

[43] Maureen Stone, 'The Education of the Black Child', in Alan James and Robert Jeffcoate (eds.), *The School in the Multicultural Society* (London, 1981), p. 50.
[44] Arthur J. Cropley, *The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction* (London, 1983), p. 85.
[45] Interviews with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, and 21 February 2020, conducted by author. Delmara's siblings and cousins lived in the same property in Huddersfield yet were bussed to schools that were up to six miles away from each other.

days at school after becoming fluent in the English language because she was essential to the operation of their family network in Britain.[46] These situations were perhaps not uncommon. Education was generally viewed as important, but work and housing were the central concerns for most migrant families during the early phase of settlement.[47] Poverty, poor living arrangements, and having to work after school were harsh realities of life for many people like the interviewees in this research which could affect their educational prospects. For parents, migrating and establishing foundations in a new society is always tough, and many of the issues their children faced were often outside of their control. Sadly, educators and researchers during the 1960s and 1970s appeared more inclined to blame them, or their cultural background, than to attempt to thoroughly understand the racism and harsh socioeconomics they faced.

iii. Migration trauma

Teachers in early British multiethnic education literature regularly justified the lower educational attainment of visible minoritised pupils by arguing that they were so traumatised by their migration experiences or shocked by the change in culture that they were unable to learn. In his 1967 study of immigrant school leavers in Birmingham researcher David Beetham for example highlighted 'emotional disturbances as the inevitable reaction to the sudden change from rural surroundings to an urban environment' and that 'the problems of the change are exacerbated by difficult home circumstances'.[48] Migration can of course be a disturbing process for anyone, especially children. Sara Ahmed describes:

[46] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[47] Abbas, *The Education of British South Asians*, p. 8.
[48] David Beetham, 'Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Service in Birmingham', cited in Green and Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects', pp. 895-896.

> When we came to Australia, what I first remember (or at least what I remember remembering) is all the dust, and how it made me sneeze and my eyes itch. When I returned to England, I felt the cold pinching my skin. The intrusion of an unexpected space into the body suggests that the experience of a new home involves a partial shedding of the skin, a process which is uncomfortable and well described as the irritation of an itch.[49]

The bodily intrusion of migrating to a new place and the uprooting inherent in migration is undeniably relevant to understanding the experiences of many British visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s, but educators and researchers appear to have misinterpreted the issue.

Most New Commonwealth migrant children likely experienced some discomfort and a period of adjustment, but the emphasis placed upon so called 'migration trauma' or 'culture shock' demonstrates aspects of the educators' bigotry towards visible minoritised migrant children who were seen as incapable of dealing with the experiences, and their parents who were presumed to have not prepared or nurtured them through the transition.[50] Sally Tomlinson described how 'Even the liberal report by Lady Plowden and her colleagues in 1967 referred to the difficulty of deciding whether an immigrant child "lacks intelligence or is suffering from culture shock or simply from inability to communicate"'.[51] Huddersfield primary school teacher Rachel Scott similarly described how it was as if her migrant pupils had been traumatised by their change in circumstances and condescendingly posited that, among other things, this was because, 'The small, perhaps primitive village house in which

[49] Sara Ahmed, 'Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural* Studies, 2, 3 (1999), p. 342.
[50] Trevor Burgin and Patricia Edson, *Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children* (London, 1967) and Rachel Scott, *A Wedding Man is Nicer than Cats, Miss. A teacher at work with immigrant children* (London, 1972) both provide examples of this perspective.
[51] Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain* (Berkshire, 2008), p. 26.

he had lived was replaced by a cavernous house in a dreary street'.[52] Many of Scott's pupils did indeed come from rural areas of the Indian subcontinent which contrasted greatly in appearance with Huddersfield's industrial landscape but the word primitive demonstrates Scott's prejudice and misconceptions about the cultural and economic complexity of villages in the Indian subcontinent at that time.

Oral sources in this project suggest that New Commonwealth migrant children's migration and settlement experiences were more complex than White British educators and researchers tended to portray them. Interviewee Humayun Mirza has fond memories of his father arriving, describing their upcoming adventure to a new home, and the thrilling journey by train, ship, and plane from Pakistan to Liverpool.[53] Both Humayun and his sister, interviewee Zia Mirza, recall the journey with pleasure and it features strongly in their shared family story. It is clear that the children were prepared for the journey and well cared for throughout. Humayun does however remember his early experiences of settling in Liverpool less positively. The change of surroundings was confusing. Akin to others Humayun highlights the language barrier and the food served at school being so unfamiliar he was 'reluctant to eat, I remember that very well'.[54] Delmara Green, who was born in Huddersfield but spent most of her infancy in Grenada and Trinidad, similarly remembered being confused by the food when she arrived back in England and started school in 1968. At first, she did not recognise anything and refused to eat, but Delmara's father came to her school at lunchtime on the second day to introduce her to the different foods and provide reassurance.[55] These memories suggest that becoming familiar with a new country and culture may be an inherently intimidating or disturbing process for children. The fact that the migrant interviewees all highlighted memories of things like the cold weather, the strangeness of the

[52] Scott, *A Wedding Man is Nicer than Cats, Miss,* p. 21.
[53] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Delmara Green, 6 September 2018.

food and the dark industrial areas in memories of settling in Britain demonstrates that the experience was disorientating to the senses.[56] British educators were not wrong to point this out, but it is in the way that they portrayed New Commonwealth migrants lives as primitive and their parents as unlikely to nurture their children through the migration process that was wrong.

White British teachers and researchers were evidently correct to assume that migration could cause problems for New Commonwealth newcomers but they used the issue to deflect criticism of educational racism. Female British authors of African descent Beverley Bryan et al argue that while children were certainly affected by migration, teachers had generally misinterpreted the situation:

> What the educationalists flippantly dismissed as 'culture shock' was often a far more profound and traumatic experience […as] schools were situated in the worst areas of the inner-cities – the only place where housing was available to us – presenting us with a seedy, depressing landscape and a totally unfamiliar environment. This physical hostility was compounded by a barrage of verbal, physical and psychological attacks on our sense of place and identity.[57]

In the view of Dennis Dean this widespread mistreatment of New Commonwealth migrants was in part because the two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century had left

[56] As interviewee Mo Jogee also pointed out, those who arrived in the early 1960s like him experienced some of the coldest and longest British winters on record. Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018. More information: 'Severe Winters', *The Met Office*, https://www.metoffice.gov.uk/weather/learn-about/weather/case-studies/severe-winters#:~:text=The%20winter%20of%201963%20%2D%20the,and%20the%20coldest%20since%201740.

[57] Beverley Bryan et al, *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (London, 1986), pp. 61-62.

British people suspicious and unwelcoming towards new arrivals.[58] Interviewees in this project rarely remembered receiving abuse upon arrival, however. They were often perhaps too young to appreciate it, well-protected by their parents, or in the case of many Asian migrants unable to understand the English language. Those who did experience some kind of shock upon arrival often did so because they were racialised and treated unpleasantly more than because of any parental failings.

Educationalists during the early period of multiracial education tended to focus on the fact that migration, in most contexts, often included a period of separation from one or both parents immediately prior to the event. The head teacher at Norwood Comprehensive in Brixton during the 1960s and 1970s recalled for instance how

> when children, just arrived in England, literally 'off the boat', were commonly suffering the trauma of displacement into a foreign environment and of separation from those whom they loved and who reared them. This meant that learning difficulties were often combined with and complicated by emotional disturbance which could be dealt with more effectively outside the stress of a regular classroom and in the more special environment of the remedial class.[59]

Separation from parents is often mentioned to justify regressive stereotypes such as perceptions of visible minoritised parents as inept and in the above instance, to justify the over-representation of visible minoritised pupils in 'remedial' classes. Derek Humphry and Gus John argue on the other hand that this view ignores two things. First, that separation from parents was not necessarily traumatic, and second that it was considered a normal feature of

[58] Dennis Dean, 'The "Liberal Hour"? The Wilson Government, Race Relations, Immigrant Youth and Education, 1965-8', in David Crook and Gary McCulloch (eds.), *History, Politics and Policy-making in Education: A Festschrift Presented to Richard Aldrich* (London, 2007), p. 110.
[59] Jan Mckenley, 'The Way We Were: Conspiracies of Silence in the Wake of the Empire Windrush', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4, 4, (2001), p. 313.

life in many places, especially former colonies where people were commonly forced to provide for their families by becoming itinerant workers.[60] The emphasis upon family separation related to the popularity of attachment theory which was developed by psychologists and psychoanalysts through work on child evacuations after the Second World War.[61] Lindsey Dodd, in her recent writing on the experiences of wartime separation from families, argues that separation in itself is not necessarily traumatising and that trauma most likely occurs if the separation is also related to abuse or neglect.[62] Unless it was particularly traumatic it is therefore unlikely that those who experienced separation from their parents due to migration would recall it negatively, necessarily hold animosity towards their parents, or experience a notable impact upon their education.

Interviewee Dexter Franklyn was born in Huddersfield in 1961 but swiftly sent back to Grenada to be raised by his grandparents and extended family while his parents established themselves England.[63] His recollections of arriving back in Huddersfield in 1968 suggest the complex nature of these reunions at the time and in memory:

> There was a line of ladies ready to greet the children […] boy they were real nice people […] and they asked us, 'Which one is mummy', that was unfair because we didn't know who our mother was; we hadn't seen her for six years or so. You know, we pointed, and we got in wrong […] the real mother come, and she grab us, 'Oh the children' […] that was me first memory coming to England. Them times it was dark, dark early, cold, but very homely. There was a lot of people living in the same house.

[60] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 13.
[61] Lindsey Dodd, 'Wartime Rupture and Reconfiguration in French Family Life: Experience and Legacy', *History Workshop Journal*, 88 (2019), p. 135.
[62] Ibid, p. 136.
[63] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.

> They'd feed you, give you treats, look after you. Even give you a penny to go and buy sweets in the shop. You know, it was really nice.[64]

Dexter remembers his arrival with his siblings in Huddersfield as a positive moment, and while this quote also evokes the potentially confusing nature of such a reunion for a young child Dexter professes no animosity and recalls it fondly.

Interviewee Delmara Green and Dexter are cousins who lived in the same house on Bath Street in Huddersfield when they arrived. Delmara had a similarly warm and emotionally significant memory of meeting her mother for the first time since her birth at London Kings Cross train station. She was placed on the boat by an aunt who had raised her from infancy but already had a relationship with her parents through letter writing and understood despite that she was going to meet them and live in England. Over fifty years later Delmara vividly recalled her flashbulb like memory of the moment describing exactly what her mother was wearing, her hair style, and make-up. The whole scene – a girl migrating to meet her mother for the first time – may appear strange, but nothing suggests that Delmara was traumatised by the experience.[65] Later in his interview Dexter described how hard his parents worked, the precarity of their situation, and the efforts they made for him to have a good life which suggests how people made peace with these periods of separation from their families and how they compose their memories in emotionally safe ways.[66] Each experienced migration in their own way but these memories demonstrate that even seemingly extreme cases of separation from parents were not always especially negative or relevant to the child's schooling.

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Delmara Green, 21 February 2020.
[66] Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018. Alistair Thomson, 'Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practise in Australia', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 344.

iv. Fearing violence

In denying the severity of racism teachers and early multiethnic education researchers failed to emphasise that many visible minoritised children from 1960 to 1989 lived to varying extents with the threat of violence from white people in and out of school. It can be assumed that the majority of visible minoritised boys often especially felt at risk. Random acts of racially motivated violence on the streets in Britain were committed against visible minoritised people throughout the post-war period but organised racial violence seemingly escalated throughout the 1970s and into the early 1980s. The Deputy Chief Inspector for Warwickshire and Coventry Constabulary wrote for example in a police journal about a spate of racist attacks perpetrated in the early 1970s against South Asian people by skinheads. The attacks took place over seven weeks, as did several reprisals by the migrants 'culminating in a very serious affray'.[67] Serious incidents of violence between National Front members and visible minoritised communities also occurred in Huddersfield and Dewsbury.[68] Violence towards South Asian people in particular escalated during the 1970s to the point that one report on Oldham at the end of the decade described their communities across the north of England as 'under-attack'.[69] A 1981 Home Office report assessed racially motivated incidents taking place during three months and found that the rates per 100,000 were 51.2 for African Caribbean people, 69.7 for South Asian people and only 1.4 for white people.[70] The Community Relations Council noted that 'it is no exaggeration to state that for some young Asian people particularly, being racially harassed is a way of life'.[71] Sofia Ahmed grew up in Manchester during the 1980s and described her first memory of being chased with her Mum

[67] Alfred Horobin, 'Paki-Bashing in Coventry', *The Police Journal*, 45, 3 (1972), pp. 184-187.
[68] Paul Ward et al, 'Witness Seminar: Anti-Fascism in 1970s Huddersfield', Contemporary British History, 20, 1 (2006), p. 121.
[69] Peter Evans, 'Home Office to act over racialist attacks', *The Times* (5 February, 1981), p. 1.
[70] Eric Midwinter, *The Development of Social Welfare in Britain* (Buckingham, 1994), p. 137.
[71] Commission for Racial Equality, *Learning in Terror: A Survey of Racial Harassment in Schools and Colleges in England, Scotland and Wales, 1985-1987* (London, 1988), p. 8.

by skinheads throwing beer cans and shouting 'Paki', as 'one that left a permanent mental scar'.[72] Racist attacks still happen in twenty-first-century Britain, but anecdotal evidence suggests that there were peaks in intensity during the 1970s and early 1980s.[73]

Violence against visible minoritised people, or the threat of it, was a serious problem for most of the interviewees. A survey of racial harassment in British schools from 1985-1987 titled *Learning in Terror* described the 'threatening atmosphere' created by racist graffiti and 'the possibility' of racist violence or insults.[74] Interviewees Amina Chichangiri and Shazia Azhar recalled feeling threatened by the sight of far-Right marches in Dewsbury and Huddersfield respectively during the 1970s and 1980s, and felt unsafe whenever they saw racist graffiti or aggressive looking people white people around their localities.[75] Liverpool-born Pamela Browne noted that her two brothers had a different experience to her during the 1960s and 1970s as they would get chased and attacked in certain areas whereas she tended to only receive verbal abuse.[76] Interviewee Sue Mackay, who grew up in Liverpool during the 1960s and 1970s noted, 'I used to be petrified I'll be honest walking around. Petrified. Not just because we were girls but because of our colour. Petrified'.[77] This phenomenon was likely widespread in Liverpool, the city's 1968 Youth Organisations Committee reported that 'coloured youths' felt that visiting white working-class areas 'was an open invitation to violence'.[78]

[72] Sofia Ahmed, 'My Earliest Memory Is of Being Racially Abused in Manchester. I Thought We'd Moved on - but Now It's Happening Again', *The Independent* (27 June 2016).
[73] Martin Evans and Nic Brunetti, 'Surrey Teenager Stabbed in "Far-Right Terror Attack" Amid Spate of Racist Incidents After New Zealand Massacre', *The Telegraph* (17 March 2019).
[74] Commission for Racial Equality, *Learning in Terror: A Survey of Racial Harassment in Schools and Colleges in England, Scotland and Wales, 1985-1987* (London, 1988), p. 7.
[75] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[76] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.
[77] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.
[78] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 15.

Liverpool-born interviewee Levi Tafari described the spatial restrictions he experienced, 'it was like we were ghettoised in the Granby triangle. You couldn't go to lots of other places because the skinheads were just there, and they'd carry Stanley knives and chains'.[79] Levi personally experienced this danger after winning a place on the Liverpool youth basketball team because he had to travel for training sessions to Anfield, a predominantly white working-class area of Liverpool. A gang of white youths discovered that Levi was on the team and waited outside the gates for him after the second practise. Levi's team coach refused to escort him away safely saying that it was not his problem or responsibility. Levi remembered that 'It took the caretaker to walk me home, so I never went back there again'.[80] Similarly, interviewee Humayun Mirza stopped seeing his after-school tutor when he experienced multiple assaults from a group of white adolescents while travelling to her home which culminated in him being viciously beaten, kicked, stamped on, and having his nose broken with a brick in the middle of the street, during daylight. Humayun recalled that 'Nobody stopped them. All the white people, adults, walking by and everything. They stood there horrified what these guys were doing but nobody stopped them. Eventually they stopped kicking and booting my head and everything'.[81] As with Levi the incident itself was of course painful, more physically painful in Humayun's case, but a common element in their overall unpleasantness was the unwillingness of adult white witnesses to provide support. Appreciating that you are in danger is unpleasant, but it is worse to understand that despite the presence of able-bodied adults no one is going to help.

Racial violence therefore limited the interviewees' opportunities and forced them to map their localities in terms of fear, danger, and violence. After reviewing the above section interviewee Humayun commented, 'There was an invisible wall that you couldn't go out

[79] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.

of'.[82] This reflects Alessandro Portelli's emphasis on 'the subjective projection of imaginable experience' and his idea that 'what materially happens to people' is perhaps less broadly significant than 'what people imagine or know might happen'.[83] Humayun personally experienced these possibilities, whereas Levi had a near miss, but both evidently limited their movement and opportunities. For visible minoritised children who witnessed, experienced, or were told about similar incidents, racism shaped where they felt safe and the activities they pursued. A 1993 study of British South Asian women in Bristol suffering from depression found that each had experienced aggressive racial abuse from neighbours and in public places. It described how 'Their greatest anxiety was for their children's safety […] they spoke of the dread they lived in all the time of "what might happen"'.[84]

In Kirklees, the situation was a little different – poverty and crime in Liverpool was perhaps more serious – but South Asian communities in Kirklees were harassed by the National Front during the 1970s which is arguably why they continue to live in certain areas of the borough in the present day as a form of self-defence. Male members of the local Caribbean communities in Huddersfield recalled knowing as children and adolescents during the 1960s to the 1980s that they should not travel to rural villages like Slaithwaite, or Meltham – areas that remain over ninety per cent White British today – because they felt un-welcome or even at risk of being harmed.[85] Huddersfield-born interviewee Dexter Franklyn described feeling unwelcome as a youth in the nearby and predominantly white village of Fixby because, 'If you were walking up there people would think you were up to no good and

[82] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 30 November 2020, conducted by author.
[83] Alessandro Portelli, 'Philosophy and the Facts: Subjectivity and Narrative Form in Autobiography and Oral History', *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1997), pp. 86-87.
[84] Commission for Racial Equality, *The Sorrow in my Heart…Sixteen Asian Women Speak about Depression* (London, 1993), p. 23.
[85] Windrush: The Years After – A Community Legacy on Film, https://www.hud.ac.uk/news/2019/october/windrush-the-years-after-huddersfield/.

people might call the police on you'.[86] This situation undoubtedly repeated itself across Britain in other urban areas with notable visible minoritised communities, and these testimonies attest to the fact that many British visible minoritised children likely grew up feeling threatened, un-welcome, and segregated.

v. Colonial education and parental expectations

Visible minoritised parents from the Indian subcontinent or Caribbean islands during the mid-twentieth century often lacked access to a full education prior to migration. A British education for their children had indeed strongly motivation many to migrate. Despite this, teachers and researchers during this era seemed at times unsympathetic to their lack of experience with schooling or the British education system, and blamed migrant parents for their children's underachievement in British schools. While some migrant interviewees in this project had a primary education prior to arriving in the UK, like most post-war New Commonwealth migrants they generally came from rural and poor socioeconomic backgrounds.[87] Andrew Thompson notes for example that, 'Some had one family member with an education, wealth, or a profession who tended to arrive first and facilitate other family members when possible'.[88] Although, many individual family units lacked members with even a primary level of education. This was because levels of literacy were low in many of Britain's colonial possessions when the Empire collapsed.

[86] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 December 2020, conducted by author.
[87] Roger Ballard, *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (London, 1994), p. 10. Ballard notes that most migrants to Britain from the Indian subcontinent came from peasant farming groups. They were 'people who had proudly and autonomously owned and cultivated the land from which they made their living'. Ballard also states that 'the sense of psychological and financial independence which this status gave them has proved crucial to their success both as migrants and settlers'.
[88] Andrew Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2012), p. 156.

Many Indian families, like interviewee Mo Jogee's, were farmers who had poor access to education.[89] In 1961, the year that Mo's family arrived, only twenty-eight per cent of Indians over the age of five were literate.[90] There were regional differences in literacy across India, and similar disparities in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (now Pakistan) where literacy rates were also low.[91] Despite making great improvements neither India, nor Pakistan had above fifty per cent literacy by 1990.[92] They had increased literacy rates more in two decades than the British had in a century, yet levels of poverty and illiteracy remained high when migration to the UK from South Asia began to peak. Many families who came from the Indian subcontinent to Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s therefore lacked the basic level of education, even in their own language, that most working-class White British families had at that time. Access to primary education was better in the British Caribbean than across the Indian subcontinent but regional variations and lack of access also existed during the famous Windrush era of migration to Britain. Places at Caribbean secondary schools were limited, and colourism – prejudice against those with darker skin tones – was widely practised.[93] Many working-class dark skinned Caribbean people during the first half of the twentieth century did not get the chance to attend secondary school.[94] Although noting that things had improved since he was a boy, C. L. R. James recorded that there were only 400 places available at the two secondary schools on Trinidad – an Island with a population of 900,000 – for working-class Black children by 1963.[95] The

[89] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.
[90] Shiv Prakash Katiyar, 'Gender Disparity in Literacy in India', *Social Change*, 46, 1 (2016), p. 51.
[91] Monica J. Taylor and Seamus Hegarty, *The Best of Both Worlds…? A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of South Asian Origin* (Berkshire, 1985), p 32.
[92] Katiyar, 'Gender Disparity in Literacy in India', p. 51. Fazal Husain and Muhammad Ali Qasim, 'Inequality in the Literacy Levels in Pakistan: Existence and Changes Overtime', *South Asia Economic Journal*, 6, 2 (2005), p. 261.
[93] Deborah Gabriel, *Layers of Blackness: Colourism in the African Diaspora* (New York, 2007).
[94] Brian W. Alleyne, *Radicals against Race: Black Activism and Cultural Politics* (Oxford, 2002), p. 53.
[95] C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London, 1963), p. 28. See also, Carl C. Campbell, *Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago 1834-1939* (Jamaica, 1996).

situation on smaller, more rural and less well populated islands than Trinidad was doubtless even worse. It is clear that although some visible minoritised children were well educated prior to migrating to Britain many had no experience of schooling or were likely to have parents who had struggled to gain a full education.

These issues meant that while they wanted their children to do well in British schools visible minoritised parents were not always able to guide them through the process. Although migrant parents generally arrived in Britain with useful skills and qualification they lacked the knowledge and cultural capital valued by Britain's education system. Interviewee Shazia Azhar recalled

> our parents weren't in a position to be able to help us with the homework, but they knew that education was very important, so they'd always say, 'Have you done your homework, have you done it?'. But they weren't in a position to help us, but they always promoted it, which was very good, which was very helpful. That instilled that importance of education that it's going to get you somewhere if you try your best. So, I always had that, but in terms of support or discussing any difficulties? That we never did because they weren't in a position. They didn't know the British education system.

Working-class children often struggle to navigate the middle-class centric British schooling system because of their own parents' lack of education, so it was more demanding for the average working-class visible minoritised family – particularly non-English speakers. British classrooms from the 1960s to 1980s were also moving away from authoritarian approaches to teaching that relied on learning through repetition. Laura Tisdall states that, 'Despite resistance to child-centred methods among teachers, a majority of English primary schools

had at least partly reformed their practices by 1967'.[96] Teachers in the Caribbean and Indian subcontinent during this period were on the other hand often portrayed as dominating their classrooms where learning was done by rote.[97] These differences were pointed to as causing difficulties for visible minoritised students by early authors such as Beetham who clearly interpreted them through racial stereotypes:

> by nature the West Indian is emotional and exuberant, and this leads to behaviour problems in school. Some attribute these largely to the difference between the educational methods employed in the West Indies and here; used to more Victorian methods of teaching, the immigrant finds it difficult to adapt to the freer discipline of an English school.[98]

It is also significant that even New Commonwealth migrant parents with an education prior to migration had little or no experience of the new approaches to learning becoming popular in Britain. Beryl Gilroy, who starting teaching England during the early 1950s, began her career in Guyana and noted that the focus there 'had been on routine and the child learned by doing, which meant doing exactly as the teacher said'.[99] This is why Caribbean British teacher and researcher Bernard Coard posited in 1971 that for Caribbean children:

> One common difficulty, for instance, arises from the fact that the child is not expected to talk and 'talk back' as much in the West Indian classroom as he is here, in the

[96] Laura Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood in England, c. 1945 to c. 1979', *Contemporary British History*, 31,1 (2017), p. 37.
[97] Taylor and Hegarty, *The Best of Both Worlds,* p. 32. See also Paul A. S. Ghuman, *The Cultural Context of Thinking: A Comparative Study of Punjabi and English Boys* (Berkshire, 1975).
[98] David Beetham, 'Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Service in Birmingham', cited in Green and Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects', pp. 895-896.
[99] Beryl Gilroy, *Black Teacher* (London, 1976), p. 76.

> English classroom. English teachers tend to interpret this apparent shyness and relative unresponsiveness as indicating either silent hostility or low intelligence.[100]

The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee recalled adjusting to schooling in Britain. He described schooling in the Caribbean as 'down the line, Sergeant Major style', and recalled feeling confused by the arbitrary rules of British classrooms:

> Both in Trinidad and Grenada when you got into the school you could just walk into the classroom and sit down and that was okay. If you wanted to play you knew you had to be outside. When I came to Britain, I thought you just opened the door and walked into the class but, 'Oh no you can't do that until they ring the bell'. And you're thinking, 'Why not, it's chucking it down out there' […]. There was no messing around in the classrooms [laughs] in the Caribbean. If you want to mess around, 'Get outside!'. If you messed around in the classroom at break time you were in big trouble. So, there were these disparities with it.[101]

Comments from authors like Beetham demonstrate that both researcher and educator were likely to misinterpret these issues and see migrant parents as detrimental to their child's schooling. The fact that New Commonwealth migrants arriving in post-war Britain often came from families with little to no schooling experience or understanding of the British schooling system did create barriers for some, but these issues were worsened by the racial stereotyping at school and in print.

[100] Bernard Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell it like it is: How our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005), p. 34.
[101] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

Although few post-war migrants from New Commonwealth nations had much experience of the British education system many viewed it with great deference. Interviewee Humayun remembered:

> before I was leaving Pakistan, the last words from my grandfather was that, 'When you got to England you go over there to study hard', because England was famous in Pakistan in those days, for its education. He said, 'When you come back, I will see you when you come off the aeroplane, I want you to be holding your degree in your hand and waving it at me to greet me off the plane'.[102]

Post-war migrants from the Caribbean initially had similar levels of faith in the British education system. African Caribbean families from the first generations of Windrush migrants always emphasised the benefits of education achievement.[103] The situation was the same in much of South Asia.[104] In part this was because education in Britain and Commonwealth nations remained linked for many years after decolonisation.[105] Changes in the British education system around the 1960s nonetheless meant that the interviewees' schooltime experiences were likely to contrast somewhat with their parents' expectations. This could create further confusion and stress for British visible minoritised schoolchildren because of the gap between parental expectations and the reality of British schools for visible minoritised children in segregated language groups or remedial classes; it could be hard for children to communicate about these issues at home.

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[102] Humayun did get his degree but never had the chance to wave it at his grandfather from the aeroplane because he died before Humayun could return. Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.
[103] Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (London, 2013), p. 4.
[104] Avtar Brah, 'The "Asian" in Britain', in N. Ali, V.S. Kalya and S. Sayyid (eds.), *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain* (London, 2006), p. 39.
[105] Ruth Craggs, 'Subaltern Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial Commonwealth, 1965–1990', *Political Geography*, 65, (2018), p. 53.

It is important to note that the first generations of New Commonwealth migrant parents had little reason to presume that their children would be mistreated in British schools. Interviewee Margaret Hanson for instance recalled:

> If I came home and told my parents that my teacher was being awful to me, you'd get a clip round the ear. 'Don't you dare talk about your teachers in that way'. Do you know what I mean? Because they showed them a level of respect because they were a professional and my parents were from like really rural working-class area. I mean, they came from a farm, worked the land and stuff.[106]

Brah notes similarly that 'Asian parents were initially quite favourably disposed towards Western education' but also that most parents were at first 'unfamiliar with the history of the educational disadvantage suffered by the white working classes […]. The correlation between class and educational inequality was not fully established in their minds'.[107] Interviewee Delmara stated that one issue her generation faced was 'that our parents did not voice what we were feeling at school, what we were going through at school' and 'I don't know how many kids went home and said the teacher did this today, the teacher did that today.[108] On the same subject the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee noted that

> You've got to remember the attitude of the parents, 'The teachers are there to teach you and they know what's best for you and if they want to beat you it's because you did something wrong' […]. The parents always expected the teachers in Britain to be the same [as in the Caribbean]. 'Whatever they said they're right about it'.[109]

[106] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.
[107] Brah, 'The "Asian" in Britain', p. 39.
[108] Delmara Green, 6 September 2018.
[109] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

In part this is why William 'Lez' Henry considered visible minoritised children's lives at this time as an 'overtly oppressive experience' due to the rejection they faced from White British people and the expectations of 'their parental generation, who assumed England to be a "fair" society'.[110] Overall, education was clearly viewed as critically important by the interviewees' families, but communication could be an issue, during the initial post-migration period at least, largely due to the older generations' experience of education in the colonial context and lack of experience in Britain.

vi. Finding strength between two cultures

Tensions between the White British atmosphere of the school and visible minoritised families' culture were often highlighted by educators and researchers. They positioned this as a key problem for British visible minoritised children who they saw as in conflict with their parents. It was however the adherence of White British educators to assimilationist principles which arguably created the greatest source of tension. Fears surrounding inter-generational tension ignored the fact that is a common feature of human societies. Indeed, as the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee pointed out after reading this section the 1960s and 1970s are today remembered as decades characterised by rebellious youth movements, subcultures, and protests.[111] The issue for visible minoritised children was that British teachers saw it as their role to anglicise them and convey middle-class values.[112] These ideas spread through the educational sociologists of the day who contrasted visible minoritised families negatively with the White British standard. Karim Murji describes how Sociologists produced 'pathological accounts of black culture and families based on

[110] William 'Lez' Henry, 'Reggae, Rasta and the Role of the Deejay in the Black British Experience', *Contemporary British History*, 26, 3, (2012), p. 357.
[111] Anonymous African Caribbean male interviewee, 17 August 2020.
[112] John Rex and Robert Moore, 'Race Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook', in Francine Taylor, *Race, School and Community: A Study of Research and Literature* (Berkshire, 1974), p. 113-114.

questionable ideas about identity crises and inter-generational conflict' that were policy-oriented and quickly adopted into government thinking.[113] In 1966 Hawkes argued that visible minoritised pupils would naturally adopt the British way, but also that 'headmasters and headmistresses may have to be particularly diplomatic in handling parental resentment at the anglicisation of their children'.[114] Bowker presented a similar view in 1968 when he ignored the fact that schools are supposed to provide all children with a good education and argued that the twofold tasks of British schools with regards to visible minoritised pupils were 'the transmission of culture', and 'resocialisation; the learning of a new set of values, norms and social conventions to facilitate social integration'.[115] These quotations demonstrate how the educational establishment consciously attempted to anglicise visible minoritised children, viewed their parents as an obstacle to this, and saw the children as naturally desiring anglicisation.

While framed in terms of English culture, instead of whiteness, Hawkes' last point reveals white prejudice, but the intergenerational tension that was also hinted at in his comment was of course somewhat real, and something of a concern in different communities. Visible minoritised parents and communities did worry about the anglicisation their children and British-born visible minoritised children faced issues with identity conflict. Writing about his own experiences in 1973 Chris Mullard described how 'A black man born in Britain is a shadow of a man. […]. Even if you wished to you cannot pretend you are a black immigrant'.[116] One African Caribbean mother demonstrated similar anxieties to a researcher in the 1980s when she commented that 'a whole lot of coloured girls, born in England, they

[113] Karim Murji, 'Sociological Engagements: Institutional Racism and Beyond', *Sociology*, 4, 4 (2007), p. 848.
[114] Nicholas Hawkes, *Immigrant Children in British Schools* (London, 1966), p. 13.
[115] Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), p. 74.
[116] Chris Mullard, *Black Britain* (Plymouth, 1973), p. 13.

are only coloured outside. They are everything white like you people'.[117] Interviewee Amina Chichangiri reflected on her experience of this:

> The debate that was had was that, you know, as a brown person growing up in white England, you know, you were basically lost. That, you know, if you were too, if you behaved too much like a white person then you were sort of like not of our community. But then, when you were with the white people, you're too brown for them. And it was like, 'So, where am I? I'm torn between two communities' […]. The identity crisis comes in. Yeah, it was, it was quite huge for us growing up.[118]

Amina's comments suggest this was a relatively common experience. Although not all interviewees identified with these points it seems that visible minoritised children sometimes experienced confusing issues with identity, and that their parents and communities were concerned about the impact of British culture on their children.

Visible minoritised communities who arrived in Britain after the Second World War have undoubtedly been changed by the experience; those who arrived as children and the first generations born in Britain experienced the brunt of these developments. For those families who left the Indian subcontinent Shinder Thandi notes that British multiculturalism has propelled them

> towards integration and assimilation, promoting mixed relationships, a more secular outlook, value systems based on respect for individualism and rule of law. At the

[117] Harold Rosen, 'The Autobiographical Impulse', in Deborah Tannen, *Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and Understanding* (New York, 1988), p. 73.
[118] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.

> same time, however, in a globalised world, counter-pressures have pulled them towards a homeland identity, albeit in a diasporic 'in-between' sense.[119]

Numerous researchers have highlighted these pressures.[120] Ron Ramdin for instance describes visible minoritised children as undergoing a 'psychological transformation' through grappling with multiple cultures.[121] Some people may have wanted to conform more to the White British standard from a young age, but their experiences of this were also likely tied into a wider set of anxieties or concerns, and they were unlikely to view their families' cultures as inferior or want to abandon it entirely. However, when researchers like Hawkes discussed the issue, or when the 1968 to 1969 Select Committee on Race Relations noted fears that inter-generational conflict in migrant communities could prevent integration, it suggests the prejudiced assumption held by white educators and policy makers that visible minoritised children wanted to completely adopt what they saw as their obviously superior White British culture.

With hindsight it seems that many visible minoritised schoolchildren in Britain from 1960 to 1989 developed both a love for their family's culture, and Britishness. In Meera Syal's 1996 semi-autobiographical novel about a girl called Meena who is the daughter of the only Punjabi family in the mining village of Tollington the main character desires 'fingers and chips, not just chapati and dhal'.[122] Sara Ahmed highlights in her analysis of the book that 'These wants are not presented as simply in opposition'.[123] Another point that educators and researchers like Hawkes got wrong was that migrant parents often wanted their children to

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[119] Michael H. Fisher et al, *A South Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent* (Oxford, 2007), p. 213.
[120] Arthur J. Cropley, *The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction* (London, 1983), p. 106.
[121] Ron Ramdin, *Reimagining Britain: 500 Years of Black and Asian History* (London, 1999), p. 245.
[122] Meera Syal, 'Anita and Me', cited in Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (London, 2010), p. 149.
[123] Ibid.

integrate successfully despite also desiring them to remain close with their ethnic communities and ancestral cultures. The parents of interviewees Zia and Humayun Mirza encouraged their children to speak English among themselves at home while insisting that they speak Urdu with their elders, for example.[124] Similarly, when asked about his parents' attitude towards his schooling interviewee David Yau noted

> I don't think they understood the British education system as well as they could have, I would say, but I think they wanted us all to be well educated and to move on and integrate in society and become erm, you know [pause] British.[125]

David went on however to describe 'getting mixed messages' from his parents when he was a teenager. On the one hand they wanted him to avoid local white girls and marry a Chinese woman, and on the other David's father was unwilling to teach him how to write Cantonese because he could not see it as useful to David.[126] Other interviewees experienced similar issues. Mo Jogee experienced some tensions within his community when he married a local white woman, and Amina Chichangiri's parents initially attempted to arrange her marriage.[127] The degree to which a child's parents wanted them to integrate with British society versus maintaining pre-migration traditions clearly varied, but contrasts between life at home and school and their adoption of British culture evidently did lead to some general unease among visible minoritised communities. It was as if visible minoritised children were sometimes

[124] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author. Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018, conducted by author.
[125] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[126] 'It has been shown consistently that language shift is much more common than language maintenance among immigrants' children'. Donghui Zhanga and Diana T. Slaughter-Defoeb, 'Language Attitudes and Heritage Language Maintenance Among Chinese Immigrant Families in the USA', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 22, 2, (2009), p. 77. This seems like a common theme among various visible minoritised populations. My wife for example was born in Bolivia and has indigenous heritage, but like David's father her grandparents on both sides of the family refused to teach the children or grandchildren their respective first languages of Quechua, and Aymara.
[127] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author. Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.

caught between the cultural anxieties of both the British establishment and their ethnic communities.

The interviewees and others in their generations seemed to reinterpret various aspects of their pre-migration cultures in Britain as opposed to rejecting them. Levi Tafari and Delmara Green became interested in Rastafarianism for instance as opposed to following their parents' Christian faith.[128] For Levi, 'There was just something about that style of Christianity that didn't feel right. Christians do a lot of things that Jesus didn't do'. Interviewee Margaret Hanson similarly recalled enjoying experimenting with Rastafarianism when she was a young woman out socialising but remembered her mother saying not to 'bring any Rastas in this house!'.[129] Rastafarianism only began to grow in popularity and spread outside the Caribbean during the 1970s, primarily due to the efforts of Bob Marley. During the first thirty years of the religion's existence it was largely associated with the lower classes and viewed negatively in Jamaica as adherents were often seen to be in trouble with the authorities over issues such as marijuana use.[130] This is why Margaret posits that 'although it was something that the youth club got into, I think when you came from the West Indies it was something that you viewed quite differently'.[131] When asked if she had ever been rebellious Margaret replied:

> I wouldn't call it rebelling no. You just explored more [pause]. Ah, could be. See when I think about being rebellious it's like getting in trouble with the police and causing havoc everywhere, but rebellious in terms of trying to bring on board new

[128] Delmara Green, 6 September 2018.
[129] Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.
[130] Peter B. Clarke, *Black Paradise: The Rastafarian Movement* (Wellingborough, 1986), p. 47. Ennis B. Edmonds, *Rastafari: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2012), p. 10.
[131] Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.

> things for your culture. You might drop a few things that your parents have tried to put on you and try and pick up a new way of doing things, I guess.[132]

Although the adoption of Rastafarianism by many Black British youths during the 1970s was often seen by Caribbean parents as an act of rebellion against them, it demonstrates how visible minoritised children were reinterpreting the cultures of their ancestral homelands and discovering new forms of identity expression in Britain.

Many visible minoritised British school children from the 1960s to the 1980s in Britain evidently felt somewhat restricted by their parents' perspectives. Derek Humphry and Gus John concluded in 1971 that 'The generation gap often grows into an unbreachable abyss due to widely differing values and expectations. So many older blacks are content to live a plain, subdued life which is quite unacceptable to teenagers'.[133] Often these tensions surrounded religion, education, employment, and interactions with white society. Interviewee Zia recalled secretly learning 'English ways' at school from other girls that she would share with her younger sisters at home:

> You know the way the girls used to go on and do their hair. Because we weren't allowed to go out. So, you had that bit of freedom about makeup and stuff and things that we weren't allowed to use at home. So, I got taught all that. And some things that you probably couldn't talk to your parents about. You could talk to these girls, and they'd give you the answers.[134]

After completing her secondary education Zia, against her parents' wishes, went to modelling school 'to get a bit of freedom'. Zia's older brother Humayun became a successful artist working in the British film industry despite his parents wanting him to study medicine. Most

[132] Ibid.
[133] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 13.
[134] Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018, conducted by author.

of his A-Level subjects were chosen at his parent's discretion to facilitate his entry to medical school. Nevertheless, Humayun evidently focused more on the A-Level in Art which he had ostensibly chosen as an extra option.[135] A number of interviewees recalled comparable memories of tensions between themselves and their parents which stemmed from their aspirations and cultural traditions, but like Zia and Humayun most seem to have exerted their agency in one way or another, and many noted as adults that in later years their parents' attitudes began to soften.

Interviewee Khatija Lunat's father did not allow her to go to the centre of Dewsbury as a teenager without a family chaperone, and she recalled that she only ever asked once if she could bring friends home because her father did not approve

> of any friends coming over. Either Asian or white, and white would be a no-no. Asian would have been a no […]. 'Keep your friends at school, keep your friends at Mosque'. He was very strict. It was a very strict upbringing I had.[136]

When she was a child Khatija recalling wishing that her father had been less strict, yet as an adult she empathises with his position:

> family life at home was hectic as it was with aunts and uncles coming over from abroad. He was the eldest son and seen as the head of the house. Extended family wise I'm talking about. So, he was always trying to look after XYZ and then trying to protect his own family at the same time. So, adding more into that would be, I think, overwhelming to him. So, to control that it's keep everything as it is.[137]

[135] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.
[136] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.
[137] Ibid.

Khatija later reiterated that her father 'had a lot of pressures'. This was something that most other interviewees articulated in different ways about their parents, many of whom were working hard jobs with long hours for low pay, or almost constantly striving to keep a family business afloat. There were undoubtedly tensions between visible minoritised children and their parents from the 1960s to the 1980s which emerged due to culture and identity-based issues but to focus upon their relevance to education as educators and researchers did would be to falsely assume they held greater significance than any other type of dispute between parents and children. Certainly, these problems paled in significance when compared to the racism in the education system that those researchers and practitioners so studiously ignored. Fifty years later, the conciliatory language used by visible minoritised interviewees in this project when remembering these moments of parent-child conflict hints that the abyss was conceivably not so unbreachable as Humphrey and John suggested in 1971.[138]

White researchers and educators tended to portray migrant cultures negatively, but family and ancestral cultures contributed towards the success achieved by many New Commonwealth migrants in Britain.[139] The interviewees' families played a huge role in supporting them and giving them strength to resist the racism they experienced. Numerous researchers have emphasised the importance of a supportive family to developing a resilience to racism.[140] Today, many visible minoritised communities, according to Roger Ballard 'are continuing to find substantial inspiration in the resources of their own particular cultural, religious and linguistic inheritance, which they are actively and creatively reinterpreting in

[138] Humphry and John, *Because They're Black*, p. 13.
[139] Roger Ballard, 'The South Asian Presence in Britain and its Transnational Connections', in Bhikhu Parekh et al (eds.) *Culture and Economy in the Indian Diaspora* (London, 2002), p. 29.
[140] Dinah Morley and Cathy Street, 'Mixed Experiences: Growing Up Mixed Race – Mental Health and Well-Being', and Jasmine Rhamie, 'Eagles Who Soar: How Black Learners Find the Path to Success', both in Remi Joseph-Salisbury, 'Black Mixed-Race Men, Perceptions of the Family, and the Cultivation of "Post-Racial" Resilience', *Ethnicities*, 18, 1 (2018), p. 90.

order to rebuild their lives on their own terms'.[141] Ahmed describes this process as a partial reconfiguring that 'does not take place through the heroic act of an individual (the migrant), but through the forming of communities that create multiple identifications through collective acts of remembering'.[142] Pakistani Muslims for instance utilised the Baradari (brotherhood) system to organise themselves and distribute wealth for investment, whereas Caribbean migrants sometimes relied on the Pardner system as a communal way to raise money to finance each other's endeavours.[143] These sorts of migrant self-help organisations began to spread rapidly during the 1970s.[144] Concerned migrant parents helped to form Madrassas in Muslim communities, or Saturday schools often run by churches, parents organisations, and groups like the Black Panthers in African Caribbean communities for instance.[145] The purpose of these organisations was to engage visible minoritised children with their cultural inheritance, and provide safe places for them to socialise. The impetus to create these spaces and to pass on a cultural inheritance has not gone away. In fact, several of the interviewees in this project are today actively engaged in these kinds of groups and projects which suggests the enduring success of the efforts made in earlier decades.[146]

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[141] Roger Ballard, *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (London, 1994), p. 5.
[142] Sara Ahmed, 'Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural* Studies, 2, 3 (1999), pp. 329-347.
[143] Amin El-Yousf, 'Conflicting Paradigms of Religious and Bureaucratic Authority in a British Mosque', *Religions*, 10, 10 (2019), p. 569. For the pardner system see https://www.kingstonunity.co.uk/ctf-hub/articles/article/saving-the-jamaican-way-the-pardner-savings-system/.
[144] Brah, 'The "Asian" in Britain', p. 48.
[145] Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor, 'Exploring Supplementary Education: Margins, Theories and Methods', *History of Education*, 40, 4 (2011), pp. 501-520. Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (London, 2013). David Dabydeen et al (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford, 2010), pp. vii-viii. Rob Waters, *Thinking Black: Britain 1964-1985* (Oakland, California, 2018), p. 132.
[146] Interviewee Humayun Mirza is the secretary of the Liverpool Pakistani Association which is involved in local youth activities. Interviewee Margaret Hanson is a director of a charitable organisation that are rebuilding a significant African Caribbean community centre in Huddersfield. See: https://www.spacehive.com/redevelopingacommunitycentre. Interviewee Khatija Lunat and I met through our work on the 'Windrush, the years after – A Community Legacy on Film project in 2018.

Conclusion

Teachers from 1960 to 1989 were as likely as any White British person to be sympathetic towards visible minoritised people, overtly prejudiced towards them, or to misinterpret racial disadvantage, but they also had a vested interest in defending their profession against accusations of racism. In doing so they created damaging but influential stereotypes about British visible minoritised schoolchildren and their families. The teachers' ideas gained influence through their collaboration with early British multiethnic education researchers, their propagation in the press, and the way they were accepted at face value by a willing political establishment. This chapter used the interviewees' memories to challenge these stereotypes and describe how their home lives were more complicated than their teachers seemed to realise by the intersections of class, migration, and perhaps most saliently, race. The structural, economic, and historical influences that motivated migration from New Commonwealth nations to Britain were also largely ignored. Instead, both educators and the establishment promoted racist assimilationist education policies and thinking which compounded the situation. 'Migration trauma/culture shock' was also inflated and used against migrant communities to blame them for the academic underachievement of their children. Tariq Modood and Stephen May argue that the initial response of Britain's education system 'had little sense of the cultural isolation faced by them and the power of racism, both in schools and elsewhere'.[147] Tensions between children and parents sometimes caused by the cultural dichotomies between life at school and home, or their parents' lack of experience with the British education system, were also a factor in the interviewees' experiences. Teachers and researchers at the time viewed this as proof of their supposed familial deficiencies yet most interviewees remember feeling supported by their families

[147] Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35 (2001), p. 306.

throughout their schooling, benefited from learning about their ancestral heritage, and as adults empathise greatly with their parents' position. In general, the interviewees in this project, and other visible minoritised people who experienced British schools from the 1960s to the 1980s are united by one fact. Whether they migrated to were born in Britain, their home circumstances were largely misunderstood by educators, researchers and policymakers who generally refused to acknowledge the intensely unfair effects of British racism. Each educator was different, but it appears clear that many loaded much of the responsibility for integrating and succeeding in an unfamiliar and sometimes confusing school environment onto the migrant children instead of thinking reflexively about the children's needs.

Chapter 7: Learning of Their Otherness

At school for example you get on perfectly well with the white boys, do you?

Yes. But they don't play with me. The white boys don't play with me.

Do they not play with just you or with any of the coloured boys?

With any coloured boys.

Why not?

'I don't know'.

Interaction between interviewer Michael Charlton and an Indian Sikh schoolboy in Huddersfield broadcast on the BBC in 1969.[1]

This chapter argues that it was at school where most visible minoritised children in Britain first learnt about racism and how, in various ways, they were to be perceived and treated as different from the majority white society. In the words of an anonymous South Asian teacher who migrated to Britain during the 1970s as a child: 'I met racism in my primary school'.[2] Racism is however an adult word and a complex phenomenon which shapes young children's lives before they can completely understand. It clashes with social norms such as the Golden Rule, 'Do to others as you would have them do to you'.[3] This was and remains a fairly a ubiquitous facet of moral education in British schools, so it is conceivable that thousands of British visible minoritised children have reflected on the twisted logic behind how it applied to them.[4] The interviewees' experience and appreciation of racism at school was mediated by

[1] Michael Charlton Reports on the Racial Problems in Huddersfield, *BBC Panorama*, BBC One (London, broadcast 1 December 1969).
[2] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 57.
[3] Harry J. Gensler, *Ethics and the Golden Rule* (Oxford, 2013).
[4] A Google search for 'The Golden Rule in British schools', reveals numerous websites for British primary schools and their contemporary interpretations of the Golden Rule.

their family's perceived race, class status, whether they were British-born or migrated to Britain, their experiences with multiracial education policies, their experiences with white people in general, and to some degree the year in which they started school. Nevertheless, starting school in Britain from 1960 to 1989 for visible minoritised children was doubtless an emotionally affective experience which often introduced them to the concepts of racial and cultural hierarchies.

i. Textual and oral sources

There is a disparity between the largely negative portrayals of visible minoritised people's experiences of schooling from the 1960s to the 1980s in antiracist research, and the rich multifaceted accounts of the interviewees in this research. Recent studies, such as Lauri Johnson's 2017 examination Black and South Asian British head teachers, have also presented a more nuanced picture. Interviewees in this research and Johnson's often spoke positively about their experiences at primary school but highlighted that their treatment worsened in secondary school yet balanced their descriptions of everyday racist bullying with acknowledgement of positive schooltime experiences and support from teachers.[5] Interviewee Khatija Lunat noted that she had few memories of primary education but 'enjoyed infants' school. The children I was with I essentially went up to junior school with them. Erm, so I have no bad memories. They're all good. So, not more than that, infants wise anyway'.[6] Most interviewees, like Birkenhead born David Yau, fondly recalled playing traditional games like chase and British bulldog during primary school.[7] Interviewee Pamela Browne on the other hand recalled feeling like a social outcast throughout her education in Liverpool, even in primary school. Pamela was bullied regularly and stated, 'I stopped learning in school. It just

[5] Lauri Johnson, 'The Lives and Identities of UK Black and South Asian Head Teachers: Metaphors of Leadership', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership,* 45, 5 (2017), p. 848.
[6] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.
[7] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.

got worse and worse'.[8] No other interviewee narrated the whole experience as so unpleasant. When asked about starting school interviewee Mo Jogee, who arrived in Dewsbury from India during the early 1960s unable to speak English, noted that, 'The teachers were great. I enjoyed school, I can still remember the headmaster and some of the teachers'.[9] Others, such as interviewee Amina Chichangiri who was born in Dewsbury to Indian parents and attended school in Batley during the late 1970s and 1980s, remembered feeling close to certain primary school teachers.[10] This reflects the memory of Lorraine, an interviewee in Carol Vincent et al's 2013 research who noted, 'in many ways I became a teacher's pet because I was the only Black girl in my year, and in some ways people went over the top to be nice to me'.[11] Amina similarly described herself as a teacher's pet, and recalled warm pleasant memories of story corner, playing with friends, and drinking little bottles of milk.[12]

The interviewees' rosy memories of primary school in Britain could arguably contradict sources which emphasise the unpleasant nature of visible minoritised schoolchildren's experience.[13] From the 1970s onwards such sources were however produced by antiracists and visible minoritised parent authors who sincerely attempted to counter the dominant narratives produced by oblivious or racially prejudiced white authors which ignored or understated the salience of racism in British schools. Positive statements made by interviewees in this study certainly do not undermine their works because their perspectives and purposes were different from the authors behind those disturbing exposés. Authors like Bernard Coard sought to emphasise the negative impact of racism on visible minoritised schoolchildren in 1971, but when discussing their own childhood's the interviewees in this

[8] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.
[9] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.
[10] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[11] Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), p. 939.
[12] Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.
[13] Materials quoted in this work by Bernard Coard, Ambalavaner Sivanandan, Gus John, and Beryl Gilroy for instance.

research sought to emphasise their success in Britain more than the racism they experienced.[14] It is also significant that oral history interviewees in general, as described by Alistair Thomson, often 'compose' their memories in idealised ways which distance themselves from emotionally tumultuous or upsetting experiences.[15] Ideally, the interviewees wanted to feel unbothered by racism as children so they developed different strategies that cognitively distanced them from its effects which appear evident in their memories.[16] The interviewees were also likely to portray their time at school in more positive ways because, like most people, they often view their childhood through a nostalgic lens which amplifies good memories over bad.[17] Overall, while it is important to acknowledge and discuss these positive memories it is also necessary to point out that they do not cancel out bad experiences or diminish the validity of antiracist arguments.

ii. Starting school, racism and othering

> 'I never knew I was Black until I came to England'.
>
> – Yvonne Conolly arrived in England in 1963 from Jamaica.[18]

Starting school is often significant in the memories of the interviewees because it was usually when they first became conscious of racial prejudice.[19] Interviewee Pamela Browne started her education in 1961, and noted that, 'School was where I first encountered racism'.[20]

[14] The penultimate chapter on the development of a resilience to racism deals thoroughly with this idea.
[15] Alistair Thomson, 'Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practise in Australia', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 344.
[16] Richard Majors and Janet M. Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992). For more on this see chapter nine.
[17] Stefan Ramsden, 'The Community Spirit Was a Wonderful Thing': On Nostalgia and the Politics of Belonging', *Oral History*, 44, 1 (2016), p. 89.
[18] Johnson, 'The Lives and Identities of UK Black and South Asian Head Teachers', p. 855.
[19] A visible minoritised tour guide pointed out his old school to researcher Jacqueline Brown on a Liverpool Black history walk and noted that it was where he learned that he was different. Jacqueline N. Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool* (New Jersey, 2005), p. 13.
[20] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.

Interviewee Shazia Azhar spent her infancy in London in a large, shared house with other Pakistani families. She recalled 'vividly' becoming aware of race upon starting at Birkby Infants' School when her family moved to Huddersfield in 1977.[21] For Sue Mackay and her twin sister this moment came when their white adopted mother first attempted to enrol them in their local primary school. Their family lived in a predominantly white area of Liverpool in the early 1960s and their nearest school apparently refused to take the girls as pupils because of their skin colour. Sue remembered,

> I said Mum what's wrong, she said, 'They won't have you'. And I said, 'Why won't they have us?', and she said, 'Oh they must be full up', but I used to hear her talking to Dad about them being racist.[22]

Interviewee Ray Said has Yemeni heritage on his father's side and Irish heritage on his mother's. When he started school in Liverpool at the age of five in 1963:

> One of the first experiences I had of anything to do with race was kids in the playground telling me, 'You've got a Paki for a dad', cos my Mum and Dad obviously came with me to school the first time I went, and I'm very light skinned. That was an abiding memory.[23]

Respected psychiatrist Kamaldeep Bhui migrated to Britain from Kenya at the age of two with his Indian Sikh family. After describing his own experiences of racism at school Bhui explained that when a visible minoritised child is taunted about their skin colour in the playground, 'This is a traumatic realisation, that black skin and appearance are denigrated'.[24] In 1998 African Caribbean authors Mike Phillips and Trevor Phillips made the corresponding point that 'the school experience began as a trauma for the majority of black

[21] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.
[22] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.
[23] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.
[24] Kamaldeep Bhui, *Racism and Mental Health: Prejudice and Suffering* (London, 2002), p. 11.

schoolchildren'.[25] Undoubtedly it was a traumatic realisation, or existential crisis, that most of the interviewees in this research and many other visible minoritised schoolchildren experienced during this era.

Unlike the interviewees from Kirklees, most from Liverpool grew up in areas where significant visible minoritised communities had resided for several centuries. Many reported feeling safe in their neighbourhoods and attending schools more multiethnic than the majority in Britain at that time. Yet, as discussed in chapter five, racism had become entrenched in the surrounding white communities. This meant that visible minoritised children from relative safe zones such as the Liverpool 8 postal code often first experienced racial hostility from white children upon starting large secondary schools which drew pupils from several post codes. Recent migrants or children who had grown up in housing areas with large visible minoritised populations in Kirklees often had similar experiences upon arrival in Britain and starting school in their first predominantly white social environment. Interviewee Delmara Green for instance was born in Huddersfield in 1963 but immediately moved to the Caribbean before returning to Huddersfield in 1968. During one of her first days at Almondbury Infants' School she recalled a boy pointing at her and exclaiming, 'She is black!'. Delmara noted 'it never occurred to me that people had a name for people's colour, until he said that' and that nothing was done about it despite the incident occurring in front of a teacher.[26] This evokes Frantz Fanon's musings on 'the fact of Blackness' which Erica Burman describes as 'the lived experience of inhabiting a body portrayed as primitive and dangerous'.[27] Interviewee Margaret Hanson, born in Huddersfield to Jamaican parents in 1966, attended the same schools as Delmara and reported not knowing that she was viewed as

[25] Mike Phillips and Trevor Phillips, *Windrush: The Irresistible Rise of Multi-racial Britain* (London, 1998), p. 257.
[26] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[27] Erica Burman, 'Fanon's Other Children: Psychopolitical and Pedagogical Implications', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 20, 1 (2017), p. 43.

different until she started there in 1971.[28] No interviewee in this research besides Pamela described starting school or school generally in an exclusively negative sense, but for many it was undoubtedly the moment when race became a factor in their lives. Often, because it was literally pointed out by white classmates in front of disinterested teachers.

After their first meetings with the concept of race the interviewees continued to learn more at school about how white people viewed their communities through racial stereotypes. Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor note that David Hills 1971 study of teaching in multiracial schools contains four pages

> of headteacher/teacher comments on the various ways that 'immigrant pupils' contributed to the life of a school. Included in the twenty-four separate comments were references to the 'rhythm' and physical prowess of 'West Indians', the 'warmth and ebullience' of the 'West Indian character and 'the keenness and industry' of Indians and the 'gentleness' and 'air of quiet happiness' of Indian and Pakistani girls.[29]

The proceedings of the first annual conference for the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent on the other hand recorded that visible minoritised children were often labelled by teachers 'as noisy, aggressive, sullen, hyperactive and "good at sports" if they are West Indian; or cliquish, mechanical and dull if they are Asian. Being Black is the first step towards being categorised'.[30] Regardless of whether the stereotypes related to positive or negative characteristics it seems they were central to how White British teachers understood children with heritage from New Commonwealth nations.

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[28] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.
[29] Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor, 'Making Subjects: History-Writing, Education and Race Categories', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33, 3 (1997), p. 901.
[30] 'Black Women in Britain Speak Out', *Annual Conference Proceedings for the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent* (London, 1979), p. 6. It is important to note that this is an example where Black is being used to include all visible minoritised people.

Unsurprisingly, the interviewees recalled realising that visible minoritised people were being stereotyped in their lessons. Liverpool-born interviewee Ray Said for example described how

> Sometimes you would raise your hand and try and make a point then you would feel the eyes of everyone in the class. I would also feel uncomfortable with some of the responses you would get from the teachers. If you're in a class and say there's twenty-five white kids in the class and you're the only person from a minority group and you're being shown images of, for instance, very stereotyped images of people in mud huts and spears, which is something that stuck in my mind when we were being taught about the Boer War. The images are quite jarring. Sometimes you'd put your hand up and go, 'Not all Africa is like that' and then you'd be shot down, because that was the stereotyped view in those days that anything that African people had got or anywhere else in the Empire, had been brought to those countries by the British […]. James [name anonymised], he was from Hong-Kong, sometimes he'd be asked to explain things. They'd be like, 'Tell us about what happens in China', and he'd say, 'I don't know, I only lived in Hong-Kong for a couple of years'. He was sort of put on the spot a couple of times. Sometimes you would be singled out as the expert because your skin colour is different. And sometimes that's difficult if you're a kid.[31]

Interviewee David Yau recalled how local stereotypes of people with Chinese ancestry were applied to him during his youth in Liverpool during the 1960s and 1970s, 'you were generally just stereotyped as being, well, you ran a restaurant or a takeaway and that was it. That was the expectation wherever I went'.[32] Dewsbury born interviewee Amina recalled that at her all-girls school in the 1980s

[31] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.
[32] David Yau, 29 April 2020.

> The white girls in the class would say things like 'I don't know why you try so hard; I don't know why you make such an effort at school because you're just going to get married at eighteen and have babies. You're just going to be a housewife. Err, does your dad beat you every day?'. All those sort of things, you know, were sort of said [sigh]. Yeah, we were frowned upon because we were seen as a very different community.[33]

A few years after Amina finished secondary school Tehmina Basit espoused similar conclusions in her study of British Muslim teenage girls noting that the 'Muslim ethos is misunderstood to the extent that respectfulness is seen as shyness or submissiveness, protectiveness is viewed as oppression and modesty is construed as traditionalism'.[34] Each interviewee's experience of being stereotyped is of course unique to them and varied depending on their perceived race, location, and era but it is also true that these issues were longstanding and widespread.

Most interviewees recalled their primary years in largely positive terms in part because of how prejudice develops in childhood. Interviewee Khatija for instance started primary school in the late 1970s in Dewsbury and stated that there were no racial tensions 'of any sort in infants or juniors', but that that those issues 'very much started in high school'.[35] Nonetheless, current research in child development suggests that children as young as three can exhibit ethnic prejudice.[36] This observation from a 1993 study demonstrates how it can manifest itself among young children:

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[33] Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.
[34] Tehmina Naz Basit, 'Educational, Social and Career Aspirations of Teenage Muslim Girls in Britain: An Ethnographic Case Study', University of Cambridge (1995), p. 236.
[35] Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019.
[36] Carol S. Dweck, 'Prejudice: How It Develops and How It Can be Undone', *Human Development.* 52 (2009), pp. 371-376.

> A group of four white boys (aged 3-4) were collaboratively building a tower out of the building blocks. An Asian boy walked over with the thought of participating. Two of the boys were heard to say vehemently, 'No, Paki, no, Paki'. Another boy pushed the Asian boy aggressively.[37]

Despite these displays of social rejection from young children a 2011 worldwide survey of research into prejudice in childhood and adolescence concluded that prejudice *in general* peaks at middle childhood between five and seven years and declines slightly in children from eight to ten years.[38] It also found however that prejudice towards 'lower status outgroups', such visible minoritised populations in Britain from 1960 to 1989, continues to rise from middle childhood.[39] David Milner came to similar conclusions in 1975 arguing that children absorb the significance of race at a young age before there is 'a gradual intensification of prejudice'.[40]

The authors of the aforementioned worldwide 2011 survey, Tobias Raabe and Andreas Beelmann, concluded that 'prejudice changes systematically with age during childhood but that no developmental trend is found in adolescence indicating the stronger influence of the social context on prejudice with increasing age'.[41] This suggests that children

[37] Cecile Wright, 'Race Relations in the Primary School', cited in Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 56.
[38] Tobias Raabe and Andreas Beelmann, 'Development of Ethnic, Racial, and National Prejudice in Childhood and Adolescence: A Multinational Meta-Analysis of Age Differences', *Child Development*, 82, 6 (2011), p. 1715. Prejudice in this study was defined as 'a multifaceted phenomenon that can be defined as a negative orientation towards individuals or groups due only to their ethnic or racial membership or nationality'.
[39] Ibid, p. 1730.
[40] David Milner, *Children and Race* (London, 1975), p. 84.
[41] Raabe and Beelmann, 'Development of Ethnic, Racial, and National Prejudice in Childhood and Adolescence', p. 1715.

who stay in classrooms with high levels of anti-immigrant sentiment throughout their time at school are more likely to develop these biases.[42] Raabe and Beelmann go on to point out that

> Banaji et al. (2008) have suggested, children at middle-childhood start to observe positive events happening to majority group members and negative events happening to minority group members. Based on these experiences, they learn explicitly or implicitly to view disadvantaged minority groups negatively and majority advantaged groups positively, even if they belong to the minority group themselves.[43]

The fact that interviewees such as Khatija felt that race relations got worse in high school accordingly suggests three things. First, the extent to which race relations were strained in their localities and classrooms during their youth.[44] Second, that racial prejudice from white children became more severe in secondary school, and third, that as white children were learning about the potential benefits of racism visible minoritised schoolchildren had a growing understanding of the negative implications and relevance of racism to their own lives.

Even if it was not directly pointed out visible minoritised children often quickly learned that they were perceived as 'the other' through experiencing British multiracial education policies. Migrant children across the country were for instance subjected to medical exams during the process of starting school in Britain.[45] This may seem normal considering that Britain's border control have carried out tuberculosis screenings since the

[42] Jeffrey Mitchell, 'Prejudice in the Classroom: A Longitudinal Analysis of Anti-Immigrant Attitudes', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42, 9 (2019), pp. 1514-1533.
[43] Raabe and Beelmann, 'Development of Ethnic, Racial, and National Prejudice in Childhood and Adolescence', p. 1730.
[44] The strained nature of race relations in Kirklees and Liverpool are examined in greater depth in chapter five. However, it is perhaps worth re-stating here that the Dewsbury council reportedly debated introducing housing segregation in the late 1960s, colour bars existed in North Kirklees during the 1970s, white parents complained about their children being educated alongside Black and Asian students, and organised violence against visible minoritised people became increasingly commonplace where Khatija grew up.
[45] Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), p. 62

1960s.[46] But, examining the logic used in Huddersfield – a town which considered itself enlightened and progressive in its treatment of Commonwealth newcomers during the 1960s and 1970s – to justify such procedures demonstrates that they were based more on racial than medical concerns.[47] Isolated outbreaks of both scabies and tuberculosis were of course not uncommon among the White British working-class population in the mid-twentieth century and many local authorities subjected new teachers to chest X-Rays to ensure that they were clear of tuberculosis before starting work. Regardless, the presence of increasing numbers of visible minoritised children led head teacher Trevor Burgin and teacher Patricia Edson to note 'anxiety' about scabies and tuberculosis at their school, Spring Grove Primary, in Huddersfield during the early 1960s. Despite only noting 'isolated outbreaks' of the former, and 'only very few' cases of the latter Burgin and Edson stated that English parents were 'understandably […] extremely anxious about the possibility of their children contracting the disease, since it is well known that there is a high incidence of the disease among adult Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians'. They went on to argue that if similar medical testing were done everywhere else it would 'perhaps, help to alleviate one of the causes of animosity felt by our own countrymen to coloured Commonwealth settlers'.[48] Visible minoritised newcomers consequently required medical testing to ease the racial anxieties of white parents. This a symptom of the wider disregard towards visible minoritised children which also demonstrates the power that white parents wielded over them and the fact that their treatment was shaped by racist concerns. The extent to which the interviewees noticed this different treatment and reflected upon the logic behind it as children varied, but it clearly features in their memories.

[46] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/tuberculosis-screening.
[47] The claim that Huddersfield had done more and was better than other places in its treatment of visible minoritised people was for example touted by the BBC in Michael Charlton Reports on the Racial Problems in Huddersfield, *BBC Panorama*, BBC One (London, broadcast 1 December 1969).
[48] Trevor Burgin and Patricia Edson, *Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children* (London, 1967), pp. 17-18.

Teachers were required to assess the language capabilities of new arrivals so that non-Anglophones could be placed in segregated classrooms to receive intensive English as a Second Language tuition. As with concerns about disease, visible minoritised children were dispersed around local schools and taught English in segregated classes to pacify white parents who feared that the new arrivals would negatively affect their childrens learning.[49] These assessments and subsequent placements in segregated classes constituted many visible minoritised children's first experiences of school in Britain – particularly for those from the Indian subcontinent. Interviewee Levi Tafari, a poet and educator born in Liverpool in 1960 to Jamaican migrants remembers being immediately placed in a special language class when he started primary school because he spoke English with a Jamaican accent.[50] Levi studied in this class of non-English speakers for a month before someone realised that he did not need to be there. This was seemingly not an uncommon phenomenon because an interviewee during my previous research into dispersal school bussing, Kalsoom Bashir, was sent to classes with non-Anglophone children in Huddersfield despite having lived in England since the age of two, and being fluent in English upon starting school at five. She was so bored by the lessons given at the school that one day during her first year she ran away from the school and caught a bus home[51] My colleague Shabina Aslam, who is researching the national government policy of dispersal school bussing, was herself bussed in Bradford during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Despite being able to speak, read, and write well in English Shabina was placed in a reception centre for non-Anglophones. As with Levi, several dull weeks went by before a teacher noticed Shabina reading a book and realised that she belonged in a regular class. When children were given largely unnecessary medical tests to ease the fears of white people,

[49] Martin Adeney, 'Bussing of Coloured Children to End', *The Guardian* (30 May 1972), p. 8.
[50] Liverpool LEA had no specific policy on teaching English as a Second Language until opening language centres in the 1980s, so these classes were likely arranged and provisioned by Levi's school with no involvement from the LEA. Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[51] Interview with Kalsoom Bashir, 13 March 2016, conducted by Shabina Aslam.

likewise, bussed to school, sent to a reception centre, or sequestered in special language classes it could prompt them to realise that they were being perceived and treated as different because of their race. In the same way that racist name-calling in the playground could be traumatising, interactions with multiracial education policies were early moments in which individuals experienced unfair treatment which often remained prominent in their memories.

iii. Social rejection at school

Visible minoritised children's experiences of British primary schools from 1960 to 1989 varied greatly but many who attended predominantly white schools experienced loneliness and rejection. The memories of interviewees Delmara Green and Margaret Hanson, two British African Caribbean women from Huddersfield who attended Almondbury Infants, Juniors and Secondary schools in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate this.[52] Delmara and Margaret were born in Huddersfield to British Caribbean parents, but Delmara moved back to the Caribbean shortly after her birth to live with older relatives before arriving back in Huddersfield in 1968. Their families did not know each other, and both attended school in Almondbury village a few years apart. Their experiences are startlingly similar. At school, memories of sporting success feature strongly in contrast to a lack of academic success. Both remember their Physical Education (PE), and Arts teachers fondly. Margaret described being encouraged by the PE teachers because she was good at sports, but noted: 'academics, not really, I can't remember anybody pushing me'.[53] Delmara noted that apart from the PE and Art teachers at secondary school, 'I don't even know if the teachers liked me or not'.[54] Other African Caribbean interviewees made similar statements and most remembered their PE

[52] Interviews with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, and 9 July 2019 conducted by author. Interviews with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, and 21 February 2020, conducted by author. Almondbury Secondary is the school which made national headlines in 2018 due to footage of a young boy from a family of Syrian refugees being physically attacked, Nazia Parveen, 'Family of Bullied Syrian Boy Forced to Move After Threats', *The Guardian* (3 February 2018).
[53] Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017.
[54] Delmara Green, 6 September 2018.

teachers with some fondness. This is telling because of the way that people of African descent have been stereotyped as unintelligent but athletic since the days of trans-Atlantic slavery.[55] Delmara and Margaret both experienced racist abuse in the playground and witnessed or personally experienced white children taunting Black children about slavery after watching the Television programme *Roots* (1976). Each was racially abused in front of teachers who did nothing, and experienced racism from their teachers. Both found their vocations in later life as opposed to leaving school at sixteen and progressing immediately towards a career. Delmara went to college to get O-Levels but left education again during Art College to have her first child. She became an Art and Soft Furnishing teacher after having three children and working for a home furnishing company for nine years, whereas Margaret earned higher education certificates in her early twenties.

It is conspicuous that neither Delmara nor Margaret professes to remember much about their infants' school and that like, Jo Radcliffe, an African Caribbean interviewee in my MA research into dispersal school bussing, each recalled feeling lonely at play time throughout primary school. Jo, like Margaret and Delmara, was also born in Huddersfield to parents who had migrated from the Caribbean. In our first interview in 2016 she recalled that 'one of my sort of everlasting memories is me sitting in the school playground alone every play time, every lunch time, for years'.[56] In like manner, Margaret Hanson remembered:

> the impact of not being called to come and join any skipping games with the white girls […]. Them playtimes, although they might have only been fifteen minutes, but

[55] Gill Crozier, '"There's a War Against Our Children": Black Educational Underachievement Revisited', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26, 5 (2005), p. 591. Gary A. Sailes, 'The Myth of Black Sports Supremacy', *Journal of Black Studies*, 21, 4 (1991), pp. 480-487.
[56] Interview with Jo Radcliffe, 7 June 2016, conducted by author.

> they might as well have been three hours when you're not getting included in anything with anybody and you're sat on your own.[57]

It is also interesting that in our first conversations Margaret and Delmara had so few memories of Almondbury Infants' and Juniors' School. Delmara noted, 'I can't really say that I had horrible teachers at school. In the infants', I can't remember a single teacher's name. I can remember the classrooms, but I can't remember a single teachers name'.[58] Margaret similarly recalled little except feeling isolated at playtime, while Delmara remembered frequently holding the teacher's hand at playtime. In subsequent conversations their initial lack of memory was discussed. Both – after having time to reflect on our first interviews – recalled new details about their infants' schools, such as the head teacher's name, other teacher's names, classroom activities, and games at playtime.[59] Margaret described her initial absence of memories as strange and reflected that perhaps she only recalls the unpleasant things.[60] This is revealing because it is thought that memories of emotional events and stimuli remain stronger and more detailed than non-emotional ones.[61] Almondbury Infants' School therefore appears to have been both unmemorable and lonely for Delmara and Margaret and it is likely that this was because of racial stereotyping from teachers and rejection from white children.

Social rejection from white classmates was a common and well-remembered experience for visible minoritised people in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s. Researchers during the period commonly found that a majority of White British children primarily

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[57] Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017.
[58] Delmara Green, 6 September 2018.
[59] Delmara Green, 21 February 2020. Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019. By our second meetings Delmara and Margaret, like other interviewees, had evidently been thinking about their education in the meantime, and both remembered more information.
[60] Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.
[61] Chai M. Tyng et al, 'The Influences of Emotion on Learning and Memory', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8 (2017), p. 1.

described visible minoritised classmates using negative racial terms.[62] Sue Mackay noted that she first learned about racial slurs while at school in Liverpool during the 1960s and 1970s:

> That's where my racism, and the word nigger. I learned the word nigger. Never heard the word before. It wasn't girls it was lads. Lads, in lower years or upper years. [singing] 'Nigger nigger pull a trigger bang bang bang'. I got that sang to me, me and my sister every night walking home from school, round the school yard. Yeah, it was bad. And then that song by Typically Tropical come out. Oh well, I hate that song. I had that every single day sang to me […]. I remember going home upset cos they'd chased me all the way home calling me a nigger and I went, and I said, 'Mum, what's a nigger?', and I remember she was peeling the spuds for tea, and she dropped the knife, she said 'Where'd you hear that?'. I said, 'They chased me all the way home', she legged it to the gate, 'Show me who was it, whose been?', but they'd gone. But my Mum had to stand at the gate most nights waiting for us to get home because it was horrendous. Horrendous.[63]

While Sue describes being racially abused with overtly racist terms her anecdote also shows how Typically Tropical's 1975 single 'Barbados' was used to taunt her. The lyric in question, 'Woah, I'm going to Barbados' demonstrates how old and New forms of racism merged in the playground during this era as a combination of traditional racial slurs and non-racial pop music lyrics were used to degrade Sue and her sister. Interviewee Ray Said recalled joining forces with other visible minoritised children at his majority white primary school in Liverpool during the 1960s:

> I had maybe two to three friends that was it. Three friends from minority backgrounds. We'd go to each other's houses, maybe that's because we were

[62] Arthur J. Cropley, *The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction* (London, 1983), p. 82.
[63] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.

> excluded […] so we did become friends for no other reason that we all felt like a minority. Apart from that we didn't have a great deal in common.[64]

Interviewee Levi Tafari played with an ethnically mixed group of children while growing up in Liverpool but still remembered being excluded by white children. In one instance Levi and other children of African descent were playing 'cowboys and Indians' with white neighbours, 'We wanted to be cowboys, but were told that we couldn't be because we weren't white. The other children would say "youse can't"'.[65] Even in relatively friendly interactions white children could take it upon themselves the delineate what they understood to be the social divide. White children, as much if not more than any other influence, therefore taught visible minoritised children that white people in general did not want to mix with them or treat them equally.

Being socially rejected by white children could be confusing, traumatic, and an unpleasant thing to remember. Such memories can appear like emotional scars that the interviewees were unwilling to touch. The progression in interviewee Shazia Azhar's responses during our conversation below demonstrates this. When asked about interacting with other children in the playground at primary school Shazia noted that, 'It was largely positive, with the children. I can remember that in the community it wasn't the same, but the children were fine, the children were good'.[66] Shazia went on to name her African Caribbean and South Asian friends before stating:

> We got on very well together in the playground playing all our skipping games and jacks and all sorts of things that we played. We interacted very well. But I do note that

[64] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.
[65] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[66] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

> we didn't really get invited to parties. So, we didn't really interact with the adults of those children. So, it was like the kids are fine but the adults not so good together.[67]

Shazia's phrasing is ambiguous, especially her point that 'it was *largely positive*, with the children'. It implies that there were negatives but that she is not dwelling upon them. Furthermore, in the context of our conversation Shazia's repeated usage of the plural 'we', seemingly referred to herself and her close friends at primary school – who she had just told me were largely from visible minoritised groups – as opposed to including the white children. The implication being that 'We [the visible minoritised schoolchildren] interacted very well', whereas their white classmates interacted with them less well. That Shazia then recalls not being invited to parties further implies racial tensions, yet she is reticent to criticise white classmates and seemingly blames their parents instead.

Shazia's fond memories of school and interacting with the other children in the playground clash with painful memories of rejection and racism that occurred before she fully understood the concept. In another comment Shazia noted:

> I remember prior to that a couple of times when I'd been out with Mum, we'd just been shopping or whatever, I can remember people shouting at us. But again, I didn't understand. I could tell they were angry about something, but I didn't know that they were commenting on the colour of our skin. I just thought they were bad people.[68]

Shazia is today a head teacher at a primary school in Huddersfield, and antiracism and multicultural education are central to her practice. She has likely done more reading and learning about these subjects than any other interviewee. Later in our interview Shazia also recounted a story in which she remembered being embarrassed by her father's accent when

[67] Ibid.
[68] Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020.

he came into school for parents evening. I probed by asking if children in the playground mocked different accents and Shazia replied:

> Yes frequently. That was part of the [pause] er erm the racism. When I spoke to you about us going shopping and people would, they'd either call names, they might spit, or they'd mock the accent. And equally in school where these things happen in the playground and so on, that's one of the things they'd do. They would mock the accent. So obviously that's what has given me that feeling that that accent is something negative. It's not something to be proud of it's something negative.
>
> *And the spitting?*
>
> Pardon?
>
> *You said spitting.*
>
> Not in schools so much.
>
> *So much?*
>
> I-it, yeah, it happened. It happened. When kids fall out, they do, they go for a weakness don't they. And er, race was seen as a weakness. So, all of those things make you feel, they-they harden that opinion that, that is something negative. So, the white children, majority of them, they had that opinion. That being of Asian origin or being non-white was a negative thing.
>
> *The majority of them?*
>
> Yes, the majority of them. And I did as well to be honest. I thought that it was a negative thing.[69]

[69] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.

Shazia's initial reticence to describe her classmate's racism transformed in these exchanges. From downplaying racism from her classmates and attributing it to their parents or teachers in earlier statements, here Shazia articulated her belief that 'the majority' of her white classmates were prejudiced towards Asian people. Above all this suggests how personal and potentially upsetting it can be for visible minoritised adults to remember experiencing racism as a child at school. It at first pained Shazia to think that her white classmates, whom she evidently liked and wanted a friendly relationship with, held such nasty thoughts about people who looked like her. Instead of stating this openly as she did towards the end of the latter quote Shazia first laid the blame at the feet of adults. Each interviewee assigned their own significance to memories of being socially rejected by white children, but these conversations evoke the enduring nature of the pain caused by experiences of racial discrimination and othering at a young age and how they can affect memory narratives about racism.

iv. White parents

Without diminishing their responsibility for their own actions, the racism of white children towards their visible minoritised classmates did, as interviewee Shazia suggested, in fact reflect the attitudes of their parents. White parents in Southall protested outside Beaconsfield Road school to demand the segregation of local visible minoritised schoolchildren.[70] In Huddersfield, former teachers Trevor Burgin and Hazel Wigmore both remembered negative reactions from parents to the visible minoritised arrivals at their school.[71] Burgin for instance recalled being accosted on a train one day during the late 1960s by an aggressive couple who recognised him as the face of multiracial education in Huddersfield and blamed him for their

[70] '"Danger Point" In School', *The Guardian* (16 October 1963), p. 1.
[71] Interviews with Trevor Burgin, 7 and 9 March 2016, conducted by author. Interview with Hazel Wigmore, 10 May 2016, conducted by author.

daughter sitting next to a Black boy at school.[72] Beryl Gilroy, who taught in British schools from the late 1950s and eventually became one of the first African Caribbean head teachers in Britain, noted that

> In the playground the children reacted savagely at the slightest provocation. They passed on to me their parents' instructions – 'If that blackie touches you, kill him', or alternatively, 'My Dad said do unto whites before they could do unto you'.[73]

In the early 1970s a social worker was recorded stating that 'What is disturbing […] is that some parents do not disguise their prejudices and are encouraging their children to show contempt towards Pakistanis'.[74] *The Times,* after making enquiries at various schools in the Midlands in 1963, claimed that friendships between white and visible minoritised children did not continue beyond school gates.[75] These issues undoubtedly persisted throughout the thirty years under discussion. Even during the 1990s British South Asian women described to researchers feeling terrified of adult white neighbours who harassed them, complained about cooking smells, demanded that they stop letting their children play outside, constantly watched their family through windows, stole their children's toys, and frightened their children in various ways.[76] While white and visible minoritised children often did befriend each other in or out of school it appears that the regressive attitudes of older white people could impede good relations.

Older White British people during from 1960 to 1989 were born prior to the 'break' in the overt acceptance of white supremacy described by Howard Winant and discussed in

[72] Trevor Burgin, 9 March 2016.
[73] Beryl Gilroy, *Black Teacher* (London, 1976), p. 159.
[74] Ann Dummett, *A Portrait of English Racism* (Middlesex, 1973), p. 11.
[75] Elyse Dodgson, *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s* (London, 1984), p. 55.
[76] Commission for Racial Equality, *The Sorrow in my Heart…Sixteen Asian Women Speak about Depression* (London, 1993), pp. 23-26.

chapter three.[77] Many parents in the 1960s were for instance likely to oppose inter-ethnic relationships, something which could cause problems for visible minoritised adolescents, especially in less multiethnic areas. Derek Humphry and Gus John recorded a conversation with two British parents of African descent who recalled, 'When the eldest lad got to about fifteen he wanted to do the same things as his friends, like taking girls to the films, and the girl's parents wouldn't let him'.[78] When I asked interviewee Mo Jogee about the reaction to him marrying a white woman he replied,

> Yeah, yeah, well, her dad was a bit reluctant, obviously, from the point of view that his daughter was going out with a coloured bloke and what will happen to you […]. His mates were obviously saying, 'Well, your daughter is going out with an some Asian or a Pakistani bloke'. But once he got to know me, and I was doing O-Levels and A-Levels, he was fine with me.[79]

This anecdote demonstrates how conscious visible minoritised people were that older White British people during this time were mostly unfamiliar with those from other ethnic groups. Mo's statement also connotes that in some ways visible minoritised youths might feel obliged to meet the White British standards of respectability held by their friend's or romantic partner's parents.

Interviewee Sue Mackay experienced some of these issues in junior school when she was first invited to a white friend's home for an evening meal one day after school:

> I was so thrilled walking home with her after school and when I got there her mum said 'Hello', I said 'Hello'. Leslie said, 'Mum this is my friend Suzanne' and her mum said 'Ooh, what do their kind of people eat?'. I'll always remember that. 'What

[77] Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York, 2001), p. 2.
[78] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 76.
[79] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.

> do *their* kind of people eat'. And I said, 'I don't know what you mean'. I said, 'I eat the same food as anyone else'. But I was telling my daughter that yesterday I think it was, yeah. It has always stuck with me them words 'what do your kind of people eat'.
>
> *What was the rest of the evening like after that?*
>
> I never liked her, I never liked her. I don't think she liked me, don't think she liked me. [almost whispering] I think she was a bit racist. I never went back there again.[80]

The repetitions in Sue's statement suggest that other incidents led her to conclude that the woman was racist, but it is interesting that Sue lowered her voice to a whisper when stating this. Like Sue, many of the interviewees seemed unwilling to use words like 'racism' or 'racist' at different times in our conversations. This evokes how these experiences were often based on uncertain feelings, little moments, and unspoken instances. It also elicits the way that visible minoritised people are conditioned to not complain – publicly at least – about racism, or to see it as almost offensive to the white perpetrator or perpetrators to suggest that racism has occurred. Finally, this memory further suggests how visible minoritised children had to endure the parents and grandparents of their white classmates being generally ignorant and even unpleasant towards them because of their skin colour.

v. Contrasts between generations

Interviewees who started in British schools with few visible minoritised pupils during the early 1960s had somewhat different experiences and issues from those arriving at increasingly multiethnic schools during the late 1970s or early 1980s. Chris Gaine describes the general attitude towards immigrants in Britain during the early 1960s as 'essentially optimistic', with most believing 'that "race" relations were, on the whole, good and would

[80] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.

present no problems once the blacks had been compensated for their deficiencies'.[81] The fact that British fascist Oswald Mosely failed to garner many votes in the 1959 general election, despite then recent race-based disturbances in Notting Hill, suggests the lack of enthusiasm for racist politics at the start of this period of research.[82] Whereas, by 1970 race had become, in the words of Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'increasingly salient' to Britain's political climate.[83] Racism was of course an issue in Britain throughout the twentieth century. Nevertheless, before it was thoroughly politicised early post-war Commonwealth migrants often received a pleasant welcome in Britain, particularly in areas where the white people had previously seen few visible minoritised people. On the other hand, many early post-war migrants also received horrific treatment when they first arrived. Those who came as children during the 1960s were however likely to have been somewhat protected from this by their parents, and to have arrived in British communities that were becoming familiar with their ethnic group. Sadly, the politicisation of racism after Enoch Powell's infamous racist speech in 1968 increased tensions between white and visible minoritised communities.

Although experiencing prejudice early post-war migrants often also reported warm receptions. An Indian man who moved to England after 1945 and settled in Huddersfield by the 1960s described how people tried to buy him drinks so they could talk with him, 'but things changed about 1956. When only a few, okay, but with more we have our own groups and English people were not as close with us'.[84] Interviewee Mo Jogee similarly recalled how his non-Anglophone mother struggled upon their arrival in Dewsbury in 1961 but noted that

[81] Chris Gaine, *No Problem Here: A Practical Approach to Education and 'Race' in White Schools* (London, 1987), p. 22.
[82] Kenneth Morgan, *Britain Since 1945: The People's Peace* (Oxford, 2001), p. 203
[83] Tariq Modood and Stephen May, 'Multiculturalism and Education in Britain: An Internally Contested Debate', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35 (2001), p. 306.
[84] 'Interview with Mr M: 22.10.69', *The Duncan Scott Archive*, research notes folder titled: Huddersfield - Indian (Mostly Sikh). Name anonymised for this writing.

white neighbours 'were really helpful, and supportive in them days'.[85] Interviewee Helen Owen, who was born in China, and an anonymous male interviewee, who was born in Pakistan, both had pleasant memories of arriving and starting school in Birkenhead and Liverpool respectively. The anonymous man arrived in 1957 at the age of eight, whereas Helen came in 1967 aged eleven.[86] Both emphasised their positive experiences, but also that they were viewed with interest as the only children from their ethnic group in their school. Similarly, interviewee Mo described quickly making friends in Dewsbury but noted, 'I think we were a bit of a novelty for the English community because some people hadn't seen Asians, or people with dark skin, and they used to come and play with us'. Humphry and John spoke to a young African Caribbean man in the early 1970s who had attended school in Britain during the late 1950s and early 1960s. He recalled feeling 'very strange you know some sort or more or less like a curio, like some object from outer space.[87] Likewise, Sue Mackay and her twin were the only children with African heritage in their neighbourhood in Liverpool during the 1960s. Sue recalled, 'I don't know if it's because we stood out or something like that but we both had loads of friends'.[88] These experiences show how New Commonwealth migrants were often treated well in part because they were viewed as exotically interesting by White British people during the first decades of post-war migration.

Despite Black British academic Ambalavaner Sivanandan's assertion in 1982 that during the early days of post-war migration 'In schooling there were too few black children to cause a problem' it would be an over-simplification to argue that school was somehow

[85] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[86] Interview with anonymous British Pakistani male, 1 May 2018, conducted by author. Interview with Helen Owen, 30 April 2018, conducted by author.
[87] Humphry and John, *Because They're Black*, p. 97.
[88] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.

easier and racism less problematic for everyone in the first generations.[89] Humphry's and John's above-mentioned interviewee, who started primary school in Britain in 1955 stated:

> I was the only little coloured boy there in the school […]. I used to get five shillings a day every day from my father as pocket money, which was quite a lot in those days and I used to have to pay it out to the class […]. You see, really I was in no position to fight or rebel, because I was so hopelessly outnumbered.[90]

Most of the visible minoritised children who started school during the 1960s or earlier in Britain were correspondingly likely to be outnumbered, and to experience issues because of this. David Yau started school at Granby Street Primary in Liverpool in 1962 and was one of the only pupils of Chinese heritage at the school. David recalled that

> it was generally the young err children that would chant things. So sometimes they would say things like, to me, such as, and this is what I remember, you know things like 'Chinese, Japanese *don't forget to wash your knees*' [spoken almost angrily] and that, that sort of singled me out as different but at the same time it also made me feel a bit angry and also a bit sad. But they didn't know what they were saying. They were all just doing it because you know it was the thing to say if they heard. Erm. Sixties, racism wasn't, it was just accepted, in those days. It wasn't said, not as much as in the Seventies when I found out when it became more overt and you know back in the Seventies people in the street, total strangers in the street, would call me names such as Chink or so on or they'd all tell me to go home and I'd say 'Where, Liverpool?'. But that was err you know, the Seventies, and as I said it was more accepted back

[89] Ambalavaner Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*, (London, 1982), p. 4.
[90] Humphry and John, *Because They're Black*, pp. 94-95.

then, racism, and I just let it wash over me because I thought they were ignorant sad people.[91]

In this recollection David describes a change occurring from the 1960s to the 1970s, from his perspective, in terms of the intensity of racism. He was however a young boy in the 1960s and a young man in the 1970s, and older males are more likely to experience racism due to being out later at night and presenting more visible targets for aggression. David's family also moved to a different area of Liverpool while David continued at his original secondary school, so he frequently travelled in and out of the relative safety of the multiethnic Liverpool 8 area during the 1970s. Regardless, there is truth to David's comment. Rob Witte describes how, 'The 1970s were characterised by an increasing awareness of the phenomenon of racist violence by several sections of British society'.[92] This reflects David's main point as from his perspective there was less conflict regarding racism during the 1960s because it was accepted, and the norm, whereas racism had become more contentious by the 1970s.

Attitudes towards visible minoritised children, and people in general, worsened in Britain as their numbers increased and political tensions surrounding their presence spread nationally. This is reflected in the steady increase in votes received by the National Front in general elections throughout the 1970s which peaked in 1979.[93] A report from research carried out in the late 1970s and published in 1981 noted that, 'Many Asian communities now live in a state of fear. Families are converting their homes into fortresses with barricades against windows and doors' due to bricks being thrown and attempts to set fire to their properties.[94] The widespread levels of violence and fear in the late 1970s and early 1980s

[91] David Yau, 29 April 2020.
[92] Rob Witte, *Racist Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Britain, France and the Netherlands* (New York, 1996), p. 44.
[93] Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin, 'Angry White Men: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Support for the British National Party', *Political Studies*, 58 (2010), p. 2.
[94] Peter Evans, 'Home Office to Act Over Racialist Attacks', *The Times*, 5 Feb. 1981, p. 1.

differed somewhat from the racism and conflicts that arose from earlier more localised resentments in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Events such as the Notting Hill Riots in 1958, and Labour losing Smethwick in 1963 to a Conservative candidate running an overtly racist campaign demonstrated the growing strength of organised racist sentiment, but British racist politics truly began to gather pace nationally after Enoch Powell's 1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech. One poll taken shortly after the speech recorded that seventy-four per cent of respondents agreed with Powell's general view.[95] Through phrases like 'wide-grinning picaninnies' Powell, in the words of Harry Taylor, 'had given mainstream respectability to the kind of racist language and opinions held by the far right'.[96] Powell also nationalised racism and as Taylor argues he prevented Britain's far right from collapsing 'into obscurity' by catalysing the rise of the National Front.[97] Edward Heath's Conservatives unexpectedly won the 1970 general election because they were seen as tougher on immigration.[98] Such thinking also provided the Conservatives with the keys to victory in 1979 when Margaret Thatcher articulated more palatable versions of Powell's themes.[99] Powellism therefore smashed Britain's uneasy race relations and created a far more racialised political climate.[100]

The Times published stories on racists attacks following Powell's speech including one in his Wolverhampton constituency where fourteen white youths stormed an African Caribbean christening chanting 'Powell' and 'Why don't you go back to your own country?'. The father was treated in hospital after being punched while the grandfather required eight stitches after being slashed above his left eye; he was quoted as saying, 'I have been here

[95] Dominic Sandbrook, '"Enoch Powell Speaks for Britain": The Press, the Public and the Speech'. *The Political Quarterly*, 89, 3 (2018), p. 393.
[96] Harry Taylor, 'Rivers of Blood' and Britain's Far Right', *The Political Quarterly*, 89, 3, (2018), p. 386.
[97] Ibid, pp. 385-388.
[98] Erica Consterdine, 'Community Versus Commonwealth: Reappraising the 1971 Immigration Act', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 35, 1 (2017), p. 7.
[99] Taylor, 'Rivers of Blood' and Britain's Far Right', p. 391.
[100] Rob Waters, 'Black Power on the Telly: America, Television, and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), pp. 947-948.

since 1955 and nothing like this has happened before'.[101] Interviewee Margaret Hanson ruminated on her experiences at school after the infamous speech:

> Where it makes a difference in terms of for you psychologically is you don't know if that teacher is racist or not and I think that's where the difference is […]. So, the 'Rivers of Blood' speech by Enoch. The teachers at the time would have been sitting listening to that so you don't know what their views are about anything.[102]

Powell's speech therefore likely had some effect on the experiences of visible minoritised schoolchildren in 1968 and in subsequent years because it brought racist language and debates to the forefront of national politics for the following decade. Chiara Ricci describes how, 'Powell's language of war and invasion entered into the political vocabulary of the Conservative party on migration issues'.[103] For Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders

> There is no doubt that Powellism helped to produce Thatcherism, or that Powell contributed both to the New Rights political and economic thinking and to Thatcher's rhetorical style. As Andrew Gamble put it in 1974, Powell aired new grievances, new alliances and a new politics of power that could be harnessed in support of Thatcher.[104]

While racism was always present in post-war Britain this implies that visible minoritised schoolchildren pre-Powell could have found it easier to befriend white children who, while racially prejudiced towards them, were less likely to have adopted racist political views.

Due to political change and consistent increases in British visible minoritised populations between the 1960s and 1980s the interviewees who started school towards the

[101] "Coloured Family Attacked." *Times*, 1 May 1968, p. 1.
[102] Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019.
[103] Chiara Ricci, '"They Might Feel Rather Swamped": Understanding the Roots of Cultural Arguments in Anti-Immigration Rhetoric in 1950s–1980s Britain', *Global Histories*, 2, 1 (2016), pp. 40-41.
[104] Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 95.

end of the period were less likely to be viewed as a novelty. Interviewees who started school in the 1980s were more likely to be British-born and educated in increasingly multiethnic classrooms. Simultaneously, following Powell's speech and the subsequent rise of the National Front in the 1970s greater numbers of white children were starting school with strongly negative perceptions of visible minoritised people. These circumstances also made it increasingly likely that visible minoritised children would primarily socialise with each other instead of mixing with white children, an option that was less likely to be available to those starting school earlier in the period. British-born interviewee Amina began her education in 1979 but felt socially rejected by white people even prior to starting school. When asked about her schoolfriends Amina stated, 'I had white classmates, but I didn't have any white friends'. When asked if she had thought about the reason for this Amina noted:

> Yeah, I have I think erm [sigh] a lot of the time you just migrate to people who are like you. Yeah. People who understand, erm, where you're coming from and who understand you as a person […]. Also, I think, I don't know what the right word is, but I don't think white people like to mix with Asian people. That's basically how I used to see it, Joe. Because even growing up in my neighbourhood I remember that a lot of white people, you know, suddenly an Asian family would move in and they the white person, were just moving out. It was just constant. I remember growing up that we had quite a few white families on the street, and they were just selling up and moving out. It was quite clear.[105]

These kinds of frustrations contrast notably with the testimonies of most interviewees who primarily attended school in Britain during the 1960s, particularly those from earlier in the decade like interviewee Mo Jogee.[106] Of course, much had changed by the 1980s. Unlike her

[105] Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.
[106] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.

parents who arrived and started school in Britain as teenagers in the early 1960s, language was not a barrier for Amina when she started school. Perhaps the greatest difference however is that Amina appreciated how she was perceived by white people in Britain from a young age, whereas people like Amina's parents who are regularly characterised as arriving in Britain with preconceptions which meant that, initially at least, they presumed they would be treated fairly. For visible minoritised children who started school in Britain in the late 1970s and early 1980s such as Amina the illusion of fair treatment had largely been shattered.

vi. Impact

Through racial stereotyping and mistreatment visible minoritised children learned in British schools that they were to be treated differently because of the colour of their skin. To varying degrees some internalised the racial stereotypes that were used against them. Jessica T. Decuir-Gunby and Meca Williams for instance describe how 'some students may fall victim to internalised racism or attach themselves to negative stereotypical images' and that, 'The acceptance of these images can affect self-perception'.[107] In British schools the interviewees and other visible minoritised children during this period were regularly forced to view themselves and their own communities through the lens of white people who were constantly emphasising that they contrasted with acceptable British norms. When talking about Chinese society interviewee David for instance stated, 'it can be quite insular. Certainly, from the point of view of the English. Erm you know, we looked after ourselves'.[108] These kinds of statements could be a form of 'defensive othering' which Michael Schwalbe et al describe as 'identity work done by those seeking membership in a dominant group, or by those seeking to

[107] Jessica T. Decuir-Gunby and Meca R. Williams, 'The Impact of Race and Racism on Students' Emotions: A Critical Race Analysis', in Paul A. Schutz et al (eds.), *Emotion in Education* (London, 2007), p. 208.
[108] David Yau, 29 April 2020.

deflect the stigma they experience as members of a subordinate group.[109] Karen Pyke delineates how defensive othering

> is evident in the formation of negative sub-ethnic identities within the group […]. By attributing the negative stereotypes and images that the dominant society associates with the racial/ethnic group to 'other' members within the group, the subordinated can distance themselves from the negative stereotype.[110]

These ideas about internalised racism are persuasive but should be applied carefully, especially when discussing the complex emotions and experiences of those who were subjected to racism as children.

Pyke might argue that David defensively othered his parents in his comment above, but David sees his comments as reflecting his genuine observations of their behaviour, as opposed to representing a rejection of them.[111] Interviewee Mo Jogee made similar points:

> I'm a different person from a lot of the Asians. A lot of the lads I knew growing up have gone back into their own community […]. To me just dressing a bit like the people in the country you're living in helps a lot. That's partly integration. The clothes, you don't stand out. Unless you want to stand out, that's fine. But I've always integrated you know, and I decided early on in my life you're making your life in England; make the best of it and be part of it much as you can. That doesn't mean you forget your culture and background. I mean, if I went to live in China, I'd probably

[109] Michael Schwalbe et al, 'Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis', *Social Forces*, 79, 2 (2000), p. 425.
[110] Karen D. Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), p. 557.
[111] Interview with David Yau, 1 December 2020, conducted by author.

> end up very like a Chinese person [laughs] that's the way I am. Adopt, you know, the way people are living in that country.[112]

Pyke might also read aspects of this statement as Mo defensively othering people from his ethnic community, but he is not criticising others, he is explaining his own decisions. Mo does not feel that his choices were generated through racist assimilationist pressure to confirm to British standards.[113] His words suggest he felt some pressure to conform, but also that he sees integrating as a universally pragmatic decision which does not necessitate a total rejection of his pre-migration culture. Overall, it is plain to see that growing up a visible minoritised child in Britain during this time, surrounded by negative stereotypes, and assimilationist pressures, was a challenging experience which could lead to the internalisation of racism. The interviewees undoubtedly exerted their own agency and not everyone who happily integrated into British society necessarily did so because they rejected their parents' cultures. Nevertheless, some likely developed various negative associations with their family's pre-migration cultures because of the assimilationist pressure at school to adopt White British culture.

Sources in this research suggests that many visible minoritised children faced racism from their first day in British schools which could be traumatic. A middle-aged British African Caribbean woman explained this to researchers in 2013:

> The message I got about being Black [was] I knew there was prejudice and I knew that people would not like me because of the colour of my skin and I don't know how any child recovers from that…I think to attach a judgment to the colour of my skin, I never got over that, I couldn't get over that.[114]

[112] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[113] Interview with Mo Jogee, 24 November 2020, conducted by author.
[114] Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', p. 937.

In some children this manifested itself in them struggling to identify positively with their ethnic group or skin colour. One Huddersfield schoolteacher for example returned from her break during the 1970s to find a young Black boy had chalked his face claiming, 'I'm not a Black boy, I'm white'.[115] Interviewee Sue Mackay has White British and African heritage but was adopted and raised by a white Liverpudlian family. When Sue was an infant, her adoptive mother found her in the bathroom with scouring powder and a brush, 'scrubbing the hell out of me arms and she said "Su-Suzanne what are you doing?". I said, "I want the colour to come off, I wanna be white like the rest of you".[116] These experiences suggest why Beryl Gilroy felt in 1976 that 'it was quite obvious' her visible minoritised pupils 'had already been conditioned to consider anything that wasn't English as downright laughable'.[117]

Evidently, British visible minoritised children quickly learned the negative associations with their skin colour or culture. Interviewee Zia Mirza today describes herself as British Asian, but noted that as a child and adolescent,

> I would have said I was English […]. Because if I said otherwise, I wouldn't fit in and I wanted to be part of them. So, if someone tried to tell me I was Asian I'd say 'No, I'm English'.[118]

Likewise, Liverpool-born interviewee Pamela Browne, who has Irish, African Caribbean, and Indian heritage remembered, 'I would never call myself Black then. I would say I was like three-quarter caste or something like that. Stupid, you know, but I would never identify with Black'.[119] No male interviewees made these admissions, although interviewee David

[115] Quote can be found in Joe Hopkinson, *Dispersing the Problem: Immigrant Children in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s*, documentary produced for an MA at the University of Huddersfield (2017).
[116] Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020.
[117] Gilroy, *Black Teacher*, p. 65.
[118] Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018.
[119] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.

described having 'a bit of an identity crisis' during his teenage years.[120] The apparently widespread nature of these issues is why Bernard Coard argued that visible minoritised schoolchildren are 'fighting a losing battle' and 'so consumed with fear, inner race and hatred' that they struggle to think clearly.[121] Brian Jackson characterised visible minoritised British school children in 1979 as 'cultural hibakusha' – a reference to the word 'hibakusha' used in Japan to denote people affected by the atomic bombings in 1945.[122] While the real hibakusha were poisoned or developed cancers due to the blasts nuclear fallout Jackson's metaphor implies that British visible minoritised schoolchildren during the 1970s were damaged (or irradiated) by constant messages which denied or denigrated their existence.

Interviewee Amina remembered feeling a responsibility as a child to integrate with white society. When I asked if she felt this was reciprocated, she replied 'Absolutely not, I hate to say it but that's the truth'. Amina later went on to note:

> I don't want to come across as being [sigh] harsh about the white community [pause] I feel very blessed, the fact that my grandparents came here and made the choice to work in the mills and do what they did […]. I feel very blessed with the life that I have and the education, I've had a free education. I made the most of it. I took full advantage of it […]. I've seen the farmlands and my grandfather's home, the life that they led […]. It's very commendable but that's not my home. This is my home and I'd never bite the hand that feeds if you like.[123]

Many visible minoritised British people who went to school during this period unquestionably feel the same. They love their country, feel grateful to live in Britain, and

[120] David Yau, 29 April 2020.
[121] Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System', p. 42.
[122] Brian Jackson, *Starting School* (London, 1979), p. 117.
[123] Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.

grew up feeling a responsibility to integrate, yet also with a keen awareness that many white people saw it differently.

An interviewee in Lauri Johnson's study of visible minoritised teachers described how being one of the only Asian students at her school in Bradford during the 1960s affected her:

> I think when I was growing up it was almost like I pretended I was the same as everybody else. And I suppose as children you want to be like everybody else. And as you get older you quite like the fact that you're different. My difference was my identity of being a woman and being a Sikh, and I've always been proud of that. Proud of my identity [...]. And often having been in situations where I'm the only one, I've had to fight for that voice.[124]

Interviewees in this research similarly noted how the ways that white people treated them at school powerfully affected them as adults. Interviewee Margaret Hanson for instance noted that for years after finishing her schooling she was 'wary of white middle-class women because in my experience growing up, they were the teachers at the time and any incidents with racism or anything negative they'd have been involved in some way or another'.[125] Similarly, Pamela Browne described hating white people in general for a long time after finishing school and that it was only recently, now that she is over sixty years old, that she has made peace with her childhood and adolescent experiences.[126]

Many visible minoritised pupils were forced to internalise negative images of their own ethnic group and positive images of White British society from the 1960s to the 1980s. Bernard Coard's conclusion that, 'Obviously in an English classroom it is terrible to be

[124] Johnson, 'The Lives and Identities of UK Black and South Asian Head Teachers', p. 856.
[125] Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017.
[126] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.

Black' is disturbing and indicates the significance of Frantz Fanon's ideas to the early authors who studied the experiences of visible minoritised schoolchildren in Britain.[127] The schooltime memories of adult visible minoritised people today thus add nuance to discussions of educational racism because authors like Coard only studied children as opposed to the adults they became. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that there was a variety of reactions to educational racism, and that some people responded by trying even harder to achieve highly at school and after.[128] Most of the interviewees for example now claim a multiple style British identity, are proud of their achievements in education, and exhibit no self-esteem issues. After noting that she felt ashamed of her Blackness as a youth, Pamela noted for instance that, 'I'd just identify as Black British now, but then I've got no hang-ups about that sort of thing anymore'.[129] The willingness of the other interviewees to talk about schooltime memories on the record therefore suggests that they have a similar lack of 'hang-ups' but it is clear that some also experienced issues with self-esteem due to their mistreatment at one point or another in their lives.

Conclusion

A number of the interviewees achieved highly as adults but failed academically at school. Had the system not been so prejudiced it seems that most would have left school with more qualifications. The final chapter discusses in greater detail how this is however something that the interviewees generally had trouble articulating or were only able to discuss hypothetically, and when qualified with uncertainty. Although interviewed as adults, they were discussing memories which were first created when they were children, and for children

[127] Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System', p. 42.
[128] Diane Scott-Jones, 'Motivation and Achievement: Implication of Minority Status', cited in Maud Blair, 'The Education of Black Children: Why Do Some Schools Do Better than Others?', in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 29.
[129] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.

– particularly infants – it is hard to feel certain that someone is a racist when you are only growing to understand the term. In part the ambiguities in the interviewees' memories of racism at school also relate to the popular discourses surrounding race in Britain which downplay it and shroud it in the language of meritocracy, but it also comes from the inherently emotionally traumatising and humiliating experience of being racially abused as a child. Understanding childhood racism in this way is key to revealing the potential long term effects of experiencing racism because childhood traumas in general can affect brain development, lead to brain damage, and affect memory.[130]

It is impossible to somehow encapsulate the experiences of British visible minoritised children from the 1960s to the 1980s. The happy schooltime memories of many interviewees evidences the agglomerate nature of reality and the fact that it would be an oversimplification to state that all visible minoritised people during that time had an inherently bad time in British schools or were seriously affected by horrific daily racism. It is however important to think critically about the disparity between the negative textual portrayals of visible minoritised schoolchildren's memories common in antiracist studies from the 1970s to the 1990s, and the more favourable perspectives of the interviewees in this research. Their memories have been shaped by populist racist rhetoric and events of the past forty to fifty years. It is furthermore unlikely that each interviewee imbues their schooltime memories with much meaning, and some doubtless have a desire to normalise their schooltime experiences as opposed to emphasising their memories of racism and feeling othered. Notwithstanding, starting school was often the first time that they understood that they were viewed as 'the other' by their white peers – whether they were welcomed as a novelty, socially rejected, bussed, sent to a reception centre, or experienced overt racism. The New Commonwealth

[130] Yuko Hakamata et al, 'Childhood Trauma Affects Autobiographical Memory Deficits Through Basal Cortisol and Prefrontal-Extrastriate Functional Connectivity', *Psychoneuroendocrinology*, 127 (2021), pp. 1-11.

newcomers to British schools in the early 1960s were perhaps more likely to arrive with the expectation that they would be treated well. By the late 1970s British classrooms were generally more ethnically mixed, but due to things like white flight, heightened political racism, rising anti-immigration sentiment, and early experiences of social rejection visible minoritised school starters in the 1980s were likely to already know that white children might not want to play with them. Regardless of the era, these experiences were evidently often negative and even traumatic for the interviewees and left some feeling confused or unhappy with their own identity.

Chapter 8: Teaching Racism

What was the emotional impact of the racism you experienced at school?

I think the impact came a lot later. So, i-i-it came when I was, when I was choosing a career for example. At the end of high school when you're doing A-levels and choosing careers and so on. I think the subliminal messages of the [pause] the previous decade or so I think that came through because [pause] those messages indicated to me that there were limits. There was a ceiling on what I could achieve. So, you know with the teachers being almost exclusively white and middle class and with the children and the media portraying any body of colour as negative […]. The various you know American soaps and dramas and what have you on the news and at school, all of those suggested that people of colour were very negative. Black people were always the criminal, the Asian people were always a little bit stupid. They couldn't speak English properly and that meant they weren't very educated and all these sorts of things. Those messages then affected my career and that must have happened to a lot of people in that you think there is a ceiling […]. So that's where my parents did come in because they said you can do whatever you like, basically, as long as you educate yourself you can choose what you want to be. I think the messages were subliminal rather than explicit. They suggested that if you're a person of colour you can only achieve so much because your colour means you are not equal to a white person. Essentially, that was the message.

Interviewee Shazia Azhar who was born in London in 1970 to Pakistani parents but primarily experienced schooling in Huddersfield, the town where she now works as a primary school head teacher.[1]

Endemic racism turned schooling in Britain into a mentally challenging, bewildering, and oppressive experience for visible minoritised children from 1960 to 1989. The previous chapter explored how a racial awareness developed among the interviewees as they started school, engaged with multiracial education policies, and first learned about racism and its impact on their lives through interacting with classmates and teachers. This chapter delineates how this process was sustained throughout their schooling by different shared experiences and authoritative voices which implied that racism was something to be ignored. It will argue that messages received by the interviewees about racism at school intertwined with messages outside of school to silence them. This chapter also considers how the interviewees reacted at the time and how they subsequently remember their schooltime experiences. Overall, the purpose is to evoke the different ways that visible minoritised schoolchildren in Britain from 1960 to 1989 were often bombarded with racism and taught that they were inferior throughout their schooling.

i. White children teaching inferiority

White children regularly made significant contributions to teaching visible minoritised children that they were viewed as inferior. They commonly did this deliberately, yet at times the interviewees expressed the belief that it was not always intentional. Interviewee Shazia Azhar and her South Asian friends were labelled with the word ‘Paki’ at school and while Shazia can recall feeling that it was by implication derogatory, she also noted that the people

[1] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

saying it somehow did not necessarily intend it in a derogatory sense.[2] In explanation Shazia noted that 'it was the norm'. The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee recalled two similar examples:

> There was one kid at school. I was in the third year, I think. They were in the fifth year [...] and he was saying, 'Have you seen so and so, that wog, don't you like how she did her make up', and I'm thinking 'He's been here in the same class with her for five years and he still can't remember her name?'. So, there was always this thing going on. Just laid down on the line, or you get in a scrap. It came out. I once went to watch a football match with my mates. West Ham were playing Huddersfield. There was this player for West Ham, Clive Best, you wouldn't have heard much about him. From Bermuda […] and Best was cruising it down the wing and all of a sudden, all I hear is 'F off you B B B'. And you're thinking, 'What the?', and I look around and it's this kid I was at school with, [laughs gently] my classmate and he looked around [pause], 'No offence meant, your sort's okay', and I'm thinking 'My sort is okay? And he's playing for West Ham!'. And every time Clive Best came down the wing, same thing.[3]

These memories demonstrate how racism limited the activities of visible minoritised youths while also suggesting the extent that overt racism remained publicly acceptable in Britain during this period. In the first example he overhears some white boys commenting on a girl of African descent using a racial slur and in a way which suggests to him that they had previously not acknowledged her enough to learn her name. In the other he stops attending the local football matches with a boy who blithely shouts racist abuse at an African Caribbean player in front of him. His point that, 'there was always this thing going on' elicits

[2] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.
[3] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

his frustration with the ways that white children regularly and almost unthinkingly enforced racism.

These experiences with white children clearly stung the interviewees at the time and remain painful memories that some are seemingly reticent to discuss. Interviewee Shazia for instance remembered white classmates mocking her accent regularly and that

> there were things like, the children would say things like, 'YOU. CAN'T. DO. THAT. JOB'. If you were considering particular jobs, like you do in school, in your books you might see a police officer or a fire, fire officer or something and you might say as a child, 'Ooh, that looks really good, I'd like to be that'. And a child might say, 'You can't do that because you're a [pause] you know from that ethnicity or the other'. And the teachers wouldn't challenge that. So, rather than the teachers themselves weren't overtly racist but they didn't challenge that behaviour and obviously that meant that they were complicit in it, and the children then felt comfortable saying those sorts of things.[4]

Akin to Shazia's anecdote in the last chapter about not being invited to white children's parties, in the above quote Shazia purposefully links the racism of her white classmates to the actions of white adults. In the previous case Shazia blamed white parents for unduly influencing their children while in this instance it is white teachers. This is part of Shazia's professional understanding of racism as a school head teacher with a special interest in antiracist education, but it also reflects her emotional turmoil at labelling her white classmates and schoolfriends as racist. Moreover, Shazia narrates the experience as if it is a hypothetical story when she speaks of it as something that white children 'might' have done despite the events being something that she did experience. In part this suggests the

[4] Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020.

emotionally complex, jarring, and enduring nature of experiencing racism as a child from other children that you want to befriend. Shazia's reticence to remember the racism is also evident in the pause when paraphrasing her white classmates; it undoubtedly hides a racial slur which Shazia felt uncomfortable repeating or remembering. The fat that someone can understand racism professionally like Shazia yet be so reticent to discuss it in different ways suggests how racism can silence its victims, especially children. After reviewing this section in our final conversation Shazia noted that these experiences continued into adulthood and that she even today she can feel silenced by the reaction of others to ongoing issues with systemic racism.[5]

Many visible minoritised schoolchildren seemingly experienced violence at the hands of their white classmates during and immediately after school from the 1960s to the 1980s. Attacking South Asian children almost became a hobby for some white adolescents, so much so that a group were even interviewed about their activities on national television in the early 1970s.[6] Tariq Modood attended school in Britain during this period and later wrote how South Asian children 'as a group were at the bottom of the school pecking order and the natural victims of racialised bullying'.[7] Often this violence was organised. Businessman Masood Sadiq recalled that at his school in Bradford:

> They used to have Paki bashing days at the end of term. Those were dark days. The only way to avoid a beating was by not going to school. And if we did go to school, then we got battered. In our school at Eccleshill Upper, there were about sixty minority kids out of 1200. On one occasion, me and my friend were chased by a group of thirty boys after school. We managed to scale a six-foot wall while being

[5] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 23 December 2020, conducted by author.
[6] Ann Dummett, *A Portrait of English Racism* (Middlesex, 1973), p. 11.
[7] Tariq Modood, *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* (Minnesota, 2005), p. 3.

> pulled and kicked and managed to catch the bus before getting battered. I still don't know how we managed to climb the wall and survive. Eventually we stood up to the bullies.

This was seemingly a common phenomenon in England. Interviewee Mo Jogee experienced it in Dewsbury during the 1960s:

> what you call the P-word bashing, so when you went out there'd be groups of them kicking you and you know give you a foot, so you had to run home.
>
> *At the end of the term?*
>
> End of each half term they'd be hanging round outside the main school gate, there was just one gate when you went in-and-out.[8]

Interviewee Tariq Masaud Cheema arrived in Dewsbury during 1967 at the age of ten. He attended a different school to Mo but also recalled,

> What they did was every term you broke for holidays they broke about ten to fifteen minutes earlier than us, right. So, they used to run off come down to our school wait outside and as soon as you got outside you got beaten up.[9]

Although perhaps less likely to experience serious physical violence than men, South Asian women and girls were often assaulted in other ways. Interviewee Shazia remembered white children in the playground at her school in Huddersfield during the 1970s and 1980s calling her racist names and spitting at her for example.[10] In 1995 an anonymous British Asian woman recalled to Paul Ghuman her early experiences with White British children during the 1970s:

[8] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.
[9] Interview with Tariq Masaud Cheema, 25 July 2018, conducted by author.
[10] Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020.

> The policy of the authority was not to have more than twenty per cent Asians and Blacks. So all the children were coached-off to the next town. It was an all-white school […], there were Skinheads who used to hang around our school. They would do Nazi signs […]. We used to go to the swimming baths and there was a secondary school in the corner. They used to wait for us, and spit at us.[11]

It is also important to note that an especial level of violence was reserved for South Asian children, but the impact of the violence directed during this era towards all visible minoritised people in the wider society in general, and at school, should not be underestimated. Violent bullying and social rejection affect child development. The ways that visible minoritised children were treated during this era could lead to internalised mental health factors like anxiety and depression, and to externalised factors like aggressive and antisocial behaviours.[12]

ii. Teacher's teaching inferiority

To understand how White British teachers affected their visible minoritised students it is important to understand the extent to which racism was tolerated in British classrooms and schools in the recent past. Multiethnic education researchers have written about this since the advent of the topic. An early thesis submitted in 1965 concluded for instance that

> The view of the staff ranged from the sympathetic to the intolerant: from the teacher who was glad to have a brighter child to teach, to the teacher who felt that newcomers should be '…put on a boat and sent home' (words which a teacher in another school echoed but added…'and torpedoed in mid-Atlantic'). Some teachers praised the spirit

[11] Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools,* p. 57.
[12] Lorraine M. McKelvey et al, 'Growing Up in Violent Communities: Do Family Conflict and Gender Moderate Impacts on Adolescents' Psychosocial Development?', *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology,* 39 (2011), p. 96.

> of adventure exhibited by immigrants; others resented them in a truly xenophobic manner.[13]

From the 1980s to mid-1990s numerous works concluded that visible minoritised pupils are commonly punished disproportionately with harsh and unjust punishments in British schools.[14] In their 1996 review of research David Gillborn and Caroline Gipps argued that even teachers who professed a commitment to equality were affected by negative racialised stereotypes of visible minoritised pupils from the 1960s to the 1980s.[15] Tony Sewell noted similarly that 'even the most progressive of teachers operate within the same discourses as the more openly authoritarian ones'.[16] Teachers are also socialised to defend their schools against accusations of racism.[17] Institutional systemic racism, as Godfrey Brandt argues, is consequently 'difficult to pinpoint' because, 'These practises are often intangible and are sometimes vehemently denied by White people'.[18] Educators during this era were nevertheless self-confident enough in their racist views to publish them. One London head teacher for example wrote a report on comprehensive schools in Haringey in 1969 which openly described visible minoritised children as innately less intelligent.[19] It is therefore accurate to conclude that while not all White British teachers were 'truly xenophobic' from 1960 to 1989, many were and they were tolerated.

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[13] M. R. Feeley, 'An Investigation of Social Integration of Coloured Immigrant Children in Selected Secondary Schools', dissertation for Dip.Ed., University of Liverpool Institute of Education, 1965', cited in Gordon Bowker, *Education of Coloured Immigrants* (London, 1968), pp. 65-66.
[14] Maud Blair, 'The Education of Black Children: Why Do Some Schools Do Better than Others?', in Richard Majors (ed.) *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 29.
[15] David Gillborn and Caroline Gipps, 'Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils', cited in David Matheson, *An Introduction to the Study of Education* (London, 2008), p. 112.
[16] Tony Sewell, *Black Masculinities and Schooling: How Black Boys Survive Modern Schooling* (London, 1997), p. 8.
[17] Rachael Pells, 'Racist Incidents "Being Covered Up In Schools" to Protect Ofsted Ratings, Report Warns', *The Independent* (19 November, 2016).
[18] Brandt, p. 102.
[19] Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (London, 2013), p. 12.

Racist teachers were widely tolerated because as Paul Willis noted in 1977, 'it is quite explicit that many senior staff associate the major immigration of the 1960s with the break-up of the "order and quietness" of the 1950s and of what is now seen more and more retrospectively as their peaceful, successful schools'.[20] Racism was also integrated into the curriculum by teachers who largely controlled their own teaching materials. Godfrey Brandt noted a researcher who recorded an English lesson during the 1980s in which the children did exercises where they had to list the 'correct' terms for male, female, and infant animals such as bull, cow and calf, including words like negro, negress, and picaninny. The researcher also witnessed a science teacher ask, 'pupils to say why it is that people in the tropical third world are less productive'.[21] Bernard Coard wrote in 1971, 'That there are many openly prejudiced teachers in Britain is not in doubt in my mind. I have experienced them personally. I have also consulted many Black teachers whose experiences with some white teachers are horrifying'.[22] Heidi Safia Mirza, in her 1992 study noted that even then, 'it was not uncommon to find teachers expressing openly their misgivings about the intellectual capabilities of the black girls in their care'.[23] It is also important to note that while white children perhaps gave more violent, aggressive, and frequent messages about race to their visible minoritised classmates but White British teachers were authoritative figures in their lives, so the messages that they sent about race arguably had a greater impact. The point however is not to demonise White British teachers who worked from the 1960s to the 1980s, although many surely do deserve harsh opprobrium for their actions towards the visible minoritised children in their care, but to highlight the severity of racism in British schools in

[20] Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (Bournemouth, 1977), pp. 52-53.
[21] Godfrey L. Brandt, *The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 105-6.
[22] Bernard Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell it like it is: How our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005), p. 37-38.
[23] Heidi Safia Mirza, *Young, Female and Black* (London, 1992), p. 53.

the recent past, and that regardless of their racial politics and intentions each teacher operated within an institutionally racist setting.

Overt racism from teachers was undoubtedly a feature of many visible minoritised people's experiences at school in Britain from 1960 to 1989 which negatively impacted their learning. The evidence certainly does not point towards all White British schoolteachers being rampant racists, but the reality is that those who were overtly unpleasant towards visible minoritised children generally went unpunished and could cause emotional damage. Carol Vincent et al recorded the following from interviews with middle-class professional second-generation African Caribbean migrants:

> Like many respondents Gabriel has good memories of some teachers, but also like many others he was also routinely confronted by racism: I have some good memories of teachers [at primary school] who were really keen and interested in the education of all the children…teachers I still remember to this day. [At grammar school] the racism was ferocious from the other students in the school and some of the teachers, and things like calling me names, like 'gollywog' and 'jungle bunny' putting the blackboard rubber across my brow, marking my face, all day, all day, comments from them […]. Because of the drive from my parents about what education would bring us, and what I had achieved, I stuck it out and I got a good education, but it was at the cost of some pretty horrible experiences.[24]

Khatija Lunat, an interviewee in this research who was born in Batley in 1974, generally described her experiences of White British teachers in more positive terms than Gabriel, yet exhibited similar sentiments:

[24] Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), p. 936.

> I got a general feeling of that. Nobody said, 'You're brilliant at this why don't you…', the language wasn't there you know what I mean […]. All the teachers at my school were different but I can definitely pin-point one or two that wouldn't pay attention to the Asian girls compared to the white girls but then I can also give you examples of teachers who would push everybody no matter who they were.[25]

These quotations further demonstrate the variety of experiences that visible minoritised schoolchildren had with their educators yet it is also clear that obviously racist teachers – even if they were in a minority – were memorable and operated in an environment which tolerated them.

The following memories from the interviewees suggest the complex and enduring nature of being racially discriminated against by teachers in British schools:

Interviewee Levi Tafari recalled that while attending primary school in Liverpool:

> There was a word enamel, but Jamaicans pronounce it differently. When I said it, the teacher left the classroom and got another teacher to ask me to read the word again. When I did, they both started laughing at me. It kind of shatters your confidence a bit when a teacher brings another teacher in and starts laughing at how people pronounce things.[26]

Interviewee Margaret Hanson was born in Huddersfield to Jamaican parents in 1966. She recalled at primary school during the early 1970s,

> I'd been called a golliwog. But, back in them days there was a little song that went [singing] 'gee guy golliwog, gee guy golliwog', and I'd told this teacher that this person had been calling me a golliwog all playtime, and the teacher's response, to me

[25] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.
[26] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.

was, or whoever else was saying it was, [pause and slight cough] 'Well at least she's a nice gee guy golliwog'.[27]

Interviewee Mo Jogee arrived in Dewsbury from India at the age of nine in 1961 and is today a well published Biochemist who generally recalls his time at school fondly, but gave this answer when asked if any of the teachers treated him differently because of his race:

> Yeah, there were now that you mention it. There were two science teachers, Mr Anderson was absolutely fantastic and when I had him, I used to come first, second, or top of science class. There was another guy who I haven't mentioned, named Mr Bottomley, who was racist. So, when you went to have your book marked, he'd say, 'Well don't stand too near me, stand over there in case you've had garlic or curry' [laughs]. He didn't like the smell of garlic or curry. But as a kid you never thought of anything different you know. You'd have thought of it as a norm. But when I left school, I saw the same bloke in the library and he wanted to talk to me and I said, 'No, I don't want to talk to you, you know, I'm not interested in talking to you', and I think he realised why I didn't want to talk to him. It probably wasn't just me he did that to he probably did it to all the other Asian kids there [both teachers' names anonymised].[28]

The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee first travelled to Huddersfield as an infant before moving to Trinidad for several years and then permanently settling in Huddersfield in 1968. He remembered two incidents with his secondary school Geography teacher that he described as a knock to his confidence. These are somewhat more subtle examples of teacher which prejudice evoke the baffling nature of racism for schoolchildren:

[27] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.
[28] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.

They asked a question, something, and pointed to this girl he asked her what was the answer? She didn't have a clue. I put my hand up and I answered it and I was correct.

What was the answer, what was the question?

The question was what kind of climate do we get in Britain or something like that. The answer was North Western European […] and he looked at her and he just went into one of his little rants that she should be ashamed of herself that she's letting someone from another country come in here and know more about her country than she does, and I'm thinking, 'You taught us that last week or was it the week before, what's that got to do with it?'. And ever since you realise keep your hands down, don't answer questions because it's a sort of nope, you're not supposed to answer that or know that or anything. And, the second thing that happened he asked a question again, same teacher, something to do with, gave us a little exercise to do and it had something to do with agricultural implications. I grew up on the West Indies, we grew up on a smallholding, so I knew some of the answers to that. One of the kids asked something so I explained to him what would happen if you did a specific thing. And, the next kid along said, 'What was that?', and he told him. The teacher was sat at the desk and looked up and said, 'Good answer lad'. They both looked at each other and looked at me and I looked at them. It wasn't me he was talking to. What I can't work out is that kid was in his house so did he say good answer because yeah, you can get a good endeavour card? It was like the house with the most gold stars and things, or, did he just totally ignore what I said and think 'Oh yes, give him an extra mark'. […] so yeah, little things like that running around in your head.[29]

[29] Anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020.

Few of the interviewees in this project spoke explicitly about a constant barrage of racism at school yet most recalled incidents with teachers like the ones mentioned above that standout in their memories. Like the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee, Levi acknowledges that his experience was a knock to his confidence.[30] Apart from being humiliating the teachers were denying the validity of his speech, of the way his parents spoke, and attempting to condition him to adopt middle-class White British speaking patterns. A Saint Lucian born boy described having a similar experience in Huddersfield when he arrived aged thirteen:

> They [the other pupils] laughed when I answered questions, some said I was speaking gibberish and not English. The teacher did not scold them and kept on asking me questions as if he wanted to make a fool of me. He kept saying 'What did you say', 'What word is that', or 'Is that French Jamaican or English you're speaking'. After a time I would not answer his questions anymore. Why should I if he wanted to make a fool of me. I hated that school and the teacher.[31]

The Rampton Report (1981) – the first British government report to engage with the idea of institutional racism in education – considered the impact of these experiences when it stated that 'the child may see the rejection [of their language] as meaning that he is inadequate and that his family and indeed his ethnic group are not respected by the teacher'.[32] The fact that Levi can still remember that the word 'enamel' was at the root of this experience over fifty years later indicates his outrage and consciousness of the injustice at the time as well as the enduring significance of the story. It has likely been re-told on several occasions as a way of exemplifying the poor treatment that Levi received at school. Levi certainly has other similar

[30] Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018
[31] Lionel Morrison, *As They See It: A Race Relations Study of Three Areas from a Black Viewpoint* (London, 1976), p. 27.
[32] Lorna Chessum, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority: Making Black Community in Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 179.

stories of being explicitly mistreated by teachers because of his race. The last chapter discussed how Levi was immediately placed in a special language class during his first day of school because of his Jamaican accent. In secondary school he recalled a female teacher stating that Black children like him were not good enough for their school. The fact that visible minoritised children at school from the 1960s to the 1980s were often aware, through incidents such as these, that their cultural capital was not valued by the white majority was of course likely to damage their educational experiences.

Margaret's memory is similarly significant.[33] It exemplifies how the image of the golliwog doll, described by Colin Beckles as one of 'the prevailing stereotypical representations of Blackness found in England's education and media structures', was used in British playgrounds to abuse African Caribbean children in the recent past.[34] Storytelling is an act of performance and Margaret enacted the mistreatment she received from the white children and performed the reaction of the teacher, including their awkward pause and cough prior to their attempt at comforting her.[35] The fact that Margaret also remembered and performed the tune of the abusive song shows how firmly the incident has stuck in her mind. When initially recalling the anecdote in our first interview Margaret used it to reinforce a point about the severity of bullying at school. She was emphasising to me, a young White British man who attended school in a different generation, that the racist name calling was so bad when she was at school in Britain that not only did the teachers fail to defend her from racism they also joined in.

[33] Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017.
[34] Colin A. Beckles, "We Shall Not Be Terrorised Out of Existence": The Political Legacy of England's Black Bookshops', *Journal of Black Studies*, 29, 1 (1998), pp. 51-72, p. 55.
[35] The teacher in question was in fact Margaret's form teacher at the time. Margaret remembered her being very nice, but this incident is the main thing she remembers about her, which Margaret reflects 'is unfortunate'. After first listening to the recording I misinterpreted Margaret's cough as a dramatic pause. I discussed this with Margaret and she remembered that the teacher had in fact paused and coughed awkwardly during the incident prior to their reply, and that this was part of how Margaret performed the teacher's actions from memory.

Interviewee Mo Jogee was one of the few boys at his secondary school in Dewsbury to have migrated there from India during the early 1960s. Throughout our interview he seemed to resist describing certain incidents that he experienced at school in Britain as racist, and generally chose to narrate the positive aspects of his experiences.[36] We had already spoken about positive memories of his science teacher Mr Anderson, Mo only produced this negative memory of his other science teacher Mr Bottomley and labelled him a racist when prompted for any negative memories about teachers. His laugh, at that moment in the quote, suggests his discomfort at remembering being humiliated on multiple occasions in front of his classmates. Mo acknowledged that the man was being racist yet slightly qualifies his actions by stating that, 'He didn't like the smell of garlic or curry'. Mo then qualified his own inaction at the time by noting that his teacher's behaviour seemed normal. This was one of the many comments from interviewees which implied the extent to which racism was normalised during their youth. Mo ends the story by recanting the later meeting with the teacher where he took his opportunity to socially reject the man in return which suggests the significance of the racism and the way that Mo resolved unpleasant internalised tensions associated with this teacher.

The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewees' story is also laden with meaning.[37] His pride at answering questions in class turned to ash in his mouth after his teacher's reaction, and led him to conclude that he should not bother trying to contribute in class, 'because it's a sort of nope, you're not supposed to answer that or know that or anything'.[38] He seemingly understood the hypocrisy of this situation at the time recalling that the teacher had taught everyone the same thing in a previous lesson. This reflects Bernard

[36] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[37] Initially in this section I suggested that this event may have had a significant emotional impact upon the interviewee due to the vividness of the memory. After reading this section he disagreed with this analysis stating, 'I just happen to have a good memory'.
[38] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

Coard's point that, 'Children see through these hypocritical and degrading statements and attitudes more often than adults realise, and they feel deeply aggrieved when anyone treats them as being inferior […]. They build up resentment, and develop blocks to learning'.[39] Yet, it is also possible to see how confused the interviewee was by the situation, and how the complexities of real-life interactions can veil racism behind other possibilities. His teacher was discriminating against him in front of the class, but in covert ways. As a boy he recognised the teacher's duplicity although its origin was ambiguous in both instances. In the first example the teacher could have been praising him, although suggesting that the white girl should feel ashamed of being bested by him intimates the teacher's expectation that she should be more intelligent and by extrapolation connotes that Black people in general should be intellectually inferior to white people. In the second instance the racism was ambiguous because it was also possible that the teacher was simply favouring someone in his schoolhouse.[40] After reflecting on this the man concludes the anecdote by noting 'So yeah, little things like that running around in your head'. This evokes Sara Ahmed's reflections on her own experiences of racism and how they can create feelings of uncertainty:

> I have a kind of paranoid anxiety about everything. I am never sure when x happens, whether x is about racism. I am not sure. If I am not sure, then x is lived as possibly about racism, as what explains how you inhabit the world you do. Racism creates paranoia; that's what racism does.[41]

The interviewee's experiences with his Geography teacher indicates how the covert racism that visible minoritised schoolchildren were subjected to in British classrooms affected them.

[39] Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System', p. 38.
[40] Many British schools operate a house system to give pupils some sense of cross year group unity. My primary school was for example split into the: Red, Blue, Green and Yellow houses. Pupils earn merit points for their house through good behaviour or academic achievement and lose points through bad behaviour with the winning house gaining some special prize at the end of term.
[41] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), pp.155-156.

Racism may not be occurring in reality, although in this interviewee's case it likely was, but either way the possibility of it remains present in the mind.

The message that visible minoritised children typically received from their white teachers about racism was that they should ignore it. An anonymous individual of African descent spoke about this with researcher Chris Gaine in 1987:

> Before the teacher arrived sometimes you'd get asked 'What does your father do?'. Oh, my father does such and such. 'Is it true that black people were slaves? Oh, you're supposed to be my slave, you're supposed to be my nanny, go and get me this, go and get me that'. And it was often like, 'go and nick some paper from the teacher's drawer, you have to do it, you'd probably be best at it' […]. I did confide in one teacher […] but she just said to me that 'Oh, maybe it doesn't happen too much'.[42]

Some teachers likely believed they were giving practical advice which allowed visible minoritised children to avoid serious conflict, but some were also likely too apathetic to care, but for young children who do not fully understand what is happening, it could be a psychologically damaging experience to receive no justice and have their feelings negated in this way. British Chinese writer Daniel York Loh wrote passionately about his experiences of this in *The Good Immigrant*:

> I'd finished at one school full of white kids calling me a chink and transferred to another school full of white kids calling me a chink and singing songs about 'Chinese and Japanese' having 'dirty knees' (it rhymes, geddit?). Sometimes I got angry with them singing chanting white kids and tried to hit them […]. As a result of this, as well as singing chanting white kids calling me a chink or a Jap [….] my world suddenly

[42] Chris Gaine, *No Problem Here: A Practical Approach to Education and 'Race' in White Schools* (London, 1987), p. 12.

> seemed to fill up with angry red-faced white adults shouting loudly at me that I needed to learn not to lose my temper.[43]

A first-generation South Asian male teacher reported analogous experiences of his time as a British school child:

> I was the only black person in the school, apart from an adopted Afro-Caribbean child. Racism was constantly there – I am talking about the late 70s and the 80s. 'Oh sir, he smells; he has got greasy hair; he is different to us'; and sometimes physical and verbal abuse […the staff] did or said very little. I complained, sometimes, and then they would tell them off for bullying. But it was emotionally very distressing; for the staff it was something trivial. They thought I should learn to cope […]. The teachers had no way of understanding a pupil who is Asian and from a working-class background. I never felt I had the support of the staff. Those were very unhappy times. They were the worst time of life, possibly.[44]

Most interviewees in fact described these kinds of experiences with teachers but few noted them taking positive action against the racism they suffered, and as the above quote suggests if the teachers did act it was often against bullying in general, not racism. Interviewee Margaret recalled that, 'The only time I knew I was different was when I was getting called big eyed golliwog or Blackistani or names, basically. It wasn't ever addressed by the teachers', whereas for Liverpool-born interviewee Pamela Browne 'You were just on your own. The teachers took no notice'.[45] Interviewee Tariq Masaud Cheema recalled that when his classmates in Dewsbury were being racist the teachers 'never bothered saying anything to

[43] Daniel York Loh, 'Kendo Nagasaki and Me', in Nikesh Shukla (ed.), *The Good Immigrant* (London, 2017), p. 48.
[44] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 55.
[45] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author. Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.

them. The thing was detention. But they never got any detention'.[46] It seems this was a widespread reaction to racism among teachers which is significant because it implicitly taught visible minoritised schoolchildren to accept racism.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, few of the interviewees described feeling able to talk to their teachers about racism at school. In her analysis of racism in institutions Ahmed reflects that, 'Racism becomes something bad that we can't even speak of' and makes the point that it becomes an 'institutional duty for people of colour not to dwell on the "negative experiences" of racism. Institutional duty is "happiness duty"'.[47] Correspondingly, Black British teachers noted in a study from 1980 that any attempts they made to introduce discussions about multiethnic education practices were seen by colleagues and management as 'creating disharmony'.[48] Interviewee Amina Chichangiri started school in the late 1970s – after the Race Relations Act 1976 had criminalised racism in British schools – and recalled no instances of overt prejudice from her teachers. Amina did note however that, 'They were never there to see things like that [racist abuse from other students]. And it just wasn't something that you did. Telling the teachers about something like that'.[49] Amina's point indicates that there was something of a discomfort among visible minoritised youths about discussing racism with their teachers, even for someone like Amina who described having largely positive relationships with her teachers. Interviewee Zia Mirza similarly felt that she '

> couldn't say anything to her teachers about racism […]. Because I thought they're all, the majority are white and who is going to listen to me […]. You know as a kid you think, 'I'm the one that's going to get into trouble'. You know when you're just a shy

[46] Interview with Tariq Masaud Cheema, 25 July 2018, conducted by author.
[47] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), p. 147 and 156.
[48] Norma Gibbs, *West Indian Teachers Speak Out their Experiences in some of London's Schools* (London, 1980), p. 6.
[49] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.

> person and you don't voice your opinion, or you just stay quiet because you think, 'Oh what's the point? I'll probably get into trouble', or 'Why should I?'. Because I wasn't a trouble-causer, and I liked the school because that school taught me a lot.[50]

While Zia displays a similar unwillingness to Amina, she also emphasises that speaking to teachers about racism would have made her feel like a 'trouble-causer' who had wronged the school in some way. Some interviewees emphasise that attitudes towards children when they attended school were notably different from today and attributed this lack of communication between teachers and students to a generational phenomenon, but there was undoubtedly a racial component. Schoolchildren are supposed to be good and happy pupils, and those who bothered their teachers by complaining about racism were evidently discouraged from doing so again. This is why Zia highlights that she did not want to be a 'trouble-causer' because highlighting racial discrimination made her worry about upsetting the balance of her school.

iii. Messages at home

Messages about ignoring racism at school often interacted with corresponding lessons at home and the emotional work that children naturally perform to protect the happiness of their families. Several interviewees recalled being told by their parents to ignore instances of racist abuse, presumably to protect them from serious conflict. Many interviewees remembered being encouraged by family to work harder than everyone else at school and in general to overcome the disadvantage of racism – a point which reflects the economic strain of finding success in a new country. Interviewees Humayun and Zia Mirza both take immense pride in their hard working and successful business owning father, for instance. Each talked extensively about his achievements, intelligence, and involvement in the local Pakistani

[50] Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018, conducted by author.

association in our interviews.[51] His success is a central facet of their family story. Similarly, interviewee David Yau described how his parents worked constantly on their different business ventures in Liverpool and eventually came to own several take-away restaurants.[52] Vincent et al describe for instance how visible minoritised parents during this period often lacked the resources to directly confront racism in the education system, but 'they were able to instil their children with a sense of drive and the possibility of advancement'.[53] There is of course nothing wrong with a good work ethic but this could place extra and unnecessary pressures on children. Interviewee Shazia Azhar recalled her father describing his experiences of finding work in Huddersfield, 'he said it was really difficult when he first came because everybody said, "You can't have a job because you're Asian"'.[54] He eventually found a job through insisting that a company let him prove himself by working for free. Shazia feels proud of her father's will and persistence, but the story shows how visible minoritised schoolchildren may have experienced pressure at home to work harder than their classmates in ways which negated their unpleasant experiences of racial discrimination.

Interviewee Delmara Green demonstrated the enduring nature of these lessons during two separate instances in our conversations. First, she described how

> I say to my kids, 'Let me tell you, if the white kids are getting hundred, even if they are getting forty per cent, you have to get 110 per cent. Because trust me, there is a difference between them getting that and you getting that. And that's because you

[51] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author. Interview with Zia Mirza, 10 October 2018, conducted by author.
[52] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[53] Carol Vincent et al, 'Three Generations of Racism: Black Middle-Class Children and Schooling', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 5-6 (2013), p. 943.
[54] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

> know what, I don't care what colour you are but there is an establishment out there that does care what colour you are and who is getting what.[55]

In another anecdote Delmara described how in her role as a college tutor she has purposefully held private conversations with her Black students about how they will have to work harder than everyone else if they are to achieve as highly. These actions doubtless demonstrate the effects of Delmara's own personal experiences of racism as a child, the additional pressures she experienced to succeed, and their enduring nature.

Some interviewees clearly felt burdened with the emotional labour of protecting their family's happiness by not complaining about racism and working extra hard at school. Others were perhaps discouraged by their family's pragmatic but depressing outlook on the future. It is easy to understand why parents spoke to their children in these ways; it was a feature of the racial prejudice they were experiencing. Regardless, it could place additional strain on children who might already have been struggling to maintain a positive perspective on their education and work prospects. After describing experiencing constant racial abuse at school interviewee Sue Mackay noted, 'And then of course you come home and then you pretend, "Yeah I've had a lovely day thanks". You couldn't go home and say "Oh, they picked on me all day". But you just had to get on with it, didn't we'.[56] Just as visible minoritised children were expected to maintain the happiness of their school, Sue's memory reflects how visible minoritised schoolchildren were under pressure to conduct what Arlie Hochschild describes as 'emotion work' to protect their family's happiness at home.[57] Most of the interviewees seemingly struggled to fully discuss their experiences of racism at school with their families. Indeed, most recalled rarely, if at all, broaching the subject. When asked about discussing

[55] Interview with Delmara Green, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[56] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.
[57] Arlie R. Hochschild, 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, 3 (1979), pp. 551-575.

racism at home with his parents as a child, the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee stated:

> Parents would say that 'If they do you, they won't get in trouble. If you do it, you will get in trouble' […]. You always knew, well it was sort of not spoken openly but, 'Your chances of getting that job in that place, slim, not if they can get someone else who is white who can do it', or something like that. So, you always knew the pecking order was you're always down at the bottom or something like that.
>
> *So, it was discussed at home?*
>
> Well, it was just, 'You're going to get a job? No, you won't get it', or 'Do your best but I don't think you'll get it, […]. They'd give it to that person there because he's white', or, 'I don't think you can get it because you'll have to work harder and everything'.[58]

When asked if she talked about racism at home with her parents, interviewee Margaret Hanson stated:

> I remember a lot of instances at school where I felt people were being racist and stuff but I don't think I knew what racism was, so you'd just take the comments on board and probably go ask my Mum and Dad, 'Such and such has said this, what does that mean?', and they'd say, 'Oh, don't pay no mind to it', you know what I mean, and you'd just get back on with stuff.[59]

Visible minoritised children were insidiously ground down, mentally and physically, because of their race at school and it seems that many of their parents were either unaware of the severity of it or felt unable to fully protect their children from it and took something of a

[58] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[59] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.

pragmatic but depressing approach. Migrant parents did of course protect their children when they could. For example, when the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee arrived in Britain having missed taking the eleven-plus exam he was automatically placed in the lowest stream. He remembered that 'Dad had to go in and say, "Shouldn't you at least find out what they're capable of doing before you decide?"'.[60] Muslim parents were quick to defend their children's right to their own cultural and culinary practices at school, so the point is not that parents provided no support, but that in the main they either misunderstood the severity of racism in British schools or felt unable to meaningfully challenge it for much of this period. Most of the interviewees profess to have survived this experience relatively unscathed, and as adults they empathise with their parent's position. Despite this it is easy to see how the messages they were receiving from their families which sought to protect them sometimes amounted to telling them to accept racism or a low social status.

Interviewee Shazia Azhar recalled numerous upsetting experiences of being assaulted and racially abused with her mother and brother in the centre of Huddersfield that undoubtedly traumatised her to some degree. During instances of verbal abuse Shazia's mother generally reacted by saying '"come on ignore them. Let's go to the shop". She'd distract us and we'd walk on quicker'.[61] However, Shazia also recalled:

> one time someone tried to take my Mum's bag, she fought back, and he was shouting abuse then. And as a child I just stood next to her. I didn't do anything I just stood next to her. I remember that. I remember going to the shops many times, and people would, especially when you had two or three people together in little groups and my Mum and myself and my brother we'd be walking, and they'd shout things. We never said anything back. We didn't understand what they were saying. As we got older, so,

[60] Anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020.
[61] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

> when we did get to eleven, twelve, if they didn't look too scary then we would shout things back. We would say, 'Come here and say that' or, you know, that sort of thing. Then we began to challenge it. But when you're really young I think you're scared aren't you, so you don't challenge it. When you're younger still you don't understand it.[62]

This memory suggests how popular contemporary antiracism campaigns such as 'stand up to racism', 'speak up' about racism, or as the popular antiracist football slogan goes, 'show racism the red card' may affect memories of experiencing racism.[63] Shazia is an educational leader and antiracist who clearly feels it is her duty to directly resist racism.[64] It is likely that her memories of standing by, even as a young child, while her mother was verbally and physically attacked are painful, possibly even stimulating feelings of guilt. Shazia knows however that she was too young to understand what was going on or to be expected to be brave and strong enough to defend herself. Acknowledging this and emphasising that she did fight back when she was old enough is how Shazia avoids feelings of guilt and victimhood. These memories are cathartic and emotionally significant for Shazia because they make sense of her traumatic childhood experiences. Fighting back is not always possible or sensible, and as Shazia recalled her mother generally tried to avoid serious conflict by ignoring the racist abuse and encouraging her children to do the same. This was the safest course of action, but for children hearing it at the time it likely reinforced messages they were receiving in a different form at school.

Children like Shazia were effectively silenced and prevented from protesting the racism they experienced by the various authoritative voices, even those with good intentions,

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Stand up to racism, https://www.standuptoracism.org.uk/. Mark Kennedy, '"Speak up!" - "Sesame Street" tackles racism in TV special', *Associated Press News* (8 October, 2020).
[64] Shazia confirmed this in a conversation where we reviewed each of her quotes in the thesis. Interview with Shazia Azhar, 23 December 2020, conducted by author.

that either stated or implied that racism was something they should ignore or accept. The interviewees' parents may well have felt that they were being pragmatic when they decided to talk to their children about racism in these ways because of their experiences at work, or, as in Shazia's mother's case, her experiences shopping in Huddersfield. Beverley Bryan et al, in their 1986 study of African Caribbean women's lives in Britain, note for instance that:

> Britain was not the land of milk and honey we had been led to imagine, and the jobs we secured rarely afforded us the opportunities we had hoped for […] The blatant racism of employers only added to our sense of alienation, and in the absence of any union protection, many of us had no choice but to accept daily harassment as a fact of life.[65]

Interviewee Margaret Hanson elicited this perspective when she linked her parent's early experiences in Britain to their message about racism at school:

> So, my Mum and Dad said to me, especially my Dad, said that when they came things were really really bad. So, people would cross the road if they saw a Black person walking down the street or if they didn't want to cross the road sometimes you might get somebody spitting at you or making a comment about your colour or whatever derogatory thing they wanted to say. They got it quite bad they said when they first came. So, for them the only way they could see of you climbing over that racism was to just do well at school and hopefully just prove yourself in your career and your job and things. So that's why it was always 'Keep your head down and put your head to your lesson and just try ignore it all'.[66]

[65] Beverley Bryan et al, *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (London, 1986), pp. 23-27.
[66] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.

Children like Margaret thus grew up with an awareness of the way that their parents had been mistreated when they arrived in Britain. Interviewee Levi Tafari illustrated this when he stated, 'The British, as far as I could see didn't have any respect for them [his parents]'.[67] The ubiquity of racism in the lives of British visible minoritised people during this era meant that children often witnessed their parents being racially abused in the street as Shazia described, or otherwise heard about their unfair treatment. It is obviously upsetting for children to see their parents being degraded. An unwillingness to add to their parent's troubles doubtless shaped the ways that the interviewees reacted to racism and made them less likely to vocalise their schooltime experiences of racism at home.

iv. Finding work after school

'My daughter was advised to do catering. I was surprised because she was a good student. I think a lot of white teachers ill advise black kids'

A first generation British African Caribbean female teacher.[68]

Many of the interviewees went through their schooling with the knowledge that they were viewed as less intelligent than other children, that they might leave with few to no qualifications, and then struggle to find good work. The Scarman Report (1981) into the violent uprisings in multiethnic working-class communities across Britain concluded that 'The can be no doubt that [unemployment] was a major factor in the complex pattern of conditions which lies at the root of the disorders in Brixton and elsewhere'.[69] A majority of the interviewees in this research, akin to many other visible minoritised youths during this era, found their vocation later in life as opposed treading the traditional paths from school, to college or technical college, to university or an apprenticeship, and then a profession. In part

[67] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[68] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 58.
[69] Commission for Racial Equality, *I'll Never Forget What's His Name…A Popular Guide to the Scarman Report* (London, 1982), p. 23.

this was due to the combination of racism at school, racism in the British job market, and the demotivational knowledge that they were being mistreated and would strain more than most to find good work because of their skin colour.

The 1969 Select Committee report on 'the problems of coloured school leavers' noted that children from the Indian subcontinent in particular

> spent the whole of their limited time in the British education system undergoing language tuition in a special centre […] few pupils of Asian origin were selected for grammar schools and they tended to be placed in low to middle streams in secondary education.[70]

Interviewee Mo Jogee eventually earned a PhD in Biochemistry, but like all other migrant interviewees was entered in CSE exams at secondary school instead of the higher O-Levels.[71] African Caribbean children, while less likely to be sequestered in English as Second Language classes, nevertheless experienced comparable issues as many also left school with CSE's instead of O-Levels, or few to no qualifications during this period. Some visible minoritised pupils, like Liverpool-born interviewee Ray Said who has Irish and Yemeni heritage, were not even entered into final exams by their schools because of illicit policies which sought to protect the school's averages. Ray, who attended Paddington Comprehensive in Liverpool during the late 1960s and 1970s, noted that pupils were moved between the sets in different subjects based on their behaviours, not abilities, and that a disproportionate number of visible minoritised students like him were moved to the bottom sets and 'taken off the rolls' at the end of their final year to prevent them from taking exams.[72]

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[70] Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, *The Problems of Coloured School Leavers,* cited in Monica J. Taylor and Seamus Hegarty, *The Best of Both Worlds…? A Review of Research into the Education of Pupils of South Asian Origin* (Berkshire, 1985), p. 6.
[71] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.
[72] Interview with Ray Said, 12 July 2018, conducted by author.

Had he taken his final exams Ray would have been entered into the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) as opposed to the more academic General Certificate of Education (GCE, or O-Levels) exams. Interviewee David Yau, who was in the top sets at the same school as Ray, Paddington Comprehensive, provided a contrasting perspective on this:

> during O-Levels, I think I actually got about seven or eight O-Levels, but the work was doubled. Now, this was something about the teachers and teaching staff, maybe they weren't confident about us all, so we were made to also sit CSE's as well. So, every subject we doubled up on in the Fifth form when we had to sit our, what were now, GCSE's. We sat O-Levels and CSE's in the same subject on the basis that if you failed an O-Level you'd get a CSE, and I don't know if that made the numbers look better.[73]

It seems likely that David and his classmates were being used to make their school's 'numbers look better' to hide people like Ray who had been denied the same access to quality lessons and purposefully prevented from taking any examinations. It is hard to know how common this was, but the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent described similar practises as widespread in 1979:

> Black children are frequently suspended from schools. This often happens in the 5th year, just before they are due to take their final exams. Many schools will get rid of pupils on the quiet (a couple of months before they are due to leave). They thus avoid that prescribed suspension procedures and keep the official figures down.[74]

Ray is now a qualified social worker but like many of his classmates worked cash in hand as a labourer after finishing school. The extent to which teachers directly prevented adolescents

[73] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[74] 'Black Women in Britain Speak Out', *Annual Conference Proceedings for the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent* (London, 1979), p. 7.

like him from gaining qualifications varied school to school, but these practices doubtless impacted the course of numerous visible minoritised people's lives. They also reflect similar practices that occur in Britain which have continued to deny certain groups of visible minoritised children an equal education in more recent decades.[75]

Most interviewees reported an awareness that they were perceived as being less capable and expected to do less well than the majority of white children. On this subject Coard wrote that:

> The child is acutely aware of what white people think about Black people […]. The Black child in Britain, faces a white examiner, remembers the white landlord who has pushed mum and dad around; he remembers the face of Powell on the television screen, demanding the expatriation of Black people and their 'piccaninny' children; he has seen on the news and heard his parents talk about white skinheads and the white police who have beaten up Black people in the streets at night. More than likely he has encountered a racist teacher in the past; he has certainly been called 'Black bastard' or 'wog' by many of the white children on more occasions that he cares to remember.

Although elements of certain memories from the interviewees resonate with this statement, few as adults seem to narrate their schooltime memories so negatively. Nevertheless, many indicated their awareness of white people's belief that visible minoritised people were supposedly less intelligent in different ways. Most talked about the lack of visible minoritised pupils in the top sets at school in contrast with the large numbers in the bottom sets and

[75] Mekada Graham and Gil Robinson, '"The Silent Catastrophe" Institutional Racism in the British Educational System and the Underachievement of Black Boys', *Journal of Black Studies*, 34, 5 (2004), pp. 653-671. Oakleigh Welply, '"I'm Not Being Offensive but…": Intersecting Discourses of Discrimination Towards Muslim Children in School', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21, 3 (2018), pp. 370-389. Hannah Richardson, 'Black pupils' Schooling "Dumbed Down Over Special Needs"', *BBC News* (15 February 2019).

remedial groups. Dexter Franklyn first noticed the disparity when he moved from a small rural junior and infants' school in Huddersfield with few migrant children to a secondary school nearer the centre of town with a large intake of visible minoritised students. He stated that, 'There was fewer Black children in these top classes than in Outlane [Infants and Juniors]. To me I found it strange'.[76] Mo Jogee takes the pragmatic view that, 'Part of the problem was you had to take the eleven-plus exam […] which I think every ethnic minority kid failed miserably'.[77] Delmara Green remembered:

> I know that going through school Black children were always considered to be not very bright. To even it out they would always put, not even a handful, just a couple of Black children in the upper band but the majority would be in the lower band. It was almost like you're teaching the class but you're not teaching the class at the same time because the expectation of that group is not as important as what we expect from that group.[78]

Similarly, Pamela Browne acknowledged the perceived superiority of white children when discussing a painful memory in which she was denied a promised opportunity:

> I was so pleased, I showed my Dad and my Mum that I was top of the class and that I was going to skip a year, but when I got back to the school they said, 'No, someone else has gone up', and it was this girl, and her whole family were the blue-eyed people of the day in the school. Her whole family had done the eleven-plus and got on to the grammar schools and all that, so I didn't get it, and everyone in the class was laughing at me because I'd told everybody.[79]

[76] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.
[77] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[78] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[79] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.

Pamela contrasted her heritage with that of 'the blue-eyed people of the day' in a separate memory where she described herself as coming from a 'scruffy Black family'.[80] Overall, these comments indicate the widespread awareness that visible minoritised students were considered intellectually inferior, or at least viewed as less likely to succeed academically, through the physical lack of visible minoritised bodies in the top sets, and through subsequently weighing the treatment and academic success of their white peers against themselves.

Interviewee Pamela's experiences of finding work after school in Liverpool evoke many of the widespread issues faced by other visible minoritised school leavers during this era. Pamela finished with no qualifications and began working in Liverpool's mills in the early 1970s after being repeatedly rejected for jobs in city centre shops or offices:

> I tried to get a job in a fashion shop, clothes shop in town. I'd seen a thing saying they wanted someone to come work there. And I'd phone up and they'd say, 'Oh come down, come down'. Every-time I'd go down the same shop would say, 'Oh, it's gone'. So I'd go the next week and the sign would still in the window, so I'd phone up again and then one day my Mum said to me, 'Pam, they don't want ya, it's cos you're Black', honestly, that's what me Mum said, 'They don't want ya', I said 'Ey Mum' I said, 'Every time I ring and I go down they say to me 'The job is gone' and she said, 'They don't want ya, stop ringing'.
>
> *I wonder if this was a common experience.*
>
> It's because we talk English and when we get down there, they see that you're Black and 'Sorry, the jobs gone'.[81]

[80] Ibid.
[81] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.

This phenomenon was of course not limited to Liverpool. Researcher Lionel Morrison quotes a young Pakistani man from Huddersfield who had a similar experience of job rejection.[82] In 1974 Pamela left Liverpool in the hope that she might find better prospects in Cardiff but there she was disappointed to find comparable levels of discrimination in the job market and unskilled work available. She returned to Liverpool in 1975 and within a few years became married to a local filmmaker and activist. Today, Pamela notes that there remains a surprisingly low number of Black people working in Liverpool's town centre shops despite the large number of them living close by in Liverpool 8. Her point that 'I don't think any Black person did anything in that school, but they did it all when they left. They did everything after', certainly resonates with the experiences of most other interviewees.[83]

Another part of the problem was that teachers and careers advisors routinely told visible minoritised youths to become unskilled labourers and dismissed any higher aspirations. Michael La Rose, son of the famous London based Trinidadian activist John La Rose, came to the UK from Trinidad in the 1960s and remembered talking to his teacher about sitting eight O-Levels.

> He said, 'O-Levels, to do what?' I said, 'Well to do A Levels and go to University.' He said, 'No, no, no you're aiming much too high. You should get on a course and be a mechanic. I said, 'Why should I be a mechanic? Going to university is no big thing'. My cousins in Trinidad were lawyers and doctors and they went to university.[84]

Several interviewees had similar stories, either about themselves or people they knew. Interviewee Dexter Franklyn is today a qualified nurse but was told to work in a mill at the

[82] Lionel Morrison, *As They See It: A Race Relations Study of Three Areas from a Black Viewpoint* (London, 1976), p. 22-24.
[83] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.
[84] Brian W. Alleyne, *Radicals against Race: Black Activism and Cultural Politics* (Oxford, 2002), p. 152.

end of school.[85] Interviewee Delmara Green remembered her older sister being told by a career advisor that she should get a job in a mill instead of pursuing a career as a nurse.[86] Interviewee Mo Jogee was told by a council appointed careers advisor to get a job in textiles after completing secondary school.[87] All of this suggests, as Derek Humphry and Gus John pointed out in 1971, that

> No one should make judgements about youngsters who kick over the races and get into trouble with the authorities, until they have considered what the world looks like to today's youngster who has nothing in front of him except the prospect of forty or fifty years as an unskilled labourer.[88]

Everyone will have reacted in their own way to knowing that they might struggle to find satisfying work after school because of their skin colour, but it is undeniable that this awareness was demotivational.

It was well-known among visible minoritised adolescents at school during the during this era that they might be unable to find good jobs because of racism.[89] By 1984 Barry Troyna highlighted that 'evidence is now emerging which testifies to the fact that black pupils are acutely aware that on leaving school their skin colour is likely to limit their chances of success in the frantic search for a job'.[90] A Liverpool Youth Organisation committee report in 1968 found that 'Young coloured people maintained that it was almost impossible to get jobs which involve direct contact with the public' and went on to note:

[85] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.
[86] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[87] Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018.
[88] Derek Humphry and Gus John, *Because They're Black* (Middlesex, 1971), p. 13.
[89] John Belchem, *Before the Windrush: Race Relations in 20th-Century Liverpool* (Liverpool, 2014), p. 205.
[90] Barry Troyna, 'Fact or Artefact? The 'Educational Underachievement' of Black Pupils', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5, 2 (1984), p. 158.

> We very much struck by the fact that we could find very few young coloured people in any employment at all among the many large employers we contacted. From this lack of evidence we concluded that many young coloured people must be casually employed, or in small factories or services in the Liverpool 8 area.[91]

Interviewee Pamela Browne commented that the situation has little changed today.[92] Morrison described Dr Nasim Hasnie, President of Huddersfield's Pakistani Association, former mill worker, and research assistant at the local polytechnic as 'adamant that discrimination is widespread and pervasive in employment' in Huddersfield; Dr Hasnie was quoted stating that,

> Many of the firms in Huddersfield practice discrimination no matter what they like to make us believe […]. The sort of jobs blacks usually get have few if any promotion prospects. Blacks at manual worker level gain authority only over other blacks. The reason is a fear of resistance of white workers to taking orders from black supervisors.[93]

The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee described how his father was denied promotion opportunities for these exact reasons, and even had to train an inexperienced young white superior for the role.[94] Hasnie also claimed that some South Asian people in Huddersfield had to buy jobs, a point reminiscent of interviewee Shazia's father's having to work for free to prove himself. The Liverpool Youth Organisation report also concluded that visible minoritised school leavers' motivation for education had been decreased by the knowledge that they would struggle to access good jobs.[95] Similarly, Maud Blair notes the

[91] Liverpool Youth Organisations Committee, *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 12.
[92] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.
[93] Dr Hasnie is using the inclusive definition of Black in this quote. Morrison, *As They See It*, p. 22.
[94] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[95] *Special but Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool*, p. 11.

‘argument that black children are aware that the job market does not operate in their favour and so they see little point in putting a lot of effort into academic work’.[96]

Conclusion

Most interviewees seemingly had to contend with frequent racist abuse from white children at their schools and in their local areas. This was perhaps somewhat easy to brush off if rationalised in a certain way, but racism from teachers was also common and harder to ignore. It must be particularly confusing and galling for an official source of power within the school to make it clear to everyone that it is acceptable to treat you with less respect because of the colour of your skin. Visible minoritised schoolchildren learned lessons about fair play and equal treatment when they started school but sadly went on to learn that these ideas did not apply equally to them. Lived experiences are nuanced and full of emotional complexities. The interviewees for example cannot always recall exactly how their teachers treated them when they were infants, and often have both positive and negative memories of interactions with them. Declaring someone ‘a racist’ also feels absolute, and they appreciate the complex multifaceted nature of individuals which makes them unwilling to explicitly label someone in such a permanent seeming way. Nonetheless, all are now aware of the debates surrounding underachievement among visible minoritised groups in Britain and some have considered the fact that their educational outcomes at school did not necessarily reflect their capabilities. The messages that they received at school during this period which implied that they should accept and ignore racism were however powerful and enduring. Messages at home from parents, or in the media, similarly propagated the idea that racism was not serious, or to be tolerated. The combination of negative messages was the problem – from white classmates, teachers, the curriculum, at home, and the general awareness that your race might hold you

[96] Maud Blair, ‘The Education of Black Children: Why Do Some Schools Do Better than Others?’, in Richard Majors (ed.), *Educating Our Black Children: New Directions and Radical Approaches* (London, 2001), p. 28.

back in life – but the racism at school was particularly significant. School is the locus of knowledge acquisition: not just the knowledge you get from textbooks and teachers, but social and affective knowledge too, and British schools throughout these decades unequivocally subjected the interviewees to a great deal of racism while also conditioning them to accept it.

Chapter 9: Resilience and Resistance to Racism

> [A]ll systems of inequality are maintained and reproduced, in part, through their internalization by the oppressed'.
>
> *Karen Pyke.*[1]

> We did not talk much about racism at home. There was a shame about talking about such things, and we did not see ourselves as victims.
>
> *Tariq Modood.*[2]

It is unrealistic to think that children, from infancy for most interviewees in this research, could entirely resist the negative effects of constant racial messages and discrimination. Although visible minoritised parents began defending their children in British schools from the moment they arrived, organised resistance to racism in the education system only developed from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards.[3] By the end of the 1970s parents and activists succeeded in pressuring the British government to establish an official inquiry into the underachievement of visible minoritised schoolchildren.[4] In the 1980s antiracist youth movements were spurred on by the young visible minoritised adults who had experienced British schools in the two previous decades.[5] Regardless, organised national resistance is not the subject of this chapter or thesis because the resistance described by the interviewees was

[1] Karen D. Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), pp. 551-572, p. 552.
[2] Tariq Modood, *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* (Minnesota, 2005), p. 3.
[3] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 60. It seems likely that Grosvenor is using the term 'black' in the more inclusive sense here.
[4] Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor, 'Exploring Supplementary Education: Margins, Theories and Methods', *History of Education*, 40, 4 (2011), pp. 501-521, p. 512 contains a list of the many groups which existed to protect 'black' schoolchildren.
[5] Kalbir Shukra, *The Changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain* (London, 1998), p. 45.

largely individual and localised.[6] The interviewees resisted in various ways but an everyday resilience to racism, an idea related to Richard Major's and Janet Billson's 'cool pose theory', was the most commonplace form of resistance. The purpose of this chapter is to consider how the interviewees resisted racism through becoming resilient to it, and the limitations placed upon their ability to resist by factors such as race, and gender. It also considers violent and verbal resistance among the interviewees, including an in depth analysis of interviewee Tariq Masaud Cheema's narrative. Tariq's story typifies a number of tropes displayed by the interviewees which evoke the ways that children and adolescents in general developed an everyday resilience to racism in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s, and how people exhibit this in their memories as adults. His experiences also best exemplify how the basic elements of cool pose theory can apply to people from groups other than American men of African descent. The other examples of resistance also discussed suggest how British visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s learned about the negative consequences of regular active resistance to racism at school.

Racism was undoubtedly a powerful force which shaped the lives of the interviewees to varying magnitudes from the moment they set foot or were born in Britain. There is nonetheless a tendency in multiethnic education research to position racism in schools, particularly from teachers, as a sort of 'self-fulfilling prophecy', which insinuates that visible minoritised children's lives are almost entirely moulded by their teacher's racist expectations.[7] Heidi Mirza for instance acknowledges the power of teachers to limit or enhance their pupils' success but emphasises the importance of the child's agency which she suggests, 'has been persistently overlooked in the trend to highlight black negative self-

[6] Two participants, Tariq Masaud Cheema and Pamela Browne, noted that they attended antiracist protests in the 1970s and 1980s in their respective areas of Dewsbury and Liverpool. Interview with Tariq Masaud Cheema, 25 July 2018, conducted by author.
Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.
[7] Sarah Gentrup et al, 'Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations, Teacher Feedback and Student Achievement, *Learning and Instruction*, 66, (2020), p. 1.

esteem'.[8] Benjamin Baez argues that the debate surrounding individual agency versus structural constraints 'obscures the understanding of racism as a social phenomenon because it explains neither the complex link between human agency and social structures nor the nature of the power exercised (and resisted) in social settings'.[9] British antiracist campaigns only truly began in the late 1970s, and throughout over half of the thirty years covered by this research no laws protected children from racism in British schools. It consequently seems evident that many visible minoritised children and their parents were particularly powerless against racism in British schools and society during this period. Baez also argues that to understand experiences of racism, 'scholars might focus on the sites of relations between individuals and between individuals and social institutions […]. If racism is 'local,' then resistance realistically is possible only there, at the local sites of confrontation with power'.[10] This reflects the findings of Anandi Ramamurthy whose research into South Asian youth movements made it clear that individuals spoke of their antiracist activities 'primarily in terms of their localized experience, even down to describing the geographies of streets where events occurred'.[11] As rest of this chapter describes, the interviewees confronted racist white supremacist thinking and practices within their schools and local communities by drawing upon shared defence techniques, yet their memories also demonstrate the limitations placed on their resistance.

[8] Heidi Safia Mirza, *Young, Female and Black* (London, 1992), p. 56.
[9] Benjamin Baez, 'Agency, Structure, and Power: An Inquiry into Racism and Resistance for Education', *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 19 (2000), p. 329.
[10] Baez, 'Agency, Structure, and Power', p. 329.
[11] Anandi Ramamurthy, 'South Asian Mobilisation in Two Northern Cities: A Comparison of Manchester and Bradford Asian Youth Movements', *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World*, 2, 2 (2011), p. 27.

i. Tariq Masaud Cheema

Each interviewee resisted racism in their own manner, but the memories of Tariq Masaud Cheema are particularly striking yet evocative of the other interviewee's experiences. [12] More than any other interviewee Tariq's childhood narratives evoke the cool pose that he developed in the face of racism. Like Alessandro Portelli's famous interviewee, Valtéro Peppoloni, Tariq's memories both exemplify the stories of others, and contains a circular structure in which 'Political, personal, and professional relationships develop into conflicts and finally come to a verbal or physically violent showdown'.[13] The focus of Tariq's conflicts changed throughout his life in Britain: first he fought racism at school, then on the street at protest marches, at work, and during his brief stint in the British Army, before the most recent and longest battles of his life against his son's illness and for the rights of people with disabilities. The circular pattern in Tariq's memory narrative is that the conflict occurs, he stands up to the issue, and steadily improves his situation before progressing to the next stage of his life. Today, Tariq dislikes political correctness, and how easily some people take offence. He posits that racism was worse in his day when, 'if things were serious people fought over it or protested'. Tariq is a practising Muslim, proud of his Pakistani heritage, and visits relatives in his pre-migration community regularly. He also proudly identifies as 'British first, always' and criticises South Asian youths who partake in what he views as unnecessarily aggressive counter protests against the far-Right movements of the day. In part

[12] As Tariq does not have access to a computer the entire thesis was outlined for him, and this section read over the phone on 15 and 16 December 2020. He approved and only had minor factual corrections to the description of his career progression. A printed copy was provided for his approval before submission. All quoted material relating to Tariq in this section is from Interview with Tariq Masaud Cheema, 25 July 2018, conducted by author.

[13] Alessandro Portelli, 'The Best Trash-can Wiper in Town. The Life and Times of Valtéro Peppoloni, Worker', *Oral History Review*, 16, 1 (1988), pp. 58-69. Portelli analyses Peppoloni's story to delineate how a single oral history narrative can be used as a representative document for a particular culture, or community at different points in time. Just as Peppoloni's memories were used to illuminate the complexities and peculiarities of working-class Italian culture in Turin during key events throughout the twentieth century, Tariq's memories elicit the stories of other's who migrated to Britain and experienced schooling in the post-war era.

this is because Tariq feels that the battle against more serious racism in Britain was won by people such as himself in the 1970s and 1980s, an idea which is certainly persuasive after hearing a life story such as his.

Tariq arrived from Pakistan to Dewsbury in 1967 aged ten. He regularly saw South Asian people being attacked, including elderly people having their shopping thrown on the floor at the bus stop:

> We had a lot of problems. Every weekend someone threw the stone, broke window. We had loads of problems. You went to get your washing done […] and on the way maybe coming back you met some white lads. There was racist abuse, sometimes you got beaten up as well, right, so there was a lot of that.

Dewsbury's local education authority also attempted to use a dispersal policy that would have sent Tariq to a school far from his home, 'So I didn't want to go there because you had to catch a bus and I couldn't speak a word of English'.[14] Instead of accepting this inequality, Tariq and his grandfather spoke to the authorities, and he was accepted into the nearby school. Despite this early brush with official racism Tariq presented himself as largely unbothered or unaffected by racism throughout our interview. He accords it little significance and describes replying to it with humour, 'They called me wog, I called them snowflake. We used to have fun instead of going to the race relations board or something'. Of his schooling Tariq stated, 'We had bits of problems like being called names and things like that, but it wasn't a big issue. I enjoyed school'. After an initial period of shyness Tariq found it easy to make friends with white children and attended almost every day of his five years of British schooling noting, 'if you don't like something you don't attend'. While he made friends and rarely experienced conflict with the white boys at his school Tariq would defend South Asian

[14] Olivier Esteves, *The 'Desegregation' of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space, 1960s-80s,* (Manchester, 2019), p. 7.

boys who fared less well noting, ‘I always helped if someone was in trouble. I always intervened if someone was being beaten up’. Nevertheless, Tariq recalled white classmates regularly using racial slurs, and endured racial abuse at school.

Although Tariq has a sanguine perspective on racism today, he did not react passively during his youth. In reply to racist slights or attacks he maintained his cool and used cutting words or physical violence when necessary. During his early years at Victoria Secondary boys school Tariq remembered that with his South Asian schoolmates he was afraid to fight with closed fists being more used to wrestling and playing ‘slapping games’ prior to migrating. Notwithstanding racism from classmates, Tariq recalled that the South Asian pupil’s main problems were large white boys from other schools who would come and attack them as they walked home. One day, Tariq and other South Asian boys joined forces with boys from a multiethnic family, ‘Their father was Pakistani, their mother was white, so they stood up for us. And then after that it calmed down’. Violent attacks at school did not disappear but further progress was made for South Asian boys as more arrived, and when one of Tariq’s cousins beat a tough white boy unconscious in front of the school. Through this sort of incident Tariq and his South Asian schoolmates learned the benefits of exhibiting and demonstrating toughness.

Tariq was regularly in danger when alone outside of school, particularly so when courting local white girls. On one occasion a gang of skinheads encircled him and a female friend before verbally abusing them and threatening violence, but Tariq challenged them all to fight him one-on-one. This confused the assailants but rather than wait for a response Tariq whisked himself and the girl away though a gap in their circle. He recalled knowing that he had to walk until they were out of sight before deciding to run, so that the attackers would not reconsider them as prey. Tariq concluded the story with his typical cool aloofness by saying, ‘Those things did happen wherever you went’. By the time he finished his education Tariq

described South Asian boys at his school 'taking over in a way because we weren't scared of anybody'. In his final year Tariq had developed a reputation for fighting, 'I was cock of the school. And even cock of Savile Town [his district of Dewsbury]. I was so good I didn't fight much. All I used was that mouth and a lot of people got scared and didn't even challenge me'.[15] Throughout his schooltime memories Tariq links his own willingness and that of his South Asian schoolmates to fight racism and stand up for themselves to their success at the school. These were the first instances in Britain where Tariq literally and successfully fought for change against racism, and they set the pattern for his adult memories.

Tariq left school and started working in textile mills. As a young man he fought racism in the 1970s and 1980s when marching for antiracist causes, or counter protesting National Front demonstrations. Fights regularly broke out and Tariq was arrested on one occasion, but he takes pride in having stood up for his community, and his rights as a British person. In textiles, Tariq is also proud to have been a good worker who was in high standing with the management but describes frequent racism from colleagues and instances of violence: 'Whenever I worked with men especially, I always ended up fighting. I never got sacked from anywhere […] but it was always ending up in fights. Lot of the time it was because of somebody else'.[16] Many of these battles were fought with racist white male colleagues but Tariq also described defending a white female colleague from a South Asian co-worker. Tariq worked alongside racist mill owners, managers, and workers throughout his time in textiles, but he won over or befriended them through his easy-going personality and humour. Tariq emphasised that he was never sacked from a mill for fighting, a point which demonstrates that, like Portelli's interviewee Valtéro Peppoloni, he always fought for the

[15] The Cock of the School is a colloquial term that refers to the boy most feared for his fighting abilities or toughness in a school. Jacob Middleton, 'The Cock of the School: A Cultural History of Playground Violence in Britain, 1880–1940', *Journal of British Studies*, 52 (2013), p. 887.
[16] Tariq's meaning was that he largely fought to defend other Asian people at work as he was not usually the one being antagonised.

righteous cause, took pride in being respected as a worker, and was in good standing with his bosses and colleagues.[17] Similarly, when Tariq briefly joined the British Army in the 1970s, he won respect from his often shockingly racist squad mates and superiors, as well as concessions to his cultural and religious practices. In spite of all this the biggest conflict of Tariq's adult life was not fought against racism. Within a few years of his son's birth in 1982 Tariq began to worry that his boy was unwell, but it took time for doctors to take this seriously. After fighting for a diagnosis Tariq fought with the council and various local businesses for his son and other people with disabilities to have better access to public buildings and services, and eventually won numerous improvements. Sadly, Tariq's son died shortly before our first meeting in 2018.

Tariq's story is unique but evokes the various ways that other interviewees dealt with racial conflict as youths and at school. Like Tariq, the other interviewees reacted to racism with a cool aloofness and by collaborating with other visible minoritised people to defend themselves. The anonymous male Pakistani interviewee for instance presented a similarly relaxed perspective to Tariq of his violent encounters at school in Liverpool:

> No problem in primary school, I think. In secondary school you have this culture, I think. Some kids like to show off, you know, how strong they are, or you know how erm stupid they can be if you like [laughs], and my attitude used to be I would challenge them, you know. I remember once it was lunch break, and we were playing football and these couple of senior boys […] one just grabbed the ball and started to walk away. So, I ran up to him and grabbed him and-and threw him on the floor you know [laughs], 'No, you don't do that!'.[18]

[17] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (New York, 1991), p. 129.
[18] Interview with anonymous British Pakistani male, 1 May 2018, conducted by author.

Other interviewees, particularly men such as the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee and Dexter Franklyn remembered like Tariq 'teaming up' with other boys from different ethnic groups, or with shared heritage. Dexter recalled:

> I can remember this guy, Ahmad and he got kind of like abused, they called him [whispers] Paki this Paki that. And I remember chasing this guy called, I think he was called Bruce chasing him with Ahmad and then other people kind of chasing him as well and he ran off and every ting, but we didn't forget [laughs]. He obviously had to come back to school and then Ahmad, then I think he stabbed him with a pencil. He stabbed Bruce with a pencil, and he never did it again [both names anonymised].[19]

Interviewee Shazia Azhar described developing a multiethnic friendship group in primary school and remembered:

> when we got to high school, we all knew that [racism] wasn't acceptable, then we did fight back. We did. We did, you know. We'd argue back and we'd shout back at the kids who said those sorts of things to us, and we supported each other because there were several of us. I wasn't on my own then either. So, in our little friendship group we would support each other. We never, we never went to the teachers because the teachers didn't really do anything about it.[20]

Although female interviewees like Shazia were perhaps less likely to engage in violence, her memory shows how visible minoritised children learned the necessity of showing a willingness to stand up for themselves verbally or physically. After reading a draft of this thesis the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee commented for example that he defended himself so immediately against racism when he arrived in Britain at eleven because he saw that South Asian pupils who did not respond or fight back became the victims of

[19] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.
[20] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.

bullying.[21] Interviewees like Shazia, Dexter and Tariq described standing up for themselves with children from other years and ethnic groups, so their memories demonstrate that fighting racists – physically or verbally – was at times in British schools from the 1960s to the 1980s a communal, intergenerational and multiethnic activity. This also demonstrates how British children from all visible minoritised groups took cues from each other when it came to developing everyday strategies for resisting racism. Often, this would be from within their ethnic group but there was undoubtedly some level of cross-cultural unity in multiethnic areas like Kirklees and Liverpool.

Reacting to racism with humour and nonchalance, like Tariq often did, is another trope among the interviewees which seems to evidence the cool pose like resilience to racism that some developed. British Chinese interviewee David Yau recalled for example:

> You know, sometimes I'd be out in Liverpool, and you'd get yobs, and they would try and take the mick. They'd had a few beers and they'd try take the mick. Erm, so you know they'd say things like to me 'I'll have a number fifty-six, or I'll have a number sixty-nine please'. You know, ho-ho-ho, joke joke, and I'd retort something along the lines of, again in the old joke, 'If you think I'm, going to get up and cook you that at this time of night'. That sort of thing. But yeah, they just thought they were being humorous.[22]

Like Tariq, interviewee Khatija Lunat also described herself as socialising well with white children and using humour to defuse racism at her all-girls schools in from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, 'I think I had that character of I got on with everybody. I had a good, you know, laugh and a joke'. Khatija described experiencing racism from her classmates but noted that, 'At that time it was like water off a duck's back. Do you know what I mean? It

[21] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 17 November 2020, conducted by author.
[22] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.

didn't faze me at all'. Khatija, like Tariq, described helping other visible minoritised students in need, 'There was bullyish behaviour, but I was never scared of it and couple of times I think when they did, they-they were arguing or fighting, I'd step in and defend [a South Asian classmate]'.[23] Together these comments suggest how a resilience to racism, or a cool pose, is expressed by the interviewees in their memories of experiencing racism at school. Emphasising success in Britain through memories of socialising well with white people, describing themselves as unbothered by racism when directed specifically towards them, and using humour to defuse conflict, yet also being able to defend those who were weaker. These are likely generic facets of how a cool pose or everyday resilience was built by many visible minoritised people during their childhoods in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s – aspects that appear largely free from particular gendered or cultural forms – which is why they remain significant parts of how people remember and narrate their schoolyears as adults.

Unlike most other interviewees who migrated at a younger age or were born in England, Tariq had almost reached secondary school age when he migrated, and his self-confidence was well developed. His overall life trajectory diverges from most other interviewees in that after finishing school Tariq never went back into education. After working in textiles and briefly joining the British Army Tariq went to Pakistan, got married, then returned to England and textiles before starting his own business and eventually becoming a full-time carer to his son. The interviewees' narratives generally emphasised their success in different ways, but the others seemed to take less pride in their actions at school than Tariq, and few emphasise resisting racism as stridently as him as adults or children. Tariq on the other hand can recall being racially abused or 'beaten up loads of times' in and out of school with pride because he explicitly fought against racism at each stage of his youth in Britain and sees that people like him were fighting to create what he sees as the less racist

[23] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.

Britain of today. This is also perhaps why his cool pose is more explicit or obvious. The other interviewees all also fought to create a less overtly racist society, but they often did so in more indirect ways. Most seem proud for instance to have simply thrived in a highly racist environment and to have proven the people who abused them wrong.

Until he had a child in 1982 Tariq's battles were largely fought with racists in school, on the streets, at work, in the army, and at protests. After the birth of his son the pattern of conflicts in Tariq's life continued but their nature changed, and for over thirty years prior to our interview Tariq had focused more on fighting for his family than against racism. Although our first conversation in 2018 centred on Tariq's schooltime memories his son had died earlier that year, so despite my questions Tariq's mind was more on his son than his own childhood during our conversation. The interviewees all remember their childhoods through the lens of what happened afterwards and for Tariq the racism during his youth paled in significance when compared to the fight against his son's illness. It is probable that many people like Tariq consider their childhood experiences of racism to be less important than subsequent events.

Resistance to racism in general, particularly violent resistance, features more strongly in the memories of Tariq and the anonymous male African Caribbean interviewees than it does in the memories of the British-born interviewees, or those who migrated as infants. Both were on the cusp of adolescence when they arrived in Britain and their confidence was already developing. Neither grew up experiencing racism from as early as they could remember, both had firm memories of life in pre-migration and a sense of his own cultural heritage. Despite his singular nature Tariq's narrative gathers together different ways of speaking about experiencing racism in Britain which can be found across other stories, yet he most strongly evokes the youthful narratives of other interviewees in his absolute refusal to see himself as a victim of racism despite absolutely experiencing a great deal of racial abuse.

ii. Examples of resistance

We know that many visible minoritised schoolchildren not only resisted educational racism but also the entire British education system from the 1960s to the 1980s. Some refused to attend or spurned cooperating with teachers if they did. Since the 1960s it is well recorded that visible minoritised children in Britain have been sent disproportionately to schools for children with learning disabilities or behavioural issues because of this.[24] On this subject Bernard Coard wrote in 1971:

> The child who feels he is wrongly placed (and many do feel this way) may become upset or even disturbed and refuse to cooperate or participate fully in the classroom, and so will appear even more retarded – and become retarded through mental inactivity – as time goes by.[25]

Educators preferred to remove those they felt were unteachable, but it has long since been recognised that their definition of unteachable generally reflected the way that they racialised visible minoritised pupils.[26] Interviewee Sue Mackay was forced to stand outside the classroom for the final three years of Mathematics at Secondary school because she refused to let an older male teacher strike her on the backside as a punishment.[27] Sue was the only Black child in her class, and noted that no one else received this treatment. More outspoken children than Sue could end up experiencing plenty of these unjust situations with numerous teachers resulting in them being denied an education entirely as opposed to being shut out from one subject. By the end of their schooling a minority of the interviewees had begun to

[24] See Bernard Coard, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain', in Brian Richardson (ed.), *Tell it like it is: How our Schools Fail Black Children* (London, 2005) or Chris Searle, *An Exclusive Education: Race, Class and Exclusion in British Schools* (London, 2001).
[25] Ibid, p. 31-32.
[26] Sally Tomlinson, 'Minority Groups in English Conurbations', in Phillip Williams (ed.), *Special Education in Minority Communities* (Stratford, 1984), p. 23.
[27] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.

reject the British education system, but for the majority like Sue who did not, elements of their experiences still evoke the consequences of stridently resisting racism in British schools.

The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee first arrived in Huddersfield in 1960 where he lived with his father until returning to the Caribbean in 1963 before permanently settling in Huddersfield in 1968 at the age of eleven. He recalled being taught to stand up for himself by his family from a young age, and described the following incident in which he stood up to racist abuse at secondary school, followed by the consequences he experienced:

> Walking home from school […] three girls ahead of me. I was in the same class as one of them and the other two were a year younger. There was an Asian guy, got a little shop, and he'd painted it cream buttermilk colour. One of them started looking and said, 'Hey, look at that colour', and said erm, 'A wog painted that'. And then she looked round at me and started saying 'woggy woggy', so I hit her and then a scrap started and erm the woman who lived across the road from where we were fighting pulled me away from her and started calling me, 'A wicked boy for fighting with her'. I'm thinking 'She called me a wog, what am I supposed to do?'.
>
> *How old were you*?
>
> I was eleven, twelve […] and I think it was the following day after assembly the [deputy] headmistress called us up and said […] 'So what's this I hear, what's this all about?', and she said her piece, I said my piece. I was thinking 'boy, you're going to get in trouble again'. Then she sort of hit the roof about what this girl said to me and I'm looking around at the teacher thinking 'Oh, it's like that then!'. She just laid it out on the line, 'You're not supposed to say that!'. And she just ripped into her. I got told off for fighting but it was the first time I'd seen [pause] this woman preaching that,

> [raised voice] 'Oy, you don't say that!'. I thought it was all over then but later on that day someone came down from the headmaster. 'Boy, what have you been up to?'. I went up to the headmaster's office. Stood there. This girl came in and he asked us what happened. And I said what happened and she said what happened, and he went along the lines about how she had been in hospital recently, and 'Was there coloured nurses there?', and 'Did they look after you well?'. Then he told us and said, 'Don't let it happen again, you can go now'. Then we got to the door, just before I went through, he said, [voice raised] 'Just a minute lad!', and he closed the door to his office, and closed the door to the secretary's office and he verbally laid into me and I'm wondering, 'Hold on a minute she called me a wog, she called me that, and I'm getting the brunt of it'. That's the first thing you learn, then you realise what the old guys was telling you, well the oldest Black guys at the school, 'If you get in a fight and you've got to win because you'll come off second best anyway'. So that's what drove me through school, you get in a fight, you've got to win.[28]

Visible minoritised schoolchildren had little to no power at school, and resistance often came with very real personal consequences. Interviewee Tariq Masaud Cheema resisted racism throughout his schooling and young adulthood but was physically attacked, beaten up numerous times, and arrested on one occasion. Like Tariq, the anonymous interviewee evokes the experiences of those who often sought immediate violent retribution for acts of racism. Nonetheless, while Tariq positions his reactions as righteous and improving his situation, the anonymous man's view is bleaker. He makes sense of the violence by arguing that he was at a loss in terms of face and would be punished regardless of what happened, so why not take the satisfaction of retribution? Although his family had taught him to be assertive it is significant that his approach to racist bullying in Britain was developed through

[28] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 17 November 2020, conducted by author.

advice received from older African Caribbean boys, and personal experience. After first being pleasantly surprised by the balanced approach of the deputy head he was swiftly brought back to the dominant reality, as he saw it, by the reaction of the head teacher. While he clearly describes his feelings, and of course understood that he was being mistreated at the time, it was a baffling and embittering experience for a child that instilled a pessimistic uneasiness towards White British society.[29]

Interviewee Pamela Browne recalled constant racism and social rejection at school. In our first conversation she noted, 'All schooling actually in them days, especially for Black people. There was no hope'.[30] Pamela recalls refusing, during childhood and adolescence, to identify as Black, a point which reflects Andrew Flinn et al's argument that

> For years some young Black people have faced the forces of racism and its contradictions and have been ashamed to identify their Blackness as a positive attribute. Victims of the assimilation process, their lack of recognised history has rendered them invisible, thereby disinheriting and undermining their sense of a Black British heritage.[31]

Pamela developed an involvement with Black Power which started as an almost childish interest but progressed into her attending and organising protests as a young adult – experiences which clearly improved her self-esteem.

> It was a community centre where they started, it was all American music at the Sunday disco. They played all the music from America, and all the people from Liverpool 8 used to come there. We used to go around shouting 'Black Power'.

[29] After discussing this section of writing with the interviewee he remarked that it 'hit the nail on the head'. Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[30] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.
[31] Andrew Flinn et al, 'Whose Memories, Whose Archives? Independent Community Archives, Autonomy and the Mainstream', *Archival Science*, 9, 1 (2009), p. 71.

How important was that for you then?

> I identified with that then, at first, because when I was growing up, I didn't identify with anything or anybody.[32]

Despite displaying an aptitude for education at an early age Pamela's confidence was eroded at school. Throughout primary education Pamela remembers constantly being ridiculed by classmates openly in lessons and ignored by teachers when she tried to answer questions. During her first year Pamela was singled out and painfully dragged by her ear from class to class by a teacher to shame her about personal hygiene.

> I'll never forget it as long as I live. And I just hated, hated, school from then on […]. I was reading books by that age, but I stopped learning in school. It just got worse and worse because it was racism throughout. Just racist. You were just on your own. The teachers took no notice. If anything happened the teachers took no notice whatever you said. If I put my hand up to answer a question, they'd just ignore me.[33]

While reading this section of the thesis Pamela commented that through workshops with her religious community, she has only recently become conscious of the significance of the ear dragging incident as representing the start of a long period of unhappiness.

By secondary school Pamela had begun truanting with her brother almost daily. When she did attend school Pamela combatted the constant bullying by attacking others to assert herself.

> I was quite a bully as well actually […] because if I didn't become a bully I'd be bullied. That was just it. I wasn't a bully to people who would actually beat me up of

[32] Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018.
[33] Ibid.

course and I was terrified of being a bully in case my Mum and Dad found out, so I was like a half-hearted bully. It was to save meself.[34]

For Pamela, resisting racism therefore eventually meant resisting a formal education and performing toughness to dissuade attacks on herself. These survival mechanisms were all that Pamela felt she could draw upon but they general came with negative and long-lasting consequences.

Although such a pre-emptive form of resistance was unique to Pamela among the interviewees, others certainly took precautions that were designed to dissuade racists from physically or verbally attacking them. Interviewee Sue Mackay recalled

> I even had to join the orchestra [laugh, sigh] I don't know why I'm laughing *cos it wasn't funny* [voice showing signs of distress]. I joined the orchestra to play the recorder. The wooden recorder. It wasn't to play the recorder, I kept it up me sleeve, but when they come at me and started calling me – I call it the N-word I won't let my girls say it – the N-word, I'd hit them over the head with me recorder. That was my defence.[35]

Resisting racism at school for some of the interviewees meant being prepared to defend yourself physically, or even attack someone to make a point, but it also meant being prepared to run, and knowing the racial divides of the districts surrounding home and school. Every perceived racist slight could not be reacted to with violence, but violent revenge plainly helped people make peace with their experiences. The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee put it this way, 'Two sides, which do you choose? Get your dukes up or just take it'.[36] Women could see this similarly, but their retribution could be dependent on the gender

[34] Ibid.
[35] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.
[36] Anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020.

of the person behind the insults. Sue recalled mostly running away from the boys who called her the 'N-word', but noted, 'I had a good few fights to be honest with you. [pause] And if a girl called me nigger, I battered her, battered her. Yeah'. Interviewee Margaret Hanson recalled one instance where she won the doubly satisfying victory of besting a racist boy in her year at school:

> I got in a few fights. I got called Kizzy [the name of an enslaved character in the 1976 Television programme Roots] quite a lot at school when that started. I remember shouting out the cock of the school, cock of the year, for a fight because he called me Kizzy. But he never turned up, so I won by default and I was not to be messed with apparently![37]

This suggests how the gendered limitations to resisting racism could be somewhat mediated by bravado and self-confidence. Although, such defence mechanisms remained less accessible for those like interviewee Pamela who suffered from a lack of self-esteem.

The explosion of interest in East Asian martial arts during the 1970s meant that some young boys and men including interviewees Levi Tafari and David Yau started learning Karate or Kung-Fu in part to defend themselves from bullies at school. David described how he was frequently attacked in the corridor at school as the result of a running joke in the Pink Panther films before noting, 'One of the reasons that I did pick up martial arts now that I recall was to protect myself from bullies and others who might want to pick on me'.[38] In the Pink Panther film series Inspector Clouseau repeatedly ordered his East Asian sidekick, Cato, played by British Chinese actor Burt Kwouk – an idol of David's – to test his alertness by subjecting him to surprise attacks; a boy at David's school thought it hilarious to re-enact this scene in reverse whenever he saw David – one of the few students with Chinese heritage – by

[37] Interviews with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.
[38] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.

just hitting him 'out of nowhere in the corridor'.[39] Levi's interest in martial arts developed around the same time as David's. He was especially enthusiastic about Jiu Jitsu and one day brought his *nunchaku* – commonly known as 'nunchucks' – to school to show his friends.[40] This led one teacher to take drastic action. Levi noted, 'I shouldn't have done that, but he called the Police, and they gave me a good telling off. That was horrible'.[41]

Levi and David's memories of learning a martial art suggest how race shaped their experiences of racial discrimination at school, and their ability to resist. David, as a person with Chinese heritage, was throughout most of his schooling viewed like pupils of South Asian origin as less threatening than pupils of African descent. Claire Dwyer et al note that young Asian men were often 'positioned by teachers and peers as "passive", "weak", "effeminate", "behavers and achievers", in contrast to the dominant, racialised representations of "deviant" Afro-Caribbean boys'.[42] Moreover, as Arthur Cropley described in 1983, discrimination in the playground can be more serious for children of Asian than African descent, 'because their cultural differences make them more visible'.[43] Humayun Mirza attended the same schools as David one year below and recalled that at their secondary, Paddington Comprehensive in Liverpool, gangs of children of African descent, and gangs of white children ruled, while 'Myself and the Chinese kids were right in the middle'.[44] However, by the 1970s an explosion of interest in East Asian martial arts due to popular Television programmes like *Kung-Fu* and the films of Bruce Lee was changing perceptions of British Chinese people. Interviewee David noted that people at school became

[39] Ibid.
[40] Nunchaku are believed to originate from Okinawan rice threshing sticks that were occasionally used for defence. Their popularity in Europe and the US erupted after Bruce Lee used them in several scenes in 1973's *Enter the Dragon.*
[41] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[42] Claire Dwyer et al, '"From Cricket Lover to Terror Suspect" – Challenging Representations of Young British Muslim Men', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 15, 2 (2008), pp. 117-136, p. 119.
[43] Arthur J. Cropley, *The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction* (London, 1983), p. 108.
[44] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.

more respectful while British Chinese interviewee Helen Owen remembered that her classmates in Liverpool assumed she might possess some mystical martial arts prowess.[45] In 1979 Brian Jackson described this phenomenon as 'an astonishing example of how the media could reshape popular cultural images' which as he observed led to one primary school pupil from Hong Kong in his study being 'treated by his teachers with a fresh curiosity – as if this small Huddersfield child could open the […] portals of Taoism to them'.[46] In contrast, Levi's interest in martial arts and self-defence led to one teacher seeing him as a threat and calling the police – something that was sadly a common experience for boys of African descent.[47] Popular perceptions of Chinese people during the 1960s meant that David was victimised because of his race as a young child yet perceptions of him changed, arguably for the better, due to popular culture. Levi on the other hand developed a similar interest in martial arts to David but was almost criminalised for it. This is how the contrasting treatment of children from different visible minoritised groups, and the ways that white people perceived their race, was doubtless a limiting factor which shaped people's ability to resist racism.

Violent forms of resistance certainly do not seem to have been either uncommon or the norm among the interviewees, but most recalled resisting in non-violent ways. Interviewee Amina Chichangiri for example described fighting back verbally at her all-girls school when white classmates used racist stereotypes against her:

> On a Monday morning we had personal and social education. It was like two hours, and you'd just sit as a group as a class and discuss personal and social issues.

[45] David Yau, 29 April 2020. Interview with Helen Owen, 30 April 2018, conducted by author.
[46] Brian Jackson, *Starting School* (London, 1979), p. 117.
[47] See Tony Sewell, 'Teacher Attitudes: Who's Afraid of the Big Black Boy?', in Tony Sewell, *Black Masculinities and Schooling: How Black Boys Survive Modern Schooling* (London, 1997). Nathaniel Bryan, 'Shaking the Bad Boys: Troubling the Criminalization of Black Boys' Childhood Play, Hegemonic White Masculinity and Femininity, and the School Playground-to-Prison Pipeline', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 23, 5 (2020), pp. 673-692. Yolanda Young, 'Teachers' Implicit Bias Against Black Students Starts in Preschool, Study Finds', *The Guardian*, (4 October, 2016): 'Findings reveal subconscious racial bias of teachers, who directed attention more closely to black boys when "challenging behaviour" is expected'.

> Stereotypes, things like that. It was quite clear the stereotypes that my white classmates had about us. It was quite funny really, the things they'd say to us, and the things we'd say back to them. Quite nasty really and you'd never get away with it now, Joe.[48]

When Amina recalls these racialised debates it is interesting that she names the younger white interviewer to emphasise that the events she describes took place in a different generation. This implies her belief that race relations in British schools are no longer so fraught. It is also possible that Amina is reacting to the interviewer as a white person when she balances her experiences of racism at school against her reaction to it. While Amina and her South Asian friends were mocked by white classmates for wearing head scarfs and various other things, they derided the white girls in return for their perceived proclivity for getting pregnant, underage drinking, ending up in unstable marriages and sniffing glue.[49] Amina expressed guilt over this and also reflected that her various retorts to white classmates could be viewed as racist.

Verbal resistance to racism came with less consequences than violent resistance but could nevertheless be divisive. Amina recalled that the racism she experienced from her white classmates was at its most intense during the first year of secondary school, but that by the final year she was friends with some of the white girls. Amina today has white friends and is happy to associate with white colleagues but notably continues to feel like she is 'not British enough' for White British people in some sense.[50] Such concerns undoubtedly have some genesis in the aggressive race debates Amina described at school and are evident in the guilt she feels when narrating her actions to a white person. Amina described talking about

[48] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[49] There was a moral panic regarding solvent abuse among British adolescents during this period, see: 'Glue Sniffing', *House of Commons Debate*, 989, (21 July 1980).
[50] Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019.

feeling separate from White British people with her husband, and their conclusion elicits the differences highlighted by Amina in those debates: 'we say the reason why we're not British enough is because we don't go to the pub […]. What I'm trying to say to you is that the line was drawn there'.[51] In Amina's case her resistance to racist stereotyping at school seemingly emphasised the divide, or 'line', between herself and the white girls, and as she grew to become an adult she never lost her heightened awareness of these differences. The white girls certainly first delineated 'the line' for Amina but resorting to using stereotypes of White British people to combat their racism seemingly contributed towards Amina's sense of separation and created feelings of guilt which have remained with her into adulthood.[52]

Conclusion

From the available evidence it is abundantly clear that refusing to engage with the white supremacist British school system from the 1960s to the 1980s meant that you risked losing a formal education. Violent resistance was likely to provoke negative reactions from White British educators. It was however often used in defence, to save face, as retaliation, or as a pre-emptive measure to appear strong, but such displays of toughness were dependent on various factors including the individual's self-confidence, age, and gender. Margaret's bravado and gender worked in her favour for example in her anecdote about challenging a boy to fight, as her opponent weighed up the risks and benefits and decided against fighting a girl, but the comments of interviewees like Pamela and Sue certainly suggest that they felt

[51] An interviewee in Alessandro Portelli, 'History-Telling and Time: An Example from Kentucky', *The Oral History Review*, 20, 1/2 (1992), p. 64 made a startlingly similar statement to Amina's comment about 'the line'. The interviewees described how her great grandparents were enslaved African Americans before stating: 'So I was raised; my grandmother always told us I don't care what nobody say, don't care how good they look, how good they talk, you gonna always be black. There's gonna always be a line'.

[52] After reviewing this section Amina noted that these debates should not have been allowed, and that they would not be allowed in British school's today, and that she still believed her actions as a child in the debates were racist. I disagreed, and instead felt she was defending herself in an argument with understandable and essentially logical retorts when racial logic is accepted as it clearly was in her school during the 1980s.

that their ability to fight back against male racists was moderated by their gender. Moreover, the consequences of violent actions, even in defence, were often negative and the positives short lived. The anonymous male African Caribbean interviewee for instance recalled feeling like he was trapped in a catch twenty-two situation when it came to resisting racist bullying at school because,

> you were expected to just take it or as the teacher would say, they'd either accuse you of having a chip on your shoulder or 'Toughen yourself up', or 'Toughen up', but when you got in a fight about it, you became a bully.[53]

Those who violently fought back against racists like him knew that they risked gaining a reputation for being violent and that they might provide racists with more justification for their racism. In the eyes of Angelique Davis and Rose Ernst racism is thus perpetuated and the white supremacist reality normalised 'through pathologizing those who resist'.[54] The interviewees were keenly aware of these issues and created their own logical and moral positions in response, dependent on the situation and their circumstances. Violent resistance was sometimes unavoidable, or embraced by the interviewees, but they were more likely to verbally resist or develop defensive strategies that allowed them to avoid daily conflicts than risk exasperating them with violence.

Although the interviewees certainly did not take racism meekly, their actions were often mediated by a fear of alienating themselves from white classmates, friends, teachers, and even British society at large. This affected how they acted at the time, and how they remember racism in the presence of a white interviewer. For visible minoritised infants, children and adolescents who were often the only individuals from their ethnic group in their class, or school, this alienation could be too high a price. Gershen Kaufman argues that

[53] Interview with anonymous African Caribbean male, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.
[54] Angelique M. Davis and Rose Ernst, 'Racial Gaslighting', *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7, 4 (2019), p. 761.

> Few strivings are as compelling as is our need to identify with someone, to feel a part of something, to belong somewhere […]. So powerful is that striving that we might feel obliged to do most anything in order to secure our place.[55]

Despite the strong social pressure to conform to white social norms, ignore racism, and assimilate into British society the interviewees nevertheless did resist and examples of many others doing so are present throughout the data on this subject. Constant active and explicit resistance to racism was nevertheless not worth considering for many interviewees because of the substantial personal toll, which is why an everyday resilience to racism or cool pose was so necessary. It is however a survival technique that perhaps interacts with childhood nostalgia to create something of as false but comforting perception of the past.[56] Although, as Carrie Hamilton emphasises 'happy memories' are not always 'naïve idealisations of the past' which provide comfort, but instead 'a more active idea of remembering times of happiness as a form of survival that affirms the political agency of the autobiographical subject in the present'.[57] Furthermore, the example of Tariq Masaud Cheema suggests that refusing to consider oneself a victim of racism in any sense was central to these kind of survival techniques employed by the interviewees. These ideas demonstrate why interviewees such as Tariq can acknowledge that racism was severe and ever present in their childhoods yet also insist that they were largely or entirely unaffected.

The analysis across this chapter is intended as an exploration of experiences of racism and resisting it as expressed in the memories of childhood collected for this research. It was not designed to blame the interviewees for the racism they experienced, or their reaction to it, but to emphasise that the ways they were able to resist were often shaped by circumstances

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[55] Gershen Kaufman, *Shame: The Power of Caring* (Rochester, 1992), p. 23.
[56] Initially the everyday resilience to racism was described as a defence mechanism, but this was changed after interviewee Margaret Hanson, while reviewing the thesis, suggested that it was more vital than a defence mechanism, it was necessary for survival.
[57] Carrie Hamilton, 'Happy Memories', *New Formations*, 63 (2007), p. 70.

which were outside of their control and that resisting racism tended to come at a price. Resisting potentially created further disadvantage, entrenched racial divides, or led people to internalise racism in some way. Contemporary psychologists define the following characteristics as facets of internalised racism: feelings of inferiority, shame and embarrassment, an emphasis on physical characteristics (such as a desire for lighter skin), within-group discrimination, and the minimisation of or acceptance of racial oppression.[58] Some interviewees openly expressed feeling inferior, ashamed, or embarrassed about their ethnicity or skin colour during childhood, but it is perhaps the last point about the minimisation of racist oppression that is most evident throughout their life narratives, particularly so in the aloofness, and resilience to racism, or even 'cool poses' that they developed. Karen D. Pyke writes that, 'internalised racism is not the result of some cultural or biological characteristic of the subjugated. Nor is it the consequence of any weakness, ignorance, inferiority, psychological defect, gullibility, or other shortcoming of the oppressed'.[59] So, whether the interviewees ignored racism, tolerated racism, chose to see it as a joke, or reacted to it violently at different moments, the point is that they grew up in a thoroughly overtly and covertly racist society which placed them under a great deal of emotional and social pressure at school and at home. This affected how they were able to react and, in many instances, made it depressingly clear that it was best to not react at all.

[58] Gabriel M. Garcia, et al, 'Internalised Racial Oppression as a Moderator of the Relationship Between Experiences of Racial Discrimination and Mental Distress Among Asians and Pacific Islanders', *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 10, 2 (2019), p. 104.
[59] Karen D. Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), p. 553.

Chapter 10: Racial Gaslighting and the Post-Racial Myth

> It took me a long time to realise that actually people think Black women are thick. Not everybody, but generally [laugh] when you're sat in a room of professionals, you're the one who you feel, you can sense that people just don't think. Don't just give you any [pause] and I used to think for a long time that it was because I have this bloody thick Yorkshire accent. That I must just sound thick when I start speaking and they don't think there's nowt in me. But actually, I've seen white directors that have got a thicker accent than me that have done extremely well so I think, 'It's not your accent Margaret, come on. There's something else. There's something else going on here'.
>
> *Interviewee Margaret Hanson.*[1]

> 'We know bad things happen and we know there are racists', his friend Marvin added. '[But] we still have to be optimistic'
>
> *British men of African descent who grew up during the 1960s and 1970s speaking to the BBC in 2020.*[2]

This final chapter focuses upon the ambiguous and ambivalent nature of racism in memories from childhood to suggest how the interviewees' narratives were affected by the internalisation of racism during their lives to varying extents, and how they have been

[1] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.
[2] Daniel Henry, 'Reporting from the Centre of Black Lives Matter Was Breathtaking', *BBC News* (22 July 2020).

racially gaslighted into doubting their own experiences.[3] The way that the interviewees framed their memories of racism often related to the baffling nature of experiencing it, particularly as children. Racism appears in their memories like a fog that clouds perception and creates ambiguity. Since their time at school this fog of racism has never fully lifted as a consequence of popular narratives, ideologies and rhetoric surrounding race in Britain including assimilationism, New Racism, and the post-racial myth. In short, the interviewees are victims of British racism who have been consistently exposed to narratives which deny the validity of their own experiences. Optimism, as the second quote above suggests, is important for surviving widespread societal discrimination but it arguably adds to this fog and contributes towards equivocally shaping the memories of visible minoritised people who experienced severe racism at school. Optimism also relates to why some interviewees made statements which suggested in different ways their awareness of and even adherence to the post-racial myth. The myth is therefore a key popular discourse in Britain on race and undoubtedly part of how people like the interviewees have internalised, reinterpreted, and made peace with their experiences of racism. These ideas are discussed over five sections. The first provides examples from the interviewees' testimonies which demonstrate their ambiguous memories of childhood experiences of racism. The second analyses how these issues link to their reticence to discuss racism explicitly. The third examines how the interviewees portray racism through the lens of generational difference. The fourth discusses the links between New Racism and the post-racial myth while the final section considers how the myth was evident when the interviewees highlighted generational difference by comparing their experiences with those of their own children and subsequent generations of British visible minoritised schoolchildren.

[3] Gaslighting is a form of psychological abuse where the victim or victims are made to question their own memories, perception, and sanity. Racial gaslighting is where the victims of racism have their experiences doubted, downplayed or ignored.

i. Ambiguities

Interviewee Mo Jogee prefaced his story about the regularly organised attacks on himself and other South Asian children prior to every school holiday by saying, 'You know, at the secondary modern there were lads who I would call idiotic rather than you know, racist. Nowadays you might say well they were racist, because of their behaviour'.[4] He later revealed that some of these individuals who had attacked him as he walked home from school had become his friends when they became Mods – a popular youth subculture – and rode scooters together in the 1970s. Mo appears ambivalent towards their racism because he knows that if he had never forgiven it, he would lack the positive experiences they later shared. Dexter Franklyn demonstrated a comparable ambiguity surrounding his memories of racism when in one instant he described people making monkey noises and calling him Black Sambo[5] at primary school before stating in another that:

> From my recollection, with the white children, we never seemed to fair too badly at all at Outlane [Infants and Juniors]. Some people might, but I didn't […]. If somebody had called me like, a nigger, I'd be like at that time [pause] I can't even remember clearly what I would do. My thing is, I wouldn't just curl up and let it be because it's taunting and trying to get some kind of reaction from you. I can only imagine that I'd chase em off.[6]

Dexter's and Mo's narratives seem to downplay the impact of racism while revealing some of the intersubjective tensions present in our interview and the way that subsequent years have affected how they interpret their memories. In Mo's case he prefers to think of the 'lads'

[4] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.
[5] Helen Bannerman, *The Story of Little Black Sambo* (London, 1989), a popular children's book which depicted people of African descent using racial stereotypes and slurs that apparently still existed in British schools during the 1960s.
[6] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.

behaviour as ‘idiotic’ but realised that the interviewer would interpret it as racist. Like other interviewees Dexter often emphasised positive aspects of his schooling; he remembers being called racial slurs but does not dwell on this and instead emphasises that he was happy at his primary school and largely got on well with the white children. This is Dexter’s ideal way of remembering his experiences and indicates the cool pose that he developed in the face of racism.[7] Although Dexter certainly experienced racial abuse at primary school Dexter struggled here to remember what happened, and seemingly interprets how he might have acted through his perceptions as an adult of what he believes the ideal reaction would have been.

The interviewees often expressed doubt over whether racism had occurred in their childhood memories, and memories of racism apparently became entwined with positive memories. The experiences of Mo, who later became acquainted with former bullies at school, are a prime example of this. Interviewee Khatija Lunat recalled an incident at her all-girls school where one of her white friends violently attacked a South Asian friend. Khatija intervened to defend the South Asian girl and the white girl stopped her attack when a teacher arrived. Khatija remembered the attacker saying,

> ‘Oh, I had no reason. I just don’t like her’. And everybody else was just standing watching. But I knew it was not right, you can’t just hate somebody for the sake of, and I knew. I didn’t know what it was. But it’s because she didn’t like the colour or because she was Asian.[8]

Now, as an adult Khatija describes the attack as racially motivated, and states that she knew as a child that the girl’s actions were unreasonable, but she also makes it clear in her memory

[7] Jeanne L. Tsai, ‘Ideal Affect Cultural Causes and Behavioural Consequences’, *Perspectives of Psychological Science,* 2, 3 (2007), p. 242. Richard Majors and Janet M. Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemma of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992).
[8] Interview with Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019, conducted by author.

that there was some ambiguity at the time. She knew, but also did not. The malice was obvious, but not necessarily the racism in part because Khatija was friendly with both the victim and attacker. It is also possible that she did not want to think that racism was behind her white friend's actions. Khatija noted her white schoolfriends would make racist statements about Asian people in front of her before commenting that she was 'not like them'.[9] This memory therefore suggests how experiences with racists do not always fit the binary of good and bad and how it can be difficult for children to firmly interpret an event as racist.

Interviewee Helen Owen, who migrated to Liverpool from China via Hong Kong in the 1960s described largely positive experiences at school despite experiencing racist name-calling. She noted,

> They could be really horrible and nasty, but I suppose it's like that in most schools. Some people would come and pick on you. But I did have some good friends who would say, 'Oh, stay with us and you'll be fine'. But after that you just get on with people and they look out for you, and you look out for them. My experience at school, most of my friends were really good. And yes, you do sort of get some horrible ones but isn't that everywhere, that you do?[10]

For Helen, memories of being racially abused also stirred up memories of being protected by white friends. She optimistically rationalises her mistreatment by balancing it against something good and positioning some unpleasantness from others as a ubiquitous fact of life. This shows how people developed an everyday resilience to racism by cognitively distancing themselves from it with a placid coolness. It also demonstrates the importance of maintaining optimism. Instead of framing herself as a victim of racism, Helen interprets the racial abuse

[9] Khatija Lunat, 22 October 2019.
[10] Interview with Helen Owen, 30 April 2018, conducted by author.

she experienced as a common experience and grants it no special significance. On the other hand, it is possible to see how this perspective normalises racism.

In part racism was so incredibly confusing for children because of their natural desire to form friendships with their classmates and school cohort. Catherine Bagwell and Michelle Schmidt argue that friendships are 'developmentally significant' for children, particularly so during school transitions like those experienced by the eight interviewees who migrated to Britain, or interviewee Shazia Azhar whose family left London for Huddersfield around the time she started primary school.[11] Even in the face of prejudice, friendship and the desire for group play activities are powerful impulses, but it must be confusing to play with and attempt to befriend children who are racially prejudiced towards you. Shazia recounted

> If we're playing games in the playground and we have a couple of, err, groups of friends and we've got an activity where we're practising who can do the most skips, okay, something like that. And then you have the-the white group, and you have the group, and they call it 'the Paki group'. So, you have, those [pause] groups. And we-we engaged with it. We still played it. We didn't think, we knew it wasn't a pleasant word, but we didn't say, 'We're not playing with you because you, you've called us those names', it was just taken that's *that* group and that's *that* group and *that* group is better than *that* group. Especially if *they* won.[12]

Shazia's memory demonstrates the resilience to racism that she developed in how she came to react to racist name-calling with an aloofness. Despite Shazia knowing that she was being racially abused she did not show outward distress. Shazia and the other South Asian children played the game anyway because they had to accept the abuse – this kind of segregation instituted by the white children – if they wanted to play. Shazia knew the term was a

[11] Catherine L. Bagwell and Michelle E. Schmidt, *Friendships in Childhood and Adolescence* (New York, 2011), p. 113. Interview with Shazia Azhar, 3 March 2020, conducted by author.
[12] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.

derogatory label given to the South Asian people by outsiders and distances herself from the term in this quote but describes accepting it as the norm – seemingly because there was no other option. After ostensibly presenting the divides in a neutral way Shazia undermines her point, however, that it is just *this* group and *that* group, because 'that group is better than that group. Especially if they won'. When discussing this part of the writing Shazia made the point that when she was at school the 'cool groups' were almost exclusively white children.[13] This emphasises above all that visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s often suffered abuse to play and achieve closeness with white children while further demonstrating why childhood experiences of racism are often remembered with ambiguity.

ii. Reticence and ambiguity

Although racism at school was a key reason for the underachievement of many visible minoritised schoolchildren the interviewees were more likely to reflect upon a variety of issues than categorically blame it on racism. For example, in one anecdote early in our first conversation, Delmara Green described her friendship group by saying, 'We were quite a mixed bunch', before highlighting that she had a white friend from the local area and one friend who had recently migrated from Italy.[14] Later, Delmara remembered being told by her Physical Education teacher – one of her favourite teachers throughout her time at school – that while the other teachers all liked Delmara and thought her capable she had been put into the lower-sets for academic subjects because they disapproved of her friendship group. Delmara then stated, 'I was discriminated against, because I could have been in the top but because of my friends who were all Black. The majority'.[15] While the emphasis in her descriptions of her friendship groups changed both statements were true. Delmara initially described her friends at school as mixed because they came from different Caribbean islands,

[13] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 23 December 2020, conducted by author.
[14] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[15] Ibid.

and she was friends with white people including an Italian migrant. It was only as our conversation progressed and became explicitly about racism that Delmara redefined the ethnic backgrounds of her friends.

Many of the initial interviews trod similar ground in part because race is not a conventional topic of conversation, but also in reaction to the whiteness of the interviewer. Reni Eddo-Lodge, the author of *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People about Race*, points out that, 'At best, white people have been taught not to mention that people of colour are "different" in case it offends us'.[16] Understandably, many visible minoritised people seem similarly unwilling to explicitly discuss race with white people. Alessandro Portelli states that, 'Race is not only a pervasive element in the black experience but is also a very touchy subject when black history-tellers are interviewed by white historians'.[17] Perhaps reacting to my identity as a white male academic, few were initially willing to open up about the racism they experienced. There is undoubtedly a palpable social pressure upon visible minoritised people when they discuss race in front of white people which perhaps shaped how Delmara first told her story. It seems that in reaction to my White British identity some interviewees sought to stress their ability to integrate and their success in Britain, to challenge white preconceptions or stereotypes about migrant communities. By initially emphasising the multiethnic nature of her friendship group at high school, and the fact that she was friends with white people Delmara was highlighting her success through discussing how she integrated well. This anecdote subsequently demonstrates the problematic nature of white academics interviewing visible minoritised people about their memories of racism. It also suggests the slippery nature of racism in memory, particularly in memories of childhood, and the fact that many British visible minoritised adults are hesitant to emphasise racial difference

[16] Reni Eddo-Lodge, 'Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race', *The Guardian* (30 May 2017).
[17] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (London, 1997), p. 36.

in their memories or recall the racism they experienced in British schools, particularly in the presence of white people.

Delmara has few memories of racism at school which truly stand out, yet uncertainty and contradictions affected her schooltime memories throughout our conversation:

> Maybe the teachers didn't care, and maybe in actual fact when I was at school you weren't pushed and pushed and pushed to do, you know, you've got to do well because you've got to go to university and college […]. Had I maybe been taught in a different way I probably could had done what I would have said was better for myself. Instead of waiting until I'd had three children and then getting a teaching certificate, I'd have made different career choices, definitely.[18]

There is some criticism here, but it is wrapped in uncertainty about her own performance and choices. The most firmly critical point Delmara made was that her brother, not her teachers, inspired her to attend college:

> I only went to college because of my brother who was older than me; Paul, he went to Greenhead [College], and I think in many ways he sort of opened that door to say that after school there is somewhere else that you *can* go to get further education.[19]

Delmara is now a college teacher, but she finished at her secondary modern school in 1979 with few qualifications and had to attend college to get O-Levels. Delmara experienced racism at school, yet she only hypothesises that 'maybe' she could have been taught better and achieved higher. Delmara's uncertainty about racism is related to the belief that ultimately everyone is personally responsible for their own learning. Interviewee Margaret Hanson similarly described, 'When you think about your life now back then there's a lot of

[18] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[19] Ibid. Interviewee's emphasis.

things you've learned between school and now. Which is don't play the victim, right? You're responsible for your own outcomes in life'.[20] Such ideas regarding meritocracy can however 'obscure oppression' in the words of Pyke by inculcating the 'seemingly neutral ideologies that justify and direct racist institutional practice'.[21] This further demonstrates how the ambiguities surrounding racism throughout their childhoods affect their discussions of racism as adults.

When there was ambiguity surrounding racism in their memories the interviewees' default position often seemed to optimistically presume that racism was not at play. Interviewee David Yau noted:

> I was always in stream one so academically I was deemed as being quite bright. But erm [pause] when I was reading some of my old school reports, I've got all of my old school reports, there was one comment by a teacher that said, 'He needs to work a lot harder if he wants to achieve stuff'. Now I don't know what that meant if he felt that academically we were hindered by something if that was either our social background or ethnic background. I'm not sure. It was just a throwaway comment which teachers do in reports to be honest. I don't know.[22]

David recalled this memory after being prompted to discuss racism at school, which implies his belief that racism may have been involved, yet he seemed unwilling to label the experience as an example of racism and suggests his uncertainty by ending the anecdote with,

[20] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.
[21] Karen D. Pyke, 'What Is Internalised Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), p. 556.
[22] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.

'I don't know'.[23] The following testimony from a first-generation British Caribbean migrant and teacher who was interviewed in the early 1990s evokes similar sentiments to David's:

> I came in 1955, one of the originals, you know. I started school but did not succeed. I don't know why? I think the indication I had was that I was not working hard […] but at that stage I vowed to work hard. Then I was sent down a class, where kids just messed about. That's where my life began to be lost, really. It could be my fault or could be stereotyping by the teachers.[24]

Interviewee Humayun Mirza similarly described how at primary school:

> The teachers were [sigh, laugh] the teachers actually; the teachers would praise the white children, but I never got any praise from them at all in them days. It was always, I was sort of overlooked if you know what I mean?
>
> *Why?*
>
> I don't know. I was capable of doing the same work as the children and my aim was to be slightly better than them because I was a lot weaker than them to start with so I always tried to study at home to be at their level so I would not miss out anything […]. There was a lady teacher who didn't like me at all for some reason. I was never naughty or anything. I would do all the work, everything that was required. But everything that used to happen in the class I always got the blame for it. I wasn't a comedian or anything. I knew I was there to learn but she always ended up smacking me. That year I was in that lady's class I didn't learn anything. I was too scared to actually go to that class, but I still went. She used to make me sit right in the front to

[23] After reading this section David re-iterated his uncertainty surrounding the teacher's intention or meaning and re-emphasised that teachers do often make these kinds of 'throw-away comments'. But as he was academically a good student throughout his schooling in Britain it seems to have been a strange and probably unwarranted comment.
[24] Paul A. S. Ghuman, *Asian Teachers in British Schools* (Avon, 1995), p. 47.

> make it worse […]. She didn't realise I was too intimidated to do work so near to her.[25]

Both Humayun and the anonymous Caribbean man seemed comparably ambiguous about their teachers' impacts upon their learning and their stories have similar themes. They were baffled by their treatment yet felt personally responsible for not achieving highly at school. Each described feeling as though they had to work harder to overcome their disadvantages and yet, like David, are ambiguous about the extent to which they should blame their teachers. As he did not do well at school the anonymous man had to work for qualifications in later life begore he could train to be a teacher, a fact which indicates that like many others he was probably capable of doing well at school in the first place. Nevertheless, he cannot help but reflect on his own culpability and the thought that he was not working hard enough, even while reflecting that teachers stereotyped him. Humayun's experience was different. He notes that he was treated unfairly by his teachers in general but mediates his criticisms of them by noting that he was 'weaker' than the other children and had to work hard to overcome this. Humayun highlights one teacher who bullied him 'for some reason', but also intimates that perhaps she was not aware of the negative impact she was having upon his education. These ambiguities further demonstrate the discomforting nature of experiencing racism as a child and how difficult people can find it to discuss their experiences with certainty.

Interviewee Amina Chichangiri expressed similar contradictions and ambiguities to Humayun, David and the above quoted anonymous British Caribbean man. During infancy she remembered seeing white families watching her playing in the street with Asian friends,

[25] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.

and them not joining in 'for some reason'.[26] Amina pointed out the much of the racism she experienced only became obvious to her with hindsight as an adult:

> In all honesty apart from the students sort of making fun of you and things like that […] I didn't feel like, erm, I didn't feel racism from any of the teachers at the school. I didn't feel that at the time. But I, I wasn't valued if you like […]. The teachers, most of them were very good very kind err, put a lot of effort in to the education that we got, but with hindsight, I remember speaking to Khatija about this, and erm in hindsight when I look at it and the opportunities that my children have now […] I remember saying to Khatija I said that, 'Do you think we were ever, sort of, not held back, but do you think that maybe the teachers didn't put as much effort in?'. And I think we both said yeah. In all honesty I think the teachers thought, 'Well, she's a South Asian girl, she's not going to go to university, she's not really going to achieve much. She is just going to be a housewife at the end of the day'. So, I don't think they cared too much, for us.[27]

Throughout her interview Amina contrasted her experiences of schooling negatively with those of her daughter but the way that Amina recalled the phrasing of her question to her friend suggests the uncertainty surrounding her own experiences, 'do you think that *maybe* the teachers didn't put as much effort in?'. In a later quote Amina's ambiguity became even more evident:

[26] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.
[27] Ibid. Amina and interviewee Khatija Lunat are childhood friends and remain close as adults. I met Khatija through working with her on a local history documentary film project, and she introduced Amina to the project.

> I meet up with my friends and I say, 'Hmm, so what do you think about the education that we got? And do you think that err, it's with hindsight that you see that there was some form of racism there. Or prejudice?'. Racism might be too strong a word.[28]

The final part of this statement in which Amina appears unwilling to use the word 'racism' suggests the root of her ambiguity and echoes Ahmed's idea that

> It is because of how racism saturates everyday and institutional spaces that people of colour often make strategic decisions *not* to use the language of racism. If you already pose a problem, or appear 'out of place' in the institutions of whiteness, there can be good reasons not to exercise what is heard as a threatening or aggressive vocabulary.[29]

The whiteness of the interviewer doubtless played some role in the way Amina remembered but Amina's previous comments about her awareness of 'the line' between herself and white people certainly suggests she was keenly aware of these issues and that they shape the way she remembers her experiences of racism at school by mediating her criticisms of racism.

Amina's apparent fear of using the word racism is not unfounded. Sumie Okazaki argues that 'because racial microaggressions are often dismissed as being innocent and innocuous, those who respond with negative reactions are labelled as being overly sensitive or paranoid'.[30] This is how accusations of racism are invalidated and reframed by many white people as an insult.[31] From Ahmed's point of view 'racism becomes something bad that we can't even speak of, as if to describe x as racist is to damage or even hurt x'.[32] This is why Fiona Nicoll states that, 'The very idea of suggesting that someone might be racist has been

[28] Ibid.
[29] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), p. 162.
[30] Sumie Okazaki, 'Impact of Racism on Ethnic Minority Mental Health', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4, 1 (2009), p. 105.
[31] Amina noted after reading this section that she was aware of this phenomenon but could not remember specific examples from her own experience. Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly, '"Post-race" racisms in the narratives of "Brexit" voters', *The Sociological Review*, 67, 5 (2019), p. 976.
[32] Ahmed, *On Being Included*, p. 147.

elevated into a crime to rival (if not displace) racism itself'.[33] In the words of Priyamvada Gopal the word racism 'remains muffled under a curious omerta'.[34] Positioning racism in this way also reinforces the post-racial myth by creating ambiguity. This is why the interviewees are so cautious about complaining about racism to the white interviewer. They fear that their protests could be portrayed as overblown nonsense .[35]

iii. Generational difference

The post-racial myth often featured in the interviewees memories when they described how racism has declined in Britain since they were children. The following point from Humayun illustrates this:

> my generation bore the brunt of it. We actually laid down the foundations for them to have a safe and good education. Right the way through. The laws changed; the rules changed. The schools actually taught children, erm, about ethnic backgrounds of various people. Their cultures, religions, and everything within the school. So that all the children actually understood about the background of each individual child within the class.[36]

Correspondingly, interviewee Dexter Franklyn, who was dispersed by bus to a predominantly white school in Huddersfield, described himself and the other boy of African descent to make it onto their school's football team as 'pioneers' who won respect for themselves through achieving in sport.[37] In both comments it is possible to see how the interviewees are proud to

[33] Fiona Nicoll, 'Are You Calling Me a Racist?": Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty', in Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included*, p. 150.
[34] Priyamvada Gopal, 'If We Can't Call Racism by Its Name, Diversity Will Remain a Meaningless Buzzword', *The Guardian* (8 October 2019).
[35] Victoria Redclift*, '*New Racisms, New Racial Subjects? The Neo-Liberal Moment and the Racial Landscape of Contemporary Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37, 4 (2014), pp. 577-588.
[36] Interview with Humayun Mirza, 27 August 2019, conducted by author.
[37] Interview with Dexter Franklyn, 30 August 2018, conducted by author.

have faced racism as children, and through doing so contributed towards racism being less problematic today.

Interviewee Sue Mackay exemplified similar pride at having survived racism at school when she argued that

> It toughened you up, I'll be honest, being the only Blacks in the school it toughened you up. Both of us. It toughened us up. [Pause] It did […] but you just had to get on with it, didn't we? I think if it was now, we'd probably have anxiety or need counselling for anxiety or stress, or do you know what I mean.? We'd be on antidepressants. But you just had to get on with it […] the good times outweighed the bad. The good friends outweighed the idiots. That's the way I look at it.[38]

Sue's ideas here are about personal responsibility and generational difference. Sue contrasts her youth with the present to imply that racism is no longer as serious as it was during her childhood, and to posit that young people today who had experienced similar trauma would be diagnosed with mental health problems and prescribed medication. Sue is proud that she did not need such treatment to end up a happy adult and successful parent, but she should not have been forced to experience these things in the first place. Such memories highlight the personal strength of the interviewees and the strategies they developed to resist the negative psychological effects of racism.

Sue's comments also elicit the memories of other interviewees who contrast their strength in the face of racism with the actions of young people today. Interviewee David discussed contemporary Britain being a faster paced world and argued that people in general today are quicker to take offence. David recalled that when

[38] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.

> ‘Kung-Fu Fighting’ came on, it was a parody, but everyone enjoyed it as a parody. It wasn’t in a sort of malicious racist way. Likewise, this was probably before your time, but things like Hong Kong Phooey for example. If you were to look at it with today’s eyes, you’d probably characterise it as racist and quite disrespectful, but back then it was seen as fun, it was seen as humorous.[39]

Alongside other interviewees David sees racism through the lens of generational difference and that ‘with today’s eyes’, some of the media he enjoyed when he was younger could be perceived as racist. Yet, he suggests that it was harmless, and contrasts the political correctness of today negatively with the freer and from his perspective less racially fraught years of his infancy. Perhaps there is among some of the interviewees a strand of anti-political correctness which interacts with how they articulate their emotional strength in the face of racism. Of course, experiencing racism during childhood does not necessitate someone remembering their youth as an entirely experience negatively.[40] Nonetheless, these memories further highlight the extent to which racism was normalised during the interviewees childhoods and how they view it through the lens of generational change.

iv. New Racism

Like Britain’s referendum vote on its membership of the European Union, the interviewees’ schooltime memories were influenced by longstanding narratives about race and Britishness in British history.[41] Margaret Thatcher’s political ascendency coincided with many of the interviewees in this research reaching the voting age, and her 1979 election campaign drew

[39] Interview with David Yau, 29 April 2020, conducted by author.
[40] Carrie Hamilton, ‘Happy Memories’, *New Formations*, 63 (2007), p. 67.
[41] Tina G. Patel and Laura Connelly state, ‘As Virdee and McGeever note, an “insular, Powellite narrative of island retreat” and “imperial longing to restore Britain’s place in the world as primus inter pares” featured heavily in the Leave campaign’. ‘Post-race’ racisms in the narratives of ‘Brexit’ voters’, *The Sociological Review*, 67, 5 (2019), p. 970.

upon a nostalgic Churchillian perception of Britishness.[42] It was incredibly successful with the British public and Thatcher was re-elected twice. In part three of his 1995 documentary series on how history and memory have been used by British politicians Adam Curtis describes how Thatcher's vision of Britain mobilised national sentiment in her favour through evoking Churchill and popular narratives surrounding the Second World War.[43] Curtis failed however to highlight that Thatcher also conjured Churchill's views on race. In the early 1950s Churchill thought 'Keep England White' a good campaign slogan.[44] Conversely, Thatcher won the prime ministership without using overtly racial terms, but clearly empathised with those who agreed with the principles of Churchill's slogan when she stated on television that White British people feared being 'swamped by people with a different culture'.[45] In the same interview Thatcher appealed to National Front voters by claiming that she would not let 'false accusations of racial prejudice' stop her from dealing with 'the problem' of immigration.[46] This suggests how race and denying the existence of British racism remained central to many White British people's concerns throughout this period of research. The result of the 2016 Referendum indicates that Thatcher's patriotic vision of Britishness remains salient and popular today. It is significant to understanding the experiences and memories of the interviewees because Thatcher articulated an enduring way of viewing British history which ignores and denies British racism, or the fact that the British Empire was underpinned by racist exploitation.[47]

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[42] Adam Curtis, 'The Living Dead: Three Films About the Power of the Past, Part 3. The Attic', *BBC Two* (13 June, 1995).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Paul Addison, 'Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer, (1874–1965)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2004).
[45] Gordon Burns, TV Interview with Margaret Thatcher, *World in Action*, Grenada (27 January, 1978).
[46] Robin Bunce and Paul Field, *Renegade: The Life and Times of Darcus Howe* (London, 2017), p. 289.
[47] Jon Stone, 'British People Are Proud of Colonialism and the British Empire, Poll Finds', *The Independent* (19 January 2016).

The rhetoric used by Thatcher during her first general election win was described in 1981 by Martin Barker as 'New Racism', a concept which delineates how racism has become increasingly covert and multiplied to encompass less corporeal forms of prejudice.[48] Essentially, as overtly racist expressions of traditional white supremacy were slowly becoming taboo, New Racism became normalised. It is also often known as Cultural Racism because it achieves racist goals by eschewing the language of race for the language of culture.[49] New Racism is so effective in Britain because White British people had for many years already refused to accept their issues with racism. Arthur Cropley wrote in 1983:

> The 'attitudinal paradox' of the British is that their norms require them to be friendly and helpful to immigrants, while at the same time encouraging them to entertain feelings of superiority or even hostility towards outsiders. One of the consequences of this paradox is […] the flat denial on the part of some liberal minded and well-intentioned people that prejudice exists at all.[50]

The arrival of New Racism further muddied these waters by veiling political racism behind neutral rhetoric. White supremacist style racism was much harder to deny, but it was being replaced by xenophobia, or hysteria about migrants and refugees. The prejudice remained but was advanced through veiled and neutral terms. This created a situation wherein many British people do not understand racism when it happens. Some are for instance only likely to

[48] Geoffrey Short and Bruce Carrington, 'Anti-Racist Education, Multiculturalism and the New Racism', *Educational Review*, 48, 1 (1996), p. 65. The phrase 'New Racism' was coined by Martin Barker in, Martin Barker, *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe* (London, 1981).
[49] Carol C. Mukhopadhyay and Peter Chua, 'Cultural Racism', in John Hartwell Moore (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Race and Racism* (Farmington Hills, Michigan, 2008), pp. 377-383.
[50] Arthur J. Cropley, *The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction* (London, 1983), p. 84.

consider something to be racist when it is overt and obvious in nature and even then, there is likely to be some ambiguity.[51]

Interviewee Margaret Hanson cites various instances of experiencing and resisting racism throughout her schoolyears yet displays an ambiguity about racism which suggests how New Racism has affected her perception. In one instance Margaret stated, 'I'm thinking by the time you're in your late twenties and trying to get into employment and you start feeling the impacts of discrimination, if there is any'.[52] After Margaret had described unpleasant racism at school and feeling as an adult that many white colleagues initially assumed that all Black women 'were thick', it was surprising to hear her express this doubt. I asked why she had said 'if there is any' and she went on to say,

> Yeah, because it's about how you perceive you've been treated. I know the legislation now, the law, says if you think you've been discriminated against then it's your perception so it's down to you to decide how you've been treated by other people. So, it's just how you perceive somebody's behaviour or their interactions with you. I remember working with young people and this story was told to me by someone else and I remember she was saying to me she was interviewing some young [South Asian] men and she was asking them […] 'You've got your suit on for your interview, you're going for your interview fully suited up. Why have you got trainers on?', and this young person said, 'I don't know where I'm going. I don't know the area. Just in case I need to run'. So, it's what you go into a situation expecting to happen […]. I don't know if you create it yourself or if it was going to happen anyway.[53]

[51] See for example the results of the YouGov poll, 'What does the British public think is and is not racist? *YouGov: Politics and current affairs* (20 December, 2018).
[52] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 9 July 2019, conducted by author.
[53] Ibid.

This anecdote about the youth reproduces Ahmed's argument about racism creating paranoia among the victims.[54] The unnamed Asian man's fear that he would have to possibly run for his life in an unfamiliar area overrode his desire to present himself well for an interview. The story also reveals Margaret's own perspective. It is about someone else but implies Margaret's fear that paranoia surrounding racism could limit her own success.

The first part of Margaret's memory is also interesting because it shows how the debates surrounding antiracist laws influenced her thoughts. It alludes to the legislation that was introduced in the UK following the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent Macpherson Inquiry in the early 2000s. The Macpherson Report was hailed as a water-shed moment in British race relations.[55] It challenged the Scarman Report (1981), which was the only other examination of racism in British policing at the time, in its conclusions that the British constabulary and society were institutionally racist.[56] Macpherson's report did not just impact the police, the Home Office quickly stated that its recommendations should be implemented in all public bodies.[57] Macpherson proposed that these institutions accept his definition of, a racist incident as 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person'. The thinking being that 'This definition captures all incidents where there might be an element of racism and commits the police to investigate', so whether or not there was a chargeable crime some form of investigation would have been undertaken.[58] Interviewee Margaret has worked as disability support officer and is familiar with this and current equality legislation. She also recalls the immediate and persistent white backlash to

[54] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), pp.155-156.
[55] John Grieve et al, 'A Watershed for British Policing', *The Guardian* (23 February, 2003).
[56] Simon Holdaway and Megan O'Neill, 'Institutional Racism After Macpherson: An Analysis of Police Views, *Policing and Society*, 16, 4 (2006), p. 349.
[57] Roland Watson, 'Schools Get Code to Tackle Racism', *The Times* (1 June, 2000), p. 7.
[58] Sir William Macpherson, The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry', Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty (February, 1999), p. 362.

their introduction.[59] While the Conservative Party were officially supportive of the Macpherson Report their leader William Hague flip flopped on accepting its main finding that institutional racism in the British police was at the heart of the Stephen Lawrence case.[60] Hague's apparent indecisiveness arguably represented the feelings of many White British people who felt uncomfortable with Macpherson's conclusions. The British Conservative Party's ability to articulate this discomfort, without sounding overtly racist, clearly endears them to a large section of British public and goes some way towards explaining their electoral success from 2010 onwards, just as it did in 1979. The issue for Margaret and the other interviewees is that when large sections of the political establishment, media and public present systemic racism as so questionable and debatable, and when the onus is upon them to define and report racism, their own experience of racism may seem increasingly questionable.

v. 'Post-racial' parenting

The interviewees tended to argue that their childhood's took place during 'a different time' when it was harder for children to talk to parents about such problems and to note how their parents were not aware of their mistreatment at school. They then often stated that they had subsequently not allowed educators to treat their own children so unfairly. Interviewee Mo Jogee summed up this sentiment:

> I think when you're a teenager, a kid, it's just to me it was just like normal living in them days. But when you look back, if that happened to my kids, that they had to run home from school, I'd be extremely annoyed. But to us growing up in the Sixties it was just like part of the normal living and growing up in Dewsbury.[61]

[59] Richard Ford, 'White Backlash to Lawrence Report', *The Times* (2 June, 2001), p. 7.
[60] Tom Baldwin, 'Hague Says He Backs MacPherson Report', *The Times*, (2 March, 2001), p. 17.
[61] Interview with Mo Jogee, 3 July 2018, conducted by author.

Both male and female interviewees made similar comments. Liverpool-born interviewee Levi Tafari recalled defending his children from racism at school on several occasions, and described a heightened awareness of racism in education due to his own experiences.[62] Interviewee Delmara narrated several tense discussions with different teachers regarding their treatment of her children in Huddersfield: 'When my kids went to school, I always made it quite clear that my children do have a voice and that if you are going to ill-treat my children you are going to have me to deal with'.[63] Her son for example had a lesson about the Caribbean where he told the class that his grandparents came from there. One boy told him that 'he should go back there', and the teacher ignored it, but on the same day the teacher had told Delmara's son off for wearing trousers that were not part of the official uniform. Delmara spoke to the teacher and said, 'How dare you tell my child to ignore bullying, but when it comes to his uniform you tell him off'.[64] When asked about the difference between then and now Delmara replied emphatically, 'I. Went. To. School. Here. […] I've been in the system, I know'.[65] Throughout our interview Delmara characterised herself as an oblivious child who did not question things, so her point 'that my children do have a voice' is another example of how she contrasts then with now: as a child she lacked a voice and was not empowered by her family to challenge racism, whereas she is proud to have reversed this situation for her own children.

Correspondingly, interviewee Shazia Azhar recalled how her experiences of racism at school affected her approach to parenting:

> Oh, hugely, hugely. I'm very conscious about speaking to them positively about their culture. I'm very conscious about speaking to their schools when it's Eid or Ramadan

[62] Interview with Levi Tafari, 6 June 2018, conducted by author.
[63] Interview with Delmara Green, 6 September 2018, conducted by author.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Interview with Delmara Green, 21 February 2020, conducted by author.

> coming up. I always have spoken to the staff and said, 'This is coming up', you know, 'You've booked sports day when he's fasting and it's twenty-five degrees outside, when we've had a couple of hot summers', and said that you know 'Can you change it?'. I stand up for them, I don't err, when they come home if they say anything has happened, I'll challenge the school about it.[66]

Interviewee Margaret Hanson recalled when her daughter's high school

> were going to show her *Roots* (1976) as part of one of her lessons. Actually play the video to them, and I had to ring up and have a word about that. And I explained my experience of watching it at school wasn't a positive one. So, I said, 'You have to support her whilst you're all there watching it because she's the only Black person that's in the class; you need to think about how she's feeling while she's watching it because I can remember it now *and it was bloody forty years ago*!' [voice showing signs of distress].[67]

For those with children, defending them from racism at school is clearly emotionally charged in a way that evokes or stirs up memories of how they were affected by racism in British schools. It is also another facet of how the interviewees articulated generational change and their own success in Britain through being able to protect their children more effectively than their parents were able to protect them. Their actions therefore demonstrate the significance of their own experiences and that one of the main things they learned in British schools was how to navigate a systemically racist society.

Interviewee Amina Chichangiri's comments on how she raised her daughter differently are particularly revealing. In chapter nine it was discussed how Amina is highly

[66] Interview with Shazia Azhar, 4 March 2020, conducted by author.
[67] Interview with Margaret Hanson, 20 October 2017, conducted by author.

conscious of a 'line' between South Asian people and white people.[68] Amina also described how throughout her life she has desired closeness with white people, for herself, and for her ethnic community. She spoke passionately about how her parents attempted to become friendly with white neighbours only to be rejected and for the white families to move away to a different area. Notwithstanding their friendly approach to neighbours Amina's parents, like many of the recently migrated parents of other interviewees, were cautious about allowing their children to mix with white children or inviting them into the family home. Amina was keen to emphasise that she brought her daughter up in a different way and explained that she did not want her daughter to feel the same sense of separateness that she feels from White British society. Amina encouraged her daughter to have white friends, to invite them to their home, and visit them in return. Throughout primary and secondary school this was effective as most of her daughter's schoolfriends were white. It is however significant for Amina that this changed when her daughter began college and started to primarily associate with South Asian youths. Amina was surprised and a little upset that her daughter no longer saw her white childhood friends. She asked about the change and discovered that her daughter had started to feel more comfortable with South Asian youths than white upon starting college. Although it initially distressed Amina that she would no longer see her daughter's white schoolfriends, her daughter's decision validates Amina's experiences and upbringing because it highlighted that it was not her family's, community's, or even Amina's own fault that she grew up keenly aware of this 'line' between South Asian and White British people.

Interviewee Pamela Browne described being particularly hurt and embittered by racism in her youth but evidently takes strength from the fact that she was able to give her children a better experience and noted that she could discuss these sensitive topics on the record because she is at peace with her memories. Pamela experienced several hardships in

[68] Interview with Amina Chichangiri, 8 November 2019, conducted by author.

her adult life after divorcing her first husband. She felt lost for many years, had several unsuccessful attempts to move home and start life afresh, and now suffers from several debilitating illnesses. Despite having a disturbing childhood and numerous tough years as an adult, Pamela is a happy and proud mother to several children who have grown up and achieved highly. She notes,

> You can either keep in that cycle, and keeping going on the same way, or you can break that cycle and realise that you have to change things in your life, or you'll still remain that same person with all the hatred. I used to hate white people when I was nineteen, and twenty and twenty-one, you know. People used to introduce me as 'Pam, she hates white people', and that's the hatred I had. But I've got four children now and I didn't want my children growing up like that – in anger. So, I stopped all that, and I stopped all the stupid talk, and I stopped all the hatred and I made sure my children was equal to everybody. That's how I brought them up. So now, my daughter lives in Rainhill, my other son lives in Crompton. One lives in Dubai. My son said, 'Mum I'm so glad you brought us up the way you did because we can go anywhere in life and not feel, you know, because we're Black, that we can't go there'. That's the difference.[69]

Likewise, interviewee Sue Mackay noted that her experiences led her to raise her daughters in a way that would prevent them from experiencing similar pitfalls, or even causing others pain similar to what she experienced at school:

> It was hard. Senior school was hard. And that's what I'm trying to explain to my girls. Don't ever call anyone, it doesn't matter if they're Asian, whatever. I said, 'Don't' […] because it's so hard. I could have turned out different I could have got depression

[69] Interview with Pamela Browne, 31 August 2018, conducted by author.

> because it was bad. I hated when that bell rang to come home. I would leg it before the lads all come out, leg it to try and get home […] I hated it I did, that ruined my school days.
>
> *How did it affect your approach to your children?*
>
> I listened to them more.[70]

It is revealing that interviewees who seemingly recalled minimal racism at school, or perhaps downplayed the extent that racism affected them, described fixedly watching for signs that their children were going through similar experiences, and being quick to act. This suggests that British schooling was often horrible for them, and that they feared their children going through the same experiences. It was certainly common for the interviewees to state that their own experiences of British schools made them want to raise their children to have a different experience. Some seemed to compose their memories of experiencing racism at school in ways that made the memories 'safe', apparently understated their experiences of racism, or emphasised their resilience to racism at school, but all tended to speak passionately about defending their children against educational discrimination.[71] They generally acknowledge that their parents were, for various reasons, not in a position to look after them in the same way but view this as a fact of life back then. They see that racism was normalised during their youth and that children like them were taught to barely react. When talking about school their memories often imply this, especially when they suggest that racism did not bother them. Yet, their true thoughts on the severity of the racism they experienced in British society seemingly emerge in the way they contrast then with now, and how they describe actively defending their own children.

[70] Interview with Sue Mackay, 16 April 2020, conducted by author.
[71] Alistair Thomson, 'Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practise in Australia', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (Oxford, 2015), p. 10.

Conclusion

Experiencing racism is personal and localised, but there are also powerful national and global forces at play which have rearticulated or repositioned racism in ways that create uncertainty as to what constitutes an appropriate usage of the term. The ambiguities in the interviewees' testimonies were also generated by their optimism that racism was not at play and the fact that racism was normalised when they were young. Emphasising good memories over the bad is also important to the interviewees because, in the words of Carrie Hamilton, 'Far from being the prerogative of the privileged, happy memories may be especially important in sustaining political projects of the oppressed'.[72] On the other hand, the uncertainties regarding racism in their testimonies reflects that visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s were often confused by racism. Like the Indian Sikh schoolboy from Huddersfield interviewed by the BBC in 1969, many who grew up during this era might have replied 'I don't know' if asked why they were being socially rejected. The reticence to discuss racism and the ambiguous presentation of their experiences thus elicits their struggle to live with the knowledge that people mistreated them as children because of the colour of their skin. The foggy nature of racism memories also relates to the ways that the interviewees developed a resilience to racism through cognitive distancing and the fact that racism is often ignored or denied by White British society. This is how visible minoritised people who experienced school during this period have been gaslighted into ambiguity surrounding their own experiences of racism by the post-racial myth. [73] Racism was confusing at the time, and they taught themselves to ignore it while the majority of their white classmates, teachers, and then colleagues and bosses also ignored racism. It also seems that while some interviewees certainly grant their childhood experiences of racism little significance others may, like Sara

[72] Hamilton, 'Happy Memories', p. 67.
[73] For an explanation of this term and phenomenon see Angelique M. Davis and Rose Ernst, 'Racial Gaslighting', *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7, 4 (2019) pp. 761-774.

Ahmed, understandably prefer not to remember a time during their childhood when they felt inferior or like they did not belong.[74]

[74] Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina, 2012), p. 2.

Conclusion

> Thank you for writing the truth, in all its sadness and humiliation. At the end of the day, most of us can say, we rose above it, for our children's sake, no matter how long it took us.
>
> *From an email sent by interviewee Pamela Browne after reviewing this thesis.*[1]

This thesis has examined the experiences of migrant and British-born visible minoritised children at school from 1960 to 1989 to explain how their 'generation bore the brunt' of racism in the British education system. This was achieved through analysing key discourses on race and education, local and national archival research and interviewing eighteen individuals who grew up during this era in either Liverpool or Kirklees. The research questions asked how the interviewees remembered their experiences of racism, and how popular discourses have shaped their remembering. In conclusion, the three decades under consideration were unique in terms of the educational racism experienced by visible minoritised students in British schools due to the mix of traditional white supremacism and emergent systemic racism. The interviewees remembered this in their own ways, but the most striking aspect of their remembering was the way that they downplayed or understated their sometimes shocking experiences in a manner which suggested they have been racially gaslighted by the post-racial myth.

The historiographical discussion explained that British visible minoritised people's histories and cultures have been ignored and considered separate. For many years they gained little scholarly attention which contributed to ongoing ignorance among the general public. The methodological section highlighted key theories and discourses such as Pierre

[1] Email from Pamela Browne to Joe Hopkinson sent 13 January 2021.

Bourdieu's cultural capital and Frantz Fanon's ideas about blackness while emphasising the importance of oral history and a co-productive approach to analysing racism in education history. Chapter three described ideological and terminological changes in Britain regarding race from the 1960s onwards and engaged with Howard Winant's theory about there being a 'break' in the acceptance of white supremacism in the mid-twentieth century. It was from white supremacist thinking that assimilationism – the underlying principle upon which British multiethnic education was founded – and systemic covert forms of racism developed. This established the analysis of multiethnic education in Britain from 1960 to 1989 which underpinned the oral history analysis. A cursory review of British multiethnic education history may suggest that British race-thinking and the treatment of visible minoritised schoolchildren improved consistently from 1960 to 1989, but chapter four explained why the racism experienced by people like the interviewees was more significant than any progress and that successive British governments refused to act against educational racism. Those who started school in the late 1970s to early 1980s had somewhat different experiences in British schools but were subjected to the same racist name-calling, stereotyping, social rejection and teachers who ignored or even contributed to the racism they experienced as those who attended school in the 1960s.

Chapter five examined the racial histories and climates of the case studies in this research: Liverpool and the towns that formed Kirklees in 1974. It was argued that the unwillingness among the British establishment and educators to engage with racism in British schools allowed it to fester in places like Liverpool which housed historic visible minoritised communities, and flourish in places like Batley, Dewsbury and Huddersfield that gained new ethnic populations. Many British local authorities like Liverpool's made almost no effort to introduce multicultural education over the three decades under discussion. Their interpretation of assimilationism evidently centred on non-action, which of course improved

nothing, but where early practices did develop, as in Huddersfield, they largely reinforced racism by segregating visible minoritised children and making it more difficult for them to learn and make friends. The fact that teachers misinterpreted or ignored the disadvantages faced by visible minoritised pupils was the subject of chapter six. It highlighted that while most visible minoritised students were disadvantaged by their working class status they also suffered the additional disadvantage of racial prejudice. Their cultural capital was not valued by their educators and their families were stigmatised with racial stereotypes. Some interviewees experienced identity conflict issues and felt torn between Britishness and their pre-migration cultures, but nevertheless gained strength from their families and found strength between their two cultures. Chapter seven primarily discussed the interviewees' experience of racism in primary education and how schooling began for many of them as a traumatic realisation of their status as 'the other'. Racism was reinforced almost daily at school by a variety of authoritative voices which crystalised the harsh realities of British racism in their minds. Assimilationist pressures also forced the interviewees to imitate White British social norms. This created issues with identity conflict problems or low self-esteem and was one reasons that so many left British schools with few qualifications and struggled to find work.

Chapter eight continued discussing the interviewees experiences of racism at school to argue that it was there that they learned about racism through the curriculum and interactions with teachers and classmates. The emotional pressures of experiencing racism at school were examined including how they interacted with their lives at home. As chapter nine explained, the interviewees developed a resilience to their mistreatment. This was however limited by the extent of their familial support, self-esteem, desire to fit in, gender, and the fact that white educators often made it plain that strident resistance to racism was unacceptable. Their personal resilience was nevertheless effective enough to allow them to survive the

negative effects of assimilationism, yet the cognitive distancing required seemingly also worked to make racism less obvious or memorable and made it harder for them to criticise it as adults. Chapter ten explained how this buttressed racial gaslighting by making the interviewees reticent to discuss their own experiences of racism without framing them in ambiguous terms. Generational difference was also key to this and to revealing how the post-racial myth has shaped their remembering. The myth is powerful and persuasive because it suggests that their suffering has at least improved their situation. This was evident in the way that the interviewees described racism being normalised during their time in British schools yet positioned themselves as better able to protect their own children from it than their parents were able to protect them.

Youthful memories of racism can already be fogged by their inherently confusing and traumatising nature, and the interviewees exerted control in composing their narratives often choosing to emphasise positive aspects. Throughout the interviewees' lives numerous sources have emphasised or implied to them that they are not British, or not British enough. [2] It is however precisely because they do feel British that it is so hard for some to criticise British racism and why they composed their memories in ways that match the post-racial narrative. Some interviewees in this research succeeded at school, and undoubtedly feel grateful towards their teachers and towards Britain for the education they received. This is part of the nuanced nature of British educational racism, particularly covert cultural forms, which explain why memories of teachers and racism at school can engender such mixed memories among former visible minoritised students. Despite regularly characterising their teachers positively, most interviewees recalled teachers ignoring or perpetuating racism in ways which highlighted their role in educational discrimination. They were at times likely to portray racism at school in ambiguous, ambivalent and in contradictory ways: to argue that it was

[2] As discussed in the methodological section I accidentally implied that interviewee Khatija Lunat was born in India instead of Dewsbury during our initial conversation.

normalised, yet they were not affected, emphasising positive memories while noting that the negative experiences taught them to protect their own children from racism at school. The localised nature of experiencing racism also intertwines with nationally popular narratives about race at a personal level which makes denying the post-racial myth leave people feeling dissociated from Britishness, and their beloved local communities. Despite the severity of the racism they experienced the interviewees endured many great injustices in part because they feel proud of their British identity.

While overt and traditional forms of racism have not disappeared – see the abuse sent to Black English footballers following their loss in the 2021 European football championship for instance – racism is widely seen as becoming passé.[3] On the other hand, many of the covert ways of discriminating against visible minoritised schoolchildren which were first instituted during the interviewees' years at school continue to affect people in the present. The infamous ESN issue, banding, and exclusions all began during this era and continue to affect British visible minoritised schoolchildren today in different forms.[4] Popular narratives surrounding race in British history which portray it as insignificant exerted influence throughout and ever since the interviewees' schooldays. From the assimilationism they experienced at school which extoled the virtues of anglicisation, ignoring racism, forgetting your family's pre-migration culture, to the New Racist rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher which demeaned those who she viewed at 'swamping' British culture, to the post-racial myth of more recent years. Popular forms of rhetoric and narratives about race in Britain have consistently gaslighted people like the interviewees into ignoring, down-playing, understating

[3] Tobi Thomas, 'Four Arrested Over Online Racist Abuse of England Footballers', *The Guardian* (15 July, 2021).
[4] Mekada Graham and Gil Robinson, '"The Silent Catastrophe" Institutional Racism in the British Educational System and the Underachievement of Black Boys', *Journal of Black Studies*, 34, 5 (2004), pp. 653-671. Oakleigh Welply, '"I'm Not Being Offensive but…": Intersecting Discourses of Discrimination Towards Muslim Children in School', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21, 3 (2018), pp. 370-389. Hannah Richardson, 'Black Pupils' Schooling "Dumbed Down Over Special Needs"', *BBC News* (15 February 2019).

or even forgetting their own experiences of racism for the sake of internal peace and external harmony with British society. In part the post-racial myth is successful due to the fact that few people understand why we have begun eschewing the language of race for the language of culture. If the general public do not understand that their recent ancestors viewed humanity through racial hierarchies with white people at the top and Black African people at the bottom they cannot understand contemporary racism. This is how New Racist rhetoric and the post-racial myth have obfuscated racism from both the public's consciousness and personal memory.

Each interview conducted for this PhD was led by a White British interviewer and initial conversations focused upon capturing full life narratives, particularly experiences of British schooling, as opposed to explicitly focussing on racism. Racism is an unconventional conversation topic, and there is 'a line' between visible minoritised and White British people which makes discussions of these subjects between strangers particularly constrained.[5] Although the interviewees knew beforehand that racism would be discussed the initial parts of the conversation focused generally on their educational experiences. Questions explicitly about racism were only asked towards the end. This approach seemingly led some interviewees to present their schooltime memories in neutral and non-racial ways because they felt uncomfortable broaching the subject of racism until the white interviewer asked directly about it. This emphasises how British visible minoritised people's experiences of racism in education have been silenced by White British people and how important it is to purposefully create spaces to discuss past experiences with racism. Understandably, many visible minoritised who have gone through similar experiences to those described in this thesis could be unwilling to discuss them with a middle-class white PhD student. Perhaps a British visible minoritised researcher interviewing participants from their ethnic community

[5] Alessandro Portelli, 'History-Telling and Time: An Example from Kentucky', *The Oral History Review*, 20, 1/2 (1992), p. 64.

might collect testimonies which more critically and explicitly highlight British educational racism – although it also seems equally possible that the interviewee might seek to protect the interviewer from the harsh realities they faced.[6]

The forgetting of educational racism also relates to the consequences of resisting racism at school and the emotional work that people like the interviewees conducted to project fearlessness, and to protect their families. Educators and classmates made it evident to visible minoritised British children from the 1960s to the 1980s that the more stridently they fought racism, the greater the potential consequences. The interviewees experiences of racism changed throughout their lives but as they grew so did their ability to resist and understand the consequences. Nevertheless, numerous sources extoled to them the virtues of suppressing their reactions to racism during their formative years and at a moment in history when voices to the contrary were only just beginning to emerge. As adults, several also described instances of prejudice in their working lives which further demonstrated to them that it was often better not to complain about racism. The ambiguous nature of covert racism in particular, and the knowledge that it is generally your word against another's when seeking justice for a racial slight creates paranoia and uncertainty. Navigating these experiences involves the suppression of emotional pain. Internalising racism is therefore a common and insidious effect of resistance which contributes to the forgetting. Karen Pyke describes the lack of research into internalised racism as

> a defensive response to the concern that such research will be misinterpreted as reflecting some weakness of the oppressed. However, our discipline's relative silence

[6] In 2021 I taught a second year undergraduate module on Oral History and Childhood at the University of Huddersfield. Several interviewees with South Asian heritage interviewed their parents about growing up in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. These interviewees, while admitting the severity of racism they experienced at school, displayed an unwilling to discuss it in detail with their own children.

> on the topic only buttresses these misconceptions while denying the existence of some of racism's most insidious and damaging consequences.[7]

It is necessary to re-iterate that this research is about adults in the twenty-first century and how they have interpreted, reinterpreted, remembered, re-remembered, and narrated their memories of British schooling from the 1960s to the 1980s to a white interviewer between 2017 and 2021 and that this is an emotionally fraught discourse with great contemporary relevance. Racism is a complex phenomenon and as children the interviewees began to experience explicit overt and systematic covert racism before they were old enough to fully understand. That the interviewees learned to understand, to suppress the pain, and thrive despite this knowledge should not temper criticism of the discrimination they experienced.

All British people need to learn more about the lived realities of racism in recent British History, and the arrival of multiculturalism. They should feature more prominently in British History courses at universities, but undergraduates should also already have more primary, secondary and college level knowledge upon starting their degrees. The post-racial myth can only exist because of the general ignorance regarding the racist and exploitative nature of the Empire.[8] This is why authors like Sally Tomlinson are now turning their knowledge of British multiethnic history to analysing the 2016 vote to leave the European Union.[9] For Tomlinson, the persistent nativism of British voters which led to the result is indebted to the historical amnesia and revisionism that was fostered in British schools throughout the twentieth century. Historical amnesia surrounding British visible minoritised people's histories has also been cultivated by public historians such as Dominic Sandbrook who for example portray Margaret Thatcher as the cure to the supposed social ills of the

[7] Karen D. Pyke, 'What is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study it? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53, 4 (2010), p. 559.
[8] David Olusoga, 'Black and British History: A Forgotten History', A talk at Sheffield Hallam University (9 October 2017).
[9] Sally Tomlinson, *Education and Race from Empire to Brexit* (Bristol, 2019).

1960s and 1970s, or Niall Ferguson who Priyamvada Gopal describes as 'the media face of the case for British imperialism'.[10] The primary culprits are however those who control the national curriculum who continue to position controversial aspects of Britain's Empire as optional elements thereby unlikely to be taught in most British schools.[11] It was of course unsurprising to those familiar with these histories that the Royal Historical Society's 2018 *Race, Ethnicity and Equality Report* highlighted the underrepresentation of visible minoritised people in History courses at British universities and 'the negative impact of narrow school and university curriculums on diversity and inclusion'.[12] Positive change certainly does not look imminent, either. Instead of improving the situation in 2020 the British government sought to ban discussions in schools which draw upon the tenants of Critical Race Theory – just as they sought to do with antiracism when they attacked Local Education Authorities who practised it by removing their power through the Education Reform Act 1988.[13]

Ian Grosvenor was right to argue in 1997 that, if '"race thinking" can be dismantled, the practise of exclusion and subordination which result from such thinking can be more effectively challenged', but in 2021 there is still resistance to this idea.[14] Supposedly major developments following Grosvenor's work, such as the Macpherson Report in 1999, seem like mere blips in the continuities of the British racial paradigm. New popular British voices arguing for change have emerged in the last ten years, but until the public and government

[10] Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London, 2019). vii. Dominic Sandbrook *Seasons in the Sun: The Battle for Britain, 1974-1979* (London 2012). Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London, 2003).
[11] 'Secret Teacher: The Emphasis on British History is Depriving Students of Balance', *The Guardian* (26 May 2018).
[12] Hannah Atkinson et al, 'Race, Ethnicity and Equality in UK History: A Report and Resource for Change', *Royal Historical Society* (London, 2018).
[13] Calvin Robinson, 'Time to End the Teaching of Divisive Critical Race Theory in British schools', *The Telegraph* (21 October, 2020).
[14] Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London, 1997), p. 185.

takes heed the result is likely to be more of the same. Of course, through their presence and will British visible minoritised communities have won positive change for themselves since their arrival. They have published research into their own experiences, pressured the government into official inquiries, and gained the respect and friendship of their neighbours, classmates, and colleagues, but at a national and international level it is evident that white supremacy, New Racism and the post-racial myth remain influential forces. Films like Steve McQueen's *Small Axe* series are beginning to portray the topic to the public in ways which capture both the personal and systemic issues faced by visible minoritised schoolchildren from the 1960s to the 1980s. McQueen's documentary on the scandalous over-representation of Black British children in Educationally Sub-Normal Schools during the 1970s is also already having a great impact.[15] Public historians, like David Olusoga, who amplify British visible minoritised people's histories, may also be starting to turn the tide, but more histories which promote and analyse the voices of those who have experienced British racism in recent history are crucial. Dramatizations and factual documentaries which encourage viewers to empathise with the victims of British racism and force them to engage with these histories could not be timelier. Further research and public history projects must also seek to capture the lived experience of British multiculturalism and multiethnic education practices if race-thinking and systemic racism are ever to be eradicated.

[15] 'Steve McQueen to Produce BBC Films on Black Power and UK Schools Scandal', *The Guardian* (29 January, 2021). 'DECP response to BBC documentary 'Subnormal: A British Scandal' and the role of Educational Psychologists', *The British Psychology Association* (21 May, 2021).

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Appendix One

Writing about race as a white person

English people are used to thinking of racism as a Bad Thing, but they are convinced that it is always happening somewhere else – Ann Dummet.[1]

For minorities – ordinary people, not the elites – hope is not the way to emotional wholeness. For whites, it is. They need, above all, guilt assuagement, the sense that they are not responsible, or if they are, at least things are getting better – Richard Delgado.[2]

I am a middle-class White British man who writes about British visible minoritised people's experiences of racism in the recent past. Here I consider how I have benefited from racism, how racism has affected my thinking in the past, and reflect on why I am doing this work. Between 2015 and 2017 I interviewed British visible minoritised people about being bussed to school in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s for a Master's degree (MA) in History. I criticised racism in the education system and dispersal school bussing – the policy which spread so called 'coloured immigrant' children around British schools from the 1960s to the 1980s – but was also defensive towards my parents' and grandparents' generations. I presumed that most teachers engaged with Commonwealth newcomers with good intentions and emphasised Huddersfield's supposedly progressive attitude towards migrants.[3] Tellingly, I originally sought to focus on the experiences of African Caribbean and South Asian

[1] Ann Dummett, *A Portrait of English Racism* (Middlesex, 1973), p. 14.
[2] Richard Delgado, 'Rodrigo's roundelay: *Hernandez v. Texas* and the interest convergence dilemma', *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law* Review, 41, (2006), p. 62.
[3] Huddersfield was quick to adopt bussing and other early race-based policies which essentially amounted to segregating many South Asian children and spreading out African Caribbean children. It was however praised for this in early studies of multiethnic education in Britain. Julia G. McNeal, 'Education', in Simon Abbott (ed.), *The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain*, (London, 1971), p. 133. Lewis M. Killian echoes McNeal's claims about Huddersfield in, 'School Busing in Britain: Policies and Perceptions', *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 2, (1979), p. 189. Reports of local visible minoritised people praising Huddersfield can also be found: 'Praise for multi-racial schools in Huddersfield: but there are problems', *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* (29 September 1973), p. 1.

schoolchildren yet spent time defending the actions of white teachers. In part this was because my first interviewee was a white former head teacher who became the educational organiser for 'Immigrants and Remedial Education' in Huddersfield during the 1960s. Although not personally responsible for introducing bussing, he administrated it.[4] This kind elderly man ran what I felt was a racially discriminatory education policy, but seemingly had good intentions. I still believe his intentions were good, and think bussing says more about the era than the man, but as others pointed out for me, the British Empire was built by people with good intentions, and intent is largely irrelevant when the result is racial inequality.

Most of the influential people throughout my childhood and adolescence were white. I grew up knowing that racist terms were bad yet heard them regularly. Whilst undertaking the MA I learned that my mother and father grew up referring to all South Asian people as 'Pakis' and all African Caribbean people as 'wogs'. They claim to have been unaware of how inappropriate this was until reaching young adulthood in the early 1980s. I was surprised to learn that 'nigger brown' was a common saying throughout my grandparents' and even my parents' earlier lives, but already knew for myself that white people in Huddersfield regularly talk of 'the Paki shop'. My parents are not racists, but during my formative years there was an ambivalence towards other races evident among my social network and family. My late maternal Grandparents talked fondly of their Sikh Pharmacist but referred to South Asian run convenience stores as 'Paki shops' until their deaths in 2016. My Grandfather seemed unconcerned by my sister's marriage to an Indian Malaysian man, and welcomed my brother in-law into his home, but to my knowledge never hosted a British visible minoritised person or hired one at his building business. He also voted leave in the 2016 Referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union because he believed immigration was ruining

[4] Joe Hopkinson, 'Dispersal Bussing in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s: Solving 'the Problem' of Immigrant Children', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 29 (2018/2019), pp. 59-69.

Britain. I loved my Grandad but only knew him for slightly over a quarter of his life. The thought of labelling him a racist is unpleasant, but he was undoubtedly prejudiced.

From experience, I can see how white children learn the benefits of racial prejudice from a young age. I attended a Church of England infants' and juniors' schools in my predominantly white village, then attended high school in a nearby village with an ethnically diverse pupil roll drawn from three nearby council estates. Racism was ever-present and advantageous to me, yet I never appreciated it. In junior school I got into a physical fight with a boy whose mother was of African Caribbean descent, and father was white. We both got into trouble, but he received a more severe telling off as the teachers immediately believed I was less at fault. I pushed him first but let the teachers blame him.[5] Although my friendship groups became more diverse at secondary school I was closest with other middle-class white boys. I remember feeling social pressure to not see visible minoritised girls as potential romantic partners.[6] We feared and resented the lower working-class white boys – who often affected cultural Blackness – and many visible minoritised boys.[7] There were numerous exceptions to these generalisations, but we generally saw 'them' as, 'The naughty kids'. They had free school meals yet seemed to have money. The most disobedient went to the local bowling alley or laser quest as rewards for good behaviour. They got suspended and returned bragging about having a holiday. The more badly they behaved the more attention they got. Since commencing this research more than one schoolfriend expressed to me their belief that 'us white boys' were the disadvantaged group at our school. I disagreed but understood their meaning and that I had thought similarly in the past. We had a mild-mannered experience at our ninety-nine per cent white primary schools but remember chaos, fear, and violence at our

[5] I probably knew that the teachers were more likely to believe me because he already had a reputation for fighting and getting in trouble.
[6] I can remember white male classmates/friends referring to different groups of visible minoritised girls as 'dirty', 'smelly', 'ugly' and 'skets' – a then popular insult indicating a promiscuous woman.
[7] Roger Hewitt, *White Talk, Black Talk: Inter-racial Friendship and Communication among Adolescents* (Cambridge, 1986).

multiethnic secondary. Despite probably being the largest in number we were not considered tough and were regularly victimised. We did not understand racism, had little knowledge of it in British history, and were bitterly confused. Regardless, our teachers seemed to protect *them* and would almost pounce on *us* for any hint of racism, all the while our classmates of African or Asian descent insulted us for being white.

A white teacher accused me of being racist when I was around thirteen. We had to give a two-minute-long presentation on identity in our English lesson. A boy with Pakistani Muslim heritage briefly discussed his culture and religion, then showed off a large heart surgery scar from an operation during infancy. During the Q&A I remembered a children's Television programme called *Pig Heart Boy* (1999). Although my classmate had mentioned not eating pork, I was largely ignorant of attitudes towards pigs in Islam and raised my hand to ask whether or not a pig's heart had been used in the boy's operation.[8] The class erupted in laughter. As they later said, my South Asian classmates laughed at my ignorance, while the others thought I was mocking the boy's weight, but the teacher accused me of racism and sent me outside for the duration of the lesson. When discussing this with my personal tutor the teacher falsely claimed the boy had given a detailed explanation of attitudes towards pork in Islam during his short talk, and that I had purposefully mocked him. My tutor was furious. A letter was sent home. I received an after-school detention, and a racist incident was recorded on my school record. Around 2003 when this occurred, the recommendations of the Macpherson Report had been implemented across Britain with its new definition of racism as including 'unwitting' prejudice.[9] Despite Muslim classmates, including the presenter, arguing

[8] The Television programme was based on Malorie Blackman's novel, *Pig Heart Boy* (London, 1997).
[9] David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (London, 2008), p. 123.

that I was ignorant but had not discriminated against him, the teacher believed the new guidelines necessitated it be recorded as a racist incident.[10]

It stung at the time, but I now feel this is a fascinating anecdote from a particular moment in British history which suggests how white people misunderstand racism, and how multicultural and antiracist education policies have failed. The story evokes the conclusions of the Burnage Inquiry (1989), which was conducted following the murder of an Asian schoolboy in a Manchester playground in 1986. Queen's Council Ian Macdonald and a team of antiracist experts concluded that the implementation of antiracist education policies at Burnage School was so flawed by staff's ignorance and racism that it had actually worsened racial divides in the run up to the murder.[11] I certainly displayed ignorance and required correction, but the teacher's interpretation of the rules left me feeling aggrieved by the concept of racism as a teenager. This was, in the end, an insignificant incident, but I can see how other white boys who had similar experiences yet did not go on to learn more about racism could maintain their bitterness as adults and use it to justify believing in white racial victimhood.

I did not think I was a prejudiced teenager, but I had a warped perception of racial inequality and constructed visible minoritised children in general, and white lower-working-class children, as 'the other'. I went home after school to a privileged life but was blind to how I benefitted from classism and racism. Although there were many exceptions to these generalisations, I remember that the white middle-class children were in the tops sets while they were in the lower ones. We never got in trouble with the police but committed juvenile crimes like minor vandalism or purchased cannabis from visible minoritised children and

[10] Sir William Macpherson, The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry', Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty (February, 1999), p. 362.
[11] Ian Macdonald et al, *Murder in the Playground: The Report of the Macdonald Inquiry into Racism and Racial Violence in Manchester Schools* (London, 1989), pp. 169-182.

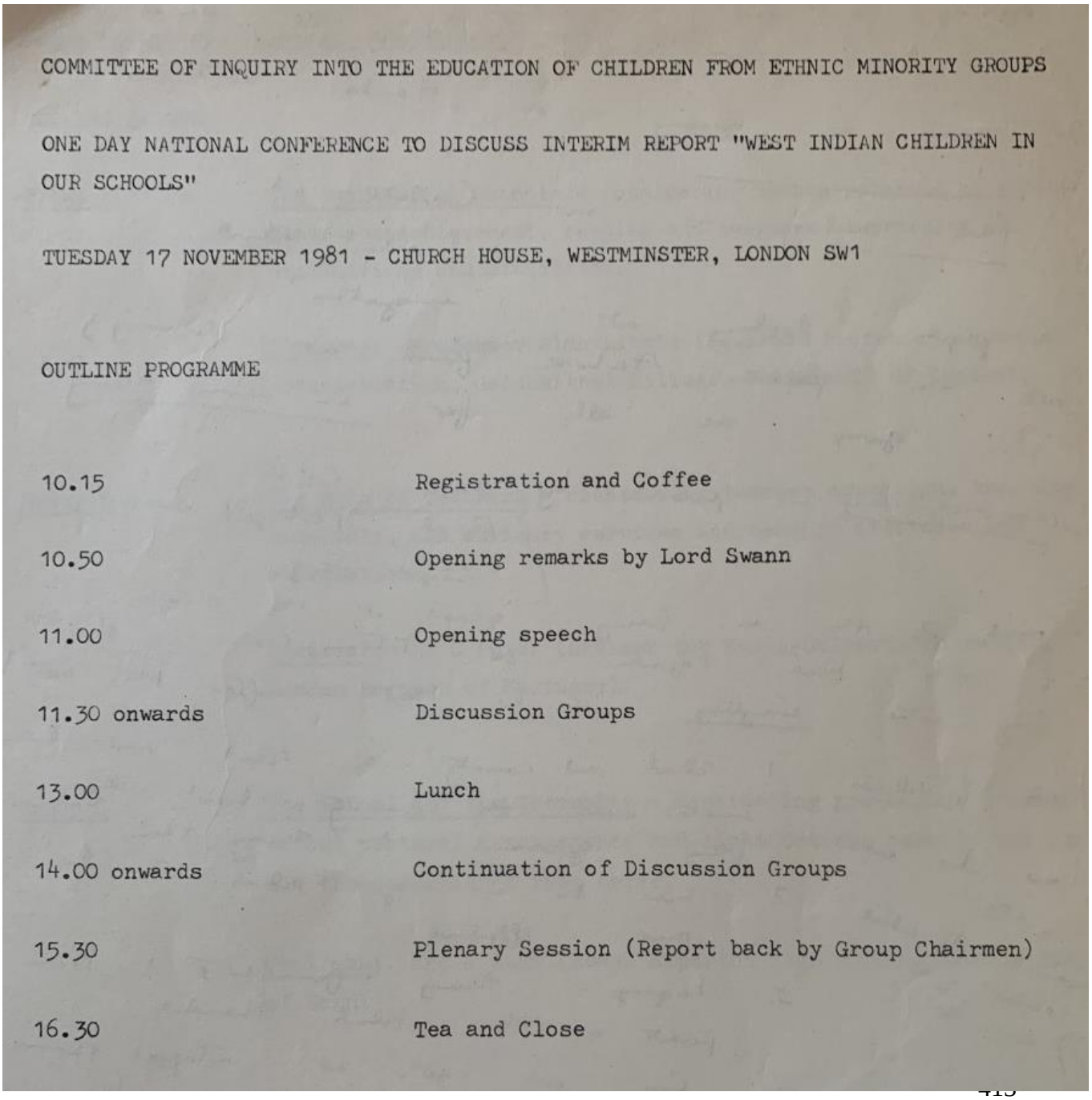
used it without consequence. They got arrested for drug dealing and other crimes, yet we never received even as much as an official caution. We went to apprenticeships, or college and university. They went to the technical college, low-paid work, the jobcentre, or prison.[12] Nonetheless, I finished schooling thinking myself a liberal product of an essentially fair and progressive multicultural society. This was a powerful component of my identity which suggests why I failed to confront the impact of my white middle-class ideologies during my MA.

I had to complete the MA research before I could see that my perspectives were part of a grand illusion which perpetuates racist and classist structures in British society. This was a transformative experience that I should not have experienced as a postgraduate. It should have been more integral to my British History course, and I should have learned more about racism in history and contemporary society prior to finishing school. There is of course a desire to attract more visible minoritised students to this subject area, but my experiences suggest that is also important to make Black British History more accessible to White British students. Since finishing my undergraduate degree my institution has introduced a compulsory first year module on identity, race, and Empire. The appointments of Olivette Otele as Professor of the History of Slavery at Bristol University, and David Olusoga as Professor of Public History at Manchester University are also positive signs of change. However, for notable sustainable improvements we need many more postgraduate students, lecturers, and professors of all ethnicities who can properly teach and supervise these subjects if British universities are ever to attract more visible minoritised students to the study of British History in general.

[12] In the years that followed high school I saw articles in the local press about people from my school being imprisoned for serious violent crimes. I also remember seeing groups of my former classmates in the centre of Huddersfield as I walked home from Greenhead College and witnessed the other predominantly white college students cross the road to avoid walking by them. During the short time I was on job seekers allowance prior to commencing my undergraduate degree in 2012 I saw many former classmates for the first time since 2006.

Appendix Two

Image of Sally Tomlinson's copy of the proceedings and her handwritten notes on the document (reproduced with her permission) from the One Day National Conference to Discuss Interim Report "West Indian Children in Our Schools"', Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (17 November, 1981).



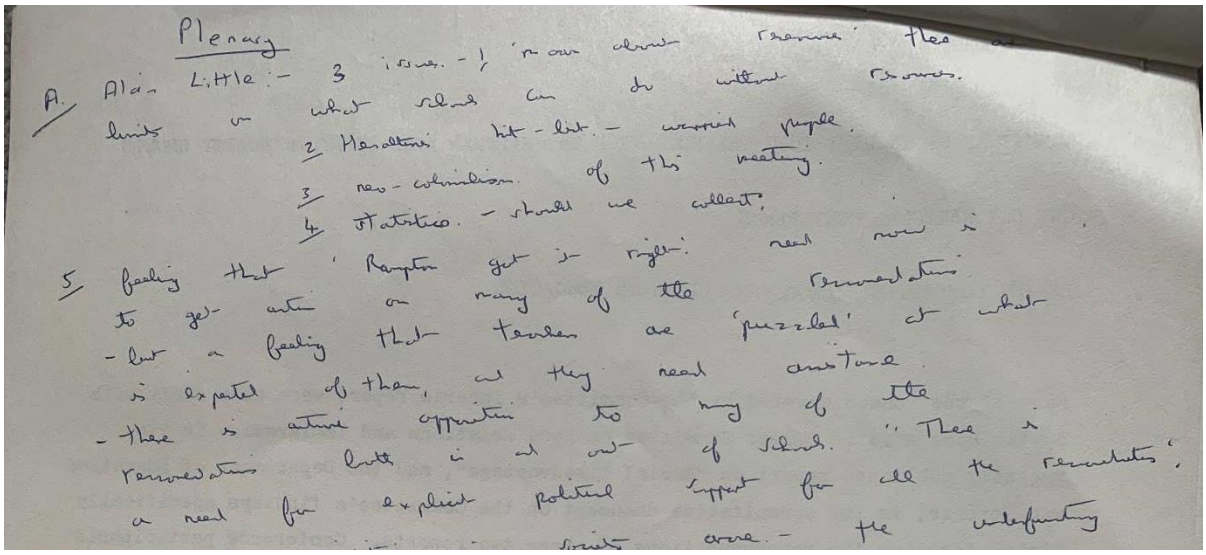
COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN FROM ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

ONE DAY NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INTERIM REPORT "WEST INDIAN CHILDREN IN OUR SCHOOLS"

TUESDAY 17 NOVEMBER 1981 - CHURCH HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, LONDON SW1

OUTLINE PROGRAMME

10.15	Registration and Coffee
10.50	Opening remarks by Lord Swann
11.00	Opening speech
11.30 onwards	Discussion Groups
13.00	Lunch
14.00 onwards	Continuation of Discussion Groups
15.30	Plenary Session (Report back by Group Chairmen)
16.30	Tea and Close



Plenary

A. Alan Little :- 3 issues. - 1/ no one knows these are limits on what schools can do without resources.

2/ Haroldtin list - list - worried people.

3/ neo-colonialism of this meeting.

4/ Statistics - should we collect;

5/ feeling that Rampton got it right: need now is to get on with many of the recommendations - but a feeling that teachers are 'puzzled' at what is expected of them, and they need assistance - there is active opposition to many of the recommendations but is it out of ideals. ∴ There is a need for explicit political support for all the recommendations'.

- ... - ... - ... -

Appendix Three

The following documents were used in the oral history interviewing to ensure full informed consent was achieved.

Project statement of intent

A letter given to each interviewee prior to our first meeting and recorded interview. As you can see, the title of the project and other details such as the time period differ somewhat from the final product.

The Experiences of Visible Minoritized Groups at School in the North of England, 1960-1981

This project is about the experiences of visible minoritised people (also described in Britain as Black, Asian, or Minority Ethnic, BAME) at school in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. My aim is to examine these experiences and present discussions of them publicly in the form of a documentary film and 50-60,000-word thesis to qualify for a PhD in History.

The project will discuss racism in everyday interactions, and in society more broadly. Seeing how people experienced prejudice at school will be an important part of the work but the interview will centre on how the interviewees remember their schooling. I will produce interpretations of people's testimonies, but it is a part of my methods to discuss these interpretations with each interviewee and to only include things in the final work with their approval.

If you are from a BAME background and attended school during the 1960s and 1970s in either Liverpool or Kirklees I will ask you to carry out a life history style interview with me. This means that although the focus will be upon your years in British schools you will also be asked about your life in general.

Everyone will be asked to sign a document relating to their participation in this project which will allow me to utilise quotes from recorded interviews and notes in my writing and documentary film. To clarify, with your permission I may quote things that you say in my writing and in my documentary film. The recordings that I make will be stored by myself at home on a laptop, and on an external hard drive. Your personal information, and the recordings of our interview/s will not be shared with others without your permission. You can have a copy of your interview/s if you wish. All participants can choose whether they are happy to be named or if they would prefer to feature anonymously.

If you are happy to remain involved with this project after your interview, then I may want to maintain a dialogue about the research and seek your advice at different stages.

Participant Consent Form

TITLE OF PROJECT **Racism in Memories of British Schooling: From the 1960s to the 1980s**

NAME OF RESEARCHER **Joe Hopkinson**

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research and consent to taking part in it.

I give my permission for my interview to be recorded.

I give permission to be quoted.

I understand that the recordings will be held in accordance with the University of Huddersfield's data protection policy.

Declaration: I, the Interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the Joe Hopkinson and the University of

Huddersfield all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the "performer" in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Name of participant:

Signature:

Date:

Name of researcher: Joe Hopkinson

Signature:

Date:

Two copies of this consent from should be completed: One copy to be retained by the participant and one copy to be retained by the researcher