Global Societies Journal

Title:

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ABSTRACT

As globalization upsets traditional notions of the homogenous nation state, education becomes an avenue through which countries can define and redefine themselves, constructing national narratives through curricula decisions and education policies. Education initiatives in the post-imperial era showcase England grappling with both the loss of the British Empire and the influx of globalization, specifically in terms of incorporating the flood of migration from former West Indie colonies into its national education system. This article looks at the formal and informal education policies in England from the 1960s-1990s, situating them as negotiations over national narratives, identity, and citizenship. While multicultural education initiatives were implemented, these were later criticized by race scholars for failing to address the institutional racism and barriers to successful education within the English public school system. The black community responses to conservative education policies include increased parental involvement, supplementary schools, and alternative teaching pedagogies, all of which fall under the category of anti-racist or postcolonial education strategies.

Keywords: Education; Multicultural; Postcolonial; Post Imperial; Legitimate Knowledge; England; British Empire

INTRODUCTION

It is not new that education has been, and continues to be, a politically charged public sphere. In the recently elevated public awareness and discussions of globalization, the institution of education, particularly education curricula, has become a way to engage

with what Benedict Anderson terms "imagined communities."[1] Nation states attempt to identify and cordon off their 'imagined community' more concretely by instilling national curricula that categorize, by careful selection, what content and which authors are most important. Education has an enormous influence on the imagined nature of the national community in terms of allocating canonization of authors and texts that promote a constructed idea of nationality, be it through race, ethnicity, skin color, language, or citizenship. This is particularly relevant to K-12 public school social science and humanities classes, where course content is generally nationally mandated. Material that is selected for history and literature courses contributes to a certain kind of national narrative. Additionally, civics courses introduce students to notions of citizenship and nationhood, and can produce narratives about what a 'proper' or 'true' national citizen looks like or how they behave.

Due to globalization, the insecurity of the traditional nation state, and the transnational characteristics of many contemporary national security threats, governments have responded by tightening the avenues they still have control over, such as education. Imagined nationals communities are disturbed by these global processes because they oftentimes upset the constructed narrative of the nation state as a homogenous entity with solid borders and a carefully sanitized history. With national insecurity comes xenophobia, and with globalization-induced anxiety over international power and status, national curricula become a way for states to re-assert themselves and maintain a controlled youth population infused with particular information about citizenship and national identity.

Focusing on Anglophone countries, Mark Priestley terms this phenomenon "cultural restorationism through curriculum prescription."[2] Priestley explains that onslaughts of education reform

> can be seen as a *reaction against* globalization, in that they represent a particularism in the face of what is seen in some quarters as the encroachment of global forces. They can also be seen as a *response to* globalization in that they represent attempts by national governments to make themselves more competitive on world markets through the medium of education.[3]

"Curriculum prescription" is a particularly interesting phrase, as it speaks to the tendency of policymakers to use education as a kind of magic bullet to solve problems within society. Here we see education being utilized for different motives; essentially being pulled in different directions as debates, strategies, and initiatives complicate the purpose of educational content.

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[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books, 2006.

[2] Mark Priestley, "Global discourses and national reconstruction: the impact of globalization on curriculum policy." *Curriculum Journal* 13, no. 1 (2002): 28.

[3] Ibid., 15.

Education has been viewed as a hegemonic avenue through which cultural knowledge production is navigated, decided, and disseminated. Henry Giroux, for example, influenced by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire[4], argues that

> the dominant culture is mediated in schools through textbooks, through the assumptions that teachers use to guide their work, through the meanings that students use to negotiate their classroom experiences, and through the form and content of school subjects themselves.[5]

Giroux's work on critical education and pedagogy also focuses on the political nature of legitimate knowledge.[6] Additionally, drawing on Raymond Williams' work on "selective traditions"[7] in education, Apple (1993) asserts, "The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a *selective tradition*, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge."[8] Again, the argument is that education can be and is manipulated to re-assert a sense of constructed national identity in the wake of events like immigration that upset a certain image of the homogenous nation state.

In order to challenge the hegemonic curriculum, one has to be knowledgeable about the power systems that control it. For example, parents, educators, and policy makers have to be critically aware of curriculum goals and narratives in order to revise them. A rationale must be developed to justify how educational material from different cultures can and should be in dialogue with one another, both in the sense of anti-racist or multicultural education initiatives that are further addressed below, as well as inserting alternative national narratives and perspectives into curriculum and textbooks. In this sense, being able to navigate the hegemonic national and educational discourse becomes a kind of social capital that can be valuable when promoting a multiethnic or diversified curriculum. Put another way, acknowledging the often-damaging presence of hegemonic curriculum is the first step in allowing space for alternative education policies and pedagogies to surface. While a diversified curriculum must go much farther than simply being "multicultural," as explained later in this article, England's multicultural education initiatives sparked political divisiveness and debates over what the role of national education should be, and what kind of national narrative and national citizenship it should

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[4] Paulo Freire, "Pedagogy of the oppressed (MB Ramos, Trans.)." New York: Continuum 2007 (1970).

[5] Henry A. Giroux, Ideology, culture, and the process of schooling. Temple University Press, 1984.

[6] Questions that Giroux raises include: "1) What counts as social studies knowledge? (2) How is this knowledge produced and legitimized? (3) Whose interests does this knowledge serve? (4) Who has access to this knowledge? (5) How is this knowledge distributed and reproduced in the classroom? (6) What kinds of classroom social relationships serve to parallel and reproduce the social relations of production in the wider society? (7) How do the prevailing methods of evaluation serve to legitimize existing forms of knowledge? (8) What are the contradictions that exist between the ideology embodied in existing forms of social studies knowledge and the objective social reality?" Giroux, Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, 59.

[7] Raymond Williams, Marxism and literature. Vol. 1, Oxford Paperbacks, 1977.

[8] Michael W. Apple, "The politics of official knowledge: Does a national curriculum make sense?." Discourse 14, no. 1 (1993): 222, italics in original.

promote. This exchange both necessitated and resulted in subaltern solutions and classroom pedagogies.

This article highlights the racial and inclusionary tensions that played out in England's education system after World War II. The following pages are dedicated to the negotiations in the English education system after the immigration influx from former colonies after WWII (1960s-1990s) in order to show how national politics play out in public classrooms. This article considers two guiding questions: 'How has England negotiated their post-imperial status through their national education system?' And secondly, 'How does the education system in England address race, colonization, and legacies of slavery?' I employ the concept of 'education as cultural practice' as a framework to examine the above questions by writing under the assumption that education, specifically curriculum content, is a creator of culture.[9]

Drawing largely from scholars in global studies, sociology, and education, such as Anderson, Giroux, and Troyna and Williams, I frame the English education system in the context of how England used their national education curricula to negotiate their post-imperial and post-British Empire status and identity.[10] More specifically, how has England constructed national narratives through their education systems?

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESPONSES TO POST-IMPERIAL WEST INDIE MIGRATION

During its greatest point of expansion in the early 1920s, the British Empire was one of the largest in the world, encompassing approximately 25% of the earth's land surface and roughly 1/5 of the world's population.[11] Britain colonized the British West Indies and divided them into eight colonies: the Bahamas, Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Turks and Caicos, Cayman Islands, and Trinidad and Tobago. An unintended effect of the massive British Empire was the influx of migrants from former British colonies, dependencies, and territories after independence. Specific to this article, one of the ways in which England faced the consequences of colonization and the insecurity of globalization was in the incorporation of black migration from the former

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[9] Yatta Kanu, Curriculum as cultural practice: Postcolonial imaginations. University of Toronto Press, 2006.

[10] While the main scholarship of this article focuses on transitions of the British Empire by narrowing in on England post-WWII (as the site of renowned Western academia institutions like Cambridge and Oxford), studies and scholars who focus more broadly on the UK and Great Britain as a whole are also included, as their work includes site locations in England. The terms English and British are used interchangeably for the purpose of this article, although the author notes the discrepancies and differences between utilizing the terms British Empire, Great Britain, England, the UK, British, and English.

[11] British Empire (2015, July 31). New World Encyclopedia. Retrieved December 1, 2015 from http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=British

Anglophone Caribbean colonies, specifically Jamaica, into its society and education system.

Unlike some countries in Europe, like France[12], England currently embraces the label of a multicultural society. This can even be seen with things that are thought of as 'quintessentially British,' many of which are remnants of the interactions between Britain and its former colonies. For example, tea originating from India, and the renowned Indian curry cuisine in London. England has not always self-identified as a multicultural nation, but we are able to examine how England became a self-proclaimed multicultural society by looking at the political, social, and cultural negotiations that played out in the English school system post-WWII.

Troyna and Williams (2012) provide an overview of the intersections of race, education policy, and the state throughout the 1960s-1980s in the United Kingdom, relevant to this article as their research includes work on England within the UK. The early 1960s witnessed a rise in the number of black students entering educational facilities in large cities in the UK, mostly children of black migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia who were part of the wave of post-WWII immigration from former colonies. This altered the demographic composition of students in British schools. Between 1948 and 1970, approximately half a million West Indie nationals immigrated to Britain.[13] Immigration policy during this time period, including the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, reflects the UK's desire to limit the entry of black populations in response to this migration wave.

The national education system was selected as the avenue through which the state could regulate their existing multicultural population and alleviate racial tensions,[14] without changing or rectifying the institutional systems of racial inequality that contributed to and produced these tensions in the first place. The ideology that supported this position assumed that cultural and racial "differences were deficits," and identified black culture as the reason behind student difficulties, as black students statistically performed worse in school. Policy makers essentially blamed black families for black students performing poorly in school. Here, the national school curriculum was not publicly acknowledged as an institution through which British/white culture is normalized, to the detriment of racial, ethnic, and national "others" in the school system.

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[12] France is unique in that it promotes 'Frenchness' above any ethnic or visually racial difference, essentially embracing a national narrative of 'colorblindness'-very different from England's proclaimed multicultural society. In many European countries, like France, law forbids collecting official racial or ethnic statistics. Because of this, proving instances of racism become more complicated, especially in light of the campaigns and sentiments that uphold the belief that ethnic statistics would encourage discrimination and be detrimental to France's secular principles. See "France's ethnic minorities: To count or not to count," The Economist, Mar 26, 2009, http://www.economist.com/node/13377324

[13] The National Archives. (n.d.). Bound for Britain. Retrieved from http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/bound-for-britain/

[14] This refers to the race riots in England, notably the 1958 'Notting Hill riots' between whites and West Indian blacks. Racial violence during this time is said to stem from resentment against police and the "sus" laws. Riots continued through the mid-1980s.

Public acknowledgement plays an important role in the recognition (or, detrimentally, the misrecognition) factor of identity creation and affirmation, recalling Hegel's description of the "struggle for recognition."[15]

The Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council report of 1964, referring to the national system of education, notes, "a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups."[16] In other words, "The official agenda was framed so that 'the problem' *of* black students and not the problems confronted *by* black students became the rationale for policy intervention."[17] Official reports and task forces did not address any of the root causes for black students' poor academic performance, and instead engaged in a kind of victim-blaming methodology.

Troyna and Williams clarify that while some policy responses facilitated and reinforced racism, they were not the only racist elements in education. Instead, racism was also presented as the *absence* of policy, which can be classified as a positive response to racially explicit situations. In other words, not enacting policy that would address instances of structural racism can be seen as passively condoning racism in that it is being allowed to continue to happen. Troyna and Williams focus on Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in the UK, specifically Inner London (ILEA) and Manchester (which has a 'New Commonwealth-born' black population, mainly Jamaican), as fairly autonomous[18] avenues through which education policies revolving around racism, anti-racism, monoculture curriculum, hidden curriculum, and multicultural agendas were enacted. Here, the ideologies between anti-racism and pro-multiculturalism are differentiated. Anti-racism ideologies, the preferable goal for education reforms, policies, and curricula, focus on the equality of outcomes for changing the patterns of racial inequality. In terms of education policy, a politicized curriculum is recommended, defined as one that would "discuss the origins and manifestations of racism and would be directed as much to white as black students."[19] In this description, these issues are brought to the forefront of the curriculum, instead of being glossed over for fear that they might incite divisive, difficult, or controversial discussions.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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[15] Hegel, Georg W. G. Hegel, *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, Trans. A. V. Miller. Oxford:
    Clarendon Press, 1977 [1807].

[16] Troyna, Barry, and Jenny Williams. Racism, education and the state. Taylor & Francis, 2012, 12.

[17] Ibid., 24, italics added.

[18] The UK education system was largely decentralized until the 1990s, and this became the rationale of the central government for not implementing anti-racist policy in schools because of a lack of power and authority over LEAs.

[19] Troyna and Williams, Racism, education and the state, 47.

Juxtaposed with anti-racism, multiculturalism acknowledges cultural diversity (unlike French society, for example), but is criticized for focusing on cultural deprivation. Troyna and Williams (2012) label multicultural education policies as 'compensatory,' or striving to make up for cultural differences, which are labeled as deficits. Multiculturalism is also critiqued as "the state's attempt to maintain social stability and defuse racial conflict rather than a challenge to institutional racism"[20] (see Stanley Fish[21] and Clyve Harris[22] for further discussion on multiculturalism). Thinking about this failure to enact policy directly addressing institutional racism, it is important to note the distinction between the terms *racism* and *discrimination*. The former can be considered an ideology, whereas the latter is a concrete situation that policies can realistically address.[23]

In the 1970s, British race scholars began to challenge the theory of cultural deprivation. However, educational policy responses that promoted cultural diversity learning paradoxically treated cultural diversity as a means to assimilation. As Troyna and Williams (2012) explain, this strategy was a preemptive approach resulting from concerns that a disgruntled minority population would increase societal tensions: "Assimilation remained the goal; what differed in this scenario was a recognition that assimilation could only be achieved successfully with the compliance of black students."[24] In other words, the provisions for cultural diversity were 'throwing a bone of

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Stanley Fish, "Boutique multiculturalism, or why liberals are incapable of thinking about hate speech." Critical inquiry (1997): 378-395.

Fish argues that multiculturalism does not actually exist. He identifies two problematic kinds of multiculturalism: boutique multiculturalism, which allows followers to enjoy aspects of culture only at a superficial level, and strong multiculturalism, which values difference and respect for all cultures, to the point of employing the ethic of tolerance above all else. This, Fish argues, is problematic because at some point, you may find yourself in the position of tolerating or respecting a cultural practice that is not tolerant in and of itself, forcing a strong multiculturalist to either employ a blanket tolerance of all things, some of which are bound to be conflictingly intolerant of others, or to become disrespectful or intolerant of a cultural behavior, negating the core principle of the strong multiculturalist.

[22] Clyve Harris addresses Stanley Fish's notion of multiculturalism, and unpacks the term he feels is utilized differently by both the left and the right by surveying the debates surrounding the definition of the term that revolve around notions of difference and the public vs. private sphere. Harris concludes that "Once we give up the idea of cultures as sealed entities, and recognize that even within cultural boundaries communication is essentially about difference and requires translation, then the problematic nature of the constituent elements of the concept of 'multiculturalism'-multi-, -cultural-, -ism—renders the whole concept questionable. The 'ism' encourages an unwarranted, dogmatic and unitary mode of thinking that gives the aura of rigorous, social scientific scholarship; the notion of 'the cultural', conventionally understood, suggests enduring and distinct cultural identities...How can we persistently talk about the interaction between cultures in a multicultural arena (majority vis-à-vis minority, and minority vis-à-vis minority), yet fail miserably to account for how cultures affect, challenge, exploit and affirm each other?" See Clive Harris, "Beyond multiculturalism? Difference, recognition and social justice." Patterns of prejudice 35.1 (2001): 33.

[23] Patrick Lozès, "The Invention of Blacks in France" in Keaton, Trica Danielle, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting and Tyler Stovall (2012), Black France/France Noire: The History and Politics of Blackness, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

[24] Troyna and Williams, Racism, education and the state, 22.

multiculturalism' in order to achieve compliance from black students and proponents of a diversified, inclusive curriculum.

According to Troyna and Williams (2012) in their analysis of English cities, Inner London has a "Benevolent Multiculturalism" educational policy model, whereas Manchester has a "Cultural Understanding" model. Benevolent Multiculturalism is an applicable term, argue Troyna and Williams (2012), when, "by embedding the [education] policy in a conceptual framework informed by cultural pluralism, it distract[s] attention away from racism within the education system."[25] In contrast, but still problematic, the purpose of the Cultural Understanding model used in the 1980s "was to provide all students with more information and insight into these cultures in the expectation that tension and hostility would then be magically undercut."[26] The Cultural Understanding model is criticized for the assumption that changing individual's minds about discrimination and pre-conceived notions of other cultures can be a stand-in policy response for addressing institutionalized racism and structural inequality. These examples are a reminder that just within England, different education models, ideologies, and policy responses have been employed to deal with different cultural components and racism in schools in different locations. Thus, England cannot and should not be considered homogenous, as discussed below in the work of Twine (2010) and Brown (2005).

According to Griffiths and Troyna (1995), the 1980s saw a rise in opposition to antiracist education initiatives. The Conservative Party in England largely led this attack on equal opportunities. In response, a radical teacher culture emerged in the 1990s, which supported an equal opportunities curriculum. However, Griffiths and Troyna (1995) show in teacher interviews that this curriculum was not without its own problems. According to one of the teachers interviewed in K-12 classrooms, "embedded in this emancipatory curriculum was still a patronizing sense of control. Teaching about the history of slavery, for example, still placed Black pupils as the objects of history- not empowered to construct their own, relevant, lived agenda."[27] This speaks to the continued power dynamics that are ever-present in curriculum decisions.

Class-based and language-based categorizations have also been used as proxies for racial categorizations when referring to ESL (English as a Second Language) instruction as a policy response to growing black immigrant communities. Afro-Caribbean students were not designated as suitable candidates for ESL language provisions (rather, South Asian students were), because their Anglophone Caribbean

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[25] Ibid., 37.
[26] Ibid., 42.
[27] Morwenna Griffiths and Barry Troyna, Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education. Trentham Books Limited, Westview House, Oakhill, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, 1995, 85.

dialects were labeled as sub-par English, instead of a recognized Creole language, an issue that is currently debated frequently within the Jamaican education system.[28]

> The speech of the children of that Jamaican diaspora, up to the third generation, blends with the local languages of the English working class and newer migrant populations. In numerical terms, Jamaica is the dominant Caribbean group and the language of its people remains the most influential on the British Creole landscape.[29]

Here, cultural hegemony works through state implementation of language and education policy. The refusal to designate Creole as a separate language not only effectively barred ESL funds and resources from the population of black students who identified as Creole speakers, it labeled their language an inferior version of Standard English. This is a perfect example of an instance where the absence of policy implicitly condones racism, as Troyna and Williams highlight.

Osler and Starkey (2001) conducted comparative research on citizenship education policy documents from France and England in order to determine the ways in which the documents encourage inclusive or exclusive concepts of national identity and citizenship. Government education initiatives in both France and England in 1999 aimed at "reinforcing democracy in a tolerant society" through education for citizenship. It is worth noting that "Until the 1988 Education Reform Act and the introduction of a national curriculum in the 1990s, the British government had no direct control over the content of the curriculum in English schools," as Local Education Authorities held much of the local education jurisdiction.[30]

In England, the authors further analyzed the Crick Report proposal for the national programme of citizenship education for English schools in 1998. Interestingly, Osler and Starkey (2001) conclude that these education initiatives hold "the expectation that citizenship education should challenge racism;" however, they argue, "the very premise of the programme may risk defining young people, on flawed evidence, as less good citizens."[31] The tensions around these citizenship education programs come from the difficulties in defining what makes a 'good citizen' for nationalist purposes. Although there is a recognition of multiethnic British identities, there is also the expectation that visible ethnic minorities "need somehow to change in order to realize a common

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[28] While I defer to trained linguists on the specifics of language differentiations, I will note that the distinction of Jamaican Creole/Patois, for example, as a separate and specific language as opposed to pidgin or a sub-par dialect of English can be a political and contentious distinction, especially when one of the distinctions between pidgin (a contact language) and Creole is that Creole is the language that gets taught (i.e. is standardized with unique grammatical rules) to the next generation. This places a critical component of the recognition of Creole on its inclusion (or exclusion) in the school curriculum. See Jeff Siegal, n.d., "Language Varieties," University of Hawaii and the School of Languages, Cultures, and Linguistics at the University of New England (Australia). http://hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/definitions/index.html

[29] Beverley Bryan, "Jamaican Creole: In the process of becoming." Ethnic and racial studies 27, no. 4 (2004): 641-659.

[30] Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, "Citizenship education and national identities in France and England: inclusive or exclusive?." Oxford Review of Education 27, no. 2 (2001): 287-305.

[31] Ibid., 289.

citizenship."[32] Thus the citizenship education at this time held a contradictory platform of accepting difference, but only to a certain extent.

This discussion of racial/ethnic visibility and invisibility is also reflected in the Liverpool-based ethnography of Brown (2005), pertaining to the absence of Mary Seacole in K-12 education curriculum. Seacole was a Jamaican nurse who aided British soldiers during the Crimean war. However, she is omitted from British national history in textbooks: "Mary Seacole, because she was Black, is completely unrecognized for her selfless heroics for Britain. A White nurse, Florence Nightingale, occupies that role exclusively."[33] In this instance, we see one of the markers of constructed British identity being defined in textbooks as explicitly white. Furthermore, Brown (2005) highlights that "Blacks complain of not learning about the slave trade until scandalously late in life," which is not an unconscious oversight, but is seen by Brown as an intentional effort to rewrite the narrative of Liverpool's now-politically-incorrect slave trade history.[34]

BLACK RESPONSES TO ENGLAND'S EDUCATION POLICIES

Twine's (2010) research and interviews with multiracial English women of Caribbean heritage is illuminating in this context. In one interview particular to school curriculum, an interviewee "identified alternative history lessons and discursive space that her mother offered her at home that enabled her to detect which discussions of racism and colonialism were avoided, and when blacks were absent, in the school curriculum."[35] The absence of Caribbean contributions to British culture and history within the public school curriculum is seen here.

To counter this Anglo-British hegemony, the Afro-Caribbean community, through the African Caribbean Education Group, launched a Saturday school in the 1970s in Leicester, England as a part of the wider "black voluntary" school movement. These alternative school movements are positioned as both in addition to and outside of compulsory public school education. They recognize the absence of relevant cultural information in official school settings, and thus provide an avenue and space for cultural, ethnic, and racial education specific to black Afro-Caribbeans. Regarding her concept of racial literacy, which is critical for negotiating a multiethnic diasporic identity as well as negotiating parental roles in a multiracial family, Twine (2010) argues that one

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[32] Ibid., 293

[33] Jacqueline Nassy Brown, Dropping anchor, setting sail: Geographies of race in black Liverpool. Princeton University Press, 2009, 95.

[34] Ibid., 169.

[35] France Winddance Twine, A White Side of Black Britain: Interracial intimacy and racial literacy. Duke University Press, 2010, 124.

dimension of racial literacy involves teaching children "to critically evaluate the absence of black characters in their school books and formal school curriculum."[36]

"How Black Children Might Survive Education" by Claudette Williams, places importance on black parents, specifically mothers, and their awareness of the racist incidences that their children experience in the English education system (1995).[37] In a survey attempting to understand how black parents prepare their black children for the English school system, the qualitative survey results gathered from London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Nottingham included tactics such as 'actively promoting cultural distinctiveness' by providing books and visuals in the home with positive black images, as well as additional effort outside the classroom and monitoring children's progress in schools.[38]

Outside the classroom, supplementary/Saturday schools provided additional educational support and attempt to counteract the upsetting trend, especially noted in the 1970s, that black children were more likely to be designated to special education units and removed from mainstream classrooms. These supplementary schools served as spaces where parent-educator collaboration was especially necessary. Griffiths and Troyna (1995) note that "Parents were sensitized to recognizing stereotypes in books, materials and activities identified as carriers of racist ideas,"[39] exhibiting what Twine calls "racial literacy," mentioned above. This awareness is then used to communicate with children about what they are experiencing at school. Thus, the conclusion of this research is that "parents can help children to promote cultural distinctiveness which… can afford some protection from the hurt of racism. Questionnaire respondents emphasized the need for cultural reinforcement through talking to children about racism, and about colour and race related issues."[40] In this sense, solutions or ways to combat the lack of racial inclusivity in school settings necessitate finding time and space outside the classroom to address these issues.

In addition to parental support, teacher quality is instrumentally important for establishing equitable and cognizant classroom discussion. In their study emphasizing the concept of "emancipatory learning," Griffiths and Troyna identify the need for teachers who "are willing to make themselves vulnerable and to constantly problematize the processes of teaching and learning, particularly in relation to controversial and political issues."[41] This includes teachers who are willing to critically examine the ways in which their own education experience has nationally or culturally conditioned or biased them.

Looking ahead, Lezra's (2014) work on a "pedagogy of empathy" is relevant,

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[36] Ibid., 129.
[37] Claudette Williams, "How Black Children Might Survive Education," in Griffiths and Troyna, *Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education*, 1995, Ch 9.
[38] Brown, *Dropping anchor, setting sail: Geographies of race in black Liverpool*.
[39] Griffiths and Troyna, *Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education*, 157.
[40] Ibid., 158.
[41] Ibid., 88.

especially in regards to curriculum material on colonization and slavery. Using a pedagogy of empathy when grappling with these historical events in schools can promote an awareness that "the narratives of humanitarian progress on which our educational systems are often constructed domesticate or even erase knowledge of such events."[42]

Lezra's work deals mainly with incorporating what she terms "acts of atrocity" into a school curriculum, using a pedagogy of empathy. This pedagogy is a model through which "students may empathetically perceive, understand, experience and respond to the representations of violence."[43] Lezra explores the delicate balance of how to commemorate history and construct historical narratives contrary to the dominant/imperial narratives without creating a culture and curriculum of shame, victimhood, or determinism based on past events. She writes, "not to inquire, investigate, and teach these pressing questions is in itself an act of denial and erasure…. it is necessary to struggle through the intellectual and pedagogical paralysis that can result from the understanding of atrocity."[44] Again, this is the same ideology that accompanies the pedagogy behind anti-racist education initiatives, which focus specifically on putting contentious topics of race and atrocity front and center in the classrooms to open dialogue about them, instead of shielding students from topics that are potentially more difficult to address.

Griffiths and Troyna touch on this in their interviews with black teachers in South England secondary schools. One such interview discussed strategies to teach white children about oppression: "On the one hand they have to understand how they themselves can be oppressive to others….There are certain kinds of tools that you can give them and that is for them not to go away with guilt, but to go away feeling that they have a contribution to make in changing things."[45] Thus, criticism of multicultural and superficial diversity education initiatives becomes solidified as alternative groups promote education initiatives, pedagogies, and curriculum that directly address multiple historical narratives and racial tensions. There is a difference between simply education in a postcolonial world, and what this article focuses on, namely a specifically defined postcolonial curriculum, which critically examines national histories and opens space in the canonized curriculum for narratives that have been previously and purposefully omitted.

CONCLUSION

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[42] Esther Lezra, "A Pedagogy of Empathy for a World of Atrocity." Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies 36, no. 5 (2014): 348.
[43] Ibid., 343.
[44] Ibid., 348.
[45] Griffiths and Troyna, Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education, 87.

To reiterate, the collapse of the British Empire can be framed through the significant tensions that played out in England's national education system during the creation of England's post-imperial national narrative and identity. In the 19th century, British models of education were imposed on Caribbean colonies during colonization. In the early 1960s, after independence in the Anglophone Caribbean colonies, Britain experienced increased immigration from former Caribbean colonies like Jamaica. This influx, combined with the rigid nationalist response from Conservative Party ideologies, provides the context in which I analyze England negotiating its post-imperial identity through its national education system. This includes deciding who and what is included in the national curriculum, what ideas and values education curriculum normalizes, and what kind of citizens the K-12 education system attempts to produce. Responses and resistance to this conservative education model as well as superficial multicultural education models include supplementary schools, increased parental involvement as well as utilizing time and resources outside the classroom, and alternative teaching pedagogies.

This article sought to provide more information and explanation for how colonial relationships become inextricably intertwined, even after independence in the former colonies. England sought to negotiate its post-imperial national identity through its education system, seen in the multicultural initiatives and proxies for racial discrimination. Through negotiations in the education system, classroom space and curriculum material become the site of a highly politicized debate about defining national identities through race, nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, and language. This produces not only conservative attempts to keep imagined national communities homogenous through education narratives, but also postcolonial education curriculum that incorporates and centralizes alternative national histories and narratives.

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