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Black Perspectives

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BLACK PERSPECTIVES ON YOUNG PEOPLE AND YOUTH WORK

Editorial Introduction

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For the Black editorial group

The issue of anti-racism has been through some troubled times recently, but the facts of racism and racial discrimination remain an everyday reality for Black communities in the 1990s. Recent Commision for Racial Equality (CRE) reports provide evidence of a rise in racist activity. Herman Ouseley, chair of the CRE introducing a recent CRE publication 'Young and Equal' states that :

> ...for many young people, the reality of growing up in late twentieth century Britain means facing increasing levels of racially motivated violence and persistent racial discrimination (CRE 1995: 5).

In spite of the development of a strong anti-racist movement in the last decade, the areas of policy analysis and formulation have remained largely untouched, which is contributing to the demise of anti-racism. More recently, we have observed a very strong and definite retreat from affirmative action in the U.S. which will no doubt strengthen the current backlash within organisations. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that this issue of Youth and Policy is devoted exclusively to Black perspectives on young people and youth work.

To appreciate the concept of Black perspectives it is necessary to contextualize the definition and scope. The term 'Black' encompasses a generic definition, covering the major non-white communities in Britain who experience oppression and discrimination based on their skin colour and non-white ethnic origins. 'Perspectives' covers the particular theoretical analyses pertinent to the common experience of racial oppression and discrimination of the diverse groups that make up the Black communities. No single Black perspective can aspire to encapsulate the totality and diversity of Black communities in Britain. Fundamental to the philosophy underlying a Black perspective is the shared experience of racism and discrimination in Britain as well as the unique historical, social, and cultural experiences of the individuals or groups who express it. In the words of Bandana Ahmad a Black perspective is:

> ...much more than a string of words. It is more a statement against 'White' norms...The factors that prescribe a Black perspective have a long history of subjugation and subordination. The circumstances that shape a Black perspective stem from the experiences of racism and powerlessness, both past and present. The motivation that energises a Black perspective is rooted to the principles of racial equality and justice. The articulation that voices a Black perspective is part of a process that is committed to replacing the White distortion of Black reality with Black writings of Black experience (Ahmad, 1990 : 3).

There are two thematic areas covered within this issue. The first focuses on the historical evolution and the theoretical underpinnings of Black perspectives. Shukra, van Reenen and Webb explore these aspects in different ways.

Shukra analyses the historical developments in Black politics that have led to the emergence of Black perspectives. She teases out the 'continuities and discontinuities between Black radicalism, ethnicity and perspectivism' drawing out the commonalities and differences of these ideologies and their influence on Black politics in the latter half of this century. She examines the impact of these developments on Black young people, in particular their disillusionment with the depoliticisation of the Black radical approach to accomodate changing ideologies.

Van Reenen argues that a radical critical analysis is essential to translate this 'perspectivism' to a politics that delivers what it promises. His article presents a comprehensive analysis of the issues and debates around Black perspectives. He explicitly demonstrates how Black perspectives create a meeting ground for all Black communities that experience racial domination. He draws out the significance of developing Black perspectives in youth work and identifies some critical issues arising out of recent developments in training which impact significantly on Black communities.

Webb offers a critical evaluation of the issues involved in developing a curriculum to address Black Perspectives in a Higher Education setting, and provides a framework for analysing structural barriers that inhibit the development of work in this area. The *Working Space* contribution by Kutub complements Webb's analysis from the grassroots level. She outlines the development of a course which was aimed at extending initial youthwork training to Black women, and illustrates how this provided a forum for addressing wider issues of inequality.

The second thematic area is concerned with the ways in which racism has impinged upon the daily experiences of Black young people. It draws on the issues of stereotyping, self-perception and identity and shows how these are operationalised in a racial framework. For the young Black person these factors have a devastating effect on their life chances and wider social interaction with a variety of social institutions.

Young Black people have a higher rate of unemployment in relation to their white peers. Recent findings of the Department of Employment indicate that 60 per cent of Black young people living in London are unemployed (*Black to Black*, March,1995). Two recent Equal Opportunities Commission reports reveal that for young Black women the rate is much higher. Even when they have managed to obtain a job they often receive little or no training or promotion opportunities in relation to future career prospects (Bhavnani, 1994; Owen, 1994).

The experience of discrimination starts at a point earlier than the workplace. For most Black young people it is a continuation of unsavoury racist experiences that started much earlier in their lives at school as evidenced by reports such as Rampton (1981) and Swan (1985). These Reports clearly show that teachers have lower expectations of Black pupils and students. Despite these barriers young Black people have gained some educational success, while for others there has been concern about substantial educational under -achievement. Josna Pankhania examines how formal and informal educational policy development have maintained a disadvantaging entrapment for Black youth.

Despite adverse discriminatory experiences of the education system young Black people stay on in education in significant numbers beyond sixteen. However at the level of further and higher education discrimination still persists. Research showed that St. George's Medical School actively discriminated against young Black applicants (CRE,1988). This has been re-affirmed by more recent research showing that Medical Schools have not changed their racist recruitment practices (Esmail et al, 1995; McManus et al, 1995).

The level of racial violence within Britain is rising with more young Black people being the targets of the increasing number of racial attacks which have taken place. This highlights their vulnerability, not just in the education and employment setting but also in other areas of their public lives. Whilst young Black people are significantly represented within football as players, this is not the case amongst the fans. A sense of greater vulnerability seems to prevail for them in the crowded stands than on the pitch. It is clear that many young Black people are survivors of racism and racist attacks from the playground to the football pitches. The recent public concern surrounding footballer Eric Cantona's response to being abused highlights a differential response which football clubs have adopted to racism and abuse which takes place within football stadiums week after week against Black footballers.The failure by football clubs to deal adequately with this problem over the last 25 years, when contrasted with the swift response which both football authorities and the police made to Cantona's action highlights the way in which some forms of violence are more readily punished than others. (*Runnymede Bulletin*, 1995:10)

Racism provides a differential treatment of African Carribbean and Asian young people. In the area of sport there has been an Africanised focus as a consequence of the racialisation of sport. Lashley explores the historical issues in the development of racism in sport, and the impact of stereotyping on young African Carribbean males.

The differential treatment of Caribbean and Asian young people is also evident within the criminal justice system. Over the last two decades young Caribbean men and even more clearly young Caribbean women have been discriminated against by the criminal justice agencies, from the police to the prison service. There is increasing concern that what was initially perceived as the criminalisation of the young Caribbean community is in the 1990s being seen as an issue affecting young Asian men involved in public order offences. The distinction which the state has made between the Asian and the Caribbean community is, therefore, rapidly disappearing as demographic changes occur resulting in second and third generation young Black people being criminalised by the criminal justice system (CRE, 1992).

Whilst there has been considerable emphasis upon the experiences of Black young people one should not forget Black people who have one white parent and one Black parent and often suffer alienation, not just from the white community but also from the Black community. According to Tizard and Phoenix (1993) nearly thirty percent of African Carribbean people under the age of thirty are married to or co-habit with a white partner. Despite the high proportion of these unions there is a real dearth of literature on the experiences of young people of dual heritage. Wayne Richards explores how the racism of society leaves the children of interracial unions with problems of personality adjustment. The article provides an insight into issues around working with young people of dual heritage to promote the development of positive identities.

Young people very often have little access to political power in relation to the social system within which they find themselves. In the case of young Black people they are even further removed. They are more vulnerable, with very little voice, and find it exceedingly difficult to be heard. In relation to their parents and the elders of their community, like all young people, there is conflict. Often whilst the elder people in the community may be represented in a range of forms, young Black people are noticeable by their absence. This may be due to elder members wishing to hold on to power and excluding their young people, or it may also be due to young people's general alienation from the society in which they live.

It is important that the voices of Black young people are heard in order to stem the extreme alienation which has resulted from the excess of control exerted on them. This can only be achieved by acknowledging the validity of the experiences of Black young people and enabling them to take their place within the wider political arena. The voluntary and statutory sectors have a role in ensuring that they receive a political awareness which enables them to voice their own personal and group concerns in such a way that they are heard.

In order to highlight the issues outlined above *Youth and Policy* has decided to publish this special issue focusing on young Black people. Our objective in publishing a 'special issue' is not in any way to marginalise the issues relating to Black young people but to open up the debate and to ensure that future discussions about youth and policy are inclusive of Black experiences. Evidently it is impossible to cover every 'Black experience' in one single issue. It is our hope that Black perspectives will be integrated within subsequent publications of the Journal.

The Black editorial group would like to thank all the people who have contributed to this special issue for their commitment and support.

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FROM BLACK POWER TO BLACK PERSPECTIVES

The Reconstruction of a Black Political Identity

KALBIR SHUKRA

Introduction

Strategies of contesting racism deployed by African-Caribbean and Asian political organisers today are dominated by the politics of ethnicity, that is an emphasis on cultural difference and identity in a search for a share of resources, influence and representation within the existing social framework. The growing recognition that the resulting divisions and disunity are undesirable has given rise to the 1990s alternative to ethnicity: the creation of Black perspectives.

A high proportion of 1990s Black[1] organisers, public sector professionals, academics and politicians seem to have been party to the development and normalisation of Black perspectivist thought and social regulation. Whether in developing local authority policies, procedures and practices; promoting new agendas within organisations; developing Black caucuses; demanding Black representation or producing reports which specify the effects of a particular concern on Black communities, contemporary Black political contestation of racism tends to take the form of Black perspectivism. The key characteristics of Black perspectivist strategies can be summarised as:

1 Promoting ethnic pride, identity and self-esteem.
2 Allowing for self-definition.
3 Recognising a common 'Black' experience by coordinating ethnic identities.
4 Supporting Black autonomous organisation.
5 Contesting racial discrimination at a local, often institutional level.
6 Seeking the inclusion of marginalised groups in the mainstream.

Both ethnic pluralism and Black perspectivism represent a shift of Black politics, community and youth work into mainstream managerialism. In order to critically evaluate the impact of this development on community work and young Black people in the 1990s, it is necessary to go beyond an examination of the minutiae of policy and take a broad sociological view of the nature of Black perspectivism. This means examining its descent through revolutionary marxist, pluralist and town hall versions of Black power to highlight the changing objects of Black political contestation as indicative of a shift from aspirations of social change to operating a bureaucratised form of Black power.

It also involves tracing the emergence of Black perspectivist thought and identifying the continuities as well as the discontinuities between Black radicalism, ethnicity and perspectivism. In this way, what I seek to reveal is that far from being contradictory political strategies, ethnicity and Black perspectivism share fundamental ideological connections. In community and youth work circles, the notion of 'theory' is all too often derided as being too distant from people's real experiences. However, in adopting a theoretical approach which situates the role of Black organisers in its wider context and refuses to confine itself to a narrow experiential or policy perspective, I have attempted to reveal that the implications of these developments for Black youth

today have been enormous. Young Black people were active in the militant campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s as well as the street rebellions of the 1980s. Their direct action was crucial in forcing the State to rethink its strategy and allowing some Black activists to press for Black representation and resources. During the 1980s professionalisation process when a new layer of Black public sector professionals was created, many youth activists were also incorporated. By the 1990s, however, the institutionalisation of Black organisers and their politics has resulted in two forms of experience: On one hand there are the majority of Black youth and on the other there are professionals and politicians who purport to represent their interests.

A key consequence of this has been a redirection of Black youth anger away from street confrontation and towards bureaucratic settlements. It is this broader shift rather than individual policies which have made Black politics ineffectual and alienated Black youth from it. This raises questions about today's Black political outlook which community and youth workers, who wish to change the position of Black people, need to address.

Black Radicalism

My analysis begins with Black radicalism, which was a version of Black power that made its presence felt in Britain from 1967-79 and has since become a source of inspiration and contention in Black politics. Black radicalism emerged from the visits to Britain of Malcolm X in 1965 and Stokely Carmichael in 1967 (Hiro, 1991) when Black militants in Britain encouraged existing race related organisations to adopt a Black militant position. Splits and coups in the United Coloured People's Alliance (UCPA); Institute of Race Relations (IRR); Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) and other organisations were evidence of the radicalisation that was occurring in Black communities and the support that Black power was gaining amongst activists. However, 'Black power' was a diffuse political identity which accommodated a wide range of ideas including promotion of Black pride and identity; Black history; Black cultural heritage; Black separatism; Black control; a return to Africa; Black revolution; Black capitalism; Black community. That Black power coexisted with so many diverging approaches weakened the newly Black power-led organisations. Black Power activist Obi Egbuna described the problem faced by the UCPA thus:

> Within that single organisation, there were members who believed that the answer to the Black man's problem lay in the overthrow of the capitalist system, and there were others who felt it lay in the Black man going to the House of Lords; there were some who saw themselves as part of the international Black revolution, and there was a faction who believed that the Black man in this country should concern himself only with what goes on in this country... in short, it became all too clear that what we had was not one movement, but movements within a movement. (Egbuna, 1971:19-20)

The contradictions and tensions in the notion of Black power produced constant conflicts, splits and new formations. (Egbuna, 1971:21) Nevertheless, the different approaches that were evident in both Britain and the USA were held together by a common inner dynamic. That was the idea that Black people needed to redefine themselves by asserting their own history and culture to project an image which they would develop without white people. This alternative identity and counter-

discourse became known as a 'positive image' and was intended to counter the dominant 'negative' images of Black people. (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1969:51) Whilst neither small revolutionary Black power organisations nor Black capitalism were successful in 1970s Britain, Black power politics in the form of Black radicalism gained a significant level of support, especially among young people.

At first sight, Black radicalism appeared to be a revolutionary movement in Britain. Black radical intellectuals sought to develop a 'Black marxist' political position and activists deployed language associated with enthusiasm for change. In practice, however, Black radicals adopted an approach which coincided with the Carmichael and Hamilton school of pluralist Black power thought. Carmichael and Hamilton had promoted Black 'pride and identity' in the context of seeking effective leverage for Black people in the USA to obtain more resources from the existing social structure. In 1970s and 1980s Britain, Black intellectuals such as Ron Ramdin, A. Sivanandan, Darcus Howe and American academic Cedric Robinson[2] struggled to balance race and class factors in their writings to develop a Black marxist political position. They adopted the US 'Black power' slogan which referred to African-Americans and applied it to refer to Asian as well as African-Caribbean communities in Britain. They also used it to promote concepts such as 'Black struggle'; 'Black solidarity'; 'Black resistance' and 'Black consciousness' - all of which were linked to the notion of politicising Black communities to achieve 'Black liberation'. (Ramdin, 1987; Sivanandan, 1982; Howe, 1988; Robinson, 1983) In processing the race-class dynamic they drew on a combination of marxist analyses and Black nationalism. (Callinicos, 1992: 4-6) In 1973 Sivanandan described the problem as:

> the confused historical position in which Black people find themselves placed in white capitalist society. Whereas the working class sees itself exploited as a class and comes face to face with its exploiter, capital, the capitalist exploitation of Blacks is veiled by racial oppression. As a result they are caught up in a two-fold consciousness: as a class and as a race, each of which often contradicts the other without affording a synthesis. ('Race Today', June 73)

Whereas class-based social theories sought to provide an analysis of the position of working class people in economic terms and Black nationalist theories sought to provide an analysis of the position of Black people in terms of race, Sivanandan sought a combination of the two so that the issues of race and class could be addressed simultaneously. Sivanandan saw the solution as 'an organic fusion of forces'. He argued that the prerequisites for this were that Black people should:

> through the consciousness of their colour, through the consciousness, that is, of that in which they perceive their oppression, arrive at a consciousness of class; and the white working class must in recovering its class instinct, its sense of oppression, both from technological alienation and a white oriented culture arrive at a consciousness of racial oppression. (Sivanandan, 1982:96)

For Sivanandan, in order for one to reach a comprehension of the other, each social group needed to look inwards at itself. In this way each group could develop an awareness of the factors which militated against itself before and in order to develop an awareness of the other. The implication was that neither group

could understand the other without understanding itself first. This analysis translated into Black people needing to seek a Black consciousness whilst white workers developed a parallel class consciousness prior to any fusion occurring.

The 'Black consciousness' which the Black radicals promoted in their writings, referred to a growing awareness of Asian and African-Caribbean people as a group of Black people with specific collective interests defined by their collective experience of racism and consequent resistance to it. This concept is worth exploring further as it forms the basis of continuities between Black radicalism, ethnicity and Black perspectivism.

Although in processing the race-class equation the four writers sought a Black marxist position their emphasis on Black consciousness coincided with pluralist concepts in two key respects. Firstly, the search for a Black consciousness called for the acquisition of a Black identity through the recognition of a distinct culture[3] through Black solidarity, pride and history - a concept rooted in pluralist Black power, as promoted by Carmichael and Hamilton. This reconciled the Black radicals to the pluralist objective of inclusion into the mainstream through using self-identification as a social group to lever a share of rights, policies and resources for the Black community from the existing society. Secondly the radicals' objective of Black consciousness was rooted in the pluralist conception of society as made up of competing interest groups which gain influence and resources through negotiation, dialogue, strength and solidarity. (Jacobs, 1988:33) Thus, although the Black radicals may have started out with a view to promoting Black marxism, the analyses that they developed were rooted in pluralist Black power.

This gap between the intention and the end result of the analyses had the effect of creating a gap between what Black radicals claimed to do and the strategies which they adopted. This was evident in the campaign organised around the trial of the 'Mangrove 9'.[4] (Howe, 1988:41; Carter, 1986:107) The campaign had two main elements to it: the legalistic and the mobilisational. The legalistic element involved the defence of the nine through the judicial system, an unsuccessful jury challenge, the demand for a Black jury of peers and the tabling of motions for the rights of the defendants. (Howe, 1988:47). Meanwhile the mobilisational element served to put the cases under public scrutiny through lobbying of courts, organising rallies and distributing publicity material. The inconsistency between activist claims and this strategy lay in the focus of the mobilisational activity. Activity was focused predominantly within Black communities although, as well as encouraging Black community self-organisation, leading campaign activists had hoped that it would pose a challenge to racism amongst the white working class. This is apparent from Darcus Howe's evaluation that 'Racism as a basis for the division of the working class took a beating'. (Howe 1988:48) However, the campaign neither sought nor won the active support of any section of the white working class. At most white workers remained quiet and white jurors seemed sympathetic. (Howe 1988:48) A challenge to the white working class was necessarily limited by the focus on autonomous Black self-organisation and mobilisation, which was primarily within the ranks of Black communities.

A revolutionary linguistic style was also used by the Black radical Race Today Collective in its monthly journal 'Race Today' to argue in its 'Editorial' for a 'mass organisation, of unemployed youth, students and parents' to fight police harass-

ment. ('Race Today', Jul/Aug 76) Like the Asian Youth Movements, the alliance between the Black Parents Movement and the Black Students Movement (BPM/BSM) was portrayed as an example of the way forward. John La Rose, leading figure in the BPM asserted in the columns of 'Race Today' that 'There was no turning back from independent revolutionary Black politics' ('Race Today', Mar. 76) What he described could more accurately be termed a form of 'community politics'. There was little evidence of 'revolutionary Black politics' amongst these groups in the sense that they sought fundamental social and economic change. The approach which they adopted in practice was a pluralist one of seeking to obtain the maximum out of the existing system. This took the form of, for example, taking on defence casework and helping defendants through the legal system; publicising each case within the local Black community; lobbying the Home Secretary and Police Commissioner. ('Race Today,' Oct. 76)

The Black radicals did not match their revolutionary claims with their practice, which was based on the particularist pursuit of Black consciousness, 'particularist' because the search for a Black consciousness was rooted in the idea of there being a corporate Black history and identity which is accessible only to individuals by virtue of their experience of being Black. Within this analysis, racism was specifically a Black experience alone. Hence, Ron Ramdin, argued that the development of Black solidarity reflected the 'failure of white radicals to recognise the special problems of the Black working class' (Ramdin, 1987:499-500). Cedric Robinson was more explicit in 'Black Marxism' in which he argued that 'the Black radical tradition' rather than a broader working class is the agency of social change. A white marxist commentator, Alexander Callinicos, took issue with the Black radicals in their belief that 'white workers materially benefit from racism'. (Callinicos, 1992:22) Callinicos posited that the 'fundamental reason why Marxists argue that racism is not in the interests of white workers is that, by dividing the working class, it weakens white as well as Black workers'. (Callinicos, 1992:25) In contrast to this, Ramdin and the other Black radicals suggested that racism remained a 'special problem' for Black people and that marxism was incapable of addressing the issue of racism since its very epistemology is 'Eurocentric'. (Robinson, 1983)

The effect of identifying racism as problematic only insofar as it is experienced by a single section of society, was to lose the totality of the experience. The specificity emphasised in the work of the Black radicals reflected the Black radical tendency to localise the experience of racism to the effects that it had on a particular social group rather than generalising it to indicate the overall experience and effects. The logic of viewing racism as a Black experience alone was that contesting it involved raising Black consciousness and organising Black resistance. It then followed that if the negative experience of racism was turned into a positive experience of being Black, an identity could be acquired as a vehicle for the pursuit of equality. Hence, several years later, Sivanandan argued:

> We don't need a cultural identity for its own sake, but to make use of the positive aspects of our culture to forge correct alliances and fight the correct battles. (Sivanandan, 1983:11)

A consequence of this was the promotion of a Black-only form of community organisation or what Ramdin referred to as 'Black autonomous organisations'. (Ramdin, 1987:508)

Although the labels 'Black Self-help' and 'autonomous organisation' imply self-reliance, the key feature of these organisations was a shift in focus away from seeking white working class support and putting pressure on officialdom for support instead. Thus, the Brent Defence Committee called on the Home Secretary to intervene in the harassment of Black people by the Metropolitan police. ('Race Today', Jul/Aug 76) Similarly, the campaign 'Bookshop Joint Action' called on letters of protest to be written to the Home Secretary with a view to seeking state protection against racist attacks. ('Race Today', Jan 78)

In this process, the Black radicals' attempt to fuse race and class had the effect of focusing on Black communities to oppose racism but left the role of other social groups as a side issue. Whereas the early post-war Black organisations arose from an isolated and defensive position of exclusion, the influence of pluralist Black power on Black radicalism resulted in an emphasis on separateness, differentness and fragmentation despite efforts to seek a balance between race and class factors in community campaigns. Black radicalism, in turn, endorsed different, separate and exclusive experience, and therefore, Black only organisation as a conscious strategy for emancipation. This occurred in the context of the wider development of New Separatism which is examined next.

Black radicalism was one element in New Separatism. In the Black radical tradition, a hermetically sealed Black Experience was treated as impenetrable by any non-Black people. Marxism was considered 'Eurocentric' because it 'was formulated in a European context.' (Sivanandan, 1982; Ramdin, 1987; Robinson, 1983) It was immutably so because 'to understand fully the burden of Blackness they (white marxists) require the imagination and feeling systematically denied them by their culture.' (Sivanandan, 1982) From this viewpoint, even if white marxists tried to make sense of the Black experience, they could not because the experience would be alien to them. Consequently, separatism remained the logical form of expression and organisation for developing a Black political movement. As Kobena Mercer noted, the importance attached to developing a group identity based upon cultural and subjective experience was not lost on other social movements, such as feminists and the gay liberation movement:

> the radicalisation of sexual politics from 1970 onwards derived significant momentum from imaginary equivalences with Black struggle as 'Black pride' and 'brotherhood' acted as metonymic leverage for the affirmation of 'gay pride' and the assertion of sisterhood is strength. (Mercer, 1990:61)

In addition to a similarity of language and labels these social movements were based on particularist ideologies. Each group localised its experiences as women, Black people or homosexuals. In doing so the group formed a membrane around its corporate experience, thereby dividing itself from other groups. As part of the emergence of this wider development, Black radicalism formed the race dimension of New Separatism in the 1970s. This progressed into the identity politics and Black perspectivism of the 1980s and 1990s. Although identity politics and Black perspectivism were different in form, they both emerged from the ideology of ethnicity and were consistent with mainstream power structures. It is therefore necessary to examine how ethnicity derived from New Separatism before moving on to examine identity politics and Black perspectivism.

Ethnicity

The concept 'ethnic group' emerged from urban anthropology to emphasise the self-identification of groups based on cultural difference. (Lyon, 1972; 1972-3; 1973) Amongst Barthian ethnic relations researchers in Britain such as Michael Banton, Sandra Wallman and V.S. Khan, it is the perception and attribution of meaning to difference which forms the basis of 'ethnicity'. (Rex and Mason, 1986:175; Miles, 1982:60-4) Therefore, for these writers, ethnic relations research begins with a group's perception of a sense of difference ('us') against the rest ('them') with phenotype as one element in the 'repertoire of ethnic boundary markers'. (Wallman, 1986:229)

Just as the 1970s debate amongst academics about the relationship between race and class broadened to include ethnic group (Miles, 1982: 44; Sivanandan, 1983: 4; Jenkins, 1986:180-181) so ethnicity became another factor in New Separatism. Ethnicity broke down the race section of New Separatism into competing histories and identities within Black communities: Indians, Bangladeshis, Africans, Caribbeans and other ethnic groups made separate demands for resources and status based upon their cultural differences. The value placed upon subjective experience created an unbridgeable gap between all of these groups and deemed the experience exclusive. At most they forged alliances but generally they became competitors in the bargaining for power.

Black radicals were critical of ethnicity and presented Black radicalism as oppositional to the development of ethnicity. The connection which they missed was the pluralist Black power influence on Black radicalism which emphasised a need to recognise a cultural identity based on a different past. This analysis suggests that ethnicity was a logical extension of this promotion of difference, separateness and particularist experience. Where they differed was in the use of cultural distinctiveness to create ethnic identities to lever resources and status out of local government. As municipal socialism and the race dimension of New Separatism converged, it gave rise to the identity politics of the 1980s.

Identity Politics

So far this paper has characterised the main features of 1960/70s Black power politics and shown how it developed into a section of New Separatism and laid the foundation for the emergence of a new ethnicity. The reforged ethnicity converged with the rise of Labour left politics in local government to produce identity politics and perspectivism. The changing response of Black activists to the establishment's race relations initiatives can be used as a marker for the development of these Black political strategies. The dominant response changed from activist hostility to critical discussions and then integration into the mainstream.

The non-cooperation and hostility towards establishment initiatives shown by some Black activists in the immediate aftermath of the the 1981 revolts was rooted in the Black radical outlook which was carried over from the previous decade. (Goulbourne, 1990: 111) The primary response of militant Black activists and local groups was a refusal to cooperate with Lord Scarman's inquiry into the Brixton events, arguing that it was a containment exercise. (Tompson, 1988:101; CARF, 1981) The use of the tool of non-cooperation with state representatives was not unusual amongst Black radicals at the time, for example, on 22 May 1980 Black community leaders in Bristol refused to meet their MP (CARF, 1980); on 15 Aug.

1981 the Caribbean community in Sheffield suspended all contact with police after 17 youths were arrested. This was repeated on 3 March 1982 and on 13 September 1982 when the Asian community in Sheffield adopted the tactic. Furthermore, on 29 June 1980 more than a hundred delegates from at least 40 Black organisations met at the Afro-Asian Caribbean Convention to set up a National Council of Black Organisations. A proposal at the conference calling for Caribbean and Asian people not to cooperate with the police received much press publicity. ('Times' 30/6/80; 'Guardian' 1/7/80; 'West Indian World' 4/7/80; 'New Statesman' 25/7/80)

The pluralist politics of the Black radicals which was dressed in revolutionary marxist rhetoric, however, left the activists short of what Brian Jacobs calls a 'political programme which would take them beyond a critique of the state, government and police'. (Jacobs, 1986:149) Sivanandan encouraged the growth of anti-racist Black organisations and argued that in order to be effective they would need to adopt a more coherent political strategy which could defend the interests of Black people. ('Race and Class', 1981) He did not, however, indicate how this could be brought about. Similarly, 'Race Today' editor Darcus Howe described the events as revolts against the police and predicted more to come. ('Times', 26/11/81) Jacobs notes that such analyses in practice led some radicals to expect a spontaneous upturn in political activity, only to become demoralised when it did not materialise. (Jacobs, 1986:148) The inadequacy of these Black radical strategies left activists open to alternative ideas. Initially this meant that when the establishment looked to build bridges with Black community activists in the aftermath of the 1981 revolts, many radical Black activists were prepared to shift from hostility towards state initiatives to critical cooperation. The work of the Labour left in local government to woo hitherto excluded groups to participate in local politics was a key factor in facilitating this shift. (Shukra, 1990:169; Wainwright, 1987)

When the pioneering Labour controlled local authorities began to face the task of establishing a race relations network, those activists who commanded some grass roots support were generally hostile towards establishment initiatives. The hostility was rooted in the legacy of the campaigning and mobilisational approach of 1970s Black power-led community politics. This was reflected, shortly after the 1981 riots, in Sivanandan's endorsement of organisations which had not 'compromised with government policy or fallen prey to government hand-outs... or looked to the Labour Party for redress'. ('Race And Class' Aut. 81/Winter 82) The chief alliance made by Black radicals had been with Trotskyist groupings such as the International Marxist Group, Workers Revolutionary Party and Socialist Workers Party which also operated outside of the mainstream. As some of the Trotskyist groups developed closer relationships with the Labour Party, some of the Black people who were active in them joined the Labour Party along with their white counterparts. Thus, Black Section members who were wary of the Labour Party nevertheless joined it because there were moves to democratise the Party and explained their move as a political recognition of the need to join a mainstream party in order to make a political impact. (Wainwright, 1987; Shukra, 1990) These individuals were part of the rise of the left in local government and were, thereby, also part of bridging the gap between Black activists who maintained their stand against joining the Labour Party and state institutions, for it was through the rise of left wing local authorities, that

many Black activists began to develop a critical dialogue with radical wings of Labour authorities. Black radicals and theoreticians such as A. Sivanandan; Farrukh Dhondy; Cecil Gutzmore and CLR James, agreed to appear on the platform of the 1983 GLC conference 'Challenging Racism in London' and spoke critically of the initiative. The Feature Address, for example, was delivered by Sivanandan, under the guise of a 'heretic and a disbeliever' who, nevertheless, argued:

> *Don't let's be purists and stand outside, for we can't fight the system bare-handed. We don't have the tools, brothers and sisters; we've got to get the tools from the system itself and hope that in the process five out of ten of us don't become corrupt. (Sivanandan, 1983)*

Although these radicals had argued immediately after the 1981 disorders for the creation of an independent Black political force, they now seemed to recognise that they did not have a strategy which could achieve this and their reasoning shifted towards the view that some kind of involvement was practical and necessary, despite the risks. In this way they approved local authority patronage amongst radical audiences who may otherwise have remained uncertain. From non-cooperation, Black militants moved towards a sceptical cooperation which proved to be a bridge towards a working relationship between activists and the local state.

Groups enticed by local authority offers of recognition went on to negotiate a share of limited resources, status and political influence. In order to gain recognition, representatives needed to convince the authority that they were members of a group which shared experiences that constituted a distinct culture within British society. The reasoning went on that the group was disadvantaged by its exclusion from the mainstream in terms of recognition, resources, status and political influence. Thus by arguing a case of difference, distinctiveness and separateness, group activists would seek recognition, participation and inclusion in the distribution of power and resources. This approach concurred with the efforts of some of the Labour left-led authorities to link up with some of these groups. (Shukra, 1990:169)

Competing Identities
One of the consequences of this process was the institutionalisation of rivalry between groups seeking access to resources. These identities began with broad categories of race, class, sexuality and gender and multiplied into subcategories and combinations of sub-categories. This trend was described by contributors to a conference entitled 'Changing Identities' in 1989 in a variety of ways: 'a plurality of particularisms', (Mercer, 1990:65,) 'identity politics', 'cultural politics of difference', (Rutherford, 1990:20) 'a hierarchy of oppression' (Parmar, 1990:107). Whatever the label commentators applied to the process, they generally agreed that one effect of this was to legitimise a series of competing identities between different social groups:

> *...one group's loss was another group's gain. In this zero sum game the only tangible consequence of diversity was dividedness. (Rutherford, 1990:47)*

As limited resources became dwindling resources in local government, the dividedness which developed sometimes manifested itself in local conflict. In some

areas this generated conflict over consultation and representation between the established groups such as Community Relations Councils (CRC) and the new organisations. Enthusiastic young workers recruited in new grant-aided organisations found it necessary to set up new consultative structures which they considered to be more representative of the local Black community. (Black People's Forum, 1983; Eade, 1989:105-112) The effect of these developments was disunity, depoliticisation and a tendency towards fragmentation. This fragmentation sometimes took an ethnic form.

Fragmentation and Depoliticisation
The development of politics based upon competing identities institutionalised and reinforced fragmentation amongst Black groups into more specific ethnicities. One of the symptoms of this was a widespread debate amongst Black activists during this time related to the definition of 'Black'. 'Black' also became divided into 'Asian' and 'Afro-Caribbean'; then 'Asian' was broken down into 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'Bengali'; then 'Afro-Caribbean' into 'African' and 'Caribbean'; and sometimes into other groupings under the headings of 'ethnic', 'cultural' or 'national' minorities.

This signified a shift in thinking amongst Black organisers. Their primary concern was less one of creating unity amongst Asian, African and Caribbean communities in the search for a Black consciousness to be used to bring about wider social change. As increasing emphasis was put on culture and ethnicity, the particularist approach of seeking a Black alternative view fragmented into a search for smaller, minority perspectives. Each perspective was based upon differential experience and the rejection of the idea of a universal human history in favour of the notion of different histories and identities. (Furedi, 1992:230) In this context, many small changes were regarded as more viable than one big one.

The Localisation of Change
In accepting that there are many experiences, approaches, histories and meanings, the idea of a single truth was rejected. With a plurality of perspectives, communities and histories, the question of change also became localised. As Furedi argued, 'Local histories and small narratives call into question the making of history on a societal level'. (Ibid:239)

In this context of rising perspectivism, the main concern of Black people shifted towards a search for small movements in policy, working methods, representation and resourcing to ensure that diverse lifestyles, religions, perspectives and heritage, as represented amongst 'ethnic minority' communities, were taken into account. Thus, multi-culturalism in education (Jacobs, 1988:122) and equal opportunities in employment and service provision were promoted. (Ball and Solomos, 1990) Some organisers sought provision for single ethnic or religious minorities, as represented by the demands for non-white minority schools; Halal meat in schools; separate youth, community and leisure provision for ethnic groups. It was at this time that one commentator, Tariq Modood, argued in favour of 'Ethnic self-definition' and against the 'Black' of identity politics. (Modood, 1988). He argued that the 'Black' identity could not adequately serve Asian communities because it was rooted in Pan-Africanist/Black power influence and signified 'the acceptance by Asians of an Afro political leadership'. (Modood, 1988) In arguing this, how-

ever, Modood did not account for what were seen by some Asian activists as positive effects of Black power on Asian community organisations in the 1970s. First, 'Black power' had contributed to a new militant mood of Asian militancy in which Asian Youth Movements thrived and Asian workers - often women as in the cases of Grunwick and Imperial Typewriters - engaged in industrial disputes. Second, some of the first Black power initiatives had been led by Asian activists such as Sivanandan in transforming the Institute of Race Relations, Jagmohan Joshi in creating and leading the Black People's Alliance. Third, Black power had contributed to efforts to break down prejudices between Asians and African-Caribbeans as exemplified by the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) which brought together African-Carribean and Asian women to develop a Black feminist strategy. (Parmar, 1990) The strength of Modood's case lay in the fact that these events occurred in the late 1960s through to 1980 whereas Modood argued against the 'Black' identity in the late 1980s in the midst of the controversy over The Satanic Verses. At this time, political strategies were less about solidarity and militancy and more about representation in the mainstream based on ethnic identities. In the context of changed political objectives, Modood's case was coherent. His approach supported deregulation of 'Black' and promoted ethnic self-identification.

Black Perspectivism
Whilst Modood gave support to the developing ethnic perspectives, those Black people who were uncomfortable with the emphasis on ethnic and cultural difference turned to Black radicalism. In doing so, they became Black perspectivists. Black perspectivists represented the revival of the Black power/Black radical approach of pursuing a joint Asian-African-Caribbean approach. However, rather than channel it into campaigns, protests and mobilisation, the Black perspectivists introduced the Black identity into policy development, the professions and mainstream politics. They acknowledged ethnic identities but promoted the use of 'Black' to avoid ethnic disunity.

Black perspectives were claimed and deployed by the all-Black review panel investigating the 'Handsworth Rebellions of September 1985'; (Bhavnani et. al, 1986) Labour Party Black Sections in 'A Black Agenda' (1988); the Parliamentary Black Caucus; the participants of the 1990 National Black Workers and Trainers Conference in their response to Ministerial proposals for a core curriculum for Community and Youth Work (National Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference, 1990); the National Black Caucus at its annual conferences and by other Black professionals and academics in their work. The chief and clearest attempt to define the term can be found in the report of the 1990 National Conference of Black Workers and Trainers. Although it took four pages to explain the term, it was summarised as:

> the collective capacity for Black people to define, develop, defend and advance their own political, economic, social education (sic) and cultural interests.

By this definition it seems that the 1980/90s 'Black perspective' is related to 1960s 'Black power' and 1970s 'Black autonomous organisation'. It brought together the key elements of its antecedents: the search for pride and identity to develop a high

self-esteem; self-definition; recognition for Black experience; and self-organisation. It also shared with its progenitors their tendency to localise experience. Within the broad term 'Black', Black perspectivists continued to recognise ethnic difference in a way that the 1970s use of 'Black' did not. 'Black' shifted from being a single political identity stemming from resistance to racism to a mechanism through which the separate ethnic groups could be called together, coordinated and linked. In Sivanandan's words, Black lost its 'political culture' and became a 'cultural colour'. (Interview with Sivanandan)

What distinguished the Black perspectivist tendency was the way it combined the continued localisation of experience with the localisation of change to the point of seeking political solutions through bureaucratic measures. The localisation of change saw a further shift in attitudes amongst Black activists as the emphasis moved away from the declarations for wider social change towards a reconstruction of Black political activity through institutionalisation and bureaucratisation. During the 1980s, this was further confined to modifications within specific organisations as the focus of change became policies and individual practices. Black perspectivists sought to apply a new way of seeing to issues or cases in hand to ensure that Black experiences were accounted for.

In addressing the question of the changing nature of anti-racism, Gilroy described how the local authority became the 'primary site of anti-racist struggle' and the search for anti-racist change became 'atomised' (Gilroy, 1987:144-6) and Tompson (1988) demonstrated how the bureaucratisation of 'anti-racism' occurred through the integration of Black people into local government machinery. The concern of this paper is how Black people came to redefine their objectives such that small changes rather than social transformation became their concern. The inclusion of Black individuals in local power structures was partly made possible by their desire to play a part in the mainstream.[5] Manifested through identity politics, this desire for inclusion converged with the objectives of the local state of increasing the participation of fringe groups in the political process. This integration in turn affected Black political activity. It changed the outlook of Black leaders. As Tompson argued:

It was not so much that radicals were bought off (though some undoubtedly were) but rather that their whole outlook became shaped by the new race-relations machinery. Activists grew dependent upon council grants, resources and facilities to maintain their momentum. Oak-panelled committee rooms, dingy community centres - these became a way of life. (Tompson, 1988:100)

The decline in numbers mobilised to the few demonstrations that were organised from 1985 suggests that protest and opposition was no longer the primary concern of Black activists. (Tompson, 1988:107-8) Instead of mass protest marches in response to racist murders and injustice as seen in 1981[6], the sense of 'realism' preoccupying the left affected Black activists too. Effective Black responses became equated with policy changes, committee reports, establishing new organisations, recruiting more Black staff, increasing Black representation at every level of the establishment and adopting 'a Black perspective'.

Whereas a sense of major injustice up to 1981 might have resulted in a large mobilisation, thereafter the predominant activities were calls for official inquiries, more

resources and increased representation in officialdom. The 1985 events at Broadwater Farm alone gave rise to two inquiries by Lord Gifford, an investigation by Amnesty International, a report compiled by Black American judges Margaret Burnham and Lennox Hinds and, finally, an investigation by the Metropolitan Police. Similarly the 1985 Handsworth disorders resulted in a government inquiry conducted by the police; a City Council inquiry conducted by a retired local MP, Julius Silverman; and a West Midlands County Council inquiry from 'a Black perspective' by a Black team. A year later, the murder of 13 year old Ahmed Ullah in his school playground gave rise to a Manchester Council sponsored inquiry. Some of these inquiries were boycotted by militant organisations and others were supported. They were all attempts to manage the crises and reestablish cooperation between Black leaders, their constituents and the establishment.

In Manchester, for example, an inquiry was suggested to the council by the moderate Greater Manchester Bangladeshi Association in a bid to restore calm and regain influence as militant groups set up the Ahmed Ullah Memorial Committee. (Burnage Report, 1989:x and 81) In Handsworth, a Black-inquiry was set up because militants continued to threaten boycotts of the police and Silverman inquiries and the Council sought to gain the confidence of Black people through such an inquiry. ('Birmingham Post', 12/10/85; Bhavnani, et al, 1986:6) The all-Black panel was able to adopt a different approach and appeal to Black militants and critics in a way that the others could not. Firstly, members of the panel held Black militant credentials. They included well known Black people such as Stuart Hall, Herman Ousley, Keith Vaz, Paul Gilroy, Juliet Coke, Reena Bhavnani. Secondly, the panel gained the support of local Black organisers at the launch of the inquiry by listening to the criticisms and suggestions of those present, and stating that they 'would only proceed if there was extensive community backing and support for the initiative.' (Bhavnani et al, 1986:6) Consequently most groups present 'pledged their cooperation.' (Bhavnani et al, 1986:7)

The inquiry's findings concurred with the conciliatory approach of Scarman, Gifford and Silverman urging increased Black participation in the mainstream. It called for more resources and investment from mainstream state expenditure, increased Black representation and structures of police accountability. (Bhaunani et al, 1986:76-89) Such Black militant-led inquiries symbolised the bureaucratisation of Black activists and was a long way from notions of the Black revolution.

Conclusion
The institutionalisation of Black political activity into the Labour Party and mainstream institutions has had the effect of creating a growing gap between Black people who achieved office, became Black professionals or were absorbed into the mainstream in some other way and the majority of Black youth who experience rising repression. Hence, Labour Party Black Section, Race Today, National Black Caucus, Anti-Racist Alliance and other organisations, have been unable to go beyond attracting young Black people to occasional benefit concerts. They have been unable to attract and maintain a significant young Black membership. Whilst the gap in the experiences of young Black people and the growing stratum of Black professionals has allowed for the development of alternative leaderships for angry Black youth, this leadership opportunity has been appropriated by religious/ethnic leaders rather than young Black people themselves. Alienated and

isolated, young Blacks have turned to streetlife, escapism, cultural solutions and away from both organised activity and mainstream party politics. The widespread mobilisation of young Asians for the campaign against *The Satanic Verses* was in stark contrast to the Asian Youth activities of the 1970s and illustrated the new direction of Black politics. In the 1970s the anger against racism of young Asians in cities like Bradford culminated in campaigns such as the Bradford 12 and the formation of the Asian Youth Movements. As the militant Asian youth of the 1970s gradually became involved in local politics, the Labour Party and the race relations industry, they stopped being leaders of local conflicts with the authorities. In the late 1980s, the main conflicts became depoliticised. Ethnic and religious expressions of local tension overwhelmed political issues. Campaigns around halal meat and separate education led by mosque leaders, for example, gained more prominence than the matter of racial violence.

The late 1980s generation of young Asians in Bradford became followers rather than leaders of ethnic campaigns. They seemed isolated, alienated and angry to the point that many gave up on politics altogether and adopted a more individual-istic outlook. When muslim religious leaders in Britain bolstered their own declin-ing influence by mobilising against Rushdie, they were able to win the support of young Asians for demonstrations. Nevertheless, tensions between the elders and the youth came to the fore when young Asians vented their frustrations against the police and the organisers lost control of marches. The attraction of the anti-Rushdie campaign for many Asian youth underlined the extent of the vacuum in organised Black resistance to racism resulting from the depoliticisation of Black activity which occurred in the 1980s. The question now facing practitioners and commentators alike is how can Black politics be transformed to make it applicable to the real needs of today's Black young people and adults?

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Notes

1 I use the term 'Black' in this paper to refer to people of African-Caribbean or South Asian origin or descent.

2 These individuals are connected in that they have at some point been based at or worked from the Institute of Race Relations, which Sivanandan currently leads.

3 In this context 'culture' implied religion, language, style, aesthetics and customs as vehicles for the cre-ation of a Black (often African) identity.

4 The Mangrove 9 were arrested on 9.8.70 during clashes with the police at a demonstration against police raids on the Mangrove restaurant. They were charged with riot, conspiracy, affray and assault. The ten week trial which followed formed the basis of a national campaign among Black communities and marked a turning point in the development of Black community campaigning.

5 The desire for inclusion did not suddenly materialise in the 1980s but was the main impulse behind pluralist Black power.

6 1981 saw the Black People's March for Justice in south London, an outcry against the murder of the Khan family in East London and a national mobilisation against the killing of Satnam Singh Gill in Coventry.

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A BLACK PERSPECTIVE TO
BRITISH COMMUNITY AND YOUTH WORK

LIONEL VAN REENEN

Introduction

Over the past three decades, British community and youth work has fermented a critical debate amongst Black people about the need for a discrete perspective to political community action. This stemmed mainly from responding to racism, especially a collective response. Slowly, areas of common territory to Black people have been mapped out as the basis for analysis, strategy and action. In this area of work many groups of Black activists and professionals have played a pioneering role giving a direction to training and fieldwork practice (Fisher and Day, 1983; National Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference, 1989; Black Detached Youth Workers Statement, 1990). These initiatives were part of a broad political struggle to develop a *vision and framework* to enable Black people to shape the world in terms of our own analysis, image and interests (Karenga, 1988a), i.e. develop a Black Perspective to British community and youth work.

The aim of this paper is to advance the work already done - as part of an evolving process. It is hoped the paper will promote greater conceptual clarity about the principles that underpin a Black Perspective, one that takes account of the similarities and differences of Black culture, identity and experience. Black people are invited to help nurture a vision based on our history, values, beliefs and humanity that gives purpose to the framework. The framework has to be informed by a critical analysis of context in which it must be applied: the economic, political and social arrangements of post-modern Britain and their attendant ideologies. This analysis is essential to translate the perspective into a practical politics that delivers what it promises.

At the heart of the analysis is racism, racism is global with a variety of histories. These include anti-Semitism, anti-Irish and anti-Black racism. It is on the latter that this paper will focus which involves people of African, Caribbean or Asian origin and descent. The term Black is developed in its political sense, I concentrate on how the concept Black can be used in an analysis and strategy to reverse the processes through which existing power arrangements reproduce hierarchies of domination and inequality based on culture, 'race' and skin colour. A Black Perspective as a political construct has to encompass a number of mini perspectives. This is to account for similarity and difference within Black communities in Britain. This poses a problem in terms of reaching an agreement on a vision to the perspective because of the diversity of history and culture of Black people. But this nettle must be grasped. One way is to focus on what Black people commonly experience in their everyday lives. On the other hand, in the struggle for liberation, contemporary social movements such as feminism remind us that a failure to recognise diversity within its own constituency causes the movement's authority to be delegitimised and its intellectual rigour sacrificed (Stuart, 1990). Thus, when we talk about a Black Perspective, we have got to keep in mind what Black people share in common and our diversity, to create a perspective that commands legitimacy as a basis for collective identity and action.

Economic and political background

The recent economic crises have created a social climate fraught with uncertainty (Mercer; 1994). The political forte of the New Right has pressed for a major restructuring of industry, commercial and public life based on a market economy, privatisation, cost-effectiveness and consumerism. This led to a narrow vocationalist ideology that marked a distinct shift in the allocation of power to employers. There is no longer a 'job for life' but rather fixed-term work contracts. Managers decide work objectives, outcomes, units of competence and performance indicators (Davies and Durkin, 1991 6-7).

Consumer lifestyles and mass consumption dominate culture, taste and fashion. Technology and the mass media manipulate our reality drawing on a nostalgic world of Victorian values to regain a 'lost past', and all that this entails for Black people. The results of these changes are increased competition and fragmentation within and between different groups (Turner, 1990).

Collective membership which used to provide a basis for identity and affiliation such as belonging to a class, a political party, a trade union, a community, a nation, is in a state of flux.

In the midst of this uncertainty, for those of us who are not white, whose culture and values have always been subjected to domination and exploitation, there is an urgent need to create a vision and political framework with which we can identify and feel at 'home' (Rutherford, 1990:9-25). The concept Black may be a far cry from an ideal 'home' that encompasses all the boundaries of history, politics and culture. However, it provides a credible touchstone for those who experience oppression because of the pigmentation of our skin, our culture and with whom we identify.

Against the above backcloth, I examine what is meant by *perspective* and what is meant by *Black*. I analyse the assumptions about 'race' and culture reflected in the historical development of British community and youth work through the application of multi-culturalism, and anti-racism. Finally, I explore the implications of developing a Black Perspective in five areas of contemporary social issues and practice. These are the knock-on effects of the economic crises on Black people; the incidence of racism in communities and responses to this; professional practice; working effectively with Black-led[1] and white organisations; and the practical factors to be accounted for in creating a vision and analytical framework that will first and foremost serve the interests of Black people living and working in Britain.

Perspective

A perspective is a particular way to view, understand, analyse and explain the social world. Different perspectives exist to help interpret social phenomena and offer guidelines to plan and take action. No single perspective has a built-in guarantee that its cultural and intellectual starting points will be universally applicable.

Assumptions about what is 'real', the grounds of knowledge and what methodology to use to advance the frontiers of science are reflected in the alternative perspectives about the nature of society. Burrell and Morgan (1979) refer to a number of intellectual traditions in the development of social theory. These include functionalist, interpretative, radical humanist and Marxist perspectives. Their application

to theory development and research has created many dilemmas because of the alternative assumptions they represent about 'what is real' in society (Giddens, 1976).

In this paper I draw on a radical humanist perspective. The radical humanism I have in mind is linked to a Black history of struggle and human liberation. It recognises the major contribution that Black people have, and will make in creating a society that does *not* seek to exploit, dominate and subjugate the history and culture of any group of people. This is the vision of a Black perspective as I see it. The radical humanism I adopt is concerned with removing ideology that drives a wedge between actors' true consciousness and alienates them from themselves and others, e.g. rendering a Black consciousness untenable. Here I refer to ideology in its perjorative sense, how the dominant beliefs and values of the ruling groups in Britain are imposed on everyone to obscure the real conditions of society, where in the final analysis even those who do the imposing believe their own propaganda. This is how the powerful use ideology to legitimise existing structures of inequality based on 'race', class, gender, sexual orientation and disability. It is against this background that many Black groups in Britain collectively confront, coerce, lobby, compete, negotiate to exert influence on behalf of their Black constituencies to secure resources, influence policy and create marginal changes.

Shukra discusses the relative merits of various perspectives in her analysis of Black politics in Britain. She argues, a considerable overlap of perspective exists amongst Black radicals in their attempt to advance a credible Black consciousness:

> the growing awareness of Black people as a group with collective interests defined by common experiences of racism and resistance to it (Shukra, 1993, p.7)

She traces the evolution of Black politics in Britain during the 60s as one end of a continuum, to 'perspectivism' of the 90s as the other.

Initially, Black power politics was imported from the USA in the 60s. It was a broad church containing many conflicting ideas: Black - pride, solidarity, identity, cultural heritage, capitalism, revolution and a return to Africa. The application of these ideas to practical strategy evidenced the strong influence of a pluralist Black power analysis, i.e., society consisted of fragmented interest groups who vie for power and influence. British pluralist politics cites ethnicity and culture as the primary modalities of a Black identity. This resulted in a Black consciousness that assumed there was a corporate Black culture only accessible to Black people by virtue of their particular ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This logic provided the nuts and bolts of 'identity politics' and 'perspectives' of the 90s (Shukra, 1993). Clearly the danger in taking these positions is the tendency to dance to the tune of the status quo.

In professional community and youth work practice the adoption of alternative perspectives has proved to be highly problematic. No single uncontroversial perspective, either radical or bourgeois, is acceptable to workers, managers and trainers. Emerging perspectives exist based on class, gender, and being 'Black'. But, there is currently a driving managerialism to incorporate all knowledge and skills into a nationally acceptable package which has led to over-simplification and dis-

tortion. This trend exemplifies the old adage par excellence - ' our worst enemies are the experts who try to tell everyone how to feel, think and act'.

Who is Black?

The debate about who qualifies to be Black has created several dinosaurs in the form of contentious and sometimes divisive disputes within the Black community. In Britain the concept Black is coded under a number of labels by the status quo: non-white, immigrants, coloured, Asian, West Indian, Caribbean, Africans and asylum seekers. Although highly suspect, these labels provide useful interpretative keys to a host of racist ideologies and practices. For example, the term non-white has strong roots in ex-colonies and western societies. It derives its cultural meaning from the gross misrepresentation of colonised peoples who are Black, as inferior to the colonisers who are white (Karenga, 1988). In South Africa's apartheid ideology, 'non-white' was institutionalised by law. Indigenous people were never referred to as Africans; they are Non-White, Natives, Bantu or Kafirs. Other non-whites included mixed race people - Coloureds, and south Asian Indians. More recently, non-white evolved into Black but with the same negative ideological connotations of its predecessors (Magubane, 1990:XI).

In the syntax of traditional and contemporary discourses, non-white implies deviant, not kosher, 'the unwashed' and ultimately sub-human. These meanings have clear pathological connotations of 'abnormal' and draw heavily on biological notions of 'race'. As a socially constructed categorisation, 'race' specifies the rules of identification for biologically distinct groups based on unalterable phenotypical and cultural characteristics. Although scientifically discredited, 'race' as a concept continues to exert a powerful influence in everyday language and ideology, used to justify relationships of superiority and exploitation of white over Black people.

The legacy of 'race' and colonialism is reflected by Black and white people alike in Britain by their language and practice. Brah (1992: 127-134) illustrates the anomalies created by the term Black as a racial category. During the post-war period African-Caribbean and South Asian people came to settle in Britain who were generically referred to as 'coloured' people. What these groups shared in common was a history of anti-colonial struggle, racism based on their 'non-whiteness' and a structural position where they occupied the lowest status rungs in British society. Emerging coalitions amongst these groups adopted the term Black influenced by the Black power ideology from the USA. The 'Nation of Islam' in the 1950s and 60s advocated by Malcolm X (Haley 1969), and Black Power Movement in the 60s and 70s (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1969) significantly contributed toward the development of a positive, assertive Black consciousness. In these contexts, the term Black endorsed the history and ancestral past of African-Caribbean people - an important element in creating a vision for a Black perspective. But, it did not account for the cultural heritage of Asian communities who tended to feel marginalised from a Black identity. Many Asian people did not define themselves as Black nor did their African-Caribbean counterparts regard them as such (Akhtar, 1993; Longley, 1993).

Ironically, where the concept has been developed to include all Black people, it has been done where Black is viewed in terms as an opposition to, and struggle against, racism. This dilemma limits the concept as it runs the danger of tacitly

accepting the impotence of Black people and their response only as victims (Gilroy, 1992). Clearly a Black Perspective has to be a much more discursive and complex construct if it is to capture the imagination and be endorsed as legitimate by diverse Black communities.

A familiar quirk of white politicians and officials, is how they use Black *as* a generic label to advance their personal power and to rationalise their policies and practices. For example, Yuval-Davis (1992:278-91) shows how the racialisation of religion especially Islam, following the Rushdie affair, led to many hitherto diverse national groups - Pakistani, Mirpuri, Bengali and Punjabi being labelled under one category - the Muslim community, Furthermore, to lump under one umbrella the diversity in cultural, economic, religious and social characteristics of Asian, Caribbean and African communities who make up about two billion of the world's population, is clearly silly. But this is what happens in practice in Britain.

In the field of resource distribution, the term Black is used by the state to mask the diverse needs of 'ethnic' minority groups. 'Ethnic' difference is seen as the key Index of a Black experience where cultural needs are regarded as independent of other factors such as class, gender, sexuality and politics. 'Ethnicism' focuses on the cultural barriers that separate groups rather than the cultural content of, and difference within, groups. This form of culturalist politics regards sub-groups of Black people as having homogeneous experiences and needs. It encourages cultural exclusiveness and competition for limited resources, a highly divisive strategy that has served colonialism so well over the centuries.

Rationale for using the concept Black
The central question to be addressed is, why use the concept Black when it is shown to be so inaccurate and divisive? My contention is that there are three principal reasons:

First, to reject Black as a prefix to a perspective because of the pejorative connotation it acquired through received wisdom, is to respond as victims. Instead this negative view should be turned on its head. If not, any concept we choose could suffer from the same fate. We must not succumb to the dominant culture's discourses and allow them to obstruct the positive articulation of a concept that makes sense to Black people's experiences. The concept Black can provide the basis for a vision and framework to *analyse* how social life is experienced by a variety of Black people.

Second, in Britain the concept Black has been strongly influenced by the 'Atlantic connection' - developments in the Black power ideology in the USA. This proved to be a positive endorsement for Black people to reclaim our history denied by racism, celebrate our cultural pride and challenge negative stereotypical labels. The concept Black can offer a basis from which Black people can draw strength to create a vision to give direction and inform *proactive strategies* that will address our interests and improve our life chances.

Third, on a practical level we can learn from recent South African history (Mandela, 1994). In this context, Black as a *political construct* has successfully forged an alliance and collective consciousness based on skin colour and culture for a wide range of 'non-white' communities. The concept created a vanguard for

oppressed groups to wrest considerable political power, albeit with limitations, for millions of people to advance their common interests under the label Black.

For all the reasons cited, a Black Perspective in Britain should have a credible chance to command legitimacy from diverse Black communities to act collectively to achieve common goals.

Historical background - British community and youth work

Fanon's (1963) revolutionary manifesto for decolonization following the Second World War, stressed the need for Black people to break out of their tendency to respond as victims. Although Europe was forced to concede political independence to many colonies in the 1950s, the ideologies of colonization in the west remained untainted. During this period Black people became the new 'settlers' in Europe on a large scale[2]. As a developing collective we began to exert pressure to deconstruct ideologies and practices of oppression used to dehumanise, control and marginalise us in our new lands of settlement.

Community and youth work in Britain developed against this background and from its formative stages was influenced by the educational discourses of multi-culturalism, anti-racism and more recently by NVQs.

Multi-culturalism emerged from an acceptance in the 60s that diverse cultural groups were present in Britain. The public claim was that intolerance was due to individual attitudes of prejudice. Empathy for 'other cultures' would remove ignorance and help to create a democratic, culturally plural society. Through the understanding of 'other cultures' good British rationalism would prevail, reducing prejudice against individuals from a different 'racial' and cultural background (Rattansi, 1992). This position represents the much discredited integrationist, 'melting-pot' ideology advocated during this period.

The 1980s civil upheavals in Brixton, Toxteth, Handsworth and Broadwater Farm created moral panics amongst the white indigenous British. Following the inner-city riots in the early 80s, anti-racism gained momentum. The logic was that racism, rather than being a product of individual prejudice and irrationality, was caused by structural and political forces that sustained power differentials between Black and white people. The strategy was that racism should be confronted 'head on' by challenging institutionalised policies and practices in agencies such as those managing the police, the judiciary, education, housing, immigration and employment. The criticism of anti-racist advocates was to get them to practice what they preached.

Both multi-cultural and anti-racist logics significantly influenced the development of British community and youth work. The Thompson Report, (1982), reviewing the Youth Service in terms of 'countering racism', argued the 'facts of racism' are firmly rooted in individual prejudice towards:

citizens who have a different colour, a different ethnic Origin ... this attitude springs from the social and economic Insecurities of those who harbour it. (Thompson, 1982)

The Youth Service should address this by making itself fully 'multi-cultural' in its curriculum and campaign for equal opportunities.

The Community Development Projects (CDPs) in the 1970s, the Greater London Council (GLC), the Inner-London Educational Authority (ILEA) and other Labour metropolitan local authorities in the 1980s, adopted policies that gave considerable impetus to the anti-racist movement. These local state institutions employed a large number of community workers (Francis, 1984). A coded language emerged notably, collective community action, empowerment and equal opportunities. As these 'catch phrases' evolved into local policies, they became increasingly unacceptable politically during the 1980s as Thatcherism began to grip British populist culture (Francis, 1984). Anti-racists claimed the state and not the victims were to blame for social problems, and their policies were progressively abandoned as relics of the 'loony left' and as apparent vote losers.

During the previous decade, the CDP projects were dismantled by Labour when in power in 1975. CDPs analysis identified the state as the cause of structural poverty in deprived inner-cities and elsewhere. This analysis proved to be an anathema for Labour which led to the closing down of CDPs (Loney, 1983).

The policies of anti-racism helped to promote a climate with a self-fulfilling prophesy. Black groups with shared cultural backgrounds assumed a mutually exclusive stance viz-a-viz other Black groups when competing for resources; a form of 'social closure' (Parkin, 1978). This involved practices where Black groups who themselves were excluded by white groups because of their 'race' and culture, separated themselves from other Black groups from a different cultural background. Gilroy (1993) argues this form of 'ethnic absolutism' is grounded on supposedly fixed properties of social groups. You were either African-Caribbean or Asian. Differences between and within these groups in politics and history are ignored. This logic is clearly flawed when considering the varied perspectives held by sub-groups within and between these communities.

Practical components of a Black Perspective
In the final stage of this paper I examine some of the practical components that go toward creating a Black Perspective. I concentrate on experiences that are common to a variety of black communities as the bricks and mortar of an analysis and strategy. My exploration focuses on five areas of contemporary social issues and practices. I recognise that there are many other important issues not considered relevant to the debate which other contributors explore (see also Karenga,1988b:215)[3].

1. The economic and political crises
The ongoing economic and political crises of the 1980s led to a major restructuring of social welfare in Britain. This caused considerable hardship and disarray. Witch hunts to find scapegoats for this disarray were common (Donald and Rattansi, 1992).

The ideological subterfuge of the New Right was to oppose tax increases and cut public spending as the rationale for economic recovery. This claim met with widespread public approval at the general election of 1979. There was apparently much disillusionment with welfare state bureaucracy because of its insensitive, paternalistic nature (Corrigan, 1979). Freedom of choice, the private market and individualism were much more attractive alternatives. The degree to which Mrs. Thatcher's determination to 'roll back the frontiers of the welfare state' has been realised in practice is questionable. There has been a patent failure of piecemeal,

privatised solutions to social problems and an exacerbation in the polarisation between the 'have and have nots'. These trends culminated in a stark maldistribution of income, wealth and economic power between rich and poor, reminiscent of Victorian times (IFS, 1994; Report of the Commission on Social Justice, 1994).

Galbraith (1994) argues, that the 'well heeled' readily supported notions of privatisation, value for money and consumerism as the keys to economic recovery. The policies that followed ensured Black people continued to form a high disproportion of a poverty-stricken underclass. This was reflected in unemployment, homelessness, crime and a huge prison population (Gilroy, 1987: 72-113). Increasingly Black people were scapegoated as the 'welfare scroungers', the 'single parents', the 'yardies' or drug pushers, 'rapist' and of course the 'muggers'. Yet again, Black people provided the underbelly for the rationalisations of those who hold power who refuse to accept responsibility of their role in creating an unjust society.

A more recent version of the labelling ideology was the 'Back to Basics' campaign, blaming the victim for their inadequacy as advocated by the chief protagonist of the classless society - John Major. The rationalisations cited gave legitimacy to a range of racist practices from more 'respectable' quarters. Examples include the allegations against the Liberal Democratic Party for scapegoating black people in their publicity leaflets to win votes in the local government elections in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in 1993 (Rose, 1994). The Tory Party's current immigration policy giving a 'no questions asked' ticket for those who can afford a £1,000,000 entry fee to Britain, advances new vistas of racism in immigration policies.

What should a Black Perspective's response be to these developments? The removal of ideological wedges that obstruct Black people from realising our true consciousness is a crucial first stage. The negative images so insidiously peddled by the tabloid press and other forms of the media must be exposed and countered. As a trainer of professional community and youth workers for over twenty years, I am always very disappointed when Black students admit to being avid readers of newspapers like the Sun, without a critical awareness of what they read. This is of course a classic outcome of centuries of colonial indoctrination. Thus, at home, in schools, in youth and community groups, seminars and adult education groups, applying a Black Perspective to construct a positive image to counter distorted myths perpetrated against Black people, should be the top priority.

When approached by politicians at election times for their support, Black people should use their democratic muscle in unequivocal terms about the conditions for their support. We should insist on words supported by deeds. Black people should demand having our own sub-sections and representatives in white organisations where we deem this relevant, e.g. political parties. We should develop strategies to support Black colleagues who represent us in public office and make them accountable. Dismissing them as marionettes of the status quo will merely drive them into the arms of white groups who have a different agenda. Where alliances with white organisations are forged, these should only be entered into where the agency involved has demonstrated a commitment to a Black Perspective.

2. A Black Perspective on the incidence of racism in communities.
The incidence of racist violence in Britain and Europe has reached unprecedented proportions (Campbell, 1993). Having a black skin has significantly increased the

probability of being marginalised, harassed, physically and psychologically bullied and murdered. These trends have generated feelings of intense vulnerability amongst Black people in our workplaces and communities where we live and play. In many British inner-cities overt racism is reminiscent of the incipient stages of Nazi Germany in the 1930s (Rose, 1994).

A major obstacle to dealing effectively with these attacks is the intervention on behalf of Black communities by so-called 'sympathetic' white organisations and experts. Although some of these actions may be well meant, we should note that 'the road to hell is paved with good intentions' (Shaw, 1911).

Radical white groups jostle to promote their particular brand of political correctness. The debacle created by various British anti-fascist organisations e.g. Anti-Nazi League in response to a racist murder and the presence of British National Party headquarters in Eltham, culminated in pitched battles in South East London in October 1993. The Black families directly involved were high-jacked and subjected to a game playing saga that addressed the hidden agenda of other groups (Platt, 1994). The learning from this experience is very clear. White groups should not be allowed to act by proxy on behalf of the victims of racism, the Black community. This compounds feelings of impotency to solve problems ourselves, a danger referred to by Fanon (1967) way back in the 1950s. He warned against deferring to those who have greater access to power to act for the powerless. This inevitably leads to Black people developing amnesia of their own history and culture. A credible vision to a Black Perspective can be created by Black people answering the fundamental questions:

'Who am I?' 'Am I really who I am'?' 'Am I all I ought to be?' (see Karenga's, 1988b discussion of Fanon's work)

The issue of working from the 'bottom up' rather than the 'top down' is central to a Black Perspective. Developing leadership that is accountable to the Black community is a tenet in community development (Federation of Community Work Training Groups, 1990)[4]. Significantly, Malcolm X (Haley), was a strong exponent of black-led community leadership that is accountable through the collective participation of people from the grass roots. He warned where this principle is ignored, the legitimacy of the leadership and associated organisation invariably collapses. He argued that Black people will have to fight white people to win the right to decide how and when to act to advance our interests. This type of challenge is healthy as it fosters Black self-respect to control our destinies. Training Black leaders to act *only* on behalf of their communities from whom they have a clear mandate, lies at the heart of a Black Perspective.

3. A Black Perspective to professional practice
Black professionals are increasingly pressurised by their white colleagues and managers to work to a white agenda (Ohri et al, 1982). Black professional workers have to deal with broad social issues that apply to everyone. In addition we have to address issues discrete to Black people. Responding to the latter has proved to be an evasive goal. Our practise is often determined by an alliance with white colleagues and managers in a joint effort to survive in a market of decreasing resources and increasing competition. This presents a major dilemma. We find

ourselves torn between sustaining a degree of legitimacy with our employers, and with our Black communities whose interests often pull in opposite directions.

Currently the populist contention is 'managers should manage'. They decide the criteria for what is efficient, which mitigates against incorporating Black people in the management of work projects. This form of managerialism has made deep inroads into community and youth work. The dominant ethos is based on notions of pathology, where 'social problems' are personalised and solutions based on individual inadequacy (Tucker, 1994). Collective action is substituted by case-work, democratic accountability by the 'numbers game' and 'league' tables. There is little commitment to the collective involvement of Black people or indeed other oppressed groups, either to manage or appraise the services directed at them. Working as a professional from a Black Perspective should strongly resist these trends.

In the field of professional training in community and youth work, Black workers repeatedly cite the need for separatist components in their generic training to develop discrete competences. At conferences, workshops, support groups and training days, Black workers re-state this need[5]. They see this as a pre-requisite to survive in the job, to be innovative and develop non-racist work strategies. The acquisition of special knowledge and skills to advance the interests of Black people is a cornerstone of a Black Perspective in all areas of professional practice.

4. A Black Perspective in Black-led and white organisations.
The need to develop the appropriate organisational arrangements and policies to deliver a practice that is consistent with a Black Perspective lies at the heart of the argument in this paper (Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference). Two principal areas of organisational and managerial work are involved. First, is the creation of Black-led organisations that are seen as legitimate by Black people. Second, are the special competences Black workers need to be effective managers in Black-led and white organisations.

The creation of a national curriculum for the Youth Service in England and Wales clearly illustrates both aspects of organisational and managerial practice referred to above.

Currently there is a national debate about 'core standards' in youth work (NYA 1994). This initiative stemmed from a functionalist assumption that a consensus could be reached on the values, goals and competences that underpin *all* 'core standards' in youth work. There is credence to the argument that 'core standards' are common to specified areas of work, e.g. report writing, managing finances and good office administration. However, to assume 'core standards' are universally applicable to every work setting is like trying to force a square peg into a round hole.

In 1989 Black trainers and workers challenged the way the national curriculum for the Youth Service was initiated and for its patent lack of any full involvement of, and reference to, Black people. Black young people and adult workers are widely represented in the Service, but their views were not seriously considered. To counter this, a Black-led Organisation, the National Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference was created in 1989 following two national conferences. The objectives were to set up a national Black-led Organisation that was seen as a legiti-

mate representation of Black interests. The Standing Conference also drew up its own curriculum in community and youth work from a Black Perspective. After a struggle, elements of this curriculum were included on the agenda of the national curriculum for the Youth Service (Burke, 1990).

A similar omission occurred in the formative stages of applying an NVQ perspective to community work. The creation of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in 1986 was a practical manifestation of a powerful vocationalist ideology in all areas of organised, paid work. NVQs gained widespread currency in community and youth work for several reasons. First, competences are grounded on the everyday knowledge and skills applied by workers in their practice. Second, through Credit Accumulation and Transfer Schemes (CATS) based on units of competences - CATS, many grass roots activists including Black workers gained access to professional training. Third, the transferability of units of competence from one occupation to another offer workers the possibility to move sideways careerwise, and/or gain access to entirely new occupations. These features of NVQs proved most attractive to workers.

However, it soon became evident that the NVQs perspective viewed workers as functionaries: boxes surrounded by input and output arrows to achieve the goals and outcomes decided by managers (Davies & Durkin, 1991). The functionalist principles on which NVQs were developed, masked out the value-bases of specific groups of workers. By the logic of their constitution, NVQs leave little room for the application of perspectives different to those held by employers and managers.

Competences imposed by employers on workers can be viewed as a deskilling process (Braverman, 1973). Increasingly in the welfare professions, the emphasis is on the application of value-free skills and knowledge to deal with personalised 'problem-centred' work, defined by managers. Thus, if NVQs successfully marginalise the process elements such as social and political education from mainstream work, then Black workers and their communities, along with other oppressed groups, will get a raw deal. Where Black people are unable to negotiate, make decisions about work goals, methods and participate in the evaluation of the quality of the service directed at them, then implementing a Black Perspective will be untenable.

NVQs were developed on an assumption that 'good practice' was underpinned by common work goals and practices across different community groups (Functional Analysis of the Community Work Occupational Area, 1990). Working effectively on issues and settings relevant to Black people, was regarded as merely adjusting existing methods and skills to alternative work settings. There was, in other words, very limited recognition of the sui generis status of a Black Perspective to community work.

As the NVQ community work exercise progressed (S/NVQs, Community Work Standards, 1993), contradictions emerged when trying to agree on competences deemed appropriate by white members of the Steering Group responsible for this project, and the views held by representatives from the Black community. Discrepancies in perspective about what constitutes 'competence' and 'competences' in community and youth work are not new, as cited earlier in this paper. Davies and Durkin (1991) refer to sharp conflicts of interest between managers

and professional workers about who decides the appropriate competences needed to do effective work. Herein lies the dilemma in applying a Black Perspective to an NVQ-directed community and youth work.

What should a Black Perspective's response be to these developments? A large number of Black-led organisations in community and youth work such as the National Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference currently exist. These agencies should be extremely vigilant about local and national policy initiatives relating to our work that should be carefully monitored. What is required is a basic ground rule that a Black Perspective is always on our own, and on other relevant organisations, agenda. Black-led agencies must ensure they are accountable to their constituencies to demonstrate consistency between perspective and practice. Where Black-led organisations forge alliances with white agencies, it should be on condition that a Black Perspective is acknowledged as part of their programmes. Black-led organisations should only accept financial sponsorship based on pro-grammes where meeting the interests of Black people is central to the agenda, and not peripherally subsumed under some vague euphemism.

In the area of training, it is crucial that Black workers acquire discrete knowledge and skills about how to deal with organisational culture and structure from a Black Perspective. This is necessary to create coping and innovative strategies in their practice. The former is to survive in the job, the latter to create changes. Black students can only achieve this from a training curriculum that is negotiable, where they can express their special training needs and ensure these are met.

5. Creating a Black Perspective in post-modern Britain
We live and work in a British capitalist society warts and all, with its oppressions, contradictions and anomalies. A Black Perspective that will produce what it promises has to be formulated within the broad ideological and political con-straints of post-modern Britain. Applying intelligently conceived strategies to max-imise change that benefits Black people, does not mean we succumb to the pow-ers of the existing orthodoxy. We have to be very clear and explicit about what we are doing and what we hope to achieve. For example, whereas anti-racist policies have decreasing mileage politically, there are elements that can be exploited by applying a Black Perspective. Herman Ousley the first chief black officer of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), has developed a strategy based on 'Racial equality at work is good for business' (Hugill, 1994). The reality of contemporary economic life on an international level shows that the fastest growing markets are not white. Companies who want to deal with countries in the Far and Middle East and Africa, must recognise that it is in their own interests to demonstrate their equal opportunities credentials. Ousley proposes to expose companies who are not 'fair employers' and make this knowledge public.

Pressurizing firms to recognise the importance of a Black Perspective in their work policies and practices, could be very effective in advancing the interests of Black people, whilst at the same time be good for business!

In sum, a Black Perspective can effectively impose itself on the political vagaries of British capitalism and not necessarily collude with them. For the perspective to be realistic and credible, it must acknowledge the potential and limits of what can be changed and the contexts in which this is most likely to occur. The perspective has

to be based on the common ground shared by Black people, but must also account for our difference, it must not draw on an analysis where the concept Black is defined only in terms of a riposte to racism. Struggles over issues related to men and women, labour and capital, politics, history, sexuality and disability have to be included. Skills to work constructively in Black-led and white organisations are essential to deal with white and Black managers and colleagues, and with conflicts between and within Black communities. The perspective should at all costs avoid the reproduction of any form of oppression that we are trying to eradicate from society.

Conclusion

A Black Perspective is a political missile in British community and youth work. It has the potential to cut through racist ideology and organisational impediments that obstruct an honest attack on the causes of oppression based on skin colour, 'race' and culture. A credible perspective must avoid a static notion of the concept Black. It must be inclusive of all Black people. It has to project a vision that endorses our history, values, beliefs, self-respect and humanity. It has to forge an ideological and political solidarity that has been so systematically eroded by centuries of colonialism, founded on divide-and-rule principles.

The perspective has to provide a framework for Black people to perceive, understand and explain the structures and ideologies of our contemporary and often hostile social world in which we must survive, work and play. It must offer conceptual clarity about how to mobilise and empower Black people through individual and collective action, that will first and foremost shape the world in terms of our *own vision, analysis, image and interests*. Finally, the raison dêtre of a Black Perspective to command legitimacy amongst Black people, requires it to have the capacity to be translated into a practical politics that delivers what it promises.

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Notes

1 I refer to Black-led organisations as those where the managers and workers of agencies, and consumers of the services provided are predominantly Black.

2 It is important to note that whereas I refer to 'large scale' Black settlers in Britain during the 1950s and 60s, Black people have been present in this country since the third century AD, Fryer's (1984) study of 'The History of Black People in Britain' states, 'There were Africans in Britain before the English came here', (p1), as a division of the Roman Imperial Army.

3 Karenga's (1988b) analysis, *Struggle and Culture, Towards a Black Value System* argues that developing clarity about a national culture is the self-conscious collective thought processes by which a people create, sustain and celebrate their history and humanity, This process should focus on seven basic levels: history, religion, social organisation, economic organisation, political organisation, creative production of art, music, literature, and finally ethos - the collective psychology that results through creativity and action on the other six levels.

4 The Federation of Community Work Training Groups is a white-led Organisation that over the last twenty years has demonstrated an authentic commitment to supporting the development of a Black Perspective, to community work, The agency has gone some way to avoid setting the agenda in its dealing with Black groups, For example, it has twice given grants towards the setting up and development of the National Black Workers and Trainers Standing Conference, It has supported research into the needs of the Black community and sponsored a national training course in community work from a Black Perspective, As the management body of the Occupational Project for National Vocational Qualifications in Community Work, it has ensured that representatives from appropriate Black constituencies served on the Steering Group.

5 The workshops, conferences, support groups and training sessions to which the author refers includes the two National Black Community and Youth Workers and Trainers Standing Conferences held in Birmingham 1989 and Derbyshire 1992, Training Agencies Group - Black Section, 'Skills' Training Course for Black community workers in Sheffield 1993, Black workers group at the London Federation of Community Workers Group in London 1991, Black representatives discussing the relevance of a Black Perspective to NVQs on the Steering Group.

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'CALLING ME RACIST...?'

The Experience of Developing Black Perspectives Youth and Community Work Training Courses in a Higher Education Institution.

MARK WEBB

Introduction

The term 'Black' as a political category as opposed to a category which denotes ethnic or racial origins has been appropriated by a plethora of political groups and organisations but the use of the word continues to be deeply controversial. Different interpretations of 'Black' (Gilroy 1993, Ahmed 1990, Modood 1993, Cole 1993) add to the ongoing critique of its generic use as a political term. Given the diversity and multiplicities of post-colonial experiences in contemporary British society, the formulation of identities cannot be solely based on exclusion and discrimination. Black perspectives work must be understood as a concept that recognises the tensions of the political and cultural use of the term Black and the need to additionally acknowledge the growing diversity of different perspectives.

In this article I will argue that the development of the academic professional body of knowledge tenuously named 'Black perspectives' is an essential contribution to the analysis and development of the 'politics of representation' and the 'politics of identities' in contemporary Britain. Black perspectives in this context is a process by which the political, professional and personal diversity of experiences can be acknowledged and maximised by educationalists.

Over the past five years at Manchester Metropolitan University, within the Youth and Community Work Section of the Department of Applied Community Studies, students self defining as Black have had the opportunity to undertake Black perspectives courses as a part of their Diploma in Higher Education and Bachelor of Arts (Honours) and Masters degrees.

This article will attempt to identify key issues which have emerged from the process of developing Black perspectives courses. In order to do so I feel it will be useful to adopt the following structure. Firstly indicating what constitutes a Black perspectives course and how issues of 'race', diversity and unity have been addressed through course aims and content. Secondly an interrogation of the necessity of Black perspectives work is necessary acknowledging the possible tensions and contradictions of this field. Thirdly, I feel it is important to discuss some of the students' experiences taking the Black perspectives courses, to highlight the educational process. Fourthly, I will outline the institutional responses to the Black perspectives work. I have categorised these as Resistance, Tolerance and Critical Dialogue with Support. Finally I will outline critical issues for future development of Black perspectives work.

What constitutes a Black Perspectives course?
Background to Manchester Metropolitan University experience

Since 1985 Black students had formed groups within the Youth and Community Work Section and within other sections in the Department of Applied Community Studies. These groups were informal and student led and were more often than not support groups for study skills and social purposes. The groups may have influenced some aspects of training but their capacity to do so was limited due to their voluntary nature and low status within the institution.

Five years ago as a part of my induction as a new lecturer in the Department, I examined course documents and in particular the Post Graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Work course, as it was my main teaching allocation. I was very conscious of being a Black member of staff in a predominantly white staff team. I feared being at the embryonic stage of the 'Calling me racist...?' reaction and being perceived as a racism detector, when my prime aim was to gain a holistic view of the range of course content and rationale. Within the 'induction culture' in educational institutions there is a mutual desire to identify common and constructive ground and a need to see any questioning as part of a process of critical and constructive dialogue; however there is a tension and anxiety about the political and personal possibility of being labelled racist. This process revealed concerns about the courses. The course team agreed it would be valuable to assess the appropriateness of the content offered to Black students. It was important at this stage to establish clarification of roles and responsibilities, having assisted in the identification of the need for this evaluation work it was important that it was carried out by an outside researcher so that the findings would not be personalised and could be examined objectively by the staff team.

As a result in 1990 the Department of Applied Community Studies employed Krishna Ramdehol as a researcher to evaluate the curriculum delivery to Black students on the Post-Graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Work. He interviewed staff and students to ascertain how the course was experienced by Black students and thus identify the way forward (Ramdehol 1990, unpublished). *Recommendations from the evaluation included:*

1   To acknowledge the need to develop the curriculum from Black perspectives and build in modules across the Youth and Community Work Section serviced by Black professionals.

2   More anti-racist work with white workers/white tutors over the long term.

3   To update the appropriate booklists to reflect Black perspectives

4   To find appropriate fieldwork practice placements for Black workers.

5   To have a clearer code of practice for tackling racism on the courses.

6   To involve more Black field workers on the course committees and in other inputs to the courses.

Fig 1. Evaluation of the curriculum content and delivery of Post graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Work to Black students at the Manchester Metropolitan University, (Ramdehol, K.1990).

Although this research had resource limitations it made a very significant contribution. It shifted the identification and framing of the needs of Black students from a position in which the students were offered support if they were unable to 'cope' to a framework in which it was acknowledged that courses were not coping with the experience and diversity of Black students. The first position focuses on individual needs and pathologises Black students as 'needy' and 'demanding'. In the latter position, the problem is recognised as being that of a structural nature and the need for support is thrown into debate. Critical dialogue in relationship to curriculum content, delivery and assessment of courses from Black perspectives can be understood as part of a wider agenda involving the development of courses for all. The pedagogical, political, professional and personal questions in relation to Black perspectives work thus needs to be seen as an ongoing process for all educationalists.

Acknowledging questions of 'race', diversity and unity.

The premise of a Black Perspective is that a Black person's life experiences provide the starting point for building an analytical framework to view, understand, analyse and take action. An individual's perspective is formulated from the totality of his/her experiences (personal and societal) culture, politics, sexuality and gender as examples of totality (National Black Workers and Trainers Conference Document, 1991).

The Black perspectives work within the Department has developed over the past five years to continually incorporate contemporary theorising of issues of 'race' and racism and the implications for practice. Fundamentally, the course has consisted of two inter-related components, the theoretical component and the intervention strategies component. This structure has provided students with the opportunity to develop a framework that allows critical analysis of how perspectives are formulated and represented and in turn examine related practice issues.

In the initial stages of developing the course the clarification of the status of the work was necessary; that it was not a forum for support but a taught course with assessment. The Black perspectives work was first piloted and developed in the Post graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Work course. The Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree course in Youth and Community Work Studies was developed in 1994/95, a more theoretical, academically based course. Black perspectives work on this course is being piloted this year. The original content and course outcomes for professional training courses 1990/91 outlined below have since developed in order to address questions raised from recent new pedagogical debates particularly in relation to identity issues.

The Course Aims:	The Course Content
To build on an understanding of the theoretical and political principles of Black perspectives	The politics and formulation of perspectives.
To further develop knowledge of the historical, social, cultural and political aspects of identities in relation to Youth and Community Work practice from Black perspectives	The identification of the diversity of issues facing Black communities in the 1990s
To critically examine appropriate and effective working methods when servicing Black communities acknowledging diversity, unity and areas of conflict	The impact of these issues for Black Youth and Community Workers
To further develop analytical frameworks to address structural and individual racism as black professionals	The identification of working methods
To critically examine Youth and Community Work policy and practice from Black perspectives	Development, Evaluation and Assessment of Youth and community Work from Black perspectives
	Evaluation of course content.

Fig 2. Black Perspectives in Youth and Community Work Course, (Webb M. 1990).

The Black perspectives framework has assisted critical examination of questions of identity and in articulating them as issues for practice. In this context 'identity' can be seen as 'a strength is it captures succinctly the possibilities of unravelling the complexities of the relationship between "structure" and "agency", one could say it is where structure and agency collide' (Bhavnani and Phoenix 1994, p5).

The 1994/1995 professional training course has drawn on contemporary material such as Bhavnani and Phoenix above. As a result the course has developed to assist students in identifying and linking the changing nature of theorising issues of 'race' and identity and their implications for practice through use of the following framework:
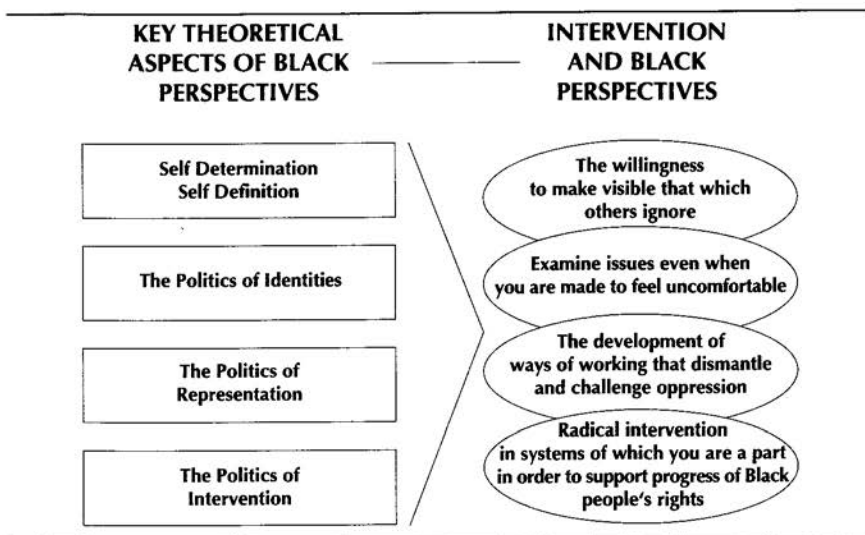
KEY THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF BLACK PERSPECTIVES ——— **INTERVENTION AND BLACK PERSPECTIVES**

Key Theoretical Aspects of Black Perspectives	Intervention and Black Perspectives
Self Determination Self Definition	The willingness to make visible that which others ignore
The Politics of Identities	Examine issues even when you are made to feel uncomfortable
The Politics of Representation	The development of ways of working that dismantle and challenge oppression
The Politics of Intervention	Radical intervention in systems of which you are a part in order to support progress of Black people's rights

Fig 3. The Developing framework for the Black perspectives courses 1994/95

The course is structured so that personal and structural dimensions of perspectives can be identified and analysed. Additionally the changing theorising of the politics of 'identities' and 'representation' are identified in relation to practice issues. Although examining what constitutes appropriate intervention is integral to the whole course, the 'politics of intervention' aspect focuses on the actual assessment and evaluation of what is deemed to be good and appropriate service for Black communities.

Mid-way through the fieldwork practice placement students examine the supervision and assessment process they are undergoing based on political, professional and personal questions previously identified within the Black perspectives work. Here emphasis is on developing strategies that assist students in ensuring that their learning is critically contextualised within placement agency culture.

The final part of the course is devoted to complementing the managerial and development aspects of their training. This programme of work is delivered by Black field workers. This year the programme of work consists of a manager sharing strategies employed in his role in working for a voluntary organisation; the

chair of a Black professional group outlining the politics and function of the group; a woman assistant director of a national charity illustrating the issues for her operating at a higher level of management; and a youth and community worker who has been developing a young Asian and African Caribbean young people's group.

Students complete the course with the submission of an assignment. This involves the individual critically analysing the concept and use of Black perspectives in relation to key issues as a professional youth and community worker. The title is negotiated with Black perspectives course tutor/s. Some examples of work undertaken include, quality supervision from Black perspectives, young people, mixed parentage and identity issues for youth and community workers.

Why are Black Perspectives Courses Necessary: Clarification, Justification and Purpose.

The desire to maximise the potential of all students should be any educators prime concern. Unfortunately in relation to Black students, in predominantly white educational institutions, this can be translated as merely a desire to see Black students on courses.There have been recruitment drives to get under-represented Black students on to courses, however once there, success is gauged by the number who 'get through' and pass rather than any criteria of quality. This suggests a deficiency model in relation to the expectations for and of Black students in relation to their capabilities.

The purpose of the Black perspectives work is to directly address this racist concept of a deficiency model of Black students. It shifts the emphasis from mere access to excellence. This is a goal for all educationalists and is not a 'Black Issue', nor an issue to be viewed from solely within Black perspectives work; but one that warrants the reassessment of the educational opportunities offered to all students. More resources should be put into maximising the potential of Black students if educationalists are to actively assist in creating a pathway to power in the higher realms of education. The deficiency model of the potential of Black students means educationalists play an active role in denying Black students their possible potential power to influence debates. A Black student passing a course within a culture of institutional racism (Ben-Tovim et al, 1986, Chap 3) may be conceived as an achievement and empowering from multi-culturalist perspectives, but if it masks a lack of opportunity to achieve potential it must be viewed as the institution's denial of equal opportunity to the student and therefore a failure, not a success. As one student put it' we're going to get the ticket but the ticket is shit'.

Although a structure was in place at the Manchester Metropolitan University that provided opportunities for all students to critically explore issues of 'race', culture and diversity and it purported to be anti-racist it could be argued that this happened primarily within a multi-culturalist paradigm. I am testing the process of this assertion (Webb M. forthcoming). As Donald and Rattansi state,

> by focusing on the superficial manifestations of culture, multiculturalism failed to address the continuing hierarchies of power and legitimacy that still existed among...different centres of cultural authority (Donald and Rattansi, 1992, p2).

Black perspectives work will not settle within a culture of multiculturalism as it necessitates the active identification and addressing of the hierarchies of power within organisational cultures. Additionally the work must not be seen purely

within a misguided concept of anti-racist work. By this I mean that there is a danger of Black perspectives courses being seen as the dumping ground for issues of 'race' and racism that white institutions cannot or do not want to address, however subtle. To echo this concern Gilroy explains

> that an idealised and homogenized vision of 'the black community' is an object of discourse that urges it to take care of its own problems... this is not a wholly negative development but in the new atmosphere anti racist initiatives can only appear as patronizing and a form of special pleading. (Gilroy, 1992, p49).

Even though Black perspectives work may be thought to be innovative, if the work is framed as providing for the 'victims' it leads eventually to Black students and academics alike being seen as, '...objects of exclusionism, as helpless pawns, whose fate, experience, perceptions and circumstances are entirely determined by injustices which are heaped upon them' (Ballard, 1994, viii)

Within the context of anti-discriminatory practice, the hierarchies of power and legitimacy still remain. Although the multiple aspects of oppression are examined, it could be argued that the underlying principles are still those of integration, where any work that allows specific focusing on any single aspect of oppression will be framed as being in conflict with the notion of a homogenised or harmonious vision of anti-discriminatory practice. This implies a level playing field approach identifiable within the newly established anti-discriminatory approach to practice in the field of Applied Community Studies (Thompson, 1993). Structural aspects of power must be exposed and examined clearly, otherwise Black perspectives work is likely to be framed as separatist from anti-discriminatory perspectives as well as from the political right.

It could be argued that 'Black' and 'White' are now perceived to be simplistic terms that create unhelpful binary positions. There is a need to destabilise the essentialist notions of 'Black' and 'White'. As Hall argues Black, has always been an unstable identity, psychically, culturally and politically. It, too, 'is a narrative, a story, a history' (Hall, 1987, p134). Black Perspectives work can assist in a destabilising process constructively and can create an accompanying agenda of the problematising of 'Whiteness' (Allen 1994). Many White students as a result of the Black perspectives work have identified and analysed the construction of the political term 'White', rather than be trained in posturing in relation to the construction 'Black'. It is too simple for courses merely to reassert that a 'plethora of evidence shows that racial discrimination remains rampant in virtually all aspects of life' (Ouseley, 1992, p131). While this is extremely important we must also address the complex task of pursuing the creation of an agenda that aims to identify the multiplicities of the effects of dominant cultures on individuals and groups. The Black perspectives work should be understood as assisting in examining the affects of the impact of racism as an aspect of oppression but not reinforcing and reproducing hierarchies of oppression.

The Black perspectives work, then, is best understood as work that will hopefully assist in adding to a growing body of knowledge in the field of youth and community work training and related fields. The work involves critical analysis and dialogue that is not multi-culturalist, solely anti-racist nor essentialist, but is anti-discriminatory, enabling and empowering for all students. The influence of the quality and clarity of the debate that emerges from the Black perspectives work in relation to 'race' and racism is an important contribution to the development of anti-

oppressive practice. Additionally it assists in the clarification of the different roles that 'Black' and 'White' practitioners can take together, but not at the expense of the development of Black practitioners in training.

Black Perspectives work is a continuous empowering active process. It is not fixed and acknowledges 'shifting identities and shifting conceptions of racisms' (Bhavnani and Phoenix, 1994, p5) As Floyna Anthias has argued:

> ...the notion of where and how the boundary (between groups) is constructed is diverse, contextual and relational, with boundaries changing over time, in response to concrete economic, political or ideological conditions. (Anthias, 1992)

Experiences which have emerged from the Black perspectives work

It is important to point out that the Black perspectives courses have generated some excellent and innovative work from students, including work on identity issues, mixed parentage young people, education and the young Black child and professional strategies for work with unemployed Black young people.

The diversity of backgrounds within the student groups over the past five years has meant that the process necessitated and encouraged individual and collective analysis and interpretation. The student groups have included individuals who identified themselves in the following ways African (Zambian, Nigerian); African-Caribbean (Jamaican, Barbadian, Trinidadian) Asian (Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Iranian, Malaysian). Work on post-colonial identities and the politics of representation have been integral to identifying and analysing questions of 'race', diversity and unity. The question of new ethnicities within the Black perspectives framework has allowed individual students to use the framework allowing them to 'engage rather than suppress differences ' (Hall, 1992, p.257).

A student of mixed parentage explained that despite histories of denial, essentialism and oppression in relation to her identity: from them she had been able to construct a strong sense of self. However this had been developed through very negative experiences. She found that questions raised through the Black perspectives work 'were empowering, respectful and supportive...but not easy' whilst elsewhere on the course such experiences had been hidden. The Black perspectives work provided the opportunity to explore and apply lessons learned from past experiences. There clearly is a need for space to critically examine issues in relation to shifting identities. As Hooks asserts

> Recent critical reflections on static notions of black identity urge transformation of our sense of who we can be and still be Black. Assimilation, imitation, or assuming the role of the rebellious exotic other are not the only available options and never have been. (hooks 1991, p 20).

The impact of racism, in any education context where professional training is offered has to be assessed in relation to the stunting of innovative development of the experience and diversity of Black students. A feature of institutional racism is the breeding of 'race anxiety'. This may result in Black practitioners being denied the opportunity to devise, test and evaluate appropriate working methods as an integral aspect of their training. Within a culture of 'race anxiety', issues of 'race' and racism which are considered to be conflict ridden are likely to be avoided. Perceived tensions within Black communities are likely also to provoke 'race anxiety'. For example tensions that may exist between the Asian and African Caribbean communities, the over-representation

of young Black people in the criminal justice system, issues affecting Black gay men and lesbians, tackling the issue of child abuse within Black communities. It is important to stress that these are issues for all practitioners within Applied Community Studies; and reiterate that Black perspectives is not an essentialist concept that proclaims any notion of identifying Black issues for Black practitioners who are perceived to be experts.

Black perspectives attempt to cut through 'race anxiety' and provide opportunities for Black practitioners in training to identify appropriate methods of working. The following analytical framework is used as a part of the Black perspectives work, to assist in individual and structural analysis shifting the emphasis from the *problem of* to the *problem/s facing* young people and their communities. Students work through the key questions outlined in Figure 4.
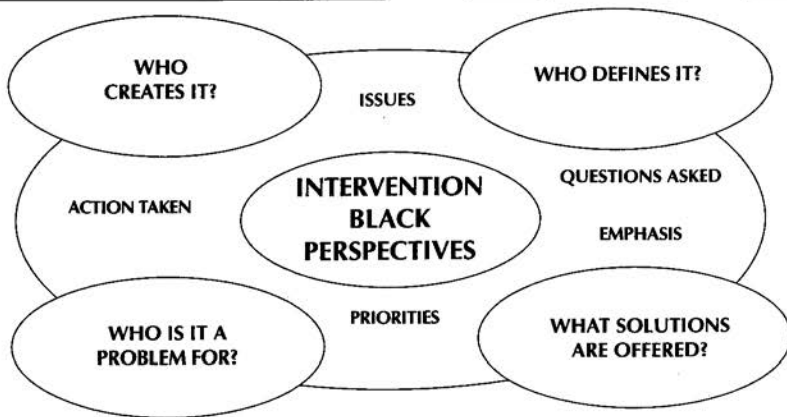

Fig. 4 The construction and analysis of a 'problem' - Intervention strategies : Black perspectives work.

An example of how the framework is used by students to examine the issues of Black young people and drug use is illustrated in figure 5.
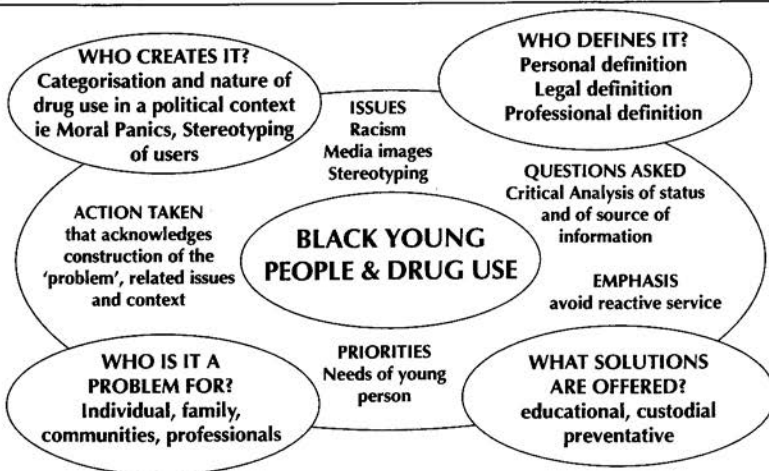

Fig. 5 Black young people and Drugs use - Black perspectives Intervention Strategies.

Responses to the Black Perspectives Work:
Resistance, Tolerance and Critical Dialogue with Support

Responses have varied enormously and have often been dictated by a position governed by uncertainty, resulting in neither direct opposition nor full support. In order to provide a framework for the multiplicity of reactions to the work and to assist the analysis, I have adopted the categories of: *Resistance, Tolerance and Critical Dialogue with Support.* This framework has drawn upon Jenson and Smith's concept of radical and liberal approaches to equal opportunities policies (Jenson and Smith 1991), together with Sinclair's development of the three positions in relation to the development of Black perspectives work: Opposition, Liberal Acceptance and Active Support (Sinclair, 1993)[1]

I feel that these categories of : Resistance, Tolerance and Critical Dialogue with Support outlined below allow for a more accurate contextualisation of the range of responses within the changing culture and practices of Higher Education Institutions.

I am in the process of carrying out a comprehensive evaluation to critically analyse the development of the Black perspectives work (Webb, forthcoming). The pattern of responses described here are tentative and subjective at this stage. This analytical framework will be tested through the research evaluation process.

Resistance	Tolerance	Critical Dialogue with Support
This response involves a conscious decision to obstruct within the institution. Resistance is reactive rather than planned.	This response does not actively obstruct or actively support. It provides some back up.	This response actively supports becoming involved and acknowledging the problematic nature of issues of 'race' and racism within the institution.
Often framed as concern for the individual and equality. e.g Black students are receiving extra resources and this is unfair.	Often framed as support with conditions.	Acknowledges that theory is process, accesses current debates and engages in critical analysis of roles, structures and processes.
Examples of response include treating everyone the same to influence change.Issues of power and conflict and institutional inequalities avoided.	Examples of this response include using Black colleagues as the catalyst for change. A constant airing of the complexities and multiplicities of oppression, but confusion as to how to translate this into action.Issues of power and conflict and institutional inequalities are glossed over.	Examples of this response include: Setting an agenda that locates 'race' and racism as an aspect of oppression, this is analysed within the organisational structure including critical evaluation of policies and procedures and most importantly the implications of Black perspectives for the service offered to all students. The critical validation of the quality of courses from Black perspectives.
Its focus on a student's 'needs' led service governed by the dominant cultures e.g white students expecting to learn from Black students.	Tolerant responses could be described as a blend of pertinent agitation based on the assessment of the context at the time and conditional action in relation to the development of Black perspectives work.	This response has involved critical dialogue and action that has resulted in a process of promoting and valuing the Black perspectives work as a means of destabilising deterministic limiting notions of Black and White, in order to continually construct strategically useful identity positions.

Fig 6. *Categorisation of Responses to Black perspectives work .*

Clearly these positions are not fixed, this is an attempt to illustrate the nature of the responses to the Black perspectives work experienced within the dominant cultures of higher education.. The process of developing the Black perspectives work has created an agenda for all students and colleagues as the rationale for the work has been to acknowledge the educational context in which all students learn and develop. The responses of resistance, tolerance and critical dialogue with support do not cohere internally and have been consistently diverse in nature.To illustrate this diversity I have indicated the range of responses to the rationale for the work that only students self defining as Black students undertake the course see Fig 7.below

Resistance to Rationale	Tolerance of Rationale	Critical Dialogue with support for Rationale
Work seen as separatist.	Liberal support in principle for political /educational rationale.	Acknowledgment that majority of resources made available to white students.
Concerns about the majority of students and their reactions.	Concerns about the majority of students and their reactions. Analysis and action based on individual perspectives.	Principled decison that involves political analysis and promotion of educational benefits to all.
Work seen as preferential treatment for Black students.	Emphasis on individual persuasive attitudinal change .	Action based on structural analysis of institutional racist attitudes and practices.
Resources are seen as equally distributed.	Analysis of appropriateness of existing resources. Tokenistic promotion.	Political Analysis and strategy to expose and address institutional attitudes and practices and distribution of resources.
Existing Resources satisfactory or where unsatisfactory new resources should be for all.	Support and Negotiation for additional Resources for Black students.	Support and negotiation for additional resources for Black students, and addressing the impact of the challenges that emerge from this process for students and staff.

Fig. 7 Responses to the Rationale that self-defined Black students undertake Black perspectives course.

The resistance to developing the work is in some respects clear. However if the promotion of Black perspectives work is framed within a culture of tolerance the true nature of promotion must be questioned as Hage argues 'the promotion of toleration basically presupposes inequality, but inequality that has to be accepted. The promotion of democracy basically presupposes inequality, but one that should be removed'. (Hage, 1994, p 28). The promotion of the Black perspectives work is located within a context of institutional racism. This has kept an emphasis on attitudinal change within structures, rather than changing structures. Hage describes this difference:

Where one perceives a lack of toleration, and basically encourages it, one is encouraging a change of attitude.Where one perceives a lack of democracy, and encourages it one is encouraging a change in structure. (Hage, 1994 p. 28)

Clearly Black perspectives as a growing body of knowledge in professional training will be resisted and tolerated. Critical examination of the promotion and support of such work is necessary.

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The need for continuous evaluation and assessment of the Black perspectives work is evident. Black professionals must beware of finding themselves entering what can be described as justifying and clarifying cyclical processes. In this context tensions between constant justification which is obstructive and static and driven by institutional racist demands can be confused with a continuous clarification process which is integral to any process of development. Black professionals may experience closer and constant monitoring of their work within multiculturalist institutional culture, especially if their work is perceived to be exclusive or separatist, and challenging norms. Often when attempting to enter into dialogue in relation to the development of appropriate training for Black Youth and Community Workers, fellow professionals emerge with an inseparable agenda which is built around the questions such as But what about the other students? How will they react? What will they think? These questions imply fears of the reaction of the majority and may influence any developments to assist those that may be marginalised.

The Black perspectives work within institutional racist environments is forced to adopt a dual purpose described by Cole as,' the need to understand and describe ideological processes which serve to mask racism, together with focused political resistance...' (Cole, 1993) this dilemma therefore characterises the work as confrontational at personal and political levels.

There is a growing need in Higher Education Institutions to acknowledge that ideological processes and practical measures are needed in order that all aspects of discrimination are addressed. The principle of equality is often eloquently documented and discussed which allow pertinent discussion surrounding the processes and structures within some Higher Education establishments. It could be argued that fairness and equality are discussed but barely acknowledge that discrimination exists. Thus Policy is dictated by numbers and rights of individual students are relegated to the background and camouflaged. One could argue that policy decisions are circumscribed by the rising numbers of students vis-a-vis staff and consequently the requirements and needs of students individually and collectively have of necessity been marginalised.

Critical Issues for the Future Development of Black Perspectives work
In order for the Black perspectives work to develop as an innovative integral aspect of training it must be acknowledged that

> racial ideologies of varying forms have clearly permeated institutional processes. They take the form of Institutional resistance to the reality of discrimination and inequality or resistance to the notion that those from different cultures should be treated 'favourably' for multi-racist groups. Alternatively these ideologies are realised through the lack of awareness of the effects of certain policies or practices vis a vis access to and provision of service. (Ben-Tovim, Gabriel, Law, and Stredder, 1986, p 64)

Educationalists must question how institutional racism, its culture and practices may influence and shape notions of empowering Black students. It could be argued that the drive towards market led forces and the increasing numbers of Black students in Higher Education has created a historical moment in which Black perspectives can thrive. Black students can no longer be perceived as being

granted opportunities to study in higher education, they are now aware consumers, who demand the right to an education which services their needs and facilitates them in their future practice. The Black perspectives work should be understood in the present educational context (market) as a means of continually shifting the focus from failure of Black students to utilise a service, to the failure of educational institutions in providing an appropriate service for Black students.

The pedagogical and academic structures which investigate and assure 'quality' of courses do not benefit from vigorous input from Black academics as a result there are not many avenues through which Black people, both staff and students, can assess the curriculum and interrogate the differing needs of Black students who intend to work in the field of Youth and Community work. What is required is the need to identify and acknowledge the professional strategies that can be adopted by educationalists and Black students to promote a positive vision of future academic development.

An African-American Folk saying 'If you want to keep something from Black folks, put it between the covers of a book'[2]. What is needed is the new theorisation of race and racism that will assist in development of more informed Youth and Community work and Social Work practice. To address the possibility of a 1990s version of this saying emerging the more recent developments of the Black perspectives work at Bachelor of Art (Hons) degree in Youth and Community work has meant a theoretical based course with a series of lectures being delivered by a number of Black academics. The areas examined include Colonialism, Politics of identities and representation including a focus on Black Women. This course in particular lends itself to a more generic theoretical base for those in the wider field of Applied Community Studies. Critical questioning of theoretical aspects of Black subjectivity is necessary to assist informed debate. More importantly moving forward to welcome and assist Black academics of the future.

The Black perspectives work hopefully can provide students with the opportunity as Gilroy puts it to 'explore the dynamics of anti-essentialism that do not trade in essentialist configurations of racial selves and cultures,' (Gilroy 1993) and assist in the articulation of the diversity of shifting identities and shifting racism in contemporary Britain thus adding to the growing body of knowledge for all.

No person is your friend who demands your silence or denies you right to grow. (Alice Walker)

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Notes
1 Youth and Community Work Training Agencies Conference (1993) Black Perspectives and Youth and Community Work Training - Trevor Sinclair
2 Africa America folk saying taken from, famous Black Quotations, Chicago, 1986.

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BENEVOLENT RACISM

Making sence of policies aiming
to improve the position of Black youth in society

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> *Undergraduates, seduced, as always, by the changing breath of journalistic fashion, demand that they should be taught the history of Black Africa. Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness, like the history of pre-European, pre-Columbian America. And darkness is not a subject for history.*

> *...If all history is equal, as some now believe, there is no reason why we should not study one section of it rather than another, for certainly we cannot study it all. Then. indeed we may neglect our own history and amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe...*

> *It is European techniques, European examples, European ideas, which have shaken the non-European world out of its past - out of barbarism in Africa, out of a far older, slower, more majestic civilisation in Asia; and the history of the world, for the last five centuries in so far as it has significance, has been European history (Hugh Trevor-Roper, now Lord Delcare in Chirimuuta and Chirimuuta, 1987).*

It is such disregard for the independent history of Black people and the history of the political and economic relationship between Britain and Black people that has legitimized racism and continues to contribute towards the oppression of Black people today. Historically, the British and other Europeans justified the enslaving and the colonizing by arguing that Black people are closer to animals and that Black people have no history of progress and development.

Black people actually do have a long history of creativity and struggles for justice and unless this history is acknowledged, it is not possible to offer Black people understanding, acceptance and respect. This article examines the extent to which the major policies of this country, in their efforts to 'help' young Black people understand and respect Black people. Policy makers form a significant force which influences practice at all levels in society. If policy makers believe that Black people have strange customs and habits and are in need of appropriate cultural reform, then they will make recommendations accordingly. If policy makers acknowledge that Black people experience discrimination and oppression in this society and see Black people within the context of the political economy of race, then there is a greater possibility that the recommendations that they make will attempt to address the experience of social, economic and political inequality of Black people.

Over the last three decades, various governments have requested special committees to examine the needs of Black youth and to suggest strategies for improving

their and other minority groups' position in British society. How did the committee members analyse young Black people? Did the members of the committees consider it necessary to examine the political and economic history of Black people in order to understand the position of young Black people in British society today? What recommendations did they make for improving the position of Black youth in this society? To what extent did the members of the committees concerned about Black youth offer respect to Black people by acknowledging Black people's contribution towards the development of Britain and by acknowledging Black people's history of creativity and development?

During the fifties and the sixties Black people were generally perceived as being different and in need of help to assimilate into the British society. The thinking behind the idea of assimilation was that if Black people were to give up their 'peculiar customs and adopt the 'British way of life', they would be treated as equals.

It was the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (C.I.A.C.), appointed by the Home Secretary, that lay the foundation for the assimilation strategy in education. The members of this committee experienced problems as they planned assimilation for Black people. The C.I.A.C. explained that, even though half a million immigrants represent a small proportion of the total population of Britain, 'these immigrants are visibly distinguishable by the colour of their skins...' (C.I.A.C. 1964) Besides the anxiety about the colour of Asian and African people living in Britain, the Council expressed concern about the 'habits' and 'customs' of Black people and the education of 'children of unfamiliar background' was seen to present 'real difficulties at a time when classes are already overcrowded'.

Having explained that Black peoples' life styles hinder the progress of students, this Advisory Council recommended that the national system of education must aim at 'producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights - perform duties which are the same as those of other citizens'. The Council had no hesitation in recommending that if the parents of children in schools live their daily lives with a culture that is not 'British', then, the children should be encouraged to respect their parent's culture 'but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups.' (C.I.A.C. 1964)

The aim of education, according to the Council's perspective, was therefore to assimilate Black youth into a 'fair' and egalitarian society supposedly having no class, gender or race inequalities. Clearly the Council's anxiety was that if values other than the mainstream British values were fostered, then conflict would be created both within the education system and society at large. For these reasons, an attempt was made to systematically eradicate Black identity, history and language, thereby reinforcing eurocentric, sexist, middle class values.

A year later in 1965, the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) echoed the C.I.A.C.s approach defining the task of education as 'the successful assimilation of immigrant children'. (D.E.S., 1965) At the same time, the Labour government was concerned about the number of Black people in Britain and passed the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1964). This act aimed to control the number of Black people entering this country since Britain had accumulated a sufficient reserve army of cheap labour. With the reassurance from the Labour government

that it would do all it could to curtail the flow of Black people into Britain, the D.E.S. proceeded to formulate strategies for the assimilation of Black youth into the British society.

The procedure for assimilating Black youth was outlined by the D.E.S. in a circular, (7/1965) 'The Education of Immigrants'. In this circular, under a section headed, 'Spreading the Children', teachers were notified that, 'It is inevitable that, as the proportion of immigrant children in a school or class increases, the problems will become more difficult to solve, and the chances of assimilation more remote' (D.E.S., 7/1965:4). The concentration of young Black people in schools was clearly perceived as undermining the process of assimilation.

In this 1965 document, the D.E.S. argued that 'up to a fifth of immigrant children in any group can fit in with reasonable ease,... if the proportion goes over one third either in the school as a whole or in any one class, serious strains arise'. The fear of young Black people swamping the education system gave rise to the D.E.S. recommending a policy of 'Spreading the Children'. Thus hundreds of Black children were bussed daily to schools long distances away from their homes. Dispersal of Black students reduced contact between Black parents and their children's schools but this did not concern the D.E.S. The priority for the D.E.S. was the interest of white parents who were reassured that every measure would be taken to ensure that their children's education would not be hindered by the presence of too many foreigners in schools.

Neither the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council nor the Department of Education and Science acknowledged the identity, or the history of Black youth. Instead of schools being encouraged to move away from an Anglo-centric perspective, the educational aim became an endeavour to spread Black students thinly on the ground and to make them pure 'British'.

Institutions such as the National Foundation for Educational Research declared that 'language is one major factor in this culturally induced backwardness of immigrant children and affects assessment of ability and actual school performance' (N.F.E.R., 1966:173). Thus it is clear that total assimilation through language was envisaged and that Black languages were not to survive. The intention was not just to teach young Black people English, but also to rectify their alleged cultural backwardness for the purposes-of benefiting from the British education system.

The initial multi-racial policies totally disregarded the history of the political economic relationship between Britain and Black people for they simply aimed to absorb Black youth into the British schools and society. Having assumed that white middle class culture is necessary for living in Britain, Black cultures, languages and knowledge about Black history were seen as inappropriate and unnecessary. The assimilation policies are a classic example of the institutionalization of a systematic invalidation of an oppressed group's identity and history.

The failure of the assimilation policies in Britain soon became evident. Most Black people were simply not prepared to discard their heritage and identity. The small group of Black people who accepted the principle of 'When in (the Empire of) Rome...' and became British, found that in so doing, their experiences of racism did not diminish. 'During this period Black people had to find, and found ways of

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combating the terrible and often violent and vicious racism experienced in their everyday lives' (Brandt, G. L., 1986:13). Black parents organised against the dispersal of their children over vast geographical areas. The dissatisfaction of the Black people and the inadequacies of the assimilation policies thus contributed towards the British state adopting what became to be known as the integration strategy within society at large and within its institutions.

The integration approach was a liberal version of the assimilation philosophy. Fundamentally, both the assimilation and integration philosophies are based on the myth that there exists a unity within the British nation with no profound inequalities. Whereas the assimilation policies sought to maintain this mythical unity by expecting everyone to become part of a homogeneous society by discarding all differences, the integration policies offered a longer, more tolerant route. The new version of assimilation policies allowed Black people some limited cultural diversity in the areas of religious beliefs, certain customs, dress and language The final aim was no longer a quick absorption of all groups into the British society, but a more gradual process of absorption. The rationale of the integration policies was that, if Black people are allowed to maintain certain aspects of their culture, they will experience a sense of social security, independence and confidence, all of which will help them to integrate into the British society. Through this process of integration, Black people were expected to accept rather than reject the crucial political and economic values that shape the British society (Mullard, 1985 : 43).

In education, integration was defined by Roy Jenkins as, 'not a flattening process of assimilation but an equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (N.C.C.I., 1966). The greater liberal element of the integration policies was evident in their concern about the lack of equality of opportunity in education, particularly regarding the disproportionately large numbers of African and Asian students in 'Educationally Subnormal' schools.. The integration philosophy was outlined in the report from the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 'The Problems of the Coloured School-Leavers' (1968). This report analysed the position of Black school leavers, the '.problems' that they experience and finally, the report outlined the 'action' that needed to be taken.

The Select Committee, like the previous Committees, reinforced British racism. It stated that even though there have been many people from different parts of the world who have chosen to come to work and live in Britain, the problem of the latest influx of immigrants was the 'darker colour of their skin'. The Committee continued to say that although all immigrants should be treated as full and equal citizens, irrespective of the colour of their skin, it is not always easy to do so. We are told that people are 'suspicious' of strangers. They 'fear' competition for their jobs, for the houses for which they have waited a long time, for social resources, schools and hospitals beds. Moreover, people 'feel ill at ease' when mixing with people with different languages, religion, dress or social customs and that these anxieties are 'exacerbated by differences in the colour of people's skin.' (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968 : 5)

Having reduced the dynamic of racism to the 'understandable fears' of white people, the members of this Select Committee ignored the historical development and the present day manifestations of racism.

With regards to the position of young Black people in Britain, the Committee offered further insights. In a section entitled, 'Complex of Disabilities', we are told that young Black people experience problems due to 'Cultural shock', lack of contact between schools and parents, poor command of the English language, general deprivation and the widespread lack of understanding of Black people in this society. Once the 'disabilities' of Black people were outlined, the Committee suggested that 'white people in the host community should try to understand coloured people and immigrants should try to understand the problems of the host people'. The major problem of race relations was considered to be a lack of understanding between the 'host' community and the 'immigrant' community, not legislative, institutional and individual racism. Thus the Committee argued that the educational challenge should be to foster tolerance between Black and white people. By pathologizing young Black people and portraying them as having 'disabilities', the Committee effectively diverted attention from this country's numerous racist structures that impact upon young Black people daily.

Next the Select Committee pondered upon the question of equality of opportunities and its recommendations are illuminative. We are told that equality of opportunity does not always mean treating everyone in exactly the same way, that all people are not equal and that 'special problems' need 'special treatment'. The Committee explained carefully that this principle is applied in many areas, for example, economically depressed areas in Britain and overseas get financial assistance, 'backward' school children are given special attention and physically handicapped people are given special assistance in both education and employment (Select Committee on Race Relations, 1968 : 31). A perspective which pathologizes an oppressed group has its own answers for problems - the Committee suggested that the principal of offering 'special treatment for special problems' should be-applied to Black youth since they are 'handicapped' in competing with other school-leavers. (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration 1968)

Essentially, this 'special treatment' involved being more understanding of young Black people and their background. The best way of achieving this was to prepare all children for life in a multi-racial society. This the Select Committee argued can be achieved by teaching about the countries of the Black students. It is interesting that 'learning about the countries of Black students' does not mean learning about Black history. It is suggested that primary schoolchildren in Hackney or Brixton for example could be taught Caribbean songs and children in Wolverhampton could be shown Indian art, jewellery and costumes. The idea was that this would help bring 'immigrant children into the life of the school' and presumably also reduce white students' 'fears' of Black people.' (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968 : 41).

While this Select Committee recommended that young Black people should be included in school life through the exposition of Black songs, art, jewellery and costumes, it also stressed that Black students ought to be sufficiently socialized into the British way of life. Teachers were told that 'Deliberate efforts should be made to teach newly arrived immigrants about life in this country - our customs, sports conventions and industrial activities as well as our language.' (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1968 : 42)

It is clear, therefore, that the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration perceived Black people in a particular way, analysed the position of Black youth accordingly and made recommendations which were in line with the original perceptions. Black people were seen to have strange customs and habits. The racism of white people was considered to be a reasonable fear of strangers with dark skins. Young Black people were considered to have complex disabilities and needed treatment accordingly. Finally, the Committee urged schools to play a leading role in the development of greater awareness of Black people through the appreciation of Black costumes songs and jewellery while not forgetting British customs and conventions. Herein lay the racism and tokenism of the Select Committee and the integration policies that it constructed. According to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, the history of Black people and their political economic relationship with Britain were considered insignificant for the development of an understanding about young Black people in Britain.

Within the context of the youth services, the first significant report on the provision for Black youth was the Hunt Report, 'Immigrants and the Youth Service', (D.E.S. 1967). The report aimed to make an 'Important contribution to our thinking both on immigration problems and on the Youth Service.' (D.E.S. 1967:iii). The Hunt report echoed the findings of the other reports of this period in that it argued that although there had been many groups of people who have come to live in Britain through history, 'the problems of adjustment and adaptation are nowadays intensified by attitudes about colour and race and by sheer size of this latest wave of migration' (D.E.S. 1967:v).

Instead of situating the experience of Black people within the political context of colonialism and imperialism, the Hunt committee explained that the 'factors of colour and scale give a new dimension to the problems of acceptance'.

It comes as no surprise that like the other reports of this period the Hunt report discussed such areas as Black people's 'unfamiliar eating habits' and how 'the learning of English within the family is retarded' resulting in 'perhaps one of the greatest handicaps' (D.E.S. 1967 : 17). The way forward according to the Hunt Committee was 'full integration between immigrants and the host community, and between the various immigrant communities themselves'. And once again we see that integration is 'not a flattening process...' (D.E.S. 1967 : 10).

Whilst the Hunt Committee argued for an integration process which did not require 'immigrants' to discard their identity the report implicitly argued that the Youth Service could play a significant role in the integration of Black youth into the British society. The reason behind this argument was that a common national identity would foster good race relations.

The integration of Black youth into British society through the Youth Services according to the Hunt Committee involved getting Black young people into predominantly white youth clubs. Separate provision was to be the exception and a stepping stone for moving towards an integrated multi-racial provision.

The idea of an 'integrated multi-racial youth provision' raises a major question. What is an integrated multi-racial youth provision? According to the Hunt Committee the creation of a multi-racial youth provision involved inviting Black

young people into white dominated youth-clubs so that Black and white youth could mix with each other. Multi-racial youth clubs were going to be places where the fear that white youth felt about Black people would be alleviated. Multi-racial youth clubs were going to be places where white youth would have an opportunity to learn that the 'unfamiliar eating habits' of Black people are really not that strange. Multi-racial youth clubs were going to be places where Black youth would have an opportunity to practice their spoken English thereby overcoming their 'greatest handicaps'.

Within the context of all the other social policies of this period then it is hardly surprising that the Hunt Committee did not consider the political economy of race. Because the Hunt Committee did not examine structural racism, it was in no position to make recommendations for an anti-racist youth provision. Thus the Hunt Committee was not able to give guidance on how the youth provision could nurture the identity of young Black people. And finally, the Hunt Committee was not able to recommend ways in which the awareness of young white people could be enhanced in order to genuinely offer respect and understanding to Black people.

A decade later, the Community Relations Council (C.R.C.) carried out a survey on the youth service policies and practice in relation to young Black people, and produced the report: 'Seen But Not Heard' (1976). A significant conclusion of the report was that

> Local authorities could not give adequate explanations as to how they perceived or anticipated the special needs of young people from ethnic minorities. The general assertion was that 'our policy is to provide a service for young people generally' but there were no clear guidelines for allocating resources for leisure, recreation, sport or cultural needs for a multi-racial society. The youth service has not developed a youth policy capable of meeting the needs of ethnic minorities, or in many instances of white young people. This may be attributed to the inherent weakness of having no national statutory body with responsibility for laying down guidelines and the continuous development of service, but local authorities could have offset this by accepting these responsibilities at local level (C.R.C. 1976 : 24).

Thus the lack of clarity at the policy level contributed towards a youth service that had not developed practice that was capable of meeting the needs of Black youth.

The integration policies of the sixties did not acknowledge the rights of Black people. Policies that treat people with a lack of respect cannot expect to succeed. And so the integration, social, education and youth service policies failed. Besides the rhetoric of equality of opportunities for Black people, there was little positive change in the position of Black youth in British society. The challenge from the Black communities therefore gained a greater momentum. The Caribbean community for example was not prepared to accept the explanations being offered to them regarding the 'poor performance' of their children in schools. Also, it was clear to many Black groups (African, Asian and Caribbean) that the needs of young Black people were not being met by the mainstream education and youth services. The emergence of Saturday Schools, youth clubs based in Hindu temples and language classes based in mosques were a small indication of the disenchantment of the Black communities.

The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1977) acknowledged the challenges and the resistance from the Black communities. By way of response, this Committee recommended that the Government should urgently institute a 'high level and independent inquiry into the causes of the underachievement of children of West Indian origin.' A new committee, chaired by A. Rampton, was set up in 1979 to examine the 'Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups'. (D.E.S. 1981)

The Rampton Committee appeared to herald a shift in the analysis of the position of Black youth for it began by mentioning that racism is a major factor which contributes towards young Black people not succeeding in the education system. However, the Committee's lengthy report offered very little information on racism. The few paragraphs on this subject situated racism in people's attitudes alone. Within education, racism was seen in terms of misinformed teachers unintentional negative attitudes and behaviour towards Black students (D.E.S. 1981 : 12).

The words racism and institutional racism are carefully scattered in the first few pages of the report and the Committee explained that 'Traditional educational practices, originally established to cater for the needs of a generally homogeneous population can in fact operate in discriminatory ways when applied to today's society.' (D.E.S., 1981 : 14) Institutional racism, according to this Committee, therefore, is the manner in which a once fair and just education system now responds negatively towards Black youth. The Committee did not acknowledge that the British education system has a long history of discrimination against women and working class students. Gender and class conflicts were ignored as the British public were lumped together as a 'homogeneous' group. By stating that the education system has only recently (after the influx of Black people) begun to operate in discriminatory ways, a suggestion was made by the Committee that if there were no Black people in Britain, the education system would have continued to be a fair one, catering for a white homogeneous population. Thus once again we see that the dialectical analysis of the history of racism is not considered. And once again we see that racism is not viewed as a live and dynamic ideology which legitimizes racial inequalities at all levels of this society.

Previously, the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration had urged Black and white people to be more 'tolerant' of each other and suggested that schools ought to play an active role in this process. The Rampton Committee's Report was essentially an elaboration of this message. While the Select Committee urged Black and white people to be more understanding towards each other in order to help Black people to feel at ease and to integrate into this society (once Black people had been appropriately socialised), the Rampton Committee encouraged a greater celebration of Black peoples' cultures.

According to the Rampton Committee, Britain is a culturally diverse country and thus a good education cannot be based on one culture alone. We are told that education should not 'seek to iron out the differences between cultures, nor attempt to draw everyone into the dominant culture.' Education should 'draw upon the experiences of the many cultures that make up our society and thus broaden the cultural horizons of every child' thereby offering every child a 'multicultural education.' (D.E.S., 1981 : 26-27).

Essentially, multi-cultural education according to the Rampton Committee, involved learning about certain elements of different cultures, for example, religious festivals, diets and cooking habits, fashion and music of minority groups. Culture was viewed as an apolitical entity. Learning about different cultures was not considered in terms of examining the process by which different cultures have been and are produced in relations of power; how certain cultures are produced through violence, domination and exploitation, and others are produced through struggle and resistance. A historical understanding of the unequal position held by Black people in this society and its education institution was thus replaced by a superficial acknowledgment of the cultures of Black people living in Britain.

It is significant that the Rampton Committee was pleased to explain that at a time of constraints on public spending, most of their recommendations would require no additional expenditure. (D.E.S., 1981 : 85) The most important aim of multi-cultural education was for teachers to 'play a leading role in seeking to bring about a change in attitudes on the part of the society as a whole towards ethnic minority groups.' (D.E.S. 1981 : 14)

The Rampton Committee also recommended that education authorities should have a clear statement of policy objectives on education for a multi-cultural society with guidance for all schools on how to implement the policy. Furthermore, the Committee put forward many recommendations, ranging from curriculum development to the role of the D.E.S. in combatting racism. The multi-cultural framework-for change that the Rampton Committee offered did not include the examination of the historical development of oppression and underdevelopment. Hence the strategies in 'combatting racism' and curriculum development even for subjects such as history involved learning about only some elements of the cultures of Black people.

The multi-cultural policy is clearly not as crude as the assimilation or integration policies. However, despite the Rampton Committee's condemnation of racism (narrowly defined as unintentional negative attitudes and behaviour towards Black people), the multi-cultural model which it advocated shares the same long-term aim as the other two models, that is, the maintenance of an unequal society. Unlike the other Committees, the Rampton Committee realised that a total denial of Black people's identity would eventually result in rebellion by Black people. Thus, the Rampton Committee recommended an approach which on the surface appeared to offer Black people more than had been offered by the other Committees.

After the interim report of the Rampton Committee, Lord Swann was asked to take the chairmanship of the final report, 'Education for All' (1985). The Swann report (D.E.S., 1985) consolidated the multi-cultural model advocated by the Rampton Committee and named it 'cultural pluralist education for all'.

The Swann report is a lengthy piece of work containing eight hundred and seven pages and covering most aspects of schooling ranging from the hidden curriculum and teaching materials to the external examination boards and the D.E.S. It is clear that the production of the report has required a great deal of work and resources, and numerous people from within the school system and the community have made contributions.

In its initial analysis, the report stressed that racism, social and economic forces are all factors that contribute towards the underachievement of Black students in British schools. The report even explained that the disadvantaged social and economic position that Black people hold in this society is the result of 'racial prejudice and discrimination, especially in the areas of employment and housing'. (D.E.S. 1985 : 89) However, with regards to concrete recommendations, the Swann Committee followed the footsteps of its predecessor and argued that most of the recommendations will mainly involve psychological expenditure. (D.E.S. 1985 : 767).

The report makes a strong case for a 'pluralist' (previously called multi-cultural) education for all which involves enabling all students to understand and accept the multi cultural nature of British society. Although the Committee acknowledged that racism and socio economic factors affect the performance of Black students in schools, in its recommendations, teachers are urged simply to encourage students to learn about the different cultures that exist in Britain today.

Like its predecessor, the Swann Committee argued that a greater awareness of Black cultures will lead to better race relations and reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. This committee also had a narrow perspective on Black cultures and focussed on safe and exotic areas, for example, fashion, cuisine, music and dance. The emphasis was on the cultural characteristics of the constituent minority groups; Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Travellers, Muslims, Vietnamese; not on the common historical and present day experiences of the exploited groups. Subjects such as history, political education and geography are thus discussed within a framework which disregards the need to study Britain's political economy of racism. (D.E.S. 1985 : 234 and 343)

While one does not wish to cynically dismiss any positive antiracist efforts, it is important to see the limitations of what is being offered in the interest of Black people. The Rampton and Swann Committees did not treat Black people with contempt for they did not totally dismiss Black people's roots and traditions. They argued that Black people have an interesting culture and that if only white people could get to know Black people better, white people could then begin to like Black people and not be nasty to them. If white people are kinder to people who have dark skins, then Black people will feel more comfortable in this country and join in the British way of life.

Such simplistic analysis of racism is not only inadequate, it is dangerous. In the long term, the multi-cultural or cultural pluralist model for education as advocated by the two Committees, masks the problem of racism and weakens the struggle against it. The multi-cultural/cultural pluralist model for education disregards Black history and advocates a superficial debate on culture.

The multi-cultural/cultural pluralist model of the Rampton and Swann Committees influenced work not only in schools but also in the youth services. It is not surprising that the Her Majesty's Inspectors (H.M.I.) report on 'Youth Work in Eight Inner City Areas' (1987) found that work in the multi-racial youth clubs focused on areas such as music and craft.

> Music is popular, especially in Afro-Caribbean projects, with, breakdancing developing to a high standard in some clubs... some centres for Asian groups traditional crafts and dancing for girls are encouraged (D.E.S. 1987 : 6).

The report stated that 'most authorities with multi-racial inner city areas have developed policies to tackle racism within the youth service and to equipping people to do so widely. In the clubs visited there was no evidence of overtly racially prejudiced behaviour. Nevertheless, in discussion, Black young people described society as racist and regarded racism as a central issue in their lives affecting individual and institutions alike' (D.E.S. 1987 : 3).

For the reader, this statement raises some questions. Why did the H.M.I. not give further information about the policies developed by various authorities to tackle racism? Information regarding the policies' philosophy, aims, objectives, strategies and methods of evaluation is necessary to ascertain as to whether the authorities had serious intentions or simply tokenistic gestures. For many people, particularly in the Black community, statements such as '...most authorities with multi-racial inner city areas have developed policies to tackle racism within the youth service and to equipping people to do so widely...' are meaningless unless such statements are supported with clear evidence.

It is evident that the young Black people are clear in their perceptions about the racist society in which they live. The second question that needs to be asked is, how are the youth clubs included in the report tackling racism? In what ways does breakdancing and the development of traditional Asian crafts help young Black people to tackle the racism that surrounds them?

Finally, it has to be said that the committee did not question why it was mainly authorities with multi-racial inner city areas that had developed policies to tackle racism. Did the committee not consider it necessary for authorities with less Black people to have policies to tackle racism? Why?

Three years later, in 1990, the H.M.I. produced a report titled, 'Youth Work With Black People' (D.E.S.). The integrationist philosophy of the Youth Service is clear in this report:

> A particular function of youth work is to help young people to explore and feel secure in their identity and thereby become more confident and independent in the wider society. For many Black young people this process is made particularly difficult by the competing demands of different and sometimes conflicting cultures (D.E.S 1990 : 1).

> This report sought to ascertain how the youth service helps young people through this process.

As we saw earlier, the 1987 report of the H.M.I. acknowledged that Black young people described British society as racist and regarded racism as a central issue in their lives affecting individuals and institutions alike (D.E.S. 1987 : 3). Nevertheless the 1990 report 'Youth work with Black young people' did not concern itself with these issues. According to the 1990 H.M.I. inquiry, the aim of the youth services is to help Black young people to feel confident and independent in the wider society. The committee did not consider it necessary to encourage young people to challenge the wider society with its unequal race, class and gender relations. And so we see the continuation of the integration philosophy, not a flattening process but the report acknowledged that 'a third of the local authorities surveyed stated that they have a policy related to ethnic diversity. In some, this amounts to a passing

reference to the needs of ethnic minorities in a list of aims and objectives for the service. Others have devoted considerable thought and effort in producing length policy documents' (D.E.S. 1990 : 2).

Thus in 1990, only about thirty three percent of the local authorities surveyed by the H.M.I. stated that they have a policy related to the multi-racial dimension of British society. Some of these authorities made only a passing reference to the needs of Black people in a general list of aims and objectives of youth work.

This latest H.M.I. report of 1990 on youth work with Black young people gives an impressive list of organisations that work with Black youth. These include the Hindu Sevak Sangh, the Young Muslim Organisation, Walsall Sikh Youth Association, the Afro-Caribbean Youth Council of Walsall, Sheffield Asian Centre, the Rochdale Bangladeshi Project, the Kashmir Youth Project also in Rochdale, the Nottinghamshire Afro-Caribbean National Association.

On close inspection one finds that most of these organisations operate within the voluntary sector rather than the main stream statutory youth services and this results in some difficulties particularly related to finance. The report acknowledged that:

Much of the work is externally-funded. While it enhances the service available to young Black people, supplementary funding also brings risks of instability and marginalisation. Projects have a limited life-span and are subject to continuous review. This places staff under considerable pressure and turnover tends to be high (D.E.S. 1990 : 2).

The report also stated that while there are examples of responsive programmes, many fail to differentiate adequately between the needs and interests of different Black groups of young people. The report goes on to explain that much youth work practice concentrates on sports, games and social interaction and that there are insufficient activities of a wider range such as inter-club visits and international exchange; arts work to strengthen social and cultural identity. The report also acknowledged that 'monitoring and evaluation of the work are under-developed. The youth service needs to identify and test out reliable indicators of its effectiveness in responding to ethnic diversity' (D.E.S. 1990 : 2).

Having outlined the gaps, the committee did not offer much in the way of suggestions as to how young Black people could be enabled to develop confidence, consciousness and a positive Black identity. And so once again we see a missed opportunity. This H.M.I. committee were in a powerful position to pave the way towards a truly anti-racist youth service but it did not.

The 1991 H.M.I. report 'Efficient and Effective Management of Youth Work' (D.E.S.) did not examine the impact of racism within the context of efficient and effective management of youth work. The report examined many areas such as policy and practice, planning and curriculum, staffing, resources, and monitoring performance. The only mention that the Black youth has is in a section titled 'Specific Target Groups' (D.E.S. 1991, Appendix 2). This appendix offers a framework for monitoring the attendance of various minority groups at youth clubs.

In 1993, 'The Youth Work Curriculum', a report from the Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools outlined a curriculum for the youth services. This is an

interesting policy document in that it makes explicit the social educational aspect of youth work. With regards to Black youth however, this is yet another missed opportunity. There is no mention of the specific social education needs of Black youth. Work with Black young people is briefly touched upon in the section which deals with equal opportunities and a couple of examples of outstanding work in this area are quoted such as:

> The food for the party included some Indian pakora and sweets bought by the youth workers which the girls, all white British, were keen to try. This led to an interesting discussion about different food and cultures. This was an example of effective youth work with a very happy and motivated group from an estate notorious locally for its deprivation (D.E.S. 1993 : 24).

> Anti-racist youth work in 1993 still seems to pivot around tasting the exotic food of Black people or as some would say, the 3 Ss: Steelbands, Saris and Samosas.

Thus the members of the committees that looked into the needs of young Black people in the youth services did not consider it necessary to examine the history of Black people in order to understand the position of young Black people in British society today. The recommendations that the committees made therefore are couched in the philosophy that argues that if white people were to make an effort to understand the 'culture' of Black people through tasting Black people's food, by listening to Black music and through being exposed to the costumes of Black people, then white people will not fear Black people and this will help Black people to feel comfortable about living in Britain and integrate into the British society.

Many people do argue that greater 'cultural awareness' is at least a beginning but the question is, where does it lead us to? Brandt explains that racism is very complex and far reaching in its impact and ultimate effects. 'The deconstruction of institutional racist practices must be direct and at a conscious level. It is dangerous if not downright racist to concentrate on something else, like culture for example, and hope that the rest will follow and racism will end.' (Brandt, 1986, p. 71)

The disregard for the creative history of Black people and the history of the political economic relationship between Britain and Black people has legitimized racism and continues to contribute towards the oppression of Black people today. Historically, the denial of the history and the identity of Black people was an important strategy used by the British and other Europeans to enslave and colonize Black people.

This article has illustrated that the British state, through various Committees, has planned numerous strategies for the assimilation of Black youth into British society. This has been attempted through the implementation of policies based on various models: the blunt assimilation model, the less crude integration model and the liberal multi-cultural/cultural pluralist model. None of these models offer a genuine respect for the identity and history of Black people. At most Black people are viewed as having quaint and exotic cultures. The denial of Black history and identity continues both within the formal education system and the youth service.

Within the Black community there is a growing feeling of discontent and a desire for a total withdrawal from the institutions of the state such as the education and

the youth services. Such institutions of the state are seen by definition as racist and thus, a major tool for the genocide of Black people. (Brandt, 1986, p.108) Other sections of the Black community continue to struggle from within the education system and the youth services without losing sight of the fact that for several centuries British racism has been nurtured at all levels of British society. Indeed the education system and the youth service are valuable sites for struggle and every opportunity for oppositional action must be seized. The question is, how can the education system and the youth services enable young Black people to develop a positive identity, a critical consciousness and skills, knowledge and confidence to survive and succeed in a racist society?

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WORKING WITH 'MIXED RACE' YOUNG PEOPLE

WAYNE RICHARDS

Introduction
In this paper I will explore some specific methodologies for working with 'mixed race' young people. In doing so I will be reflecting on my experiences of working with Black and 'mixed race' young people in Shropshire over a period of four years 1990-1994. I will also draw on a small qualitative study conducted in 1993 which examined the experiences and struggles of mixed race young people growing up in a predominantly white environment.

Frosh (1991) uses terms such as 'contradiction, fluidity and multiplicity' to conceptualise the contemporary experience of modern day life. These terms capture the experiences of 'mixed race' young people whose lives expose the contradictions inherent in racial ideology and demonstrate a fluid and changing relationship between Black and White which can become manifest in a varied expression of identity. Working with 'mixed race' young people demands a more flexible and dynamic understanding of the nature of race and its influence on their development. This is needed in order to appreciate the unique experiences they have and to inform relevant approaches to work.

I use the term 'mixed race' at this juncture to refer to individuals who are the product of a sexual union between a white parent and a Black parent whilst the use of the term 'race' is problematic, my intention is not to reinforce the ideology of racial categories. I prefer this term to that of mixed parentage because it confronts directly the issues of 'race' and makes the racial duality of the individual explicit. The term mixed parentage on the other hand adds more confusion to an already complex area because parentage is likely to be mixed across a number of other key indices such as gender, class and culture. This makes the racial reference in the term mixed parentage only implicit.

Although `Black' and `white' are core components of the racial narrative, I do not view them as stable structures. Instead, I see them as symbols constructed to signify superiority and dominance of white over Black. In working with mixed race young people I have found that theorising about the nature of race is not particularly useful. It is more important to be able to communicate in the same language. This means that one has to negotiate meaning with them. In doing so a number of different meanings emerge;

> Black as colour
> Black as country of origin
> Black as culture
> Black as alienation
> Black as belonging and affirmation
> Black as a core part of self.

The meaning 'mixed race' young people ascribe to the term Black is reflected in the variety of ways they identify themselves; mixed race, half caste, half English - half Jamaican, non-white, Black. It is significant that whilst the diversity of Black-

ness is readily explored because it is the part of themselves that they most often have to defend, individuals seem to find whiteness more difficult to articulate. Pajaczkowska and Young (1992) suggest that the adoption of whiteness as an undefended norm is the privilege of power.

When I started work with 'mixed race' young people my initial assumptions were that issues of identity were of central concern and that the social reality for 'mixed race' young people was that they would be seen as Black and therefore needed to adopt a Black identity. This is in line with much of current thinking, that the process of racial identity development follows a white to Black trajectory typical of the acclaimed model of Black identity development offered by Cross (1971). Studies of 'mixed race' identity, Wilson (1987) and Tizzard and Phoenix (1993) do however indicate that mixed race young people are indeed able to form stable and viable 'mixed race' identities. This challenges the commonly held view proposed by Stonequist back in 1937 that 'mixed race' people suffer from marginal identities and are confused about who they are and where they belong. Poston (1990) argues that 'mixed race' individuals are marginalised rather than suffering from marginal identities. Referring to marginality theory he says;

> A flaw in this model is that it places identity problems solely within the individual. Marginality, if it exists, can just as easily be a function of the prejudice within the parent cultures and the individual's internalisation of these beliefs. Indeed, being marginal does not lead necessarily to having a marginal personality. (p.153)

This sense of alienation is often seen in the autobiographical statements made by mixed race writers. Cherie Knowles (D'Silva) (1990) for example refers to it as;

> 'the world in between' which in some ways is so painful because we are in no-one's world but our own. (p.3)

Adewale Maja-Pearce (1990) describes himself as condemned to the predicament of the outsider; 'the person fated to live on the margins of society' (p.13). In my work I was to find that my limited view of the world as Black or white was contributing to the marginalised existence of 'mixed race' young people. Ngozi (Ross 1995) expresses the view that;

> At the moment the political situation is too crucial to start talking about mixed-race `rights'. (p.40)

Despite this view I aim to use the stories of 'mixed race' young people to assert that the concept of 'mixed race' be moved from its marginal position to a more prominent place in the racial debate.

A Study in Mixed Race Identity
Method
Interviews were conducted with six young men and six young women who identified themselves as 'mixed race'. Participants were already known to me through their involvement in `Blackground', a local youth project developed to provide a network for Black young people and their families who live in the area. Fifteen participants were initially visited at home and invited to participate in the study. They were told that I was doing some research on racial identity and would wish

to interview them. Of these, twelve individuals who agreed to participate were interviewed separately in a youth centre in the area, each interview lasting approximately two hours. It was considered important to provide a private space outside the home where individuals could talk in confidence. After the individual interviews, one group interview was held to explore issues of common concern.

I was assisted in the interviews by a female worker, herself of mixed race. This proved to be of value since she complemented my perspective as an African Caribbean male. She was chosen initially to provide a gender balance so that single young women would be more relaxed in the interview situation. It was found however that the third person appeared to relieve tension and enabled the interview to flow more freely. Having someone there to play a supportive and empathic role to individuals enabled me to be slightly more confrontational and more probing. After the interviews we were able to discuss some of the material raised and to share our different perceptions. Since the material raised during the interviews was at times very stressful, it was useful to have two interviewers for mutual support.

During the interview, individuals were encouraged to talk freely about their experiences. An interview schedule was prepared to ensure that the following areas were explored:

1) How did individuals view their own racial identity, how did parents and others view them?

2) What experiences of racism have individuals had?

3) What attitudes and opinions do individuals hold about Black people and white people?

4) What understanding do individuals have of their own racial heritage?

5) What exposure do individuals have to other different racial groups?

These areas were proposed by McRoy (1986) as suitable for assessing racial identity problems in mixed race children. It was used mainly as a prompt to direct individuals when needed. Notes were taken of participants' responses during the interview.

Participants
It was not intended that participants would constitute a representative sample. The study was essentially an opportunity for me to gain a better understanding of the lives and perspectives of 'mixed race' individuals. All participants were currently living in Telford; a predominantly white environment where the total non white population is 4.3% (1991 census). Drawn from the council estates of Telford, they were all of similar socio-economic status. A brief profile of participants is shown below. They have been given false names for the sake of anonymity.

Five of the participants live at home with their natural parents. Sam aged 15, Jean aged 18, Harriet aged 18, and Daryl aged 14 live at home with a white mother and black father. Sandra aged 15, lives with her black mother and white father.

Two participants were brought up in a single parent family: John aged 18 lives with his white mother, his parents having separated when he was eight. Simon aged 30 now lives alone but was brought up since the age of 12 by his mixed race mother due to the death of his father who was also of mixed race.

Two participants, Linda aged 24 and Neil aged 17, were brought up in a white family with a white natural mother and a white stepfather. Both of them never knew their natural father. Linda now lives alone as a single mother with two children and Neil lives with a friend in a white family whilst he completes his studies, his parents having returned to London.

Three of the participants were adopted into white families: Deb aged 30 now lives alone with white partner, Mel aged 17 lives at home as does Gareth aged 14. Deb and Mel were adopted as babies and Gareth at the age of 5 years.

The ethnic origin of the participants is mainly Anglo-African/Caribbean. The exceptions are Deb who is Anglo-Iranian and Neil who is Anglo-Maltese/African.

Findings
As individuals talked about some of their life experiences, they were able to express how they felt about themselves and how they managed to locate themselves in a world of Black and white. It became apparent that individuals were able to talk more freely about experiences that they felt more distant from. Consequently, past experiences were recounted with greater clarity than the more recent ones. As individuals gave their story it appeared that distinct struggles were experienced during childhood, early - mid adolescence and late adolescence.

Childhood
During their early childhood, individuals have their first encounter with racism and discover the significance of racial difference. For most of the individuals interviewed, this first encounter with racism was to occur at school, where name calling was their first lesson in racial labelling. It is assumed that before this they have little conscious knowledge of being different to others about them, particularly so if they are brought up in a white adoptive family or with a white mother in a single parent household. It is likely that in such circumstances they will see the external world as a reflection of themselves. This point was expressed by Mel when he said;

> When I was in the infants doing pictures I always used to draw myself white because that is all there was around me

Many individuals recounted that their early encounter with racism was a shock that they were unprepared for. It was in the infant school, away from the protection of the family that individuals were first made aware that they were different to other people, through being subjected to racial abuse. Linda described her early experiences saying:

> School was hell, I was picked on, called names; nigger, sambo. I related to being a different colour. I was lonely and never really had friends. I saw myself as Black then, as if it was my fault for being this colour - Black meant being picked on.

This comment sums up the early school experience of many of the individuals interviewed. Such experiences made some individuals wish they were white.

> Children did not want to touch me or be near me, I wished I was white (Deb)

> When I was called names I wondered why I was born like this, why could I not be white, I never wanted to be Black (Neil)

The statement 'I wished I was white', also made by Sam, John, and Simon, supports the findings of other childhood studies which detected a white bias (Clark & Clark 1939, Milner 1975). However, the interpretation that this reflects a self hatred is questionable; in the context of the abuse described by individuals, the wish to be white is a wish to avoid the abuse and hatred of others.

Although individuals now associate themselves with Blackness, it is likely that early socialisation will have imbued them with the negative and positive symbolism related to Black and white respectively. Whilst talking about their current experiences, most individuals reported a reduction in their direct exposure to racism and were unable to acknowledge any negative feelings within themselves which could be attributed to experiences of racism. It was also noticeable that they gave no evidence of the persistence of a white bias. It appeared that by early adolescence, individuals had developed adequate defences to protect them from the abuse that they were exposed to and were able to sustain a viable sense of self.

Early - Mid Adolescence
The second critical phase of racial identity development covers a period early to mid adolescence. This is a time of cultural adaptation where an individual is judged by her or his ability to adopt socially approved roles, attitudes and values. A basic need for approval and acceptance puts pressure on individuals to conform to the dominant value system and to fit in. This calls for individuals to display attitudes and behaviour which de-emphasises race. This may mean developing a tolerance to racism, learning to laugh at themselves or not bringing attention to themselves. Socially approved roles which are adopted tend to be defined by stereotypes, for example, as sports men and women, as comedians and sometimes as delinquents. Gareth for example reported some anxiety and pressure that he experienced because he was not sports minded. He said:

I look up to people who are good at sport. I don't like it at all but there is an expectation that I should be good at sport.

A number of other strategies were employed by individuals in order to fit in:

1) Developing a low profile:

I don't want to be too shy or too loud, I just want to get on. I'm pretty average, that's the safe way to be - don't make yourself noticed. (Mel)

2) Becoming centre of attention.

I started to draw attention to myself, to gain friends and to keep them. I liked being the centre of attention but I got myself in trouble, doing dares and being stupid but it was successful at getting me friends. (Harriet)

3) Expression of the white part of themselves.

In a white group, I am treated like a white person. I pick up their habits that I can't get rid of. I feel like a Black person but I don't know how to act like one. (Daryl)

I feel more white inside than Black because that's how I've been brought up. I have been brought up by a white mum who isn't going to bring me up as a Black person. I don't know a lot about growing up as a Black person. If dad was home I would be a bit more aware. (John)

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Both Daryl and John are referring to their experience of an impoverished environment, unable to support and nourish both Black and white elements of their identity. Where individuals categorized themselves as Black, the label carried a sense of emptiness, with individuals unable to convey a lifestyle attached to the concept of being Black. Most of the individuals interviewed indicated little or no knowledge of their Black cultural heritage. The vacuum created was often filled with a view of Black culture; as fashion, as food, as music and as means of expression that individuals felt unable to associate with. The inner impoverishment was well expressed by Deb when she said:

> I could say that I am half Iranian but I don't know any Iranian people, I don't know anything about the culture... Culturally I am white, I cook and eat white food, how do you get to know about the other half of your culture? There should be more to me than there is. You should be part of another culture but you are not. Instead of being half a person you would feel more whole. It's imbalanced and you need to feel more balanced.

An underlying fear of Black people brought about by immersion in white environment was demonstrated by John:

> I am probably a bit scared about being around Black people. The times that I have been around Black people I have not liked it. I have not been able to relate to them.

In the previous phase, being Black meant being picked on and signified a recognition of living in an oppressive environment. In this phase there is a movement away from Black seen in this way; Black is instead described with reference to skin colour, heritage and culture. An emphasis on Black as an experience of oppression is not socially sanctioned. Individuals risk being labelled as having a bad attitude or a chip on their shoulder if they make such interpretations.

Black as skin colour or as culture are such ambiguous concepts, that individuals found it difficult to identify with either. They could see that they had incorporated both Black and white elements in their identity structure. This fusion increased their sense of being different from others around them also created room for a mixed race identity to emerge, which is in essence a bi-cultural identity. Chemize (1985) argues that the impact of a dominant white environment will inevitably lead to Black bi-culturality.

It was noticeable that individuals at this stage categorized themselves in a variety of ways, for example Black, mixed race and half caste. There was a sense however, that these were just labels. Most individuals saw their cultural perspective as white and had only a vague understanding of, and perception of Black culture. Consequently, they felt unable to express the Black component of their identity. The racial component of their identity, although dormant, was seen to manifest itself in a sense of affinity that individuals feel with Black people.

Late Adolescence

A profound change in perspective was noted, when in late adolescence and early adulthood, individuals recognised that their earlier efforts to acculturate only afforded them a limited acceptance in a white world. This renewed acquaintance with the racial boundary comes about when individuals are thrust into a more

competitive economic and social environment. An awareness of the persistence of racism develops in response to the experiences of direct or indirect discrimination that individuals encounter, for example in employment or as a result of new intimate relationships that are developing. The recognition that they are not being rewarded for their earlier sacrifices forces individuals to reappraise their racial identity. They now apply their cognitive skills to understanding race within a wider social context and to developing their awareness of racism, and in particular, institutionalised racism.

This new awareness initiates a movement towards a politicised Black identity associated with the acknowledgement of a shared experience of racism. This perspective is achieved when an understanding is reached that being Black does not necessitate the adoption of an arbitrary Black culture. This point was made by Simon when he explained:

> Culture - I hate it! I grew up with the understanding that race equals culture. I have never been able to associate with culture, my culture is white and I had to avoid race until I could pick up the difference between race and culture

During this phase, race and culture are recognised as separate elements of identity. John reported a recent encounter with racism that breached his defence system and brought home to him the realisation that he was seen as different. He said:

> Black means just my colour. It never bothered me until recently, until recently it never bothered anybody else until my girlfriend's mum rejected me because I am Black. I had to sit down and think about it. Before then I saw myself as half caste or coloured. I don't like those terms any more.

This significant encounter with racism caused him to identify himself as Black. In this statement, John shows an appreciation of the gap between Black and white which was no longer masked by cultural differences. He still has some difficulty in locating himself within the Black - white divide, but is able, at least in a political sense, to align himself with Black. In doing so he is identifying himself with others who share a common experience of racism. The separation of race from culture that occurs at this time is an important change in perspective, giving individuals scope to free their understanding of culture from stereotyped trappings. Individuals are able to affirm their culture as part of their heritage and gain strength and pride from an aspect of their identity previously undervalued. Simon described such a case: he had previously seen being Black as adopting a particular set of cultural attitudes and behaviour patterns which were different to his own and consequently, he found it difficult to relate to being Black. At this time the racial/ cultural fusion was experienced as a barrier to his racial identity. A profound change happened for Simon which he put down to an increased awareness of institutional racism; he found himself able to affirm and express a part of himself that he had previously been out of touch with:

> I found that I could recognise in Black poetry the influence of local culture but also, a sense of feeling, a meaning of being Black that is not the same for white, a sense of connectedness, a sense of knowing how it is, an ancestral connection. We dance to the tune of a different drum, the difficulty in that I tried to dance to the other drum for so long.

In this statement, Simon describes how under conditions of heightened racial aware-ness, he is able to establish a link with a core part of himself which has a spiritual dimension and which transcends the confines of Black cultural stereotyping. Akbar (1989) describes this as a process of getting in touch with one's true self. This new sense of connectedness with his ancestral roots provides an historical continuity acclaimed by Erikson (1968) as essential to the positive growth of identity.

During this phase there is a movement towards the reclaiming of a Black identity which reflects certain social and political realities of racism. It was often found that this was at the expense of denial and rejection of the white aspects of themselves. It was apparent however that whichever aspect of their identity was being expressed, Black or white, the other always remained, albeit in a dormant state. Individuals at this stage when asked the question 'do you see yourself as Black or white'? were likely to answer Black. However when asked 'to what extent do you see yourself as Black and to what extent do you see yourself as white'? they were liberated to explore their duality and entered into a more meaningful dialogue.

Approaches To Working With 'Mixed Race' Young People
Previous studies of 'mixed race' identity have focused on fairly narrow age groups. Early childhood 6-9 years, (Wilson 1987) and mid adolescent 15-16 years (Tizzard and Phoenix 1993). The extended age range 14-30 used in this study captures fur-ther developmental stages during late adolescence and early adulthood which indicate changes towards the politicised Black identity conceptualised by Cross (1971). Additionally we see an identification with the essential Black core aspect of self described by Akbar (1989) and Nobles (1989). Although influences on racial identity are seen to occur throughout life, it does not follow that difficulties that individuals experience are problems of racial identity. Such an emphasis would locate the problem within the individual and mask the factors of abuse and alienation that they experience. These are factors which if taken seriously would inform work with 'mixed race' young people. I suggest that identity development should be viewed as a feature of late adolescence and early adulthood. Work with young people before this stage would therefore address the abuse and alienation that they experience rather than emphasise problems of racial identity.

Working with the abused child
Early experiences of racism introduce abusive elements into the lives of young people which can undermine their confidence and self esteem. 'Mixed race' young people are particularly vulnerable to abuse because it is so unexpected and at an age when they are not able to comprehend it. Consequently, there is a dan-ger that it will be internalised. Internalised racism may persist into later life expressing itself through depression and social anxiety for which counselling may be the appropriate response. In dealing with abuse, the young person needs rela-tionships which are stable, secure and integrated enough to hold them emotionally and to detoxify the experience. In this respect I have found that the family plays a key role in supporting the individual. The worker can help the family to operate as an interracial unit which offers maximum support to the individuals within it.

When the child encounters racism it is important that his or her experiences are treated seriously and not dismissed as trivial. Parental messages such as 'Just ignore it, people are only ignorant' or 'They are only words, they can't hurt you' are not particularly helpful. The child needs to experience difficult feelings being

contained and handled constructively and they need to be able to ventilate their feelings. This demands that parents are able to acknowledge these feelings and explore with the child the realities of racism as they arise in the child's experience. Parents who simply respond to incidents by `sorting them out' are often respond-ing to their own feelings of hurt and guilt which can sometimes add to the shroud of mystery that surrounds racism, leaving the child hurt and bewildered.

Parents are encouraged to listen to their children's experiences and share the racial conflicts and tensions which they themselves have encountered and the ways in which they have coped with them. This can give their children an historical per-spective and a wider understanding of racism, through which they can reflect on their own experiences. The worker can help the parents to recognise that their own survival strategies which may have been appropriate within their own specific contexts cannot be imposed on their children, whose experiences are not neces-sarily the same.

Working with the interracial family unit to open up these dialogues will often pro-voke some acute anxieties. Some families seek to de-emphasise race and instead promote the concept of common humanity. This often results in parents not acknowledging that the child's race is significant. Children are often aware of their parents' anxieties in respect of race and seek to protect them by withholding their own struggles. This was particularly the case for individuals brought up in a white family or by a single white parent. In such households, the absent Black parent was carried almost as a guilty secret. In households with both natural parents pre-sent, there were still anxieties about race, which were often a source of underlying tension within the family. 'Mixed race' young people in this situation are faced with double loyalties and have the particularly difficult task of maintaining the bal-ance and trying to avoid taking sides.

What became apparent was that many families welcomed the racial dialogue being opened up. It seemed, however, that they needed the outsider to give permission for this to happen. Besides facilitating such dialogues, the worker is also able to provide or recommend practical resources such as books, posters and videos which offer a positive Black perspective. Workers can also attempt to strengthen the sup-portive network available within the neighbourhood by facilitating opportunities for isolated families to meet together and tackling the source of abuse by encouraging schools and youth groups to develop their anti-racist practices.

Challenging alienation
As individuals develop a growing and changing sense of self they strive for a sense of security in the world around them. Group experiences are particularly important in this respect because they provide a source of acceptance and affirmation. In a predominantly white environment, 'mixed race' young people have access to groups which affirm the white elements of their identity. However, such groups often negate and reject the Black elements, leaving individuals feeling isolated and alienated. This can lead individuals to adopt behaviours which enable them to fit in or alternatively to fight back. It may be important to work with individuals at this stage to examine their adaptive strategies to consider whether or not they are dysfunctional, in which case more productive strategies can be explored.

The way individuals see and value themselves is largely dependant on how they see themselves reflected through the eyes of others. Involving mixed race young

people in group activities with other Black and 'mixed race' young people provides an alternative reference group in which the Black aspect of their identity can be affirmed. The provision of a group experience which provides an alternative frame of reference is vital in reducing feelings of isolation and supporting the development of self esteem. Most importantly, the group helps to minimise individual's feelings of disassociation from the Black community and prevents the establishment of stereotypical attitudes towards other Black young people. Participation in a Black group is, of course, difficult for individuals who are trying to fit in to their environment and gain acceptance by de-emphasising race; it would render them too visible. For this reason such groups are difficult to maintain. The threat of exposure can be reduced by allowing individuals to bring a white friend along. What is most important is that Black and mixed race young people are able to benefit from an experience where they are not in a minority. I have found that participation in activities which reflect a Black perspective, such as exploring Black history and exposure to Black theatre and arts have been very positive. The main benefit, however, appears to come from being accepted as part of a group regardless of the activity. This was summed up by one young man who said 'It is nice being with people like me'.

Identity development

Parham (1989) suggests that racial identity development is a feature of late adolescence/early adulthood. My own study indicated that although there were significant influences on individuals identity throughout their life cycle, issues of identity are more central to the individual during this period of their lives. This is seen in a renewed interest in all issues pertaining to race. The worker can assist this process by providing access to literature, and discussion groups and workshops where individuals can enhance their awareness and share their experiences.

Identity counselling may be appropriate at this time because individuals can experience severe disturbances to the equilibrium of their inner world and have to re-evaluate themselves and their position in a wider society. In the context of a secure relationship with the worker, they can begin to revisit some of their earlier abusive experiences and work through some of the powerful emotions; anger, envy, hate and guilt which they are struggling to contain. Where individuals have been separated from one or both of their parents they may now wish to trace the absent parents in order to complete the picture of who they are.

Conclusion

I have outlined some methodologies for working with 'mixed race' young people which are based on providing direct support to individuals and strengthening structures in the individual's environment. To be effective, however, the worker is required to adopt a stance of curiosity. This demands that they are open to new learning and able to expand their perspectives on race by including the new dimensions to the racial debate that 'mixed race' people bring. In examining racial identity development in mixed race individuals it would appear that we are not dealing with a linear process whereby individuals progress from a white identity towards a Black identity as suggested by Cross (1971). Instead they exhibit multiple identities which emphasise different aspects of their racial duality at different times in their lives. As individuals are able to integrate both Black and white elements of their identity into a new unity or oneness they are no longer forced to

deny an aspect of themselves. In doing so they are able to achieve a 'mixed race' identity which is secure and not marginal. Indeed they show that Blackness and whiteness need not represent 'self' and 'other' but instead are two different aspects of self with which they struggle to reconcile.

The two studies of 'mixed race' identities by Wilson (1987) and Tizzard and Phoenix (1993) both make a tentative assertion of a 'mixed race' identity. The recognition of a 'mixed race' identity seems to me to be an important way forward. In order to accept this, workers would have to cope with the challenges to their own identity. This is because the concept of a 'mixed race' identity undermines both Black and white identities which draw their strength from their opposition and separateness to each other. I earlier defined the 'mixed race' individual as the product of a sexual union between a white parent and a Black parent. This definition could be widened to include those who are a product of an intimate relationship between Blackness and whiteness. In this sense it would include us all, since Blackness and whiteness are co-constructive of each other. This perspective moves the concept of 'mixed race' from its marginal position to a more prominent place in the racial debate. Stuart Hall (1993) suggests that 'centering of marginality' may be the representative postmodern experience.

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RACE, SPORT AND BLACK YOUTH
AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

HORACE LASHLEY

Introduction

The issue of racism and sport has become a topic of considerable academic and general interest. This has however been the case for a much longer period in the United States (US) than in Britain. This does not indicate that the relationship existed any longer in the US than it has done here. I would wish to suggest that the more recent focus on the relationship in Britain resulted from the particular experience of British Black youngsters who either came directly from the new Commonwealth countries, or were offsprings of post world war Commonwealth immigrants. I also wish to suggest as well that the initiation of the focus was more particularly related to the educational under-achievement of African-Caribbean pupils and a perceived over-allocation to and so-called success of African Caribbean young males in sport (Carrington and Wood 1983).

Most of the research and other work so far undertaken on Black success in Britain at sport has focused predominantly on the African Caribbean community. In this paper I want to explore some of the major causes which have resulted in developing a relationship of sport allocation, exploitation and success for Black youth at the expense of their development in other areas of life chance opportunisation. The term 'Black' is used in this paper as a generic concept and therefore many of the points raised may be equally applicable to Asian, African-Caribbean and other self-identified Black groups. However, much of the evidence and experiences used to illustrate the arguments in this paper are more specific to the Diasporal African male.

Sport as Political Resistance

There appears to have evolved operative myths on people of African backgrounds who had been moved to the West through slavery as having a greater propensity to sport pursuit and success. Over more than a century these have merged into the white psyche significantly determining the social relationship and perception of Black people in general and those of African origin in particular. From the initial years of post-war migration and even earlier, a point of 'success' exposure and contact of Black and white people has been sport. This was reinforced by sports such as boxing, athletics and cricket. Well before the turn of the last century Black boxers had made their mark on British boxing. Tom Molineaux was one such boxer who had a great deal of success in his life through boxing and gained a great deal of 'respect' in Britain. Jack Johnson also made his mark on the history of boxing by the 1920s and in his time had created a legend. Black people who were subjected to political, economic and cultural imperialism at the time saw in Jack Johnson a symbol of freedom, resistance and success. Cricketers such as the Older Constantine and Ranjitsinghi were also well known sports personalities of the period. The list increased enormously as the years rolled on through the 1920s, 30s and 40s. In the area of athletics slow but steady impression was made through the British Empire Games. In 1936 the Olympic show-piece of Nazi superiority was severely dented by the ultimate achievement of the African American Jesse

Owens. His winning four gold medals was grudgingly witnessed by Hitler. This was not merely a landmark in sport but also provided a major focus for racism around sport as Owens was seen to threaten Aryan superiority.

A major contradiction has always existed between the apparent integration of sport for Black people and the existence of racism and consequentially the type of involvement and permissible success structured in the relationship. This contradiction has been highlighted by the works of two eminent African Trinidadians. Learie Constantine (1954) argued 'everybody knows, I think, that colour problems enter into the realm of sport'. C.L.R. James (1963) gave an almost diametrical opinion when he suggested, 'in a society very conscious of class and social differentiation, a heritage of slavery, it provided a common meeting ground without coercion or exhortation from above'.

The contradiction here was of particular significance because the views expressed seemed to be concomitant with the opposite ideological positions held by each; C.L.R. James a radical Marxist, and Learie Constantine a Liberal reformist. This contradiction seems to continue to affect the issue of race and sport with some significant impact and to a large extent, I would wish to argue, determines the patterns of research considerations in racism and sport.

The Role Model Phenomenon
At this point I want to examine the 'role model' phenomenon as one of the major factors that has encouraged a high motivation to sport allocation for Black young people. This by no means represents a hierarchical distribution of such allocation factors but purely represents what the author considers the dominance of the high visibility success of Black sports people which has been more predominantly male oriented.

A useful example of how this operates can be drawn from the childhood experience of the author. As a child of about 8-9 years old in Trinidad the author remembers being asked by his father what career he wanted to pursue when he grew up. Despite the author's immediate role models of successful middle-class professionals his reply, however, was that he wanted 'to be a boxer'. The father's response was not at all complimentary and suggested that he had no intention for a living son of his becoming 'a boxer'.

The above father-son conversation took place at a time when Joe Louis was at the peak of his career. In many ways Louis held a place of pride in the lives of millions of Black young people like the author. His achievement was not merely the winning of the 'crown' but the political and cultural significance of the winning. The political significance of these events was so important that at an earlier period, in the reign of Jack Johnson, a colonial administrator was reluctant to have the local press in one of the colonies publish the news of his success for fear that it might challenge the prevailing ideas about the invincibility of white people and cause insurrection. The winning and high profile exposure had a strong political significance to Black resistance against white domination. Wiggins (1992) points out that, 'each triumph of a Black athlete that came to public attention... had significant meaning far beyond the importance of the triumph itself'. This fact was always recognised by the white 'master' but the involvement of Blacks in sport has always been in a framework that the master has always felt will neutralise the totality and completeness of any such resistance.

The fact that Black people have always predominantly served as performers within an organised frame-work externally determined has generated the continuation of a usage phenomenon of Blacks in sport complimented by their undoubted success. The author's father was concerned to point out this relationship, probably in a crude form but undoubtedly identifying success in education as a much sharper focused resistance, 'the pen is mightier than the sword' approach. Black academics as far back as W.E.B. DuBois and C.S. Woodson had began to take a similar analytical approach then and others have continued to do so since (Cox 1974). However, the contradiction persists and the hero factor continues to motivate Black youngsters to sport as an avenue of life success and greater life chance. An undoubted example of this belief by working class Black young people is epitomised in the recent film, 'Hoop Dreams'.

Stereotyping and the Role Model Phenomenon
A related issue in the role model phenomenon is stereotyping. Black people have become stereotyped with particularised sport involvement characteristics reinforced by their sport pursuit success over the last century or so. The areas of success have tended to be concentrated in sports needing strength and speed and relatively small amounts of equipment. In many ways this has ensured a Black domination of a limited number of sports and positions within particular team sports. (Edwards 1973, Lashley 1980). Among the Black community, and its youth in particular, it provides a role model or 'a model of motivation'.

The media has played a leading role in the development of this Black sport stereotype. The author has argued elsewhere (Lashley 1982) that as a Black person the section of a newspaper he relates to most are the sport pages. This is because the sport pages provide the one section of newspapers where one generally finds positive, plentiful and complimentary news of Black people. This is in contrast to the rest of the news that appears as generally negative about Black people. Television is another media area which provides a high visual profile of Black people in sport. The extent of this media exposure made Mohammad Ali, the boxer, become the most well known and recognised personality this century. Bruno, on the other hand, has in his time become one of the most well-loved and widely known British sports personality. Through the same media exposition Pele became the most well known Brazilian ever. These are just a few of a legion of British, American, European and African Black sports people whose success fill our T.V. screens and daily newspapers both nationally and provincially. This exposure itself has provided an effective underpinning of a Black sport stereotype from John O'Groats to Lands End and well beyond amongst the white population at large. Black people have had these stereotypes for a considerable period and they are impressed on them from a very early age. During colonialism the predominant stereotyped role models often had a political resistance significance but more recently that significance encompasses economic achievement as exemplified by the enormous earnings of Black sports people such as Tyson, Sugar Ray Leonard, John Barnes, Fashanu and many, many others.

The stereotype actualisation operates in a climate which is conducive to achievement motivation. This factor is supported by Kane (1977) who argues that 'a considerable amount of research evidence suggests that achievement motivation is learnt at an early stage and becomes a relatively stable aspect of behaviour'.

Similarly the operationalisation of negative stereotypes of the Black community will also act as a strong determinant in achievement motivation objectivisation. In other words markers are provided about areas to aim for and areas to avoid. These are social constructs and as such result from the wider construction of power and control in society where Blacks are dominated either as an underclass in European societies or in economic subjection as a consequence of imperialism.

Scientific Racism

Genetic determinism has been used for some considerable period to justify racism extolling the view that Blacks are inferior to whites as a form of scientific racism. This process of human superior/inferior scientification blossomed during and after the demise of slavery in the Caribbean and the Americas. It was to a large extent based on a brawn-brain division. Various researches were alleged to have been carried out in the mid to late nineteenth century developing a relationship of 'brain' approximation to white and 'brawn' approximation to Black. Among these so-called experiments was Watson's skull capacity experiment in which he showed the skull capacity, i.e. brain volume/weight, for white men and women was greater than that for the negro (African). The research developed a hierarchy of racial and gender gradation. Alongside this so-called scientific racism evolved an ideology which was preoccupied with racial ranking based on juxtaposing a better-worse, superior-inferior, desirable-undesirable and modifiable-unmodifiable paradigm. The positive attributes were considered as 'natural' with white characteristics and the negative attributes as 'natural' with black characteristics. The brain-brawn division was central to the paradigm and the differentiation of attributes. (Curtin, 1964).

There is an enormous catalogue of racist writings which have explored this paradigm (see Comas 1961) which will not be examined here in detail. It is however essential to the overall argument that is intended to be advanced in this paper illustrating an ideology of 'race' or racism which has fed off the development of scientific racism determining the usage of Black people in social contexts. Manning Nash (1972) expands this relationship by suggesting, 'racial ideologies have the function of defining the subordinate people as "lesser men", or "non-men", or "expendable men". They thus provide the rationale for the activities of deprivation and expectation through a superior value orientation'. This phenomenon has been generalised over all areas of social interaction at both an individual and institutional level. These debates are once more coming into focus with the works of the like of Rushton (1992) and Herrstein and Murray (1994).

The phenomenon of usage or exploitation has emerged from this relationship of subordination in which Black people have been made to feel inferior in some sense but yet still believe that they have talents that are positively operative in this relationship. The fact that they have been stereotyped into these roles which are manipulated into some kind of social reality is not seriously questioned because of the social actualisation and apparent economic benefit. An historical evaluation of this relationship is traceable through the development of slavery and colonisation and subsequent so-called political 'independence'.

The Fear Phenomenon and Black Sport Success

During the period of slavery white masters would use their 'strong bucks' against those of others masters in boxing matches. However they were seen as no different to fighting cocks or dogs. They provided recreational pleasure for their masters and

it appears that their masters saw no threat in using them in this way. In addition, it seemed that many of those involved in these activities developed special relationships with their master or trainer. The area of concern, however, was when cross-racial bouts were suggested. This then provided a challenge to the superiority of the white contestant just in case the Black person was to win. This 'fear' caused the handlers of Tom Cribb the English champion in 1810 when threatened with defeat by Tom Molineaux to prevaricate and leave Molineaux in the cold sufficiently long so that when he was ready to continue it was said that Tom Molineux was shaking from the cold. It was not surprising therefore that he was defeated on that occasion.

A fear phenomenon emerged from the ideology of white superiority on which many of the theories of white supremacy were fashioned to protect the political and economic ideals of imperialism. The notions of Black incapability thus evolved with its roots firmly in the expressed view of 'the white man's burden'. This notion is evident in the writings of white supremacists such as Carlyle, Chamberlain, Putman and many others (Nash 1972). Three assumptions were incorporated in the work of the supremacists. Firstly, it was hypothesised that white Europeans had a superior culture to African people, secondly, race and culture were causally connected and thirdly Africans were thought of as being more naturally endowed with physical attributes than mental attributes. (see Biddiss 1966) This desperate need to demean the African extended as far back as 1655 when Isaac La-Payrere published his treatise on Prae Adamitae in which he argued that non-whites were descended from earlier pre-Adamite creations. Authors such as Putman (1961) have continued to raise similar arguments on the origin of the African and to consequently justify particularised traits and characteristics of the African as so-called notions of truth.

Over the centuries these so-called natural characteristics have merged to describe a typicality of Black youth and these have spilled over into all aspects of interaction between Black and white people. These characteristics now form the basis of current stereotyping of Black people. The pursuance of the attribution of these attitudes to Black people in a variety of different contexts provides a major contradiction which can only be resolved by the acceptance that racism exists, is well ingrained into the fabric of white society and can only be meaningfully challenged by anti-racism.

Much of the reaction to the showing of the 'Race Game' by the BBC in May 1990 ignored this racist historical link in the relationship between Black and white people and the nature of racism indicating that relationship (Cashmore 1990). It is true that there have been improvements in the quality of the relationship. However, the fact remains that racist ideologies persist and as Nash (1972) argues, 'will (only) disappear when the social conditions that create them no longer obtain'.

Education Failure and Social Construction
Britain has had a resident Black community for well over four centuries (Ramdin 1987, Fryer 1984, Walvin 1973, Shylon 1974). However, it was not until after the second world war that such settlements became recognised as a feature of permanence. This was partly due to the numbers of new arrivals and the political changes resultant from the process of de-colonisation and empire stripping. In 1962 the first new immigration regulation was put in place, however, by this time a substantial Caribbean community had already established itself. Subsequent to 1962 the bulk of the Britain Asian community arrived in what was a climate of stringent restriction and selection of immigrants.

By the early 1960s British schools in the centres of predominant immigrant popula-
tions were beginning to have substantial intakes of Black pupils. Many schools
seemed inadequate to deal with this new intake and various problems ensued from
this point onwards. From fairly early in their relationship with British schools there
seemed to be the operationalisation of a problematised school population. Control
mechanisms and negative stereotypes emerged to meet the challenge (Pankhania
1994). This might very well have interfered with the learning and self perception of
Black pupils but it most certainly impinged on their perception of British education
and the kinds of opportunities afforded them. Both Maxwell (1969) and Coard
(1971), two black educators, raised questions about the educational experience the
Caribbean child was having at the time. Coard was concerned at the over allocation
of those children to Educationally Subnormal Schools (ESN) while Maxwell raised
issues concerned with a more general neglect of the school system to respond to their
academic and prospective career needs. Townsend (1971) in an extensive NFER
study pointed out that Caribbean children were three times more likely to be allo-
cated to ESN schools than was the case for the rest of the school population as a
whole and six times as likely as an Asian child. He further pointed out:

> Altogether 21 LEAs report that they apply special criteria of ascertainment
> to immigrant pupils and the arrangements of some LEAs seem open to
> question. One authority usually adds 10 points to immigrant scores to
> allow for special social or linguistic factors. Another uses a period of obser-
> vation by a psychologist and teachers' assessment for Asians as no suitable
> test of mental ability exists; but ascertains West Indian (Caribbean) pupils
> on the same criteria as those used for non-immigrants.

He also pointed out that there was a substantial under representation of the main
Black immigrant groups in Grammar Schools, 2.66% compared to 20.33% for
non-immigrant pupils. In the case of Caribbean pupils only 1.58% of the group
were in Grammar Schools. In February 1971 the DES, in response to the investiga-
tion of the Race Relations Board on Haringey's excessive ESN allocation, indicated
that the 'low level of attainment is often the result of language difficulties or the
problems of settling into a new environment, often with little or no previous expe-
rience of English education.' On a BBC TV interview shown on 20th January 1970
the Haringey educational psychologist responded to the claim of over-representa-
tion in ESN schools and the consequential effect on Black children by suggesting:

> I think there's an emotional problem here on the part of our coloured
> friends. They think of the ESN school as some mental institution which has
> some stigma to it. This is not so, they're normal schools.

For Jeff Crawford, a Black community activist, who accused Haringey LEA of dis-
crimination the response was far from satisfactory. It contradicted the reality of the
Black experience in which those children who were allocated were seen as being
'got rid of' by the normal school. It also contradicted research evidence which had
'shown that no one race has a higher intelligence quotient than the other', and by
the law of averages these figures were much too high and unrealistic. (Crawford
1970). Lionel Morrison (1973) in a series of articles in the London Standard
referred to an ILEA survey which had indicated that 28% of Black pupils were
wrongly placed compared to only 7% of their white pupils. He also corroborated

Townsend's findings through his own survey stating that 'in both junior and secondary schools Black children are mostly found in lower streams'.

School Sport

The early experience of Black children in British schools had left them with few if any models of academic success. At best it exposed them to a racism their parents had never anticipated since one of their reasons for migrating with their families was because of the educational opportunities that they anticipated for their children (E.J.B Rose, et al, 1969). They also found that the environment that they faced in schools was very hostile in terms of their relationship with white pupils and the curriculum which was demeaning of Black people (Maxwell 1969). These circumstances obviated any early academic success for Black children and more particularly they laid the foundation for a perception by their schools of a natural inclination for sport involvement and allocation (Carrington and Wood 1983).

Many of the leading Black community newspapers have for some considerable years highlighted this point. They have often specified the disproportionate numbers of Black children that are allocated to lower examination streams and the over-representation of those children in school sport teams. (Lashley 1986)The community has therefore argued that schools have over-allocated their children to sport at the expense of their academic success. For others of the community this has appeared almost as a conspiracy to failure on the part of the school. The poet Benjamin Zephaniah argued that he left school as a promising athlete but in the process illiterate, and having a very poor career prospect. Carrington (1986) and Cashmore (1982) have also revealed this phenomenon in research they undertook. Black educators, including Carby (1983), Fisher and Joshua (1982), Lashley (1982) have repeatedly emphasised this point of over allocation to sport.

There is, therefore, overwhelming evidence of the concern of the Black community, firstly at the excessive under achievement of their children in the education system and secondly at the over allocation of their children into sport as a 'cooling-off' and social control mechanism . An additional overarching concern is the social operationalisation of stereotypes of Black children in the education system which more often than not lead them to see sports as a career in itself rather than healthy leisure.

Black Activists and Education

I want to explore further this relationship between the Black community's expectation and the stereotypes which operate against the interest of their children in British education. This pattern of education under achievement of Black children is a common experience both here and in the U.S. where a much more extensive exploration of the concerns have been pursued. Increasing concern is also being voiced in Europe where the issues are much more recent.

Some considerable time ago Kenneth Clark (1962), a Black psychologist, raised some fundamental questions about some of the environmentalist explanations of the under achievement of Black children:

To what extent are the contemporary social deprivation theories mere substituting notions of environmental immutability and fatalism for earlier notions of biologically determined education unmodifiability? To what extent do these theories obscure more basic reasons for the education retar-

dation of lower status children? To what extent do they offer acceptable and desired alibis for educational default. The fact is that these children, by and large, do not learn because they are not being taught effectively and they are not being taught because those who are charged with the responsibility of teaching them do not believe that they can learn, do not expect that they can learn, and do not act towards them in ways which help them to learn. (Clark, 1965:131)

Bernard Coard pursued a similar concern when he argued, 'The Black child acquires two fundamental attitudes or beliefs as a result of his experiencing the British school system: a low self-image, and consequently low self-expectations in life ... The Black child is prepared both by his/her general life experiences and by the classroom, for a life of self-contempt' (Coard 1971). Coard also identified three crucial handicaps that the Black child operated under in the early years of the Black child in British school. These were: 1) Low self expectations 2) Low motivation to succeed and 3) Low teacher-expectation.

There was one further handicap which in some ways has appeared to be a blessing and that is the high sports performance expectation. After nearly forty plus years in British schools these crucial handicaps seem to operate almost unchanged but the social consequences have accrued bountifully - high Black youth unemployment, high rate of criminalisation and imprisonment and high sport involvement. Currently within schools Black students increasingly face high levels of exclusion as a further outcome of their interaction with the school system (Gillborn 1995).

In addition to the earlier comments of Black community education activists George Cox (1974) forcefully pointed out that 'most of the problems in Western societies derive from institutionalised racism, institutionalised oppression of the masses, institutionalised oppression of the poor and the immigrant alien. The dominant employers are given wealth and power over intelligence, wisdom and every other consideration, total disregard for the rights of the weak domestically and internationally, double and sometimes triple standards in the operation of the law and the absence of the concept of social happiness, the list may be continued ad infinitum.' Black activists (Lashley 1980, Lashley and Pumfrey 1993, Yekwai 1988, James and Harris 1993) at both community and academic levels have clearly asserted over the years the existence of a conspiracy within education in capitalist societies to socialise Blacks into an underclass expectancy.

In this respect a major contradiction exists since the vast majority of Black parents see education as a liberating facility for social mobility. This contradiction possibly relates more to hope and to a popularised view than an absolute belief that education is able to ensure any guarantee of life chance opportunisation and security for their children. However, the fact that schools even in a period of high unemployment have continued to suggest to its pupils that if they work hard they will get a better job have provided a kind of false mystique about the work assurance that education is able to ensure. The very high unemployment of Black youth at the best of times has provided schools with rallying points for the pursuance of the discrimination and disadvantage disproportionately experienced by Black young people. Sports pursuits have thus supplemented religion in a Marxist sense to be their 'opiate' within their school situation.

Black Usage in Sport

The high visibility of Black youth sport success acts as a reinforcer to the already operationalised stereotype of Blacks being only good at sport. At this point, therefore, I want to explore the adoption of the usage/exploitation factor in this relationship. Firstly, Blacks are seen as natural at sports. There also exists a variety of so-called scientific assumptions which identify Blacks as much more suited to sports needing physical strength, muscle reflex and speed (Edwards 1976).

The usage factor operates within a framework of exploitation and controlled involvement or exclusion. Black sport involvement is therefore to a large extent distributed within and restricted to particular sports and or positions. This distribution is socially constructed and Black sport participation and success is therefore socially controlled and commodified as seen appropriate. The consequence of this is that sports that would apparently suit the so-called 'natural sport characteristics' of Black young people are totally void of their presence and participation. Lawn Tennis is a good example of this exclusionary phenomenon. Equally in areas where their presence is bountiful they are still seen only in particular sections and positions. For example, although they are extremely well represented in athletics in general their participation is however highly restricted to a very small number of events and conspicuously absent from the administrative areas and officiating personnel. This therefore results in areas of high 'colonialisation' and areas of low involvement or relative absence within the same sport. Other commentators have illustrated the above argument in terms of primary involvement and secondary involvement (Edwards 1976) or centrality and stacking (McPherson, Curtis and Loy 1989).

SPORTS		ACTIVITIES AND POSITIONS IN VARIOUS SPORTS
Boxing **Football** **Athletics** *including: sprint events* *jumping events* *(eg: long jump)*	← **High usage/ Exploitation** → ↓ **(Inclusive domains)**	**Caddying** *(especially in US and South Africa. Not so in the UK)* **Fast Bowlers** **Activities and Positions needing speed and non decision making**
Swimming, Tennis, Golf **Gymnastics, Distance Running** **Throwing sports** *such as Discus, Hammer & Javelin* **Jumping Sports** *such as High Jump, Pole Vault, Show Jumping, Ice Skating, Horse Racing*	← **Low usage/ Exploitation** → ↓ **(Excluded domains)**	**Sports Administration** **American Football Quarter-backs** **Coaching, Team Captaincy** **PE Teaching** **Goal Keepers** **Referees, Umpires** **Activities needing thought and decision making**

Figure 1

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Figure 1 gives examples of sports and sport positions and activities showing high and low usage and involvement. The argument used in this paper therefore suggests that there is an apparent colonialisation factor affecting Black participation which is much more concerned with the wider social structures determining the power relationship of social positions than a self determined choice of Black participants. Much of the radical research in the area has in some ways supported this particular hypothesis. (see McPherson et.al. 1989 Chapter 8) Those that support it are generally framed within sociological and socio-economic constructs. The sociological hypothesis highlights the social structural nature of positions and participation in relation to power and control. Harry Edwards (1973) therefore talks about 'outcome control'. Black participation is therefore thought of in terms of activities and positions that seem to exclude responsibility and decision making. They are seen to occupy positions and participate in activities that are 'brawn' related and subservient. This phenomenon is also known as stacking. Stebbings (1993) concluded that 'stacking, a form of ethnic segregation peculiar to the world of team sport, is alive and well in the 1990s more than twenty years after its scientific discovery in 1970'.

The socio-economic hypothesis on the other hand argues that the usage/involvement or exclusion of Blacks in particular sports or positions is due to the differential costs of sports. Medoff (1987) argues that ' the sport position that potential players select before entering professional sports is primarily dictated by the training and development costs required to obtain the requisite sport skills'. Much of the liberal literature in the field seems to give credence to this particular argument with only minimal attention paid to the consideration of the racism which dominates the relationship between Black and white people in society of which sport is a recognised part. It is therefore argued that sports and sport positions of low economic investment are more likely to be the ones in which Black people will be over-represented while those with a high economic investment are those that are least likely to be well represented by Black people. Medoff therefore suggest that, 'since Black people have a lower socio-economic status than whites, Black people will tend to specialise in those positions that have relatively less expensive skill and development costs'. Medoff's economic hypothesis in some ways represents an extreme of the liberal explanations of Black concentration in particular areas of sports. It however falls short with most of the other arguments by not exploring the added factor of class.

However, others like Norman Yetman (1987) disagree even with this radical liberal view suggesting that the situation has changed. He argues that there had been an increase in Black representation at central positions during the 1960s which might accurately be attributed to 'a decrease in prejudice and discrimination, and to the effects of anti-discrimination legislation enacted during this period of intense civil rights activity rather than to economic factors'. The fact remains however that racism still plays a major deterministic role in the continued usage phenomenon of Black people in sports.

The fact that there exists an economic hypothesis that determines exclusion, participation and colonialisation cannot and should not be ignored. However its operationalism is still based on a racialised usage factor. When Black people are seen to be a marketable sport commodity they are used in positions not traditionally allo-

cated to them. Their entry into certain areas of sport is therefore based on their marketability to the white public as much as to the acceptance of anti-discrimination legislation since there has been little doubt about their possession of skills. A good example of this was the development of parallel racial leagues in American football and baseball until the individual popularity and skill of people like Jackie Robinson could no longer be ignored.

Christiano (1986) in research on salaries of professional baseball players concluded that there was a 'significant difference in player salary by race with Black players being paid significantly less than whites'. This occurs despite evidence (Loy and McElvogue 1970) and Phillips (1983) that 'Blacks still exceed their white counterparts position by position'. The propensity for the acquisition of skill is therefore not the major stumbling block it is made out to be in the case of some sports. It has much more to do with the phenomenon of 'allowance' which is determined by institutionalised practices of exclusion and inclusion. The fact is that marketability does not seem to be a transferable commodity where Black sports people are concerned since it is tied more closely to areas of acceptability and non-acceptability which is to a large extent based on racial and ethnic predisposition. That the so-called natural propensity of Black young people to sport cannot be applied equally to golf or tennis seems to have less to do with marketability but perceptions and considerations outside the realm of mere potential performance.

The Introduction of Black People to European Sports
The introduction of Black people to European sports occurred initially during the period of slavery and colonialisation. There were two processes which made this introduction possible. Firstly there was a deliberate process in which they were introduced and coached by the slave master. A good example of this is boxing. The second process of introduction was based on the process of copying their masters. It is argued by some that this was the means by which West Indian slaves were introduced to cricket. Dalrymple (1983) provides evidence for this argument in the following statement:

> Blacks were sometimes allowed to play the game, simply to make numbers up. There were instances of them fielding but not actually bowling or batting: and yet they learnt the game most assiduously. They copied and experimented: they made rough cricket gear that looked like the genuine article and shared it among themselves.

Today the West Indies have some of the finest cricketers in the world. The phenomenon of involvement has always dictated the direction and extent of Black involvement in sport. In those sports where they have excelled they have tended to create an atmosphere of 'taking over' and as a consequence in the past there have been aspects of control even where there has been allowance. Earlier in the paper I gave the example of how British boxing championships were operated to exclude Black boxers. More recently when the atmosphere of 'taking-over' has not been controlled whites have tended to apply a policy of 'abandonment'. An example of this is the way in which Blacks and whites have been made to feel that to be a sprinter you have to be Black. Equally they had been made to feel that distance running or swimming is reserved for whites. A personal example was drawn to my attention by my son some time ago which provided justification for the advanced

notion. He said that his P.E. teacher had told him that this was the case because Black people had an additional bone in their heel which prevented them from running over long distances. Other dubious biophysical reasons have been given to support the exclusion or limitation of black participation in distance running. This seems to be a very strange situation to prevail despite the obvious success of East Africans in distance running.

A condition of exclusivisation in which there appears to be the existence of overt colonialisation of particular sports results from the allocation phenomena. This condition results in a large number of sports and positions being either exclusively Black or white. In the case of Black exclusivisation the process is generally accelerated by white abandonment once there seems to be a process of this so-called colonialisation by Black people. This action is more commonly known as 'white flight'. Carrington (1986) observed that this flight gave Black youngsters in the research that he had done, 'the belief that they had gained an aspect of power which they felt good about in themselves and consequently attempted to maintain what they felt was an area exclusive to themselves'. Equally he pointed out that white young people felt that they were inadequate in those areas and therefore instead of competing in those areas abandoned any involvement.

Teachers responsible for sport and P.E. seem in ways to connive with this process which further emphasise the stereotypes of Black students as excellent at sport. In doing so the teachers very often unwittingly reinforce processes that divert Black young people from the academic curriculum and reinforce a prevailing view that they are better suited for the sports field than the academic activities of the classroom. This is a view that is substantiated by a long history of Black-white contact. A good example was the response of George Bernard Shaw to Claude Mackay, a Black journalist. Shaw thought that he would have better served as a pugilist than a journalist. This judgement was not one which was based on the quality of Mackay's work but on the prevailing perception that Black people were much more suited to physical activities than mental ones (McKay, 1937).

Conclusion
The process of allocation and exclusivisation therefore provide young Black people with a Hobsonian career choice which inevitably diminishes their life chance. It also leads to immense frustration for such young people. We are yet to pursue in-depth research into the possible relationship of this excessive allocation and the consequential disproportionate social anomie experienced as evidenced by their high unemployment, crime involvement and presence in the fast evolving Black underclass. This point is somewhat much more evident than we seem to accept since, as pointed out earlier in this paper, many successful Black sportsmen claim that their involvement and success provided an alternative to a career in crime.

In many ways Black success in sports seems to provide a barrier to social mobility and not the access route that is so often argued. Obviously some would want to dismiss this claim as nonsense since they will provide numerous stories of success over the last century and a half. And obviously they will point to the excessive monetary success of Black sports people in recent years. Mike Tyson, for instance, will be such an example: a young man who became a multi-millionaire earner at a comparatively young age. The fact is however that this so-called success has

resulted in a direction of pursuit that has tended to be at the expense of diversifying potential. The climate for success has also resulted in a disproportionately large number of persons chasing a very limited number of positions. The wastage factor thus mitigates against the claims that Blacks succeed in sports or that sports really provide an effective alternative route for social mobility of Black young people in any significant numbers in relation to potential candidates.

It is the case that some successful sports people have built on that success. However, more often than not, this has only come from a diversification that the initial success made possible. Lloyd Honeyghan had claimed some time ago that he is dedicated to ensuring the success of his children by providing them with a private education. Similar public declarations have been made by other 'successful' Black sports people. Amongst these have been many boxers who have said that they will not be encouraging their offspring to take up boxing as a career despite the material gains their sport might have made possible. They have often dedicated themselves to ensuring that they provide a diversification of education and social opportunity for their children. This has been highlighted by others such as Bruno and Sugar Ray Leonard.

There are other issues that are pertinent to the discussion on racism, sport and Black young people that have not been pursued in this article. I have attempted however to draw more particularly on the issues which are closely tied to the historical evolution of racism and sport where Black young men have been more prominently exploited. Youth workers need to be aware of these issues in their practice and to ensure that their involvement in sport and young Black people is an empowering one and not a further exercise into the process of their disempowerment.

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WORKING SPACE

MAKING YOUTH WORK ACCESSIBLE TO
BLACK WOMEN IN THE NORTH EAST OF ENGLAND

YASMIN KUTUB

In 1991 two voluntary organisations in Newcastle ran a unique course for Black women in the North East. The Course, which was part-time and ran over twelve weeks, offered an alternative introduction to youth work for Black women who were interested in setting up work with Black young women. The Course was devised and delivered by three Black women who had a combined experience of working with young people of over twenty years.

The idea for the Course emerged following a 'Black Young Women's Day' held in Newcastle in October 1989 and organised by a steering group of committed Black and white women youth and community workers. The day was open to all Black girls and young women aged 11 to 25, and consisted of workshops demonstrating practical and creative skills, and trips out to various local activity centres. During the planning of the day a fundamental problem was identified - finding Black women to run the workshops, who not only had interesting skills to share with others, but also had the confidence to pass on these skills to groups of young women. Although the steering group contacted Black women who were currently working with youth groups, their number was small, and those who had direct experience of working in Black only settings was even smaller.

In spite of these difficulties the steering group eventually encouraged many of these women to participate in the day, which proved to be highly successful.

Over fifty young women attended, and the workshop leaders ran sessions on photography, video making, dance, cooking, jewellery making and hairdressing. In addition we took a group of girls to a local community 'motor' track, where they were soon whizzing about on trikes and motorbikes, much to the horror of the local lads who were extremely territorial about the track, and obviously had preconceived ideas about Black girls on motorbikes!

During the evaluation of the day, the workshop leaders expressed excitement and optimism at the potential future of work with Black young women in the City. A number of them had been through the Basic Youth Work Course run by the Education Department of the Local Authority, but felt that this course, which had run for a number of years, was very much geared towards addressing the learning needs of white students, and concentrated on examining the ideologies and practices of working with white young people. Those who had been on this course felt that they had not been given the opportunity to develop skills and build on their confidence in areas of work important to them, such as setting up Black girls groups. This was also reflected in the placement settings made available to students. The majority of these were in very traditional mainstream youth clubs, which catered only for the needs of white young people within the community, and were rife with racist stereotypes and practices.

Having been through this exact course myself, I was able to empathise with their experiences. Work with Black young people was certainly seen as being a marginal issue on the course, and one that was often regarded within a multi-cultural framework, rather than being seen as a vital part of the politicisation of youth service provision. Work with Black young people was not considered to be important by white students, as many of them were already employed as sessional youth workers working in predominantly white projects. Yet at the same time Black students on the course were not given the space to discuss and learn about the issues pertinent to working with Black young people. We were being trained to be 'white' youth workers, which inevitably led to personal and emotional conflict, as this learning was in total opposition to our experiences and perspectives of being Black people living and working in Britain. I also had first hand experience of a negative placement setting. My placement took place in a large youth centre which ran a club twice a week and worked with up to seventy young people. During my thirteen weeks on placement I saw only three Black young people on different occasions, and none of whom identified themselves as Black. The club employed approximately nine workers all of whom were white. The amount of racism I was subjected to, both from the young people and, more covertly, from the workers made my placement experience difficult and left me feeling inadequate in terms of my own skills.

Over a period of ten months the content of a specific course for Black women was planned. A considerable amount of fund raising was undertaken which included costs for creche workers, interpreters, translators and trainers. The Course was eventually ready to be advertised, and we were able to recruit ten Black women onto it. The Course ran for one day a week over a twelve week period, and as the sessions progressed some interesting dynamics emerged, and many of the stereotypes and myths surrounding such work were explored and dismissed.

The first session looked at why there was a need to work with Black young women separately. The most conventional arguments which have been put forward by more traditional youth work theorists concentrate on examining cultural, linguistic and religious reasons for having autonomous provision for Black girls. Although half of our students spoke English as a second language, and the majority were Muslims, we were able to identify these reasons as of secondary importance. The primary reasons which emerged during discussions on the course related to the racism and sexism which Black girls face in their everyday lives, at school, on the streets, from peer groups and from institutions which they come into contact with. All of these experiences compound and result in many Black girls losing their self esteem and confidence. As Black women youth workers we found we could not advocate encouraging Black young women to attend mixed youth clubs, where there could be no guarantee that they would not be exposed to further abuse and harassment from white young people, and receive little support from white workers. Many of the students were themselves mothers and felt that a primary concern for their daughters was to protect them from the debilitating effects of overt racism, which often led to pride in their identities as Black females being undermined or destroyed.

During this first session, some of the students began to talk about their own experiences of racism, which ranged from institutional forms, in relation to employment (or the lack of it), housing and education, to more insidious forms such as harassment on the streets, vandalism of homes and cars, and even some assaults. The women commented on how important it was for them to be given an opportunity to talk about and share these experiences, and to use them to inform their own practice development.

For some it felt like the first time they had been able to do this in a supportive environment, and others felt they had been denied this opportunity on other courses. The framework and structure of our Course enabled these experiences to be validated and drawn upon in a way that was constructive and relevant to the aims of the Course.

Further sessions concentrated on three main areas of training: personal development sessions on confidence building, personal skills auditing and building of support networks; practical skills such as outreach work, publicity of groups, fund raising, problem solving and planning activities; and lastly equal opportunities sessions covering issues such as disability, sexuality, cross cultural work, and class. It was in this latter area that I feel the Course was particularly innovative. Usually, in relation to equal opportunity issues, there is an expectation that Black women will only be concerned with responding to issues of race and gender. However, one of the main focuses of the Course was to acknowledge the diversity that exists within Black women, and to shatter the myth (which is often internalised by us) that we are one homogenous group. By examining other forms of oppression, and drawing analogies with the students' own experiences of oppression via racism and sexism, we gave students the opportunity to explore issues such as lesbianism within the Black communities, and class issues as they affect Black people.

During the session on sexuality, we showed a video from the 'Out' series, a lesbian and gay magazine program commissioned by Channel 4. This particular edition, entitled 'Khush', interviewed and discussed the life styles of lesbians and gay men of South Asian descent who live in Britain, Canada and India. The documentary stated that there are an estimated 80 million lesbians and gay men in India alone. This statistic although hard to envisage, enlightened many of the students, who had previously regarded 'homosexuality' as a 'white thing'. This video acted as a catalyst for further discussion.

We continued this session by defining concepts such as heterosexism and homophobia, and looked at their meanings within different Black communities, and how various religious domains impact upon the oppression of lesbians and gay men. For many of the students it was again the first time they had been able to examine and talk about their own attitudes towards sexuality in a safe environment, and it was felt that much progress was made. We then gave the students role play situations to work through in order for them to develop their own skills in supporting young Black lesbians who may come out in their youth groups.

Inevitably, this session was only the beginning for some of the students in terms of addressing sexuality as an issue of concern to youth workers. Hopefully it planted some new 'seeds of information' which could potentially develop and grow into a new level of consciousness in a later stage of their careers.

Another session of interest was the one on class. We set the students the task of identifying and locating their own class background in their country of origin. For those women who originated in the Indian sub-continent, this involved an examination of the caste system, and an historical analysis of how it was created and maintained. Once women had identified their own 'class' base, they were asked to explore what this meant to them in terms of status, access to wealth, and attitude and value systems. We then looked at this within a British context and looked at our status as Black people living here. We all learnt that regardless of our backgrounds, white society does not often recognise our differences and as a result we all have a low status within Britain, and should therefore not use our 'privileged' backgrounds to oppress others.

These are examples of just two of the sessions from the Black women's youth work Course. Almost four years later I still see some of my ex-students working in Newcastle. One has continued to be actively involved in community and youth work with Black women, another is currently the Co-ordinator of a young peoples' sexual health project, but others seem to have vanished. It is impossible to evaluate what long term impact this twelve week course had on these women's lives in terms of their personal and career development, but at the time its success was self evident. The women felt more confident, more proficient and more valued as workers at the end of the Course.

I believe that the Course's success hinged on two factors. Firstly, it was autonomous in its development and delivery, and had no involvement, (other than the sources of funding) from white institutions. This meant that the Course itself was structurally free from the inhibiting factors of racist and sexist stereotypes, preconceptions and practices. It allowed the women to be more open about themselves, their values and attitudes, and enabled them to acknowledge and demonstrate the skills which they already had, and the new ones which they learnt.

Secondly, the Course curriculum, philosophy and perspectives were relevant to the students as Black women and allowed the Course to be creative, flexible and in some cases innovative in its content and style of delivery. The pace of the Course was slow enough to allow the full potential of interpreting and explanation to be achieved, something which is often lacking on 'white' courses. The women with English as a second language in particular were able to regard themselves as having additional skills, rather than being seen as a hindrance to the rest of the students.

The Course allowed us all to feel excited about the possibilities of working with Black young women by setting our own agendas, and using the agendas of young women themselves, rather than those of white youth work practitioners. Even after at least fifteen years of anti-racist training and consciousness raising within the Youth Service, white workers still believe that the Service is non-discriminatory and that any problems that arise in relation to access for Black young people are caused by 'cultural' differences alone. This thinking often leads to the promotion and advocacy of multi-culturalism, which not only ignores issues of institutionalised oppression, but also fails to give Black young people a voice, thereby allowing Black cultures and life styles to be further exploited.

The Course also allowed us to see the importance and necessity of autonomous work in affecting change in the lives of Black young women who are doubly disadvantaged in British society. Racism and sexism undeniably play a pivotal role in restricting the opportunities and personal development of these young women, and often mixed provision colludes with this to further undermine these young women's chances. Separate provision leads to more opportunities for the needs of Black young women to be identified and addressed, in an environment where politicisation and strength can be encouraged and nurtured.

I believe that a course of this nature would enable more Black women to confidently access youth work courses in higher education (at diploma and degree level). In the future, this would not only benefit the profession as a whole, but would certainly benefit the lives of Black young people, in particular young women and girls.

Yasmin Kutub *is a training officer at the Angelou Centre: a training enterprise initiative for Black women living in the North East of England.*

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REVIEWS

REVIEWS

PAULA ASGILL

The contributors to this volume are from different religions, cul-
tural and ethnic backgrounds and classify themselves as Black,
white, Asian, Iranian, African, Irish, European and British. They
seek to place an analysis of 'race' and gender issues at the centre
of discussion, thereby centering the ways in which such matters
are often marginalised in supposedly mainstream debate. The
book also aims to challenge the assumption, which is deeply
embedded in most Western texts, that 'race' is some kind of
minority experience. Not only can it be pointed out that the
majority of the world's people live in situations where ascriptions
as to 'race' are defining features in their lives, it is also the case
that to be labelled 'white' in a world context, is also to be allo-
cated to a racial category, albeit one which is privileged,
unanalysed, taken for granted and itself a 'minority' status. (p.1)

This collection brings together feminists from a variety of academic
backgrounds. The main aim is to take the lives and experiences of
women from a range of ethnic groups as the norm and to demonstrate
the multifaceted nature of experience. `Race' is not simply conflated
with racism, but rigorously analysed in specific historical, socio-political
and cultural contexts.

The book is organised around three themes; Issues of Theory and
Method; Questions of Identity; and Racism and Sexism at Work.
Chapters one to four focus on Theory and Method. Mary Maynard, Kum
Kum Bhavnani, Erica Wheeler and Anne Akeroyd explore aspects of the
theory and practice of feminist research. Maynard performs the impor-
tant task of problematising the now fashionable use of 'difference' in
contemporary feminist thought. She points to the theoretical difficulties
encountered in early attempts to analyse the articulating relationship
between 'race' and gender, when the tendency was simply to treat it as a
problem of mathematical addition; the thorny theoretical problem
attached to the label `Black', that of homogeneity and denial of differen-
tiation. Difference presents opportunities to analyse diversity and indi-
cates the possibility of multiple identities. However, she concludes, used
superficially `difference' may obscure relations of power and the need to
act politically to transform those relations.

Bhavnani takes this point further into the debates within feminist
research methods of 'objectivity', 'neutrality' and 'positivism'. She argues
like Donna Haraway that rather than seeking 'truth' in western
malestream determined ways, 'our' problem is to privilege the situated

knowledges of communities 'ruled by partial sight and limited voice'. She uses her research into young people's understanding of politics to illustrate the way in which it is possible to be situated and still draw tentative conclusions that do not simply reinscribe the researched into dominant representations', in this case, that working class young people are apathetic, ignorant and uninterested in politics. She challenges the feminist researcher (and others) to debunk notions of objectivity in return for a range of new research questions.

Being situated is taken up by Erica Wheeler, who reports on her research undertaken on the issues surrounding Black mental health. She is also interested in the role of the Black researcher studying Black people, the expectations this sets up and the limits placed on what she could provide. She reviews some of the literature on 'race' and mental health and though this section illustrates it well, she does not fully acknowledge the dearth of material specifically addressing Black and ethnic minority women in the discourses of mental health and illness. It is disappointing that her action research does little to advance our knowledge in this area. However, she does remind us of the racism evident in the diagnosis, the statistical representations of mental illness and the provision available to Black service users.

Anne Akeroyd raises further issues in the area of epistemology - what we know and how we know it. She uses the examples of research and data collection in relation to the spread of HIV/AIDS. In this chapter we are encouraged to think through the ways in which race, ethnicity and gender are *both* used and submerged. She argues that our knowledge is drawn primarily from American research which has helped to shape social perceptions of who is assumed to be vulnerable to, or likely to be at risk or safe from the illness.

Chapters five to seven focus on issues of identity, drawing from the mainly post-modernist position that has toppled earlier discussion which has tended to represent identity as static and unidimensional. Though this is rightly qualified by insistence that identity must be tempered by reference to material constraints. In these chapters we are forced to accept that rather than simply either/or, identity, and therefore, difference, is multifaceted and multidimensional. Sheila Allen raises a number of questions in chapter five on the central issue of identity, she provides a useful overview of what is meant by identity and the use of this concept in both popular and Social Science discourse. As an Irish white feminist she explores some of the main discussions in both malestream and feminist sociology, psychology and politics on identity. She points to the extent that this is dealt with simplistically or highlighted when reference to the other is made, white is usually the absent centre or is pushed into the margins of acceptable academic and popular discourse. She argues that to take this further and deal with the potential of being an insider and outsider at one and the same time requires Social Scientists...to explore the conditions under which these are productive and creative and those which promote them as destructive and alien.'

Beverley Skeggs in chapter six introduces the idea that popular styles and music are central to the discussions of identity among young people. In this instance she highlights the extent to which African-American women rappers occupy the space of social agents subverting the civilising attempts by dominant European ideas of female sexuality. At the same time challenging the African-American male rappers who seek to objectify Black women's sexuality. Skeggs argues that like bel hooks 'they talk back, talk Black' to colonialism, poking fun at masculinity, using sexually explicit language to enjoy the potential for female sexual autonomy. They use rap to conjure themselves into existence against powerless positions, both economic and cultural. Through analysis of the lyrics of rappers such as 'Bytches (= Beautiful Young Thing College Honeys en' Shit) with Problems she argues the women 'speak sexuality with power'. They challenge both the silencing of Black women's cultural responses and that of women's sexuality.'She acknowledges the history of Black women using music to challenge their position and to create alternative identities (cf. Ida Cox, Aretha Franklin), but credits the rappers with going much further in challenging the `language that is used to confine them by investing it with new meanings'. Whilst many might find the emphasised (hetero) sexuality in BWP's work uncomfortable, Skeggs argues the disruptive nature of their work is worthy of serious consideration.

Haleh Afshar raises fundamental questions about the near impossibility of living up to ascribed identities as experienced by South Asian women in West Yorkshire. She draws on a three-generational study to highlight the changes in economic and social circumstances which presents different choices in identity terms 'Age, history, social contexts and what we generally call life combine to alter virtually all senses of self and identity over time and place.' Afshar explores a number of sites where South Asian, in this case Muslim women's identities are confirmed or interrupted, among these are: the family, marriage, the media, education, Muslim revivalism and new identities. Her conclusions are that changing socio-economic circumstances, for example the need to work, has interrupted ideals of Muslim womanhood.

Section three rehearses the more usual debates we are accustomed to in the exploration of the dynamics of 'race' and gender. For example Avtar Brah outlines the multiplicity of history, ethnicity, class, racism, religion and gender in determining the economic potential of young Muslim women. Through the young women's narratives she explores the contradictory role played in their lives by these forces. In addition the impact of the global and local economy on local labour markets, `cultural ideologies about women and paid work, the role of education in mediating job aspiration, and racism.'

This is also the background of Anne Phizachalea's chapter on the need to be both clear about the gendering of jobs and the racialising of the job market in Britain and in Europe. This chapter is significant in that it links developments in Britain with those across the European Community. Increased immigration controls are seen as linked to the superexploitation of Black workers both in the formal and informal economies of Europe.

Helma Lutz further illustrates Phizachalea's argument by looking at the position of immigrant women in the Dutch labour market. Turkish and Creole Surinamese women's economic situation is used to both explore the stereotyping that keeps them marginal to the formal economy and their own methods of resistance, which means they do manage to participate in the labour market process.

Bunie M Matalanyane Sexwale deliberates on the experiences of South African women domestic workers in South Africa. She highlights an issue, that has not been overly analysed, that is the extent to which sexual, emotional and physical violence has been the routine experience of female domestic labour. In South Africa (and elsewhere) this phenomenon is gendered and racialised, using the words of the women themselves, Mutalanyane Sexwale demonstrates the nature of this violence. She also uses the women's words to outline their attempts at resistance to this through the organisation, the South African Domestic Workers Union.

Appropriately, the final chapter by Haideh Moghissi brings us back to the practices within the university system. Using personal experiences she highlights how sexism and racism operate within the system of higher education and what can be expected if this is challenged by individuals. Moghissi's experience in a Canadian university reminds us of how gate-keepers respond to the challenge of anger from particularly, Black women, at the racist and sexist practices encountered in many institutions, in this case, the University. Her victory, as she defines it, rested in giving voice to her anger; but other goals were lost as she observed the tendency for white men and women of various ideological persuasions close ranks to defend their objectivity and neutrality. In so doing, they often revert to racist and sexist stereotypes of what it is like to be a middle eastern woman, for example, and what were `real' academic questions for research.

This collection is inspiring in its attempt to seriously interrogate the articulation of race, gender, class, ethnicity and nationality in identity and the experiences of myriad women in the family, employment, leisure, education and society in general. It is challenging in that we are all required to reconceptualise our understanding of race, racism and resistance. The book is an important contribution to the task of moving beyond ignoring difference or treating it as static and moving towards more complex understanding and academic and political practice. I recommend it to anyone who is tired of the same tales of our defeat as Black and white feminists practising in a number of spaces; it raises many questions, provides some answers, but most importantly sets us off in new directions of thinking, which inevitably, will enhance our current practice and (perhaps) contribute to new developments in theorising and practice in community and youth work.

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LOUISE MORLEY

This is a historical document, tracing the contours of change as a result of the Inner London Education Authority's introduction and implementation of their Policy for Equality. The book contains a range of perspectives from Black workers and their allies who use their experience as impetus and frame. The series of personal testimonies contains a rich analysis of the micropolitics of organisational change and exposes the mechanisms of interference and obstruction used to block oppositional discourses in dominant institutions. There is a strong current of frustration, disappointment, hurt and catharsis, underpined with a solid commitment to working for educational change. A central theme is how discrimination is paradoxically reproduced by the very interventions designed to challenge it. For example, contributors document the pain of being employed to challenge power relations, when daily experiencing personal and collective disempowerment as Black workers. Taking action to confront inequalities invariably left actors with further exposure to discriminatory practices. As Black professionals, contributors are ambiguously located as both recipients and architects of the institution's policy for equality.

Community struggles and successes to introduce heritage language teaching, supplementary education, and to question the underachievement of Black children and their over-representation in special units are quite justly celebrated. Indeed the complexity of the policy trajectory from the community to members, to officers and henceforth to educational institutions, meant that Black professionals were precariously located as advocates for their Black (though, by no means homogenous) community, while simultaneously representing the interests of the white educational establishment. Contributors draw attention to the margins/mainstream debate of oppositional discourses, and highlight how Ilea's policy initiatives offered opportunities for both enhanced participation and ghettoisation of Black professionals. With so many Black teachers employed at the bottom of the hierarchy, the ascent of Black professionals to highly visible roles such as inspectors and advisors is reminiscent of the stratification of slavery. As Black professionals, contributors describe how they had to manage a cocktail of expectations, envy, suspicion, recrimination as the effectiveness of their strategies for intervention were analysed from a variety of situated interpretations. Lincoln Williams vividly describes the selection procedures for his first ILEA appointment, exemplifying how his entry into the Authority was directly linked to the problematisation of Black youth. Black teachers and youth workers, he argues, were employed to minimise and control Black resistance and recalcitrancy. This inevitably led to the pressures of visibility, as Black workers were always viewed with the encoded eye of the powerful

white establishment. Narratives abound throughout the book of Black teachers being mistaken for cleaners and inspectors for transport workers.

Some contributors approach policy archaeology by documenting the pre-conditions that led to policy development. The most frequently articulated cause was the underachievement of Black children in schools. What is not fully explored is why racism came under the gaze of the local state at that particular political and historical moment. Nor, indeed, how the labelling of one targeted group as a social problem is critical to the maintenance of social order. The concept of achievement and productivity in schools is not adequately deconstructed, thereby reinforcing the notion that equality discourses have normalising tendencies and take the dominant group as the reference point. Analysis leans heavily on rationalist interpretations of the connections between policy intention, text and implementation.

The abolition of the ILEA as a result of New Right educational policy demonstrates the fragility of equality initiatives, as central government can eliminate the influence of intermediate, democratically elected institutions. Descriptions of various projects and interventions in the book indicate the difficulties of attempting to fight poverty and discrimination with policy. Yet the major achievement of the equality professionals was their ability to shift the discourses away from individual and group pathology and onto institutional structures, values and practices.

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DR CHUCHANYERE KAMALU

Breytenbach in Return to Paradise recounts stories that evoke laughter, sadness and serious thought on the direction and development of the new South Africa and of Black African politics in the 1990s.

The reader embarks on a timeless African continental voyage. Events are described surrounding the author's return to South Africa after almost 20 years in exile in connection with 'terrorist' activities on behalf of the ANC, the organisation whose leaders, at one point, betrayed and abandoned him in jail and even urged Amnesty International not to take him up as a prisoner of conscience.

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The events are not narrated in chronological sequence and this is part of the timeless, poetic attraction of the work. Yet it is a document of events and people which flows evenly and naturally. In these chapters the reader encounters prominent personalities in the orbit of African politics and power, living and dead. Former Head of State of Burkina Faso, Sankara, is fondly remembered. One appreciates the sensitivity of Breytenbach in putting off his downfall till much later on in order that the man's spirit may be kept alive in the book's pages as long as possible. As if some hope remained for meaningful revolution in Africa so long as the flame of Sankara's brief life continued to burn. Breytenbach is uncompromising in avoiding romantics and describing the humanity (or inhumanity) of the persons he meets. We are exposed to the vulnerabilities, strengths and failings of them all.

We learn in some detail of the meetings in Dakar, Senegal which preceded the emergence of the new South Africa. Breytenbach is influential in organising these meetings between 'progressive' politicians and 'passport holders' inside South Africa and ANC exiles. In the closing chapters, Mandela himself acknowledges to French President Mitterand's wife, Danielle, that his release could not have come about if it were not for the meetings in Dakar.

Also in Senegal the author is invited to a conference of African writers including the likes of James Baldwin, Maishe Maponya, Pitika Ntuli and Matsemela Manaka. We follow Breytenbach on his sojourn through Africa to Mozambique: where the unending war with Renamo assisted by 'Prehistoria' (the author's comic reference to Pretoria), continues to rage despite the signing of the infamous Nkomati peace deal; to Zimbabwe: where Breytenbach and other ANC exiles narrowly escape being assassinated by South African agents; the Mali: where the author once had to act as go-between for ANC and PAC activists at a conference at which delegations of these rival liberation movements were not speaking to each other; and to Paris where he dines with Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Francois and Danielle Mitterand and Wole Soyinka.

Breytenbach's account reveals some of the tragic line of assassinations: Bheki Mlangeni, a lawyer involved in investigating the atrocities of the death squads; Dulcie September, shot dead by South African agents in Paris; David Webster, a gentle academic about to publish a book on the dirty tricks of the South African military intelligence, etc, etc. Then there are the many dead who departed on the eve of the new South Africa.

Breytenbach has connected with a remarkable number of prominent players on the African and world stage: the Sankaras, Mandelas, Samora Machels, James Baldwins, Gaddafis, etc. His vivid insights into these personalities are memorable. The fact that Breytenbach is so widely accepted and respected in African political circles makes his eloquent work one to be read by proponents from all sides of the political spectrum as well as by lovers of well crafted literature.

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HORACE LASHLEY

The subject of History is one of those areas that has an uncanny way of locating you in the society in which you live. It has a way about it that quite clearly makes you feel as though you belong or as though you are an outsider; as though you have value or you have not; as though you are superior or you are inferior. It therefore has a way about it that can clearly 'put one in one's place', or to be more appropriate, to be put in a niche that is felt most appropriate for you to socially function by those who are in a position to construct the reality of history, be it on a local, national or international level. The political realism of this notion of the construction of social reality is such that A.J.P. Taylor suggested that, 'Africa had no history until the coming of the white man since before that it was all darkness and there is no history in darkness'.

That conceptualism of Africa prevails despite the Nile having been the cradle of civilization. For some the lack of tying the two together, that is Egypt and Africa, has been a major aim in the Social-racist constructionist strategy. It has therefore been the life's work of numerous European historians stretching as far back to at least the eighteenth century to provide a concept of disjuncture and separation between Egypt and Africa. The central underpinning of Pankhania's argument is that if the aim of history is to help students to make sense of the past in order to understand the present and to respond to the future constructively, then the history that we are taught should not be based primarily on (the) selected glories of the past.

She further advances her thesis by suggesting that, 'making sense of the present from half truths about the past is not possible'.

Black young people become victims of a glory selective history since to a large extent the demise of their ancestors provided the setting for that glory be it in India, Africa or the Caribbean. Additionally those Black young people are also made to feel as interlopers in a society to which they have no claim. In actual fact this is as far from the truth as it is possible to get since the Black connection with the British shores span well over a thousand years and predates many 'communities' that have become well established within the Anglo-Saxon facade of the society. Historians looking at the Black presence in Britain are increasingly drawing reference to the significant African presence amongst the population of Roman Britain. Subsequently the establishment of the slave trade, a major British preoccupation, and the development of the East India Company provided a much more acknowledged presence of Black people at a period well in advance of the post world war two, concentrations of Black presence.

Pankhania rightly points out therefore it is not possible to teach even British history as a totally national activity without being able to acknowl-

edge the existence of a Black factor not as an interloper but as a contrib-utor and actor. A narrow nationalistic History curriculum had been pre-scribed even before the Education Reform Act (ERA) had come into being in 1988. This advocacy took a form which was not only racist, but classist and sexist as well.

This approach has been a preoccupation since the ERA finally became enacted and subsequent adjustments were made. John Patton, in a speech as Education Secretary talked about a prenationalist programme of history in which 'national pride should be seen as a virtue, not as a vice'. This message was a deliberate shift away from what was per-ceived as the liberal history movement of the 'multicultural era' when there was a clamour for the teaching of 'Black History' within the nor-mal school curriculum.

For many of the opponents of the movement it was seen as an introduc-tion of politics into the curriculum. However the question has to be raised, how can history be divorced from politics when it is the exis-tence of politics, i.e. the implementation of goals and policies of a state, which determines the content of history? The presence of Blacks in Britain, the existence of an Empire in which the sun never set were not chance occurrences nor were they facts that were isolatable as some entity that was free standing and could be called British history. No! They were interdependent and interconnected. The demise of the Indian cotton industry, for example, and the subsequent farming, had a direct relationship to Lancashire and the birth and growth of its textile industry. Similarly Walter Rodney has argued that the impoverishment of Africa provided the basis of the enrichment of Europe.

Recently the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside (NMSM) has set up a permanent exhibition on the Transatlantic Slave Trade which is sited within the Merseyside Maritime Museum. This will obvi-ously provide a reminder if nothing else that British cities like Liverpool and Bristol were cities that 'sprang from the blood of slaves' and that the enormous revenue it generated provided the capital for the Industrial Revolution and expansionism.

Pankhania adequately explores the issues I have raised above and she adequately argues for them to be given full consideration if British chil-dren are to be able to make sense of the past in the development of a future that does not posses an Empire but an increasing fixed multicul-tural society. The recent Dearing report provided us no further overt pegs to hang this hat on but leaves room covertly for the inclusion of these issues pursued here to be included in the history curriculum in units at all the stages of the curriculum. And the strength of Pankhania's book is the extensive and practical way in which she demonstrates the inclusivity of the issues in the curriculum. In chapter five, in particular she offers suggestions for lesson plans and attainment targets. She does this in some detail and also provides useful resource listings and exercises.

She is obviously fully aware of the prevailing prolific resistance to antiracist education concerns but however provides a convincing argument about

the benefits of a restructuring and refocussing of the history curriculum. She therefore strategically suggests that teachers can readjust or 'elaborate according to the needs of their students' the ideas suggested. More specifically she argues that, 'the aim of these lesson plan outlines is to illustrate how an antiracist thread can be woven into history lessons despite the boundaries imposed by the National Curriculum'. She therefore suggests that it is possible to imaginatively adapt the National History Curriculum in a manner that will beneficially challenge the British state's plans to teach the next generation a limited historical perspective. She therefore concludes that, 'while it is important not to lose sight of a country's heritage, it is also necessary to examine exactly how this was achieved'.

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Tariq Modood, Sharon Beishon and Satnam Virdee
Changing Ethnic Identities
PSI
ISBN 0 85374 646X
£15.00
pp 115

HORACE LASHLEY

This book represents the first comparative study based on original fieldwork covering two generations of Caribbeans and the main South Asian groups on what their ethnic identities mean to them.

The book gets to grips with some of the major issues that impinge on the presence of the Black communities in Britain. From the outset of this review I must make it clear that I will be using the term 'Black' as a generic entity covering the five ethnic minority groups that formed the research population.

I would wish to suggest that the ongoing concerns of identity have been much more pertinent and troublesome to the major Black communities in Britain than has been the case for other migrant peoples who are white. I am fully aware that there are those who will take serious issue with me on this statement. However I hold by it based on the fact that 'high visibility' based on colour and the existence of racism have meant that succeeding generations do not find it easy to 'melt' into the majority society without trace and recognition. This therefore means that there is a constant battle for Black communities to adjust themselves to formulate identities that will provide them with some self perception of worth to survive within a sea of constant reminders of not truly belonging.

The Swann Report (1986) highlighted the issues of what it called the 'Liverpool Blacks' as needing special focus in their study of the educational experience of Black children in British schools. I am referring to

that group here because I think it identifies another aspect of identity that must be pursued in order to get a much more accurate picture of the dynamics of the constant search for identity by those people in Britain who in some quite specific ways can be identified as Black either in a form of comparative recency or in a much more settled form that can be traced well back to five odd generations.

Modood et.al identified the two major start points for their study as being[1] ethnic minority identities are a product of distinctive cultural practices and[2] they are a product of how minorities believe they are treated by the majority. The extent to which either of these starting points holds sway seems to me to be based on the extent to which the 'host society' activates or deactivates racism. The study identifies two forms of racism which relate to their starting points: firstly cultural racism which it suggests is not only targeted at just non-white but groups assertively different and not trying to fit in, and secondly is colour-racism which is related to the high visibility of the Black communities.

The indications are quite clear that in Britain the racism which is generated from the majority society is continuously activated against in the minority Black communities. The responses to this have been in some ways different in relation to the extent of settlement and the clarity of group cultural symbolism. There was therefore some marked distinctiveness in the responses between first generation and succeeding generation respondents. This therefore resulted in a problematised Britishness of succeeding generations. Sport has been a particularly effective arena to demonstrate this 'cultural schizophrenia' that is imposed on the Black communities. We are now well accustomed to witnessing a victorious, celebrating Christie draped in the red white and blue which is also equally demonstrably used by race-hate football thugs at football grounds weekly. Modood et al. therefore identify second generation Black young people in terms of a bi-culturalism since 'few felt they could call themselves British in an unproblematic way'. For them Britishness represented 'whiteness' backed by violence, racial discrimination, harassment, abusive jokes and cultural intolerance.

Obviously what Black young people have is a very strong feeling of rejection much more generally than the limited permitted inclusion which can be no sooner discarded than it is granted.

However one of the missing elements of the study is the consequence of being forced into a 'schizophrenic identity syndrome'. For the Black communities of Caribbean background as indicated in the study they were more likely to be for succeeding generations than the other Black communities. They are beginning to emerge in significant percentages of current Black births as second and third succeeding generations. In other words they are the grandchildren or great grandchildren of Black people who came from the Caribbean in the pre-1962 period of post war immigration. This is a lot less the case with Asian young people who are beginning to show signs of so-called 'effects of dislocation more usually associated with young people of Caribbean background'. It

is not the intention of this analysis to be pathological but it cannot be ignored that the exposure to identity disfunction will have elements of destabilisation attached to the emerging replacement identities which are increasingly removed from the more stable original cultures.

The study focussed heavily on a number of areas which to some extent provide predictable responses bearing in mind the cultural specificity of the research framework. In particular the areas of focus were family, community languages, religion and marriage. What resulted was the provision of information which in many ways reinforce the division that existed between African Caribbeans and Asian peoples. An example of this comparability was the evidence supplied by the teachers union NAS-UWT to the Swann Committee. Their evidence argued that the educational underachievement of Caribbean students was due much more to their cultural displacement than racism since Asian students who also experience racism experience educational success. This view has also been further advanced by other right wing educationalist and social commentators (see Lashley and Pumfrey, 1993).

The Black perspective has argued for some time now for broad commonality focuses to be used as campaigning strategies for the Black communities. It also acknowledges that there are specific areas that highlight particular issues that may not be commonly shared but that these areas can still have empathy from the broad front. Failing to work in this way will only provide the basis of a destructive competition that will leave some parts of the Black communities vulnerable on occasion and provide a mechanism for easy access to policies of divide and rule.

The areas of further research that are to be undertaken must bear in mind the points raised above. This is particularly needed since the research completed so far clearly identifies racism as a real life experience for all the minority groups who participated in the study. In conclusion the report rightly pointed out that, 'it is time for social analysts and policy-makers to catch up' with the 'plastic and changing badge of membership of ethnic identity'. However for an adequate 'new vision of Britishness which allows minorities to make claim upon it' minorities will have to use the force of a collective commonality of oppression and not destroy that collectivity by single contested issues as a total strategy.

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Madhu Dubey
Black Women Novelists & The Nationalist Aesthetic
Indiana University Press 1994
ISBN 0 253 20855 6
£11.99
pp 195

JOAN ANIM-ADDO

Black women novelists are increasingly gaining publication and commanding the attention of a widening audience. This world wide phenomenon is becoming even more evident as the twentieth century closes. African-Caribbean women, for example, are being studied in institutions of higher education here, in the U.K. and abroad, not just as token examples of women's writing but within courses and options such as Caribbean Women's Literature. Continental African women are also being similarly widely read. Each of the two groups offered as examples of Black women writers will map a story of the development of a Black women's literary tradition in creative tension with a male centred Nationalist Aesthetic. I was disappointed, therefore, that nowhere in Madhu Dubey's discursive text *Black Women Novelists & The National Aesthetic* is there any awareness that the group identity 'Black women', includes much more than African-American women.

The concern of Madhu Dubey's text is the African-American cultural nationalist debate and the creative space claimed by women novelists during the period of the 'second renaissance'. The parameters of that Black Aesthetic debate, drawn by men, relegated women to a secondary, marginalised place. This period of Black nationalism, the sixties and seventies, to some extent overlapped that of the women's Liberation movement resulting in an era of intense politicisation and liberation for Black women exposed to the two movements.

> *Both of these movements at once catalyzed and constrained the formulation of a feminist politics centering around the Black women....Further, although Black nationalism was clearly dominant in the ideological mapping of Black womanhood, it was by no means a tightly closed, self-sufficient system that precluded alternative ideological mapping. (p.15)*

In the space between those two ideologies there remained some essential contradictions which Black women writers have had to address. Madhu Dubey through her highly informed critical analysis of selective works shows how African-American women novelists have negotiated prescribed cultural territories to claim a space that allows for a multi dimensional representation of Black women in the literature.

In discussion that remains accessible, albeit on a literary level, Madhu Dubey teases out the range of prescriptive measures that looked set to confine African-American women writers in the seventies. The way in which Black feminine identity was represented was, for example, heavily

prescribed. The depiction of Black male-female relationships 'as neces-sary, complementary unions' was an important tenet. Western construc-tion of Blackness was to be overturned and replaced in Black literature by new constructs of

...Blackness as a natural, vital essence that exceeds the artificial structuring of the Western symbolic system (p.41).

The nature/culture problematic posed specific difficulties for women, not the least being the equation with natural feminine and procreation or reproduction with its consequences as biological destiny. Specifically, Dubey focuses on the varied creative responses to such prescription evi-dent in the earlier novels of Gayl Jones, Toni Morrison and Alice Walker during the decade of the seventies. Her stated concern, to foreground analysis of such writing 'that strain a nationalist or feminist reading' makes compelling reading for the student of literature.

This work is essentially literary theory. It is relevant. It is admirably docu-mented. It treats issues close to the heart and intellect of many Black women and men deeply interested in literature and specifically the liter-ary production of Black women. Ultimately, it treats the compelling mat-ter, for women writers, of *Black feminine difference.*

In relation to the needs of Black young people in Britain, Madhu Dubey's work offers little obvious direct, immediate applicability. Certainly, African American women writers have achieved universal popularity. Two of those of particular focus to Dubey's work, Toni Morrison and Alice Walker are figures of whom young Black people in the U.K. are aware, if not as read-ers, then on a secondary level through the media. However, setting aside the bigger issue about reading and Black literary audience, this text demands sophisticated reading. It is therefore most appropriate for those leaders in the field willing to invest in the kind of information which young people will benefit from but are as yet unable to access for themselves.

The debate central to *Black Women Novelists & The Nationalist Aesthetic* is an interesting one particularly but not exclusively for students of litera-ture and women's studies. Madhu Dubey's demonstrating of ways in which novels such as Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* (1970) was unable to affirm a unified Black collective or indeed other preoccupations of the Black Aesthetic is of general interest. Dubey indicates the pressure points and contradictions which gave rise to the Black feminine aesthetic. This new articulation and generally unanticipated aesthetic was to emerge and be rendered increasingly visible through Black women's writing notably from the seventies.

In a text that would need to be mediated for young people, Dubey suc-cessfully highlights how with varying degrees of ideological ambivalence in evidence, Black women's writing, because of the creative tension inher-ent in the space it occupies, by and large resists neat, ideological readings. Whilst fusion of both nationalist and feminist are instanced, Dubey teases out just how these surface, not neatly in any preordained manner but as best suits the purposes of the writer. Significant to this writing is the 'selec-

tive and critical appropriation of both ideologies'. In this respect Madhu Dubey contrasts Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* with *Sula* (1973).

> *Rather than merely combining, Sula plays feminism and nationalism against each other, staging the encounter of these two ideologies as a dynamic contradiction. In a difficult double move, the novel assumes a feminist perspective to clarify the limits of nationalist ideology (p.51).*

Elements of interest to this nationalist ideology as well as contradictions at odds with the Black Aesthetic are highlighted in the novels discussed. Thus, Gayle Jones' *Corregidora* critiques reproductive sexuality but remains to some extent acceptable within the Black Aesthetic paradigm. *Eva's Man*, however, singularly fails to meet the measures of Black Aesthetics negative stereotypes it presents rather than the favoured positive images of Black people. It fails, also, to be the didactic text required precisely in the manner in which it critiques heterosexuality. Alice Walker's, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* (1970) is similarly shown to strain a nationalist reading. Her treatment of Black women's sexual oppression places her outside the norms of the Black Aesthetic. Similarly, *Meridian* is read as problematic, falling well short of the nationalist ideology.

Madhu Dubey's informed analysis ably moves forward the debate about Black women's writing at a time when increasingly Black texts become appropriated by academic institutions and critics struggle to superimpose one reading or another on them. Dubey at once clarifies the complexities of a highly prescriptive Black Aesthetic and reveals the numerous ways in which African-American women novelists have challenged the essential tenets of the ideology to present a literature which signifies the complex racial and gender dynamics impacting upon Black feminine subjectivity.

Black Women Novelists & The Nationalist Aesthetic is an important text. It offers readings of significant Black women's novels which foreground the creative tension of writers caught between sexism, racism and prescriptive ideologies. It highlights, too, the constraining effects of Black aesthetics seeking to control art albeit in the name of collective empowerment. These are vital, passionate issues to Black communities. The information which Madhu Dubey offers will heavily rely on mediation by interested adults in order to be accessible to young people in the wider community.

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ANGELA LAMONT

REVIEWS

This book provides an overview of some of the issues which affect unemployed Black people in the area of training and education. It highlights education and training initiatives which aim to overcome the processes which impact detrimentally on employed Black people.

The material for the book came out of a research project which was commissioned following a conference organised by REPLAN and the Commission For Racial Equality. The needs of Black unemployed communities was the focus of the conference.

Statistics continue to show that Black people, and in particular young Black men are over-represented in the unemployment figures. The availability of effective, high quality training and provision should, therefore, be regarded as an essential tool in re-dressing this imbalance.

There are a number of issues which have to be considered when designing appropriate provision for unemployed Black people. The quality of the training must be complemented by the provision of programmes which are designed from a Black perspective. It is important that attention is paid to the environment into which trainees are placed. The training material and the way the training is administered/implemented will have an impact on the effectiveness of the training programme. It is also necessary to recruit personnel with whom the participants can identify. A recognition of the cultural and historical background of the client group to whom the education and training is being offered is also important. An omission of these considerations may undo an otherwise excellent training package.

It is from this standpoint that this book presents the findings of the research. Its purpose was to identify the features of Black led community based projects that make them successful.

The research team approached a number of organisations in areas of 'major' Black population throughout England. The selection process is clearly outlined and shows how the final selections were made. The conclusions and recommendations which follow are concise in nature.

The main body of the book is made up of six case studies and is on the whole rather disappointing as it is descriptive and contains little analysis.

The structure and delivery of each of the programmes identified within the six case studies are very different. The research methods used are adapted to take into account the nature of each organisation. This included the use of semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and

observation. It is here that the qualitative value of the research findings may be called into question. There is little evidence that sufficient time was spent interacting with the trainees and the personnel who were employed by the projects. In one particular case study no contact was made with either the students or tutors. It is therefore difficult to claim that the views and opinions stated are in any way representative. The final case study is actually presented in the form of a report produced by that particular organisation and not as a result of research being carried out, for this reason objectivity and impartiality may be forfeited.

The value of this book lies in the clear attempt by these organisations to provide a specific service for the local community and in doing so dispel the myth that training and education are neutral. Their mere existence in the face of dwindling resources and often inadequate and inappropriate premises is perhaps sufficient evidence to argue that absence of such initiatives, now and in the future, will continue to place young Black people in a position of disadvantage.

Angela Lamont *is a Development Officer for 'The Guidance for Adults on Training and Education Project' in Wolverhampton.*

Michael C Dawson
Behind the Mule - Race and Class in African-American Politics
Princeton University Press, USA, 1994

GEORGE A FISHER

The Political unity of African-Americans is characterised by two specific developments. Firstly, the New Black Politics transforms popular protests into electoral politics for all Black people. The other however, is concerned with the class allegiance. This latter development is created by the growing economic polarisation among Black people. The result is that middle class Black people form alliances with other groups of similar economic status to protect and preserve their 'well earned' security and privilege. Thus there is a tension between the Black middle classes and poor/lower class Black groups.

In this book Dawson successfully examines the tension between racial interests and class interests in African-American political development. His central interest is to test whether race or class is the primary factor influencing Black political behaviour and public opinion.

Dawson draws unusually upon social psychology for explanations to arrive at a meaningful theory of micro-Black politics - 'Black Utility Heuristic'. In doing so he has meticulously analysed data on Black unemployment and Black political participation, making comparisons between different Black areas in the U.S.A. - Detroit and the Southern cities.

An important conclusion in this comprehensive study is that Black voters commit themselves to the political party faction or individual candidate,

that is the most supportive of Racial reform and what they perceive as the important issues for them.

Dawson demonstrates the fact that in the U.S.A. traditionally the economic status of the Black person had rarely affected their choice of political party. However the current trend is that as the economic gap widens between affluent Black men and women and the 'have nots'. the more affluent group holds views more consistent with that of the conservative white groups, in the mainstream of society. Class divisions operate in fashioning Black political opinion and action, with the less affluent and poor groups more likely to support independent Black political organisations that exclude white people.

Dawson's work signals some clear policy implications. As poverty spreads among the Black ghettoes, the two parties, Republican and Democrat, will be seen as irrelevant and the formation of an independent Black political party will become more a reality for the poor Black people. However, a hostile racial climate is likely to mobilise all Black people irrespective of socio-economic status.

He posits four possible developments for the future:

1) The pluralist dream is least likely, given the erosion of the American economy and the maintenance of racial hostility.

2) Unite and Fight - is a scenario that is possible only if the further decline in the economy is matched by an improved racial climate. This would create the conditions for the poorer sections of ethnic groups, including Black people, to unite in a radical political alliance akin to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

3) A united Black movement is dependent to a great extent, on economic prosperity while there is deterioration of race relations and hostility towards Black people. This process would result in internal conflicts within the Black community. The Black middle class would emphasise tactics of civil rights and race relations rather than support the more militant independent Black political stances coming from the Black poor.

4) Politics of Isolation is the condition in which there is continued deterioration in both the economic and racial climate. Residential segregation would continue to prevent many from escaping Black ghetto life and alienate those residents from mainstream politics. Black political leadership is likely to come from the more affluent sector thus giving a thrust to increased political isolation from the main stream of American politics. The example from the Rodney King incident in 1992 attests to this potential.

The book is of immense value to anyone, but especially Black students and politicians who wish to understand the nature of Black political choices in White society Britain.

I highly recommend this book to students, Black politicians and those interested in community politics generally.

George A Fisher is an Inspector of Humanities at Haringey Education Department, London.

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