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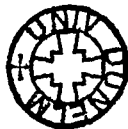
Alternative Education in Britain: Aspects of Black Community Initiatives

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Thesis presented in fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Durham

Sam Makinde

March 1999



23 AUG 1999

ABSTRACT

This study of black alternative education in Britain examines the origin and the development of a relatively small supplementary school as an aspect of Black Community Initiatives around Britain.

This form of initiative began in the 1960s and has become a phenomenon in many areas with African Caribbean population as a response to the educational and social development of the young adults. They are established to provide tuition in basic skills and to 'supplement' the education of these students.

Also, Rampton's (1981) report, identified this initiative as a Black community response to the underachievement of the African Caribbean students in the areas covered by their study. The report, on the one hand, acknowledged racism as one of the factors affecting the education of this group of students and on the other, encouraged mainstream schools to work with the supplementary schools in their communities. However, the majority of the supplementary schools continue without the knowledge of the Local Education Authorities (LEA) or mainstream schools in their area.

This emphasis on black students' underachievement has continued into the 1990s and has been extended into some black students' exclusions in schools. Although there is no study that links underachievement with exclusions, these two factors are negative ones and are affecting the education of black students with particular reference to African Caribbean students.

The actions being taken in the establishment of supplementary schools focus on the alternatives to provide the skills that African Caribbean communities believe their

students are not getting from mainstream schools, especially in relation to basic literacy and numeracy.

This study focuses on the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project (CSEP) in the London Borough of Croydon. This supplementary school is being run voluntarily by the providers and the attendance is voluntary to students who knew about it. The school has gone through many developments and now operates on Saturday mornings during term time for two and a half hours in rented accommodation. Whilst the funds from the local authority assist the school in paying the rents and in the giving of stipends to the teachers, parents voluntarily organise different social and fund raising - activities to meet as a community and to provide funds for other expenses in the school.

By following the activities of the school, this study examines the mission and purposes of the CSEP, the school as a community, the curriculum, pedagogy and the outcomes, the management, organisation and finance. The conclusion reached in this study is that the CSEP is a working model of the community initiative advocated by the Rampton Report, (1981) and suggests that it is a resistance to racism in mainstream society.

Finally, the research considers the implications of the CSEP for the Black Community in the Croydon area and presents an analytical evaluation of issues relating to the CSEP and the education of black students in general.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BSS:	Black Supplementary School/s
C of E:	Church of England
CEDAR:	Centre for Educational Development, Appraisal and Research.
CRC:	Community Relations Committee
CRE:	Commission for Racial Equality
CSEP:	The Croydon Supplementary Educational Project
DES:	The Department of Education and Science
E.S.N:	Educationally Sub-Normal schools
EPAS:	Educational Priority Areas
G.C.S.E:	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HMI:	Her Majesty Inspectorate
IQ:	Intelligence Quotient
LEAS:	Local Education Authorities
M.P:	Member of Parliament
M.R.E:	Multiracial Education
MSS/MS:	Mainstream school/s
NAME:	National Association for Multiracial Education
NASS:	National Association of Supplementary Schools
NASVXT:	National Association of School Masters and Women Teachers
NFER:	National Foundation for Education and Research.
NQT:	Newly Qualified Teacher
NUT:	National Union of Teachers
P.E.P:	Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P) Reports
PSA:	The Parents Students Association
SDA:	Seventh Day Adventist
SEN:	Special Educational Needs
SPAS:	School Playgroups Association
UK:	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
USA:	United States of America

Alternative Education in Britain: Aspects of Black Community Initiatives

Sam Makinde

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i.i. Introduction

When my mentor in Nigeria told me that she found it difficult studying in Britain and that she felt misunderstood by people within the British system, I did not quite grasp what she was telling me. Firstly it was because I had not lived in Britain then and my experience at the airport in England and in the English community was that of a tourist. Secondly, I am married to a white English girl and felt accepted by her, her sister and friends.

My mentor's problem was not that of language but that of not feeling accepted by the community in which she stayed to study. Although there are a number of possibilities, for example she wasn't as good as her peers, but only thought that she was; she felt that whatever she did, she was not accepted as well as others in her group. She almost failed her degree programme. She got a lower second class pass whilst others (whites) in her group, whom she regarded as not as good or as hard working as herself, got higher grades. She never quite used the word 'racism', but there could be similarity between her experience and that of many black people in Britain - that feeling of never being accepted quite as a white person would be. The result of this tends to be one of self doubt and the acceptance of one's own capabilities as inferior to that of the whites.

Although this could be referred to or dismissed as an individual's experience, perhaps it illustrates how difficult it is to identify what racism is and to make a generalisation that will encompass a whole range of experiences. These difficulties are not just in identifying the different experiences black people could have of racism; the problems of identifying and representing racism also occur in research work. Racism means different things to different people depending on what their experiences have been. In research work, there has been a dichotomy of whether racism exists or not. Debates are centred, on the one hand, on those who tend to believe and have been able to justify through research findings that racism does exist, and on the other hand on those who believe that it is 'natural' for people to group with their own kind.

Some argue that racism was not just evident in the relationship that existed before large numbers of black people appeared on British soil, but also in the present relationship between the indigenous white British people and the British born Black people and other ethnic minorities (1). There are some arguments that tend to state that one group of people is different from the others because they have a shared way of life. This shared way of life, it is argued, combines with the 'human instinct' of wanting to be with one's own kind. This line of argument tends to follow a nationalistic perspective and tends to conclude that it is natural 'to adopt a narrow and rejecting view of others'. Ray Honeyford (Times Educational Supplement 19.11.82).

The follow up to this nationalistic debate is the recent issue of repatriation, whether voluntary repatriation or forced. The most recent episode of this was in December 1992, when a whole plane load of 'West Indian' tourists, arriving at one of London's airports, were refused entry into Britain. They were sent back to Jamaica because 'every Tom, Dick and Harry' wanted 'to come here' on a pretence, and they had no legal right to live in Britain, though they were black British citizens (*The Times* 27.12.93:1-2). Some politicians regarded this repatriation as a racist act while others dismissed it as natural - a way of allaying the fear of 'being swamped' by people from a different culture. (Thatcher, as quoted in *The Times* 01.02.78). This language as used by Mrs. Thatcher seems emotive and is similar to the British National Front perspectives that equate the rising unemployment to the rising number of the ethnic minorities. There might be some other issues within British politics and other social issues but, as Gordon and King (1985) pointed out, this statement appears to have been one of the weapons that won her the premiership at the general election of the following year. A National Opinion Poll taken after this interview showed that the Tories had overturned a 2% lead by Labour and were now ahead by 11% (p.47). The argument here could then be one in which the members of the ethnic minorities population were being used as scapegoats for the existent problems in British society, such as unemployment; minority groups may be perceived as polarised:

- i. extra group or additional burden
- ii. idle
- iii. work for less than the union rate.

Similar dichotomies of opinion exist in the area of special needs in education. Although the procedures for statementing children include the use of intelligence and psychometric tests, the contents tend to be bound by language and culture; and the process is sometimes alien to the children. The result of which some writers like Coard (1971) have argued as 'natural' as accounting for the large numbers of black children who were being sent to Educationally Sub-normal (ESN) schools (2). Their inability to be fluent in the English language could be regarded as being mistaken for intellectual potential and as such they tend to be branded as being backward within the English education system. The documentation of this disparity appears to have begun over a quarter of a century ago when writers like Coard (1971) and other educationalists, argued that the British system of education tends to fail black children by condemning them to special educational units because they are underachieving educationally in comparison to their English peers (Coard, 1971:5-12).

Coard was assessing the system and not just the individuals within the system. Although there is research evidence that shows that there are some differences within the minority groups and that certain Asian groups e.g Gujarati and Punjabi do extremely well academically (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996), the government's response which came later through Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985), appears to be based on similar findings of low performance among the 'West Indian' children and some other ethnic minorities e.g Bangladeshi. In support of this argument, research findings like that of Swann (1985) highlight many factors affecting the education of the minority group. The base line of their findings seems to show that there are some disparities in the tests scores between the ethnic minority and other groups (The Two Kingdoms: Standards and Concerns Parent and Schools, Brent Council Report, 1986).

The questions that could be asked here seem to include many things like: What type of education are the children receiving? How is this being transmitted to the children? Who are the role models for these children? How are the children assessed? What expectations do teachers have about black children's performances? Is the school preparing these children for the world of work? These seem to be fundamental issues that demand a good deal of clarification through research analysis and debates. There are, however, those who see British education as providing the best education possible for the black children - as in Multicultural education. Other writers like Troyna (1993) have suggested the raising of people's awareness of what racism is as the best way forward rather than multicultural education. In support of Troyna (1993), I will argue that the policy of multicultural education tends to operate within a system that has already condemned black children to a life of failure. Any system that starts from this premise of 'failure' of black people could not be regarded as a fair system - a failure that arises from the system and the implementation of policies within the system. There is a series of questions that multicultural education generates, i.e. How are the blacks' views being represented? Are the black people being involved in the planning and the implementation of the curriculum? Who are the people delivering the curriculum? What are the whites' perceptions of the black children? Is the curriculum adequate in cultural terms or is it tokenistic? Is it another way of 'controlling' the black people and their interests? etc. There have been several debates on these issues and other related ones in which writers, i.e. Troyna (1993) and others stated that children are affected by the type of education they receive. These effects are not just educational; they are also social and psychological in nature, the manifestations of which tend to be in many different forms (Coard 1971).

The result of these effects has generated within the community a spectrum of effects such as militancy, friendship and inter-marriages, separation and self-help groups one of which is the effort of the black people to set up Supplementary Schools to assist in catering for their children's educational, social and psychological development. The programmes in the mainstream school tend to be seen as failing the children because of their negative and patronizing way of representing the culture of the black children. Studies that have explored

the provisions in the mainstream education in Britain include Bernard Coard's research published as 'How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British System' (1971). His work revealed the tacit theories of the deficiencies and disabilities of black children. He argued that the provisions made:

ensure no changes in the social hierarchy and abundant unskilled labour...the school prepares black children for the society's future unskilled and ill-paid jobs.

Coard (1971:35 - 36).

He went on to conclude that this is 'the reason why so many black children are being dumped in the Educationally Sub- Normal (ESN) schools, secondary moderns, the lowest stream of comprehensive schools, and 'Bussed' and 'Banded' about the school system' (3). [See Tomlinson (1981) and House of Commons Select Committee Report 1973 Education Volume 2. *Evidence on 'Immigrants in Special schools'*. p. 2-3].

Although there is no research that shows if this is a deliberate or conscious action by the teachers who made the referrals from the mainstream schools, the analysis by Coard (1971) seems to suggest the attendance of black children in the ESN schools as that of social engineering by the ruling class (Arlene Cameron, Catford County Girls' School, 1968). This analysis made by Coard (1971) generated very many responses within the black community and in the main system as a whole. The black community appears to have understood in a more detailed form what they have always feared, i.e. that their children are not receiving equal treatment in schools like other children.

Coard (1971) argues that:

even though immigrants comprise nearly 17 per cent of the normal school population, nearly 34 per cent of the ESN school population is immigrant. And four out of every five immigrant children in the ESN schools are male West Indian.

Coard (1971:5).

In addition to this large number of children in the ESN programme, the mainstream school curriculum itself is limiting in nature. Coard (1971) and other writers have argued and pointed out that the identity of the black child is denied daily in the classroom. These tend to occur in different ways, i.e:

- i) The bias in the curriculum structures and contents.
- ii) Subjects seem to be designed in favour of promoting the cultural background of the whites as superior when compared to that of the blacks.
- iii) It tends to ignore black children's history, culture and identity and it places emphasis on that of the whites, especially on their achievements.
- iv) The language used by the school is standard English and the cultural content in the school curriculum tends to favour the whites.
- v) Creoles and Pidgins were not available to West Indian children in the UK school system. In effect, on first contact Creole English languages may appear to children as quite separate from standard English.

The result of the factors above could affect the children psychologically and the psychological effect could be serious. If a child is bombarded daily by the news media, books, a school system of streaming, banding, bussing, and a white middle class curriculum all reinforcing the image that she/he is inferior, the tendency is for him or her to think and accept that she/he is inferior. Therefore, it could be argued that it will affect their academic achievements at school as well as affecting their personal and social development. This could make the child become defensive so that they assert themselves negatively within the system or exhibit 'act out' in silent retreat.

There have been attempts to integrate black children into the English system through different programmes including multicultural education, language support groups, etc. However, the children's development as a whole and their home backgrounds tend to be viewed in negative terms. Although one could argue that the majority of teachers tend to do a good job with children under their care, the school as a system tended to see black children's home language as deficient and their home background as not equipped to provide the backing they need. Most of these programmes tend to patronize the culture and the home background of the black child. *The Guardian* (10.3.81) reviewing 'The mixture as before' expressed concern regarding this patronising attitude. In a report of their findings the review stated that 'schools have carried on teaching as though multi-ethnic Britain never happened' and that 'three quarters of schools with few or no minority ethnic group students expressed similar views'. The report revealed that for the majority of these schools, teaching relevant to multi-ethnic groups was 'limited to R.E.'. Part of the curriculum includes visiting Hindu temples, serving Indian curry dishes during Diwali festival and so on. Although these could be part of what is in the cultural make up of the ethnic minority, a visit to a temple or the eating of a particular dish tends not to provide a whole experience that will change the attitude of an individual towards another cultural group; indeed this may encourage jealousy as in 'stole the money left the culture'.

i.ii. Personal experiences

There has been little progress since 1981. My experience at parents' evenings in preparation for an OFSTED (4) inspection of a school in Stevenage could be cited as an example here. The inspector asked the parents present at the meeting a series of prepared questions about the school and its organisation, the curriculum, discipline, homework and so on, but nothing about the demographic nature of the school or the community or the parent representatives that evening. Issues about a multiracial community were left out and when I raised the issue, his reply was that OFSTED are considering a modification to include such issues. He did not answer my question as to why it had not been acknowledged in the first place. This OFSTED

inspector possibly did not consider this as important, since this is a white British community, and the school he is coming to inspect is a white dominated one. However, if the interest of all children is what the inspection is about, and since there are children attending who are not from white family backgrounds, then there is a need to ask questions about black children and how they are coping within the mainstream education. His not asking, and the fact of not including this in his questionnaire are not just acts of omission, but could be argued as an illustration of the response that blacks receive from the white dominated society. This response could be regarded as 'institutionalized' racism - a situation that tends to arise not just out of the conscious or the unconscious intentions and attitudes of an individual but that which tends to involve one cultural group making value judgements of another. [see Troyna (1993), Adorno et al. (1950), and Allport (1954)]. When a whole system does this, it tends to be engrained in the political and social structures of that society. Hall (1980), writing on this type of response, characterises it as 'inferential' racism, from the covert acts of indifference and omission. This, he argues, manifests itself through the stereotypes and basic assumptions being held about the other group of people - the blacks. Individuals and their actions, it could therefore be argued, are not independent from the history and social structures in which they exist but can be better understood when viewed against the political and economical situations of the society involving the issues of power and control. On the other hand, individuals may experience racism differently and this is where the works of Adorno et al. (1950) and Allport (1954) becomes useful. According to Allport, racism is a form of prejudice. This, according to him, is an attitude that is justified by the belief one has about the other. The example he gave about attitude - 'I can't stand black people' and the underlying belief that regards 'black people as dirty' (p193) seem appropriate here. It can then be argued from his example that for an attitude to continue, there must be a negative belief concerning the individual or the group. Consequently, if one's belief changes about an individual or a group due to new information, then there are possibilities for one's attitude to change. This argument seems plausible, but it appears not to account for the continuance of the negative view of the blacks by the whites throughout their 3-400 years of being in contact with one another. I am going to use some personal illustrations to elaborate on this.

When I look back to my experience in Britain so far, it tends to be difficult for me to pinpoint what racism is (i.e what I have experienced because I am not a white person in white dominated British society), and what is a result of my own making or other people's stereotypes about a black person. My personal experiences below illustrate the difficulty that arises in trying to define racism and how to clarify an individual's experiences of racism. I would argue that my educational background before coming to Britain possibly gave me an edge over the majority of blacks who came to England in the 1950s - a period that marks the beginning of an increase in numbers of the black people in Britain (5). Therefore, the degree and nature of my relationship might be different. Also, there could be some differences between my own experiences and that of those who were born here and grew up in Britain. Carby (1982) described the British system as seeing 'West Indian' children as 'problems', that are to be resolved within the system through segregation, as in the *Educationally Subnormal children in Coard* (1971).

Writers like Coard (1971), Cashmore (1987), Miles (1989), Troyna (1993) and others have pointed out different types of racism. Some arise from an individual's ignorance about the culture of the black people, and some could be linked with the relationship that has been created and encouraged since the first contacts between black and white people. The first experience that I will use here is the relationship that developed between my supervisor and myself during my Master's degree course in Durham. I came to England on a British Council grant to do this course on a secondment from the school of which I used to be the Head teacher in Nigeria. The politics of my school changed during my absence, and my appointment was terminated. I became powerless and saw myself at the mercy of the British Council because the grant stipulated my returning to Nigeria to resume work. My supervisor wrote a letter of commendation and after a discussion with the Head of School in Durham, stated that they would ensure that I completed my course, even if the British Council decided not to fund me. This statement was a support and it empowered me throughout my Master's course.

Another positive experience within the educational system was my admission into a post - graduate certificate in education at the Bretton Hall College of Higher Education. After completing my application form with the Graduate Teachers' Training Registry, I did not know the procedure for obtaining a grant or whether I was even eligible, since the British Council had only sponsored me the year before. On the receipt of my application, the Principal of the College rang me to enquire about my grant status as a Nigerian: I told him that I was not sure about my being eligible; he rang the North Yorkshire education authority to enquire on my behalf and I was able to get a grant. These two incidents seem to illustrate the maximising of support that is available within the British system, by the people who know and understand the system to empower me as an individual.

In contrast to these two examples is my third illustration from the place of my first appointment in Britain. I had an interview with the Head Teacher after my probationary year as a teacher. The reply of the Head Teacher when I asked him about promotional prospects in his school was that I should shop around if I wanted promotion. At first I took this to mean that there was a scarcity of posts available in the school and in my subject area; but after being in the school for six years and with the growth within the school, it appears as if other staff members, all Caucasians, had been strategically placed to receive a higher pay scale than myself. There were others who had only been there just over a year and had been promoted in one way or the other and had even been told to make careers out of the responsibility that had been given to them. One of them had been sent on a related course that I had been asking to go on for the last three years. Though the Head of the school that I teach in has denied his not liking me, the above facts suggest that he has used his position of authority to deny me access to any promotion because of my ethnicity. When I have discussed my contributions to the school in terms of writing proposals for the way forward on the issues of developing an education for all (see appendices 1 and 2), his response was that I should look after the 'black interest' in the school. I vehemently objected to this since I was employed not on the basis of my being black, but of my qualification and performance at the interview. His asking me to look after 'black interests' in the school seems interesting; it appears to be based on the 'human

nature' philosophy of one's 'instincts' to look after one's 'own kind' (6), in a co-educational comprehensive school with 800 students of which 18 are from black ethnic minority; and a teaching staff strength of 62, out of which 3 are from the black ethnic minority, four white male in the senior management, 7 part-time staff with 5 female of whom one was born in India but has lived in Britain since she was 10 years old and 19 ancillary staff - all white (Teaching Staff list, 1998). When I have discussed this with others, they tend to say that he might be seeing me as a threat because of my being black and having more qualifications (Masters degree) than most others. The argument that could be put forward here is that he has used his position to suppress my career development in his school. This Troyna (1993) regards as an aspect of institutionalized racism. When this same Head at the school in which I teach was approached with my proposal for this research work, his statement that I should pursue a course in economics or administration reflect the inconsistency of such racist arguments and perhaps fears about the suggested topics. Though his suggestion sounds helpful, I tend to regard it as a way of putting me off from pursuing (my) black interests. Quite contrary to this, I am the more convinced than ever that this study is essential.

What I am hoping to achieve in this study is to examine the education of black children from a different perspective - of a black person who was trained as an educationalist outside Britain - and to open up a debate on the response of the black community to the education of their children. I see the study as a way of developing my own career on the lines of my area of interest, i.e. personal development and black children. I also see it as part of the whole, the struggles of the black people to liberate themselves from the 'modern day slavery' - a relationship that developed from the colonial past. My hope is that this study will empower black people to see the needs of their children and to contribute more to the education of their children. I am not saying here that they have not been contributing; on the contrary they have contributed out of their meager resources. Whereas the German, Italian, Greek Cypriot and Church - maintained Supplementary Saturday Schools in Britain are all being sponsored by their home governments and the Japanese, South Korean and Chinese governments finance schools for the children of their diplomats, Supplementary Schools for the black children of

African - Caribbean origin tend to be run by parents and teachers on a voluntary basis with little or no help from any government agencies. This sometimes is of their own design aiming to prevent the claws of colonial clerical ideas of 'supremacy' from creeping in to take control and mastermind what the government wants. On the other hand, it appears to give the black peoples' endeavours value and a sense of achievement.

Many writers like Miles (1989), Troyna (1993) and studies conducted by Cashmore and Troyna (1987) point out that racism exists in the British system (i.e in education) against black people. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to examine this and to validate black people's contribution to the educational development of their children which could help develop a triangular relationship between education, understanding and power. There seems to be the need for this, to counteract the elements of racism as analysed by Cashmore and Troyna (1987) i.e race, domination and power.

i.iii. The research questions

Writers such as Coard (1971), Carby (1982), Miles (1981), Troyna (1993) examined racism in relationship to how it occurs and how it affects black children in Britain, while on the other hand research like Dacosta (1988) provided a sociological dimension when it examined the ideology and practice within the black Supplementary School movement and concluded that:

the central concern of the movement is to resist incorporation
as an underclass and maintain hegemony of the dominant strata in
British society.

Dacosta, (1988:p ii),

in other words a resistance to remain in an underclass because of racism. However, black parents and some mixed-race parents consider that in contemporary UK society their children are being held back because of colour. For these and more specific reasons some religious

groups have started Supplementary educational projects. Examples are the John Loughborough School and the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project.

This research is concerned with an examination of the community initiatives amongst the Croydon community, where there is a large population of black people. An exploration of Supplementary Schools as an alternative education in Croydon is of central importance to the study. This study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. what Supplementary schools are,
2. why black people set up Supplementary schools,
3. the development of Supplementary Schools in Britain.

A number of Supplementary questions to follow are:

4. what the aims of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project are,
5. how the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project is being organised,
6. the development and the future of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project.

i.iv. The Research aims

Original research work in this field such as Dacosta (1988) which analysed the status quo ten years ago focused on the sociological aspects of racism and asserted that Black Supplementary schools are established as a resistance to racism; this study aims to examine this claim and extend it to:

- contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the development of Supplementary Schools in Britain,
- focus and provide evidence on the management, the organisation and the curriculum of a Supplementary School,
- collect a body of data through a qualitative approach to research

data collection,

- analyse data by a triangulation of the four responses from students, parents, providers and the community.

i.v. Method of inquiry

As I have said, each individual's experience of racism and its effects are personal and different. Therefore, in order to elicit data pertaining to answering the research questions, the researcher will try to choose and defend the choice of the following methodology.

Essentially qualitative approach to data collection was used in this research during which:

- information about the students', teachers', Directors', parents' and other people's perceptions in the community were collected,
- participants were observed and interviews were carried out on the school premises and at people's homes to collect data from the participants.

This approach enabled the researcher to collect a detailed description of how different individuals were experiencing and perceiving what was going on in the school and their relationships to the school and other participants.

The data is then categorised and triangulated by examining the perceptions of the different participants in Croydon Supplementary School on the following subjects:

- the mission and purposes of the school,
- the school as a community,
- the curriculum, pedagogy and outcomes; where these last can be categorised,
- the management, organisation and finance.

The participants were given the opportunity to comment upon these perceptions as documented by the researcher.

i.vi. Structure of Thesis

The thesis is divided into five parts, each containing a set of chapters. Part one sets the background to the study and the rationale to the study including research questions and the aims of the research; also the concerns of the black community and the education of their children in Britain. Part two is an examination of the development of the Black Supplementary Schools from the early years of the 1960s to 1990s, together with a critical survey of the relevant literature on Black Supplementary schooling in Britain. Part three is a rationale for the methodology underpinning the study as well as a detailed explanation of the methods of inquiry and the procedures used. The results of the study are presented in part four and discussed in part five. The concluding chapter in part five provides a critical analysis of the data and an overview. It also considers the implications of the study of the mainstream schools as well as the future of Supplementary Schools and of future research in this field.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

1. i. Cause for concern

The evidence collected from a school leavers survey, from six Local Education Authorities (LEAs) with a large ethnic minority on roll, showed that 'West Indian children, *as a group* are under-achieving in our education system' (Rampton, 1981:10) (1). Linking this conclusion to some earlier reports such as Rose (1969) which saw the black community as a problem to Britain, it seemed to justify the suspicion and cynicism (Rampton, 1981:3) with which the 'West Indian' community received the report. The reason for the underachievement, claimed Rose (1969:36), is because they are simply not behaving themselves, learning their lessons and passing their examinations and therefore declared, 'Children of West Indian parents, the largest of all immigrant groups, have been a source of bafflement, embarrassment and despair in educational system'. Concerned people, especially those familiar with the willingness of those of African Caribbean descent to subscribe to school norms and to demonstrate their ability by passing examinations in the Caribbean islands, wanted to know why and this has led to further investigation in this area of underachievement.

Such reports and the concern of the black community groups generated much debate amongst the 'West Indian' community in the London area about the education of their children in the 1960s and the 1970s. However Coard's (1971) research results on the West Indian Children and Special Educational provisions in the form of Educationally Sub-Normal (E.S.N) schools, provided the black community with evidence about the educational status of their children as not achieving their potential within British mainstream education. The paradox is that it is happening in an educational system that the parents, as products of colonialism, have traditionally considered as superior.

Earlier, the black community had been made to believe that the 'special' education was to provide their children with better education within mainstream schools. In the opening Chapter, Coard (1971) listed five main points that he wanted to bring to the attention of West Indian parents:

1. There are very large number of our West Indian children in school for the Educational Subnormal - which is what ESN means.
2. These children have been wrongly placed there.
3. Once placed in these schools, the vast majority never get out and return to normal schools.
4. They suffer academically and in their job prospects for life because of being put in these schools.
5. The authorities are doing very little to stop this scandal.

Coard's (1971) focus was in examining what makes black people become a disadvantaged group, and was the first to inform the black community that their children were being sent to Educational Sub-normal (E.S.N) schools in London and that three out of the four 'immigrant' children in E.S.N. schools were from the Caribbean. They were also in the majority in 'Maladjusted' schools. These revelations shocked both the white establishment and the black community. Such results of Coard's research exploded the myth of education for 'equal opportunity' - the backbone of the 1944 Education Act. His conclusion revealed the practices implicit in theories of the deficiencies and disabilities of black students. Writing about the displacement caused in British class structure he wrote:

Thus the one way to ensure no changes in the social hierarchy and abundant unskilled labour is to adopt and adapt the education system to meet the needs of the situation: to prepare our children for the society's future unskilled and ill-paid jobs. It is in this perspective that we can come to appreciate why so many of our Black children are being dumped in ESN schools, secondary moderns, the lowest streams of comprehensive schools, and 'Bussed' and 'Banded' about the school system.

Coard (1971:35-36).

Coard's book made an intervention in educational debate and gave black parents an understanding of what was happening to their children in British schools. Until then many black parents had been led to believe, by head teachers and local education authorities, that special education was 'special' in the sense of giving their children additional educational advantages to succeed. Also, he argued that this system of 'dumping' black students into the Educationally Sub-Normal schools, is a way to ensure an abundant supply of unskilled labour. The outcome of Coard's results drew the attention of both black community and educationalists.

It could therefore be argued that amongst other concerns about the academic performance of 'West Indian' students, Coard's (1971) report led to the government's first major research into the education of black children titled the Rampton Report (1981) *West Indian children in our schools*, the interim report of the Committee of inquiry into the Education of children from Ethnic Minority groups. It was set up 'to review the educational need and attainment of children from ethnic minority - with particular attention to West Indian children' (DES 1981:1).

The statement cited earlier from the Rampton committee report about the underachievement of 'West Indians' was nothing new to the black community. What the parents of this group wanted to know was what causes this increase of underachievement in Britain and how to address it. The term underachievement seems a relatively crude term as used by this report relating to differences in group averages, without identifying what might be occurring or available within each group. In this, the report makes underachievement generic to a particular group - 'West Indians', and thus made this group worse than others. However, the result from Rampton's (1981) report identified the length of education in Britain, social deprivation, linguistic handicaps, teachers' expectations and the self image of the child as the contributing factors to their underachievement. Such factors are not new because they appear similar to what many studies identified when research is carried out on students from 'working class' backgrounds. However, what is different is that the Report acknowledged racism as one of the

factors contributing to underachievement. Here class and race become the factors that are affecting the education of black students in Britain. Also, there is the issue of how students from black ethnic groups relate to school and how the school relates to them. These issues will be examined in this Chapter, whilst at the same time looking at the effects on and the responses from the black community.

1. ii. The Problem in Context

The word 'education', Henry (1979) argues, has an everyday meaning of 'formal education at school'. In this, no matter what some liberalists might argue about 'deschooling', e.g. taking children away from schools, formal education is dominant in Britain. Henry (1979) claims, that the word 'formal' sometimes leads people to underestimate the importance of the profound education children and young adults receive outside school. In his opinion, the distinction between formal education at school and informal education is crucial in any analysis of the education of black children in modern Britain.

The development of formal schooling in Britain was closely related to the class structure. According to Henry (1979) the British education system still performs an important role in safeguarding class interests and the status quo. Also, Shibutani and Kwan (1965) in referring to systems of stratification, observed:

Power comes from control over the educational system. Dominant groups defend their ascendancy through differential education.

Shibutani and Kwan (1965).

An analysis of the social structure that exists in Britain could not be done in isolation without examining the social structures in the modern industrial societies. Durkheim (1933) locates the principal structural process as that of the division of labour. In this, when everybody is doing

what they 'ought' to be doing in their own division, everything tends to work well and each worker works to complement the others. The system is thus friction free, functional for most persons and developmentalist and everyone can move up the structural ladder without any problem. When this is not occurring the society is seen as anomalous or pathological. This seems an ideal situation but it does not withstand the rigours of the class reality that exists in the industrialised western world. Durkheim's analysis does not distinguish the different class, privileges and the distribution of power that goes with a class division of labour.

In order to have a complete perspective on social structures within the industrialised western societies, there is the need to examine class structures. The use of class structure in the description of what goes on in western societies tends to be one that is derived from Karl Marx. According to this usage social class derives from humans' relationship to the means of production. It is argued that on the one hand, this leads to an economic structure based upon the creation, expropriation and distribution of surplus value produced by workers who have sold their labour power. On the other hand, it is argued that the use of social class in this format leads to an account of the sociological development of social classes as 'classes for themselves' existing as principal historical agents in the transition from one stage to another which seems to emanate from Trade Union consciousness, not Socialist consciousness. This sort of class analysis is based on the recognition of the fact that different interests exist from differential control of property within a capitalist mode of economy. This differential control of property tends to produce different market situations in which each party seeks to maintain their own interests.

In this, Marxian maxim is that the dominant ideas are invariably the ideas of the ruling classes. Certain strata in society develop educational systems such as private public schools continuing to provide education for the ruling class - i.e.: those who were able to pay - who received the education that prepared them for dominant positions in society. However, the working class merely received from the elementary schools that which would make them available for service in the capitalist system. As Sarup (1986) points out education is a mode of production

involving pupils and teachers, and knowledge is both private property and cultural 'capital'. One in which schools are factories and schooling becomes a forum for indoctrination to fit children passively into the acceptance of an ideology that keeps them 'democratically in place'. For all children that come to accept this view, or at least do not struggle against it, there is ritual certification (Sarup, 1986:82).

This general view is further asserted in the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), who see the role of the school as reproducing the class structure and serving the capitalist mode of production. In their assessment, British 'real' education caters for the minority elites who leave the education system to enter leadership positions. In contrast, by the nature of the education received by the working class majority, they are only fit for low-status, un-skilled jobs such as factory workers. The majority of young people, claimed Bowles and Gintis (1976), were being alienated in the school system, in preparation for similar roles that they would take at the work place where they would have no control, power, status or genuine responsibilities in the process of production (1) nor would they have any great share in the products they made.

Similarly on this class analysis, Ogbu (1978) presented another perspective. Though not writing on the education of black children but on the employment opportunities for the Blacks in Britain, Ogbu provides a fuller picture of black children as objects of discrimination when he concludes that limitations imposed on achievement and success exist outside the class dynamics already in operation. His argument is that the racial caste system is the basic determinant of social structure and economic class is secondary. One could conclude from this that a black person might have the same credentials as a white person, but the latter gets a job, or university admission (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996:78) more easily and faster than the former. Even when given the same job, Ogbu (1978) stated that black professionals tend not to be accorded the same status as the whites in British society. He divided the system into different strata of high, middle and low. Black people according to Ogbu (1978) tend to be lower when compared with the whites in the same stratum. Also, Ogbu (1978) stated that within each caste

exist economic classes, yet the caste relationship tends to determine the quality of life chances among the members of the various classes comprised in the caste.

Though this caste analysis sheds light on the continuity of the impoverishment of black people in Britain, I would like to argue that class issue is not a clean cut case. Even though a black person might have monetary wealth like a white person, the treatment of both will not be the same in a society that adapts its social institutions to accommodate white empowerment above blacks. Extending further the argument of this colour caste system in Britain, Ogbu (1978) seems to have considered it as one that is not upheld by any formal law, as in the case of pre-1993 South Africa's apartheid system, but one in which white men, women and children tend to be regarded and considered as superior to black people within the same economic class and occupational or educational status. Ogbu (1978) discussed the caste system, and it is one that should be deplored in any civilised society, by stating that the unequal treatment that a black person tends to receive generates discontentment and frustration. This frustration and discontentment could be said to have arisen because of the non meeting of the expectations and hopes that black people tend to experience in the British education system.

Equality of opportunity in education therefore becomes an elusive goal - a point repeatedly made by the Crowther Report (1959), the Newsom and Robbins Reports (1963) and the Plowden Report (1967). Black people in Britain are concentrated in the working class, if not also forming a special 'underclass' characterised by economic insecurity - as shown by Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P) Reports on race relations. Moreover, black people have been channelled into living in the twilight zones of major cities by processes (adequately) explained by Rex and Moore (1967).

In conjunction with this, the worst schools with built-in obstacles to educational achievement were traditionally located in such areas. The student passing G.C.S.E.'s (General Certificate of Secondary Education) at such schools is an exception. Although Gillborn and Gipps' (1996) research review of achievement indicates an overall improvement in GCSE achievement for all

students during the 1990s, the data from Birmingham LEA indicates a drop in African Caribbean students gaining five or more GCSEs higher grade (A*-C) when compared with their White and Asian peers. (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996:22).

Other educationalist have investigated the problem faced by working class children trying to make it through Grammar School and the effect this socialisation has on them. They found that teachers in general have certain expectations of children based on spurious evidence. And yet, it is not uncommon for bright working class students who are able to 'play the game' to win through (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996. Chapter 4). Some of the problems being faced by this group have been documented in some qualitative research work. These indications are apparent in the longitudinal study led by Barbara Tizard for the Thomas Coram Research Unit in 1982. Examining the progress of a group of 5-year-old (277 African Caribbean and white children from 33 London nursery to infant school) she found that black parents received less feedback about their children's progress and literacy than white parents. This neglect of giving feedback to children in the mainstream schools, according to black teachers, parents and students interviewed, seems to have resulted in a lack of motivation and a loss of confidence among students.

Wright (1985) focused on the experience of Year 10 and 11 African-Caribbean students from two schools situated in the North of England. Her ethnographic studies of a 900 hours investigation include an analysis and an examination of the processes used in these schools to assess students' academic potential.

The result obtained in Wright's (1985:12) research shows that students tend to see the school system as a hostile environment and a battleground because it rejects their colour and identity and as a result had to continually reassert themselves. The reassertion of self appears to be perceived as bad behaviour by the mainstream teachers. Students in this same research, claimed that if there is any bad behaviour at all, it is a response to bad treatment and not, as their teachers claimed, a result of underachievement. (Wright, 1985:16). It could therefore be

argued that the students believed the school system to be biased by the white teachers' attitude, behaviour and low expectation. (Wright, 1985:17)

Thus, there is for these students living proof that the route from poor homes into the professions is not possible. Such experiences are well documented by Musgrove (1964). The above factors could explain the high failure rate in schools situated in working class areas and the fact that some working class students can and do succeed in getting into the professions and the high status occupations. But they do not explain the disproportionate academic failure rate and of the children of African Caribbean parents and their alienation from school norms.

For if social class were used as the common factor, there would be little or no difference between the success / failure rate of working class and black students. This is because the overwhelming majority of blacks in Britain are working class. However, where distinction is made both by the Rampton and Swann Reports and other research on the achievement of 'ethnic' minorities by Gillborn and Gipps (1996), there is a vast difference in failure rates between white working class and black students and even within those students categorised as black from similar backgrounds. The research review by Gillborn and Gipps (1996) focused on both primary, secondary and post secondary opportunities. After analysing recent research, African Caribbean students were found to 'have not shared equally in the increasing rates of educational achievement: in many LEAs their average achievements are significantly lower than other groups' (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996:2). It is in this that the part played by race becomes important.

The presence of black 'immigrants' competing with white people on British soil highlights the racism embedded in the dominant culture after 400 years of colonial and imperial domination (See Makinde, 1998) (2). This has taken place in all the major institutional orders (as Henry (1979) states, the idea of a black Prime Minister or General Manager of British Leyland is still a joke) - and there is no reason why schools should be an exception. With the globalisation of industries (merging to become multi-national in their operation), the idea of 'international

racism' (Sarup, 1991:35) becomes apparent. In this capitalists move 'to wherever there is cheap labour' - to oppress the workers of the so-called 'Third World'.

In attempts to identify and analyse the reasons for the relative educational failure amongst black children in Britain, the result and conclusions are fully documented in the vast number of reports and literature available. These may be summarised as follows:

- i. Socio-economic factors
- ii. Family structure
- iii. Cultural factors
- iv. Language use and deficiencies
- v. Self-esteem
- vi. Family discord
- vii. Institutionalised racism
- viii. Misrepresentation / under-representation of black models.

However, it is probably more important to look at developments within the black community itself in the effort to understand and appreciate the emergence of the Supplementary schools in Britain.

1. iii. Linking the past with the present

As Henry (1979) observes, during the past 25 years there has been a systematic dismantling of the old colonial order and an exposure of the ideas that justified the system of racial exploitation. The expansion of socialist ideologies in Third World countries struggling to become independent and the emergence of 'Black Power' in the United States of America (USA) have provided people with important analytical tools to address the previously taken-for-granted world order. They discovered that formal education was not only cognitive but

also evaluative and affective. To learn a language and to receive an education in it amounted to inheriting a world and accepting it as a normative, sacred order. To receive a British education was to see the world through British eyes even if you belonged to a group considered inferior by the British. For a black person to absorb uncritically such an education and to internalise its values, was to learn to live a lie and hold in contempt those things most characteristic of her/his self and her/his people.

Progressively and as information became available African Caribbean people began to be more analytical of what has gone on in the past and what is happening in the present. They began to re-learn and correct western concepts of African history such as:

- ... places in Africa were thought to be non-existent until they were 'discovered' by the Europeans, (for example Columbus 'discovered' America and Mungo Park 'found' the Niger).
- History based on the archaeological excavation of the areas around the Niger river in Africa, shows that there were civilisations around this area before, and at the time, of the European contact. Some of these civilisations include the empires of Mali, Songhai, Yoruba, etc., and cultures such as that of the Nok people in Northern Nigeria.

Similar to the conceptions being held above, when European explorers first saw the remains of some of the ruins of these African kingdoms, like the Wall in Zimbabwe, according to Birch (1986), they believed that they must have been built by a non-African civilisation. Therefore, examining such issues as listed above encourage a positive assessment of Africa and its people. The Africa continent started to become not as savage and 'dark' as was often portrayed, slavery was not a salvation but a loss, and the struggle for freedom has never been given up, concessions were won and seldom granted, with 'race' itself as an empty category. To learn all these outside school, in contradiction to what is being taught there, is to lose faith in that institution.

A response to this could be for African Caribbean people to reject the form of education defined as 'British' and fall back to the resources that provide an analytical view as above, and to be in search for new reference groups and norms. Given that some of these still exist in the structure and culture of British schools, in effect white schools, black children run the risks in depending on 'them' for total education (3), in depending for approval of people who 'don't understand'.

Such could be argued was the conclusion the majority of black people came to, and hence the growing acceptance with varying understanding of 'Rastafarianism', 'African Socialism', 'Nation of Islam' and 'Black Power' among black people both in Britain and in America. Also it could be argued that Black people started to define themselves and associate with these ideas which could be regarded as way of rejecting the subtle political and cultural indoctrination inherent in British education.

Garrison (1977) in his study on Rastafarianism and black identity acknowledges the crisis facing educationalists as there is a shift in this self-concept of black people and demands for a new approach. In the past the mono-ethnic educational approach to mixed classes of black and white pupils positively discriminated against minority cultures with the consequential effects on the black student. Garrison concurs with evidence which suggests that the ethnocentric nature of the British system with its accent on assimilation helped to undermine the black student's self-image and self-confidence. Addressing this added to the teachers' 'culture of blame' of black students (Wright, 1986:130). It could be suggested this has exacerbated 'deeply felt conflict' between white teachers and black pupils (Mac an Ghail, 1988). The view above is reinforced by government reports (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985) which also focused on the negative view of black pupils of being disadvantaged by broken homes and pathological family structures (Mac an Ghail, 1988, Chapter 2). This self fulfilling prophecy could be argued as a contributing factor to the lowering performance of African Caribbean students in British school. This is succinctly argued by Garrison (1977) when he stated that the

assimilationist approach militates against the black student and reinforces her/his already insecure identity through a combination of the following forces:

- i. ... the mono-ethnic learning material;
- ii. the bias of the teacher against the black child's own cultural values by ignoring and ridiculing them;
- iii. demeaning racial stereotypes presented in books and held by society at large;
- iv. intelligence testing based on mono-ethnic and culturally biased concepts;
- v. failure of teaching staff to reflect the multi-ethnicity of the population;
- vi. low expectations fostered by teachers and producing low levels of achievement by the black student;
- vii. ignorance of emotional and psychological needs;
- viii. intolerance to linguistic difference and difficulties.

Although some of these factors might be affecting most students (both black and white) it is not surprising therefore to find black students (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996) today who have passed through the school system, have underachieved and are totally unequipped to face the tough competitive urban society in which they live. The effects of this could be manifold and could be suggested as contributing factors to frustration and despair of the black young adults in the inner cities.

Garrison (1977) goes on to argue that confrontations between the law enforcement agencies and black young adults are physical manifestations of the tension in the relationships between black people, especially the younger ones and the inequalities within mainstream system. Such conflicts are similar to the ones in the America ghettos of the 1960's and could be regarded as expressions of the rise of new consciousness amongst black people in Britain.

This new consciousness could be argued as a replacement for and an enticement from the cultural rejection and indifference to the black young adult by British mainstream society: one that has been necessitated by their loss of trust and faith in the system. Focussing on the failure of black students appears a lack of appreciation of their capacity and potential and could make the student feel a failure and to turn inward. As Garrison (1977) observes, such situations could make individuals find sources of inspiration and to seek communal solidarity. Though the majority of black students are born in Britain and have known no other culture, such experiences as elucidated above makes them feel like outsiders.

1. iv. The way forward

Examining the above, it is seductive to be engulfed by the hopelessness of the situation. However, further examinations seem to provide some hope for the way forward; though it might be little it is growing. Analysing a number of the recommendations in the Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) Reports, the Spring (1985) edition of the Caribbean Teachers Association Newsletter, the Caribbean Teachers Association fully endorses the Swann Committee's view that the so-called underachievement of students of 'West Indian' descent represents a failure of the education system to cater for a multi-cultural society and to counter racism in all its forms in education. On the other hand, the Caribbean Teachers Association is concerned that the report failed to analyse racism in sufficient detail to show the effect of different kinds of racism on different ethnic groups.

The Government, Local Education Authorities and schools must all respond with urgency, rather than paying lip-service. It is not just a question of sitting back and waiting for attitudes to change, as such positions could be regarded as 'silent racism' (Mukherjee, 1984:5-8): it demands action. Such action, these teachers' Association suggest, is for the government to make a commitment and direct resources to fund the development of 'anti-racist' materials and strategies. Although 'anti-racist' is being used loosely here, it is a new dimension to Swann's

recommendation, which has had both success and failure at the school level (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996).

Also, some of the Swann Report (1985) reiterated some of the recommendations made earlier over the years by the Caribbean Teachers Association with little response. These include:

- i. All schools, including those which are 'all white' should have policies on racism and monitor their implementation.
- ii. The collection of ethnic origin data and monitoring with education in order to provide systematic information.
- iii. Urgent action to be taken to overcome the racist obstacles to the employment and promotion of 'Afro Caribbean'.

The Swann Report (1985) highlights one of the most important issues: recognition that British schools must serve the needs of a multi-cultural society. The Caribbean Teachers Association urges the Secretary of State for Education, LEAs and all others with power to implement the recommendations in Swann Report to bear in mind that the black community is aware of the fact that:

... in the four years that have passed since the interim report 'West Indian Children in Our Schools', the 'Afro-Caribbean' community is yet to see any progress for implementation of the recommendations of that interim report.

The Caribbean Teachers Association Newsletter, Spring (1985)

Meanwhile, while the waiting continues over a decade later, it appears the only solution that seems to be working is the provision of some form of supplementary education 'from within the community for the community' (Edebe, 1992). Whilst the black community are doing this, the mainstream needs to start to take action also by implementing the Caribbean Teachers' Association and Swann Report's recommendations of the education system addressing 'multi-

culturalism' and that 'the attempt to address ethnicity is long overdue in many schools' (Gilborn and Gipps, 1996:80).

1.v. Conclusion

In this Chapter, emphasis has been to highlight that the majority of the research work on the education of Black students in Britain appears to concentrate on their underachievement. Although this underachievement could be located within the context of race and class, it is a negative issue that can be referenced from both past and present relationships between British society and black people to make black people appear as negative and inferior. It was suggested that this relationship has led to the rise of a new consciousness amongst the black community, which is making them embrace alternatives, such as 'contra culture' of Rastafari and Supplementary schools for the education of their children, with which they feel more secure.

PART TWO

CHAPTER TWO

2. The Development of Supplementary Schools

We tell the children it is no good using their resentment in a negative way and giving up on the system, they need to acquire the skills to fight back.

Chevannes (TES 6.1.84:15).

In Yorúba, a Nigerian language, there is a proverb that says 'enì jìn sí koto kó ara yóku logbǒn'. This can be translated literally into English as 'the person who has fallen into a pit makes others wiser'. However, it seems necessary to add to this, that there must be a willingness for the others here to want to learn. The relationship between black people and the whites has been argued in Chapter One as one in which black people tend to be made inferior when compared to whites. Black people's coming to Britain has been on the increase since after the Second World War. Authors like Rex and Moore (1967) have shown through research that black people have tended to suffer racism in terms of securing work, housing and other social amenities. The view as expressed by Chevannes, (the headteacher of one of the Supplementary Schools in Britain) above could be argued on the one hand as coming from someone who regards her/his position as that of an underdog, and who therefore, needs to fight back. On the other hand it seems to simply express an eagerness to motivate black children and provide them with what is required to succeed and compete on equal terms with white children. This Chapter will examine the historical and the cultural development of Supplementary schools.

2. i. The Beginning of Supplementary Schools

In his unpublished (1992) paper, Edebe stated that the Black Supplementary school movement in Britain today was started primarily by the 'Afro-Caribbean' community. On the other hand,

Dacosta (1988), researching the ideology and practice within Black Supplementary schools, provides a snap-shot background to the setting up of Supplementary schools. According to Dacosta (1988) the beginning of Black Supplementary schools could be located within the development of the 'West Indian' Standing Conference formed during the 'race-riots' in Nottingham and London, Notting Hill during the summer of 1958. It is interesting to note that the impetus to set up this organisation was by the African Caribbean themselves - energised by the High Commission of the then federated Government of the West Indies (Heinemann, 1972). The Standing Conference became well organised and made up of composite independent constituent organisations, each with its own constitution, executive committee, sources of revenue and functions.

With new issues facing the 'West Indian' community; the break up of the West Indian Federation in 1961, and the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962 by Britain, the relationship amongst the organisations within this Standing Committee became tenuous and there was concern that they needed a united front in response to increasing 'West Indians' disillusionment with life in Britain (Collins, 1965). Heinemann (1972) located 15 independent constituent organisations with membership documented as between 6000 and 8000 of 'black, tiny percentages of whites, working class group' engaged in the social and welfare concerns of the members. One of these organisations is the North London 'West Indian' Association (NLWIA). A qualitative documentation of the work of the NLWIA by Dacosta (1988) provides some insights into their activities. One of the activities was documented as the establishment of a Supplementary school, which began because 'from late 1966 and all through 1997, 'West Indian' parents were beginning to express anxiety about their (British born) children's schooling because their children could barely read, ... they did not feel that they were getting very much from the schools' (Dacosta 1988:134).

2. ii. The Early Years - 1960s to 1970s

The African Caribbean communities were concerned about the level of ability of their British born children. When children arrived in Britain from the Caribbean, they performed better at a similar age. Given that 96 per cent of Caribbean children age 0-15 are born in Britain (Modood et al, 1994:21), such concern made them feel that their children were 'becoming alienated from British society' and made them become dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction about their children's experience in Britain appears to have encouraged them to act and as stated in Chapter one they 'turned to their community' for help. According to one of Dacosta's (1988:136) respondents 'they changed the name of West Indian Young People's Organisation to the Paul Bogle Youth Club'. This seems because they wanted to be associated and continue with the 'fight' for freedom as Paul Bogle was 'one of those who fought ... in the peasant rebellion ... against colonial rule' in the Caribbeans of the 1880s. Although students were at first not keen 'as they had come for sport and entertainment', there was the readiness of the adults to introduce 'teaching' and learning', what they culturally (Stone, 1981:171) see as the way forward for the academic development of their children. The adults began to assert their right to define and establish educational standards for their children, actions which could be regarded as those which are culturally related to their history with the western world as shown below. Though there is now additional teaching/learning this century, the way Supplementary Schools operate is akin to the literacy development in the Caribbean which began in 1836-37. In this, education was based on the 'self-help' principle and as Arboine (1983) notes, ex-students were slave children, who were continuously exposed to instructions and could read to such a high level, that they began to tutor their parents, relatives and neighbours. This could be seen in *Jamaica 1837* a report by Harvey and Sturge (1837), in which they observed:

At the Mico schools in the country (a Mr. Trew) had recently made a collection among the children for missionary objects. The little sums which they gave, exceeding what is expected from them, induced him to enquire how they obtained their money. They earned it by teaching their adult friends and neighbours to read after the labours of the day were over. Nearly everyone was occupied in teaching his parents or uncle or

neighbour and even in some instances a grandfather and grandmother so highly do even the adult and aged prize the opportunity to learn and read.

The conclusion that could be drawn from such an account is that though black people were poor, the need for education has always been one of their central values.

From the late 1960s and early 1970s both in Britain and in the USA, people of African descent, though working independently, worked to establish independent institutions outside of public structures to define what is academic excellence and a culturally relevant curriculum for their children (Kifano, 1997; Lomotey, 1992; Ratteray & Shujaa, 1987). What brought this about seems their dissatisfaction with mainstream schools and what parents conceptualised as their children's poor performance in British schools. This is contrary to the high hopes they had of their children receiving a good education in the UK. It is reasonable to surmise that they felt that they have 'discovered', just like in the Caribbeans, there was now a need for their children to 'receive' supplementary schooling in addition to mainstream education - a point which might have been overlooked before.

2. iii. The 1980s and 1990s.

The beginning of the 1980s precipitated research into Supplementary schools in Britain. In the first major (and, indeed, virtually the only published) study of Supplementary schools in Britain, Stone (1981) herself an ex-student of 'extra lessons' before and after school and at weekends when growing up in Jamaica, portrays the nature and extent of such schemes. Her work identified the following main areas in which Supplementary education exists in Britain:

- i. Private Coaching - based along the Japanese style mainly for entrance examination to public schools, but also private lessons for children who are not doing too well at school. This is predominantly middle and upper-class activity.
- ii. Religious Schools - providing instruction in religion of a particular (and / or

racial) group. Sunday schools, Jewish Sunday (and evening) schools, Muslim and Hindu schools.

iii. Language Schools - offer children of minority (language) groups lessons in their 'mother tongue'. These groups include mainly Europeans (Italians, Poles, Cypriots and Spanish) and Asian (Bengali, Hindi and Urdu speakers).

iv. 'West Indian' Supplementary Schools - closely aligned to ideas of private coaching, although some schools do foster a cultural approach, offering dance and drama classes. These schools supplement (add to) the education of black children for the inadequacies of state education, and try to redress the balance by enhancing self concept.

Stone (1981:170-171).

In her (1981) study, Stone conducted her research comparing:

- i. Mainstream school-based Multiracial education (M.R.E.) projects
- ii. Community-based Supplementary schools and
- iii. A comparison (control) group

The popular assumption in schools before this study is to explain the underachievement amongst 'West Indian' students in terms of individual or family pathology and inadequacy. Stone found there was no significant differences in self-concept and self-esteem score in her sample of 'West Indian' students (ages 10-15 years). The school-community based Supplementary school students exhibited significantly more favourable attitudes towards school than did children in M.R.E projects and the comparison group. Overall, the children's attitudes towards teachers were unfavourable. The least negative attitudes were expressed by community based Supplementary school students. M.R.E. students expressed the most negative attitude towards teachers. In terms of aspirations, students from Supplementary schools have higher aspirations than the M.R.E. ones. However, students in all groups were found to show positive evaluation of parents and associated homelife with love, warmth, protection, safety and belonging, their parents and their home life (Stone, 1981:238). Stone is highly critical of self-esteem, identity and racial preference research, especially as

explanations of educational failure. In her view, black students do not suffer low self-esteem or misidentification, rather, too much emphasis has been placed on the personal feelings of students to the neglect of teachers' primary role of 'instruction'. She stated that the issue at stake is that of 'power'. Also she called for the school to use 'more formal teaching methods' which has the overall 'West Indian' parental support (Stone, 1981:248).

Although Stone's (1981) work has been criticised for the methodology as one addressing a dated view of 'all black children, as an undifferentiated group, suffered from low self-esteem' (Milner, 1983) and the use of specific tests to measure self-concept, her work provides an alternative view of black students within mainstream school setting in comparison to attending Supplementary Schools.

Notwithstanding, to argue that black students can overcome their problems of low educational achievement by working harder and improving their academic education is to oversimplify the problem, and could encourage even more complacency in the host country. Adams (1970) put it succinctly:

Sympathy with majority members and a desire to free them from the stigma of low self-esteem, has led not to the dereification of the issue, but to attempts to deny its existence completely ... This obliteration of the problem ironically lends itself to the modern 'benign neglect' policy towards black problems and to the rationale undermining 'affirmative action'.

However, black communities have adapted to counteract mainstream provision which tends to focus on the pathology of black children – one which could be regarded as one to make them 'well' and to 'fit' into the system, by providing supplementary education up and down the country, and with increasing success.

Therefore, Black Supplementary Schools could be regarded as black people's initiative aimed at addressing their dissatisfaction with the main system's negative evaluation and treatment of black students and to properly educate black students. Such schools are set up by the black

community, using the methods they know best, to provide their children with what they require educationally to attain a level of achievement necessary in securing jobs and posts in places of work.

More recent studies on Supplementary Schools (Dove, 1993; Reay and Mirza, 1997) have provided snap-shots on the nature of what goes on in BSS. Dove (1993) examining Supplementary Schools provision, conducted a questionnaire survey with fifty-five parents, (representing the interests of 100 children - 51 girls and 49 boys - with ages ranging from 3 years to 18 years) and interviewed 20 parents and 30 children and their teachers from nine Supplementary Schools. According to her, black parents were dissatisfied with the racism in mainstream schools and chose Supplementary Schools because it helps 'improve their children's academic performance, provide students with black history, and give more support for children and parents and to build black students' confidence (Dove, 1993:441).

Such points highlight the development of programmes that would enhance the academic, psychological, and social development of black children as opposed to the provision of the mainstream that tends to condemn many black children to a life of failure. Black parents and students in Dove's (1993) study were 'satisfied with Supplementary Schools' as alternative education – catering for academic development and providing cultural information.

Dove (1993) also stressed the voluntary nature of the schools which appears to be of advantage as this makes the participants concentrate on what matters to them – black student academic development. Such participation could be stated to have arisen because the black community value education and want to place the needs of the children and the community above the monetary aspects of running Supplementary Schools. Dove (1993) identifies the providers and documents the interest, the commitment and the dedication of parents and teachers in Supplementary Schools as the main force in the running and maintaining of these schools.

Reay and Mirza's (1997) exploratory study of four Black Supplementary schools, used a genealogical approach to find out who and what are behind the development of Supplementary schools. Their article provides a flavour of 'behind the scene' activities of what goes on in terms of people running the schools, why they are running it and for what purposes. By providing this contribution of the black community, they seem to be including what mainstream research tends to omit in their studies affecting black people. Similar to the studies of Stone (1981), Best (1990), and Dove (1993), Reay and Mirza (1997) asserted that Supplementary schools are 'extra' schooling, where they 'take teaching the basics by the horns and get on with it' whilst they operate outside mainstream provision to cater for African Caribbean communities. These authors date it to be over 40 years, which is a claim that is different to all other authors. However, such dating indicates the cultural roots with which African Caribbean communities view the work of supplementing any educational processes they perceive as not meeting their needs and it presents a contrary view of mainstream researchers (such as the Government White Paper, DES, 1992:6) of blaming working class parents' as being 'indifferent' to their children's education.

The Supplementary school appears to be compared by these authors to women in western society who tend to remain invisible despite the hard work they do in nurturing the children. In this Black women were argued as the force behind this 'grassroots movement' which in itself, is a work which remains hidden from mainstream. The reasons for the hidden nature of the schools were not provided by these authors. However, it could be suggested that white people see it as a black 'thing' as seen in the statement made by the main Teachers' Union describing the setting up of Supplementary schools as:

... pattern of organisation that enshrines the principle of what is usually known as apartheid.

NUT (1967:3) cited in Tomlinson (1984)

Such statement by the Teachers' Union seems a non-understanding on the Union's part of the motives of black people in the establishment of the Supplementary Schools. A conclusion that

could emanate from this statement by the NUT is that the Union is not in support of setting up an all black school and did not provide or support an alternative.

Also, Reay and Mirza (1997) argue that Supplementary Schools are not to be seen as a response to exclusion and 'evidence of good practice' (as purported by Rampton, 1981:45) but as agencies that are being used as a critique of mainstream educational provisions as 'lacking'. While white reaction was generally not very sympathetic to these schools, Reay and Mirza (1997) claimed that Supplementary education (operating in a context where blackness displaces whiteness) is a growing phenomenon emanating from the community demands for addressing the educational needs of black students. Focus in this provision tends to be on the 3'R's done in 'locally constructed curricula solution' makes black students 'fit in' to take their rightful place within education that tends to exclude them.

Although Reay and Mirza's (1997) study could be criticised for focusing heavily on gender issues, their work highlights the 'power' of people at grassroots level who if mobilised, could work effectively for the society in which they operate.

For black students who face a double disadvantage (being from working class homes and black), Supplementary schools as have been presented in this Chapter offer them some compensatory support. Its real benefits lie not in any immediate pay-off. There are limits to what two hours teaching, once or twice a week, by untrained teachers can achieve but the black community seemed to be motivated to achieve the quote from Chevannes cited at the beginning of this Chapter.

Sharron's (1984) article in the *TES* on Chevannes '*Night School*' provides an interesting experience of a parent in which the success of Supplementary schools could be seen and that 'when you talk to the teachers ... and you kick up a fuss they (mainstream schools) change the policy'. This woman's son who was thought to be very bright by the staff at the Supplementary school, was not even considered for any C.S.E's by his comprehensive school.

Together with Chevannes, the parent complained to the school's headteacher and insisted that he should be allowed to take two 'O' levels and four C.S.E's. 'After we made such a row over the boy we made sure that he worked like hell for those exams, said Chevannes. 'In the end he surprised even us ... he passed every one'.

2. iv. Conclusion

The accounts that have been provided in this Chapter, in my estimation, are probably very typical of Supplementary schools and the children who attend them. As Bennett (1976) observes, in trying to explain the poorer academic performance of the 'informal' pupils in his sample, that one explanation may be:

... that the poorer academic progress of informal pupils is an accurate reflection of the aim of informal teachers ... Formal teachers stress academic aims while informal teachers prefer to stress the importance of self-expression, enjoyment of school and the development of creativity.

Bennett, (1976).

This seems to lend support to Stone's thesis that teachers who emphasise self-concept, self-esteem and enjoyment, do so at the expense of more concrete objectives. Although it is possible to test whether a child can read, write, spell or do sums to most people's satisfaction, there is yet to be an agreed method of telling whether a student is 'self-actualised' or not. It is for this reason that the central recommendation of Stone's study is for 'schools to retain a commitment to the mastery of basic intellectual skills and competencies of all children' through the use of more formal methods throughout primary and secondary education. These methods, as Stone indicates, are understood and approved of by 'West Indian' (and working class) parents and in the light of the dismal failure of the present approach, formal teaching methods can offer an improvement on the present situation. The call of 'back to basics' in the education reform of the late 1980s and early 1990s could be regarded as akin to that of 'West

Indian' parents. Such approaches could be regarded as what contribute to the improvement of all students' achievements in schools as indicated in the review by Gillborn and Gipps (1996). Although this is yet to affect African Caribbean students significantly, it is a beginning of a new development in the education of this group that is yet to be tested.

If we were to consider the plethora of studies concerned with the black students (under)achievement in the British education system, along with the theories and research (both early and contemporary), it would appear reasonable to suggest that each could (and often do) counteract and reject each other when trying to provide answers to the questions surrounding explanations for the failure of state schools to educate black children.

There are hypotheses, both written and spoken, which imply or tentatively suggest explanations as to why Supplementary schools succeed where British state schools are failing, these include:

- i. black teachers' presence
- ii. more clearly defined educational goals
- iii. black cultural images and experiences
- iv. more individualised attention
- v. more relaxed atmosphere
- vi. more community involvement
- vii. relationships between participants.

Other than Stone's work, and Dacosta's (unpublished) study in the 1980s, as well as Dove and Reay and Mirza studies of the 1990s there is very little, if any, research available on the perceptions of all aspects of people involved with Supplementary schools. In this research the focus will be to answer some of the following questions: Who are the people involved in the day to day running of Supplementary schools? Why do these people voluntarily give up their Saturdays to attend or allow themselves to be engaged to attend such schools? What are their expectations or what is to be gained by attending? How do these schools operate and what do

they do differently which brings out the best in African Caribbean students? What do they see as the future of such schools?

In my opinion, these are the types of questions that need to be asked if there is to be a serious attempt at explaining educational provision and success in the Supplementary school. To accomplish such an objective it seems important to me to try to understand and explain their motives for setting up such schools, the reason they continue to operate, then try to establish why students attend and keep attending and the reason people want to come back and teach. In order to understand why Supplementary schools seem to provide a context where involvement displaces the assumed passivity mentioned by some authors, there is the need to understand the views of the participants through their own perceptions.

The purpose of this research is to attempt to identify and explain the problems and issues involved in running Supplementary schools as presented by various participants.

CHAPTER THREE

SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

3. i. Introduction

The material in this chapter is organised to focus on four main areas of supplementary schooling: (1) the function of Supplementary schools, (2) the nature of the community in which the schools exist, (3) how the schools are being organised and administered and (4) the contents of the curriculum and pedagogical issues being operated in Supplementary schools. By examining the literature in these four specific areas it is felt that an adequate exploration will be undertaken about the debate and discussion that has taken place over the years in the sociological literature directly relevant to the research concerned on the why, where, what and who are involved in organising BSSs as alternative education for Black children in Britain.

3. ii. Black supplementary schooling

Though little, there has been a steady growth of literature on black supplementary schooling in Britain. Most of the earlier literature consists of articles and reports in newspapers which tend to be presented in the form of relatively brief accounts of practice in specific schools in urban centres where large numbers of black communities are located. It is important to point out that such schools have sometimes been called Voluntary schools, simply because they operate on a voluntary basis with both the providers and the users coming without any statutory obligations; sometimes Saturday schools simply because they function on Saturdays; and sometimes Community schools because they operate within African Caribbean communities. However, as some of these Saturday schools also began to offer students classes on weekdays during the evenings, occasionally on Sundays, as well as sometimes being part of holiday

projects (Rex and Tomlinson 1979), the term 'Supplementary school' gradually began to replace the term 'Saturday school' from the early 1980s.

In some accounts, especially that of Stone (1981) and Nagra (1981), the two terms are used interchangeably, sometimes even in a single sentence; this proved to be confusing to some readers and sometimes obscures the differences in the schools. For example some of the Sikh temples, mosques and Hindu mandirs operate their schools during weekends including Sundays (Nagra, 1981:431) and some are operated by churches on Saturdays and Sundays as in the example of the Methodist church cited in Stones (1981:177). Although there are some being operated by churches, operating on a Sunday therefore, does not necessarily mean that they are Church schools. In this review only, the terms will be used in the way that different writers have used them so as to be as accurate as possible to the interpretations provided by respective authors.

Historically and nationally, the earliest reference to supplementary schooling can be located in the article by John Ezard in the *Guardian* newspaper of 20th February 1978, titled 'Old fashioned learning by rote pays off'. The theme that emerged from this article is that the members of the West Indian community were setting up Supplementary schools with emphasis on the traditional form of teaching the 3'R's as a consequence of refusing to accept that their children were intellectually inferior or ineducable as suggested by mainstream schools and that through their own schools, black parents were redressing this amongst other issues.

Subsequent articles that came out the same week in other national newspapers include the ones in *The Times Educational Supplement* (24 February 1978). Austin and Garrison (1978:37) in their article *Resources for Black Pupils*, offered an analysis of a 'West Indian' community responding to the educational failure of black students by 'starting its own Supplementary Schools, to provide the skills it considers lacking in formal educational institutions' and both local and central government indifference to the plight of these students. The other article in the same issue of the *TES* titled *Can black self-help succeed where schools and other agencies*

have failed? (1978:12) seems to be challenging the efficacies of such initiatives. This article was written as a reporter's dossier of visits to a number of 'West Indian' Supplementary schools. Although this is a journalistic account of some Supplementary schools, some points are worth noting. The article identified 'black working class parents' as the provider and as people who are 'challenging' the established view that working class parents cannot play an effective role in their children's education in the weekday school. Also, and most importantly, the latter article as indicated in the title presented a slightly sceptical account of the usefulness of such schools to compensate for the substantial underachievement of 'West Indian' pupils in mainstream schools. However, these two articles provide some of the answers about the provider, i.e. black parents and adult volunteers, which will be discussed later in this Chapter. Also, they indicate that there is an acknowledgement of the 'challenge' and the refusal of the black community to accept that 'the significant numbers of their children are intellectually inferior' to their white counterparts in the mainstream. This view was echoed in *The Rampton Report* (1981:45) and *The Hargreaves (ILEA) Report* (1984) which conclude that the 'establishment of Supplementary Schools is because the members of 'ethnic' groups are not satisfied with the levels of achievement of their children in mainstream schools and that some families have lost confidence in mainstream schools and hope that, if their children attend evening or Saturday classes, the potential they believe exists will be developed'. Although it is 'good' that these government and ILEA Reports are acknowledging Supplementary schools, however, their presentation seems an afterthought and have been criticised as dismissive and underestimating the usefulness of these initiatives. One of the black educationalists, Akpeneye, reacting to the Hargreaves Report, stated:

... it is very easy to see how ludicrous the ILEA 'anti-racist' claims are when it issues a statement such as quoted above (on the challenge to the established system). The ILEA clearly do not understand us even when we speak their language - English. They only hear us when we are prepared to imitate their biased and racist views about black people. What is more, the committee is strangely blind to the fact that almost every community of people who have come to this country from other countries have found it necessary to establish their own schools to make up for the failure of the incompetent education provisions made by the State.

The ILEA has no reason to suppose that any of these communities have ever been satisfied with the schooling they provide. Had the Hargreaves Committee included

proper representation from the communities in the ILEA area, there would be no need for them to pretend ignorance of the real feelings of the community.

Akpeneye (1984).

From such response, it could be argued that black communities are not satisfied with ILEA and Government response to the educational needs of their students, hence the introduction of Supplementary schools to meet these needs. With or without the support of the L.E.As there seems to be a steady growth in the number of Supplementary schools around the country. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine the function of the schools.

3. iii. Functions of Supplementary Schools

Most Supplementary schools exist and function on an independent basis and they run as 'separate' (Stone, 1981:151 and Pavey, 1989), 'extra' (Reay and Mirza 1997) education from mainstream schools, under the control of African and Caribbean parents (Dove, 1993:437). The functions of each school differ from one to another depending on the providers and the users and the schools tend to be independent from one another without any interactions. They mostly function with defined objectives which are usually demonstrated as different from and are components of what is absent from the mainstream curriculum.

The first category of schools focuses on language teaching and maintenance of the home culture. Their aim is for the participants to become knowledgeable in their cultural and religious practices and to help in sustaining them and passing them on to the next generation. In other words, providing what the mainstream schools are not capable of providing even if they want to make the provision. Such examples include the Afro-Asian Teachers' Association in Coventry where by January 1979, the school ran three classes, two in Urdu and one in Punjabi, with the aim of enabling students attending to 'communicate with their parents and other persons of their own language, participate more fully in their particular social and

cultural environment and pass on religion and culture' (Nagra, 1981:431). The languages that have been found to be spoken and used by the South Asian groups were Punjabi 52 per cent and Urdu 31 per cent (Modood et al, 1997:310). In the second category are those that believe that the students need to keep ties with their past by locating the part played by black people in history. Such groups tend to focus on the historical past and use it as a base of developing political awareness in students. Ryan cited Notting Hill Grass Roots Saturday School as an example of this where the main focus is the 'political and cultural re-education of black youths' (Ryan, 1984:59). Dove, (1993:434) also cited such schools as those which tend to be regarded as sometimes 'subversive' (Mirza, 1998:17) because of the contents of what they teach the students. This type of school tends to see mainstream schools as failing to provide black students an adequate and balanced history and as such promote topics which are being taught in mainstream schools differently as in the 'abolition of slave trade' which makes Wilberforce the champion. Also in teaching such topics these schools tend to incorporate the argument about the insurrections of the slaves towards the end of the 18th and 19th century and the accompanying cost to the maintenance of the trade. The ethos of such a school could be seen in the Black Parents Movement's (that runs George Padmore Community School in the Finsbury Park area of North London) declaration:

We believe that reading, writing, and the ability to handle numbers are basic human rights which our children are entitled to. We also think that black children must know as much as possible about the history, languages, and cultures of black people in Africa, the Caribbean, the USA., and Europe.

Battle Front: Black Parent Movement Newsletter (1987:4).

Naming a school after George Padmore seems a declaration in support of his activities as a campaigner. Padmore was a political activist, who campaigned for colonial 'freedom for black people in Africa' and influenced many of the leading African independence leaders between 1933 to 1959. Such schools tend to campaign for 'institutional change' (Mirza, 1998:17) in

their operation through 'the redefining what education for black children can be about: a place to succeed' Julius (1998:16).

The first category are predominantly among the Asian communities, whilst the second tend to be amongst African Caribbean communities. The reason for this could be because of their varied historical background with Britain or the ways the two different ethnic groups wish to be accommodated within the British mainstream. Also, it could be the way this society reacts to different groups in terms of discrimination and exclusion (Makinde, 1998). However there are some which operate within the two categories where language and cultural maintenance and political awareness and development are their area of focus.

Reay and Mirza (1997), Dove (1993), Stone (1981) and Chevannes (1979) present the third category in which curricula and academic development is their area of focus. In this category education is seen as the basis for black students being able to take their place within the British mainstream. Supplementary Schools focus on the educational needs of black students and mainstream schools are perceived as not providing the opportunities for black students to achieve their academic potential. This category seems to be in agreement with official Reports of Rampton (1981), Swann (1985), and Modood et al (1997:65) that found the Caribbeans have greatly increased the proportion of qualified people from 29 to 74 per cent in comparing the first generation to the second generation. Although the latter authors found the second generation Caribbeans to be among the best represented at A-level or equivalent qualification and higher education qualifications below degree level, it is widely argued, for example in the Swann Report (1985), and generally accepted (by more liberal and progressive educationalists), that the British education system is the prime cause of the underachievement of black children. Due to a combination of various social, political, economical, cultural and educational reasons black students are overwhelmingly and disproportionately disadvantaged. Racism (both covert and overt) and racist practises which are ingrained within the system (Rampton, 1981:12-13 & 45) are therefore what this category targets. The focus of this

research will be on this category, which seeks to improve academic performances of black students.

Chevannes' (1979) account of this category is the Black Arrow Supplementary School Project as discussed in a BBC TV Interview on 17th November 1982. Chevannes (1979, 1982) argued that the Black Arrow Supplementary School in Wolverhampton not only aimed to improve the basic skills of black pupils in English and Maths, but also to 'increase the sense of community purpose and pride among the Borough's "Afro-Caribbean" families'. This view assumes that educational development matters and such are committed to struggle for racial equality and justice. Also, there was much concern to ensure that members of the local community were well informed about the cultural heritage of African and Caribbean people. In this there was clearly a 'political dimension' (Chevannes, 1979, 1982; Stone, 1981, Dhondy et al., 1982; Tomlinson, 1985; Chevannes & Reeves, 1987; Mac an Ghaill, 1991; Dove, 1993) expressed in the form of a strong commitment of the African and Caribbean community 'not to take the sludge offered to them - they have higher ideals' (Chevannes, 1982). In this Supplementary schools, can be argued as places to supplement both the students' education, and to combat what Chevannes and Reeves argued as the 'inadequate education' available to black children in State schools (Chevannes & Reeves, 1987:149). Similar functions were identified in the exploratory work of Reay and Mirza in which Supplementary schools operate as 'primarily ... places of resistance to racism and for the struggle to succeed' (Reay and Mirza, 1997:477).

It is important at this stage to clarify what is meant by a supplementary school project. Stone (1981) provides a good analysis of the projects by giving examples of the different ones. In some instances, supplementary schools are part of a larger community project which might include a Parents' Association, a Culture Group, a Community Association, a Youth activities group, a Tenants' Association, a Community Development, a Holiday project and a Playgroup project. Through the composite activities of a Project such as this, large numbers within a community can get involved and provide mutual help and support on a wide range of issues.

The majority of these schools operate to address the issue of the 'underachievement' of Black students. Vast improvements in performance and education achievement/success (1) have been documented as being gained by black students who have attended Supplementary education schemes. Often, this phenomenon, as is implied operates outside school system and this could mean that they are treated either as a threat or a challenge to the state system. However, the black community have seen the need and have eventually pursued the development of Supplementary schools.

However, some authors who have reviewed the work being done in these Supplementary schools have commended them as being paramount to the educational development of black students in a multicultural society. Rex (1981), in reviewing arguments for and against the provision of minority languages and aspects of home culture in school, concluded:

The maintenance of minority culture is best left to ... adult members of the community involved, through supplementary education, unless in rare cases there are schools in which the 'subject' is understood and the place given to it in the curriculum is such that it does not imply inferiority'

Rex (1981).

Such a statement indicates the duplicity of the acceptance of ethnic minority languages within the mainstream curriculum. However, the comments on the need for BSSs' curricula activities has been widely accepted. Chevannes' (1987) study in support of BSSs concluded:

We believe black children aren't getting the best from local school - they need the qualifications to get the jobs - and we aim to give it to them

Chevannes (1987).

Reviewing official documents, the function of Black Supplementary schooling has been officially acknowledged in the Rampton Report (1981:45). It stated that the 'Supplementary (Voluntary) schools are fulfilling an important role and can have much to offer mainstream schools in terms of advice on teaching methods and materials appropriate to the needs of West

Indian pupils and of ways of building up trust and understanding'. Marcus Garvey Voluntary School cited in John (1989) is already doing this with the teachers and students suggesting a number of initiatives that might be incorporated into State schools from the Supplementary school. Such initiatives may serve to develop parent-teacher relations, eliminate racist practices, counter 'under-achievement', reaffirm cultural values and help to revitalise inner-city communities. In so doing, LEAs will begin to take responsibility to ensure that all children 'are being properly taught in safe, stimulating and supportive learning environments, and encourage them to have high expectations of themselves and exploit to the full the learning opportunities provided by the environment' (John, 1989:10).

Although the nature of each Supplementary school dictates whether they succeed and remain open or fail and cease to exist as a school, Tomlinson (1984) in her study acknowledges the fact that 'Supplementary education is becoming an important aspect of the education of black pupils in Britain' (Tomlinson, 1984:73). Similarly, the natures of the Supplementary school tend to determine the type of problem they encounter (Stone, 1981:177). The works that have attempted to identify and present the problems that contribute to the failures of these schools such as Tate (1980) located a shortage of voluntary teachers and inconsistencies of the funding agencies to the Gresham Supplementary Education Scheme. BSSs receiving funding (mostly from the Local Educational Authorities) tend to operate at the dictates of the LEA. However, these funds tend to assist to ameliorate 'staffing problems' (Dacosta, 1988:30). Such schools operate to carry out the purposes of the LEA (Stone, 1981:181-182). The implications of this could be numerous, including the school being used as a 'dumping ground' for students who have been excluded from mainstream schools (Reay and Mirza, 1997), also it could limit the curriculum to what the LEA considered to be what black students need to be taught. The effect of this could be the removal of anything that the LEA considered to be 'subversive' which Reay and Mirza (1997) argued as a factor for Supplementary schools evolving as an organic critique that points out what is lacking in the mainstream education system. Also according to these authors, BSS is becoming an agency that challenges the 'taken-for-granted assumptions embodied within mainstream educational rational' (Reay and Mirza, 1997:479). In this, the

work of Tate (1980), even after almost two decades, becomes significant. It identified the aim of the organisers in Gresham Supplementary Education Scheme in Brixton as that which 'exists firstly to provide supplementary education, not to act as a disruptive unit, even though they are willing to give help when needed' (Tate, 1980:17). The majority of the Black community tend to be located in the deprived urban inner cities of Britain designated as 'education priority areas' Plowden (1967). The effect of this is more apparent regarding the education of black students, hence the setting up of BSSs to supplement the 'inadequate schooling' (Stone, 1981:5) of black students.

3. iv. The nature of the Black Community in which Supplementary schools exist

In this section, the examination on the nature of the community where Supplementary schools exist will be to assess the community as a reference point for the schools because educational settings tend to be an epitomy of the society in which they exist.

Black communities in Britain are of recent origin. The Empire Windrush ship brought 492 Jamaicans from the Caribbean to England on 22 June 1948, which rose to form the population of 125,000 'West Indians' in Britain by 1958 (Fryer, 1984:372). This group and other people who came from the Caribbean before 1964 made up two thirds of the Caribbean migrants in Britain (Modood et al, 1997:22). Celebrating the 50th anniversary of this arrival, some of the people involved gave their account on BBC 2 'The Windrush Season' screened on 30.5.98. At the end of the last War, many people returned to the Caribbean after being involved with the defence of Britain and the Empire only to find poor employment prospects. This caused many to consider the 'opportunities for work' in Britain. According to this programme nearly half a million 'West Indians' made a similar journey and arrived in Britain by the end of the Sixties. Dacosta examining the coming of West Indians to Britain argued that Britain was not the only option and that many West Indians had a preference for the United States of America which was seen as 'wealthier, closer to home and had a settled West Indian Community' (Dacosta,

1988:5). The migration therefore could be considered as one for economic reasons. However, there is the need to point out that the migration of labour to sources of production and employment has gone on historically in all parts of the world (Robinson, 1983; Fryer, 1984) but the size of such voluntary migration has been significant in more recent times such as that to the USA from Europe which was estimated to be about 36 million between 1820 and 1924 (Hayes, 1958). The researcher thus shares the view of other writers such as Castles and Kosack (1973); Castles et al., (1984) and Dacosta (1988) that the migration of colonial and ex-colonial people to Britain has to be seen in the light of such international migration.

The migration of West Indians possibly could not have grown without the organised recruitment by the British Government and other agencies notably the London Railways and the Textiles industries of the Midlands (Hiro, 1973; Foner, 1979; Walvin, 1984) to cater for the shortage of labour in British labour market. It could therefore be argued that such a large movement of West Indians to Britain was no accident of history or a 'temporary oversight on Britain's part' (Dacosta, 1988:11), indeed they seem to have occupied and filled a 'vacuum' (Peach, 1968:71) in the areas of work which were relatively unattractive to the indigenous worker. Thus the majority of black communities are found where these jobs are located, i.e. the industrial and manufacturing cities, where they serve as 'cheap labour' (Sarup, 1991:15).

3. v. Locating Blacks within the British Class system

In Chapter One education was discussed as a powerful tool that caters for the minority elites - i.e. the ruling class who are able to pay for 'better education' which is available in private schools. It was argued that such schools prepare the students with what they need to assume their place in the dominant position in the British capitalist system. This system tends to operate like a caste system, one in which the position of black people tends to be less

favourable than the whites. In this Chapter, the focus will be an examination of the position of black people within the British class system.

According to Chevannes and Reeves, Black Supplementary schools arose from 'an assessment by African-Caribbeans of their social position in Britain' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:147) and a desire for a way of bettering their position within the British class system. In other words, black people tend to be a disadvantaged group within Britain and it is therefore essential to recognise the position which they occupy. The sociological literature on the disadvantages experienced by black people in Britain is very considerable. There is a variety of academic studies as well as official reports (Rex and Moore, 1967; Smith, 1977; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Stone, 1985; Sarup, 1991). Although black people are not an homogeneous group, they tend to be located within the working class structure of the British class system which tends to be disadvantaged in at least three main areas of employment, housing and education.

Examining some of the literature on what contributes to this disadvantaged status of black people, many factors were identified as the cause. Rex and Moore's (1967) study in Birmingham which developed a Weberian model of market inequalities and places racial minorities within a class analysis, linked their being in this group to their formal colonial status. The result of which tends to place them as an 'underclass' (2) and consequently their being consistently badly affected in the market for jobs, housing and education. Rex and Tomlinson (1979) illustrate how the effects of a dual labour market penalise ethnic minorities in employment and that these disadvantages are matched by disadvantages in two key areas, that is, housing and education. They also speak of racial discrimination as being so extensive in Britain so as to make black people end up in the most disadvantaged position in society - at the lower end of the economic order. An example of this is the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (1994) by the Policy Studies Institute and

Social and Community Planning Research that found Caribbean men to be 30 per cent of those who usually do shiftwork (Modood et al, 1997:107):

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

Rex and Tomlinson (1979:16).

In trying to explain this, there is the need to examine the two thrusts of the argument. The first is that the modern economy has its own form of structure which has been formed before black people entered it and the effect is not only on black people but all including the working class . Thus racism might have no significance in the formation of an underclass and racial structuration is imposed by the capitalist. Since the capitalist dictates and the working class tend to work to effect the dictates, therefore, the system cannot be radically changed. In this, Sarup (1991) concluded that, the Weberian position is 'liberal' sociology which wants to 'ameliorate the present system rather than changing it in any radical way' (Sarup, 1991:17). The second is that racism puts black people into a position where they 'enjoy' low status, and because of discrimination consequently end up being in the lowest paid job or chronically unemployed or underemployed. An example of this inequality is shown in the findings of Modood et al (1997) in which whilst the unemployment rate was around 15 per cent within the white group, it was 31 per cent among Caribbean men and 42 and 38 per cent among Bangladeshi and Pakistani respectively and with similar disparity among female and young people who are economically active people without work (Modood et al, 1997:89). In this, black people appeared to be seen as powerless, not having the 'power' to change their position radically. However, these authors need to be credited for their analysis in which they state that the formation of an underclass across can be seen in two important areas such as: Firstly, that the likelihood of black people operating in a separate class or an underclass is increased, and that for the average member of the ethnic minority to be able to cope with her/his situation and

perhaps improve upon it, she/he may need to rely more on the support of members of his own ethnic community network than hope for support of members of the indigenous white working class community. Such generalisation is valid, but in day to day occurrence the experiences of individuals might differ. It would therefore be useful to find whether or not mutual support exists between black people themselves and the indigenous working class community in relation to supplementary schooling.

Though few it might be, there is a growing number of black activists emerging as people of the middle class category, and there are those who have gained their upward mobility through education and have taken up higher posts of responsibility in the community. Evidence of this movement up the hierarchy, and from manual to non-manual work, has been found by Modood et al (1997:138-140) in which the occupational shifts for Caribbean male employees, starting at a much lower base of 5 per cent in 1982, have roughly doubled their representation in the top category of employees to 11 per cent in the 1994 survey. Similarly, there has been the same pattern of unemployment growth. This has been even greater for women than men in the area of non-manual work for Caribbean female employees, from 1 per cent in 1982 to 4 per cent in 1994. Examples from the latter group might include politicians who black communities tend to see as the law makers of the land and as such 'powerful' British class system. Becoming a member of the middle-class could be a start to being in the position of authority which could also change their economic status. As the Weberian view might not be adequate to account for the rise of this class group, it would therefore be appropriate at this stage to turn to Marxist ideology. Writers who seem to have examined this in relationship to black communities include Westergaard and Resler (1976); Miles (1982) and Sarup (1991). Early traditional Marxist writers, such as Miles, have claimed that black people in Britain are an integral part of the indigenous working class. By virtue of being a manual wage earners, it is argued that they encounter the same economic and social disadvantages as any other manual workers. In others words, the white and black workers are the working class who have a common 'enemy', the capitalist bourgeoisie. Thus, the indigenous group and the immigrant working class share a similar relationship with the means of production: they do not own or

control the means of production, they work under the direction and interests of others and they have no control over the product of their work. The position this keeps black people in is succinctly expressed in the following statements:

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

Castles and Kosack (1973:477).

Although the two groups shared being in the working class group, the statement above identifies the group that are consistently affected most as the immigrants i.e. blacks. Examining the Marxist position further in terms of black people, there appears to be inconsistencies in some of these early writers. For example Miles (1982), whilst identifying racism as being from an 'authoritarian' ideology, he opposes separatist black organisation and calls for political conflicts to be 'addressed by appealing to a fundamental unity of workers based on their common class position' (Miles, 1984). This he argues by drawing attention to the fact that black people are to be found not only in the ranks of the reserve army of labour (the unemployed), but also within the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie. In this, it could be argued that his statement underlines the point that the political class struggles of the various agents occupying these different strata will be directly influenced by their position in (or exclusion from) 'production relations'. Allen and Smith (1974) put this more succinctly when they argued that the colour dimension does not obliterate the class dimension and that conceiving of immigrants as if they inevitably fill the role of an underclass is erroneous. According to them, although few in numbers, and despite institutional racism in Britain, certain sections of the Asian and West Indian population in Britain do have 'class advantages' in life style and more importantly in life chances.

It is fairly obvious from such a statement that the race issue is being considered as secondary to the class issue and therefore, it could be argued that the evidence and significance of racial discrimination is being underplayed. It appears not to be giving enough recognition to the

objective and subjective reality of racial disadvantage experienced by black minorities compared to the white working class. In effect, such a statement could be argued as an exclusion of the 'role and contributions of black people' through an omission or their characterisation as 'lacking in intelligence and reason' (Sarup, 1991:94), the effect of which tends to be systematic and active 'constructed' ways of keeping black people in the disadvantaged group.

In Chapter One, Coard's (1971) paper cited that it is the present system of education that makes black students disadvantaged for life. Although this was nineteen years ago, the change that has occurred is mainly in the processes that are being used. Once the black community knew what the system was doing to their children, they responded in two ways. One response was a series of conferences and demonstrations, the second response was the growth and development of Supplementary Schools.

The explanation for the development of Black Supplementary schools could be linked to the nature of the community in which they exist in that the schools exist to resource Black students' education so that they can socially take their place in Britain. Although this could be historically linked to African and Caribbean's value of education as means for social mobility and enhancing their position in the society (Tomlinson,1984:71), the social context in which Supplementary schools exist is different. Notwithstanding, some black parents 'believe the system works against blacks and working class children' (Chevannes, 1982), hence the need for resourcing their children through Supplementary schools for higher ideals. Communities where Supplementary schools are successful have been documented as having the 'ability to generate a strong group solidarity' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987) in a context where 'blackness is seen as normative' (Reay and Mirza, 1997:477). The explanation for having blackness as the normative is not that supplementary schools are not acknowledging the contribution by some white people or allowing white students to participate, but one in which

they 'collectively' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987) mobilise their resources as 'resistance to racism and struggle to succeed' (Stone, 1981; Tomlinson, 1985; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987; Dove, 1993; Reay and Mirza, 1997). This resistance is observed in the 'collective strategy of the black community to combat inadequate education available' to black students (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:149). Though Black Supplementary schools could be likened to the 'activities amongst working class socialists' (Stone, 1981:238) they are devised as a 'solidarity' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:151) response of Black people to their children's education.

3. vi. The collectiveness approach in the organisation of Supplementary Schools

Several studies on the role of Supplementary Schools and black students' education in Britain were conducted about twenty years ago and these include Stone (1981) and Cronin (1984). Whilst Cronin (1984) provided a brief accounts to demonstrate the objectives of establishing Supplementary Schools, Stone's (1981) work was primarily a study of the 'self-concept' of 'West Indian' children and schooling in Britain. An examination of aspects of Supplementary Schooling contributed to Stone's (1981) study rather than becoming the focus of the study.

Stone (1981) claimed that West Indians organise Supplementary schools 'first to teach children basic skills and secondly, to form cultural or social groups' (Stone, 1981:172). In this, Stone sees the Supplementary school as one that functioned virtually as alternatives to the regular school and she quotes a teacher from one of these schools as saying that 'they acted on the basis that children learned nothing in school, so it was their duty to provide some kind of education' (Stone, 1981:173). Stone went further and drew similarity between Saturday school and the accounts of Socialist Sunday school as both operating with the 'value of education as a means of achieving a just and equal society'.

Although the community projects identified by these authors all have black volunteers as the organisers, there is a variation in the numbers of qualified teachers in them. She identified one of the schools as different from all others with a 'qualified teacher in charge' (Stone, 1981:149) and the only project with a woman leader. Similarly, Chevannes and Reeves, (1987) identified the feature of the school as one that though may not have 'deliberate colour bar' has mostly black professionals and parents who 'understand what it is to be black in a white society' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:148 & 151). Their work provided the consensus that operates within the schools and the attempts being made by the providers to 'at an informal level' ... sort the opinions and arrived at the common goal with an attempt to 'satisfy the needs of black professionals, volunteers, parents, and pupils'. Such a method of sorting out opinions indicates the interdependence and the collective nature with which the participants of Supplementary schools operate. With over ten years experience of being in charge of a Supplementary school, Clark (1982) concluded that:

It is important to realise that the Supplementary school, exists to help children not because they failed to achieve through the system, but because the system is racist, and has failed them.

Clark (1982:125).

She continued to present a list of the qualities and expectations she had of the workers and volunteers in Supplementary schools. Similar to the list outlined by Chevannes (1979) she created the 'ideal' worker as those:

1. ... who possess the commitment to identify with the pupils and to empathise with their daily experience,
2. who can help the pupils to develop a positive attitude towards themselves, particularly with regard to their physical characteristics: skin colour, and texture, bone structure, eye colour, mouth and lip size, nose shape, hair growth and hair texture and their ethnicity,
3. who above all, can help the pupils with the most racist classroom

and teacher, with a determined will to work hard and to achieve the best within the restricted educational system,

4. who are prepared to accept that West Indian and Asian pupils experience prejudice and discrimination in this society and that the pupils' statements about these practices are not unwarranted but genuine and deep-felt,
5. who are willing to support the pupils when they express anxiety and distrust of whites and white institutions,
6. who are prepared to recognise and accept that the pupils' parents are interested in what goes on at school,
7. who are willing to recognise that there are pressures of child care, patterns of work, pressures of finance, and fear of a predominantly white teacher-audience that militate against parental attendance at school,
8. who expect high standards of educational achievement from the pupils in their charge and who are not prepared to accept low standards just because children are black and or working class,
9. who, though possibly strongly socialist, and politically committed to justice and antiracism, are not bloated with abstract political rhetoric and seeking to impose narrow sectarian views upon their pupils. The religious fundamentalism of many West Indian families, is likely to make such teachers unempathic and unacceptable.

Clark (1982: 126).

The above typology, seems to indicate a very carefully considered account of the seriousness with which issues like racism, hostility, self-awareness and understanding are to be dealt with by 'workers' or teachers in Supplementary schools and such list provide valuable indicators for a researcher to make note of the actual practice of such schools.

Further examination of Stone's (1981) study provides different types of organisational structure which exist in Supplementary schools. She draws a distinction between funded 'community official projects' and independent 'self-help projects'. The commonality between the two types is that the teachers and pupils are 'almost exclusively black' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:149). However the organisational structure differs, the former had a loose

hierarchical structure while the latter had a 'cooperative style'. The effect of such organisation was that the official projects tended to be more hierarchical in their approach like school, with links with schools in their area and taking referrals and generally operating a support system. The effect of this is both on those involved in the running and the funding of the educational projects. The official projects were better financed, but insists on 'professionalism and expertise', thus losing parental and grassroots involvement and the opportunity to be innovative. On the other hand, the self-help ones encourage 'community participation' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987:150) involving both parents and professional teachers. Reay and Mirza (1997:478) argued that such participation is of necessity because 'for the most part these schools rely on parental contributions and community donation' as part of the community activism to remain self-sufficient and thus away from the local authority 'gaze'. The two modes of financing for Supplementary schools raised the inevitable debate about the extent to which institutional autonomy was possible under either form of organisation. The conclusion drawn by Stone (1981) is that there is no obvious difference in the work that went on in the two differently funded sets of schools. All the schools were found to be focused on teaching basic skills to black students. However, it could be argued that the autonomy, created by the non-dependence on the LEA in the self-help ones, would allow them to be more flexible and meet what the users consider as valid knowledge, e.g. teaching Yoruba language or the rituals in Yemoja worship or the example provided of George Padmore Community school in which volunteers shared their experiences through 'storytelling, poetry, singing, drumming, drama, calypso, carnival history, Caribbean and African cultures', as opposed to legitimising certain hegemonic ideas and practises in society. On the other hand it could create a 'laissez fair' attitude thus, not being seen as serious in their approach to educating black students in Britain.

Furthermore, Clark (1982) provides some valuable insights into the kind of problems faced by the school. Some parents were documented as not convinced the school was good enough at the start, and others that there was no need for school beyond the normal five weekdays, while others queried the absence of white children from the Saturday School. Some parents felt that Black History and Black Studies should be taught and yet others felt that only qualified

teachers should normally teach in a Supplementary school. There was no contact maintained with mainstream schools because although Clark (1982) would like to have done so, some of the parents were not keen for the schools to know that their received help from a Saturday School.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Sefa Dei (1995) presents a new dimension to the organisation and the funding of BSSs. Whilst the schools examined by Sefa Dei are funded by the Canadian government as a pilot scheme, the ones in Stone (1981) had sums of money made available to them under different schemes, such as Urban Aid and Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act. Stone claimed that 'the official response has generally been to treat Saturday schools as a necessary evil ... tolerating it so long ... they appear to be fulfilling a specific need, i.e. building language skills'. In this it could be argued that the schools are operating to the dictates of the fund provider. Albeit, Sefa Dei's BSSs are enjoying the facilities because they are pilot schemes, with the government as the sole provider of funds. Dacosta's (1988) work provides some insights into what could occur when such funding is not available. He argued that among the difficulties emphasised in his study, were those of obtaining teachers who were willing to commit themselves to the Supplementary school, and the reduction in the availability of resources and adequate premises for the work to be undertaken.

In his analysis on the Black/African Canadian community schools in Ontario, Canada, Sefa Dei (1995) argues the schools should work with all in the community and be 'established alongside conventional schools ... (and) work together to address the mutual concerns of parents, teachers, and community workers for the education of black young adults. The main concern identified is to reverse the 'inferiorisation and marginalisation of the Black youth in the public school system' (Sefa Dei, 1995:187). Although this argument is similar to what the black community sees as the function of BSSs in Britain, the organisation and funding are quite different. Sefa Dei (1995) sees his African-centred schools as those that 'should originate from, and be sustained by, local communities'.

In terms of the activities within Supplementary schools, Sefa Dei emphasised the inclusion of all, the parents, caregivers, community workers and elders as well as the students to be collectively and communely 'allowed to teach and educate' in the school with learning being 'historically, ideologically, politically, and spiritually' rooted in African cultures (Sefa Dei, 1995:188). He continued by suggesting that the assessment should not be 'strictly defined in the academic sense', but should test 'civic duty and social responsibility' factors in students' academic and school success.

The suggestion above raises two important issues that needs to be discussed. Firstly the issue of community involvement as suggested by Sefa Dei (1995) opens a debate on who is to be involved in the provision of what goes on in Supplementary school. The collectivised, community based response in Supplementary schools (Stone, 1981; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987; Reay and Mirza, 1997) does not suggest setting up segregated school, but one which is to be equipped and operate as a challenge to the consumerist individualism of the capitalist system. In this sense the idea of Sefa Dei (1995) appears too simplistic to resolve the academic issues facing black young adults in British schools. Secondly, Sefa Dei's (1995) community participation is an interesting suggestion which needs more examination. If by community Sefa Dei means 'cooperation that values individual's contribution and interactions on a mutual interdependence' then the argument should not just be for black people but should be one that is open for all in the community, i.e. both black and white, to participate. Opening this up will enable Supplementary schools to be a 'model' for mainstream schools to learn from. If on the other hand it means a 'kindred spirit' amongst black community, then it could be argued as nothing more than 'ghetto schools' which could serve to exclude them more from mainstream education.

The researcher agrees that, although there are values such as community participation that could be learnt from African cultural, ideological, political and ideological practices, there is the concern that focusing solely on such issues might alienate black students more in a British

society where they already top the rate of exclusion (Grosvenor, 1995). Also, the present examination and Further Education admission regulations within the British system are not yet designed to cater for such 'innovative' ideas. Sefa Dei's (1995) suggestion, therefore, might make black students' education remain at the 'margin' (Reay and Mirza, 1997). In this therefore, there is the need to discuss what is to be taught in Black Supplementary school.

Before discussing the curriculum, this section will look at the issue of funding as it has implications for the style of work which the group undertakes. Stone (1981:182) provided the Statements of Accounts for two schools, one being run as an Official and the other as a Self-help group. An examination of these accounts shows the limited resources which are available for both categories of schools whether it receives funds from funding bodies or operate through funds raised from donations and other fundraising activities. Another writer, who although was writing generally about funding and the black voluntary sector is Shea (1993). In her account, which she wrote from her experience as a former fundraising officer for a registered charity, she suggests that the problems of funding are unique to all community projects but it is exacerbated for black projects by 'racism and discrimination'. She goes on to state that most black voluntary activities have funding 'blackout' because they do not have charitable status nor belong to 'networking which is so important for fundraising' (Shea, 1993:36). What stands out from her criticism of black organisations and the problem facing them about funding is that their programme 'responds marginally to black groups'. In other words they are not being seen as catering for the community. The problem of underachievement facing black students' education is a concern which needs to be addressed if they are to be part of British society; if the black community are operating Supplementary schools to help achieve this, it could be regarded as a form of campaign and as a local community service which Shea (1993) sees as criteria for funding. She also called for black organisations to form a consortium as a way forward for getting funds. From such a suggestion, there is the need to examine the type of links currently available and how to improve this within Supplementary schools. Such a consortium could become a forum for sharing ideas, avenues for funding lobbying and formulating policies on how to make the

schools available for all and the contents relevant to everyone attending. The value of such could make Supplementary schools become 'truly' community educational provision, where all students could come and learn. In this therefore there is the need to examine the content of what goes on in the curriculum.

3. vii. Curriculum contents and Pedagogical issues in Black Supplementary schools

The literature surveyed reveals that there are several short references to the content of what goes on and the work being done in BSSs. However, the aim of what goes on is summed up in Clark's (1982) article on Dachwyng Saturday School, a Supplementary school she had run with 126 students in attendance, in which she stated that 'a community cannot be passive and allow a racist education system to disadvantage our children. We need to do something about it'. This comment, by an 'insider' who had over ten years involvement with Supplementary education appears not just a call for support but a reveille to the black community in response to Coard's (1971) article and one that sees Supplementary schools as the only 'salvation' (Zulfiqar, 1997) for black young adults in British schools.

In terms of the curriculum being taught in Supplementary schools, Stone (1981) provides a brief account by including a timetable of a Supplementary school. The timetable is for one functioning 'virtually as an alternative to the regular school' providing education 'to teach children basic skills' and 'to form cultural or social groups' (Stone, 1981:172-3). The school runs a twenty nine and a half week timetable, with 35% of the time being used to do homework, 50% on other subjects including Maths, English, Sociology, Economics, Dance/Drama and German and French. The remaining 15% takes place on Saturdays for reading unit and general education.

The main focus of this school is for the development of basic skills and for the inculcation of knowledge and understanding of the tradition and heritage which Rampton (1981) supported

in their brief account of the tuition being provided in Supplementary schools. The conclusion arrived at seems important because the Report indicates that the latter is 'missing from the traditional school curriculum'.

Chevannes and Reeves (1987) also recounts the two curricula available as being dependent on the 'ideological orientation of the organisation as set against the educational' needs and demands of the parents and students. The aims of the schools with the first type were to provide students with 'no nonsense basic skills curriculum', which will enable them to pass their examinations, increase their employability in the job market and have pay-off in terms of ... social mobility (Tomlinson, 1984). The second focuses on various Asian languages, which Chevannes and Reeves (1987) see as tools for solidarity and structural reasons of a defence against the pressure of British ethnocentric attitudes and practices rather than being culturally imperative. The question from this is how do the teachers involved do this?

Dacosta's (1988) work is the only study where detailed reference is made about the teaching and learning styles being used in Supplementary schools to address the dissatisfaction that Reay and Mirza (1997) succinctly put as:

... black teachers were dissatisfied with what was happening to black pupils. They felt if they had been in the Caribbean their children would be much further on academically and they decided something had to be done, schools weren't doing anything so it had to be them.

Reay and Mirza (1997:485).

This statement indicates the determination of those involved and what they were prepared to do to empower black students. Dacosta's (1988) work based on ethnographic study of two London schools, provided account which were two fold - firstly the schools provide individual attention to their students because they have 'favourable (one) teacher to (ten) pupil ratio' focusing on 'basic literacy and numeracy skills' as well as emphasising 'elements of black identity and culture'. Such encounters enable the teachers to monitor and chart the academic

progress (Rowntree, 1977) made by different pupils. Secondly, Dacosta (1988) observed that whilst individualised work was being undertaken with the students, the teachers use limited 'didactic teaching' approaches to introduce new work. Once the work has been introduced, Dacosta claimed that the teacher moves around the class to monitor and mark students' work. The students were recorded as doing different kinds of work and at varied levels on work 'negotiated' and 'bargained' with their teacher. The effect of this, Dacosta (1988) claimed, is that it was not possible for the teacher to make 'excessive demands' on the students but nevertheless students did their work. On the discipline issue, he stated that though relatively done, the threat of teachers telling parents that their child is not working hard enough was sufficient to make a pupil resort to renewed effort and energy.

Other important points highlighted in Dacosta's (1988) work are:

- items related to students' cultural backgrounds such as 'oranges' were used to illustrate mechanical calculations,
- exercises not done correctly were required by the school policy to be repeated and done correctly.

There is no reason why the above could not take place in mainstream schools. The Supplementary schools examined by Reay and Mirza (1997:488) went further to introduce the same visual aid materials being used in mainstream schools so as 'not to confuse' students. However, possibly the demands on time by the curriculum and limited resources in schools make Dacosta's (1988) exercises impossible to undertake. Also, teachers' expectations and the interaction between pupils and teachers were suggested as making the students happier and more able to produce 'neat and tidy work'. This is a contrast to Wright's (1987) observation in a mainstream school which was 'characterised by confrontation and conflict' (Wright's, 1987:110). There is the need to examine whether such practices improves students' performances in their work.

3. viii. Conclusion

In the studies reviewed in this chapter, it becomes apparent that Black Supplementary schools as organised by African Caribbean communities are of recent origin in Britain and the community in which they exist take the schools very seriously as means for redressing the imbalance in the education of black students in Britain. The schools appear to function to 'supplement' black students' education in terms of what mainstream schools seemed unable to provide. Only Stone (1981) suggests that Supplementary schools appeared not to be viewed as alternative to mainstream schooling. The majority of the schools appeared to focus on three main areas of work - the 3'R's, Black culture and traditions, including language and work on a range of mainstream school subjects. However, the emphasis seems to differ from one school to another depending on the ideological orientation of the organisation and educational needs as perceived by parents and students.

Also, it becomes clear from this review that in general, BSSs were essential for the educational achievement of black students in British society and both parents and pupils, supported by the Rampton Report (1981) which believed attendance of these to be very useful to help black students do better in mainstream schools.

Some of the difficulties identified emphasised the problem associated with having adequate and sufficient funding in Supplementary school. Funding was shown to be affecting the work being done and the resources available, and for making the provision related and attractive to everyone in the community. Also, the schools appear to operate independently without close links with one another.

The intention of this research is to follow some of the suggested avenues as highlighted in the literature review for the design of the research and for the collection and analysis of data from Supplementary schools. However, it would be reasonable to claim that many of the accounts reviewed are 'snapshots' of what goes on in Supplementary schools and that several are

accounts of visits of short duration, rather than a detailed account of a sustained involvement in the schools. There is a qualitative difference in the accounts depending on how the data were collected. Dacosta (1988) suggested that Clark's (1982) brief account is perhaps qualitatively superior to that of Stone's (1981) longer account and infinitely better than the other accounts resulting from short visits to Supplementary schools.

In general, most of the above accounts are based on schools with less than 60 students on average. Also the accounts do not provide enough detail about the location of these supplementary schools within any conceptual framework or provide information about the relational dynamics within them. Most of all, a systematic and sustained ethnographic study of Supplementary schooling in Britain has not previously been undertaken by a non Caribbean. This present research is intended to fill such a gap and the next Chapter will examine the appropriate research methodology to achieve this.

PART THREE

4. CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.i. Introduction

The concern of this present research was to study a social and educational initiative and proposed that the best way to have a comprehensive research knowledge of what goes on in a Black Supplementary School was by participating in it as much as possible, while obtaining data from participants and making a careful note of everything that took place. The data gathering in this study will not be an adjunct to any other data gathering e.g. a pilot study of the main study but will be the main task in itself. I aspired to the kind of detailed and insightful data that are possible about the activities of this community through the use of an ethnographic research approach in preference to other approaches available to the researcher. In other words, the experience and the perception of the people involved in the activity could only be understood appropriately if the researcher is able to be part of their world. This is a form of qualitative fieldwork. It offers opportunities to blend multiple sources of data, which will be collected over an extended period, to generate new insights concerning the intricacies of the organisational life of the Supplementary School as in ethnographic research (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) (1).

Woods, (1986) writing about ethnography, described it as the knowledge gained through a description of the way of life of a race or group of people. It is concerned with issues about how people think, behave and interact, and:

... aims to uncover beliefs, values, perspectives and motivations,

but most importantly:

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

Woods (1986: 4).

From this statement, it is clear that in ethnographic work, the researcher's task is, as it were, to enter the world of a group under study and view it 'from the inside'. Such a view cannot be obtained through brief visits to the group but is one in which the researcher has to spend a long period getting to know the group, being accepted by it and learning about its culture. The learning of such culture through the participants' own knowledge, requires careful unravelling of the several layers of 'social meanings and interpretative structures' provided in the 'reality' of the social group and their activity.

Research tends to be a process of systematic (and not so systematic) inquiry that leads to knowledge of the social world. Ethnography, as stated above, is one of the ways for carrying out such inquiry in sociological and educational research. The use of this form of research appears to be growing in the academic world and has been on the increase in Britain since the 1970s. Historically, academic research has attached considerable importance to implementing a particular model of research that is believed to underpin progress in the natural sciences and which tends to be known as 'the scientific method'. As such, ethnography tended to be 'dismissed' as a highly participant and unscientific research method. Today, it is widely accepted as a legitimate and acceptable approach for research purposes in sociology and, especially, in the sociology of education (Sharp, 1986). There appears to have been a significant shift among social scientists from their faith in earlier mainstream sociological models and quantitative procedures within the tradition of structural functionalism and positivism to that with change, which requires explanation.

Henwood and Nicolson (1995), Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), among others like Wilson (1971) and Gorbett (1972), have argued that social scientists have increasingly felt a tension

between conceptions of, on the one hand, social science based on the practices of natural science and on the other hand it being based on the social world. Although Henwood and Nicolson (1995) and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) are not keen to dichotomise the two epistemological positions, they feel that there is a significant difference between the two and for purposes of explanation, refer to these as two paradigms, 'positivism' and 'naturalism'. Positivism is viewed as the belief that claims that human behaviour is amenable to study through methods as used in the natural sciences and that the most important feature of scientific theories is that they are participant to tests which can be confirmed or falsified. Following in the Popperian tradition, the methods used in positivism focus on testing hypotheses against a Durkheimian notion of 'social facts' using a range of standardised experiments and survey procedures. Such procedures which emphasise the importance of 'objectivity' in research findings permit replication and are centrally concerned with establishing causal relationships between a number of variables in the research process. The major negative factor in this stereotyped investigative activity is best shown by a joke in which one of two rats, standing in a Skinner box, says 'Boy have I got this guy conditioned, every time I press the bar he gives me food' (Skinner, 1956). Such a process could be contrasted with 'naturalism' which draws from a wide range of philosophical and sociological ideas and within which it is believed that the social world can only be studied in its 'natural state', and without the requirement of the experimental or measuring instruments favoured by positivism. Thus Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), argue that the social world cannot be understood in terms of causal relationships or by the subsumption of social events under universal laws. This is because human actions are based upon, or infused by, social meanings: intentions, motives, attitudes, and beliefs (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:7). In this, the methodological principles and practices (e.g. impartial, value-free observation; reliable and valid measurement of constructs and controlled experiments assessing relationships between variables) which are the prescribed ways of ensuring that accurate discoveries are made about the empirical world, as in 'quantitative' research paradigm, is contrasted with an alternative 'qualitative' research paradigm which rests on the adoption of a rather different epistemological position (constructivism) (2).

From the researcher's point of view, the 'naturalist' or 'constructivism' ('qualitative' research paradigm) criticism of positivism is justified because, while in the natural sciences it is perfectly possible to experiment with a whole range of variables and undertake much testing, such procedures are highly questionable with human beings who do not behave in predictable ways like molecules or atoms. It could be argued therefore that human behaviour is highly complex and meanings do not merely reflect the world as it exists, but are produced or constructed by persons and are within cultural, social and historical relationships, thus mainly amenable to study through 'naturalistic' - ('qualitative' research paradigm) - procedures such as ethno-methodology.

This conventional distinction between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' research is useful here because it links issues of research practice and method with wider epistemological questions, as well as with the social and political dimensions of scientific inquiry. It thus leads to a greater diversity of approaches and methods with a critical awareness of their relative strengths and weaknesses (see e.g. Hammersley, 1990, 1992b and Silverman, 1993)

Unlike Silverman (1985), who argued for a principled mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods, Hammersley (1989) made distinctions between the two and argued that one of the major weaknesses of the positivist paradigm was its failure to give much cognisance to human agency and the creative realm of individual consciousness. Thus within ethnography, instead of focusing on objective 'social facts' for study, the key elements for study are human consciousness and creative projects in which active minds are in interaction with other active minds and are engaged in a range of activities participatively constructed and mediated through daily encounters and relationships. This method of collecting data for research, Rowan and Reason (1981) argued as more ethically beneficial because it is a collaborative and egalitarian mode of inquiry.

In this, the connection between what goes on in the Skinner's box and the output from the input no longer applies. This is because the processes of understanding the behaviour and responses of human beings, depends not just on the external conditions, but the conceptualization of those conditions by the participant. Human beings are more complex than the participant matter which the physicist, the chemists or the botanists tend to seek to order or make sensible. The participant's understanding of the situation, their social and cultural orientation, and not the stimulus, affect the result of a data.

However, in any research either quantitative or qualitative, there is the need to follow a procedure. McCall and Simmons (1969) put this succinctly when they argued that research has to follow recognised procedures and these are briefly referred to below in fairly broad terms before providing a detailed account of the procedures adopted in this particular research. Firstly, access has to be gained to the 'area' of study (appendix 5). Next, the field research begins through the recording of observations and undertaking of interviews. When the data are collected, these have to be ordered and classified in preparation for an analysis of the data. Such analysis could then lead to the generation of theory which can be written up, be tested, confirmed or rejected by the participants.

The issue of 'analysis' will be discussed a little later in this chapter. However, it must be noted that the ethnographer needs to see the whole process from a holistic approach, as opposed to seeing each activity referred to above as sequential or being in distinct phases. For example, the procedures for negotiating access and of data collection are not necessarily distinct phases in the research process within ethnography. They overlap significantly and a researcher might know much about the school even from the initial response given during the initial contact. There are many things which could be learnt from the problems involved in making contact with groups and much flexibility is required to respond to unexpected openings or constraints faced by the researcher. It must be recognised that unlike some other kinds of research (Atkinson 1979), the course that ethnography will take cannot be predetermined. But this does not mean that the researcher's action in the field has to be uncertain and unclear and take 'the

line of least resistance' that appears to be available (Warren 1974). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) emphasise that 'the research design should be a reflexive process operating throughout every stage of a project'. Therefore, it should be noted that unlike positivistic research methodology, it is not possible in ethnographic work, almost by definition, to have a fully designed pre-fieldwork phase. The flexibility permitted by ethnography means that since it does not entail extensive pre-fieldwork design, as social surveys and experiments generally do, the strategy and even the direction of the research can be changed relatively easily, in line with changing assessments of what is required in the process of the research. Also, this form of research is context-sensitive and dependent on the personal interaction of the researcher and the participants. Although this puts an emphasis on the researcher as an instrument, the empathic understanding of human beings and the competency of the researcher as a trained counsellor became useful during this research.

4. ii. Gaining access to Supplementary School(s)

Being a teacher and a black person put me in touch with an existing Supplementary School in the north London area which was looking for black adults within the community to be role models to their students. This was on a limited basis and only put me in touch with a small school in the Finsbury Park area, north of London. I had to pay for my own transportation to this school every Saturday and ran a series of textiles workshops free of charge. Through my personal determination of wanting to be engaged in such a school, the school became a means of connecting me socially with the African and Caribbean community in the North London area and I came in contact with Irma La Rose, the Secretary of the National Association of Supplementary Schools (3). It was through this secretary that the researcher got to know of other Supplementary Schools around the London boroughs. Whilst running adire (Indigo dye) workshops at this school and playing Yoruba-Nigerian drums during their fundraising activities, the researcher became involved in this school and has since been invited to all their

activities. The work for this research developed as from that moment but the direction it would take was totally unclear at that stage.

As stated in the introduction to this study, there were few references to Supplementary Schools in the literature, most of which were journalistic articles in newspapers (usually referred to as Saturday schools) when the researcher began to consider possible ways and means of studying Supplementary Schooling. The researcher was of the opinion that being a black person would make access into all the Supplementary Schools possible and was of the view that having schools covering different geographical areas of London and Hertfordshire would be useful for comparative purposes. This was soon found to be too optimistic as only two other schools responded positively to the researcher's initial request as a black person to involve their school (4). Also, using so many schools might have generated evidence of a fairly superficial nature rather than developing a more in-depth, collaborative and egalitarian mode of inquiry (e.g. Reason and Rowan, 1981). In retrospect, such an avenue was wisely abandoned. Nevertheless, having become aware of other Black Supplementary Schools, and being in a full-time teaching job during the week, visits were made to the two other Supplementary Schools running classes on Saturdays to assess the ease of access into such schools and for a better selection in terms of participants for research purposes. After the initial reply to the researcher's letter, a preliminary telephone call to the organisers of these schools was made before each visit. Although the organisers said this was unnecessary, the researcher was of the view that it helps keep the line of communication open. The three Supplementary Schools thus visited during weekends were in the London area, in Camden, Croydon and Finsbury Park. All were in areas of large concentrations of African and Caribbean households. Two of the schools were fairly similar in the way they were organised. They receive grants from their Local Education Authority mostly to pay the rents of the building being used, pay out-of-pocket expenses and to pay minimal remunerations which seems to act like a retention fee for the voluntary teachers. Whilst the one in Finsbury Park relies on parents' donations for paying the rent of the Youth club building they use on Saturday mornings and to buy refreshments for the

children, the one in Croydon collects contributions from the parents to pay other bills e.g. buying textbooks, exercise books and other stationery (5).

4. iii. Data collection through participant-observation

Having gained access to the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project (CSEP), the biggest of all the three Supplementary Schools and consulted with my supervisor, a decision was taken fairly soon following the visits referred to above, to stay at this school for the purpose of carrying out the fieldwork for this research throughout an academic year. In other words, a decision had been taken to collect data through case studies (Cohen and Manion 1980) and interviews from a number of participants. The central question of this research is what kind of alternative education is the black community initiating in Britain and why? A second consequent question is what are black people's experiences in these initiatives?

In attempting to address the main question, the research adopted a certain methodological stance. The literature on research methodology (Atkinson, 1979; Cohen and Manion, 1980; Rowan, 1981; Maruyama, 1981) suggested that the most suitable research techniques would be observation, participant-observation and the interview. Observational studies are sometimes classified as participant-observation and non-participant observation and this is the usage adopted here. In participant-observation, whilst keeping the anxiety level to the minimum as suggested by Maruyama (1981) e.g. by not doing things intentionally like taking the children or parents aside for interviews without the prior agreement of the teacher or the director, the researcher participates and engages in the activities of the group under study to the point that he is relatively indistinguishable from the rest of the participants. A classic study of this type would include that of Whyte (1955) in '*Street Corner Society*'.

In non-participant observation, the researcher essentially avoids interaction with the group under study on the assumption that it is important not to influence or affect the activities and

dynamics of the group under study in any way. The non-participant observer may also be involved in structured or unstructured non-participant observation depending on the focus of the research and the kind of data that are sought for research purposes. The intention of the researcher here is to see how the Supplementary School visited works. In this the researcher intends to collect data by finding and defining what Rowan (1981:88) described as 'reality testing and psyche testing'. However, there are problems posed by this particular mode of study. While many researchers might claim that in time the non-participant observer ceases to be an object of curiosity in a group or classroom and thus does not affect the normal activities of a group, King's (1978) study of infant classrooms suggests that very clear strategies had to be employed by him to maintain a 'social distance' between himself and the infants he was observing, especially avoiding eye contact. Although King (1978) was able to undertake a most interesting sociological study of infants' classrooms and provides a detailed account of the activities there, he draws the researcher's attention to the difficulties of being a non-participant observer and influencing, even if in a small way, the activities of the group or persons under study.

He reported it thus:

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

King (1978:5).

In order to minimise such effects from the presence of the researcher, the research process will sensitively focus on the participant's own experience and allow the individual to explore their own experience by the use of empathy. This may be a flexibility that will be unlikely to be standardised. This absence of standardization in the studies, which take place in a natural surrounding, may yield a chance of being able to describe the experiences of the people involved holistically. Gans (1982) argued that in reality, most studies in natural surroundings

are unstructured participant-observation studies. A negative point that might arise from this is that if a researcher does not participate in the activities of a group in any meaningful way, it becomes difficult to explain the presence of the researcher, because such presence to the group is so obvious. A way of minimising the presence of the researcher is through the use of electronic equipment such as the video recorder and the audio tape. Although I could not hope to collect the depth of materials generated by extensive ethnographic research (conducted over months or even years in the field), my intention was to retain a degree of flexibility necessary to adjust the fieldwork to possible new issues of concern such as re-visiting the school for further interviews or to receive other documentation (see Burgess 1985: 9-10).

However, recording data on electronic machines has limitations. Apart from the amount of time it takes to transcribe verbatim what has been recorded, and although it could record both verbal and non-verbal cues of the respondent, video recorders can be intrusive and invariably need to be manned by a trained individual who will need to try to record as much of what goes on as possible over fixed periods of time. The audio tape has the disadvantage of not being able to record the expressions and mannerisms of respondents which can be an important element in terms of analysis.

From all the foregoing, participant-observation in the Supplementary School was judged the most appropriate method to adopt with other supporting methods such as the conversational interview when necessary, during which a tape recorder was used.

The particular advantages of participant-observation lay in the following:

- a) The quality of the data that could be collected through participant observation was inevitably superior to data that were obtainable by questionnaire survey (McCall and Simmons 1969).

- b) In-depth interviews were possible because of the close informal working relationship; which could be done through conversation and negotiation between the interviewer and the participant.
- c) The researcher would require a long period to gain an 'understanding' of what was going on and this could be assisted by a close informed working relationship with the available informants in the natural setting of class teaching groups during teaching sessions and during a range of formal and informal breaks in the activities of the Supplementary School.
- d) It would be possible to note ongoing behaviour as it occurred. Brief notes could be made immediately and longer ones as soon as possible.

Although the discussion above favours the participant observer mode of inquiry as the most appropriate way of gathering data about a range of activities in the Supplementary School, careful note had to be taken of the criticisms of participant-observation. Cohen and Manion (1980) state that the criticism has focused on the following:

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

Cohen and Manion (1980:104).

A black researcher carrying out a research in a Black school such as the CSEP, needs some elucidation. Being a black person, the danger as pointed above is indeed a major problem which this research needs to consider to justify the use of participant-observation as a mode of inquiry. There is the need to ensure that although the researcher works closely with those individuals he is studying, he is able to distance himself and let the participant speak

adequately about the social phenomena being investigated and express the real nature of the institution being studied. Thus, the intention is to allow the participants in the research an opportunity to bring their own perspectives to the analysis. Also, he has to make sense of the social actions of the members of the social group under study without projecting his own meaning into such interpretation. This is indeed a difficult task but it could gradually become a skill, the researcher hopes to gradually get better at it and thus counteract any bias which might arise in the research act. However, it can never be proven conclusively that a researcher's own participative judgement may not have entered a particular interpretation through the process of 'going native' in participant-observation. Like other ethnographers, this is the problem which I have to grapple with.

The issue of validity is of critical importance in any research work and traditional research methods lay considerable importance on this issue. An operative definition of validity relates to measurement. In this a valid measure is one which 'measures what it purports to measure'. This could be in terms of internal validity (i.e. one which indicates that the conclusions arrived at are genuinely 'real' to those in the situation being studied and about the data accumulated in the research activity) or of external validity (i.e. to what populations, settings or situations can the result of this study be applicable). This concern for external validity is of major concern (Blalock, 1960) to 'normative' and 'psychometric' research where great care has to be taken in relation to representative sampling of a given population under study. This is partly to make it possible to replicate studies, but also to make broad generalisations of a scientific nature. The literature indicates that in ethnographic studies, this concern of external validity is less important because essentially one is less concerned about the generalisability of the results. Instead the view is taken that the in-depth participative examination of a form of social action should be illuminative for other similar situations but not necessarily replicable. Rowan (1981:240) argues that there are other various types of validity that need to be considered to present a holistic picture from data collected from different people about a specific participant. This argument creates a new dimension on the debate about validity. A specific one which is relevant to this research is the convergent validity. Convergent validity indicates that the data

collected from different people all point in the same direction, i.e. different view points produce a similar picture of the participant. In this sense, the ethnographer is engaged in a series of unique studies to get nearer to the 'reality', i.e. the real situation as it exists for the participants experiencing what goes on in the Supplementary Schools, which may or may not have generalisable properties to them.

4. iv. Recording Procedures

The procedure followed in this research to record all that the researcher observed in the school being studied included the use of unstructured observations. In this, short notes were usually made during the school session depending on the activities being observed by the researcher. Examples of the notes would include such activities as the following: the students working on a given task, the numbers of students attending by gender, the number of teachers taking classes, the activities the children were engaged in, the conversations that took place between the researcher and the students and with the teachers, notes of the level and kind of interaction between different individuals in the school, the coming in and going out of the school by students and teachers and the manner of staff attending to parents. The researcher as teacher could jot down notes in an exercise book which was identical to a student's school exercise book. This helped not to arouse the students' curiosity and to make such recording activity appear as innocuous as possible to the children and the other teachers in the school. As there was a limited time available to make such notes in the school, more detailed notes were made at the end of a school day when the children and the staff had all gone (6).

The length of the notes varied but care was taken to record as much as was possible about what actually occurred on a given day.

4. v. Recording interviews and conversations

An interview is essentially a 'transaction' that takes place between a researcher -the individual seeking information or data for research purposes and the participant -one able to provide the information/data. The interview takes place in order to obtain data, comments and information about the object of study. For research purposes it varies from the highly structured formal interview which follows a carefully structured schedule of questions to the informal interview:

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

Cohen and Manion (1980:241).

Although interview transcripts form the bulk of data that will be presented in the remaining chapters, the researcher was able to collect a good deal of documentation (including policy statements, students' books, newspaper cuttings about the school) and material from a BBC radio interview held about the school a year prior to this fieldwork.

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

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

Becker and Geer (1969:323).

Although this research adopts the first part of Becker and Geer's (1969) statement above, the later part does not go with qualitative investigation which the researcher here adopts. This research rejects the standard objection which views qualitative interviews as relevant only in the exploratory phase of research. It wants to retain the richness of all the sources of data in

the descriptions provided through the participant's own self-knowledge of the phenomenon as they happened within the Supplementary School. Rather than interrogating the participant, the researcher adopts the view that the people involved are the 'best judge' though not infallible, of their experiences (Allport, 1962:405-422). The unstructured interview permits the researcher the widest opportunity possible to obtain data from interviews in the form of conversational data. The researcher in this present study felt the need to ensure that some central detailed information from five sources that could provide information about the school was obtained. These five sources were:

- a) the directors
- b) the teachers
- c) the students
- d) the parents
- e) others in the community

This approach was adopted by the researcher to enable him to collect a holistic description of their experiences of what is going on from their perspective in the Supplementary School. What follows is a summary of the main areas discussed with the Directors, the teachers, the students and the parents. The actual interview schedules are given in Appendix 6.

4. vi. Areas covered in my interviews with the Directors and the teachers

- A. Details of the School, the aims and objectives of the school.
- B. Their involvement with the school and any other schools.
- C. What led to the establishment of the school.

- D. Own previous education and training.
- E. The nature and the involvement of the parents.
- F. The nature and the involvement of the students.
- G. The nature of the curriculum and pedagogy.
- H. The nature and the involvement of the teachers.
- I. The nature of the funding.
- J. The nature of the promotional exercises and the media.
- K. The nature and their involvement with other Supplementary Schools.
- L. The nature of their interactions with the community and parents.
- M. The organisation and management of the school.
- N. Attitudes of students to the school and to their work. Any gender differences?
- O. Motivating factors.
- P. The nature of the discipline problems and how this is being addressed.
- Q. The nature of their successes and failures.
- R. The nature and the involvement of outside agencies.

S. Personal projection on the future of the organisation and Supplementary Schools in the U.K.

4. vii. Areas covered in my interviews with students

A. Why they come to this school?

B. How they got to know about the school?

C. Own perception of school work in Supplementary School.

D. Personal future aspirations.

E. Own perception of discipline and rewards.

F. Own perception of the rules and regulations at the CSEP.

G. Own attitude to the school work and staff at the CSEP. Any gender differences?

H. Own perception of parents' attitude to the CSEP. Any gender differences?

I. Motivating factors and improvements if any?

J. Own perception of the effects of attending the CSEP on academic, personal, social and others. Evidence on which the results are based?

K. Own perception of the relationship between the teachers, the students and

parents.

- L. Own perception and encounters with the authority in mainstream schools and the CSEP.
- M. Own perception of likes and dislikes about mainstream schools and the CSEP.
- N. Own perception of the future of the CSEP.

4. viii. Areas covered in my interviews with parents and others in the community

- A. Why they send their children to the school?
- B. How they got to know about the school?
- C. What influenced their choice?
- D. Brief description of the area they live in.
- E. Perception of own relationship and involvement with the CSEP and mainstream schools?
- F. Perception of the classroom activities in the CSEP and mainstream schools.
- G. Own perception of the relationship and own experiences with the teachers at the CSEP and mainstream schools.
- H. Own perception of children's performance before attending the CSEP and

now; and future career.

- I. Own perception of the general atmosphere and own experience in the CSEP and mainstream schools.
- J. Own perception of the funding and own involvement with the CSEP.
- K. Perception of own satisfaction / dissatisfaction with the CSEP and mainstream schools.
- L. Own perception of non-black people's perception of the CSEP.
- M. Own perception on the future of the CSEP.

4. ix. Further data collection

Although the researcher has participated in Supplementary education before, finding a suitable school and gathering data for this type of research was not a straightforward issue. He began by making contacts with those in the community who have written about education and black children such as David Gillborn of the London University Institute of Education and Sally Tomlinson of London University Goldsmith College. Those who are involved with the running of Supplementary School were also contacted, such as John La Rose and Irma La Rose of George Padmore Supplementary School in Finsbury Park, as well as those who have attended a Supplementary School such as Michael La Rose and Mark Roberston and are now back as workers at the two Supplementary Schools visited. Some were found by just asking around within the black community in Hertfordshire and in the London area. This was a long process as only few contacts yielded positive results. However, these earlier contacts served as a launching platform that introduced me to the wider black educational community.

Having a practical skill to share, because of being a teacher of technology, I assisted in helping to revitalise children's interest in an ailing school (7). I began by introducing the children to adire - a dyeing process popular in Nigeria. This assisted me in forming relationships with the children and particularly their teachers and parents. They began to introduce me to others who were involved with the running of Supplementary Schools. From an ethnographic point of view such unexpected opportunities began to help the researcher to come across a wide spectrum of opinion within the African Caribbean community and to become known within it (Cottle, 1982). Dacosta (1988), in his doctoral thesis (unpublished), pointed out the usefulness of this for his fieldwork whilst doing similar research amongst the West Indian community in London. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that such involvement helps to generate valuable qualitative data in a research project and that the interpretation provided in a study gains immensely through the many shades of meaning to be found in such interaction.

The introduction of the researcher to this community caused much involvement at the beginning of the research work. He found himself being invited to fundraising activities to perform, using his other skills as a Yoruba drummer and story teller (Appendix 7). He was also invited to other celebrations such as a Christmas party, school open days, a barbecue with the Parents Students Association (PSA), and carnival costume launching. He was even invited to play his talking drum during one of the carnival processions but had to turn this down because he was away in Nigeria. Also, the researcher was introduced to a BBC Radio 4 producer and was interviewed for one of their community programmes on Supplementary education. These activities assisted the researcher to establish good working relationships which helped to develop a clear understanding of the nature of this social organisation (Wilkinson, 1971; Fox Piven and Cloward, 1977). The researcher took every opportunity to work closely with this core group of activists and obtained large quantities of data. Throughout, very careful notes were made by the researcher and, like King's (1978) account of his method of data collection, several files of notes were produced.

4. xi. Contacts with mainstream schools

Attempts were made to collect data from some of the mainstream schools around the Croydon area. This was to find out the perception of some of the people at mainstream schools of the Supplementary School in the area and to elicit their views on the performances of the children.

Since there were no replies from this group of people, the researcher will use the data collected from different perspectives during the fieldwork to do the triangulation.

This group of people possibly did not participate because of being cautious about being accused of being racist. Their not taking a side could be stated as taking a side, which is in itself a form of racism (Mukherjee, 1984:5-8). Also, it could be that because the researcher is not from the London Borough of Croydon, they might be wary of involving their school and the negative publicity it might give their school, if the researcher should make any suggestion about their being racist.

Such a detailed data collection approach is what Dacosta (1988:106) described as an 'immersion' into the community. It became very time-consuming, leaving relatively little time for reading and writing around the theme of the research. However, with being involved in these various activities, the researcher was able to obtain a fairly sharp focus to the study and collect vast quantities of data in the form of handwritten notes, and tape recordings lasting 60 hours. The distinct components of the data collection are now summarised below:

4. xii. Data collection phases

a) Dyeing workshops in Supplementary Schools

November 1992 - June 1996

b) Involvement with the core activists in discussing the education of black

Children in Britain

October 1993 - February 1997

- c) Contacts with previous students of Supplementary Schools

June 1996 - January 1997

- d) Interview of staff, students, parents and others in the community

September 1995 - July 1996

- e) Obtaining the comments of some of the participants on researcher's analysis

October 1997 - May 1998

These other data which (Davies et al. 1985) described as the integrated data collection makes this research have a more holistic approach. The time for collecting this data took just over five years.

A discussion of the activity in the above phases is contained in the analysis of the data from Chapter 5 to Chapter 8.

4. xiii. Research Techniques

Earlier on in this chapter a reference was made to techniques relating to observation, participant-observation and interviews which were used at the Croydon Supplementary School. These methods were adapted to each occasion as appropriate.

In relation to finding out about Supplementary Schools and the central views of the key activists about their involvement, four main methods were used:

- a) Recording, categorising and analysing their views, whether expressed in social gatherings or at the presentations on two school open days held during the course of the research.

- b) Semi-structured interviews - these were taped in most instances or where a tape recorder would not be suitable, notes were made as quickly as possible from memory to ensure a faithful record of what went on.
- c) The use of official and semi-official documentation like the constitution and the end of year accounts.
- d) The comments of some of the participants on the researcher's analysis.

There are some key issues which the researcher set for himself to be covered during any meeting whilst discussing matters associated with Supplementary Schools, with individuals or in small group discussions. They include the following:

i) Data sought from those involved with the Supplementary Schools:

- . What was the central purpose of black Supplementary Schools?
- . What should be taught in the Supplementary Schools and what should the curriculum consist of?
- . How should the schools be funded?
- . Who should teach in the schools?
- . What is the future of the black Supplementary Schools in Britain?

ii) Discussion on the concept of racism:

- . Views on racism: is it real or imagined?
- . Attitudes towards racism.
- . How black people should respond?

(iii) Discussion about all black schools/separate schools:

- . Awareness of what went on in mainstream schools.

- . Exclusions and alienation of black youth.
- . Relationship with the indigenous society.
- . Relationship with other Supplementary Schools.

This acted for the researcher as a 'skeleton' on which to map out information as it emerged during discussion or presentation, or interview with the individual. Whilst I could not hope to collect all the depth of material that one tends to obtain through an extended ethnographic fieldwork, I was able to retain the degree of flexibility (Burgess 1985: 9-10) with which to adjust to new issues as they arose either in a meeting, telephone call or discussion. Every opportunity was seen as an opportunity to gather data. At times relatively little new data was obtained and at others, new avenues suddenly availed themselves (Honigmann 1982).

By September 1996, the researcher felt reasonably satisfied that sufficient data had been collected and that he could start with the categorisation and analysis of the data. Since the important aim of qualitative research is to obtain precise, and rich descriptions (Kvale 1994:14), a form of analysis takes place throughout the data collection period. The research did not follow a linear process from hypothesis formulation to data collection, data analysis and theory construction. Rather, it followed a continual back and forth process between observation and interaction, description and interpretation, conceptualising and analysing. This means that although there were some orientations in collecting data which the researcher had considered prior to actually collecting the data, new orientations inevitably offered themselves throughout the study. This has the benefit of alerting the researcher to identify and seek specific forms of data which were not apparent at the design stage (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

In seeking data on the origin of Supplementary Schools, their mission and purpose and the structure in Chapter 5, it was decided that there were four main questions which had to be addressed:

- a) When did the schools start?
- b) Why did they start?
- c) How did they develop?
- d) What were their major problems?

A discussion now follows on the methodological issues relating to the historical account of these schools.

4. xiv. Methodological considerations on the historical contact

Although this is primarily a psycho-sociological study, the opportunity was sought to undertake a historical account of the origins of the schools as few detailed accounts through research work existed at the time of the field work.

Supplementary Schools in England started within the London area (Tomlinson 1984:68-77). There were main groups of activists who generated strong support for these schools mainly in the London area as well as in other areas with a large concentration of black people. In the London area, the researcher contacted two activists, John La Rose and Irma La Rose, who had been directly involved in the beginnings of the schools in London in the 1960s. By seeking detailed individual accounts from these informants about their perceptions regarding the beginning of Supplementary Schools in the London area, and by verifying such information against each other's account, the researcher was able to piece together (Mouly 1978) how the ideas of the Supplementary School began and even to locate a copy of a crucial document that played a significant part in the history of the schools (Appendix 8). Thus primary data was obtained to confirm the oral testimony provided by informants.

Historical investigation encompasses a methodical evaluation and synthesis of evidence with the aim of determining or establishing facts and drawing conclusions about past events (Mouly 1978; Burgess 1982; Samuel 1982). Such a search depends on the recording of events which cannot be repeated, and the researcher is dependent on written records or publications, or on verbal accounts of people actually present during the events. Authors like Cohen and Manion (1980) have argued that in seeking data from the personal experiences and observations of others, from documents and records, the researcher has often to contend with inadequate information. Such information therefore makes the construction be:

... sketchy rather than a full representation.

Cohen and Manion (1980:32).

This statement by Cohen and Manion (1980) could be used to strengthen one's argument on data collection, and this was particularly relevant to forming historical accounts of the social setting of Supplementary Schools.

One of the aims of this research was to conduct a limited historical investigation of Supplementary Schools through finding out about the origins of the black Supplementary School from key respondents. Some of the guiding key issues raised during the exploratory work were:

- a) What events took place.
- b) Persons involved in these events.
- c) Their role in these events.

Although it has been argued earlier on that the true statement of a person's experience rests with the person, there is the need for the data generated to be appraised for authenticity and accuracy in research such as this. According to Best (1970) primary sources are harder to locate but are usually more trustworthy. For validity purposes, it is important to countercheck

the data and not to accept their statement as necessarily true, even when several others agree about it. Best (1970) when writing about the authenticity of such data, suggested that it is possible that one may have influenced the others, or that all were influenced by the same inaccurate source of information (8). This was done during the field study by asking the respondents similar questions on the constitution of the CSEP and by examining the aims of the school during interviews. There seems to be an agreement in what the respondents stated. These can be seen in the next chapter.

Details were provided in the early part of this chapter about how a fortuitous meeting with one of the earlier activists in Supplementary Schools led to an access to one of the Supplementary Schools. Throughout the research, other possible avenues had to be anticipated so that every opportunity could be grasped to open as many doors as possible into different schools. Although the research focused on one Supplementary School, every available opening was 'seized' upon to know more about the schools. It is important to reflect on some of the ways and means this was achieved.

Being a black person the issue of gaining an entry into each Supplementary School was not very difficult. However, securing an entry into the Supplementary Schools and an opening into the inner workings of the schools as a researcher was more difficult and needed fairly subtle means and skills. One of the skills used was that of openness. This skill, acquired by the researcher from counselling, helped him to be open to people and receptive to whatever they had for him. The openness here does not mean that of a 'tabula rasa' type of mind, but one in which the researcher was genuine in accepting the people as they are and allowing them to express themselves. Although being a member of a broad black (African, Asian and Caribbean) ethnic minority might have assisted, the years of experience as a counsellor, the dexterity of mingling with people from different backgrounds and the personality of the researcher helped during the period of fieldwork. Being a Yoruba from Nigeria with traditional marks on my face sometimes helps in breaking the ice when meeting people, especially people from African Caribbean origins involved with the Supplementary Schools

investigated. Most of the people from this community perceived the researcher as relating to their 'ancestors' before the slave trade era. It was necessary to take very great care not to discount this. By not actively discouraging this view it helped to avoid the risk of being deemed an outsider (Silverman 1985). The identity of the researcher is not concealed as he speaks English in his broad Yoruba-Nigerian accent. Some of the people were able to ask immediately on first meeting which part of Nigeria the researcher is from and for others it became a way of introducing myself to them rather than as a researcher (9).

Being from an African background therefore, assisted the researcher in being seen as 'belonging' to the group as opposed to being an outsider. This assisted him to develop a network of people within the Supplementary Schools who were willing to help with the research. This could have been what was lacking when Gillborn (1995:7) stated a less fruitful experience in his research work when considering the issue of 'race' and racism. A white researcher (except if she/he were from South Africa or the Caribbean perhaps) would not have found it at all easy to be involved in some of the Supplementary Schools' activities, especially in relating to the group of activists. This may have many implications on the views people will have about the kind of research possible in specific areas of race relations in educational and sociological theory in the future.

The researcher, using some other connection like being a member of the National Union of Teachers, as well as his ethnicity by belonging to and taking an active part in the Black Teachers' wing of the union, attempted a social mapping of the locations of Black Supplementary Schools. This was done after obtaining the list of the participants present during one of the National Association of Supplementary Schools (NASS) meetings. The list reflected only those in the London area. For further attempts to collect a list that reflects a national location (see notes 10). The subtlety of being from the same race affects race and race relations in Britain and studying one's own people might have its own problem, i.e. being too subjective. This study sets out to 'objectify' this subjective as far as possible. This subjective involvement, as in this study of 'ourselves', may lead to gaining a new theoretical

understanding. Although there is the need for genuineness to come from people from different races, there tends to be deep suspicion about anyone wanting to undertake research on the black community from individuals outside the community, even sometimes from within the community itself. This is illustrated in the following example. The researcher received tacit approval for the research to take place in the chosen school by the Director and founder of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project in 1993, who made all the resources available, provided that a copy of the findings was submitted for their archives. This had to be re-negotiated with the new director who took over during the period of field work. Although the door to the place for this research was kept open by the director, new tactics had to be used to retain the school for the fieldwork and to gain access to some important information, especially the financial accounts.

To gain further access, the researcher had to cooperate with all the people in other key posts such as the assistant directors and the chairperson of the Management Committee. Instead of following the director's suggestions of meeting the parents, the students or the teacher myself, I found that using the assistant director to introduce me was useful. As such, no covert approach (Jarvie 1982) was used during the period in which the data were collected. Being open and going through the assistant director served to remove any anxiety that might have been present. Also the researcher had to take a low key approach during this stage of the research and informed only a few people about the research. This was to ensure that no individual took it upon themselves to arbitrarily object to the research and bring it inevitably to an untimely end. Secondly, with only a few people knowing that a researcher was going to interview them before they were interviewed, the researcher was of the opinion that the tendency 'to play to the gallery' and thus 'contaminate' the data that were being collected was minimised (Beauchamp et al. 1982).

Throughout the fieldwork period, the researcher focused on a case study approach (Simons 1980) for part of the data collection. It was felt, as stated earlier, that a detailed case study and interview of a number of people within Supplementary Schools would provide particular



insights which would not be available in a survey, or the use of a questionnaire approach to a large number of Supplementary Schools. It was also felt that such insights could provide considerable illumination into what goes on in Supplementary Schools as well as all the contradictions that might exist. It was anticipated that the data would enable the researcher to explore deeply issues which were interdependent or interpenetrated to create a whole. Thus the researcher shared Rowan's (1981) view of the case study in a dialectical paradigm for research as:

... yielding a deeper and more extensive truth (about a phenomenon).

Rowan (1981:93-112).

This is necessary to:

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

Cohen and Manion (1980: 99).

4. xv. Validating the data

The issue of validity is an important element in any research paradigm. 'Triangulation' is the major means of validating accounts and observation. In this there is the use of three or more different methods or 'bearings' to explore chances of accuracy of an issue (Cohen and Manion 1980; Woods 1986). It is a way of 'knitting a pattern' with a phenomenon from a number of different angles (Rowan 1981:105) to get nearer to some notion of truth, to somehow get it right. Triangulation is perhaps particularly important in ethnographic research to help the researcher to make judgements about situations by avoiding 'impressionistic' views obtained from data. In order for this to be accurately achieved Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979:53) suggested the need to move away from the participant-object split by developing a notion of

'perspective'. This is one which defines a personal view from a distance and thus is 'not suggesting the universality of objectivity nor the personal bias of participantivity'. Emphasis is therefore in the emphasis on personal encounter with experience and encounter with persons. Thus, for instance it is important to ascertain the 'accuracy' of what goes on in a school, by not only hearing about it from the Directors but also by hearing comments about the school from other vantage points such as the students of the school, their parents and the teachers. Through access to such vantage points one would hopefully obtain a more accurate and comprehensive account coming from more than one source of how they see the 'world' they share together. In the case of this study, a fairly accurate picture of exactly what went on within the activities of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project would be to observe day-to-day activity, and listen to perspectives of the directors, the students, teachers and the parents. The elicited information would best be obtained informally through 'person-led' conversation and unstructured interviews so that the informants could be allowed as free an opportunity as possible to discuss an issue rather than be led to answer specific questions designed by the researcher (Neasor 1985). Although the research is based on the interpersonal relationship developed between the participants and himself, the researcher has to be prepared to use leading questions as they arise during conversation and unstructured interviews to check the reliability of the interviewees' answers. The decisive issue then is not whether to lead or not to lead, but where the interview or the discussion leads, i.e. leading to important decisions or yielding new and worthwhile knowledge. Also this will indicate if the area has become 'saturated' and no 'new' evidence is emerging, thus informing the researcher that it is time to move to a new theme.

Woods (1986) elaborated more on triangulation of different methodologies which may also be used to justify triangulating data from participants by suggesting that:

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

observation.

Woods (1986:89).

However, there is the need for caution about the use of triangulation especially in research methodology of an ethnographic nature. Silverman (1985), writing about this caution, reminded us of the sociologist's role as not that which is 'to adjudicate between participants' competing versions of situations but one which is to understand' the phenomenon presented. Although there is a need for the researcher to be concerned about the information as being right but also a consideration of the interpretation being 'inter participative' (Harré 1981:3-18). In this the researcher is seeking for the interpretation that is right for a group of people who share a similar world - in this case the Supplementary School. In developing theory in ethnographic work, writers like Bloor (1976); and Reason and Rowan (1981:247-49) have argued that for the knowledge obtained from research to be substantial there is a need to test the accounts provided with the participants whose beliefs and behaviour they purport to describe and check the validity of those accounts. In other words, do they agree with the interpretation that has been provided by the researcher? Although this strategy has advantages of some form of collaborative work, one of the main disadvantages is that asking an untrained mind (i.e. the participants) to validate an interpretation provided by a researcher, who has received training, has done some reading and has had research experience, might 'contaminate' the data. This should not be a problem because validating research involves a subtle interplay between different forms of knowing and makes data richer. Reason and Rowan (1981) argued that:

... knowing is a laminate of several layers (and) is more valid than single sheet of knowing.

Reason and Rowan (1981:249).

During the period of this research, the new director designed a questionnaire to assess if the school is meeting the needs to the user (Appendix 9). This was not envisaged at the beginning and has never happened before. One may therefore conclude that the presence of the researcher prompted this action and it may assist the school to see 'other layers' which might

not be seen by an outsider researcher. The researcher is presently negotiating the collection of the results so as to assess any correlation between this and his own findings. Sims (1981:373-383) described this as a unique learning in which a piece of research encouraged the participants to carry out a research on their own awareness. The outcome of such research produces accounts which are not what the researcher originally anticipated but ones described by Chin (1974) as the 'cumulation of selective retained tentatives'. The implication of this is that such research will not finish with a set of 'findings' about what really happened in the situations where the research was done, but rather with developing a way of understanding a situation which can then be applied to other situations. Also, as a researcher I need to take great care in the triangulation so as to have considerable confidence in the interpretation of the data.

4. xvi. Other Contacts

In an attempt to have other areas of triangulation, the researcher wrote letters to other schools in the areas of London boroughs. The only school that replied did so via a telephone to invite the researcher to interview the headteacher and this was the John Loughborough, a Seventh Day Adventist funded School in Haringey. During the interview, the headteacher, Clinton Valley, promised to send the researcher some documentation from the school to support the statements that he made about the progress children are making in the school and about the issues of finances with the London Borough of Haringey. The possibility could be that Clinton sees documentation of such a statement about the LEA not providing funds as political, hence it did not materialise and there was no further response from him even when the researcher attempted to pursue the issue further. However, the researcher wanted an independent opinion on what goes on in the CSEP and gave some of the exercise books in English and Mathematics to respective Heads of Key Stages 3 and 4 in these subjects in a mainstream secondary school in Hertfordshire to comment on the nature of work being done and the marks being awarded by the teachers from the CSEP.

4. xvii. Analysing data

In any research work, the issue of analysing data is significant to the whole process. Doing this could be objective (i.e. there is only one meaning given to the outcome - in this the researcher is the only interpreter and there is only one outcome) or participative (i.e. one in which different readers give different meanings to the same data - the result of which depends upon the interpreter). A good example of the former being 'scientific' is the experimentalist and of the latter is the speculative theorist (Rowan 1981:39). Both have positive and negative aspects. However, for research which has human beings as its participant, the speculative method of analysis is better. This is because the researcher can extrapolate data from the different perspectives of the actors, synthesis it and emerge with a big picture.

This participant analysis could be expressed in two ways. Kvale's (1994:11-12) analysis identified the first one as 'participative bias'. The reason a researcher might do this could be to support his own opinion. It is therefore a selective interpretation and reporting statement which isolates any counter evidence other people might have. This gives room only for the views of the researcher or the interpreter and not that of other people or participants in the research. According to Kvale (1994) the other way is the 'perspectival participantivity'. In this different perspectives are adapted and different questions are posed about the same text, thus producing different interpretations. In doing this therefore, an analyst takes the different perspectives offered by the different sections of the organisation and synthesises them to make a unified whole whilst allowing the interdependence and interpenetration of opposites (Rowan 1981:130). This form of analysis will allow the researcher to identify and synthesise themes that are related as well as those which may be contradictory.

Authors like McCall and Simmons (1969), Burgess (1985) and Woods (1986) suggest that there are identifiable components in the process in which analysis of data takes place. Their suggestions include 'speculative analysis', 'classifying and categorising', 'concept formation', 'models', and 'typologies' and the ultimate of 'theory development'. If the approach that has

been advocated earlier on in this part is employed, then the components suggested above will not follow a linear process, rather an oscillating format continually moving back and forward which Geertz (1975:52,53) referred to as 'hermeneutic circle'.

In doing the analysis of this work I am indebted to Phatika, and Burgess' lectures and the discussion on 'Research analysis' during the Centre for Educational Development, Appraisal and Research (CEDAR) 1996 conference in Belgium. They suggested the following to occur during the speculative stage. Whilst distinguishing carefully the researcher's comments from the notes of observations, the researcher is to start the 'speculative analysis' of the data by reading it several times. From this the researcher will identify basic taxonomy of relevant features from the 'sea' of data. He will use different coloured markers to code the different themes as they emerge and will re-read them again and make his own comments. Although this could be set as a project goal in its own right, the researcher according to Phatika and Burgess, must distinguish between the actual observations and the researcher's comments. Dacosta (1988) warned of the danger that themes may easily merge and be lost. However, this needs not be so. It is a form of making notes of ideas which are occurring over and over again from different perspectives. It is fairly important as it highlights the strands of ideas as they emerge which can be woven into the main analysis later to form 'theoretical linkages'. Rowan (1981:57) termed this as a 'dialectical-organic' methodological process of analysis. In this the relatedness and the differences of the various perspectives are identified and unified to form the whole interpretation.

Authors like Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hammersley, 1986; Woods, 1986) describe speculative analysis as tentative and as having a certain untidiness or 'bittiness' about it, whereas Reason (1981:186-189) on the other hand sees it as part of the whole. However, the value of the speculative analysis lies in its 'opening up' of possible lines of analysis, the way it links with sets of data and the literature and to suggest further lines of enquiry.

Although description is important, in this type of research interpretation and categorisation of data is equally important. Rich descriptions as obtained in ethnographical work serve to work out the intrinsic structures of the described phenomenon. The next stage is that of interpreting and categorising the data. In the majority of the cases meaningful description and interpretation hardly have clear demarcation. However, King (1978) cautioned the researcher to try to order their material in some kind of system devised by the researcher so as not to become lost in a 'sea of data'. It becomes crucial to ensure that the field notes, interview data, and documents collected are organised in some kind of clear and integrated way. In this research, the researcher therefore will identify major categories of data or order the material under thematic categories as they arise from the form and nature of the research project and the interests of the particular researcher.

Once the major categories of data have been identified, then sub-themes or sub-classifications should emerge to produce a fairly coherent link between the different sources of data. The researcher will use the results as they are embedded in the data and do a critical analysis of this for interpreting the phenomena in the Croydon Supplementary School in the chapters following. However, for now it is sufficient to describe it in this work as a grounding which does not just involve the appreciation of a particular method but also the epistemological questions as related to the issue of the intrinsic relationship between participantivity and objectivity in research. This approach allows an interplay between discovery and verification, between data collection, interpretation, and theorising, with a continual formulation of new hypotheses and reinterpretation of old data.

This type of process is what allows room for creativity in ethnographic work. Therefore, the researcher aims to organise the material so that its richness can be projected as well as its value in producing a coherent account of the research activity undertaken (Spradley 1980). The implication here is that the researcher is free to explore and be sensitive to multiple interpretations and meanings which may be placed upon thought, behaviour and action when viewed in context and in their full complexity (e.g. Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Assessing the need for classifying data includes that of it contributing to the validating procedures that have to be followed in ethnographic research. Such methodology as described above, provides an opportunity to cross-reference issues arising in different parts of the data and to 'authenticate' conclusions. (Cohen and Manion 1980).

Some of these conclusions will formulate the concepts for theorising. Concepts sometimes arise 'spontaneously' in the statements made by the 'participants' in research themselves but the formulation of concepts can also be greatly aided through discussions with other researchers and sociologists as well as by reference to the literature. The emergent concepts within grounded theory, which have been generated by this particular research project or study, will reflect their origins from within the data and the setting of the data. However, the researcher will use the suggestion above for the process of 'sharpening up concepts' with the participants and with other researchers. This will enable the researcher to spot weaknesses in the formulation, and to clarify his thinking. (Burgess 1985, Hammersley 1986).

The aim of this research is to identify and focus on some limited sets of categories as opposed to attempting a comprehensive theoretical system. Attempting the latter will be too ambitious for a project of this nature. The researcher will attempt what Glaser and Strauss termed 'saturation' by focusing and exploring as fully as possible the properties of a limited set of categories. These categories will be selected because they are of particular relevance to the problem being investigated. Focusing on such categories will help generate depth of vision as opposed to taxonomies which secure breadth of coverage.

This type of category identified will be used in clarifying the focus of analysis and in the presentation of the essential components of fairly complicated processes, in a shape or form that can readily be grasped. This is what Woods (1986) regarded as an attempt by sociologists to construct models or typologies of the meanings or behaviours that groups give to their activities in given settings. However, there is the need to emphasise here that the model of

typologies presented at the initial stage will be tentative and will be used to couch an emergent model or the formation of a model (Woods 1986). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Woods (1986) described this process as a cycle of interpretation which helps to increase the theoretical scope of ethnographic research. The researcher intends to achieve this by assessing the limitations of the initially available data of the categories that have been generated. He will collect more data to refute or confirm previous data as necessary, and then follow the whole process of coding and categorising the new data. According to Woods (1986), the net effect of such activity is an emergence of a range of models which could be used to provide an explanation not just on specific action or activity but along a range of dimensions enabling the researcher to 'to tell it as it is'.

4. xviii. Structure for classifying and analysing data

The rationale presented in this chapter on methodology for this present study took on a direction in which a classic ethnographic research develops. It shows that from fairly simple origins the work will develop into much deeper and more significant detail. The first part of this stage will be to collect some data and then start to categorise and classify for purposes of analysis. The categorisation will follow the investigative themes considered in the planning stage of the field work. The classification of the data will increasingly reflect the nature of the data collected and will be presented within a relational logical mode of presentation. The result of this will be presented in the next chapters. Whilst examining and commenting on the perspectives of the students, parents and community as the user and the directors and teachers as the providers Chapter 5, as an introduction section one of part four will introduce the school and examine the mission and purpose of the Croydon Supplementary School. Chapter 6, as section two of this part will focus on the school as a Community. The research will examine the values that are represented in the school's culture and ethos, the nature of social relationships and discipline as well as make comparisons with the mainstream school. Chapter 7, as section three the focus will shift from the whole school to the classroom. The pedagogy

and outcomes in terms of academic, creative, social, personal, etc., will be examined. This part will conclude with section four in Chapter 8 with a more detailed exploration of the management, the organisation and finance of the school.

Part five will be a projective examination of the organisation of the Supplementary Schools as a whole. It will start with Chapter 9 which examines the future of black Supplementary Schools (BSS). It will compare the situations within Croydon Supplementary School with the national picture of black Supplementary Schools. This will include a critical interpretation of the findings and an evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of Croydon Supplementary School as well as the future of black Supplementary Schools.

This part will conclude with suggestions for future research into black Supplementary Schools. Chapter 10 presents the conclusion of this research.

4. xix. Conclusion

The chapter has been used to examine and to present a methodology that the researcher finds as best suited to the subject of study. This study as stated at the beginning is a research into the social and educational initiative that goes on amongst black people in the form of the Supplementary Educational Project in the U.K.

The researcher through literature search of different methodologies and various discussions with methodology veterans such as Professor Burgess with the CEDAR at the University of Warwickshire, Assistant Professor Phtiaka of the University of Cyprus amongst many others, came to the conclusion that in order to let the participants 'tell the story as it is', the best methodological approach to use is the qualitative one. This will enable the researcher to obtain data on the perceptions of the participants, study their social interactions in its natural state and be able to get 'first hand' information about the meanings of the human actions, the

intention and motives, the attitudes and beliefs of the people involved with the Supplementary Schools.

Such a methodological approach would provide the opportunities to blend multiple sources of data that will be collected over an extended period of time. By taking the opportunity of revisiting the participants, asking for their comments and clarification on the data collected and on the analysis of the researcher, it would enable the researcher to gain an understanding and provide the opportunities to generate new insights into what goes on in the cultural, social and historical relationships of the school. Although this method might not permit a replication, the data would provide unique materials which will be richer and bigger than the material collected from the individuals through quantitative method. This will be possible because of the convergent use of the different perceptions that are to be collected from the interviews and case studies.

The researcher's background as a trained counsellor provides skills that will enable him to empathise with the participants, and this empathy will enable each interviewee to remain autonomous even within the bigger context without contaminating the initial data. Such an approach will encourage the participants to make use of the opportunity of bringing their own perceptions into the research.

PART FOUR

5. CHAPTER FIVE

5.i. Croydon Supplementary School: The Mission and purposes of the School

The overall objective of the chapter was to present information from the interviews with the Directors, the Management Committee, the teachers, the parents and the students of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project (CSEP), and others in the community, concerning the mission and purpose of the school.

The areas identified as important for the users and the providers of the Supplementary Educational Project during the interviews are:

that self discipline is important for learning and should be encouraged

that education (i.e. acquisition of skills and qualifications) is necessary for the children to put them on a better footing to compete and not to go through experiences of racism as their parents did

that the establishment of Supplementary Schools is the means for providing such education

The name of the project is described in Article 1 of the Association constitution (1994) (10) as the "Croydon Supplementary Educational Project" which is shortened to 'The Project'. Although the set up runs and provides a structured learning forum comparable to a school with teachers, students and parents are helping each other to learn more; also it operates within the term-times of mainstream schools, though out-reach work is available. In this thesis it will be referred to as 'the Project', 'the CSEP' or 'the school'. This is in keeping with the descriptions

used in the Project's constitution. This constitution defines the mission and purpose of the Project under Article two 'Objects and Powers' as one that is:

... established with the objects of helping and educating young people growing up in a multiracial society so as to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities that they may grow to full maturity as individuals and as members of society and their conditions of life may be improved.

(The CSEP Constitution, 1994:1).

Interviewing the different categories of people involved, both black British and European British, who made up the Directors, the Management Committee, the teachers, the parents and the students shows that there are many interpretations of this aim and of the ways to achieve it.

5. ii. Perspectives of the Directors

I will begin by bringing together all the thoughts and the interpretations given by the Director and the three assistant Directors (1). They will be referred to as Directors 1-4. The term Director is used to distinguish those in the supervisory roles in the running of the Project.

The running of the Project is seen as a joint participation of the teachers and students. In this participatory role, the aim of the Project is seen by Cynthia Graham, the present Director of the Project, as:

... helping the young people through the activities of a Supplementary School and by means of students' active participation, it is hoped that their mental, physical and spiritual capabilities will be developed and they will be able to lead useful lives in the society.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

Expanding this further, this Director sees the project as a means of:

... laying a foundation for cultural awareness.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

Although the CSEP is organised and run by black people, its focus is not in promoting their blackness or any indoctrination of the children but in teaching the children historical facts in a balanced form (2). This was expressed by Andrew Johnson in the following interview when he stated that:

... in the early days of black people in the United Kingdom, black students were being left back because these students were grappling in many cases with cultural problems and hence their academic problem was being put secondly you know and hence why and why they're in an environment which was looking at the academic side of our children coming in who were grappling with cultural and sociological changes and hence their academic progress was suffering.

Sam: So what you seem to be saying Mr. Johnson is that black children are facing cultural problems in Britain.

Andrew: But not at that time. I don't honestly believe black children facing- and this I might be totally awry here- but my own belief is that black children aren't facing cultural problems anymore at 1997. I don't think it's a cultural problem.

Sam: What are they facing ?

Andrew: My own view is that- em- in the black community black youngsters have developed a culture divorced from their own, say, parent's culture and its akin to the native culture but yet it is not quite like you know... it takes all the... you listen to things... certainly the language style.. you know its such a mixture, the language style in a way in talking it's Jamaican patois or whatever seems to be Jamaican patois you know...right across... that's in language style, in their body language is north American but their accent and ah, certain, ah, eating styles and these sort of things are... these are European you know and it's this sort of ah mixture of things you have when you do look at our youngsters and you try to understand. Yet there are, their mode of thinking, their thought matrix are European in that they do not uphold or even want to uphold the same values as our community, the black.

Sam: So what you seem to be saying there is that children although they are black they are British in heart, at heart.

Andrew: British at heart, yeah but with a very great inference of North American

culture as seen, as perceived through the news, etc, (3)

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Andrew later concluded about the teaching of culture and the CSEP that:

... cultural awareness should be taught by the historians.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Andrew's conclusion is that, history and cultural studies should be done with accuracy because there is:

... no need for the indoctrination of the young minds.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The implication here is that historical fact sometimes tends to be distorted to portray a one-sided view, yet prejudice persists and should be rejected. There is a danger in black history being taught as a dogma. Andrew Johnson reflected this in his statement about black history when he stated that an aim of teaching history should be to:

... educate and make the young adults politically aware,

(Interview transcript no: 1).

both of their past and of the contemporary Britain in which they live. Being involved with this project, Andrew stated as:

I have my brand of politics, I have my own philosophy but I'm here as a professional educator. I'm here to educate children to enable them to use their own minds in, as liberals, to use their minds clearly to their much extent not to

be roped in or hemmed in by any sort of dogmas, you know.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Commenting on himself as a teacher and for other black teachers like himself he stated that:

I like to call, see myself as an educationalist, however you want to interpret that and as also one who's politically aware. I do not believe, as an educationalist and if I'm going to be true to all the things you know I believe in, I don't believe I can have, say someone who reads a book tonight or reads something about something, stands in front of a class of young people telling them about history.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

This motivating factor was not just seen as the prerogative of the teachers but on the academic front was seen by Pat (a Black American, a teacher in mainstream and in the CSEP and assistant Director 3),as:

... motivating them (the children).

(Interview transcript no: 9).

and by Cynthia Graham (a black British, a teacher in mainstream and in the CSEP and the Director) as:

... necessary to equip our children with more than the 3R's and raise their level of achievements.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

The Mission of the Project attracts teachers of various categories from the mainstream schools ranging from the Heads of faculties to Pastoral Heads and Main scale qualified teachers (4) who have seen the need of the Black young adults in Britain to improve their performance in the mainstream school. As Pat points out, the project is:

... as the name of the school suggests- to supplement the area the children are lacking in the areas of reading and arithmetic particularly the black children, because they have been done by so where ever black people are, they need to be committed to this development

(Interview transcript no: 9)

This activity of supplementing the education of young adults in schools is seen as being needed by all children and especially black young adults, who according to Yvonne, (a black British, a mainstream teacher and pastoral head, and Director 4), are:

Supplementary School is almost entirely black as far as the keen population are concerned. I see that black children are underachieving for all sorts of reasons in general, not necessarily because of the poor teaching that we have in schools but there are many other reasons that affect the learning of the children and I see that there is a need for additional help for those children and that is why I am involved.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

Keeness of the students was in terms of queuing up and in their attending the CSEP every Saturday. The underachievement of black students was blamed on poor teaching in mainstream schools and because of many reasons which include what Pat summed up as:

... racism, which affects their learning.

(Interview transcript no: 9).

Asking for more elaboration on this, Yvonne identified the negative elements within the mainstream school, which militate against the learning of black children, as including:

... class sizes, ... poor relationship between white teachers and black students, ... lack of positive role models for black male children within mainstream schools, ... low expectations of black students by the teachers at the mainstream school, ... poor teaching and lack of adequate resources.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

In contrast to this, the CSEP aims to raise the level of expectations of the students to see themselves as people who could achieve more and to help raise the level of achievements of low male achievers among black children. These are done through the way teachers respond to children. Yvonne's comments reflected this when she described the CSEP staff as having:

... high expectations of all their students.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

Although the home background of the children in the CSEP is not at the forefront of the way students are responded to, -teachers attend to them according to their individual needs and the problems they are having,- I was able to obtain a picture of their background from the statement made by Cynthia. She stated that children who make use of their facilities are mainly from:

... working class families.

Andrew and Yvonne responded to my question about students' home background as not a major issue and that information on home background is mainly used in providing them with students for the project (5).

Explaining how they provide their services, Yvonne sees their provision as not:

... placing high profile on the backgrounds of the children like being from a single parent home and the non-expectation for them to do their work or behave like others.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

There is a need to state that mainstream schools tend to have a stereotypical way of addressing education, for example there tends to be sexism in the expectation of black male students, and children from single parent families tend to be expected to be low achievers in the culturally plural U.S.A. Such view seems not to be held by the providers in the CSEP and the aim there was described as one which according to Cynthia is:

... aimed to help black children to achieve more,

(Interview transcript no: 3).

whilst at the same time:

... addressing the educational and social needs and making a positive contribution to their achievement in the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

Although this seems a positive way of addressing the single parent issue, the fact that Yvonne mentioned this could suggest a silent stereotype which this group of children from single parent families do attract. It could therefore be regarded as a form of prejudice here because children from single parent family are expected to be low achievers.

However, children achieving more in their education and equipping them to gain better positions in mainstream Britain motivated the black community in Croydon to set up the CSEP. Andrew, who is one of the co-founders, describes it as the:

... spirit of community education, (that) involves every one in the community (with the main aim) of broadening the education.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The main emphasis in this community education seems to be that which is to inculcate self discipline in the students as made clear in the CSEP motto:

Without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained.

The CSEP, as a project, began with the provision of private tuition in Mathematics for the children of African and Caribbean origin in 1982. Clarifying this beginning, Yvonne states that it was to:

... bridge the gap for working parents who have not got the time to

give help and support,

(Interview transcript no: 15).

as needed by their children within the British mainstream education system. The broadening of the black children's programme began with a few African and Caribbean children whose parents, according to Yvonne:

... shared a sense of good discipline in school.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

This was a form of discipline they perceived as not occurring in mainstream education. Their shared sense of being disciplined is inculcated from the day the child enters the CSEP during the induction programme, according to Yvonne:

... parents and children are told that there has to be good discipline.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

From this form of initiation, children in the CSEP grow into exhibiting what she, Yvonne, describes as:

... extremely good self-control and discipline,

(Interview transcript no: 15).

and according to her experience as a pastoral head, it is an antithesis of what happens in mainstream education with black children because of:

... racism and the ways the children are being treated and attended to by the teachers.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

Yvonne expanded on the need for the provision of Supplementary Schools by describing the source of this as an:

... experience that they have shared at school back in their home country.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

This experience could be in terms of the assistance that people in the community tend to provide children in the Caribbean. This could be seen in the foreword of the pamphlet to the 10th Annual Prize giving evening held in 1994 when the Bishop of Croydon, Rt. Reverend Dr. Wilfred Wood described the soil from which the CSEP and similar projects elsewhere has grown by stating that:

In the Caribbean, with its background of slavery and colonisation, there was no tradition of generous state provision in these areas, so enterprise, ingenuity and community self-help were necessary tools for survival. It is common for elderly women who were housebound or nearly so, to help children with reading, writing, arithmetic and Bible verses in their homes to augment what they learnt at school.

(Rt. Reverend Dr. Wood, Speech at the
the prize giving ceremony).

During the interview, I tried to explore the perceptions of the directors further on the need to set up Supplementary Schools for educating black children. The consensus of opinion of the directors was that the children are not getting 'a fair deal' in the mainstream school. This is reflected in the following responses made by the directors:

Andrew: black children need a learning environment, (like the Supplementary school) where they are challenged more and their learning is enriched by the provision of more depth.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Although racism (6) as a word was rarely used by any of the directors, the implication of their responses expresses this as Andrew describes the children's schooling as:

ten to twelve years of schooling is not a passing phase but one which is to develop and improve their life chances in Britain.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The teachers' aim is to provide what has been described by these directors as enriching experiences to any child who comes to the Supplementary School, yet they are aware of their limitations in providing only two hours of schooling. There is an appreciation of what mainstream schooling is doing and a need for seeing the 'CSEP' provision as a way of enhancing the learning of black children. This was reflected in the responses provided by Andrew:

... we cannot do what the mainstream is doing, but we provide a contribution to clarifying and getting them to understand things more,

(Interview transcript no: 1).

and by Cynthia as thus:

... enriching their learning and providing more depth.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

However, the consensus between all the directors is that there is the need for the black community to make a positive contribution to the education of their children and they see themselves as needing to make this contribution to the education of the children if they are to achieve more in the mainstream education.

The Croydon Supplementary Education Project operates on Saturday mornings only for two hours, and briefly in other circumstances. I wanted to know if they see their provision as one

which is adequately sufficient for the children. I asked direct questions to see if this is so and if they are in competition with the mainstream schools. Their provision is not in competition with the mainstream provision. Andrew's response conveys the views of the majority on this. He argues that they are:

... not better than the mainstream school teachers and ... are always in good relations with headteachers from the mainstream schools.. who are running full-time schools.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Although their resources are limited, with children of two different age groups sharing the same room in some classes and no facilities for practical subjects, yet they have a positive assessment of their provision. They see the current provision in what was described by Andrew as:

We are supplementing, contributing to and clarifying, and as I said we started complementing, in that we were enriching children's understanding by providing a little bit more depth to what they have before coming to us, even then we say complementary.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Pat described it as:

... parents are looking for half way house which is cheap and they feel Supplementary School will bridge that gap because compared to many Supplementary Schools, and parents, who wants the best education for their children which anybody could get at school, and yet there is a gap with a black touch from black focus. So I know personally some black parents who have said 'well my child is not getting on well at mainstream school and lacks some social skills' so they have brought their children here to have black friends and black teachers.

(Interview transcript no: 9).

The difference between the provisions in the mainstream school and what they receive from the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project is that the textbook resources in the mainstream are mainly from Eurocentric perspectives and the human resources are limited with one teacher in a classroom of 27 or more students (Social Trends 27, 1997:58) as compared to the CSEP where they have 96% black teachers and 4% Caucasians with an average ratio of 5 students to a teacher and textbooks written from black perspectives where possible. This enables the CSEP to do what the mainstream school fails to do, described by Pat as:

... meeting the need of black, progressive (7) parents who want to bridge the black focus.

(Interview transcript no: 9).

Progressiveness formerly meant maximising and advancing in social condition of efficiency or something that is gradually increasing in its effect. In the sense that progressive is being used here, it seems to stand for parents who are well intentioned and want the best for their children and are in favour of the change that the CSEP is providing and encouraging to occur in their children.

5.iii. Perceptions from the black community

In interviewing 10 black people in the community (i.e. Clinton Valley, the headteacher of the John Loughborough School - an all black school owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church; John La Rose, a publisher and founder of another black Supplementary School, nurses, secretaries and other black workers), who are involved in the administration within mainstream and Supplementary education projects, their responses provide a consensus of opinion with the CSEP teachers. Their responses are centred around the communal nature of the provision and the need for the provision made by the Supplementary School if the children

are to achieve their full potential in Britain. In the following extract Clinton describes the provision of community education for black children as:

... a place that looks at the total development of the black child and not merely an inculcation of the 3 'R's ... a place to help them for the learning process to take effect ... and instil values that prepare them to live successfully in the world of work or higher education ... whilst motivating and helping children to achieve excellence because they have got to be twice as good enough to achieve success.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

In this statement, the provision is more than the inculcation of the 3 'R's, it is a place that provides other social outcomes such as making friends. Brenda, one of the teachers sees mainstream schools as being unable to provide this. She described mainstream school as a 'battle ground'.

Clinton Valley went further to comment on what contributes to the underachievement of the black child in schools and sees the children as underachieving not because of lack of ability but because of 'lack of motivation'.

The purpose of Supplementary Schools or any black oriented school is to motivate black children to achieve more in their learning and to help inspire them beyond teachers' expectations in the mainstream school. Comments by Clinton revealed this purpose as that which is to:

... provide the right motivation ... the right context, and a channel and a place to inspire the children to greater achievements.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

A similar view about the Supplementary School being a source of inspiration was obtained from another respondent, Ianthe James (a nurse and the Chair-person of the Parents Students Association), who saw its purpose as one which is to:

... try and get black kids beyond the standard they generally achieve in the mainstream education.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

This statement about positive expectations from the teachers was confirmed by Andrew, the ex-Director of the CSEP, when he stated that:

Andrew: ... what we are supposed to be doing, what we expect of them, you know, that is important, we always tell students what we expect of them. I always preach to them, this is not my project, it is not any of their teachers project, it is their thing and they have to, you know, deliver.

Sam: So what you seem to be saying there is that you are expecting the best from the children.

Andrew: Always, always, we preach that constantly, yeah.

Sam: And in what way have you seen that materialise with the children?

Andrew: It materialises because if you speak to the parents, the parents are the ones who tell us because the parents are interacting directly with the schools and the parents have always, said how the feeder schools react they know that, and their families.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Although there are elements of a black focus in what they do, what seems to be more prominent is that positive expectations were combined with a greater presence of black adults. The school is being run by black people, and it has an academic focus which permeates all that the project does. Ianthe continues and provided comments on the nature of parental involvement in some of the Supplementary Schools. She describes it thus:

... parents are encouraged to give assistance outside the classroom and in helping the slower ones to grasp what goes on in the classroom.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

In the case of the CSEP, all helpers in the classrooms are those who are still involved in the mainstream school classrooms. This makes the Project a unique one. However, the onus is being placed on the children wanting to come themselves (8) and take up responsibility for their own lives. One of my respondents, Nicola Tull, an ex-student of the CSEP who has just obtained her University B.Sc. degree described this as a way of making children 'responsible for their own education' (Interview transcript no: 35), whilst teachers are responsible for creating the service in the black community to supplement the education black children receive from mainstream schools.

5. iv. Perceptions of black and white teachers

The views of the 10 teachers from the Project (2 'whites' and 8 'blacks'), who work with the children, and who were interviewed, extended the responses of the directors to include community oriented views in which education as a system is targeted as being unable to cope with black children. This inability of the mainstream schools to cope with the children seems not to be voiced by the teachers from the mainstream schools who tend to maintain a professional front and blame the children as underachievers, or their home backgrounds as inadequate. It was interesting, therefore, when Pat, one of the two Caucasian teachers admitted this inability of the mainstream when she stated that:

... the mainstream as a place cannot provide everything.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

This implies, therefore, that the mainstream school needs places like the CSEP, just as the children need the mainstream school. In the CSEP, though it is being run like a school in a formal way e.g. having registers, the use of blackboards, and change of lessons times, there is a sense of a relaxed atmosphere.

The presence of many black qualified teachers was seen as positive by the white teachers and the emphasis was on having them as role models for the growing children as Black people capable of doing what 'white' teachers in the mainstream could do. On the issue of the presence of black adults, the other Caucasian teacher, Brenda, sees it as an undeclared aim of the project. She described it as:

... a place which makes children conscious of being black British.

(Interview transcript no: 18).

Having many black teachers around is something extremely positive and it encourages the children by having somebody with whom they can relate and feel comfortable with during their learning processes. This is highlighted in the following responses:

Pat: ... having black teachers around is very good, it makes the children conscious of themselves as individuals.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

Commenting on the place as a system, she continues by describing it as:

Pat: ... this is a place which is helping black children address the problems they are facing in the mainstream schools ... problems which focus on their academics and their being a disadvantaged group.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

The result of responses from these two teachers about the purpose of Supplementary Schools is that the project is an informal way of helping the children through different activities within a limited time of two hours on Saturdays. When these teachers were asked how they perceive the aims of the users, i.e. the children, their description places the black child into a middle class mode of wanting to succeed and be successful in the society. This highlights that black children like any other, wants to be successful. The children were described by Brenda as being 'career driven' and the consensus of these two Caucasian teachers is that the CSEP

provides an atmosphere in which black children 'meet other people of their own race' in a positive disciplined atmosphere. Pat, emphasising the positiveness of this atmosphere, commended it as one:

... in which discipline is quite strict and children are motivated to work hard.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

However, this takes place in a community where people were able to develop a good rapport and learn from one another. Pat continued by describing what has kept her coming to help at the CSEP:

I do like the set up, I have known many of the people here for a long time and I like the project and would like to see it progressing ... You get your kicks when you see your student making progress and you have helped them over a particular problem that they were not able to sort out. Also, I find it interesting from the point of view of different culture. I had no knowledge of 'Afro-Caribbean' culture before coming here. I have met many people here like Mark and Andrew Johnson and they have told me about the Caribbeans. Some of them cook various food and when we have prize givings, they cook different 'Afro-Caribbean' food and this interests me.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

In this, there seems to be a form of informal education going on. An education that might not be noticed by the mainstream because of its informality. The 'hidden curriculum', not an academic one, may be important or more important than examination success (9).

5. v. Perceptions of black teachers

This disciplined atmosphere has been argued earlier on as the ethos of the CSEP as an organisation. However, there is a need to state here that black people value discipline in their family life and as my dad used to tell us 'discipline is essential if a community is to survive'.

The survival of the community is what makes individuals within the community strive to help one another. Sometimes, this survival seems to start from the individuals who have succeeded in the educational system and are now working in the community to remedy what tends to keep children's education down. This was not just expressed by the black teachers but by Pat:

I didn't like school myself and I see that helping children in their education in a more informal way is beneficial to them.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

One of the black teachers, Bihari, similarly expressed this without the knowledge of what Pat said by stating that:

I know my own education suffered a lot and I have seen that parents always aim that their children achieve in education and in this case (coming to Supplementary Schools) all parents devote their energy, money and resources on education. If these parents decide to attend this Saturday school, I am delighted to be available and help them.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

With such comment, one is able to obtain information about the voluntary engagement of adults in such schools within their community, a community, to which everyone interviewed, seems to want to contribute. This respondent went further to explain the type of relationship this type of involvement generates between teachers and students in this black community. He described it as one that is:

... excellent and friendly. It is one that we all help them, they are willing to ask questions and they are willing to help. There is like in any institution like Saturday school one or two students who are still very lazy and don't want to perform, but because everyone around is trying to do a little bit, it moves them to a higher percentage than they are achieving. This in time will alter their perception to want to achieve as well.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

Wanting to find out more about this organisation, in which everyone seems to be contributing into the community, I interviewed other teachers, who are from an African Caribbean background. In their responses, they see themselves as individuals and as a part of the community. This is found in the following responses when they were asked the reasons why they became involved with the project. Mark Robertson, an ex-student of the CSEP, who now helps with Mathematics, sees the aim of the CSEP as:

... a source of helping one another in the community,

(Interview transcript no: 34).

and by Bihari as:

... a way of having a direct input into the education of black people and the just being there to supplement what black children are getting and what is being done in the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

The motivating factor seems to be one which perceives every black child as having the opportunity to succeed and black teachers' perception confirms this in the interviews in which they stated that the purpose of the CSEP is to help black children achieve success and not to tolerate their presence as in the mainstream system. This is revealed in the following comments made by the teachers:

Bihari: it is to provide black children with a bit extra, which will help them within the system ... the giving to the children a little bit extra which makes the difference between just tolerating them as in the mainstream

school and going on to achieve and really to excel.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

The focus of the teachers in the CSEP capitalises on highlighting the positive results of having a good education. This possibly comes from the teachers' background, in whose country of origin education is valued as a tool for social mobility (10).

This is emphasised in this statement by the same respondent when he stated that:

... the people from the Caribbean knew the excellence of the Caribbean education.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

This is the view of the majority of the people interviewed. They seem to have placed a great value on education whether it be in Britain or in the Caribbean. The belief seems to be that if a child gets a good education then many opportunities are opened for her/him in the world of work. The reality of this is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the emphasis of my respondents is that black children are not getting the best out of mainstream education in Britain and the result of this is that the black community mobilises itself to assist the children. This is shown in the following excerpts in which I asked the respondents about the aim of the school. Mark Robertson, commenting on this self-help project described the CSEP as a:

... self help project for (attaining) self reliance,

which led to the origin of the CSEP which is regarded by Bihari as an:

... institution to assist the community.

The communal idea of reciprocity permeates the day to day running of the CSEP, with those who have been through the system seeing themselves as having a duty to assist and contribute to the education of the young ones. Mark commented on this by stating that it is a way of giving back something for what he got ... whilst at the same time the CSEP links him as one of the past students with the present ones.

There is a form of continuity in the setting and in the nurturing of the younger ones by the older ones. This enables the young ones to have as their role models people from their own cultural background whilst at the same time providing more opportunities for individual attention which is not available in the mainstream education. The benefits of the attention being provided by adults in the Supplementary School is repeatedly confirmed by the teachers' responses about the children coming because they 'enjoy it' and this is demonstrated in the following comment made by Bihari:

... children who have some stuff there, but which is not really coming out and just by coming here (the CSEP) for the past three years, have done quite well in their GCSE and have now gone on to the university.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

Reflecting more on the purpose of Supplementary Schools, all the teachers interviewed see the establishment as a place where they provide children with more motivation in their academic work, the result of which Vernon, another teacher, describes as:

The Supplementary education tends to give them that bit extra that will help them within the system. We cannot aim to remedy the fault but we try to show them that if they are disciplined it is possible for them to achieve like any mainstream child.

(Interview transcript no: 14).

The intrinsic results of black children being ahead in their work at school and doing well is elaborated further in the responses provided by Bihari in which he stated that the activities in the CSEP:

... meet children's certain needs like self esteem and contribute to their looking forward and try to go forward rather than just accepting where they are.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

5. vi. Perceptions of the parents

10 parents, 7 female and 3 male whose children are currently in the school were interviewed (11). The parents interviewed were clear about what they wanted from the Supplementary School and they put this succinctly in their responses. Parents send their children to the project because they are not satisfied with the mainstream education and because they are not reaching what parents believe their children could achieve in their academic work. Although this may be their inflated opinion of their children, they feel here that their voices were heard and their children were being catered for. This is demonstrated in the following responses during my interview with the parents:

Sam: Why did you decide to send your children here?

Verna (f) I send them to the Saturday school because I want them to get extra tuition and knowledge, which I have found that they were not getting in the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 13).

Margot (f) ... to get more than she is getting at the mainstream school especially in her Maths and English. I found that although she is doing well, she is not achieving as much as she could achieve.

(Interview transcript no: 8).

Parents were disappointed with the mainstream provision and especially about teachers' attitudes towards stereotyping their children and the teachers' lack in extending the knowledge of black children. Their focus is on teachers not paying attention to their children's learning. These are reflected in the following extracts from my interview with parents.

Verna: (f) They were not getting the attention they needed.

(Interview transcript no: 13).

The emphasis from this is that the parents are not contented with the mainstream education and they see teachers in schools making a big issue of their children's responses at school as not doing well, whereas they see their children are not being pushed to their limit. Therefore, they look for an alternative way of improving their children's education and a place that will help their children more. This is repeatedly confirmed in the following responses of parents and their perspectives on the purpose of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project.

Ianthe: (f) I think it (the CSEP) is good for the children, because the children are not being pushed in the mainstream school like when you go into a private school. But, here, children are being pushed so that they will not become victims of the system. When children come here, it gives them that extra incentive and makes them feel good.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

Parents' awareness on racial issues is encouraging them to focus more on how their children could succeed in the mainstream system. Although parents rarely use the word 'racism' (see notes 6) in the interview, the reflection of the parents is to motivate their children academically, socially and culturally by helping them so that they could in turn help other black people. This view was reflected in the following interview extracts:

Sam: You said that the parents are helping and the school here is helping, why do you think that your children need all this help?

Verna: (f) In this day and age, children need all the help they could get, the more knowledge they get, the better whilst still young. It is important for them to have the basics that they could start with.

Sam: So you are saying that it is good to start children well in their education?

Verna: Definitely

Sam: Why?

Verna: Because if you want to get a good job, or get on well in this society (Britain), you need to be educated. If you don't know what's what, then you might not get anywhere so you need education.

Sam: So education is the tool to help people do well in the society.

Verna: That's right, to get a good job and to learn about life. Especially in this Saturday school, it is not just the education, I have found that children should mix with their own ethnic background. I feel sending them here is to help them socially and the children have black people as role models, which I think is quite important.

Sam: So what you seem to be saying is that this type of education exists to cater for the social aspects of their (the children's) lives as well as the educational aspects. What other goals would you say makes people want to run such schools?

Verna: Well maybe sort of looking back at their backgrounds. Just really wanting to make a stand in the society. Maybe if we start it off, our children will do a bit more.

Sam: So what you seem to be saying is that you have a sort of vision that what is being started now will grow into something bigger, later on, to help others.

Verna: Sure Oh yes!

Sam: Can you please tell me more about this.

Verna: The thing is that if we channel children and do something for them, they will start thinking that there are people out there who want to help them. If they do something well and do their examinations, they probably will carry on saying 'I will do something for my people.'

Sam: So sort of community help for everyone.

Verna: That's right.

Sam: Are you saying that they are not being helped by the mainstream society?

Verna: (f) They are being helped to a point. I don't really want to go into you know racial issues, but I think whites are mostly, if they have a choice they will help their own more than they would black children (same comments made by Brenda, one of the Caucasian teachers). So we have got to know where we stand and we have got to be there for our children. Not just for the children, but for our people and be there as a sort of support ... this school (the CSEP) gives them this and individual attention.

(Interview transcript no: 13).

In this response, the purpose of setting up a Supplementary School is for the provision of support for black children by their 'own kind of people'. These parents seem to see the CSEP as the place in which their children could receive help with their academic subjects.

5. vii. Perceptions of students

In a search for this type of support, 10 students interviewed from different school ages (12) attend the CSEP for different reasons. In this school, there are basically three groups of students which could be divided into the following:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-------|
| 1. Pre G.C.S.E classes | Ages | 4-13 |
| 2. G.C.S.E classes | Ages | 14-16 |
| 3. Post G.C.S.E classes. | Ages | 17-19 |

The pre-G.C.S.E classes see the purpose of the school as that which could be described as an extension of their everyday activities at the mainstream school such as playing with friends, writing, reading and art work. The comments of three of the students below (Janay, Junior and Emma from group 1) could be typical of the reasons this age group come to the Supplementary School and how they perceive the purpose of the school:

Sam: Why do you come here?

Janay (6) (f): I come here because my dad and my mum want me to come and my brother is here. Also, I like this place.

Junior (6) (m): I started coming last year and my mum and dad wanted me to come and so I came here.

Emma (6) (f): I come here because my mum and dad wanted me to come.

(Interview transcript no: 21).

These students, who are all six years old, came because their parents wanted them to come. Though the students were conscious of being interviewed together at the initial stages of the interview, and the room was cold when compared to their warm classroom, their answer was done in a choral fashion and they were a bit anxious about staying with me alone in the small room which I used for the interview. They moved from providing me with a choral answer to one in which they were able to tell the researcher more about why they came to the school. Their answers provided some knowledge about how they see the purpose of the school. The extracts from the interview below illustrates their perception of the purpose of the school and their interests in their school work:

Sam: Why do you come to this school (the CSEP)?

Emma (6) (f): I come here to do some drawing, writing and reading ... I have drawn the picture of my dad going to Croydon.

Sam: To do what?

Emma (6) (f): To buy me a pencil case.

Janay (6) (f): I like coming here because they give me help with some of the work which we have been doing at school.

Junior (6) (m): I like doing Maths and adding up and the teachers here have been helping me to do this.

Sam: If I should ask you your reason for coming here, what will you say?

All: Silence ...

Sam: Who would like to tell me first?

Emma (6) (f) (Raising her hand) I asked my mum if I could come with my brother so that I could have better education.

Sam: So you asked your mum that you wanted to come here in order to get education. Could you tell me why you wanted better education?

Emma (6) (f): .. to know stuff so that when the teacher asks me at school, then I will be able to tell them.

Sam: (Repeats her statement for clarification) 'to know stuff so that when the teacher asks me at school, then I will be able to tell them.

Emma (6) (f): Yes.

Sam: That is good. What about you Junior, why do you come here?

Junior (6) (m): To learn.

Sam: To learn what?

Junior (6) (m): How to do the work that I find hard.

Sam: What about you Jenay?

Janay (6) (f): First my brother was coming here, then my mum asked me if I wanted to come and I said yes. So we came to the office and filled forms and I started coming last year.

Sam: You started coming last year?

Janay (6) (f): Yes.

(Interview transcript no: 21).

Wanting to improve their academic stance in the mainstream school was repeatedly confirmed as the agenda for all the students coming to the CSEP. Their responses indicated their understanding of a place that could help them with their school work. Most of the students focused on their education and the specific areas they would like to improve. I am not sure if this is because they are not doing well academically at school or because of lack of self confidence. Their responses did not indicate either of these and Kola's responses (a student from group 2) accentuates this in the following interview:

Kola (14) (m): The things we do here can help you do well at school. If there is a kind of topic you are doing at school, it helps you to feel being helped more than at the main school. It gives you more here

Sam: Do you mean self confidence ?

Kola (14) (m): Yes; it helps you to build your self confidence. Where as at the mainstream school, you are there in a week but when you come here you spend more time on it and you are able to build more confidence.

Sam: Who has been helping you to do this. Teachers, yourself or your parents?

Kola (14) (m): All of them.

Sam: All of them ?

Kola (14) (m): Yes. It can't just be one or the other. If you know that what your parents are asking you to do is for your best interest then you work more at it, and the teachers here are there to help you improve.

(Interview transcripts no: 5).

The CSEP as stated by Kola, is making a contribution which the students are pleased with. The success of such contribution has been documented in Britain by Dacosta (1988) quoting some students:

Yes, quite useful; I learn a lot and can do much better work in school (referring to weekday school). My Maths work has improved - my teacher says so.

I think it helped a lot. I can read and spell better.

Very useful. We learn so much here. We are lucky to be able to come here. We do lots of work here, especially in Maths. We are getting better at it all the time. At school (referring to weekday school) we can't do so much individual work because there are too many children, but here we have two teachers and eight or nine students. It's just great!

Dacosta (1988:311-313).

In the United States of America Kifano (1997) also stresses this success and this is reflected in a father's response as:

When Nia (the daughter) returned home, she ran into the house and said, 'Habari gani?' I couldn't remember how to respond. I just sat with my mouth hanging open. Then she said, 'Oh, thought you knew something about this Black stuff?' Then she ran out the door with the papers she got from the Institute. The next thing I knew, she'd rounded up her friends and was teaching them Swahili like she had been knowing it all the time!

Kifano, S. (1997:216).

In such instances the success of what they are doing encourages them to be confident and able to express themselves in good English. Their focusing on their education is more demonstrated

in similar responses made by students from groups 1 and 2. Their responses in the interview are shown below:

Sonia (11) (f): To get more education ... and to get to know things which are not being taught in the mainstream school such as black history.

(Interview transcript no: 31).

Mahlon (15) (m): ... to improve my Maths, English and Science.

(Interview transcript no: 24).

Max (15) (m): ... to get extra help with Maths and English.

(Interview transcript no: 25).

Onika (15) (f): ... to get help with my G.C.S.E.

(Interview transcript no: 10).

Kola (14) (m): ... to expand my education, my knowledge in Maths, and to get to know what I did not know before.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

Parental pressure was evidently a contributing factor to their engaging in academic pursuits. The reason for this could be that they needed parental permission to be away for such a length of time on Saturdays. Also, this could be that the parents are trying to extend their children to achieve what they couldn't get from the system or it is simply parental interests in the development of their children. Many of my student respondents revealed the reason they came:

Janay (6) (f): I came because my dad and mum want me to come.

(Interview transcript no: 21).

Junior (6) (m): My dad and mum wanted me to come.

(Interview transcript no: 21).

Kola (14) (m): My parents want me to have a better education.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

Malaika (12) (f): My parents are paying (13) and I take the advantage to learn more.

(Interview transcript no: 7).

The extrinsic motivation from the parents, and the intrinsic motivation from the students themselves of wanting to succeed in the mainstream school and in the world of work, encourage them to seek for help and they see the CSEP as a place to meet these needs. This is further revealed in my respondents reasons for attending the school:

Sonia (11) (f): ...to get thing not taught in the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 31).

Malaika (12) (f): I'll like to be a doctor. I want the best for myself, I therefore that I have got to work hard, that is not easy, and as such I have decided to work hard and do well at school and have a good job.

(Interview transcript no: 7).

This determination to succeed did not end with the pre-G.C.S.E and G.C.S.E groups of students. The result of the interview which I conducted in the school with two of the post-G.C.S.E College students attending the CSEP in age group 3, demonstrated this. Their comments are related to the ones from the G.C.S.E group. Their focus was subject oriented and the interview revealed this:

Sam: Why is it that you want to come to this school every Saturday?

Shelley - Ann (17) (f): Maths is not my strong point. I go through them at the College, and also I know that I can come here on Saturdays and have more practice.

Sam: What about you?

Melissa: (18) (f): I have my Maths teacher, the same teacher, who I have here, is the same teacher I have at the College (14) ... he knows my weak points but there is not enough time to assist me during lesson. So I come here on Saturdays to get help.

Sam: What you seem to be saying is that you come here to be helped with your Maths. Is there any other subjects in which you receive help?

Shelley - Ann (17) (f): I used to receive help with my Biology but I concentrate on my Maths now. I have more time with Biology at home.

Sam: Can you tell me more about the type of help you needed with your Maths?

Shelley - Ann (17) (f): There are some concepts in Maths which I don't understand, so I come here after trying them at the College to receive help in order to improve, so that I get a better grade at the end.

Sam: What about you?

Melissa (18) (f): I come here to get help with the area in which I get stuck and to practice. ... this place provides me with the space and the time to practice.

(Interview transcript no: 30).

The interview with the students provided me with more evaluation than other respondents as the users of the facilities. Their comments varied from academically oriented topics to social, personal and psychological areas of development. Their responses were not limited to a specific age group, rather they were all emphasising the improvements in their performances in the mainstream as shown in the following responses:

Sonia (11) (f): I now get better in my Maths at school.

(Interview transcript no: 31).

Onika (15) (f): It is a place to come and do something and ... better instead of watching television all Saturday.

(Interview transcript no: 10).

Kola (14) (m): Things being done here help at school ... and this place gives me

confidence to come to the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

Malaika (12) (f) ... this place keeps black youth out of trouble ... my parents have realised that we come here to do something, to work and to learn and it is not an excuse to get out ... teachers at school are pleased with the improvement which I have made in my performances. I am now at the

top set of every subject in the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 7).

5. viii. Critical Analysis

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate the mission and purpose of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project by using the information gathered from the providers and the users of the project. The existing research literature afforded little guidance in my inquiry to the degree that few studies have focused globally on the establishment of Supplementary educational schools. The present study examined several critical factors in the establishment and the relative importance to the aims and objectives of the providers. The pattern of results from this case study reveals the important correlates and the relationship which may be the building blocks for a causal model of core factors influencing the learning of black children and the success of such schools; which in turn, may be used as a vehicle to design strategies to improve black children's performance in mainstream education in the short term and provide an equal footing from which black students could compete and establish better relationship in Britain.

Regarding the mission and purpose of setting up Croydon Supplementary Education Project, there are areas highlighted from all the data collected from the interviews with the providers and the users of the project. It emerges that there are four areas of developmental focus on

which they all agree. This includes the mental, social, cultural and psychological areas of development.

Emphasis from both the providers and the users is placed on the importance of the development of the acquisition of skills and qualifications. Regarding this as mental development, I observed these important significant results:

- the Black community ideals motivate their children's academic development by using black adults in the teaching profession to assist them.
- An emphasis on internal (self) discipline is associated with a growth in scholastic achievement.
- Positive expectation, and commitment with humane treatment by the teacher is associated with children's desire to do well.
- A very high level of parental involvement in the goals and concerns of the project encourages an informed communication process of helping children at school and at home.

I observed much friendship and mutual support amongst the students. This according to Brenda is not so in mainstream schools or in post primary education. There are several possible explanations for the first finding. All the black teachers interviewed except two were born in the Caribbean. There is still a high element of the Caribbean expectations on the purpose of education for social mobility (Stone, 1971). Their activities could be regarded as a form of resistance to the domination by the whites and has resulted in the demand by the parents and the providers focusing on the core subjects of Mathematics, English and sometimes some aspects of Science at the CSEP. This finding, about these subjects, is interesting because the National Curriculum also focuses on these three as the core subject areas. In the CSEP, they have qualified teachers assisting and preparing children in these areas of the curriculum. These activities encourage and provide the children with tools for

succeeding in other subject areas, the result of which seems to be providing children with confidence to face and compete with others in mainstream school.

I also found a connection between an emphasis on discipline and the growth in scholastic achievement. Although the majority of the students are first sent to the CSEP by their parents, because they want them to achieve more in their school work or they feel the children need more help to succeed in their school work, the onus of coming every Saturday is with the children. The reason for this is that children want to do well, achieve and compete with other children in the mainstream education and better themselves in life, so they see their coming to the CSEP as a place to receive additional help to achieve these (15). These expectations help children develop an inner motivation to come week after week. Also, children stated that they dare not truant as the teacher meets their parents and discusses their progress every time they meet in other social activities. It seems that what brings the children to the school is the value that the African Caribbean people places on education. Larger studies have found that there is less truanting amongst these children in the mainstream schools. There seems to be a closer relationship between the home and the school. The school welcome parents in without any prior arrangement and teachers even phone home whenever a child is not attending for a week or two. Although the teachers stated that the children are disciplined and the children come every week without any force, the fact that parents are welcome to visit the school any time might have accounted for their consistency in coming to the school. Although there could be some administrative difficulties, such visits tend not to be made and appear not to be encouraged by the mainstream schools.

The finding about the process of intensive coaching, which operates more on a one to one basis accounts for the maintenance of interest in the children and the positive learning process that occurs. The children feel that the adults (teachers) are interested in their learning and have given up their own time on Saturday to come and help them. The data suggest that teacher student ratio with smaller class size, and the high level of commitment on the part of the teachers, produced positive interaction between the teachers and the children. Also, there

seems to be more time spent by the teachers in explaining to the children what they do not understand (16).

The explanation on the finding about the positive expectations leading to higher achievement is that the teachers all come because they feel they have a positive contribution they could make in addressing the educational, personal and social needs of the children. They are there not to increase their wage package but to help in educating the young people growing up in a multiracial society and help improve their conditions of life. Children see the teachers as capable and as those who understand them and not judge them by their colours, a result of which produce incentives in them wanting to improve their academic pursuits. The humane treatment by the teachers being non-judgemental and the acceptance of all the children provides a learning environment suitable for challenging and enriching black children's learning.

High parental involvement is found to be significantly associated with the mission of the CSEP. Although parents are not involved with the classroom teaching, their presence is felt everywhere (17). This suggests that parents are to take keen interest and the responsibility of supporting the educational system in which their children are learning. School conversely need to encourage parents' participation by opening its doors to them to come in not just on parents' evening or to hear the negative things their children have done, but at any time to discuss and assist in their children's educational and other developments.

5. ix. Conclusion

This study lays down a groundwork for a model strategy in improving black children's performance in the mainstream schools. The pattern of relationship discovered in this study should be re-analysed and compared across different settings of other Supplementary Schools and mainstream schools to assess where the largest gaps lie in the educational provision for

black children. The findings about current provision for the attainment of the CSEP mission suggest that educators and policy makers should rethink how black student's learning is being affected by the ethos of the mainstream schools, the supposedly 'inactive participation' of black parents in the education of their children; teachers' negative expectations of black students and stereotypical judgement of teachers and also class sizes affect black children's learning.

However, based on the results of this analysis, it seems reasonable to suggest that internal discipline created by the ethos of the school, positive expectations by black teachers of black students, and the willingness of the school to improve school-home relations work in assisting black students improve academically, socially and culturally. Thus, finally the variables above need to be made clear in the objectives of any school's ethos, structure and context; as well as an explanation of the importance of these in their aims and objectives. Students spend a large proportion of their developmental years at school, therefore, it is essential for the school to make every student feel welcome.

6. CHAPTER SIX

6. i. Croydon Supplementary School: The school as a Community

In this chapter, my aim is to examine the nature of the social relationship and the discipline that exists in the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project. The information obtained through interviews with the Directors, the Management Committee, the teachers, the parents and the students of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project (CSEP), and others in the community on the values that are represented in the school's culture and ethos will be presented. This will then be compared with their perception of the mainstream school. A critical analysis and commentary will be made on these perspectives.

The highlights of the responses from the Directors, the Management Committee, the teachers, the parents and the students of the CSEP, and others in the community focus on three main issues:

- There is a high community spirit to which teachers, students and parents subscribe and the ethos of self discipline is being practiced.
- There is an holistic involvement of the community in which adults become 'ready made' role models for the children.
- Communication is an essential ingredient of maintaining such a relationship, and the majority of people in the community are prepared to be involved.

6. ii. Community participation

The author argued in Chapter 5 that the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project provides a forum in which black teachers come together because they feel they have a 'positive contribution they could make in addressing the educational, personal and social needs of the children' (see Chapter 5). Consequently, children see these teachers as capable and as those who understand them and who do not judge them by their colour, a result of which produces incentives in them wanting to attend and to improve their academic achievements. The acceptance of the students by their teachers appears to be non-judgemental and this attitude and the acceptance of all the students provides a learning environment for challenging and enriching black children's learning. The intake of students into these schools seems to be in contrast to that of mainstream schools where black students tend to be characterised by the head teachers as having 'behavioural / learning problems' Tomlinson (1983:57). Similarly, Supplementary Schools are not just places which are 'needed to reinforce the cultural values and beliefs' of black students (Dove, 1993:431), but as schools which tend to cater for the whole child. The coming together of students, parents and teachers in this project was put succinctly when Tessa, a school Secretary and social worker described it as:

... a community of its own ... with people from different sections of the community such as continental Africans, African-Caribbeans, mixed races. People who have begun to learn about each other, about their community ... and look at each other as part of a community.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

This communal orientation permeates the whole ethos of the school. Parents, students and teachers, all see themselves as part of it as opposed to the feeling of isolation being experienced by students, parents and sometimes by black teachers in the mainstream school

(1). The feelings of this isolation as described by Dove (1993:436) is being manifested in parents being 'convinced that the teaching of their children could not be left to the British state system and to White teachers who harboured ... negatives about African Children' and by students in their 'resistant behaviours'. In contrast to this the respondents in this thesis see the relationship that goes on between all the participants of the CSEP as positive. This is highlighted in the responses by the Chairperson of the Management Committee, who is also a parent, when he was clarifying his views about relationships within the school:

Patrick: I find the interactions between teachers and the community positive and encouraging because the school holds at least once a year open day during which parents are encouraged to bring their children, and to view the children's work. Now, this may be similar to the mainstream school, but the difference is that parents and their children are encouraged to attend this together. It is good because it gives opportunities to all parties to express their opinion. It is a joint collaboration and there is consistency there.

(Interview transcript no: 28).

In this, there is an emphasis on the coming together of all parties and consistency. Such factors seem important in any relationship. It will give room and opportunities for all participants involved to express their view, thus creating an avenue for enhancing good communication. When there is a sense of belonging to a community, most people feel obliged to contribute to that community rather than work against it. This is reflected in the statement made by Tessa, (a mother, previous Treasurer to Parents Students Association (PSA) and currently one of the three Secretaries and a social worker), one of the respondents that I interviewed.

Sam: ... give me some examples.

Tessa: They listen and they respond with proper behaviour. We also stress before they come in here that this is their project and they have to take care of it. If you walk around here, you won't see any graffiti. We have never had a problem with graffiti, even when we were in a smaller building. You go to the mainstream school and you have graffiti and so on. Children feel that they belong here and that the project is theirs. They take care of it. I tell them that they are to keep this place as they would keep their mother's front room.

Sam: Can you just tell me more about this spirit of belongingness that you are talking about?

Tessa: Because they belong, they take pride. Pride of being here, pride in the project, pride in coming here and the feeling of being taught by black teachers who they could relate to. I think that that in itself helps them to feel that they belong somewhere. Also, the classrooms are small they have the individual's attention and therefore they can feel that somebody is actually taking an interest in them and not in a large school where they are lost in the system.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

This type of relationship engenders cooperation between all the participants. This is not because they are black, and they have ghettoised themselves within the mainstream British culture, but because the teachers in the CSEP want to understand the students as opposed to them being labelled as 'problems' or being humiliated by the type of discipline measures which tend to be practised in the mainstream school. Also, the students see the teachers in the CSEP as those who want to help them resist what Hazel Carby, a Marxist author (1983:199-205) stated as black parents' beliefs that their children are being pushed by the state education and British system into 'low-level education' which, according to this author, produces a 'reserve army of low-waged labour' as cited in Chapter Three.

6. iii. High level of Commitment

The 10 students interviewed (2) have a positive attitude towards how they are treated in the CSEP. Although one of the students complained about the lack of play area and break times, the overall picture is that of a place where everyone gets on well with the other. This could be seen in the responses which the students gave when they were asked about the way they relate to the teacher and the teachers relate to them:

Sam: How will you describe the way people here relate to one another.

Sonia 11 (f): They get on well with one another ... they talk to one another ... and they treat us as children. This is because they want us to do well and they want us to get on with our work. I have found that I concentrate more and pay more attention here because I want good education. When we are talking in the class, they normally ask us to get on with our work. When you get into too much trouble your parents are invited here, to come and see the teacher.

(Interview transcript no: 31).

All the students responded positively to this question about the relationship between the students and the teachers and they substantiated their responses through various illustrations. Their responses revealed the innate value of the support which exists in the school and this is portrayed in the following excerpt from an interview with a student:

Sam: What are the differences between the way teachers relate to you here and your mainstream school?

Melissa 18 (f): It is not much the type of work that you are doing here ... the teacher has more time to spend on our work ... They judge us as individuals. Whereas, at the mainstream they put you together as a group. In this group, you might be one person with the potential to do well or someone who is weak in performances. (The differences are hardly catered for). ... Coming here is just on a one to one basis and the teachers know that they can identify a child who has the potential (to do well), and help him/her to get on with the work. It doesn't matter who you are, they try to identify the area you are having a problem with in your work and help.

Sam: Is that the way you see it?

Melissa 18 (f): Yes. They treat us like that.

Sam: What do you mean?

Melissa 18 (f): They relate to us and they try to identify areas in which we have problems and they help us.

(Interview transcript no: 30).

In this project, the students and their parents were convinced that the children are improving (3). The report about the support these students are receiving is that it is not one that just helps them in their work here, but one which they carry on into their mainstream school work. The

report above corresponds with the conclusion Dove (1993:441) gave as one in which parents felt that their children's progress was because of the 'attention and the general treatment' provided by the teacher. However, there is no correlation between their 'Blackness' or their 'Africanness' and the attention being given. One of the students put this into perspective when she said that her teacher in this project is the same one at the college and that he gives individual attention to all his students at the mainstream whenever there is time. Also, the white teachers who work here and those who have worked here and have since left are regarded with high esteem. Therefore, the time factor rather than colour of their skin and the availability of more teachers assist in the maintenance of the relationship that exists. There is a very wide of age and ability in one room with examinations being taken. Although the colour issue is important, the relationship fostered motivates the children to want to progress. This was clarified in the students and the parents' willingness to be part of the project. Children are being placed on the waiting list (4) as soon as they are born and the school now has more people on their waiting list than are currently in the school itself due to lack of accommodation. This eagerness to attend could be seen in this response:

Melissa 18 (f): Here, because we want to be here, sometimes, whereas, at the mainstream school or college some are there reluctantly, here people want to bring their work or get on with the work they have been given. They come here because they value education and they want to learn.

(Interview transcript no: 30).

Another student who was present at the interview put this more succinctly when she stated that:

Shelly-Ann 17 (f): I can relate to that, there is no compulsion here ... people here are willing to do their work and they are with the right frame of mind and the teachers are quite helpful. When they (the teachers) see that you are having a problem, they first address the issue with the whole group and as individual ... makes you feel as part of the group and not alone (5).

(Interview transcript no: 30).

The state of being in the right frame of mind according to these respondents stems from the support and the challenges which the students receive from the teachers inside and outside the classrooms. Also, the interactions and good communication between the parents and the teachers appears to assist in maintaining the good atmosphere and the level of students' involvement in the project. Parents seem to feel free to come in and do what Chevannes termed as 'exchanging pleasantaries' (Sharron's 'Night School' in TES, 6.1.84:15). These are being reflected in the following responses:

Sonia 11 (f):My parents get on very well with the teachers. They come around to visit and when they bring me in the morning, they chat with the teachers. They don't do that at the mainstream school. ... Also, the teachers want us to do well and they want us to get on with our work.

(Interview transcript no: 31).

6. iv. Shared Experience

Parental commitment and the communication which goes on between the teachers, the students and their parents allows the sharing of experience between all the participants. This is manifested in the responses in an interview with one of the teachers, Bihari, a 48 year old Asian-West Indian, who came to England after his training as a teacher in the West Indies. He lectures at Sutton Further Education College and has been with the CSEP for 5 years:

Sam: What are the things motivating you to coming here?

Bihari: My own education suffered a lot and I have seen that parents always aim that their children achieve in education and in this case, all parents devote their energy, money and resources to education. If these students and their parents have decided to attend this Saturday school, I am delighted to be available and help them.

Sam: So you want to be involved in such place. What type of relationship is that generating within the black community?

Bihari: The relationship between the students is excellent ... it is a friendly one. The teachers and the parents all help them. They are willing to ask questions and they are willing to perform. It is a community in which everyone around is trying to do a little bit. It moves them (the students) to a higher percentage than they are achieving. This in time alters their (students') perception to want to achieve.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

This level of commitment of providing equal opportunities to black children, and capitalising on the students' positive experiences, is not just the prerogative of the black people in the project but one which cuts across all the participants. Also, the cooperation which exists between the people involved with the project was highly commended. This could be seen in the following excerpts of the interview with one of the two Caucasian teachers, Brenda and Pat involved with the project (6):

Brenda: There are some things which I think are very interesting about the school. They are always supportive and very matey with each other. It is a very nice atmosphere here.

Sam: What do you mean by their being matey?

Brenda: Amenable, nice with each other. I have to tell you that it is not so in the mainstream, where people hate each other, very much so in some cases. ... Whereas in this school, they mostly get on nicely, not absolutely always but mostly. I think some of them didn't used to like it when somebody came and they spoke very, very, odd, sort of, compared to standard English language and they thought possibly letting their side down (7). I don't know. But normally they are very matey in comparison with other people. During classes, they are very very nice to each other. ... You could take them out any where like Spain, I would think twice before I took a class out now - I mean a regular mainstream class - I am talking about secondary state schools, because there are many splits and too much violence and sometimes the authority pretends that it's not happening.

(Interview transcript no: 18).

During these interviews, the experiences of the teachers, students and parents in relation to their persistent commitment to the project were examined. The teachers, the students and

parents were able to express their views about the commitment of the people within the organisation as stated in the following interview:

Sam: I am interested as to why people have given up their Saturdays for the past 15 years. I consider this a sacrifice.

Cynthia: It is a sacrifice and a commitment. They work very hard during the week and then on Saturday. However, it is rewarding to see the children appreciating what you are doing for them. The reward is to see such an extent of these changes, which include their behaviour. They don't get into trouble.

(Interview transcript no: 3).

These perceptions are in contrast to the findings reported in an ethnographic study conducted by Cecile Wright (1985:12) that focused on the experiences of fourth and fifth year African Caribbean students in two mainstream schools in the North of England. The description of the observation made by Wright was that the mainstream school is a 'battleground - a hostile environment', a description which was similar to Brenda's view on the previous page. Although Wright was discussing these children's academic performance in relation to the processes within the mainstream schools, it is obvious that a cooperative relationship based on mutual understanding is essential. Good treatment from the teachers encourages good behaviour from the students. Brenda, one of the Caucasian teachers, continued during the interview to describe some of the interaction that she has had with the children at the CSEP. She stated that:

I think that I am alright. They think that I am alright, more or less. One girl said to me once, you are the only white person in this room. Don't you feel odd or some words to that effect? ... So I said not really because I am used to it and because I am a teacher first and a white person second. ... A lot of them say things like, we don't steal off people you know (8).

(Interview transcript no: 18).

Although the statement by Brenda above could be a projection of the student's own feeling in mainstream education, in which she is alone (9), it is a statement that describes the student's own experiences and feeling of isolation, which are similar to that of Black teachers in Osler's study (1997:112). When the children said to Brenda that they 'do not steal off people you know', they could either mean that they do not steal from anybody or that they steal but not from the people they know. However, this statement by Brenda might have arisen from the children seeing that she is being over protective of her things in the classroom, and as the author will argue later on, children are being seen to be more disciplined (10).

6. v. Inner discipline versus external discipline

The inculcation of self discipline as made clear in the CSEP motto 'Without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained', was broadened in the last chapter as a shared sense of good discipline in the school. This was argued by the author as a form of discipline the respondents perceived not to be occurring in the mainstream education. According to Yvonne Bailey, Director 4, who is a pastoral head in one of the mainstream schools, the children here in the CSEP exhibit:

... extremely good self-control with discipline ... and children are told that there has to be good discipline ... an experience that black people have shared at school back in their home country ... which is quite different from the one that happens in the mainstream education with black children because of racism and the ways the children are being treated and attended to by the teachers.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

Expanding on this during the interview with this Director, she described the source of this discipline as the ethos being encouraged in the school where it is:

... an atmosphere in which discipline is quite strict and children are motivated to

work hard (11).

(Interview transcript no: 15).

This is in contrast to the respondent in Wright's (1987) ethnographic findings in which a Caucasian teacher described the African Caribbean students as:

... the worst group in terms of behaviour and motivation and (a group which) made things very difficult. ... This group of girls are always in trouble with other teachers and their parents have constantly to be brought in. Therefore if this group of African Caribbean girls are not in the class, I feel I'd be able to do a much more effective teaching job with others.

Wright's (1987:113).

Although Wright pointed out that such deduction will create open confrontations rather than an atmosphere in which both students and teachers are able to work together, she failed to consider the positive nature of the discipline which exists amongst black students in schools and the effects of the stereotypical image of these children by their white teachers. For example, the teacher here seemed to see the absence of black girls as a prerequisite for an orderly classroom. What she could have confronted are not the girls, but the strategies that she has used and the strategies being used by the system, i.e. as in the description of the girls' background in some of the books, the white people's views of the black community. Possibly, if she feels so helpless at the presence of the students, what she might consider is to move to another school (12).

It was argued in the last chapter that there is a strong link between the emphasis on discipline and students' growth in scholastic achievement. Although white people tend to see black parents as being strict when disciplining their children, black people on the contrary value discipline in their family life and they see it as something that is essential if a community is to survive.

In an interview with one of the Caucasian teachers, when asked to compare the discipline in the CSEP with that of the mainstream, she has the following to express about the students and the discipline in the CSEP:

Pat: The children here don't have much discipline problem because the classes are not so large and they are here for only two hours so that we don't have to manage them over lunch hour and other (extra - curricular) activities. Even though the discipline is quite strict here, you can be more relaxed because the children know that they are here with their problems to be helped and many of the children seem to adjust too well to this, work hard and succeed.

Sam: You seemed to be saying two things here - 'strict and relaxed' These are at the opposite ends of a continuum. Could you please tell me more?

Pat: I think the children know that they have to work hard. With their parents' input, I really don't know how much input their parents have (13) other than they have to pay certain fees and others help with coffee mornings, and make them responsible. I think that the parents of the children are quite strict; and basically told them that they need to work hard and the children respond quite well and most of them behave quite well really. We expect a certain high standard of discipline, but we don't have to spend a lot of time enforcing it. I think parental support comes in and that means they will behave well. We don't see bad behaviour in them in this school.

(Interview transcript no 11).

The teacher's comments here, when analysed, provides insight not only into how discipline is being enforced through parental involvement, but the positive nature of discipline which operates in the school. Her last statement could also mean that they either condone bad behaviour by ignoring it or bad behaviour is simply not present because of the way the teachers relate to the students. This relationship, according to the Secretary (14) of the school who has been working here for over twelve years, is present because of the good rapport between teachers and students and the result of which is everyone enjoys the good working atmosphere. This could be seen in her statement about the relationship between teachers and students:

Tessa: The relationship is very good between teachers and students in this project. When you hear about teachers being assaulted by students and the fear that are at the mainstream school. I know that it's a small project of two hours, one day a week (15), but I also know that children are children and wherever they are, if

they want to misbehave, they will misbehave. It is a tribute to our teachers that children are coming into this project. We have never had a difficult student. A difficult student is one that misbehaves to the point that we have to say that she/he has to discontinue. If we do get a student who is not settled and not working, the teacher in whichever group that the child is working in brings it to the attention of either myself or Mrs Graham or when Mr. Johnson was here, Mr. Johnson or Mrs. Bailey, and somebody will take the child out and have a word with her/him and say "you are here for a specific reason", talk with them and try to get them to understand why they are here. You easily find that that's all you need to do.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

The inference which could be drawn from this statement about the relationship that exists in the CSEP, is that there is no 'us and them' between the teachers and the students but a social group in which everyone is working together. Similar responses (16) were recorded in the Supplementary School visited by Mac an Ghail (1991:138). Students, parents and teachers frequently returned to the theme of cooperative relationships within the school as opposed to focusing on the child as misbehaving. It becomes a matter of what can we do to make our students learn better as opposed to one which sees the child as being a problem and one in need of remedial teaching because of bad behaviour, one of the methods the authority appears to be using to discipline a 'problem' child. These are shown in the following responses:

Charlene 7 (f) I am not that good in writing but they are helping me in this place ... they let us do our work and when you do something wrong, they don't just shout at you that you have done it wrong, they help you do it.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

Katrina 8 (f) The teachers here are kind and when you do something wrong, they are not like heavy on you and send you to the headteacher. Our headteacher at school is very strict.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

Kola 14 (m) The teachers here are really good, if you don't understand something, they

will explain it to you. They have a way to make you do your work and you really enjoy doing it. They are easy going and you get along with them. They are not shouting or screaming at you, they help you to improve ... They treat you as they will treat themselves and they don't boss you around or tell you to do this and if you don't do it, they will send you downstairs - the headteacher's office (17).

(Interview transcript no: 5).

Max 15 (m) I have (told my friends) that it is a very nice environment, nice atmosphere and we are working hard, and teachers look at your ability and want to stretch you. ... everyone get on well and relate to one another, helping each other to get on well in what they are doing. They are quite friendly, and they treat you well and want you to get on. When they know what you are capable of, they take you one step further.

(Interview transcript no: 25).

Talking about discipline, Max echoes other student's responses and continues by stating that the teachers here:

... don't quite shout at you like at my mainstream school, they know how to handle children and make them work by encouraging them inside and outside classrooms. When you talk to others in the classroom, the teachers here will not shout but they let you know that you might not work properly. ... When I have a problem, I am prepared to tell the teachers here ... they help me to break it (the problem) up and they don't stop till you have understood it. They help me to help myself to do it myself. They don't stop halfway, they continue until it has been resolved.

(Interview transcript no: 25).

Students' comments about their teachers in the CSEP seem positive and conversely, negative about some of their teachers in the mainstream school. They seem to perceive their teachers in the CSEP as people who are friendly and wanting to challenge their capabilities whilst at the same time they seem to be there as role models.

6. vi. Role Modelling as an important factor for motivation

In the CSEP, there is a readily available series of black role models ranging from the teachers who teach at the school, parents who come in from time to time, community workers, adults and other professionals; also the pictorial examples of present and past black figures. These assist in communicating with the students and in helping to change their attitudes to schooling. Schooling becomes a community gathering. This could be seen in the following responses by one of the secretaries:

Tessa: We are able to communicate with the children and the children are able to change their attitude. Also, because it's a black project, of course when they come in here, they can identify and see people around and that in all aspects of this project we have black teachers. Yes we do have European teachers, we don't dismiss that and they have been with us for sometime. There are those who have been with us almost from the time we started. We also have other European teachers who have come and gone, so they are important as well. But because it is a black people's project, the children can see that it is mainly 95% black, they get some pride out of that and they can relate to that.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

The ex-Director, Andrew, echoing this, summarised parental involvement as one in which:

Parents worked very close with me in all the rest and are more or less the vehicles that were used in assisting the school in all areas of constitution and political work in the community.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The involvement of the teachers was explained by this Director as that which comes out of their professional competence as opposed to their being black. He stated that:

Well, I want the CSEP to be in the main in the make up of its personnel, I have always noticed that it is not about having black people up in the front of black kids. It is about having the best we can get to teach our children. Very often they are White, Portugese, Indian or whoever they are so long as we can get the best

teachers who are prepared to come and work on our programme (18).

(Interview transcript no: 1).

6. vii. Religious and cultural factors for motivation

Unlike the Datchwyng Saturday School in Peckham, which was operating twenty years ago and has only one professional teacher as cited in Tomlinson (1984:14), the CSEP has 36 professional teachers - 34 black teachers and 2 whites. They are all volunteers, who want to give up their time on Saturday to come to the school to help the children. On the other hand, Dove (1993:445) advocated the 'cultural affirmation' to be received from black teachers and parents in this school. Although she cited the John Loughborough - Seventh Day Adventist school in London as an example of a black school, she failed to indicate the differences between the church philosophy of the school cited and the 'Africanness' that she is encouraging in her paper. She needs to explain further what she meant by 'Africanness' as there is no philosophy or values that could be stated as being mainly that of the Africans.

Although there is no emphasis on religion in the Croydon Supplementary School, at the entrance is the display of Kwame Nkrumah the ex-President of Ghana and the leader of the Pan African Movement for Independence. The display of this picture and others like Martin Luther King, Malcom X and African American scientists, could be stated as that of celebrating the achievements of such personalities rather than the promotion of African values or philosophy. Also, she did not state the calibre of those involved in helping the children in the schools she visited. The John Loughborough is a church school with the Seventh Day Adventist philosophy which is religious and it has no 'African' flavour (19). The only

difference between this school and most schools in the London area is that all the teachers are all black. On the issue of promoting 'African values' there is sometimes some danger in over emphasising such philosophy to the detriment of educating the child. This is sometimes the case with some Supplementary Schools which with the promotion of their 'Africanness' philosophy and the use of Creole as a teaching medium have possibly not thought it through very well. Such schools tend to end up with practises that weigh towards cultural promotion as opposed to that of academic pursuit of teaching of English, Mathematics and other subjects on the mainstream school curriculum. In the CSEP their primary aim is in helping children improve their excellence in their academic subjects. Cultural and ethnicity affirmation are subtly done in the CSEP, even by the students themselves (20). How this is being done will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

6. viii. Communication as an essential ingredient

The Croydon Supplementary School takes pride in the maintainance of a working communication link with the parents, the children, the community and the school. In the CSEP parents are encouraged to phone, or come in person to discuss what is going on or raise their issues of concern. Although this has some drawbacks, such as many people arriving together at a time to see one person, the school seems to be coping well. The type of communication line and the relationship being encouraged is indicated in the following excerpts from an interview with one of the Secretaries:

Sam: How will you describe the relationship between parents and the project as a whole?

Tessa: I think we have a very good relationship with the parents. We have a strong parents / students association that has been very involved with the project. We also have personal contact with them. Parents are always welcome. They know that they can come in and sit down, and wait in the corridor for their kids. If they

have a problem, they can contact anyone. They don't have to book an appointment. Of course if the teacher is teaching when they come in, they are told to wait or to come back later to have a word with the teacher. I think in general, parents are made to feel welcome and therefore, they have no problem with coming in to see us. The school and parents work quite closely.

Sam: Talking about working closely, you've said that they were helping in raising funds, what other areas have they been involved?

Tessa: Mainly the parents association is the fundraising aspect of the organisation, and that is one of their functions regarding the project. They themselves do other things. I have not been involved with the Parents Association recently, I don't know what they have on their agenda but they normally have things like the annual general meeting. They invite people from the Education Department to talk to the parents about the education of their children. We get them involved in and they are very active in our prize giving event. The parents association tend to do the catering and so forth.

Sam: How will you describe the relationship in the different strata of the organisation?

Tessa: The relationship has always been positive. There has never been negative influences. Everyone involved with this project wants to be here and be involved. You can't say it is monetary led, the remuneration for the teachers is not that fantastic. They come here on Saturday mornings. Coming here is a sacrifice. e.g. I come here on Saturdays mornings, I am in fulltime education and I value my Saturday mornings and I still give them up to come here, so I think it's a commitment. Everyone within this project is committed to its success.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

The commitment from each individual involved with the project attributes to the success and the continuance of the project. It receives the support of the parents, which is similar to the observation made in Tomlinson (1984:15). However, it needs to be stated that the contribution of everyone, the taking of interest and the valuing of one another personally matters. These are reflected in the following statements made by Tessa:

I personally have decided to take an interest in parents and how I can help. I say to them, how are you doing now? Asking if they are OK? If I know that a parent isn't working and I heard of a job going within the area, I will direct them to it. We are not just interested in the children but also in the parents. If I am walking down the road and I see a parent, I walk down to them and talk to them. It just

makes them feel that they belong as well.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

In the response made above by Tessa, the services being provided by the school could be seen as working with the community with a communal arena, where people receive one service and are encouraged to come back for another or they themselves becomes a worker offering the service. The continuity of people who have received help and coming back to help was described by Tessa as:

We have people leave and people coming back. People saying how can they work (help). People have left and come back. We have had students that have left and gone to the universities and then come back. The time they spend here is used for developing the project. I think it is about commitment. We are all committed from the directors and right down to everyone. We are all committed to what we are doing here and as such people are willing to give up their time.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

6. ix. Critical Analysis

A critical analysis of this chapter must note the advantages and the disadvantages of the CSEP when compared with the mainstream schools. The intended outcome of this chapter is to examine the nature of the social relationship and the discipline that exists in this project. An analysis of the findings shows that there is a high ethos of involving everyone who wants to be involved. In this a positive relationship between home, school, and children appears to have been created with a high level of commitment from all the participants. The attention and general treatment provided by the school motivates the children to feel part of the group and thus a cooperative relationship based on mutual understanding is established.

6. x. Community Issues

The cultural parity of teachers and students creates an avenue for working together. Although this was seldom mentioned by the majority of the adults in the interview, the children see it as helping the teachers and the students understand one another. When there is a mutual understanding between two people, they tend to know where the other person stands and what is expected of them. This is shown in the findings that the promotion of better understanding between teachers, students and parents corresponds with the level of output of work by the students. One of the students summarised this as 'they know how to get the best out of their students'. Although there is the difference in class sizes when the situation is compared to that obtainable at the mainstream school, the majority of the mainstream school teachers were considered by the teachers in the CSEP as doing an excellent job when they get to know their students. Conversely, the non-availability of adequate resources, the increase in class sizes and the racism in the system could be stated as factors that have led to a non-promotion of the values expressed in this chapter by some of the teachers in the mainstream schools when they categorise the majority of black students as having attitude, behavioural and learning problems. The result of which produces the self-fulfilling prophecies of the teachers perception in the mainstream schools.

In the CSEP, the children perceive themselves as belonging to a community, with the commitment to doing their work and learning about one another. This learning could be argued as the source of the communal image presented by all the participants in the interview. Conversely, it could be argued that the feeling of isolation by the majority of black students in the mainstream school, encourages the non-commitment of the children and thus consequently making the mainstream school become a 'battle ground' and the children responding with their resistant behaviours which the mainstream schools tend to perceive as 'bad behaviours'.

Another factor which could be facilitating a communal orientation in the project studied could be attributed to the parental support being received by the school and the smallness of their classes.

6. xi. Parental Support

The findings suggest that parental assistance and support has attributed to the success of Supplementary Schools and according to Mac an Ghail (1991), students in Garvey Supplementary School perceived the school as being theirs because of their parents' involvement. According to Mac an Ghail (1991:135), parents were encouraged to 'take an active role in the organisation and running of the school'. Such a finding is consistent with the ones in the existing literature (Stone, 1981:188 and Tomlinson, 1982b:14). Although parents are welcome to come in at any time to see their children's work or come for further assistance about their children's education, their support seems to be in the raising of funds to keep the school going and in the form of moral support parents give to the school work. Meanwhile they leave the curriculum activities to the professional teachers.

However, parents and teachers perceived Supplementary Schools as theirs, a theme which tends not to occur in mainstream schools. Parents in the CSEP see and work with the school as theirs. There is a sense of ownership to the success of the school.

6. xii. Small Classes

Tomlinson (1984:74) cited two examples of the types of Supplementary Schools available in Peckham and Wolverhampton as documented by Clark (1982) and Chevannes (1979). In the schools cited, their strengths appear to be in the smallness of the class sizes. The implication of this in the CSEP is of great significance. The class sizes provide the support which the

children seem to value and identified as their being 'treated as individuals'. This type, of scenario is highly improbable in the mainstream school because of funding. Although it sometimes occurs in some primary schools, where teachers have a classroom assistant, they tend to be parents who have come to help and who are without any teaching qualifications. Although it could be useful, this situation rarely occurs in the secondary school due to the specialisation that occurs in the different subject areas. However, the mainstream schools might need to explore this further by inviting in parents with expertise in the different subject areas of the curriculum being addressed. Although there are some structural implications to this, such as the current need for all the helpers and staff to be vetted by the Police (21) before being allowed into the school to be with the children, the increase of adult presence in the classroom could be a significant factor in reducing the 'indiscipline' which tends to be occurring in many schools.

6. xiii. Home and school working together

Another factor in these findings is that parents are constantly fed the information of what is going on in the CSEP. They are invited to partake in all the extra curricula activities and allowed to come in to see the school in sessions. Parents tended not to be just informed about their children's 'bad behaviour', which tends to happen in the mainstream schools, but they are seen as the significant members of the school's community. This finding corresponds with Dove (1993:444) who found that parents and teachers of Supplementary Schools were particularly dedicated and committed to their work. In the CSEP, they have an open door policy for people to come in and see the school in sessions, and see the way they could contribute to the success of the project. A good example of this was the open-days (22) held during the period of my study during which parents, mostly from the business community, were invited in to see the work of the children. Whilst this might financially be helpful to the school, the intrinsic value of such visits could include the provision of life models for the

children and thus supplementing the pictures and murals being displayed around the premises to show the success of black people.

Also, the working together of the community and the school might be a contributing factor to the maintenance of order and discipline in the Supplementary School. This finding is consistent with the existing literature (Stone, 1981:186). Parents interviewed tended to see English society and especially the school being what Stone (1981:186) described as 'free and easy' in terms of discipline. The high level of discipline that exists in the home background of the black children is being used positively to enhance children's performance in the school.

6. ix. Conclusion

In this study I have gathered information from the staff, parents and students and other people about how they perceive the social relationship and the discipline that exists in the CSEP. From my interviews with them, I found that all the people involved are working together for the benefit of the children. The communal orientation that exists in a Supplementary School is epitomised in the support which the children and their parents receive from such schools. This support seems not to be isolated from the environment in which it exists. It is, therefore, a working together of the school, the children and their parents. The people interviewed perceived the children as willing to work and my experience with them is that they are willing to work. However, there is the need to state that those who are not coming to such schools might be the ones that are experiencing the supposed 'behavioural problems' cited by some headteachers (Tomlinson,1983:57) in the mainstream schools and are therefore unwilling to enrol in the CSEP.

Also this study reveals that there is a high community spirit in which everyone seems to be valued for who they are. The CSEP is an environment which provides the students with an equal opportunity to participate and progress in their academic pursuits. This invariably assists the individuals to see themselves as wanted and it encourages them to be 'matey and nice' with each other.

The adults in the project were willing to give their time and provide the resources needed by the children to improve in what they are learning. The presence of this adult is a form of life role model which shows the children that there are black adults who are succeeding in the mainstream British society world of business and education. Also, the mural and pictorial images of black people seem to be a reminder of the struggles and the successes of the past. Students were well disciplined and were relating to all adults in the school very well regardless of their racial orientation. They were able to communicate with one another and they see one another as working together to improve the life chances of the students in the mainstream education.

Although this is a small study, it highlights some important factors for strategies in improving the relationship between the mainstream schools and black people. The findings about the cordial contact that exists in the relationships between teachers, parents and students at the CSEP, suggest that educators and policy makers should rethink how they can improve the involvement of black parents, students, and the community in the education of children, and how they can reverse the inactive participation of black parents, if any parents at all. More parental involvement in the mainstream school activities could help provide more adults' supervision and could help release teachers to have more contact time with the students.

However, based on the results of this analysis, it seems reasonable to suggest that the high community spirit to which every participant subscribes needs to be encouraged in school settings. This needs to be done in a school setting which promotes the ethos of self discipline as opposed to one enforcing discipline. This might mean changing the current structures in

schools to extend working practices beyond the classroom, to alter the nature of operation as in extending the working time to include more contact time and the school to communicate with parents and students. Also, class size was seen as an important factor in creating a positive atmosphere for children's active participation. Therefore, the school system need not be a prison or a correction centre, rather it could be made to become an environment where everyone is being valued as a member of the community.

It is my conclusion, therefore, that community spirit as being shown in the CSEP needs to be encouraged and engineered by the mainstream schools to involve not just the teachers, but become ones in which parents and students and the community become active participants. Also, parents and other people in the community need to be engaged in a dialogue which fosters this.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN

7. i. Croydon Supplementary School: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Outcomes

According to Dacosta (1988:247) many African Caribbean parents whose own education had been one of a traditional subject-based curriculum in their own primary and secondary school, similar to an earlier traditional model of British schooling, found the new child-centred approach and the excessive 'play-centred' pedagogy puzzling. Stone (1981) argued along similar lines when she stated that people in 'Saturday schools ... work together to help youngsters to acquire skills and knowledge which they believe are essential' (p. 238). In other words, black people believe that the mainstream schools are not teaching black students what they need for adult life, such as skills they need to pass their examinations and are consequently neglecting their primary role of instructing the student. Although Stone (1981:6) highlighted the schools blaming West Indian parents and their children's self concept, the central focus of her argument corresponded with what she described as the black community blaming the poor performance of black children on 'poor teaching, low standards, racism and prejudice'. She concluded by advocating:

... a rigorous academic scrutiny so that the discussion of issues such as the place of emotion in the classroom, self concept, and self-esteem should be linked to discussions of the structural factors, which regulate social and economic life, so teachers are not further encouraged into teaching methods based on romantic ideas of 'self realization' and 'self-fulfilment'.

(Stone, 1981:241).

In this argument, the play-centred / self-discovery approach appeared to be seen at the expense of more concrete objectives, i.e. that of teaching the children what they needed to learn, through a more rigorous academic style, linked to an earlier traditional model of British schooling. This traditional model of schooling had been what most West Indian academics, parents and activists have experienced whilst in the Caribbean and as they explained to the

researcher, they found the discovery-learning model in primary school as one that was giving their children an inferior type of education. The increasing criticism of the British education system by black activists such as that of Coard (1971) and Dacosta (1988), served mainly to confirm the fears of black parents, so they wanted to do something to give the basic skills that they felt their children needed if they were to succeed in mainstream education of a society in which black people are one of the oppressed groups (1).

Corresponding to the criticism above, Evans (1985:154), identified that although Plowden's report (1967) gave greater strength to the progressive mode of teaching, there was an increasing scrutiny and growing anxieties from the main community about basic skills not being taught in the primary schools. This scrutiny of the standard in the primary schools, Evans (1985) stated as one that took the form of examination and re-appraisal of the school curricula in the state schools, in the form of 'polemical Black papers (1969); the National Foundation for Education and Research (NFER) report (1971) and Bullock Report (1975)' (Evans, 1985:154). Although these focused on the primary school curriculum, the emphasis was that the progressive form of teaching, unlike the traditional form of subject teaching, was not allowing students in schools to develop the basic skills they needed.

There are some important issues generated by this which have continued the debate about the English education system. One of these is the controversy generated among academics, politicians and the public about the efficacy of comprehensive schools when compared to the old grammar school system. A criticism of this led to the call for the, 'Great Debate', by Prime Minister Callaghan in 1976, during which he pressed for the idea that 'compulsory schooling should centre upon a core curriculum of basic knowledge' (as quoted in Evans, 1985:161) This call was a manifestation of a concern about academic standards as it led to the Department of Education and Science (DES) addressing itself to the formulation of an agreed framework for the five to sixteen curriculum. This was manifested in The School Curriculum (1981) in which the DES asserted its responsibility and right to exercise much more influence; and in particular

to see that all schools provided an adequate grounding in literacy, numeracy and other essential skills for a technological society.

Another issue raised here is one that relates to the theoretical work of Bernstein (1971). Bernstein (1971:48), on the classification and framing of knowledge, identified two types of curriculum organisation. The first is the 'collection type' in which the 'contents' are clearly insulated from each other and the student has to 'collect a group of these contents, usually guided by some concept of what the collection is to be used for'. In contrast to this Bernstein (1971), identified the 'integrated' type in which students and teachers work by blending different disciplines without having to maintain boundaries between subject areas.

Exploring these two types of curriculum, i.e. collection and integrated, Bernstein (1971) drew upon two structural concepts based on the relative strength of the boundaries between 'contents', 'classification' and 'frame'. In classification there is a boundary maintenance concept which refers to the relationship between contents and the way in which they are differentiated. On the other hand, frame refers to the relationship between teacher and student. The degree of control available determines the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted. (Bernstein, 1971:48-49).

In other words, when classification and framing of knowledge are strong, the teacher has less autonomy and the 'received' knowledge is presented to students in a pre-determined and hierarchical order. Whereas, on the other hand, when classification and framing of knowledge are weak, the teacher has more autonomy. Dacosta (1988:250) stated this as 'autonomy which is likely to be greater when declassification occurs, and an integrated curriculum is established'.

It is towards the latter that the discovery idea of primary school and comprehensive education in Britain has been operating. Bernstein (1971) argued about this as one with a strong movement towards the institutionalisation of integrated codes where there is weak

classification and framing in both primary and secondary schools. In addition to this, he identified that present in this system was a challenge to the traditional structures of power and control which helps to 'unfreeze the structure of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness'. Drawing upon Durkeimian conceptualisation of a shift from mechanical to organic solidarity in pedagogy and curriculum organisation, Bernstein (1971) stated that:

There is a shift ... from pedagogy which, for the majority of secondary school students, was concerned with the learning of standard operations tied to specific texts ... to a pedagogy which emphasises the exploration of principles; from schools which emphasised the teacher as a solution-giver to schools which emphasise the teacher as a problem-poser or creator ... the pedagogy now emphasises the means whereby knowledge is created and principles established, in a context of self-discovery by the students. The act of learning itself celebrates choice.

But what about the curriculum? I mean by curriculum the principles governing the selection of, and relationships between, subjects. We are witnessing a shift in emphasis away from schools where the subject is a clear-cut definable unit of curriculum, to schools where the unit of the curriculum, is not so much a subject as an idea - say topic-centred interdisciplinary inquiry.

Bernstein (1971:60).

Such theorising highlighted the significant changes which were taking place in the school system and about the new pedagogy and the new organisation. The changes which seemed to have made the African Caribbean community become anxious and, therefore, wanted an education in which the boundaries are tighter and the mode of transmitting curriculum materials are more defined. This is made explicit when Stone (1981:97) stated that it is 'the general belief that if black children were to have a chance of success in the school system they would have to receive a more formal teaching than they got in schools'. The reason for this could be stated that it is because it corresponded to their own experience of schooling in the Caribbean. Therefore, they began to look for an alternative. These alternatives were in the form of Supplementary Schools of which the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project is one. It was established to provide the basic skills in English, Maths and Science. The purpose of this was succinctly stated by Tomlinson when she wrote:

The basis for black segregated education ... is still a belief that such education will ultimately help black children to succeed in an 'English' education, and acquire credentials which will prepare them for employment or further education and training in the majority society.

Tomlinson (1984:78).

Although Tomlinson highlighted what went on in the John Loughborough School in North London, not all Supplementary Schools run along these lines. The major difference is that the John Loughborough school is a church school and it runs like any mainstream school. This was explicitly stated during an interview with the headteacher, Clinton Valley, when he stated that:

The John Loughborough School is one of the schools operated by the Seventh Day Adventist Church - a Christian denomination. We believe that church school education is a vital point of holistic development of any human being. The John Loughborough was established in 1980 to cater particularly for their Church community in London. The school was not set up as a black school. It was set up as a Christian Grammar School. Given the composition of our church in London, which is primarily an immigrant community. The parents from this church sent their children to the school.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

Although the John Loughborough School has a hundred percent black teachers and students during the period of this research, they pursue a holistic curriculum aimed at black students. The headteacher described their work as a Church school, in which they:

... believe that man needs to be developed physically, mentally, spiritually, socially.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

In order to do this they have:

... a religious programme as an integral part of the curriculum of the school in which prayers are a regular feature and the reading of the Scripture with

emphasis here and there.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

He further stated that:

... we let children read their books with emphasis being on giving time to pray, then we give time to mental development and social development of our students.

(Interview transcript no: 2).

On the other hand, the organisers of Croydon Supplementary Educational Project see their aims as different from that of the John Loughborough School, and these are reflected in the way they make decisions about their curriculum contents and how they are implemented.

7. ii. How are the curriculum contents of the Project decided?

The curriculum being operated by the CSEP has developed from that which was decided informally between the organisers and the parents of students attending the school, to that in which formal consultation has taken place during the planning and documentation stages and has been formally agreed by a curriculum development committee. This committee is made up of the Directors, two section leaders, two teachers and two parents.

The contents of the work being carried out by the CSEP organisers in the early years are regarded as 'the basic core of Mathematics, Reading and writing (Standard English), and Articulation' at the formal level and at the informal level. As the hidden curriculum they had 'good behaviour, self respect, respect for others, improved concentration on subject matter and positive self awareness' (The CSEP Curriculum, 1994: Appendix 11). However, before exploring fully what all these may mean to the organisers and the users of the CSEP, there is the need to examine the central principles which helped to determine this.

According to the Curriculum statement, the main objective of the CSEP is to 'provide complementary and Supplementary educational service to ... young people growing up in ... multiracial society'. The elaboration of this was expressed in the interviews and informal discussion as that which is to help black young adults whom the normal school has failed. This help emanated from parental demands and this is reflected in the following excerpts from the interview with the ex-director:

Sam: So the parents brought their children ...

Andrew: ...the only thing is where the parents were concerned, the parents' interests determined our curriculum, in the way, whether the knowledge could have been delivered and that was decided in whether or not we could have attracted persons to deliver it. If the parents wanted French, and we have two or three children who want to do it and couldn't attract French teachers, we hired private teachers and paid those private teachers from 'Sunday school' funds ...

Sam: So what you are saying is that you have a form of curriculum that you are operating and it was the one that the parents wanted. When that could not be met with the available resources, you employed other people, can you tell me more about your curriculum?

Andrew: In the very beginning, in 1981, 1982 and 1983 we had a very wide curriculum, I will tell you what we had. These magazines, I hope you will get the earliest copies from Tessa the secretary, (reading and expanding the contents of the magazine) I'll say this timetable ran until 1984/85. We operated on Mondays from 4.30-6.00 p.m. We did 'O' levels and CSE English and this was intended for 4th Years (Year 10) and above only. On Tuesdays we did 'O' levels Maths and CSE Maths for 4th Years (Year 10) and above only. On Saturdays we had from 10-12 O'clock. We had English, Maths, Biology, Physics intended for all age groups. On Sundays, we had 'O' level Mathematics. This is a special course 'AEB Syllabus B' (Associated Examinations Boards) and I'll just read what it says, 'appropriate numeracy course', This course was designed for those who would like to try the 'O' level having done some basics and are prepared to apply themselves. This course ran from 11-1 p.m. on Sundays. It was not for school age children, but for parents whose children were attending the Sunday School ... this was typical of 1984/85 and was very successful as a lot of people went from there and gained their 'O' level there.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Thus the Supplementary Schools were meant to provide scholastic help to students so as to enhance their ability to undertake their work in mainstream schools and to pass their examinations. Although Andrew did not use the word 'remedial', the statement above and the contents of the curriculum seems a form of 'remedial' work which is aimed at making the students become proficient at literacy and numeracy skills and to develop confidence to take their learning further in the weekday school. In this therefore, the aim of the curriculum activities became one which is to 'supplement' work of the mainstream school. This is further explained in the following excerpts:

Andrew In 1986, we had English on Mondays, Maths on Tuesdays, and on Saturdays we had English, Maths, Biology and Physics. So by 1986, we had dropped this Sunday class, we just had three days. This is another magazine for 1986, in it it stated the curriculum for 1985 and it says again the same as before. We had to run it like this, where we were, where the school was housed at that time we hadn't the space but because we had such a crazy man (meaning himself and all he had to do), we had to structure the school across the week because it was just what we wanted to do, it was so much and we hadn't the space. Just the logistics so Mondays and Tuesdays we had 4th Years and above ... those preparing for examinations, on Saturdays we took the lower age group in Maths and English and on Saturdays only we had Physics and Sociology.

Sam Is it because the children want to learn a subject or because you feel they are not doing well or because they are doing well and you wanted to extend their knowledge in those subjects?

Andrew We are ... say we started as a Supplementary School, that word in my mind is *supp-le-ment*. It is only recently ... in the last years that we moved into, towards the idea, we discussed the idea, the philosophy of complementary education. But at the early stages we were Supplementary. Now it is because we viewed the child as the client that they come with their parent and say they want to join Saturday school. On interview, we'll understand that the first thing they are failing is in Maths or in English or in Physics or Biology or whatever. ... and that determines how we address the problem. It is not just us. In the early stages as well as this we used to ... eh ... students on entering the school ... we had a test, that is in the early 1980s and at least till 1990, we used to take a test so that we would know exactly what the child can achieve. We did an analysis and say in the decimal section the child needs to work here. The test was to give us a starting point. So we had two things, a starting point where we will work and at the same time working with the child where the child is at in secondary school so that the child can

keep up but at the same time we started to fill these gaps, Supplementary. So that was how we worked. ... I tell you the materials are all in there somewhere together ... We had forms where the child could fill in so that we know where the child is at.

Sam: So you are saying here that you are not just 'sticking' them in but you assess them. You give them a form for assessment to see where they are at and where they need help and where they need to be complemented and also where things need to be added on to their knowledge. Can you tell me a bit more about this?

Andrew This was the early period of Saturday school up till 1990 or I'll say up to about 1993.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

There are formal ways used to determine the group where the child could start. This is to enable the organiser to identify the student's needs and what group will be suitable to meet these needs. Students were moved from one class to the other as well as withdrawn for further reading activities to help them as needed. Also, according to Brenda Able in her comments on this chapter, she stated that the CSEP have outreach sessions with individual students seasonally. Some of whom, according to Brenda, now have Degrees (2). With the growth in the population of the school, the curriculum contents are complementary. This is highlighted in the following interview.

Andrew Right now that programme has altered. We cannot do that anymore because we have this massive great mix. What we do now, we take children as they come over the years, we have restructured the school into sections and we have division of heads of departments ... because we have got bigger ... we break up into smaller groups.

Sam Can you tell me more about the way that those needs - children's educational needs were being met.

Andrew In 1993-1994 we moved to complementary ... for the children to catch up academically. We know those who are finding English difficult or finding Physics difficult, ... looked at the reason why the child is not understanding the equations in Physics or Chemistry, or are structurally weak in Maths or they don't really understand equations in Maths ... so we would work on that so they can transfer that, their algebra knowledge into Physics and hence the equations and the manipulation of this ... so that they know that they need to transfer this knowledge around. So we

were doing that and hence making kids catch up. We moved into the programme of complementing. In that of the secondary programme there was a split into two halves. Our aim is that the first half of the programme was strictly helping students to understand things they don't understand. We were addressing their areas of weakness say in the areas of decimals or percentages or whatever their weakness ... that is supplementing. In the second part of the programme we move into complementary education.

We as teachers and professionals we knew from our own experience that a child within Year 10 should be ... targeting the work in the top level should be able to ... be doing these things say pythagoras theorem, ... should be able to handle a quadratic equation or whatever. ... As we are working only two hours to two and a half hours on Saturdays over 34 to 38 weeks in the year. This is approximately less than 38 days in a year to achieve these things. We could not have followed a school curriculum ... we had to look and take out exercises that are important to the children and what they are finding difficult. We could only achieve say four specific topics. How we deliver these four specific topics? To what depth do we give these four topics? We pick out say pythagoras theorem, or address the basic concept of trigonometry. This was done in Year 10 and Year 11. We also did at that age group percentages, equations and solutions to quadratic equations.

Sam Can we move now into more depth, I am interested in this curriculum area because you seem to have spent quite a lot of time to develop the curriculum to meet the needs of the children and you had a sort of picture about the type of curriculum that you are providing. Can you please tell me more about this?

Andrew We, in this as a black school, we had and it is still here what we call the undeclared curriculum, the hidden curriculum. This invisible curriculum become the butter to the bread we had Mathematics, English literature, Physics etc., ... the hidden curriculum has its basics - time keeping, proper physical presentation, this was important, proper manners, respect, attention, concentration, in the class as our headings about discipline, this overall personal physical discipline, time keeping, attention, respect and the application of these are part of our hidden curriculum.

In our English curriculum in the lower part of the school, with all our students, we have a reading programme which you must have seen. We have been struggling all over the years and I think for the first time we've really got it together in 1994/95.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Another Director, Director 4, commenting on how decisions are made about the curriculum being operated in the CSEP continued in the interview as:

Sam What are the areas of curriculum that you focus on in the CSEP?

Yvonne The curriculum areas are Maths and English. These are the areas that we have time for within the two hours. These are the two most important subjects and perhaps, for some children, the most difficult areas of the curriculum and where they need extra input. There is also a small proportion of science being taught to year 6 children, which is being carried through this year to year 7. This is to introduce children to science - just to make them more confident. We have no facilities to go much into practicals in any great depth but, wherever we can, we do the practicals that we don't need many apparatus for.

Sam Who decides the content of the curriculum?

Yvonne There are qualified science teachers. I am also a qualified science teacher (3) and I also share in the curriculum development in that area. We have Pat Davies, a qualified science teacher, who is taking up the role this year.

Sam Are these tailored to fit with what is in the school or are they developed separately?

Yvonne We definitely fit into what is taught in the mainstream schools. Those year 6 children are at the upper year of primary school who would have been taught science in the National Curriculum. Before this, there was not much science being taught at the primary level prior to the National Curriculum. As a science teacher I have lots of children in year 7 who have no confidence because they don't see what goes on at the primary school as science, because lots of primary schools haven't got the facilities. The primary school teachers who teach science are not necessarily specialists and, therefore, there are gaps when they come to secondary school and so we in Supplementary School are trying to fill those gaps wherever we can. I mean mainly in the theoretical and in the practicals that we can do, not involving many apparatus.

Sam: That's in the science area. What about the Maths and English?

Yvonne: In English the curriculum that we follow here is just to supplement what they do in schools using National Curriculum as a guide.

Sam How do you look at the progression within that? Because I have seen that you have different classes.

Yvonne Each class here is equivalent to the ones in the mainstream school. So we

have from year 1 right through to year 12, so not in tandem.

Sam So what you are saying is that the project correspondingly supplements what goes on in each class.

Yvonne The fundamental difference is that in the mainstream school there is a teacher to a class of 30, here the student teacher ratio is such that the children could get individual attention more often and that makes a big difference. Contrary to what the Director of the Ofsted Inspections is saying. We found that total nonsense. We found that smaller classes do work: Small groups do work. You can give the child individual attention. Find out what the child is finding difficult, because each child must be treated as an individual.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

From all the foregoing discussions, the CSEP seemed to have focused almost entirely on the 3'R's. In this, it could be argued that English and Mathematics operated on a 'subject based' curriculum. Although this will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter, it will suffice to state here that they operate for the students to develop the skills needed in these subject areas as opposed to that of students centred exploration.

Rather than expressing black consciousness as an agenda as in the Supplementary Schools in Reay and Mirza (1997:490) and Kifano's (1997:212) research, the CSEP founders and providers like the schools in Dacosta's (1988) study, see English, Maths and Science as their main priority. However, the presence of 94% of the teachers as black could be argued as in itself something different from the majority of the mainstream schools, with the exception of the John Loughborough school with currently 100% black teachers.

One of the latent elements of the curriculum in the CSEP is this presence of black teachers (4). It could be argued as a natural source of black role models for the students, and added to this is what Dacosta (1988:252) stated as what would encourage students to 'learn a great deal about black identity and black community through contact/attendance at the black Supplementary School' (5).

The curriculum in the CSEP focused almost completely on the 3'R's. However, having the majority of the staff being black makes the school popular amongst the community of black people in Croydon and the surrounding areas. This was expressed in the following interview excerpts with another director:

Yvonne ... a close knit community. There is one thing that bonds us together and that is the fact that the majority, students as well as staff, are black. We have the same aspirations; we have the same outlook as a lot of the parents, we share quite a lot in common. We could understand when a parent is sharing that "my child is having difficulties in the mainstream schools dealing with such and such". We can readily identify with that and that is what makes us so popular. We have a very long waiting list.

Sam How long?

Yvonne About 150-160 students waiting. These are children of all ages. Some parents are so interested in what we are doing that they register their children before they are ready to come to school at 3-4 years old.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

The effect that all these produce in the children, according to the teachers, is that firstly, their skills in English and Mathematics would improve, and secondly, their self-confidence and self-pride as a black person in Britain would be enhanced. The Directors in the CSEP see this as what will help black children gain more credentials within the existing educational system. Also, the directors see themselves as working with the mainstream school as opposed to creating an alternative education for the benefit of the students.

Similar views of students getting better credentials were held by the teachers. Whilst using materials that include the ones which are related to black children's background, such as cuttings from the *The Voice*, 'West Indians' community owned Newspapers, the teachers in the CSEP impress on children's minds that they needed more and better qualifications if they are to succeed in the mainstream. This could be shown in the responses given by Brenda, one of the two white teachers, when she said:

Well, I have to admit that where I am in the senior English classes, my aim is on the exams. I don't care what they say or how many theoreticians produce ideas. If a young person is 15 years old, they are looking at the GCSE or are best to go on the GNVQ. ... I make it my business to get the books ... like *Roots*, *The Color Purple*, *To Be a Slave*, *Roll of Thunder*, and lots and lots of books. ... I have already admitted that my main interest is in their GCSE.

(Interview transcript no: 18).

Brenda's view of focusing on the students' gaining their GCSE is not in isolation as Pat, the other Caucasian teacher who teaches Biology both at the College in Croydon and at the CSEP stated that:

In the beginning, I had a large room with 7 students and that was a small class situation, ... and there were a number that wanted me to help them with their 'A' levels about three or four and sometimes they are working on different syllabuses, and I tried to help them. Most of them seem to have done quite really well, this may not be due to me but to their school. But I am there to help them with their problem in the subject that they want to rectify.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

Answering to the question of how students respond, Pat's answer points out the problem of time and the value of the two and a half hours spent by the students at the CSEP on Saturdays. She stated that:

It was quite good. I got one coming from age 10 or 12, she does pretty quite well at school but with one or two things that she gets stuck with. The teacher has to rush off to another class and as such had no time to explain things to the students. The student then brings the problem she is having difficulties with. I can't teach a whole syllabus during Saturday classes, so I told her to bring the areas she is having problem with. ... Yes, we focus on specific topics in the syllabus, that we found particularly hard.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

The time being spent in the CSEP is limited hence they have to focus on what is important for the students to obtain their GCSE. Pat continued by emphasising that:

at the end they need Maths and English, which everybody has to have. You cannot do anything after either going to the University, Further Education, trying or going into any job anywhere without GCSE Maths and English and that's why I think its most important to have them to focus on. That is why they (we) are trying to do Maths, English, and Science. I resisted it for a year that I wasn't a Science teacher but a Biology teacher, but because it is in the curriculum in the Primary school, they (parents) seem very keen with the children to be taught. Personally, I don't think it is necessary for Science to be taught.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

In this statement, Pat revealed parental choice and children's needs as paramount to the designing of what goes on in the CSEP. This was better shown when she stated that:

I think most of the motivation comes from their parents, wanting them to do well. They feel that the school that they have from 9am to 5pm or 9am to 4pm, and the class sizes are large, they may not get as much benefit from the school as they could and this (the CSEP) gave them that extra, almost personal attention. I am not saying that the teachers at the mainstream are not good, but I am saying that because the class sizes are so big, children might feel things being left out.

(Interview transcript no: 11).

Continuing with this idea of parental choice, parents send their children to the school because of the value they placed on education. Stone (1981:151) described the eagerness of the parents as 'they seemed particularly anxious that the children should not miss any of the sessions ... and felt it important that their children should attend each session ... because the main emphasis was on learning and teaching basic skills.' The chairperson of the Parents Student Association, Ianthe Luke saw what is being done in the CSEP as a supplement to what goes on in the mainstream school. This was shown in her answer to why she sends her son to the school. She stated that:

education is never too much, by sending them here is to help them with their education. In case he lacks something from the mainstream school programme, he'll be able to gain more knowledge in this school (the CSEP). ...

(Interview transcript no: 4).

and as a black person she continued:

we need more because when we go for jobs and we might have some qualifications, ... you find that we need extra to help us along ... and a bit extra education to put us in good posts.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

On the contents of the education being provided by the CSEP, she seemed optimistic and she emphasised the basic curriculum when she stated that her child came because:

he didn't used to do well with his English and Maths but coming to Saturday school, he has had some extra boosts. It is helping him, especially next year when he will be doing his GCSE. I will like him to get through his GCSE and from there to further his education ... and become an architect.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

When asked further whether the present curriculum is enough and about other areas of curriculum which she would like to be covered, she seemed to have echoed the views of the parents when she expressed her appreciation and satisfaction about what is currently being done by the school. She saw the CSEP as extending the knowledge of their students by doing what the mainstream school is not doing. According to her, and this was later confirmed during the interview with the director and other teachers interviewed, the school has been on an educational visits to the Liverpool museum and to the Caribbean - Barbados and Guyana; and the Surinamese Centre, Holland. The visits were not just for the fun of it but as resource materials for their learning and examples of this have been documented in the magazine produced after one such visit (Appendix 12).

The importance for such a visit as part of the curriculum was expressed by Ianthe, the Chairperson of the Parents Students Association (PSA), as one that makes learning interesting for black students because:

... in the society we are in, you don't and you are never told anything about black people unless you read it in the newspapers or see it on a telly and mostly negative. They need to know the scenery and this will help them get the background of black people ... as well as learn to speak English properly.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

The Bible statements about knowing from 'the mouths of babes' (Matthew 21:16, KJV) is particularly relevant to identify what type of curriculum is operating and the relevance of it to their needs. During my interview with a eight year old female student Katrina, I found that what goes on is not just to provide the students with education but it is the source of what motivates them to want to learn.

Katrina (age 8) female, has been attending the CSEP for two years and when asked why she attends the school, she stated that:

Saturday school is my favourite school. When I saw people there, they are working hard and I want to learn more and go to the university.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

Her friend Charlene (age 7) female, who was also present during the interview provided more information and the challenges posed to them by the teachers. This could be seen in the following extracts:

Sam: What are the things that you do in the classrooms here?

Charlene: Well, we do work in English and Maths and today we have been doing handwriting.

Sam: You have been doing handwriting.

Charlene
and
Katrina: and we have started to read.

Sam: You have started to read.

Charlene: and when we have finished, the teacher will let us do some work.

Sam: Which type of work?

Katrina
and

Charlene: Maths, and when we have finished, we tell the teacher and she gives us other work.

Sam: Like ...

Charlene: Poems.

Sam: So sometimes you do poems, and sometimes you read and sometimes you do Maths.

Katrina: ... and English also.

Charlene: ... and sometimes we have to do Maths and work in groups.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

The parents of the students attending the CSEP support the challenge being posed to the students in the CSEP whilst at the same time expressed their disappointment with the perceived lack of this in mainstream schools as stated by Ianthe, the Chairperson of Parents Students Association:

I was disappointed with mainstream teachers' attitudes towards black children and I felt that they were not pushing them to their potential and they allowed them to work beneath their ability.

(Interview transcript no. 4).

The students seem to be pleased with what they do and how they do it. Although some of the children dislike the mode of discipline and found it 'not just strict, but really strict' (Charlene), however, the challenges posed to the students by the teacher are seen as helping them in their academic work. When these two students were asked to compare the CSEP with the mainstream school they attend, their reactions were expressed in the following extracts of the interview:

Sam: How will you compare what you have been doing here with that of your mainstream school?

Charlene: What we do here helps you (me) at school.

Sam: How?

Charlene: When you (we) come here, they give you (us) something bigger and they help you (us) to do it. Like here we do multiplication with higher numbers but at school they give us easy work to do.

Sam: Is that the way you see it Katrina?

Katrina: Yes.

Sam: Would you like to tell me how you see it?

Katrina: I see it as the teachers here are quite easy to work with. In my school, sometimes they don't teach us how to do joined up handwriting but here they teach us different types of hard things and also they allow us to use the handwriting that we want. In our school they just ask us to use joined handwriting. If you don't do it then, they send you to the head teacher.

Charlene: It is fun doing hard things (6).

Sam: Fun doing hard things!

Charlene: (nods).

(Interview transcript no: 23).

Explaining the differences between the approaches being used by the CSEP and the ones being used by the mainstream schools, the students seem to perceive the two as being different. This could be seen in Charlene's responses during the interview with her:

Charlene It is easy doing things at school (mainstream school) and it becomes boring having to do it again. When we are in Year 1 it was fun doing the work but having to repeat it in juniors, just makes it boring. So it is quite good here because you move from stage one to stage two and then three. So that learning is fun.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

The description of the structure of the contents of the curriculum as seen by Charlene seems that of a progressive topic-based curriculum with the opportunity to work in small groups. This corresponds with Stone (1981:189-190) when she stated that whilst coming to 'learn the ropes' students were taught 'the basic skills to improve their attainment in weekday schools and to heighten their aspirations'. Her conclusion was that the overall impression created by the Saturday schools is of high motivation, with the ambition and a belief in their ability to succeed through hard work. It is in this light that the CSEP planned their curriculum in line with the 'requirements of the National Curriculum in order to afford ... students greater opportunities to excel in the mainstream' (the CSEP Curriculum Document, Appendix 11:1).

In this Curriculum document, the purpose of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project as stated in the constitutional objectives of the CSEP is made explicit. The purpose is 'with the objects of helping and educating young people growing up in a multiracial society so as to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities, that they may grow to full maturity as individuals and as members of society, and that their conditions of life may be improved'. As well as this, they have other unwritten objectives which permeate all facets of the school and are manifested through parents, students, directors and teachers.

The teaching and learning programmes for meeting these objectives are designed to meet the standards and the requirements of the National Curriculum.

Unlike the school cited by Tomlinson (1984:74), in which she found Clark as the only professional teacher and Dacosta (1988:227), all teachers in the CSEP are professional teachers, and they teach in the mainstream school during weekdays. Two of them who have retired as mainstream teachers still work as supply teachers in Croydon schools. Students are mostly from ages 5 to 16 and the curriculum is designed to give equal importance to English and Mathematics both at the lower and the upper school. However, there were a couple of students who are doing their 'A' levels and are attending the CSEP for further assistance with their project work.

7. iii. English Curriculum in the CSEP

The Curriculum document (1994) in the CSEP stated that in the lower school, the reading programme is to operate on a continuum, with the students to be 'heard reading and articulating what it was about they were reading' and developing the ability to 'identify initial sounds, e.g. Ch, Sh, Th, Ing, Ong, etc.' (Appendix 11). This according to the document is to progress into the upper school to 'enable each child to write Stories, Poems and to recognise the use of Stops' as well as be 'involved in comprehension work so that each child's skill is developed in the method of searching texts'. During their years at the lower part of secondary school children in the CSEP are to spend their:

first three years secondary school English group ...having DICTATION and also SPELLING and MEANING OF WORDS TESTS at intervals throughout the year.

(the CSEP Curriculum Document, 1994:2).

In this, 'discovery learning' appeared to have been sacrificed for a formal teaching style, with the sole aim to improve the reading and writing of English as a language. However, creative writing which emanates from adequate planning was encouraged as in Petrina's Year 10 work plan on 'Marriage' (Appendix 13). There appears to be a silence over the aspects of grammar. This corresponds with one of the teacher's experiences and according to Brenda in her comments on this chapter about this area of curriculum as the Section Head, she wrote:

Well, yes, but since Spelling, Punctuation and Grammar (SPAG) came in, we do try.

This was not conspicuous during the field study so the aim in this section will focus on the work of the children collected from the school. One of the examples of work done on grammar includes a handout on 'The parts of speech'.

The handout started with the definition of the eight parts of speech in standard English. Although the definitions were brief, it followed a pattern that was to help them recognise and identify various parts of speech. The handout is user friendly in that it uses rhymes to highlight what to remember about it. These are followed by exercises to include meanings of the words used, the different ways to use same words as in adjective, adverb, noun and verb (Appendix 16).

The markings by the teacher includes a grading of the work done, comments of what to improve and how to do it and things to avoid in the writing of English (Appendix 15). There was also work on syntax and conjunction and how to use the aspects of English grammar. The work progressed from being simple in Year 9 to a more complex nature in Year 10. Marking of students work appears to be taken seriously. Teachers mark students' work, praise was given to good work as in Appendix 18. What to include to get better grades was pointed out as in Appendix 19, and when the work done was not up to the standards expected, the student was asked to do the work again, Appendix 20. (7).

There were some forms of coaching activity to help students to be abreast with the developments in formal examination. The meanings of words like SPAG (Spelling, Punctuation and Grammar), a new vocabulary in all examinations was provided with related exercises. (Appendix 21). Such coaching could be argued as what will assist children get further information on external examinations. The information could include S.P.A.G with 10% being deducted in each subject, and in Maths coursework, students must explain in standard English what they did to pass their formal examinations.

The samples of exercises seen in the students' work and as highlighted above seem to be helping achieve the tasks as stated in the curriculum (Appendix 11), however, the progression or the continuum as expressed by the curriculum document seems to be done subjectively. There is no single or series of standard books being used. Teachers select work as they find appropriate for the level of the child and there was no official continuity in the work they do in

the different classrooms. Speaking informally to one of the directors who was in charge of the upper school classes, she recognised this and stated that there are discussions along the lines of sequencing all work so as to achieve continuity. Similarly, the way English work was 'received' by students varied slightly from one to another (8). Some like Petrina, Rashada and Melanie received the work given by the teacher with great enthusiasm, unlike Nathan who is in the same class who seems to have some resentment towards his work and the demands made by the teachers. This is similar to the findings of Dacosta (1988:262). This could be because of the lack of continuity in the structure of the work given to the students to do or just lack of enthusiasm generally towards academic work by Nathan and others like him, or it could be that there is an inadequate diagnosis of Nathan's needs or the support provided for him. Some teachers also seem to have their own personal agenda and this motivates them in what they do within the school which is to help the students do well in their English, Maths and Science. Some examples of these could be seen in the following excerpts from an interview with the teachers:

Patricia: The number that wanted me to help with their 'A' level went down to 3/4 and sometimes they were working on a different syllabus so I would have to organise work to accommodate the syllabus and I tried to help them. Most of them seem to have done really quite well. This may not be due to me, but due to their schools. But I am here to help them with their problems in the subject that they want to rectify.

(Interview transcript No: 11).

Yvonne: There are many other reasons that affect the learning of the children and I see that there is a need for additional help for those children and that is why I am involved. In my own school, I am naturally a relaxed and friendly teacher. No matter who you are coming through the door, whether it's a parent, a workman, I am always saying welcome with a smile, saying can I help.

(Interview transcript No: 15).

Vernon: Here we help them with a little bit extra, giving them 20-25 minutes to explain the areas of the subject that they might be having problems with. This is absent in the mainstream school. The help they receive here helps them get ahead with what is happening at school. This helps them to be more confident.

(Interview transcript No: 14).

This linking of the curriculum materials to the children's background fascinates the children and seems to create some interest in their learning. This creates a view of the world which tends not to be represented in the mainstream school. However, the researcher's findings during class observation was that teachers had to negotiate with the students the level of work deemed to be acceptable. This finding is similar to that of Dacosta (1988:262) when he stated the differences in students' enthusiasm and how they received the work the teachers gave to them. Although fewer in number, students like Nathan had to be cajoled with statements like 'You have got the ability in English; now, please take on some practice' (Appendix 18). Reporting a student's attitude to work in the CSEP to their parents is the ultimate sanction being employed by the teachers. This was classified as the strongest sanction (Delmont, 1976 cited in Dacosta 1988:262) but was hardly used. However, as has been mentioned earlier in this thesis, parents and teachers meet in so many informal gatherings during which their child's attitude or school performance could become part of conversation (9).

The main aim of parents sending their children to the CSEP is because they want them to improve their English, Maths and Science and this dictates the curriculum being practised. There are at least two qualified teachers in each of the classrooms with a qualification to deliver English or Mathematics. Although there are teachers there who are from primary schools where they teach Science as part of the curriculum, there is only one Biology teacher who teaches science in the CSEP.

7. iv. Mathematics Curriculum in the CSEP

The content of what is to be taught in Mathematics in the CSEP has been stated in the Curriculum document (1994) (Appendix 11). This has been divided in to two broad bands of Lower school Mathematics and Upper school Mathematics. The Mathematics programme for the lower school is progressively developed to cover Year two to Year six, i.e. the primary education; and the first three years of the secondary school. The CSEP's work in Mathematics

is similar to that of the schools investigated in Dacosta's (1988) research. However, there are some differences. In Dacosta's (1988) research, there was a blanket progression of work which:

... followed a very clear continuum from the simplest of Mathematical skill and knowledge to more complex work ... in this Mathematical mechanical skills for problem solving, requiring the reading of a set Mathematical problem are not dealt with at the early stages of the work undertaken. The view was expressed that mastery of basic Mathematical skills would provide the necessary grounding for all later development in Mathematical understanding.

Dacosta, (1988:254-255).

This traditional view of learning Mathematics was the process used in the CSEP with the aim of helping the students with 'getting their sums right' (Stone, 1988:188). The level of acquisition of this skill is to be monitored as stated in the Curriculum document, testing each new concept that has been taught and also going through multiplication table given at regular intervals. The work in this area of the curriculum is topically based to include:

... number bonds, use of the four arithmetical signs, Place Values, Knowledge of Multiplication tables, Decimals, Fractions, Percentages, Money, Time, Shape and Space. Whereas in the upper school, just as in English, Mathematics work is 'closely in line with their examination syllabuses'.

(Curriculum document 94:2).

Dacosta (1988:255), justifying this, identified the necessity to develop a progressive form of Mathematical sequence mechanically. This is to be used for solving Mathematical problems, as it is not obtainable in the mainstream school. This corresponds to what David Hargreaves (1984) noted when he stated that:

... many black parents are becoming committed to the kind of academic, rigorous education which is regarded as 'high status' or elite in Britain and traditionally offered by the 'grammar' and 'public' schools but which is increasingly being questioned as a suitable education for the majority of white

children.

Hargreaves, D. (1984:76-77).

Therefore, the argument that could be developed from this is that since such rigorous academic learning is not always available in the mainstream school and because most black parents come from the background where mechanical learning of multiplication tables is being practised, accounts for the claim being made by black parents of the mainstream schools 'short-changing' black children (Stone, 1981:174), and their turning to the Supplementary School for additional help for their children.

Dacosta (1988:256) illustrated well how the skills continuum in the Mathematics programme is obtained. He was able to use number work in Mathematics to demonstrate this. Although Dacosta (1988) began with the double digits, the examples used in the CSEP extended the use of four arithmetical signs in working out simple to complex sums to include single digits as in units:

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ +3 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 6 \\ +4 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 3 \\ +2 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

which progressed into double digits that are obtainable in tens,

$$\begin{array}{r} 11 \\ +14 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 29 \\ +18 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 23 \\ +33 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

and then finally the addition was made to progress into hundreds and thousands as in:

$$\begin{array}{r} 46 \\ +64 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 54 \\ +254 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 186 \\ +854 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

A gradual progression of making the sum more complicated was achieved by placing the digits adjacent to each other e.g.

$$46 + 23 + 32 + 64 =$$

This was followed by the mastery of subtraction of figures from:

$$3 - 2 = \quad 15 - 10 = \quad 28 - 13 = \quad 52 - 23 =$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 333 \\ -213 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 347 \\ -247 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 589 \\ -417 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 965 \\ -715 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \text{and so on.}$$

Then the skills progressed to that of multiplication,

$$2 \times 3 = \quad 3 \times 7 = \quad 25 \times 12 = \quad 48 \times 11 =$$

and finally this progressed into division

$$4 \div 2 = \quad 9 \div 3 = \quad 12 \div 4 = \quad 96 \div 12 =$$

Various practical methods were employed to encourage students to participate fully. This included the use of coins, sharing oranges and the use of other fruits related to the students' background. Testings were done through 'mental arithmetic' and 'revised tests' (Curriculum document, 1994:2). The aim for this according to the document is to make the students 'proficient in the knowledge of the two (2) to twelve (12) times multiplication tables. One of these practical methods was noted during one of the class observations and was evidenced in the following classroom discussion between a teacher and a student:

Student: How can I do this? (points to the mirror image they were doing in Mathematics, after the teacher has given a demonstration on the board).

Teacher: Which ways have you tried?

Student: I have tried to place my mirror on this angle, but it wouldn't work.

Teacher: (Using another example related to the exercises given stated) Let's try it this way.

Student: Oh, yes I can see now. (explains it to the teacher) So if I place it that way then I will be able to see the angle that is opposite and the sum of the angles is the total of the two angles.

In this finding in the CSEP, students were assigned to different groups to construct their own mirror images. Such dialogue and encounter between teacher and students might also occur in a mainstream school: however class sizes, the lack of time, administrative and structural pressures such as syllabus and examination requirements tend to reduce such interactions that could help students develop skills for higher order thinking of critical, analytical and creative thinking to problem solving. This finding is similar to the evidence in Kifano (1997:213) in which the lesson began with:

... a slide presentation narrated by the teacher, who explained that Ndebele women are renowned for drawing beautiful multicoloured geometric designs on their house fronts and fences. Afterwards, the students are 'let loose' in communal groups to explore and construct geometric designs of their own.

Kifano (1997:213).

Although there were some calculators available centrally at the office, in the upper school, students were encouraged to bring their own calculators and related textbooks to the syllabus being done at their mainstream school.

The work done by Years Ten and Eleven in the Upper school was based on the syllabus their schools were doing. However, some basic grounds were covered to include simple arithmetic in number bond sums such as:

$$100 \times 25 \times 32 = \quad 736 \div 32 = \quad 1239 \times 976 =$$

and in values such as:

$$2^2 \times 3^3 \times 11^2$$

This progressed into negative index as in:

$$\frac{1}{5} = 5^{-1}$$

$$\frac{1}{5} \times 5 = 5^2 \quad \text{to} \quad \frac{3}{3} \times \frac{3}{3} \times \frac{3}{3} = 3^3 \quad \text{to} \quad 3^3 = 3^0$$

Students were given the simple rules for working at different sums e.g. power indices and they were asked to write it down in their exercise books:

When you multiply two powers together, you add and when you divide you take away.

Any number whose index is zero its value is one.

Appendix 14. (Petrina, Maths).

This could be argued as a cue to help them in the mental arithmetic being done throughout the year.

Other areas covered include Standard form as in:

When a number is 47 the standard form is 4.7×10

$$\text{and} \quad 1 < A < 10 \times 10^n$$

Decimals as in approximations and significant figures:

$$2.56 = 2.6 \text{ (2sf)}$$

$$27.38 = 2.74 \text{ (3sf)}$$

$$0.876 = 0.88 \text{ (2dp)}$$

$$0.00485 = 0.005 \text{ (3dp)}$$

Any new topic starts with the basic rule, followed by some examples and then the students were given some exercises to do. This is shown in Appendix 14. (Petrina's Maths book). The teacher teaches the lesson in a didactic way and the exercises are to verify that learning has taken place. The students were seen in the foyer sometimes learning their times table by rote memory and then one of the teachers came to test them afterwards.

The work given to the children in the lower school and the examples being worked with in the upper school are in accordance with the levels at the mainstream school. Using appropriate textbooks means that the children are a step ahead in their school work. This could account for some of the improvements being obtained in the mainstream school by students who attend the CSEP. This was reflected when Charlene stated that:

It is easy doing things at school and it became boring to do it again. When we are in Year 1, it was fun doing the work, but having to repeat it in Juniors just make it boring.

(Interview transcript no: 23).

Such statements could cause a misunderstanding between the mainstream teacher and those in the Supplementary School and as such, students will either need to be extended in their work as a form of accelerated learning or they have to be made to progress in the same work whilst being made to do more difficult tasks.

7. v. Science Curriculum in the CSEP

With no provision of a permanent site the areas of science within the curriculum being operated in the CSEP remains an intention and very limited. In the curriculum document, science is to be 'an integrated programme to be delivered by a science specialist. It is to cater for the area of observation, application of Mathematics, basic science facts, comprehension and writing'. There is yet to be a presence of this in the CSEP. A microscope and some slides is all that is

available for the teaching of science in the CSEP. A manikin and other resources were brought in Pat's car (the Biology teacher from the College). It means that she could only bring what she could easily carry.

Classes were being run in rooms not equipped or planned for the teaching of science. The inter-linking of ideas that the providers envisage in the curriculum document is yet to be made available to the users. Experiments appear to be limited to what could be done with the use of water from buckets and cups as there was no running water in the room. This could be adequate as a provision for students in the lower part of primary education but for the upper part and especially those in secondary school it is limited.

7. vi. Black Studies and Black History in the CSEP

Stone (1981:188) identified the reasons for attending Saturday schools as:

- a. social
- b. educational
- c. because parents sent them.

In this instance there is no compulsion for a black student to attend, however, attending the CSEP provides the opportunity to meet black teachers in a large number. This is seen by both the providers and the users as unique, because there is no mainstream school that has such a number. The main purpose of the CSEP focused on the second one -b, and it provides basic education in English and Mathematics. The school seems to recognise this and stated in its curriculum document that 'the time available does not permit us to adequately address' the issue of black studies and black history (10). The founder and the ex-Director, Andrew, stated the political implication of concentrating on this is a distraction from the main objective of educating the students in the 3'R's. It could be suggested that the non overt inclusion of this in the curriculum in the CSEP and the overt emphasis on the English and Mathematics accounts

for the success of the school with more numbers on its waiting list than those currently attending it (11).

Although the CSEP is perceived by the participants as successful without putting emphasis on cultural studies, this finding is in contrast to the study of Kifano (1997) in which their success is linked with the promotion of cultural aspects as illustrated in the following interview:

Teacher: How would you describe Minister Malcolm X?

Student 1: He gave lectures on how to have a better life and not to dye your hair yellow and not to be like the oppressor. And to think for yourself.

Student 2: Malcolm taught us to stand up for our people and work hard for our people.

Student 3: Minister Malcolm X taught us to struggle for what is good. He taught us to be strong and not to let anyone tell us what to do.

Kifano (1997:212).

7. vii. Information Technology in the CSEP

Information Technology resources are limited, possibly because of the expense involved. There is a recognition of the need for this in the CSEP curriculum document and their intent was clearly stated as:

... we believe that the early introduction to Information Technology is of utmost importance in the process of educating young people.

It aims to provide access to students so that:

... at least one computer with appropriate software ... be always available to the under six's group,

and in the upper school:

... students will be encouraged to word-process their project work, particularly

English.

(Curriculum document 1994:2).

The overall impression observed by the researcher is that although there is some form of word processing going on with the students in higher classes especially in English language, most of the work is being done off site. The interpretation of this could be that only children whose parents have computers at home have access to doing their work on computers or on the other hand their parents could be doing the work for them because they have access to computers.

I thought for the CSEP to be able to state that they are providing students with this facility, they have to have adequate resources for computers available on site. This was recognised in the curriculum document (Curriculum document 1994:2) when it stated that 'progress in this area of work will be dependent on appropriate space and security for the equipment'. The current site does not adequately meet this, the only space that has extra security being the office, where there is a giant safe in which calculators, a photocopier, telephone and answering machine, an IBM computer and printer are locked away after each opening.

The resources being used are available in the two offices. The first office is a general office and the secretary has access to the computer there, and no student was seen using the computer. The one available in the other office has another secretary using it all the time. One of these could be released for the use of students under supervision. If students are to be proficient in the use of computer, they need to have access to more computers.

There is a room designated as the computer room, which was given to the researcher during the fieldwork to use as a base. There were about six computers piled on one another with none of them in working order. The secretary informed the researcher that they were a donation from one of the parents, but there is no fund to purchase equipment such as a server to operate it as a network. The computers were previously being used as stand alone, and there is an engineer, Junior Davies, who is computer literate and used to live in Croydon but now commutes from

Glasgow to London every Saturday to help. According to Junior, when the computers were in a working order, he used to run an early morning club on Saturdays for children to word-process their work and learn some other computing skills. He now uses his skills to do basic organisation like co-ordinating the raffle tickets and other publicity.

One of the directors, the ex-Director, Andrew, recognises the importance of this and saw the use of computers as a form of progression for the education of the students when he stated that:

We are now in a technological age ... people are now filing on a database and not on pieces of paper or in filing cabinets anymore. ... In Saturday school, we have to fully understand that we are in a technological age, we have to gear them to think seriously about equipping our children to cope and to survive and to become functional within that age because otherwise our work will become irrelevant. You know we are now in the age where we ask ourselves who cares if you can spell well because every child will have a machine and in that machine someone has put all the correct spelling and grammar for them already, you know, who cares if you can punctuate or you can write grammatically well. ... our children will become unemployed unless they begin to find themselves as part of this technological revolution, because the skills they have to offer are no longer useful. We as a Saturday school, that is where I see us working. We have to understand it is not complete without technology. We have to begin to play a part within this thing or else we will be training kids in theories that are not relevant you know.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

A similar view was expressed by John La Rose, a publisher and the Proprietor of Bacon Bookshop in North London and founder of George Padmore Supplementary School in Finsbury Park, when he stated that black people need to train and make their children become computer literate. There is a danger here that if the CSEP should focus on the development of computing skills, the child might become computer literate and not be able to do other things with it. Individuals have got to have a basic knowledge of the English language and Mathematics in which a computer might then become a tool to do the work faster.

Although there is a recognition of developing computing skills, and children becoming literate in it at an early age, the provision can only be done when there are adequate resources in terms

of the availability of the hardware and software. Junior feels that he will continue to visit from Scotland until he can be replaced.

7. viii. Career Education in the CSEP

With students moving to the upper school, the curriculum became diversified to include exposure to the world of careers. Students are being taught how to complete application forms and how to write letters of application. The aim of this is like that of English and Mathematics, i.e. the provision of basic skills to get better jobs. Hence students are given 'real' application forms to fill in. Some of these places of work are approached to send some of their personnel to give talks to the students on how to improve the forms. This helps meet the main objective which is 'intended to enrich, inform and motivate choices of career' (Appendix 11). Although some of the students have completed their secondary education and have moved on to the Universities and Colleges, there seem to be no formal guidance of students into further education. The existing ad hoc provision could be developed to incorporate the visiting speakers and other adults in the community as well as linking students with the local industries. A process which could be regarded as a form of community approach to career education.

In this community approach, visiting speakers will not just be invited to talk to the students but she or he will become a catalyst in informing, recruiting and encouraging students into the world of work. Already there are some of those who have been through the CSEP or another similar organisation during their schooling and are now working in some key posts in the community such as teaching/lecturing posts, nursing, the computer industry, mothers who have started their own pre-nursery schools, and university graduates etc.

Such people could become a resource pool, which students in the CSEP will be able to tap into and be put in touch with what is obtainable in the world of work. Students already come into contact with such people when they come to the CSEP as the majority are their parents, sisters

and brothers or people that they know in the community; and these have become their role models. This area is yet to be explored by any of the literature, however, it could become an adjunct to the main purpose of a Saturday school, which Stone (1981:190) described as to teach children basic skills, to improve their attainment in weekday schools and heighten their aspirations.

7. ix. Reflections on the aims of the CSEP in relation to the Curricula available

The aim of the organisers of the CSEP is to provide a project in which young people will be helped and educated so as to develop 'their physical, mental and spiritual capacities'. This aim as stated in the curriculum document needs to be seen as a process because the school (the CSEP) is not in isolation but works within the community of black people in Croydon. Although the contents of what goes on in the CSEP is being provided by professional teachers, who also teach in the mainstream schools, it could be argued that they work within the demands of the users. One of the main demands of the users as expressed by Ianthe, the Chairperson of the Parent Student Association, is to find ways of helping their children 'do better at school and gain better qualifications for getting jobs'.

In the CSEP there was a mixture of formal teacher-centred and informal student-centred teaching. Although, the former is limited it was used to introduce any piece of work. The teachers observed started the topics in a didactic manner in Maths and English by writing it on the board, worked at some examples and then linked it to their textbooks or photocopied exercises developed by the teacher and approved by the section leader. Whilst the children work on this, the teachers monitor what is being done and provide immediate help for those experiencing difficulties. There was a great deal of 'negotiation' about the amount of work to be done, with those who have completed the tasks being allowed to start other work. This Dacosta (1988:275) regarded as 'a compromise was reached between teacher and students about what was deemed to be reasonable work'.

In the upper secondary school age, students were not seen working at the same level. In almost all instances, the work being carried out was negotiated quietly and individually between the students and the teacher. The reason for this is because of the smallness in the class sizes and the teacher ratio to students averaging about 6 students per teacher. This finding corresponds with that of Stone (1981:187) and Dacosta (1988:276). Students who need further help in reading were withdrawn into another room with a specialist teacher helping them with their reading.

Examining the work being produce by the students, there seemed to be a great deal of organisational skill being developed. Their work was considerably tidy because it was expected of them. This is contrary to the attitude in mainstream schools and was reflected in the work of Stone (1981:185), when her respondents regarded the school system as lacking in 'discipline and 'standards'. The work done by the students was marked in the class, and teachers were able to provide both written and verbal comments to the students. However, and possibly because the students were working at varied levels, comments written in the exercise books were being used as the only record of a student's progress. The records in the exercise books were used as points of reference during open days with parents.

Students appeared to be generally happy. This may be because there was greater interaction between students, and students and teachers, and there seemed to be a great deal of collaboration going on in the CSEP. An example of this was in a group of about 14 students from different age groups, working together without any adult supervision in the main foyer of the school, preparing a playlet for the prize giving event. This type of trust Max, one of the students, referred to as what will never happen in a mainstream secondary school. It might not happen, not because the teachers there do not trust the children but because of all the legal and safety issues about the children in their care.

7. x. General assessment of the learning process in the CSEP

The strength of the CSEP, in terms of the learning activities being engaged in, is the teacher/student ratio highlighted earlier on. Students work was marked regularly and discussed with the students and with their parents during open days. In the CSEP, the acquisition of skills to read, write, comprehend and the use of mathematical skills were being adequately undertaken within the limited period of openings.

There was evidence through the students' work to demonstrate that they were gaining in literacy and numeracy. The students and parents interviewed were satisfied with what they were getting. Although the observation that took place was done in a relatively short space of time and by only one individual, yet there were unmistakable signs of general improvement in students' work in mathematical skills development and in reading, comprehension, the presentation of work as well as growth of vocabulary.

The outcome of this is what Dacosta (1988:281) considered as the students being 'released from the uncertainty, tension and anxiety generated by not being able to cope with basic literacy and numeracy which in turn prevented them from advancing and progressing in their normal school work'. This in itself could be regarded as psychologically positive to the students and the result of this could lead to students developing more confidence and could assist in helping to boost the level of their self esteem.

However, the usefulness of this is that the CSEP, as expressed by one of its founders and ex-Director, Andrew, does not see the organisation as working alone but as:

We were never a threat or we never felt anything with the mainstream school. We always had a good working relationship with all the mainstream schools, in that mainstream schools themselves would recommend students, in that many headteachers, headmistresses phone me and asked if I had a place for some children. It is either the child had just come from the Caribbean or Africa having some problem with settling in and they think when the child comes to the Saturday school being in a community of children of their own kind might assist

them to overcome, you know the cultural thing and of course help them with their work. ... we have had very good relation all the time with schools in our area.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

This is in contrast to the experience of the headteacher, who was at first supportive, but later 'turned against' the Saturday school in the area researched by Stone (1981:184). The type of good relationship that existed between the CSEP and the mainstream schools could be extended to include teachers being sent on secondments to such schools like the CSEP instead of introducing some form of sari, samosa and steel-band multicultural education. Such activities will help to educate teachers from the mainstream school about the black child.

7. xi. Reflections on the CSEP Curriculum and Pedagogy in Relation to Bernstein's Framework

In Chapter Seven , the content of the curriculum and how the content is being transmitted in the CSEP were discussed in relation to the perceptions of the participants, i.e. the organisers and the users.

In Bernstein's terms (1971:47), the curriculum is the sum of what a society counts as 'valid knowledge'. In relation to what has been examined in this chapter, the acquisition of skills to read, write and comprehend as well as an understanding of mathematical skills of adding, subtracting and the applications of geometrical principles were counted as important. These were in evidence in the work being undertaken by the students. The consequences of this is that students were being prepared and released from the anxieties and tensions that an inability to cope with the literacy and numeracy demanded and generated in their mainstream school work. The result of this is that students are better equipped for their work and have gained confidence

in literacy and numeracy at mainstream school to a higher degree than if they had not attended the CSEP.

On the pedagogical aspect, the CSEP acquaints the students into more areas of work than they were already doing in their mainstream school. However, the difference is that they are encouraged to work as isolated individuals and are attended to as such. This is different to the ways that they are being taught in the mainstream school where the adult to student ratio is higher in the classroom. The ethnicity of the adult present seems not to make any difference. The students were observed to relate with the two Caucasian teachers the same way they were with their black teachers. The presence of more adults corresponds with more time per student, thus, there is sufficient time within the two-and-a-half-hour-day for selecting what is relevant, organising, pacing and timing of what they are to learn.

7. xii. Conclusion

In conclusion, what is to be learnt, as gathered during the fieldstudy, proceeded from the surface to the deep structure. Teachers were able to spend more time and use different methods, especially ones that involve the student in a more participatory way until she/he has understood the concept being taught. This is a resource that tends not to be available in mainstream schools because of class sizes and the allocation of time. There is fluidity in the relationship between the directors, the teachers and the students, with what the student is to learn and how to learn it better as their main objective. In this there is clear evidence of Bernstein's 'integrated type of organisational structure' (1971). However, it needs to be stated that this did not prevent the teacher from addressing the whole class when the problem is being experienced by the majority of the students. On the contrary, the interaction in a mainstream school is hierarchically

structured, thus preventing and limiting the type of task-based experiential contacts which can take place there.

The differences in the approach being used at the CSEP, rather than being confusing to the students, was seen as helping them to understand their work better than in the mainstream school. Both the user and the provider see the method of approach being used as helpful to the students. Therefore, there is verbal acknowledgement of what is being done as being helpful. Students' work needs to be quantitatively evaluated to examine the validity of the realization of the knowledge. However, in Bernstein's statement (1971:47), the evaluation of this knowledge has to be done on the 'part of the taught' and the data collected from the students in the CSEP during the fieldstudy indicated their counting the realization as valid.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT

8. i. The Croydon Supplementary School: Management, organisation and finance

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the management, organisation and the finance of the Croydon Supplementary School. This chapter will examine the works of other writers and assess how the Croydon Supplementary School operates. Specifically, there will be a focus on and an examination of the perspectives from the Senior Management Team (SMT), teachers, parents and students on the management, organisation and finance. The writer also intends to examine other community agencies the school work with, and other support being received from the community. There will be a critical analysis and commentary upon these perspectives.

8. ii. Structures within Supplementary Schools

Stone (1981) identified two models of structure in the Supplementary Schools as community organisations: (a) the 'consensus' and (b) the 'conflict'. The consensus model of Supplementary Schools is that in which the people who work within it, and the ways they are being organised, work to support the existing systems. The structure and operation of this, though, as a community organisation, follows that of existing traditional social and welfare institutions and power relations (p. 176-178). Supplementary Schools identified under this model can be categorised into two kinds: (a) the community organisation, and (b) the community development (consensus style). The Community Organisation works mainly within the existing system of institutions and established organisations and power relations. In this the power relation is upward and well defined and, therefore, could be regarded as, 'vertical and mono-directional' with the optimum power with those at the top, i.e. the directors. The Community Development (consensus style) works relatively within the norms in the society,

but stressing consensus with the norms of the society. The power relation is horizontal, and diffused, with individuals within the organisation being encouraged as potential contributors. Its approach tries to avoid conflict by working towards an agreed process of change. Stone's (1981) argument was that community development activities are set up either as a challenge to the established system, and work with new patterns of involvement and power which fit well with the existing system, or becoming a system disturbing to the established one as in the conflict model (Stone, 1981:176-177).

The Conflict model of Supplementary Schools is that in which the people who work within it, and the ways it is being organised, work in conflict with the existing systems. Supplementary Schools identified under this model are categorised into two kinds: (a) the community action, and (b) the community development (conflict style). This approach emphasises conflict with the society's norms.

Although these two models (i.e. the consensus and the conflict) and their approaches provide a model within which the structures of Supplementary Schools could be examined, it appears to be too precisely structured to accommodate various differences within schools' organisations. However, there are two common factors common to them, i.e. the 'official' projects and the 'self-help' projects. The official projects are those groups which operate with the aims of cooperating with the wider community organisations and, according to Stone (1981), they operate within the traditional social work/welfare model. They are funded by local or central government, and are in constant change according to the fund provider's perception of the services they should be providing. Thus, the project aims at working to maintain a conflict free scenario - e.g. they select children to suit the fund provider's programme/agenda (p.168-169 and 177).

In contrast to this is the second factor, those which operate as self help projects. This group either works as a community action group or along a 'political' line, because of a particular concern, as in the Methodist Church community scheme cited in Stone (1981:160), the

'political' implication of their existence (i.e. because they operate outside the established - welfare and school- system) which makes them 'system disturbing' (p. 177). However, parents and teachers in this type of school, work as a community to provide a service which is to cater for the needs of the children. Some of these such schools tended to attempt to maintain the professional, 'official' stance in their organisational style. They are being run and managed by professional teachers, who are hired by the community to operate the school. In such schools, there is a project leader -a professional teacher- who has other teachers under her/him and is directly responsible to the management committee. Such schools work by agreeing on a consensus about the aims of the school, but without involving parents and non-professionals in the day to day running of the school.

On the other hand, are those which, whilst operating in conflict, and outside the established welfare system, work in cooperation with the parents and the community. They have what could be regarded as a cooperative style of partnership, yet with institutional functions, duties and rights, with treasurers, secretaries, etc. (Stone, 1981:180). Stone (1981) argued that the system of management and leadership within this type of official community project was (loosely) hierarchical. Though having an appointed leader, there is a combination of communal partnership of all those involved with the functioning and the implementation of the service (p. 177-178).

Another argument by Stone (1981), was that because such schools operate without any funding from outside agencies and are not 'responsible to any one, supervised by no one, accountable to no one' (p. 177), they are in conflict with the established welfare system. She saw such schools as ones which will refuse to be involved in, or cooperate with, research of any kind (p. 178). This argument about the non-cooperation of such schools appears not to be well justified. Just because they were not cooperating with an outsider researcher, or the funding bodies, such as the Local Education Authority, does not necessarily mean that they are in conflict with the idea of research rather it could be that they just wanted to preserve their autonomy. An example, the Jewish Sunday (and evening) schools, cited by Stone (1981:170)

confirms this. They operate not as 'anti-community', but tended to work within the community to provide what the system could not adequately provide for their children, i.e. Jewish culture and language.

The management model and lines of communication which fit into this category, in which professionals work cooperatively with parents to manage such schools as community volunteers, follows a horizontal model. They all work in partnership to provide the service, with parents and teachers as valuable contributors. Parents provide the children for the projects, which cannot exist without a continuous provision of children, and they work alongside teachers, who provide the service the children need (p. 151-152). It is, therefore, an unlikely scenario to say that the schools are not being accountable to any one. Parents will withdraw their children if they are not satisfied with the provision or the aim of the school. A good example of this is the example which has been cited earlier on in Chapter 3, where parents became concerned and even threatened a withdrawal of their children, when Creole language became the medium through which one of the schools was teaching the children. (Sharron's *Night School* in TES, 6.1.84:15).

Writing about black community support for the education of their children, Stone (1981) cited the willingness of West Indian parental support of the main school by not keeping their 'children away from ILEA schools where truancy seemed to be a problem' (p. 152). Though black parents feel 'short-changed by the school system' (Stone 1981:11), they, (black parents) view education as a way of 'bettering oneself' (Tomlinson 1985:68) to fit into the main system. Hence, there is no Supplementary School that will operate or be in conflict or 'in opposition to the norms', of the main society and survive. Therefore, for a Supplementary School to operate in the 'community action' style of Stone (1981:176), it will appear as a community service which will be used by fewer black parents.

Whichever form or style of organisation, it is the degree of parental involvement that appears to differ. In the official project, their degree of involvement appeared to be limited. Although they are warmly invited to visit the project, they are not being offered, 'any role within the school' (Stone, 1981:152). The form of professional stance being maintained, according to a respondent in Stone (1981), enables the school not to, 'be shirking in their responsibility by passing on their problems to parents' (p. 152). Thus, the role of the Supplementary School is clearly defined as that which is to provide and, 'teach children basic academic skills', (Stone, 1981:172), by professionals who can be dismissed, withdrawn or replaced by 'more cooperative staff' (p. 177). However, there appears to be some variation in the operation of these 'official' Supplementary Schools. These range from ones which are solely established with the main aim of providing an environment in which children learn and are taught basic skills, i.e. Maths, English and Science, to the ones which are more, 'parts of a much bigger urban aid sponsored project which includes an Information Centre, and schemes for Legal Aid and Advice and Adult Literacy' (Stone, 1981:153). One of the problems which the latter could face is not having premises of its own. Sharing facilities with other aspects of the main project could limit the type of service being provided. There is, therefore, a need for constant negotiation with the other project organisers. Whether it be solely in the teaching of basic skills or as part of a bigger organisation, parents provide children who come to the School and professional, trained teachers are responsible and are paid to teach them. Stone, clarifying this structure, stated that there is a project leader, who is also a professional teacher and is committed to providing what the parents see as helping to make the difference in the education of the children, and in providing parents with information and advice they need about their children (Stone, 1981:152-3).

One of the positive things about this analysis of Stone (1981) is that it informs us about the non-uniformity in the organisational structure of the Supplementary Schools that exist. However, there are some issues that were not clarified in Stone's (1981) research. One such issue is the professionalism of the teachers. Although she highlighted that other professionals are involved within the community, she did not indicate the different ethnic background categories of teachers that are available. Such categories of teachers might include some white teachers, as in the CSEP and those who received their training here in Britain, and those who did not, but are experienced teachers like Dove, (1992) trained outside the United Kingdom. As she pointed out, there are those who are newly qualified and those who are still in training and give their services to such organisations. All these categories of teachers have their own contributions and might participate differently, which might vary or affect the services they provide for the children who attend the school. Whilst Stone (1981:178) described those who have just finished their training as having more to give to the school now that they are trained, it is the old hands who have set up Supplementary Schools.

Another issue is that of power relations in the official and the self help types of project. Stone (1981:179) identified that in the official project, the line of authority is hierarchical and vertical in the distribution of power, whereas in the self-help, though regarded by Stone (1981:180) as 'amateurish', it involves wider participation in the community. Everyone seem to have a say in what goes on, though alongside a trained teacher, who acts as a leader to the volunteers. Stone (1981) examined Supplementary Schools as an example of community work, as opposed to examining it within an organisational theoretical framework and the 'phenomenological' ongoing accounts in which the social factors define their situations, their subjective typifications of themselves and others. The failure to provide this could remove some of the factors that are common or differ to all the participants and the voluntary nature of

the services of all the teachers involved in the project. They tend to be teachers from the mainstream schools, who offer their services to the community because of their commitment and of the value they have placed on good education (Sharron's *Night School* in *TES*, 6.1.84:15).

As a development from Stone's (1981) early research work, there is a need to examine other related works on the structure and what goes on in Supplementary Schools. In this section, I will examine the work of Dacosta (1988). His work examined the structural and organisational factors of Supplementary Schools by situating the schools where the data were collected and he set them in a social and environmental context, whilst discussing the individuals associated with them. The thrust of Dacosta's argument is that schools vary considerably from each other. They do not exist solely on Weber's theoretical framework of bureaucratic organisation (i.e. one that emphasises an analysis of its authority systems, its hierarchy of positions, its central control, its divisions of function and responsibility and its channels of communication) but one that is being influenced by the nature and the activities of human beings working in them. According to Dacosta, these groups are motivated by factors such as self-esteem and self-expression which transcends traditional bureaucratic considerations (p. 217).

Therefore, in examining the structure and organisation of any Supplementary School, there is a need to examine this, not just from the bureaucratic approach of organisational theory of schools and related institutions, but as one operating within human relations. This is on the one hand similar to Stone's (1981) cooperative ethics found in the 'self-help' model identified later on, whilst on the other it highlights the human elements in the relationships of the people involved. This could be in terms of their personality type and where they have received their training. A combination of these arguments provides a better template on which to examine

what goes on in the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project. The issue of power will be examined to see whether it operates autocratically or democratically, i.e. the degree of involvement of staff, parents and students in decision-making; and the approaches being undertaken in decision-making by the individuals higher up in the hierarchy. Although ultimate responsibility tends to lie with the head of the institution, a separation of organisational culture and the individuals involved in an institutional setting is not possible because they are 'inextricably intertwined' (Dacosta, 1988: 217).

8. iii. Croydon Supplementary Educational Project

In examining the structure and organisation of the Croydon Supplementary School, a brief background description of the school and its setting will first be provided, to establish where it is located and then the administrative structure, the nature of student and teacher recruitment, and the source of the finances will be examined. This school was founded by a Guyana trained, black teacher, Andrew Johnson in 1982. He was at this time the Head of Mathematics in a comprehensive school in Croydon. He was concerned about the education of black children and had been doing some 'private' teaching after school hours in people's homes. The concept of a school began when he found himself doing more visits and began to think 'why be of use to a few when you can have a system that will be of use to many' (Interview transcript. No 1). He called a meeting, where over 200 people attended and the Parents Association was formed. The school began by using the premises of the local Community Relations Council in Croydon in 1982. Interestingly, though done independently of one another, this is similar to the site for the North London School in Dacosta's (1988) research. It was gathered during the field study of this research that the Croydon Supplementary School has moved its premises since its inception to other sites depending on what they were able to

get or what was affordable and suitable for their needs. The school was at one time on two different sites because of lack of space to accommodate the number of children attending, with one for the juniors and the other for the secondary age group. Unlike Dacosta's (1988:219) 'makeshift school', in which every thing has to be moved around each Saturday, the CSEP currently rents two storeyed building with a large car parking space used by staff and visitors, and also as an assembling point during fire drills - which took place once during the fieldwork for this research. Some of the children are brought by their parents whilst others come on buses and there are those who live on the nearby estate. Part of the building is used during the week days as a cafeteria by Debenhams and the other part rented and kept separate for the CSEP. The building is set in its own compound with a high fence and gate separating it from other buildings and shielding it from vehicles using the road, leading to the High Street. This building, according to Tessa, the school secretary, is one which:

... provides them the space which the previous ones didn't. We no longer have to keep all materials like chalks, books, etc. in one room.

(Interview transcript. No 12).

Croydon used to be part of the London borough, but with the local government restructures of the 1980s, it now has its own local government council. There is a large population of black people from the Caribbean and African countries. The present Mayor of Croydon and the Bishop, who is one of the trustees to the CSEP, are black. There are various occupational groups amongst the black people who live here. These include 'white collar' professionals as in teaching, medicine, architecture, engineering, law, etc., and 'blue collar' artisans. Unemployment is still relatively low compared to the rest of the South East. The school is situated in West Croydon, which is close to the town centre (Appendix 22).

The work of Gould (1976), Dale (1972) and Hardy (1977) suggest that the way space is used in schools can play a significant part in the relative satisfaction learners gain in learning environments. The size of the building seems adequate for the number of children attending the CSEP. However, when compared with the demand and the current waiting list of about 250, the building is quite small. The part being used by the school has its own utility areas such as toilets and wash basin areas. On the ground floor, there is the only entrance into the school building. This leads to the main office and the reception area is partitioned to accommodate the two secretaries - one attending to general and parent enquiries and the other attending to staff and students; the computer, a refrigerator, a big safe in which all valuable items such as a printer, answering machine, etc., are kept. With the office being nearer to the main door, the secretary in charge of students is able to check on students who come late. At the inner end of the partition to the main office are the assistant directors, the storage cupboard for books and stationary; and past records, such as past copies of the school magazines, photographs of events in the life of the school, etc. There are three large rooms accommodating the primary age - years 5 and 6 children and the under 6s - infants,- a toilet for the students, the foyer, used by students to rehearse the play for their open day and the computer room allocated to the researcher for interviews during field work. On the middle floor there are three large rooms used by years 9, 10 and 11. There is a larger room being used by year 11 and College students and those doing 'A' Levels, and also as a staff meeting room. There is also a small room allocated for reading which is partitioned to accommodate space for testing individual student's reading skills when necessary. Students are withdrawn from the main classrooms for reading exercises and to receive further help with reading when a teacher identifies that a student is below her/his reading age. The foyer here serves as a small library with collections of different selections of books, ranging from novels like Alice Walker's *The Colour Purple*, Rosa Guy's *The Friends*, Maya Angelou's *All God's Children Need Travelling Shoes*, Ann Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, Tao Fatunla's *Our Roots*, to historical and modern times autobiographies of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, a radical black activist in the 1960s in the USA. Students waiting for their parents to collect them were seen sometimes to be using the library. Unlike Dacosta's (1988) study where students used the

facilities only on Saturdays and on the premises, students and parents were allowed also to borrow books and take them home to read (1). The second floor is occupied by years 7 and 8, and the Director's office which is open plan to accommodate the Director and the secretary with a computer and telephone which linked with the main office, and with outside lines. There is a bigger toilet area for staff and students, and a small kitchen area.

Each Saturday morning, the school began at 10.00 a.m. and ended at 12.30 p.m. The Director has the key to the building and one is kept with a local shop opposite the school. The Director normally opened the building for the teachers and students about ten to fifteen minutes before the school starts. Unlike their previous building, there is not much preparation needed in the rooms. All chairs and tables are left as they are the previous week except when rearranged for a specific activity like group work. Although the main door is shut at 12.45, teachers in the school were able to stay till about 2.00 p.m. to mark and prepare work for children, i.e. photocopying exercises to be used etc. They also have set books for different age groups to teach Mathematics, English and Science. Many of these books were standard textbooks, available at W.H. Smith, the stationers, to help develop literacy and numeracy skills. There were sets of calculators, kept in the office for students' use. Students were allowed to go to the toilet during classes as there were no official break times. In the juniors, in between the first and the second session, children were allowed to have still drinks and a couple of biscuits, which they have brought with them. The ethos of the school, though operating within a disciplined atmosphere, permits liveliness and friendliness amongst students. The students were encouraged to participate more in the school's activities and this was substantiated by Andrew, the ex-Director:

These students come to see us in two ways. They know we have a 100% parental support, not 50, a 100% parental support so they see as an extension of parents. This is a special parents repertoire here. (speaking about students' perception) I am black like them and they see me as a kind of parent.

(Interview transcripts no: 1).

Andrew's statement was confirmed by Kola Longe, a fourteen years old male student on the issue of the relationship, when he described his experience in the next excerpt as:

Sam: What about here?

Kola: No it is different, they explain things to us and they make you see things differently. We are not treated as a group. They make you to enjoy coming to the Supplementary School and you enjoy it. This make you feel that you learn a lot and you want to come. In mainstream school, we have fifty minutes or so in a period, whereas here we have a whole hour or sometimes we do more than we do in school in just one hour because the teachers here spend more time with the individuals rather than the whole class in general whereas here it is not like that. We have three teachers that go around the class, they talk to you and explain things more. If you don't understand something, you just ask them and they explain it more.

Sam: How would you describe the relationship between you and the teachers?

Kola: I will say that I get along with the teachers here because, I wouldn't say strict, but you understand that you have to do your work, and they kind of make you want to come. They treat you as they would treat themselves and they don't boss you around or tell you to do this and that or if you don't do it they will send you downstairs.

Sam: Do they tell you that at mainstream school?

Kola: Yes, when you are told off too much, it makes you not to enjoy your lesson.

(Interview transcripts no: 5).

In the CSEP, students are engaged in extra-curricula activities such as visits to the Liverpool Maritime Museum, Jamaica and Holland and in planning and entertaining visitors at their annual prize giving events (2). The researcher would surmise that the more middle class values and mores of the CSEP parents, oriented the students more strictly towards academic work. It would appear that the climate of the school was a reflection of the kind of students who came to the school and their home middle class backgrounds. The teachers in turn appeared to reinforce the aspirations of their students towards narrower academic values and criteria.

8. iv. The Administration and Management Structure of the CSEP

The day-to-day running of the school was based on the mutual cooperation of the Director, the three Assistant Directors, Section leaders, teachers and class assistants. Watts' (1976) work on the role of the Head in 'participatory management' would appear best to illustrate the administrative structure in the CSEP. Authority lay in the hands of the 'director' rather than Head of school. Andrew Johnson, who was the Director at the beginning of the field study for this research (3) and Cynthia Graham, who took over from him, had what Dacosta (1988) referred to as 'ill-defined' roles in each school (4). This is because, in general, they have had 'caretaker' roles in the schools rather than positions of hierarchical authority over the rest of the teachers, the management committee, parents and students. Clearly, they were empowered to take decisions over the day-to-day work in the schools but, in general, they informally consulted the staff over all decisions that had to be made. An example to illustrate this was when Cynthia had to consult the Chair of the Management Committee to permit me to continue with the field study for this project, though Andrew had already committed the school by giving me written permission, inviting me to use the school for research purposes as shown in his letter (Appendix 5).

It could be that Andrew made this decision of inviting the researcher to the CSEP without consulting with Cynthia, (a characteristic of a sanguine personality), but one of the teachers who was an ex-student, who had also been an assistant Director before, saw this as unlikely when he stated that Andrew:

pulled them together, and he got things done. He made them discuss things openly and encouraged collective decisions as well as making them all to be responsible.

(Interview transcripts no: 1).

8. v. The Students attendance and recruitment in the CSEP

In the CSEP, there are 79 girls and 71 boys with 150 students attending on a regular basis and with 250 on their waiting list. The grouping of students was according to their age groups and as in the mainstream classes. There are 28 in infants, 25 in years 5 and 6, 14 in year 7, 20 in year 8, 17 in year 9, 28 in year 10, 13 in year 11, 5 in years 12 and 13 (5). The average attendance in the school was over 96% of students over the research period. Students' attendance and lateness were monitored by the secretary, reported to the director and communicated to parents through letters and by word of mouth. Thus when a child was absent for reasons of ill-health and for some other genuine reason, this was generally known by the secretary and the teachers were informed. During the period of research, the researcher overheard the secretary on the telephone to parents, and asked why the parent was being contacted. The researcher was told that when a student has not turned up for three consecutive Saturdays, the parents are contacted and if there was no cogent reason for not attending such as mentioned above, they were asked to withdraw their child and the next person on the waiting list was contacted. However, no student was asked to withdraw during the period of the field study of this research. The secretary makes contact and updates the waiting list every month to see if they are still interested, if and when a vacancy occurs. A position on the waiting list is created only after a parent has been to the school with their child and they have been briefed by the secretary about what goes on in the school.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, Stone (1981) argued that lessons in addition to normal school activities were traditionally accepted as a 'good thing' in the Caribbean (and in some African Countries as in the case of the author of this research) and that this tradition had contributed to the establishment of Supplementary Schools in most cities with sizeable African Caribbean communities in Britain (6). It was therefore relatively easy to encourage friends and contacts to send their children to Supplementary Schools, but the actual attendance depends largely on the ability of parents to persuade their children to attend 'extra school' on Saturdays (7). It is noteworthy that the new Labour government (elected in 1997) in Britain is now

promoting a similar idea as one of their programmes to raise standards of students' performances in schools.

In general, the research suggests that most black parents are keen to have these extra classes for their school-age children and children are keen to attend. All the students attending the CSEP are from a black background. The majority are from the Caribbeans, some from African origin, especially Nigeria and Kenya, some from the Asian continent and the rest from mixed race backgrounds. Apart from a girl born in India and a boy born in Nigeria, all were born and have grown up in Britain (8).

A breakdown of the age range of the students and their classes is presented in the following table.

Year	Age	Section Leader	Boys	% in class	Girls	% in class	Total	% in the school
1	5	Mrs. Musir	3	75	1	25	4	3
2	6	Mrs. Musir	2	40	3	60	5	3
3	7	Mrs. Musir	3	60	2	40	5	3
3	7	Mrs. McCarthy	3	$33\frac{1}{3}$	6	$66\frac{2}{3}$	9	6
4	7	Mrs. McCarthy	2	40	3	60	5	3
5	8	Mrs. Morgan	11	69	5	31	16	11
6	9	Mrs. Morgan	1	11	8	89	9	6
7	11-12	Anthony Vaughn	7	50	7	50	14	9
8	12-13	Veen Benn	9	45	11	55	20	13
9	13-14	Lorna Stevens	6	35	11	65	17	11
10	14-16	Sandra Nicholas	16	57	12	43	28	20
11	16-17	Vernon James	6	46	7	54	13	9
12	7-18	Vernon James	2	40	3	60	5	3
Total			71	47	79	53	150	100

Table 1: Number of Students on roll 1995-1996

The total number of students in the primary section is 44 and in the secondary is 106 and this total can be graphically represented:

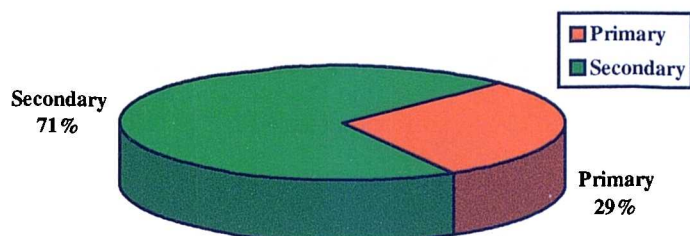


Fig 1: Percentage of Primary and Secondary students in 1995-1996

There is a good representation of older students when this is compared with the statistics presented in Dacosta (1988:224). The alienation of the older group of black students evidenced in Pryce (1979), Rampton (1981), Clark (1982), Scarman (1982) and Swann (1985) and as supported in Dacosta (1988:224) seems not to be present in the CSEP. Reasons for this different finding could be because these students have been involved from an early age, or it could be because the students and their parents see the benefits of the Supplementary School as positive to their educational developments and as such decided to continue to attend. This is reflected in the response by one of the 14 year old respondents, Kola, a male, with a Nigerian father and a Jamaican mother, all born in Britain:-

Kola: I came here because this place helps me to expand my education in Maths. We spend more time on different topics and the teachers here help me more. In English, they help me to spell better.

Sam: How long have you been coming here?

Kola: I have been coming here since I was eight / nine years old.

Sam: What has been making you come one Saturday after the other?

Kola: It's just to expand my knowledge that makes me come here.

Sam: What/who influences your coming here?

Kola: It's mainly my parents who want me to have better education and this school has been helping, so they have been sending me here.

Sam: What are your views about the help you have been receiving?

Kola: I think it is really good because we have time limit and we just concentrate on Maths and English, and you feel more particularly at home and you tend to work more than in the other school.

Sam: You said you feel 'at home', what do you mean? Can you tell me more about this?

Kola: At my main school, I am not talking about all school, in my English class there are only two or three black students, but here there are more of these people, so you generally feel at home and you feel you can relate to them.

Sam: Have you been able to relate to other people here?

Kola: Yes.

(Interview transcript. no 5).

The opportunity to meet socially with other black young people could have served as a unifying force for the students. Parents also seem to be an influencing factor and their presence is greater than occurs in the mainstream school. Kola commented during the interview that his 'parent attend all the functions at the Supplementary School', whereas the mainstream school 'doesn't have much for parents to attend'.

8. vi. Teachers' recruitment

Similar to the findings in Dacosta (1988:235) the mode of teachers' recruitment was by word of mouth. Such a method of advertisement has its limitations which could include one that makes it difficult for non-black teachers to come in contact with such information, or one in which qualified teachers might not be aware of vacancies. This seems not to be a problem here as there are white teachers among the staff population and all are professional teachers, who are either still practising or retired due to age. Contrary to Dacosta's findings that the

recruitment of teachers was a major problem in supplementary Schools, in the CSEP, the Senior Management team had to turn many teachers down or put them on their waiting list in case any teacher leaves. However, in order to have a wider selection of teachers in the CSEP, they seemed to have gone further than some other schools by placing advertisements in the LEA's bulletin for schools and colleges. Most of the teachers came in response to these advertisements or by word of mouth or through telephone calls. This is a step further than Dacosta's (1988) findings, as people from the Croydon LEA, like Pat, one of the Caucasian teachers, was able to find out from her place of work. However, the 'word of mouth', type of advertisement is also present. For example, Yvonne, one of the assistant Directors, Director 4, started when she came with her own child and 'found out that there were vacancies for more teachers'. According to her, she applied and was accepted initially as a teacher and then became responsible for the Science curriculum as a Section Leader, and now as the Assistant Director looking after the secondary age curriculum. How teachers' appointment were managed was clarified in the interview with Andrew Johnson, the ex-Director.

Andrew: The teachers come to be here through many areas: one, we ask, we advertise through word of mouth and we have had teachers here ... teachers rarely leave ... rarely, you know, the whole thing has become so important ... the way teachers have enjoyed here so much that they haven't really left. And we advertise through the LEA teachers' bulletin, which is through the local authority. That and word of mouth, yes, that's how we advertise and get people who teach in our school.

Sam: So, when these teachers come in what do you do to take them, or do you just to take them?

Andrew: We get, we have turned down many teachers ... When teachers come here we ask them first of all to look around. We take them round the project, so that they'll see, go into classrooms and look around to see if it's the sort of thing they really want to be involved in. You know, they might hear about it, they might think that there's a lot of money to be made. So, you know, we have all that sorted out, so they go round the classrooms and see how things are. Having seen how things are then I'll interview them. They'll talk to me and we'll go through what's expected, we'll ask them if they're trained teacher, practising, if not we'll ask to see their qualifications, etc. If we really think they can give, and we think they can make a contribution in a subject area and they really want to be involved, then we take them.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The data in Table 2. is a summary of the teachers interviewed by the researcher in the Croydon Supplementary School during the field work for this research. These data relate to their ethnicity, gender, normal occupation and educational qualifications. These data were obtained during interviews on an individual basis and when the opportunity arose for obtaining the required information. Although accurate details are provided in the tables below, the ages of the teachers are the researcher's best estimates from appearances of the respondents. However, some who were willing to provide information about their age are asterisked. There were representatives of different age groups, from those in their twenties and who have just qualified, to Mrs. Graham in her mid sixties, a retired primary teacher who is still practising by doing supply work in the mainstream school. Apart from the two Caucasian teachers, only two were born and received their teacher training in Britain. In this it could be argued that there is no generation gap between those who were born outside Britain and those who were born here. If this should continue, the new generation might follow and see this as an avenue to develop for the new generation of students.

Teacher	Age (approx)	Ethnicity	Gender	Normal Occupation	Educational Qualification
Andrew	59	African-Caribbean British	M	Retired Maths Teacher (Head of Department)	BSc. MSc. AFIMA
Cynthia	67	African-Caribbean British	F	Retired Primary Teacher	Cert Ed. Dip. Ed.
Yvonne	48	African-Caribbean British	F	Teacher (Pastoral Head)	Cert Ed. BEd.
Pat. M	47	Black American	F	Teacher (SEN Co-ordinator)	BA. MA
Vernon	50	African-Caribbean British	M	Lecturer	BSc
Pat	50*	White British	F	Lecturer	BSc
Brenda	64*	White British	F	Retired Teacher	BA., MA., B.Ed., PGCE
Mr. Misir	56	Asian British	M	Lecturer	B.Sc, M.A
Mr. Nouth	45	Asian British	M	Lecturer	B.Sc
Tony	30	African-Caribbean British (Born in Britain)	M	Teacher	B.Ed
Sharon	25	African-Caribbean British (Born in Britain)	F	Newly Qualified Teacher	B.Ed

Table 2: The Interview Sample of Teachers

The total number of teaching staff is 36 and their gender can be graphically represented:

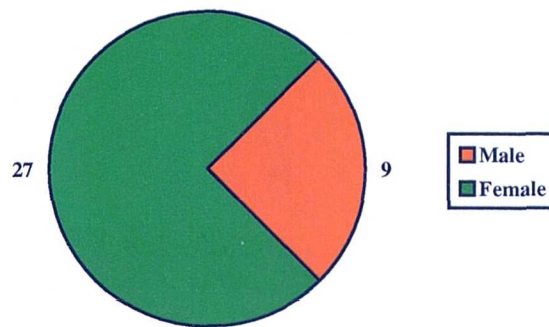


Fig 2: Gender breakdown of the numbers of teachers in the CSEP

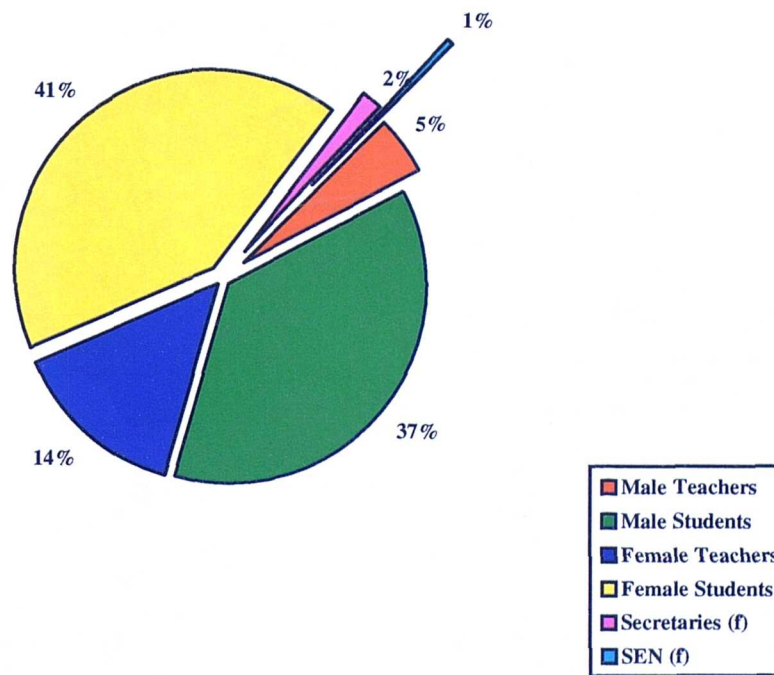


Fig 3: The population of the CSEP at a glance

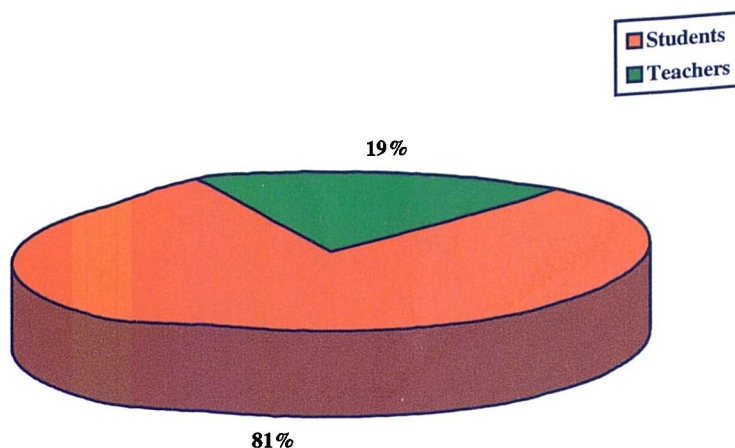


Fig 4: The % of Teaching Staff in relation to students population

It is noteworthy from this figures, 2, 3 and 4 that the ratio of female to male teachers is 3:1 and the ratio of students to teaching staff is 4:1. The ratio in figure 4 could never occur in a mainstream school. Yvonne, one of the assistant Directors, Director 4, commented during an informal conversation between her and the researcher at the time of the field study, that more males are becoming interested in the education of the children and that it is moving away from the 'mother' figure scenario. However, it will be appropriate to highlight some of the factors that might be deterring males from participating more in the teaching profession. Although unemployment is changing the scenario for many homes, as female members of the society are taking up work, male members are still the main bread winners in many homes. When teachers' salaries are compared with that of the other professions like lawyers, doctors and engineers, a teachers' salary is still low. Also, it appears that teaching is no longer a prestigious career, hence the students' attitude to it during the field study, when none of the 10 students interviewed wanted to become a teacher. They all chose law, medicine and accountancy, etc.

With such numbers of staff in the school there is the need to examine some of the interaction that takes place. Hargreaves (1967, 1972) illustrated and Dacosta (1988:228) commented on how a normative pattern specific to each individual school invariably develops in relation to teacher interaction, uses of space and behaviour. For instance, the seats in a school staff room

tend to be used by specific individuals and are left unused even if the regular user in the hierarchy was away at a given time. This type of scenario does not occur in the CSEP as there is no room designated as a staff room. Although the Assistant Directors used the partitioned office with the Secretary on the ground floor, a teacher was able to use the same room at any given time, e.g. to attend to parents or to talk privately with another member of staff. Staff members in the CSEP organise their own out of school get together either as individuals or as a group. During the period of this research, there was one such outing to one of the Caribbean eating places in Brixton which the majority of the staff attended as a group.

8. vii. The Organisational Structure in the CSEP

The organisational structure seems to be an evolving one. On the one hand it is one which develops with the growth of the school, and on the other, to meet the requirement of the major fund provider - the LEA. Describing the nature of this evolution, one of the directors, Andrew, saw it as everyone playing their own part. This can be documented in the following excerpts of the interview with Andrew Johnson:

Sam: OK, that's very good. Now, let us look at the organisational structure of the CSEP. How have things developed over the years since you started in 1982/1983?

Andrew: Right, in 1982, when things started it was, we had, in the structure, myself as the Director. At that time, I was not called that, I was the project developer. We engaged a part time secretary, who worked Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturdays. That ran for a while, but on Saturday, the Parent Association used to come in and assist in typing, etc. This girl, Tessa was one of the Parents Association member. Parents who would come in and help the secretary in the office, do all the typing,

take in money, make tea, you know, all the rest of it. And I was responsible for the basically, hiring and firing, the curriculum, dealing with the students, you know, taking kids on and entering them and all that sort of thing, dealing with the local authorities and outside agencies. We developed from there, then we, our school became bigger, we started the sixes and under sixes.

Sam: What does that stand for?

Andrew: The pre-school.

Sam: Oh. The under-sixes.

Andrew: So that started. Then the school was getting big, and the management became something bigger and I couldn't do all the things and be efficient. We then had a teachers meeting, the teachers decided because I put it to the teachers that we are growing and things are happening and we need to move on the management of the project. The teachers decided that they'll elect a deputy and she/he'll serve for one year and every year we'll have a deputy. The teachers elected Mrs. Graham, who is now the Director. Having elected Mrs. Graham, they decided that she will remain and hence, they never elected anybody else. When the election came up the second year, they chose her. They said let Mrs. Graham stay as the Deputy Head and hence she was elected as the Deputy and she just remained the Deputy ever since.

(Interview transcript No: 1).

This correlates with Tessa, the secretary, who saw Andrew, Cynthia and herself as the people who knew everything that went on in the school until the project got bigger.

Tessa saw the development as one growing with the largeness of the school. She stated as the secretary, who has been there and has served under two Directors, that as the school got bigger, they:

... have taken up other things that are necessary to see that there are management structure. they now have the Directors, the Finance committee with a finance officer, the Management committee with a parent as the chair, and the Section leaders, who are responsible for their areas of curriculum and their various sections.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

Tessa also stated that these changes were necessary for the school to run smoothly and effectively.

However, the commitment of everyone involved with the organisation seems to play a large part in the everyday activities of the Croydon Supplementary School. Tessa saw the commitment of all involved as what makes it work, and as the strength of their organisation, as shown in the following interview:

Sam: What would you say has been the strengths of this Project?

Tessa: The commitment of everyone. I think that is the strength. Everyone is committed to the Project. We have people leave and people coming back. People say, how can they work, that they need to do something else. They go and come back. We have had students left and gone to the University and then come back. This time is their time for the Project. I think it is about commitment. From the Directors and right down, we are all committed to what we are doing here and as such, people are willing to give up their time. If you haven't got commitment people might think, what am I going there for? Also, because of the structure of the Organisation. Although we are only here on a Saturday, we do accomplish a lot and people / visitors coming in see a well organised Organisation. People sometimes generalise and think that because it is a black Organisation they will find chaos or rage, but when they come in they see that it is very professional. The teachers are professional in their attitude and they are professional people as well. I tell parents that in this Organisation all our teachers are qualified. They are all teaching in the mainstream school, so they are aware of the curriculum; they are aware of the disadvantages facing our kids; they are aware of everything. We do also have volunteers but they are people who come here for help and for one reason or the other they have come back here to give up their time. So it comes back down to everybody wanting to contribute.

Sam: You were talking about achievement. How would you describe the achievements of the children? I know that the prize giving day is one way of celebrating this (9).

Tessa: We celebrate the children's achievements and these are for various things. Some achieve in terms of behaviour. We have students who come here with some attitude problems and as I said earlier on, we talk to them and then there are changes - that's an achievement. I can think of one young man who when he started here about three term ago had some attitude problems. I saw him about 8 months ago. He was smiling and quite happy and communicating with others - that's an achievement. It is

about communicating. When he first came here, for whatever reason, though I wouldn't like to speculate, perhaps he thought that on Saturday morning children should play around, watch TV or even just lay in bed and he was resentful of that but he came and realised that we are actually here for his benefit. We (teachers and others) have managed to communicate with him, everyone communicating to him, and he has now changed his attitude to being here. He is now more pleasant and this will show in his relationships at the mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

This communicating element through a celebration of the students' achievements and successes serves as one of the factors encouraging students and their parents to be committed to the activities in the school and invariably causing the school to grow:

The growth of the school was also seen as the factor that brought about the changes in the structure of the organisation of the school. This was more emphatic in Andrew's further statement about the structural development of the CSEP during the interview with him, when he stated that:

Andrew: As we developed, I was still having to take too much on. We discussed this, and Mrs. Graham then became totally responsible for the juniors and all the teachers for this group and the under sixes - the pre-school group. I was responsible for the secondary and overall - the hiring and firing and all the finances and external agencies. So my work was cut down in a way, still having overall responsibility and the general curriculum, still discussing the curriculum, the direction it will take, and with secretarial staff; and raising funds. We developed and we got bigger. As we got bigger, we moved on to a site. We increased and of course as the school grew, our staff increased to the region of thirty. It was no longer easy. I found that a strain because meanwhile, and because we got bigger we changed to new premises. We also reduced our opening days from three days, Mondays, Tuesdays and Saturdays to two days. This removed some strains but there is still the need for bigger premises. The increase in the number of staff and students population and of course the management problems also became increased.

Sam: Yes. ...

Andrew: I was more, I could no longer teach effectively. I removed myself, I had to remove myself to just purely administrative role, where I was no longer teaching. I was doing the administration and finances, and talking

with parents. Hence it was a lot of change and Mrs. Graham and myself sat down to discuss this. The other change we'd made was to have what we called section heads. So, the project was split up into sections. We had section leaders, who were people responsible for their areas ... They were responsible for planning the curriculum, for the delivery of the curriculum as agreed by parents and teachers. We discussed and agreed this at various meetings with parents and teachers. Section leaders were responsible for the delivery and efficient delivery of that. They were also responsible for managing their areas, the re-organising of their staff, their classes, etc. So such responsibility was removed from me. Again, we grew and developed into two different sites. In one of the sites we had three buildings and the other we had one. We compressed the project into these buildings and there was also an increase in the curriculum that we were offering. The in-depthness we wanted to offer was missing, so we had to change the structure and we brought in what we now call assistant directors, with myself as the director and Mrs. Graham as the Deputy Director. There were two officers and three assistants with specific responsibilities. During this period, we had a parents' committee which acted as the trustees. We did not call them governors as we didn't want them to have too much power. We called them management committee during this time. Of course we still had some political struggles. This was a serious struggle. We had a girl who was of course on the management committee and others in this management committee. They were parents who thought they ought to be totally responsible for the project, that since it is a parent thing, they ought to decide, they ought to hire and fire, be responsible for the finances and managing of finances. I myself, having had some experience and seeing what was happening around with other organisations such as ours, I resisted this vigorously. We had, and hence our project was practically split because I had to become political about this. I was determined that the professionals should be responsible for the curriculum, the hiring and firing of staff. As I myself was so deeply involved, I did not want any and everybody to be responsible for the financing of the project because in the past the history of these things have gone awry and wary. A lot of good ideas hit the rocks. You know, came to nothing because somebody, whatever or someone became political, which is nothing to do with the real essence of the issues. Anyhow, when this was opened, the management committee came to find out what the parent committee was! The parents' organisation rally round me, and became involved. The parents talked and had meetings and became close to me and were able to rally round me. The school never suffered as such. Never. It was just a political thing between some of the parents and myself. These parents thought that I was too powerful, but eh, maybe I was or maybe I was too autocratic. I dreamt of this thing and I gave a lot to it. It was my lifeblood that was in this thing and I was not prepared to see politics destroy it.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

This struggle over the control of the school and its finances appears to go with the type of the curriculum in operation, as stated in Chapter Seven, and about Andrew's stand on the teaching of black history. Although he saw himself as sometimes dogmatic in his ideas, yet he was able, he claimed, to:

... concentrate on what the parents wanted for their children.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Although Andrew saw these changes as a struggle, it seemed not to appear like that to others who are involved with the school. Tessa saw it as:

... changes that were required and people just accepted them and took them on board and work alongside their colleague and knew at the end of the day, it is for the benefit of the project.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

According to Andrew, what parents wanted and what the school stands for, was to get students involved by making them become more aware that:

Education isn't something like an enlarged nursery class, but education. Education is important to the students because their education determines their quality of mind in later years. OK, they span about ten, twelve years in school, but that education which they have sown in that ten, twelve years, basic sort of education I am talking about, will determine their quality of life in the next forty, fifty years. We preach that to our students, so it became important that they understood that this time is not just a passing phase but is going to determine their lives forever, because, you know that's how things are.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The CSEP seems to have got the students to be more involved because the school worked closely with parental aspirations for their children. Andrew described this as:

... Parents worked very close with me in all the rest of it, make contributions and ... we have a 100% parental support ... the parents are the ones who tell us

because the parents are interacting directly with the schools and the parents have always, you know, how the feeder schools react to ... them ... and their families.

(Interview transcripts no: 1).

Similarly, Ianthe James, the Chairperson of the Parents Students Association, succinctly described the nature of parental involvement in the CSEP as:

You know, they (students) could bring their work here and the teachers help them through it. ... The teachers ... are approachable. We relate to each other like a family and we all feel at ease and we feel more easy to come to them and speak to them. Generally, I think it is quite easy.

(Interview transcripts no: 4).

Such relationships in which everyone matters is the strength of the CSEP and this was reflected in Tessa Carter's when she stated that:

I think we have a very good relationship with the parents. We have a strong parent/student association that has been very involved with the Project. We also have personal contact with them. Parents have always been welcome. They know that they can come in and they can sit down and wait in the corridor for their kids. If they have a problem, they can come and see someone. They don't have to book an appointment. Ofcourse, if the teacher is teaching when they come in, they may be asked to come back later so that they can have a word with the teacher. I think in general, parents are made to feel welcome and, therefore, they have no problem with coming in to see us. The school and parents work quite closely.

(Interview transcripts no: 12).

There seems to be no evidence of any of the leaders being autocratic, everyone seems to be involved. This was reflected in the interview with Tessa, the secretary, when she said, - and as mentioned in chapter five,- that they become an extension of the parents to the students, and make them:

take pride in this as their project. By making them feel that they belong here and

that the project is theirs and they need to take care of it.

(Interview transcripts no: 12).

This sense of belonging appears to generate a commitment in which everyone, from students to their parents, including the teachers is committed to making the project work. This could be seen in the following excerpts from the interview with Pat, the black American teacher. She described her own dedication and commitment to the school as

Pat M: Well, the Staff Secretary, Tessa Carter through her perseverance, she got me to come. Initially, I have been coming since 1989, but my attendance then wasn't a dedicated or committed one. If I had something happening, I wouldn't come and if not, I made effort to come to the Saturday School. It was the later part of 1989 when I began to become committed and my attendance became more regular and frequent and by 1990, I was committed and I have been coming every Saturday.

Sam: What will you say has made you to change from the initial state to that of commitment?

Pat M: I think it is the satisfaction and how it allowed me to keep my link with the primary education because teaching secondary Educational Behavioural Deficit (EBD) students is quite different. This place provides me the opportunity to be in touch with what is going on. It gives me that exposure so that I would not lose my skills. I felt it was satisfying and also it keeps me in touch with the new provisions and the opportunity to keep developing my skills in the primary.

Sam: What were your own perceptions when you first came here?

Pat M: Just a nice thing to do. I was really impressed with the commitment of the staff and the children. Sometimes children had to come a long distance on Saturdays, and sometimes they come so early and there was no discipline problems. They came because they wanted to be there. I think there is a dedication and a commitment there.

Sam: What you seemed to be saying is that you were convinced by the school.

Pat M: Yes, convinced by the school and the dedication of the children; they really work hard and are committed. On my part I thought and said I could do that. Firstly I worked under Mrs Graham's supervision and Mrs Bailey and I had that support initially.

(Interview transcripts no:9).

The support provided for one another appears to encourage dedication to the community. Although Tessa saw the project as a small one, as stated in the interview earlier on, the smallness is not in terms of numbers but really in the ratio of students to adults. Her work to coordinate the register takes some burden off the Directors as she provides them the breakdown of the attendance as opposed to their having to collate the data themselves. According to her she makes sure that:

... the registers are around and marked and are up to date. Most important, that the teachers sign in, because without that they don't get paid, well not paid, but they don't get their remuneration.

(Interview transcripts no: 12).

This signing of registers, and the detailed keeping of the accounts, though they have been practiced from the inception of the school, they are also part of the requirement that includes having a management structure, for their receiving a grant from the Local Education Authority.

The students seem to have a similarly positive perception of the teachers and how teachers manage them in the classroom in the CSEP. Comparing the teachers in the mainstream schools and the teachers here during one of the interviews, one of the respondents provided the following:

Sam: Will you say your parents are involved in the same way at the mainstream school as they are here?

Kola: I will say they are more involved here.

Sam: Why?

Kola: Because here they have a kind of open evening, prizegiving day which helps you to know how your child is doing, and how they have been working hard, whereas at the mainstream school you just get a report without encouraging parents to come.

Sam: Will you say your parents are more involved here than the mainstream school?

Kola: Mmm, maybe.

Sam: What do you mean by that ?

Kola: When there is a open evening here, they attend and they come to look at my work here. They attend all the functions at the Supplementary School.

Sam: Do they attend all the functions at the mainstream school?

Kola: The mainstream school doesn't have much for parents to attend. They have the usual parents evening. That's it, they don't really relate to the parents as much as they do here.

Sam: Why does that happen?

Kola: Cos the teachers here have more time for you, they want to talk to your parents, about your progress and because everyone is (mostly) black, they want to help each other out; so that you are not left alone as you are in schools.

Sam: What do you like about this place?

Kola: I just like it here because it is easy to get along with everyone here, the teachers are friendly and easy to get on with. This encourages you to want to learn about everything.

Sam: What do you dislike about here ?

Kola: Mm. It starts so early in the mornings. So you get up though you want to have like a lie in on a Saturday. You have to get up and come down. Apart from that, I like all other things.

Sam: What do you like about Mainstream school?

Kola: Cos you look forward to seeing your friends and stuff like that and you are able to go out with them after.

Sam: What about relationship with teachers?

Kola: The teachers' don't really relate to us. They don't have much time.

Sam: How do you see teachers at the Mainstream school in terms of authority?

Kola: I think they like having the power and they exercise it by asking you to keep quiet and do your work. They will not ask if you have finished or not. Once they see you talking, they just shout you to keep quiet, or give detentions and that.

Sam: What about here?

Kola: It is different, the teachers are quite good.

Sam: In what way?

Kola: They give up their time and they want you to learn.

Sam: What would you say makes people to wait on the waiting list here? Somebody said that they have waited for seven months before getting admission.

Kola: Because people know that it is a very good school. Teachers here give up their own time, they want you to get as far as you possibly could.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

This giving up of time and wanting the students to do well, as well as the provision of 'accurate' information about children were seen by the teachers themselves as being some of the factors motivating the parents to send their children to the school. This was reflected in the interview with one of the directors:

Sam: Let us examine the interaction between parent, teacher and children in the mainstream school and here. Being a teacher in the mainstream school and being a teacher here. What are the things that you have noticed?

Yvonne: A number of black parents, I feel, do not trust the mainstream school for many reasons. A lot of teachers feel that parents are not taking a lot of interest in their children, so you get a dichotomy there, don't you. We are seen by parents as being very much committed and interested in what their children achieve. Parents will come to us for advice about the situations and the problems that they are going through at mainstream school, trusting us to give them the best advice that we can. So the relationship with parents in this establishment starts from a completely different starting point than the relationship with mainstream school between the teachers and parents (10).

Sam: How would you say that has come about? The starting point there seems to be that parents are able to trust teachers and the organisation here but not at mainstream schools. How would you say the Black Supplementary Schools have been able to engage and sustain that type of trust with parents?

Yvonne: I don't know, possibly it is something that is pretty much automatic. If you go anywhere and you see a black person, see another black face, you feel a sort of bonding with that person almost immediately. You

want to go and say hello, you want to go and start a conversation with that person and at least have a smile. In my own school, I am naturally a relaxed and friendly teacher. No matter who you are coming through the door, whether it's a parent, a workman, I am always saying welcome with a smile, saying can I help. I noticed with my colleagues, they just walk past, they don't recognise that there is somebody standing there. So when I do this to a black parent, there might be some affinity towards me and therefore, they feel that this school has a black teacher, this school must be alright, that is how I think it has developed.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

Such affinity as shown in this excerpt is common amongst all the participants of the CSEP. In contrast to this is the defences that the atmosphere of mainstream schools tend to generate in black parents who sometimes want to 'turn a blind eye' to what is happening to their children in British schools. This is articulated by one of the parents during the following interview:

Sam: So you are not just contributing to this place but you contribute also to the mainstream to see your child do well.

William: Yes.

Sam: So you are contributing to this education in everyway.

William: That's right.

Sam: So, how do you see this place, say in ten years time? How would you like to see it?

William: In ten years time we hope that the school will get the other side of the building which is currently being used by Debenhams and this will be all black school. Not taking away from the other schools, but contain all black or with few whites. Just as they treat the blacks.

Sam: So you will like to see many black pupils and less white ones.

William: Yes, yes, yeah. We must not be seen to be all blacks' school.

Sam: Why?

William: Because the council is helping us with grants and whatever. It should not be seen to be all black. You need to show therefore that you are not prejudice, or racist. Although you are a black school, you are not

racist, you are there to achieve things. You don't need to be radical.

Sam: But has whites been racist towards blacks?

William: (Laughs) We don't go out looking for it. We don't want to see it.

Sam: Why don't you want to see it?

William: It's not that I don't want to see it, it is there all the time. I don't have to highlight it to you. It is there, so when I go (to the mainstream school) I go armed because each time that I leave home. I know it is a battle out there. So, therefore I go prepared. ... At time I always tell people that as they leave their home they must be prepared.

Sam: When you are coming here today, did you get yourself prepared like that?.

William: Yes, so much so, but as I stepped in the gate, I switched off; (repeated with more emphasis) as I stepped in the gate, I switched off.

Sam: What made you switch off?

William: May be just how things are done here. I feel warm when you are here; when you are home, you switch off. I came home today and I switched off.

(Interview transcript no: 15).

There were no other statements that support William Anderson's statements. This statement seems to show that black parents may not be comfortable in going to mainstream school, whereas they are comfortable in the CSEP. Also what has been shown through these excerpts is the uniqueness of each Supplementary School and it is, therefore, difficult to categorise the CSEP in just one of the headings provided by Stone (1981) or Dacosta (1988). Another area of difference is the issue of funding.

8. viii. Funding of the CSEP

Dacosta (1988:236) stated that the school in his study received slightly more than 10% of their funding as a grant from the Community Relations Council and the remainder of their £2000 budget was raised through a series of socials-cum-dances organised by the co-ordinator of the

school with the assistance of the teachers. Although such activities could give the group cohesion, as stated in Stone (1981:182) and the profit from such events raised the amount needed (Dacosta, 1988:236), this is an over-taxing of the teachers' effort to raise funds and to run the projects. This is especially the case in the CSEP which is on a larger scale than that of Stone's (1981) and Dacosta's (1988).

The Croydon Supplementary Education Project is a registered charity within the meaning of the Charities Act of 1985 (11). In the CSEP, the bulk of their income of £28,628 in 1995 end of financial year account, the year prior to the field studies of this research, was from the London Borough of Croydon. The borough provided £24,106 as a grant during the year. Although this income is coming in steadily from this source, and it has risen by 1% from the previous year, there is no legal obligation for it to continue. Thus, if an official 'who knew not Joseph', (as in the Bible, Exodus, 1.8) comes to power, the fund could easily be stopped. Such a form of funding therefore, will not allow the school to have any long-term continuity plans (Dacosta, 1988:236). In the CSEP, there is no fear as identified in Dacosta (1988:236) of the danger of an unscrupulous person gaining access to the funds. All expenses were done through cheques and the ones issued had two signatories who were the Chair-person of the Management Committee and The Director as the Treasurer. The accounts were being kept by another person, who is the Finance Director to the Management Committee, who was not available for an interview, but provided me with the audited accounts for the year 1994/1995 (12). The account was audited by Leroy Reid and Company, based in Norbury, London as certified accountants and registered auditors. According to the auditors, they conducted the audit in 'accordance with Auditing Standards issued by the Auditing Practices Board'.

The complete auditors' report and the accompanying notes are included in the Appendix 23, and the summary of the income and expenditure account for the year ended 31st March 1995 is in the table 4.

SOURCES OF INCOME	£	EXPENDITURE	£
Grants receivable	24,106	Volunteer expenses	3,152
Parent contribution and donations	2,729	Teacher's honorarium	14,943
Bank deposit interest	25	Administration expenses	2,680
Miscellaneous income	1,768	Coach hire	-
Commonwealth Youth Exchange	-	Rent and rates	5,095
Trust for London	-	Light and heat	679
		Postage, stationery and telephone	664
		Auditors remuneration	420
		Accountancy	332
		Computer consumables	79
		Cleaning, repairs and maintenance	1462
		Commendation, awards and events	1,394
		Youth exchange costs	-
		Books and magazines	205
		Travelling, food and provision	-
		Insurance	909
		Bank charges and interest	334
		General	81
Total	28,628		32,429
		EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR THE YEAR	£-(3,801)

Table 4: Sources of Income and Expenditure (13).

Funding for the payment of such services is another factor that might contribute to the success of a Supplementary School. Whilst some ran on a 'shoe-string' (Stone, 1981:159) type of budgeting to provide books, pencils, papers, etc., and charged parents 20p per session for drinks, others were self-financing by raising funds from 'jumble sales and bring and buy

sessions' (Stone, 1981:161). This nature of not having a definite budget might affect long-term plans, because it might be difficult to set goals and meet them without adequate finances available. Some schools might therefore, continue as long as funds continue to come in, whereas others might stop as funding ceases. Although on the one hand the CSEP is officially recognised in that they receive grants from the borough, on the other hand they are struggling from one year to another to keep their books balanced for the year. An example of this is the yearly excess of expenditure. In 1994, there was an excess of £7,563. This might be because of the increase in teachers' honorarium, rents and rates, light and heating, etc, whereas there was no grant from the Commonwealth Youth Exchange and the Trust of London. Unlike the official ones in Stone's survey (1981:150) which had a steady income from the main community development scheme, the CSEP seems to be struggling financially from one year to the other but has a clear statement of their mission and resists any outside interferences.

This is shown in the following interview excerpts with Cynthia, the Director, in which she wants the borough to contribute whilst the school remains autonomous.

Sam: Can I just ask you one last question and that is on the financial issues. You said that the parents contribute and that the Croydon Local Council also do. Some people argue that people should go it alone because if they are independent the Local Government will not be able to dictate what they are doing. What is your own view about this?

Cynthia: Well, I think it is necessary that they (the LEA) contribute, because they are part of the society and whatever benefits you receive in school go back to the society. Now, what do we think about them not taking over completely? One must be wise about that and let it be known plainly that you want to be responsible for the project, whatever project you are in. So whatever support they are giving, one will not allow them to place their own person in charge. You must know this really.

Sam: So do they send any person to monitor what the fund given is being spent on?

Cynthia: No, no, they don't. I mean you get every now and then, returns that are

being sent. Nobody, because once they come in, they'll dictate.

Sam: And you would not like them to dictate?

Cynthia: No, no. I think my time is now up.

(Interview transcripts, no: 3).

Her last statement shows the sensitivity about the contributions being received from the borough. This was made clearer when at the 1996 National Union of Teachers Black Teachers' conference in London the researcher was challenged by some members who viewed his request for people organising to 'register' (Appendix 24) as making them vulnerable to any unscrupulous people getting hold of the information and using it against black people. My argument follows that of Cynthia as stated above, in which she sees the contribution from the borough as one made to the society because black students are part of the society. In the early chapters, (N.B. Chapters Two and Three) it was identified that blame was put on the background and the black students as the cause for their underachievement in mainstream schools, the contribution being made is a turning point and could, therefore, be seen as a way of the council supporting individual children. The responsibilities of the education of a child until they are 16 lies with the LEA to make provision and parents to ensure that the child goes to school. Although the contribution being made here in the CSEP by the LEA could be seen as an 'added on' to the funding of education, it could on the other hand be seen as a way of correcting the past 'blaming' the child scenario. It needs to be stated that the council does not fund everything, as the contribution from the parents and other sources made up 16% of the total fund for the 1995 financial year. However, it is appropriate that if the borough is financing 84% of the project and if the director sees this as a contribution to society, there needs to be an open accountability of the school to society as a whole and not just to a section of society. The reluctance to do this could be said to be defensive. Having an outside observer might make it more credible and prevent it from remaining 'a black people's project'. Another argument that could be put forward is that the funding of such project is an admittance by the borough that mainstream education is not meeting the needs of black students.

This type of funding was seen both as a strength and as a constraint for the school. Parental contributions is not a prerequisite for attending. This was revealed when Tessa, the secretary, was asked about the constraints for the school as shown below:

Sam: What are the constraints for this?

Tessa: Money. One has to look at the funding. Croydon Council is not going to fund us to carry out certain works. If we decide to continue, we shall have to look somewhere else for funding, i.e. the community, to actually pay for it. I think what has been one of the strengths of this organisation is that though there are Supplementary Schools around, students have to pay. (They pay for every lesson and not just to be at the Project). In this organisation they are not asked to pay. Yes, we have donations from parents but at the end of the day, whether you donate or not, and whether you have one or ten people from your family coming here, you still donate the same amount of £5 per month.

(Interview transcripts, no: 12).

The CSEP depends on the funds from the LEA and parental contribution. However, the contribution from parents is minimal and often has some constraints on what could be offered by the school. This was further shown in the interview with Tessa, when she was explaining other activities that the school offer the community. She stated that:

One of the facilities we offer (though we haven't done one for the last two years because of moving to the new site) is our play scheme. This is very useful for parents during the two weeks that we run it. There is no continuous play scheme in Croydon, so we are the only ones who can help the parents. They know that for two weeks, their children have a place to go, especially working parents. We tend to have a huge response with about 100 parents waiting outside and we only have 50 places. So we have to take the first 50 and send the others away. Parents get quite upset saying there is nowhere else for them to go and asking what they can do. All these things are our main successes.

(Interview transcript, no: 12).

As shown in the expenditure, 32% was spent on the honorarium and 14% on rents and rates. However, it is worth noting here that the aim of the school is the education of the students first. This was shown in the statement made by Pat, one of the Caucasian teachers, when she commented about the extra tuition being paid for by the school:

Sam: So you were talking about out of pocket expenses. In what way have you been involved with finances?

Pat: Now I just claim my expenses. What you get paid is called an honorarium. I sound pathetic when it comes to finances. As such, I have not had any involvement with the finances.

Sam: (Laughs). How do you see the future of this place?

Pat: Mm - it's a good question. With such a lot of students on the waiting list, I see this place as doing a very good job helping the children to achieve better results in their education. Some of them have done quite well and one of them got several 'A' levels and has gone to University. One of them I taught privately, paid for by the school because she was doing something else on Saturday mornings. She wanted biology lessons and so came to my house for them.

Sam: So she really belongs here?

Pat: Yes, she belongs here. Mrs Thompson, she is actually one of the Governors, brought Alison along and she came along for nearly a year to have lessons in my house, which were paid for by the Supplementary School, and she had it as a sort of Supplementary extra.

(Interview transcript, no: 11).

As stated earlier on, everybody contributes. Parental contributions also include the profits from social activities being organised to bring people together and to raise funds. This includes activities like dances, raffles, barbecues, etc. Students also contribute in their own way through sponsored activities like walking, spelling, etc. Other miscellaneous income comes from the teachers. This was revealed during the researcher's non-official conversation with Mark, one of the teachers, who had been a student of the CSEP himself. He claimed that he at first did not receive any payment because money was not the factor for him getting involved. But pressed by the Director to take it like others, he took it but returned it as donations.

Parental contributions to the finances were done through various activities, some of which were provided to bring people together as explained by Verna Jackson, the Parents Students Association Treasurer during the interview with her:

Sam: Please tell me how you have been involved as a parent.

Verna: I have been involved with the Saturday School for 5 years. I have been the treasurer and I have been on the Parent Student Association. I have tried to help as much as I can. What I have found is that it is very difficult to get parents involved in activities outside the school. I don't know how parents associate with the teachers. I know about outside the school. I have been involved with fundraising, anything - prize giving. It is very difficult to get parents to participate or help.

Sam: What do you think keeps them back?

Verna: I don't know. Even parents that do get involved, you find that they are the same parents every year. You have seen me outside just then trying to sell the raffle tickets for the prize giving day. You find that they come in and go, with half of them coming late. I will try now to get them when they are going out at the end of the day ... They just understand your problems and they do more with the children. They have done sponsored walks and in the summer we have barbecues. As such, it is a form of community association.

Sam: Now you said that you have been a treasurer before and you have been talking about fundraising activities here. Can you please describe some of these activities?

Verna: We do barbecues in the summer. At the moment they are doing some raffle for the prize giving day and we do one also for the annual parents meeting. We do organise an annual dance and we did a sponsored walk a couple of weeks ago as well.

(Interview transcripts, no: 13).

Parental involvement seemed to be limited and those involved tend to be over-worked and according to Verna, they are the 'same people'. This could make those who are already involved start to withdraw. However, this seems to be the contrary as those involved are ready to do more to see the CSEP succeed. Parents coming late to the CSEP on a Saturday morning, as stated by Verna above are really bringing their children just before the lessons start. This could have made any discussion between her and those parents limited because the school starts their lessons promptly.

8. ix. Critical analysis and commentary on the Croydon Supplementary School:

Management, Organisation and Finance

Although the Croydon Supplementary Education Project is one of the Supplementary Schools being organised by black people around the London area, it is unparalleled to other schools that have been studied by other people such as Stone (1981) and Dacosta (1988).

In the CSEP, there seems to be a clear structure as in the mainstream school. There is the director who acts like the head of a school. On the one hand the director in the CSEP seems to have more power in hiring and firing teachers than the headteacher in a mainstream school, where, when it comes to the crux of the matter, there has been appointments only and no firing has ever been done. However, the director having the power to hire and fire comes from the upward power relations as stated in Stone (1981:178). The non-firing of teachers might be because those who have been appointed to the school have been vetted to see that they are really interested in black children's education and are willing to contribute to this. The voluntary nature of this could be one of the factors that removes the pressures from the teachers. There seems to be no one under pressure and each person is willing to assist one another without anyone 'carving out' their own territory, either in the staffroom - although there is no staffroom- or in the classroom. Another factor removing pressures from the teacher could be the classroom sizes, as stated in Chapter Seven, and the ratio of teachers to students in the classroom and in the school is low when compared with the ones available in the mainstream. There needs to be more research in this area to really ascertain the impact of this on the administration and organisation of such schools.

Stone (1981:178-180) identified leadership personalities as an important factor in running such establishments as Supplementary Schools. Dacosta (1988:240-241) drawing upon the arguments of Banks (1971) (which identified two types of authority, i.e. the traditional and the charismatic); and that of Silverman (1970) and Holly (1971) (which focused on the argument that schools differ from bureaucratic structures in the main and that they are better examined

through their informal rule making and the human interaction which took place within them) concluded that none of these works was particularly suitable for explaining how Supplementary Schools functioned. The findings of Stone (1981) seems more appropriate in the case of the CSEP as the 'charismatic authority' of Andrew, the director, has kept the school going for thirteen years and, as commented by another teacher during the field study, 'he was able to get things done'.

One of the positive aspects of the hierarchy in the CSEP is the cooperative nature with which the providers and the users work as in the inclusion of parents in their discussion about policies and decision making. This is done through the management structure which has two parents and two teachers on the management committee as shown in the 1995 Statements of Accounts. Although the curriculum aspects, according to Patrick Braithwaite, a parent and the Chairperson of the Management committee, are left to the discretion of the experts, -who are doing a 'good job' with the students,- it could be argued that since other parents interviewed share similar views and are still sending their children to the school, this indicates that they approve the decisions made by the teachers about their children's education. The leaders of the CSEP must have been listening to the anxieties and concerns of parents (Stone, 1981:152).

Also, there is the issue of the Croydon Borough being the main funding body. On the one hand there are people that want the black Supplementary School to be autonomous from any funding agency, and on the other those who want to operate and be funded by the outside agencies such as the Croydon Borough. The reason for organisations choosing the latter is because it guarantees the supply of funds and resources in such schools. However, there are some implications to this and, as pointed out by Stone (1981), there appears to be a continuous change in its nature and its aims (p.168-169). Although the Croydon Supplementary School receives the grant from the Borough of Croydon, both the users and the providers see themselves as autonomous. This might not be the case in the near future, as there seemed to be more accountability being required from many funding agencies. Presently, the organisers of the CSEP have to submit monthly returns of their finances in terms of data about students' and

teachers' attendance. The 1995 financial statement indicated that the borough provided 84% of the total income, and if this should be withdrawn, it would have a big impact on the level of what the school could provide.

These two factors which have been discussed above indicate that the CSEP must be operating with aims that are less likely to provoke conflict and thus they are able to secure a wider base of support (Stone, 1981:177).

One of the things that the mainstream schools could learn from the CSEP organisation is that they operate with parental involvement in the day to day running of the school, without it reducing the level of performances of the students. The students, though interviewed separately from different classes, all claimed that their work has improved.

However, the CSEP needs to learn from the mainstream school, especially in the areas of record keeping and being more organised in the keeping of students' performance records. This will allow a comparison to be done on a large scale on how the coming of students to the school has been the factor that assisted improvements in their educational performances; a result of which could be used to justify the provision being made by the school.

8. x. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the management, organisation and finance of the Croydon Supplementary School. In this, through the analysis of the perceptions of the participants and through a cross examination of related documents, it was found that although there is a hierarchical structure within the CSEP, the participants work cooperatively for the benefit of a holistic development of the students. The management structure of the school seems no

different from other organisations, however, the subtlety in its operation of being hierarchical, the people at the top take a caretaker role and work with the others for the benefit of the users and the community. In this, everyone seems to feel included in the day to day running of the CSEP. The participants were found to all be contributing to what they see as needing to be done. Thus it could be stated that they work on a consensus mode, and there was less friction between the people involved. When there is a friction, the egalitarian mode with which they operate seems to be used to resolve the situation rather than 'sweeping it under the carpet' as Yvonne, the Director 4 stated during one of her informal conversations with the researcher.

The position of funding in the school relies heavily on the contributions from the London Borough of Croydon. Although this is 'sufficient' for their current needs, it appears to be a 'shoe-string' type of budget that might not give the opportunities for long term planning. However, having such a source of funding enables the school to remain open for all the students in the Borough. Also, since the school operates to meet the users needs, this might change from time to time. Thus, the school will not need to have long term strategies to meet such needs.

The voluntary community participation in which everyone is giving the opportunity to participate is an asset to the school. Those in the management are willing to listen and take advice from all - including the newly qualified teachers. This appears to make everyone to feel valued as contributors to what goes on in the school. Such feelings could be argued as what assist people to want to come back to make further contributions.

Although there are similarities between the CSEP and other Supplementary Schools, in terms of having black teachers as the providers and black students and community as the users, the uniqueness of this school is the inclusiveness of its provision which is open to everyone in the

community. Also, all the providers are professional teachers, who are within mainstream schools in Croydon. It thus means a continuity of contact for both students and their teachers.

The next part of this thesis will examine the future of the provision being made by Supplementary Schools and the CSEP in particular.

PART FIVE

9. CHAPTER NINE

9. i. An Analytical Evaluation of issues relating to the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project

It was stated in the Introduction and expanded in the Methodology that this study will not just document the aspects of what black communities are doing about the education of their children, but will generate a theoretical discussion that could move the provision forward. Therefore, this research work will not be complete without providing an organised critical analytical evaluation of its findings. Such findings could encourage a forward movement in organising the resources provided to the benefit of not just the black community in Britain, but to the wider society in general.

One form of social scientific explanation, policy science, (Fay, 1975) could be argued as one which tends to begin by understanding an event by identifying the events which have produced it, then those natural events which preceded it in time and which invariably produce the event in question. In this, the researcher tends to know what has happened when she/he knows the cause of the event, i.e. the mechanism that produces the event. Using the analogy that tends to occur in natural science, such knowledge of the mechanism could enable a researcher to be able in theory to produce the event in an experimental situation. This ability to produce or reproduce an event could be argued to be possible because of the notion of control that is available in such an experiment. In other words, to be able to give this form of scientific explanation, an individual must be able to control events. The ability to control such events in a given scientific explanation serves as a basis for scientific understanding and predictions that tends to result in the development of social policy decisions (Fay, 1975:29).

Although policy science approaches may be appropriate in some circumstances, to have this as the under-pinning theoretical framework might not be adequate in examining and explaining

what goes on in Supplementary Schools. There is a need therefore, to examine another possibility. One such possibility is an approach in which educational policy tends not be regarded as clear cut in any discussion but one in which there are socio-political conflicts and struggles. In this, the school itself could be seen as influencing the people working in it and in the larger society, or vice versa.

Such influences have been documented by critics in historical studies in educational policies such as Katz (1971), Shuker (1987), and McCulloch (1988) as those that are affected by socio-political conflicts of ideologies, gender, race and class relations. In this there are conflicts between the interested parties (i.e. - the Local Education Authorities and other agencies with the schools) on the one hand, and the conflicts within schools themselves on the other. Such a perspective focuses on the relations between the different groups and individuals who are the participants within the groups. If this approach is adopted in the critical analysis of what goes on, then Supplementary Schools cannot be seen as existing alone but as part of a bigger society. Such discussion tends to give power relations a central place in discussing the issues related to Supplementary Schools.

Therefore, an attempt will be made to identify and examine the conflicts of interests that are associated with and are varied within different socio-political and economic settings. The analysis of such conflicts was argued by Grace (1990:166) as what needs to be at the centre of policy analysis and not at the margins, thus creating what he described as a 'policy scholarship'. In this, the discussion is set within the historical and cultural context in which it exists and as such it is capable of illuminating the contemporary relations of power in which Supplementary Schools are located.

This second perspective, i.e. that of policy scholarship, could be regarded as one which will allow a more comprehensive analysis of the relations which exist between power at different levels: the conflicts and struggles between Supplementary School on the one hand and other interested agencies on the other, as well as within the Supplementary School itself. Here the

analysis is not based on decontextualised policy science (Fay, 1975:29), but on the 'historical processes of policy making' or decision making (Grace, 1990:166).

The main problem that could arise from this perspective is in identifying the different agencies within and without that might be interested in the policy of establishing Supplementary Schools. Some will be dominant and give directions to the cause of actions being taken, whilst there might also be those who are not dominant, and yet are affected by the decision of the dominant group. Whilst the first problem might be overcome by listening to different parties and examining their involvements, the second, which goes with their involvements, i.e. the understanding of the dynamics and the nature of their interests, might be difficult to elucidate. The reason for this could be that their involvement in the structural power politics that goes with it tends to be regulated by the issues of 'class, race, gender, and political party' in relation to the government, the Local Education Authority, the professionals - i.e. the teachers and the users - i.e. the parents and students (Grace, 1990:166). Sometimes, there could be the consensus of interests between the parties, or conflicts on policy making and how that could be powerful enough to influence or subvert the cause of actions being operated by the schools.

A third perspective, which is similar to the second, focuses and extends the conflict and the nature of conflict identified in the second perspective. In this perspective, the theoretical position tends to be one in which the Supplementary School itself could be regarded as a site of micro-political struggle in which there are different groups and individuals that hold a range of positions within the organisation and could have different views of themselves or the school, their roles and that of others in the school. Ball (1987:19) drew particular attention to the range of views created by the conflict between interested parties, where schools were equated to be like 'all other organisation ... arenas of struggle'. The issue of 'power' becomes a central focus for the analysis of what goes on within the institution and in order to understand the nature of what goes on, the suggestion here is that there is the need to understand these micro-political conflicts.

This third approach tends to give a central place to institutionalised conflict and power rather than making assumptions that the factors which generate the conflict do not exist. Ball (1994) put this more succinctly when he stated that:

schooling and teachers' work cannot not be defined solely within the stultifying parameters of policy. Politics are not totalizing, they do not address every eventuality, they do not specify every act, they do not speak meaningfully to all settings.

Ball (1994:177).

Whilst the first approach, policy science, could be regarded as suitable for an objective analytical evaluation of policy within Supplementary Schools, it will not be appropriate for the analysis of social interaction because it is too decontextualised. The CSEP is an organisation in its own right and what goes on there can be addressed and analysed independently away from any other organisation. However, whatever goes on there, also needs to be assessed in the light of the 'macro' or the larger society. In other words it needs to be examined as operating within the world of education of all children, especially that of black children. It will therefore be suggested that a combination of the second and the third approaches be utilised for the analysis here. These are preferred because they are capable of generating useful insights into the educational policy of Black Supplementary Schools.

One of the positive aspects of this is that it will assist in presenting the situation and the conflicts and the struggles that go on within Supplementary Schools as they are. It will also assist to see where there are situations of consensus and compromise. The type of compromise achieved might help to determine how stable or unstable the educational policy of Black Supplementary Schools are. Thus, adopting a flexible micro-political and analytical perspective in the critical analysis, could assist in the evaluation of the schools and be used to extend what goes on or influences policy making in Supplementary Schools.

The researcher will examine the future of the black Supplementary Schools (BSS), and will compare the situations within Croydon Supplementary School with resources available on other black Supplementary Schools, thus attempting to create a national picture. This part of this thesis will include a critical interpretation of the findings and the policies as interpreted from the different ideological perspectives and by the respondents, and an evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of Croydon Supplementary School as well as the future of black Supplementary Schools. It will conclude with suggestions for future research into black Supplementary Schools.

Although some Supplementary Schools have been in existence for some time and are still being organised by the black community in Britain, the first government paper that suggested a continuation and the promotion of this type of black people's initiatives is the Rampton Report (1981) on the education of 'West Indian children in our schools'. In this report, the ideological stance taken by the government is that the way ahead in the education of all ethnic groups is the 'fostering of a multi-cultural approach throughout education' (p. 85) and specifically on the issue of Supplementary Schools, the report stated:

As a direct response to the underachievement of their children, many West Indian groups have established Supplementary Schools throughout the country to provide tuition in basic skills and "supplement" their children's education until, as one Supplementary School leader puts it to us, "... the mainstream schools get it right"... The commitment shown by West Indian parents to these schools and the encouragement that they give to their children to attend are impressive. The children have told us that they go willingly to Supplementary Schools because they are encouraged to work hard and made to feel they can achieve. Supplementary Schools are fulfilling an important role and can have much to offer mainstream schools in terms of advice on teaching methods and materials appropriate to the needs of West Indian students and on ways of building up trust and understanding with their parents. There should be closer contacts between mainstream schools and local Supplementary Schools, and teachers should be encouraged to visit these schools to see at the first hand the work being done. Similarly we hope that the leaders of Supplementary Schools will respond positively and constructively to any approaches from mainstream schools. In turn we would ask LEAs to continue to look favourably on applications for assistance from Supplementary Schools, for example,

making premises available and providing books and materials.

Rampton Report (1981:45).

The future of Supplementary Schools in Britain cannot be examined without an acknowledgement, an assessment and an appreciation of the principles involved in the above. Historically, the West Indian community, especially their cultural background and the parental skills, have been categorised as deficit (see Chapter Two). It is therefore important to start the analysis from the ideological change which appears to have occurred here.

A close scrutiny of the statement made in the Rampton Report (1981) above revealed the existence of eight fundamental principles (1). The first five of these may be called the principles of recognition and acceptance (which are concerned with the acknowledgement and admittance of the failure of the mainstream and the need for provision by the black community). The next three are principles of procurement and reforming which focused on and identified how the provisions are being carried out or are to be carried out by the key agencies. The principles of acceptance that are quite explicitly stated in this report are:

- (1) a principle of recognition of educational failure: 'a direct response to the underachievement' of West Indian children,
- (2) a principle of purpose of Supplementary Schools: 'to provide tuition' and supplement provision,
- (3) a principle of timing: 'until ... the mainstream schools get it right',
- (4) a principle of suitability: 'fulfilling an important role',
- (5) a principle of resources: 'can have much to offer mainstream schools ... advice on teaching methods and materials appropriate',

The three principles of procurement and reforming focus on how what has been accepted will be carried out and by who. These are:

- (6) a principle of challenging: 'are encouraged to work hard',
- (7) a principle of support: 'made to feel that they can achieve',
- (8) a principle of cooperation between interested parties: 'There should be closer contacts between mainstream schools and local Supplementary Schools, and teachers should be encouraged to visit these schools to see at the first hand the work being done. Similarly we hope that the leaders

of Supplementary Schools will respond positively and constructively to any approaches from mainstream schools. In turn we would ask LEAs to continue to look favourably on applications for assistance from Supplementary Schools.

Prior to Rampton's Report (1981), it has been documented by Coard (1971) and demonstrated in Chapter Two of this thesis that West Indian and other black children tend to be structurally discriminated against from the early period of their appearing on the British educational scene of the late 1940s up to the present. There tends to be the silent approach to attending to the educational needs of black children. Even when a reference is being made, it was to make them 'fit into' the educational structure rather than meeting their needs. Also, black culture and the children's background tends to be made to appear inferior, therefore it is an education to assimilate rather than meeting the needs of black children within the British system.

The establishment of Supplementary Schools has been examined in Chapter Three as a direct response to this discrimination. The principles of acceptance expressed in the Rampton Report (1981) represent, therefore, a settlement partly negotiated among and partly imposed upon contesting interest groups. The acceptance of a government report on the setting up and supporting the continuance of Supplementary Schools is, therefore, a complex and perhaps a contradictory resolution of this struggle. As such it can be interpreted in different ways and from a range of perspectives. In the five principles of acceptance at this level, can be discerned the intention of the government to meet the major criticism of the black population of the 1970s.

The five principles of acceptance of the establishment of Supplementary Schools were open to a range of interpretation. The principle of recognition of educational failure: (realized in the underachievement of black students) was manifested in the government's acceptance that there is racism towards black children in British schools. This has never been seen in any government's document before in terms of recognising racism towards black children in English schools.

Rampton's (1981) report was the first government report to accept that there is racism within British society and saw it as one of the factors that is contributing to the underachievement of West Indian children in schools. This direct link of racism to the underachievement of West Indian children could be seen as progressive and, therefore, a starting point for forming a better relationship with the black community.

There were, however, alternative explanations for this dramatic change. The publishing of Coard's (1971) research on 'How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British System' and the anxiety this might have caused in the 'West Indian' community could be stated as a factor that prompted the government to arbitrate by accepting racism as a factor in the underachievement of black children. This acceptance could be regarded as a forced situation because it was watered down in the final report, Swann (1985), which focused on the education of all ethnic minorities. However, Rampton (1981) served as the beginning of acceptance, which saw the need to acknowledge the usefulness of establishing Supplementary Schools and the acceptance of racism in mainstream schooling.

The principle of the purpose of Supplementary Schools: (as realized in the acceptance of the schools to provide tuition and supplement the education of West Indian children) indicates a clear acceptance that the mainstream education is not adequately catering for the needs of West Indian children. Earlier to Rampton's (1981) report, the response of the government had been silent to the demand of the black community that formal schooling was not providing their children with meaningful education and an alternative or successful future in the job market. The growth of Supplementary Schools seems to have correspondingly increased with the struggle of black people and those described by Gilborn (1995) as the 'most active professionals' in the struggle against racism in the 1980s and early 1990s - a period of reform within British politics characterised by the arguments of national character in which ethnic minorities were posed as an 'alien' threat to Britishness itself. Although most Supplementary Schools were established for reasons that Mel Chevannes described in an interview on BBC

TV of 17.11.82 as 'black children aren't getting the best from local schools', the need for such schools is more apparent in relation to employment opportunities. The conflict in this is clearer when examined against the interview response from Yvonne, Director 4 in the CSEP:

Sam: What other factors would you say are contributing to these under-achievements?

Yvonne: ... So basically, in the mainstream school, they don't get enough support as they could possibly need, or for all sorts of reasons. I think that there is a large proportion of teachers who, in the mainstream schools, are not sufficiently committed enough ... and lay emphasis on where it (the failure of black students in the mainstream school) should be. That is on high expectations and achievements for the ordinary black child.

(Interview transcripts no:15).

The alternative explanation could therefore be, contrary to the perception of the mainstream, that black people are not interested in the education of their children, that they were interested and are being supported by black professionals to see that black children have basic education to become functional in the mainstream society.

The principle of timing 'until ... the mainstream schools get it right': (as realised in the timing of black community response to how their children are being treated by mainstream schools) indicates a clear response that the mainstream education in Britain is failing and not getting it right with black children. This could be regarded as an acceptance of the lack of provision for meeting the needs of black children in school. The conflict in this arises in the statement itself. Although there was an identification of this principle, there seems to be no agenda of how to achieve this or dates set to achieve this. Rampton's (1981) report and as echoed in Swann (1985), identified some key issues such as the training of teachers or the recruitment of West Indian teachers. Although there seem to be a higher number of black teachers now in schools compared to 1981 (2), such key issues seem not to have taken place within the system. Even when they are, as cited in the Introduction of this thesis, there tends to be discrimination against black teachers in terms of promotion and retention (see Connolly, 1984:48 and Dacosta, 1988:432-436). The emphasis in teacher training tends to reflect the perceived needs

of the society at large, and with the introduction of the national curriculum, issues related to black people seemed not to have been considered, and when they do, they tend to be influenced by political ideology instead of being on educational grounds. An example of those who influences and focuses on the 'Britishness' within the education system is Lord Tebbit, an ex-chairman of the Conservative party who at the 1997 party conference stated:

Multi-culturalism is a divisive force. One cannot uphold two sets of ethics or be loyal to two nations ... it perpetuates ethnic divisions because nationality is in the long-term more about culture than ethnics. Youngsters should be taught that British history is their history, or they will forever be foreigners holding British passports and this kingdom will become a Yugoslavia.

Quoted in The Guardian Newspapers (8 October 1997 p.1).

Although Lord Tebbit's statement seems simplistic and was denounced by some people in his party, the intent of the Conservative's 'New Right' philosophy of promoting one race, (white British) as superior is clear. Such a way of addressing the issue of race in education without setting a focused agenda and a time to achieve it by could, therefore, be regarded as one which makes the 'until' timeless and uncertain. Although in the CSEP there is no direct emphasis on the teaching of black history, the setting up of such a place, where the majority of the participants are black could be regarded as subversive in itself. The procedure being applied in the CSEP, where there is no teaching of any form of history, seems to be in conflict with Lord Tebbit's idea of British history. This is revealed when Andrew, the Director, saw their role as that which is not to indoctrinate the students in any form of history but that of providing children with the basics that they need to survive in the mainstream.

Similarly, Clinton Valley, the Head teacher of the John Loughborough School cited during an interview with him, the rejection of the school's application for a grant maintained status by the Labour control LEA. This could be cited as examples that the mainstream political parties in Britain tend not to support the black community and the education of their children in Britain.

Although, there are some that are supportive, such as the London Borough of Croydon, they tend to be few in numbers and this led Connolly (1984) to conclude that:

... the need for more black or ethnic minority teachers is not a priority with the government, in spite of a number of years of pressure from various groups including the House of Commons. The DES response to this need was tentative and financially subversive ... DES attitudes to the pressing needs of ethnic minorities are, in my view seriously deficient and represent a further chapter in that long and unwholesome tradition of British attitudes to ethnic minorities.

Connolly (1984:48).

This is almost fifteen years ago and the political climate has changed from the Conservatives to Labour in 1997. There is yet to be a clear policy about the education of black children and the payment of grants under section 11 of the Local Government Act 1996 on ethnic minority funding which is to end in 1998. Although Prime Minister Tony Blair made reference to this funding in his speech at the Labour Party 1997 Conference as 'an investment for the future' (Home Office letter of 1 October 1997 to London Borough Councils Appendix 27), there is yet to be a clear review of this funding. Issues relating to black people, except when it is related to riots, drug smuggling and other negative issues tend to be part of Party conference speech as opposed to being discussed in Parliament, thus showing the little or no value being placed on such issues. Such process of no clear guidelines makes Tomlinson's (1981) critique of inexplicit policies in race and education following the riots of 1981 appropriate here when she stated that it is:

... a policy process that involves passing the buck from central to local level and back, has now become, quite literally, a matter of fiddling while Rome burns.

Tomlinson (1981:153).

The principle of suitability: 'fulfilling an important role' (realised in the establishment of more Supplementary School) indicates a response that the government recognises that the Supplementary Schools appear to have what it takes to educate black children. It seems an

acceptance that Supplementary Schools have succeeded, where the mainstream schools have failed.

Although there appears to be a consensus about the suitability of the provision being made in the Supplementary Schools in the education of black children, there seem to be some differences in the acceptance of this. The acceptance by the government seems to have emanated from that of social control, (i.e. keep the children off the streets until they are sixteen). This could be historically located in the philosophy behind the introduction of the 1944 Education Act. It appears, therefore, that the government perceived the establishment of Supplementary Schools as that which might help reduce the exclusion of black children from mainstream schools (3). This seems to be evidenced in the relationship that exists between the CSEP and the mainstream in the Croydon area as stated in the interview with Andrew:

... many headteachers, headmistresses, phoned me and asked if I had a place for some child, either child just come from the Caribbean or Africa having some problems with settling in and they think when the child comes to the Saturday school, being in a community, children of their own kind might assist them to overcome.

(Interview transcript no. 1).

The conflict seems to arise when the suitability is examined in the light of the aspiration of black parents for their children as shown in the response made by Ianthe, the Chairperson of the Parents-Students Association during an interview when she stated that:

The goal is really to give children the incentive to do better. The bottom line is for them to do better and, in fact, to give them that extra push. Without that a lot of them would just fall out of the system. ...just to continue to instil a positive attitude in the children so that they know they can do well and make it like any other person.

(Interview transcript no. 4).

The suitability of black children attending Supplementary Schools from black people's perspective could, therefore, be regarded as one which is to make the life chances of their children better.

The principle of resources: 'fulfilling an important role and can have much to offer mainstream schools', realised in the 'advice on teaching methods and materials appropriate' as a recognition that they could provide resources in educating black children. This principle seems to have some conflicts in itself. Although there is the acceptance here by a government report that Supplementary Schools have much to offer mainstream schools, the perception of mainstream schools towards Supplementary Schools seems to be unhelpful. This is reflected for instance in the non provision of direct information from mainstream schools when contacted by the researcher about the education of children from the Croydon area. This is the possibility of not wanting to be seen as criticising a black people's programme or the fear of their comments being interpreted as racist. Dacosta (1988) identified some reasons why weekday schools do not 'approve' students attending Supplementary School. These include the explanation that the students have had enough work during the week and they needed their weekend to relax.

Along similar lines of non-contact between the two establishments, the African-Caribbean parents viewed mainstream schools as having failed their children and it is in the interest of the students to distance the Supplementary Schools from the normal school (Dacosta, 1988). It therefore means that mainstream schools might not know that there are students attending Supplementary School because of this distancing effect. Thus a rejection may recur in some circumstances of Rampton's view (1981) that mainstream schools should liaise with Supplementary Schools to form a partnership. However, this is contrary to the attitude of the CSEP towards mainstream schools. There seems to be a growing partnership between the CSEP and mainstream schools in the Croydon area. This needs to extend beyond the use of the CSEP as a 'dumping' ground for those creating problems or not doing well or are new to Britain and are attending mainstream school as identified in Andrew's interview. There needs

to be the development of trust and the valuing of the contribution of all those interested in the education of black children.

Challenges for Supplementary Schools could include establishing appropriate links with local schools and extending their operation to encompass the whole community. This in itself could create a conflict, as Mrs. Aniki one of the parents stated during the interview with her that 'this is a black organisation, let the white people provide a similar school for white children'. Hence, if Supplementary Schools are to be used as resources for advice on teaching methods and appropriate materials, then a lot of negotiation needs to be done between all interested parties and not just between the professionals.

Such negotiated partnership amongst the socio-political agencies could generate useful insights into the education of black children in Britain. It could become a way of involving the whole community in the provision of education. The black community might perceive themselves as part of the education system within the mainstream and become a readily available resource for the education of their children. On the one hand this is a way of encouraging the black population who appear to feel alienated in the education of their children and it could make Supplementary Schools be seen to be working within the system rather than as an adjunct that gives extra work to students from the weekday schools. On the other hand, mainstream schools could become a resource for Supplementary Schools in terms of accountability, record keeping and documentations.

Although Rampton's (1981) report provided the turning point when the issue of race and education are examined, the educational objectives of the 1944 Education Act are yet to be achieved. The bias that existed prior to the Education Act in terms of class, race and gender relations has been the subject of educational research in government reports such as Plowden's report (1967) and in recent research work such as Gillborn (1995), *Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools*. Also, a good analysis of the inequality in education has been documented in *Racial inequality in Education* edited by Troyna (1987). The thrust of the argument in these

works has been that of addressing the issue of racism in education, and to provide an analysis of racism and of the place of education in reproducing inequalities. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suggest that Supplementary Schools being organised by black people exist to reduce some of these inequalities.

Rampton's (1981) report, could be seen as one that thus saw the need for a continuous existence of Supplementary Schools and, therefore, identified how they can operate by advocating three principles of procurement. Although the first two principles could be said to be referring to the approaches being taken to address and relate to the children, they could as well be referring to the way Supplementary Schools tend to operate. The first in these principles of procurement is the principle of challenging: realised in the children being 'encouraged to work hard'. The establishment of an institution within a bigger institution that does not support its existence tends to demand hard work to succeed. Although, Supplementary Schools were perceived to be succeeding by Rampton's (1981) report and that of Swann (1985). Their work is being done amidst the criticism by the mainstream school teachers that asking the children to attend after school or on Saturdays, and denying them play and resting time renders them ineffective. Although this could be hard work on the part of the students, it is also hard work on the part of black community to organise such schools amidst mainstream criticism.

The next principle of support: (realised in the approaches used by the Supplementary Schools in which children are 'made to feel that they can achieve') indicates the report's support for the initiative by the black community in setting up and running a Supplementary School. Educational establishments tend to uphold white middle-class values which most black parents and working class families seem to remain outside of. This makes the contribution from the mainstream into black Supplementary Schools to be that of an outsider and most of the time largely irrelevant. The reason for this could arise because the white middle-class educational values tend to make educators become professionally insulated from the world and the needs of the working-class parents and students. This has been evidenced in Chapter Two of this

thesis on 'Racism and Education'. Mainstream schools need to listen and get an understanding from the black community and children about the type of support they need and not to impose on them the type of support they think they ought to need. This seems to be more reflected in the next principle.

The principle of cooperation between interested parties: (realised in the statement that 'there should be closer contacts between mainstream schools and local Supplementary Schools, and teachers should be encouraged to visit these schools to see at first hand the work being done ... similarly we hope that the leaders of Supplementary Schools will respond positively and constructively to any approaches from mainstream schools ... in turn we would ask LEAs to continue to look favourably on applications for assistance from Supplementary Schools'). This appears to play down structural racism as non-existent, yet it seems here to be a recognition that Supplementary Schools are doing what the mainstream failed to do, hence, the call for meaningful alliances between all parties within the structure with black communities to work together for the education of black children (4).

One of the main arguments that could be put forward about Rampton's (1981) report is that the report made black Supplementary Schools to be no longer an issue related to only the black community, but that of making it become part of the mainstream of educational policy. The report acknowledged that mainstream schooling is failing black children, it identified racism as one of the reason for this failure and indicated to the mainstream schools the resources that are available for the education of black children within the black community in the form of Supplementary Schools.

In this, therefore, there seems to be a consensus between the government report as in Rampton (1981) and the black community in Britain for the existence of Supplementary Schools. Since there is no central focus that links the existing Supplementary Schools to the central government, the dynamics of the relationship between Supplementary Schools and their different Local Educational Authority could be said to differ from one to another and even

within the same area. Although Supplementary Schools have different agenda for their existence (see Tomlinson 1984:68), the CSEP exists to educate black children in basic skills. When a Supplementary School is founded on basic skills provision and improvement, there seems to be some form of support from the LEA (i.e. as in the CSEP), on the other hand when it is politically motivated and it is to reinforce black identity and knowledge, there seems to be a less likelihood of getting any support from the LEA. Those that operate for the development of basic skills tend to thrive and get more parental support whilst the others tend to be small in number and sometimes close because of lack of parental support (i.e. as in George Padmore Supplementary School in Finsbury Park, London). The latter group are found during the period of this research to be very few in number.

The Supplementary Schools that are closely linked to the LEA, tend to receive funds from the LEA, but generally are found to maintain their autonomy in the recruitment and the day to day running of the school. The Croydon Supplementary Educational Project belongs to this category. This thesis will now examine the consensus and the conflicts that are present in the dynamics between the parties and amongst the participants in the CSEP. The thesis will also examine the structural dynamics of the providers and the users in the policy making and the day to day running of the CSEP. An analytical scrutiny of the operations of the CSEP as in the materials collected during the fieldwork revealed the existence of fundamental principles that could be categorised under three main headings: namely historical, social and ideological. The first six principles may be historically located, and these are concerned with the establishment of the CSEP in the history of education of black children in the London Borough of Croydon, in its past, present and future provisions; and in the developments which have taken place in the school. The next seven principles could be stated to be socially related which are concerned with experiences of the people involved in the provision and in the using of the CSEP. The third set is made of another seven principles which could be regarded as ideologically based which are concerned with the thoughts identifiable in the rhetoric and actions of the project organisers and users. The historically located principles as manifested in the materials collected during the fieldwork of this research revealed the aims of

Supplementary Schools, why they exist and what has assisted in their maintenance and these are:

- (1) the principle of purpose: 'aims of the CSEP',
- (2) the principle of provision: in terms of supply and demand,
- (3) The principle of motivation: the stimulus generated by the establishment of the CSEP,
- (4) The principle of resources.
- (5) The principle of success: associated with the achievement of the people involved in the school,
- (6) the principle of development and expansion: related to the history of the CSEP and the future plans,

The socially related principles could be stated as ones which help to locate the place of Supplementary Schools within the black community and in the community in general, and these are:

- (7) The principle of enrolment: as manifested in the people who use the provision,
- (8) The principle of participation: as the organisational structure of the school,
- (9) The principle of celebration: focusing on the achievement of the individuals,
- (10) The principle of autonomy: as in power relations within the organisation,
- (11) The principle of communal orientation: as in the commitment of participants,
- (12) The principle of apportioning blame: a reciprocity to what mainstream has done to the black community.
- (13) The principle of trust: as a component for better relationship within the organisation,

The ideologically related principles may be used to identify and deduce meanings behind the rhetoric and actions of the project organisers and users. These are:

- (14) The principle of struggles: as in the political control of what goes on in the organisation,
- (15) The principle of support: as in supplementing of the individual and the organisation,
- (16) The principle of constraints: in terms of issues limiting the performance of the organisation and individuals,
- (17) The principle of discipline: as realised in the ethos and activities of the school,
- (18) The principle of collision: as in the tension between the professionals and

- parental view,
- (19) The principle of relation between Supplementary schools and mainstream schools: as in the perception of the Supplementary School by mainstream schools.

The Constitution of the CSEP (1992) provides the basis on which the principle of purpose could be discussed. The Constitution stated the aims of the CSEP as:

The PROJECT is established with the objects of helping and educating young people growing up in a multiracial society so as to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities that they may grow to full maturity as individuals and as members of society and that their condition of life may be improved.

The CSEP Constitution (1994:1).

In this, educational purpose is the central aim rather than the cultural element for the establishment of the CSEP. The ultimate aim is stated as that of assisting every individual as an 'equal opportunity' organisation in assisting individuals to grow to full maturity. Although the equal opportunity element could be challenged in terms of the users, as the students who are currently using it are from a black ethnic background of which the majority are born in Britain, there is a good representation of students who are from a mixed race background with Caucasian mothers as well as the two Caucasian teachers who are currently there. When the ratio of the blacks is compared with that of the whites within the Croydon area, there appears to be less affirmation of this statement on equal opportunity. This was succinctly affirmed in Andrew Johnson's statement when he was asked about the composition of the school:

Sam: Are they mostly black children?

Andrew: As far as I am concerned I have no thoughts to that and I'll say it. I... my programme is aimed specifically at the Black and the African full stop. It is not a racist thing, it has nothing to do with race. It is this that was motivating the work and I was aiming at.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The users seem to be in support of this statement, hence their use of the provision. The perception of the users affirmed this and seemed to be confidently described as a provision that is meeting the needs of black children. In other words the providers and the users appear to have the same view of the purpose of Supplementary Schools. There is the need to state that other Supplementary Schools may not have the same principle and this may result in a conflict. An example of this has been cited earlier on in this thesis when the view of the provider differs from that of the users, many parents appear to have become uninterested and even threatened a withdrawal of their children (Also see Sharron's *Night School* in *TES* 6.1.84:15). Therefore, the suggestion here is that the teachers' aims as the providers need to be the same as that of the users to minimise any conflict. Minimising such conflict has provided the stability for the CSEP in the last fifteen years. Another area of conflict that could be present is what has being stated as available in terms of provision and the actualities on the field. An example of this is the CSEP in their curriculum statement about the use of computers:

We believe that the early introduction to Information Technology is of the utmost importance in the process of educating our young people; hence, at least one computer with appropriate software will be always available to the under six's group. Students from the other areas of study will be encouraged to word process their project work, particularly English. Progress in this area of work will be dependent on appropriate space and security for the equipment.

(The CSEP Curriculum. p.2).

Parents appears to be accepting the discrepancies as pointed out in Chapter Seven about the availability of computers in the school because the CSEP is not a full-time school. If the issue of being a full-time provision occurs it might highlight the inconsistencies between what is to be provided as stated within the curriculum statement and the actual provision. Parents and students appear to be pleased with the current provision and this was reflected in the following statements from interviews:

I think by coming here it helps us all. They (students) get something from the mainstream and they only come here for 2 hours but they must have got

something out of it and that's why they want to come.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

The views of the students on the provision are similar to that of their parents and this is reflected in the following interview with Kola Longe a fourteen year old male with Jamaican mother and a Nigerian father:

Sam: What makes them good teachers ?

Kola: We are able to relate to them and they to us students, they are not really too strict, we are able to have a laugh and get on well with students. They are really good. If you don't understand something, they will explain it to you, they have a way to make you do the work and you really enjoy doing it. They are easy going and you get along with them.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

In these perceptions there seem to be what has been described by the directors as enriching experiences to children who come to the Supplementary School as well as the expression of the awareness of their limitation of providing only two and a half hours of schooling. Rather than having conflict, there seems to be an appreciation of what the mainstream school is doing and seeing the CSEP's provision as a way of enhancing the learning of black children. This was reflected in the responses provided by Andrew:

... we cannot do what the mainstream is doing, but we can provide a contribution to clarifying and getting them to understand things more.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The aims of the CSEP seem to be in relationship to the principle of provision and this is manifested in the relationship between the supply by the providers and in the demands by the users. The CSEP currently has a hundred and fifty students on roll and two hundred and fifty on the waiting list. The existing provision, therefore seems to be outweighed by the demand. This could be because the CSEP is being run by professionals as opposed to some of the others

being run by non-teaching volunteers. The school seemed to be doing what the parents wanted, and with the support of the parents as shown in Andrew Johnson's statement on parental support:

The first thing I did was to have a publication in the local papers as you see from the cuttings there. And this was to state the ideas of wanting to start a school and by inviting people to meetings held in the hall. At that meeting, over 200 people attended. That's the appearance you know because I've always held the view that it's not so much what I want but if I'm going to do something with people I've got to find what they want, not impose my ideas but see what they want and after this meeting where 200 people came and hence at that meeting the Parents Association was formed at that very meeting and there was so many people and some had to be turned back for lack of room. There was no longer a question whether there was a need for a Supplementary School because of the response. So that question had been answered because of the response - there should be a Supplementary School and so the Parents Association was formed and it went on from there.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

Although there is this support from parents and others in the community, it could be argued that it is the academic curriculum that is being run by the school that is attracting the users to the school. If the curriculum should change (e.g. the use of Creole language as the medium for teaching children - as in Sharron's *Night School* in *TES* 6.1.84:15), the support from parents might also change. In the CSEP, the support from parents seemed to be for their children's improvement in the basic literacy and numeracy skills and not in the maintenance of black culture. This was reflected in Andrew's statement:

My own view is that in the black community, black youngsters have developed a culture divorced from their own, say, parent's culture and it's akin to the native culture but yet it is not quite like you know ... it takes all the ... you listen to things ... certainly the language style.. you know its such a mixture, the language style in a way in talking it's Jamaican patois or whatever seems to be Jamaican patois you know ... right across ... that's in language style, in their body language is not American but their accent and, certain, eating styles and these sort of things are ... these are European you know and it's this sort of mixture of things you have when you do look at our youngsters and you try to understand. Yet there are, their mode of thinking, their thought matrix are

European in that they do not uphold or even want to uphold the same values as our community, the black culture.

(Interview Transcript no 1).

A similar view was reflected in all the parents' perception, epitomised in Verna Jackson, a parent with two children in the school when she stated:

I send them to Saturday School because I want them to get extra tuition and knowledge, which I have found that they weren't getting at their mainstream school - a grammar school. Because the classes are so big, they do not get the attention that they need so I thought that they should go to Saturday School to get the extra help they need.

(Interview Transcript no 13).

The principle of motivation: (realized in the stimulus generated by the CSEP as an establishment) is manifested in the way the community and the mainstream school around Croydon are making use of it. It is a demand that motivates the CSEP in their provision of supplementing and complementing students work from mainstream schools. This is contrary to some of the similar establishments - George Padmore Supplementary School in Finsbury Park, North London now closed because of lack of students (5). Although black issues are not being promoted, yet the large presence of black people seems to be a motivating factor for parents bringing their children to the school and was reflected in parent's comments as shown in Verna Jackson's during her interview:

That's right, to get a good job and to learn about life, especially the Saturday School, it is not just the education. I believe children should mix with their own ethnic background. I feel sending them here is to help them socially and the children have black people as role models. I think it is quite important.

(Interview Transcript no 13).

The students interviewed also had similar views and claimed they were motivated by the large presence of black people as providers. This was reflected in Malaika Harry's statement (He is a 12 year old male student who has been attending the CSEP for a year. He has a sister who is

14 years' old and is also attending the school. He attends a local Grammar School. His father is unemployed due to health reasons and his mother who is a nurse works as a health visitor.)

I think it is to help black youths. I think some people get into trouble at school and they come here so that they don't get into trouble. Also, to do well in school and get a good job after school.

(Interview Transcript no 7).

Andrew Johnson's statement could be used as a summary of this motivating factor:

I think the Saturday School is expanding and becoming a community resource. The word school is sometimes limiting in telling people about what we do. I see it becoming a whole community resource in the future, with its main emphasis on the academics, and achievement. That will be its main emphasis and not to be distracted or side-tracked. Other projects that started as Saturday Schools but become what it takes you know, they take on other, social areas and all sorts. I want us to remain focused on education and slowly understand our community and become a resource but within the umbrella of education.

(Interview transcript no 1).

The principle of resource as realized in the CSEP, is reflected in the way the local mainstream school and black community are using the CSEP as a provision. According to Andrew Johnson, the founder and ex-Director, (cited in Chapter Seven) stated that headteachers from the local schools have contacted him to help students from their schools.

This good relationship with mainstream schools and the fact that most of the users are related seem to encourage the use of the CSEP as a resource for the benefit of the children's education. Also the payment of £5.00 as contribution per family per month seems not a large sum of money for parents to pay. However, this is possible because the Local Education Authority gives a grant for the running of the school. If the grant should be withdrawn and parents had to pay the cost for running the school, some parents might withdraw their children. On the other hand, there are those who want the school to run and be maintained by the black community.

The CSEP being a resource within Croydon seems to be a working example of what Rampton (1981) advocated, i.e. Supplementary School as a resource for addressing the issue of the underachievement of black children. Although the provision is there for anyone within the community to use and the LEA is paying for it to run, only people from the black community seem to be using it at the time of this research. This could be an indication that only black people see it as necessary for their children or it could be that there is not enough publicity about the school in the community. With more publicity, there could be an increase of the number of people using it, and might result in an expansion to cater for more. This will serve as a support for the argument of some parents calling for it to become a full-time school. Although Andrew Johnson is in support of such expansion, he seems more cautious when he stated that there are still a lot of things to be done and a lot of preparations to make. His argument is that:

... it is important that Saturday schools begin to develop their own curriculum, Saturday schools of the past have been reactive to either political or educational problems. They have been reactive institutions. They haven't yet come forward and made, and become what I call complementary, rather than reacting become proactive. Saturday Schools with all this have to come together and be seen in the future as a national body with a national curriculum, understanding clearly what they want to do and how they want to do it.

(Interview transcript no 1).

There is the need to argue here, that if Supplementary Schools go along this path, the mainstream might see it as a threat to taking students away from them and might also see it in terms of racial divide as opposed to seeing the provision as a resource for helping black children. In this, therefore, there could be a conflict of purpose between the two systems.

The principle of success: (as manifested in the achievement of the students has been sparsely documented) reveal the agreement between the providers and the users on a provision that encourages success and better performance of the children when compared with when they

started at the school. Both the children and the directors provide the procedure that tends to be followed. According to them when a student first arrives at the school, she/he is examined to determine the group she/he is to go. However, there were no records kept to substantiate this procedure. Albeit, a student Daniel Luke (male, Year 10) and his mother brought his mainstream school report (Appendix: 28) to show to one of the directors. His report which was above average was seen as a success and no copy was made until the researcher asked if he could copy some pages of the report.

If success is really to be measured, the improvement made needs to be seen against the performances at the mainstream from the day the student starts at the CSEP, and the progress being made. Quantifying this for this research was not possible because of lack of documentation on the subject matter. Also, the school needs to measure its success in terms of how many working class children have been helped to successfully complete their secondary education with better grades. I will discuss the reason for saying this shortly. A drive to recruit this category of people might produce some conflict and become a challenge for the provision being made. This needs to be addressed in the developmental plan of the CSEP.

The principle of development and expansion: (manifested in the growth that occurred under the previous Director, Andrew Johnson) indicates the positive aspect that continuity in a leadership with fore-sight could bring to a system. Andrew's charismatic style of leadership could also be argued as the factor which contributed to the growth of the school. He could be seen as a visionary who got things done the way he wanted it, and was reflected in his response:

Some parents thought I was too powerful but ... maybe I was and maybe I was too autocratic and dogmatic but I dreamt of this thing and I gave a lot to it, it was my lifeblood was in this thing and I was not prepared to see politics destroy it.

(Interview transcript no 1).

Although Andrew is still in contact with the school and his daughter is one of the secretaries, he is now an adviser to the Education department in Guyana. His personality seems to have contributed to the developmental phase of the school. The school now appears to be on a different phase towards the end of the fieldwork during the period of this research.

The present Director seems to be more reflective in her approach of leadership and one in which others are encouraged to contribute. Such an approach seems to have encouraged contributions from others like Brenda Able (one of the Caucasian teachers) and the Section leader for English language to contribute papers (Appendix: 29) for discussion on the development of the school.

Although there has been some such success under the current leadership, there appears to be some conflict in which some of the staff saw things not being done quickly when compared to Andrew Johnson's style of leadership. An implication of this is that some perceive the school as not moving at the pace the school has enjoyed before.

The success being enjoyed by the school seems in my own opinion to lie with the development of a curriculum for the students mastering of basic skills in English, grammar, punctuation and spelling, and Mathematics. This success needs to be consolidated and possibly the present leadership will be able to do this better moving on a reflective pace. The CSEP started sixteen years ago, its remaining open and being over-subscribed with more students on the waiting list than on the present students numbers on roll signifies a form of success and this could be affected by the community in which it is located. The next set of principles will focus on the social orientation of having the CSEP within the Croydon community.

The socially oriented principles are open to different interpretations. The principle of enrolment: (realized in the nature of the student population and the social group to which they belong) could be seen that the Croydon community is populated by mostly people from a middle-class background, working in London. The majority of the students are from these

homes and they attend private schools and seem to be mostly doing well in their school work. Students interviewed and spoken to during the period of research want to be lawyers, doctors, architects etc. This could be because they have their parents as role models. However, it is interesting that none of them want to be nurses or teachers, though they want to come back to help at the CSEP. Could this be a reflection of the present state of these groups of workers in which they seem to be poorly socially placed? One would have thought that with students having all the teachers around them as role models would have encouraged them to take up such a profession. The success of the CSEP recruitment of this group could be because of their being from middle class homes. Since they are already from middle class homes, they might have seen the benefits of good education and are now motivated to want to use any facility that will help them to improve as revealed in the excerpts of an interview with a student Onika Moses (female, 15 years old):

Sam: That's good. Let us look at your own aspirations. What do you think of doing in the future ?

Onika: I am thinking of becoming a bank manager.

Sam: Mmm; because ?

Onika: Because it's good money.

Sam: Yes.

Onika: I like dealing with numbers and I think I have the ability.

Sam: Mmm. That's good. It is really encouraging that you realised that you have got the ability. Let us look at how you have been making yourself to develop that ability. How will you describe it?

Onika: I think my Maths is important and it is good to improve my English. You have to deal with customers, when they come back, you have to meet with people and make new friends, and work as a team.

(Interview transcript no 10).

The conflict that might arise is if a large number of students from working class homes start attending. They might need more motivation to work on their school work. Since their needs

might be different from those who are currently attending, because of the differences in their values and codes of behaviour, their attending the CSEP might put some strain on the nature of work currently available. The school might need to seek other ways for motivating such students.

The second principle here is that of participation as reflected in the existing organisational structure of the school. The participative element seems to aim to include all members to contribute their own part for the progress of the school. The people interviewed appear to see the school as one in which everyone is encouraged to be involved. One of such responses is in the following excerpts of an interview with Tessa Carter, who came to the school because her daughter was having problems in mathematics in 1982/83. She became involved with the Parents Students Association (PSA) as the Treasurer and now she is the Secretary to the teachers in the school:

Sam: Talking about working closely, you've said that they were helping to raise funds. What other areas have they been involved in?

Tessa: ... mainly the PSA helps with the fundraising aspect of the Organisation and that is one of their functions regarding the Project. They do other things though. I haven't been involved with the PSA recently so I don't know what they have on their agenda but they normally have things like the AGM. They invite people from education departments to talk to the parents about the education of their children and they get them involved. They are very active in our prize giving event. The PSA tends to do the catering and so forth.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

However, a further scrutiny of what really goes on provides some discrepancies between what the secretary said and how the parents saw it. Although parents saw the contribution of those who are involved, there appears to be some frustration emanating from some parents who are not being involved in the work of the Parents Students Association. The group of people not wanting to be involved was identified by Brenda Able, one of the Caucasian teachers, in her comments in Chapter Eight on the organisation and management of the CSEP. According to

her, 'white' mothers of the 'light' students from mixed race relationships, tend not to attend fundraising events. Could this be because they feel isolated and un-welcome as a group within a 'black' people's organisation? (6).

However, there is a high degree of commitment from everyone in the use of the facilities being provided by the CSEP. Students tend to have regular attendances. Observations during the fieldstudy of this research revealed that on the average about 4 to 5 students tend to come in late each Saturday and they varied from one week to another and their reasons for coming late differ. Their regular attendance could be because parents are contacted to know the where about of any student who is not at school or it could be that they are interested in coming to the CSEP. Making contacts seem possible because only a few miss the school at each particular time. However, parents seem to be supportive and this could be what the secretary means by saying that everyone is involved by their commitment.

Also, part of this commitment tends to be shown in their involvement in the different activities staged during each year to celebrate the achievements of the students.

The principle of celebration: (realized in their annual prize giving day and other special events) reflected their focusing on the achievements of the individuals as well as the group and their socialising together as a group. These could be seen in their annual prize giving events which take place during the spring term, the barbecue events being organised by the Parents Students Association each term, the dance parties and so on, being organised primarily to bring people together but serving other purposes for raising funds for the school.

Although the non attendance of some groups of parents has been considered above, there is the need to provide other possible reasons for their not attending school functions regularly. These other reasons could range from their being occupied with other activities such as going to work to that of lack of interest in social activities. The Chairperson of the Management

Committee and a parent, Patrick Braithewaithe, seems displeased with some parents attitude to participating in activities and this was reflected in the following interview excerpts:

Patrick: Many of us cannot and do not know how to handle criticism. Some people tend to get very annoyed and very upset when they are criticised. There are some parents who have shown themselves up at our functions. I am not very happy with some parents' attendance at our annual general meeting and fundraising activities. The school has well over 150 children and I am expecting to see at least 50% of that number at our functions, this has not been so. I am hoping that the school will do more to encourage parents to become involved. Being a parent myself, I have to sacrifice my time to attend some functions. As far as the education of our children are concerned, parents have got to make sacrifices and get involved.

(Interview transcript no: 28).

Although this statement, like that of Verna Jackson cited in Chapter Eight, is about other functions being organised by the school, Patrick's response seems a bit exaggerated as observed during the period of field study, his statement revealed an example of the inter personal conflict that might be going on in the organisation. The reason for this group of parents' non attendance was not clearly elicited in this research as parents and others who were interviewed were those who are always in attendance during such events.

The principle of autonomy: (realized in the tension of power relations within the organisation) indicated the struggle between the professionals, i.e. teachers; and the parents. The issue of power relations here, is not just that of the teachers involvement in the day to day running of the school, but that which involves parents of the students attending the school. Parents are the major provider of the users, and therefore have the power to dictate what they want for their children and what the CSEP is to be doing. The threat of withdrawing their children by parents in Sharron (*TES* 1984) indicates a form of control that parents have over what goes on in a Supplementary School, i.e. the type of pedagogical issues that are to go on the curriculum and other learning issues, the finances etc.

Since the CSEP leadership is resisting the involvement of the LEA, such strategies might leave the parents as the only contender for power with the leadership at the school. Such contention could be seen in the interview with Andrew Johnson, the ex-Director when he stated that:

Of course we had some political struggles, we had a girl on the management committee. We had a struggle in the management committee where the parents on the management committee thought they ought to be totally responsible for the project.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

The parent in Andrew Johnson's description above seems to have the view that parents should be powerful. Such power might not carry much authority with it, unless they become involved in the day to day running of the school. Although parents supply the school with children, the majority of them are not involved with what goes on, especially in the curriculum. They seem to have entrusted this to the professionals, thus creating the need for the professionals to identify and cater for the needs of the children in attendance. The CSEP seems to have been able to create a balance by having different people responsible for different areas. However, these areas need to be opened up further by making parents become aware of what is going on and in discussing with parents and teachers the use of professional ability to categorise decisions made. Such open discussion could enable parents to feel that they are making contributions and still have power within the organisation.

On the issue of struggles between the professionals, the hierarchy created in a small organisation such as the CSEP with one Director, three assistant Directors and six section leaders, seems to indicate the struggle in an establishment with 36 teachers, i.e. with 10 of them in the position of authority means almost 30% of the teaching population. On the other hand, it could be argued that it may make supervision of what is going on easier because there are many people who will feel that they are responsible. It creates a sense of being involved. However, giving of posts with remuneration could be a way of retaining 'good' teachers or it could be an incentive to make individuals feel recognised and their services worthwhile. On

the other hand, it could be a way of minimising conflicts that might occur if there is no one to take responsibility for certain aspects of the school.

The principle of communal orientation: (manifested in the commitment of participants without any agreement) denoted the participation of different categories of people who were under no obligation to do it other than having a shared interest. The commitment, therefore, is towards what is at stake rather than a pledge between participants. An example of this could be seen in the way Tessa Carter, the secretary, described the commitment of the participants. She stated in the interview that:

Tessa: So I think it is a commitment. Everyone within this Project is committed to its success. I think it is about commitment. From the Directors and right down, we are all committed to what we are doing here and as such, people are willing to give up their time.

Sam: Why are you committed?

Tessa: Why? I can't speak for others.

Sam: I meant you.

Tessa: I am a woman; I am a mother; I am black and foremost, I have gone through the system and know the disadvantages that affect our children. I have seen the Project work. I know the Project works and for all those reasons, I am here. There have been times when I have thought about it and I say, that's it, I am

tired, but somehow I find the energy to get up on Saturday morning and get here.

(Interview transcript no: 12).

In this Tessa is describing her own contribution to the education of black children. She did not sign any contract and neither does it seem that she was doing it for the money, however she seemed to be doing it because of being a black person and as a result of her experience as a mother within the British system and the education of black children. This type of contribution made by the teachers, as well as the students and their parents, seems a commitment to the

education of black children and the making available a provision that provides opportunities for them to be optimally educated and participate equally within the system.

A speculation about this type of commitment is that it seems to be a statement about the provision of an alternative in the society in which black people have been classified as failing. It is thus a way of communicating that black people can organise themselves. Their participation could be describe as being a demonstration of black people's competence as professional teachers in assisting to do what the mainstream has failed to do in educating black children. Celebrating the success of these children could, therefore, be argued to be a celebration of not just the achievements of the children but of the competencies of the teachers in succeeding where the mainstream has failed.

The principle of apportioning blame: (manifested in the reciprocity to what the mainstream has done to the black community) focuses on the blaming of the mainstream as the protagonist in the underachievement of black children in education in Britain. The present mainstream education seems to be focused upon by both the providers and the users of Supplementary Schools as one not doing what it is supposed to be doing, i.e. not optimally educating black children. It could be argued that the providers and the users of the CSEP are individuals who have suffered racism in one way or the other, and now perceive themselves as strong in the company of other black people and use the forum to blame the 'protagonist' that tends to describe and treat black people as a failure. This could be seen in the interview with Margot Walkes, a parent:

Margot: When I go to the mainstream school, it is not relaxing. I get the vibes that the teachers there ... as if there have hidden agendas. The teacher comes to you and I always feel reluctant to say how I feel. I make sure that I choose my words carefully. The reason is because whatever you say is being interpreted in different ways. I don't find it relaxing at all. I find it intimidating at times.

Sam: What do you find intimidating at the mainstream school?

Margot: The attitude of the teachers. I cannot put this adequately into words but

it is the way I feel.

Sam: I am sure that this is important because if that's the way you feel, no doubt it will affect the way you want your child to relate to the system. I wonder if your child is picking up the vibes that teachers in the mainstream schools have hidden agendas, which is keeping the child from performing to the best of her ability. Is that the way you see it?

Margot: That might be a possibility.

(Interview transcript no: 8).

Such a negative way of approaching the education of black children might not help. It might create a conflict between black and white people. However, there seems to be different opinions about this; there are some parents and teachers who do not want to have anything to do with the mainstream school because they feel that black children are not being treated as equal. On the other hand, there are the others that do, and this includes the founder of the CSEP Andrew Johnson and are prepared to work with the school in the mainstream community.

The researcher's thoughts about this is that as these children live in a white dominated society, they need to learn how to work and manipulate the system to work for them. Adults within the black community need to model this by cooperating with the system to get their entitlements as well as that of their children. This seems to be what Andrew Johnson meant when he stated that:

It is important too that we keep in touch with what is happening in mainstream schools because it's no good we are doing something here when a child is doing something different in school.

(Interview transcript no 1).

In this a working cooperation mode seemed to have developed between the CSEP and the mainstream school. This cooperation could be enriched if people within the CSEP extend the next principle to encompass the British mainstream system.

The principle of trust: is a component for better relationship within organisations. The issue of racism which has been present in the relationship that existed between black people and British Caucasians seems to have created an atmosphere of distrust between the two. The majority of black people tend to relate from the perspective of not trusting the Caucasians until they do a trustworthy action. This could be seen in the interpretation provided by Yvonne Bailey, one of the assistant Directors and a Pastoral Head of Year in a Comprehensive school cited in Chapter Eight.

The CSEP as one of the Supplementary School seems to have succeeded in creating the atmosphere of trust. Although there are many ways that the mainstream could encourage this, I will state briefly two ways of approaching this issue. Blackness (7) could be argued as one of the factors that has encouraged the trust between the Supplementary School system and the black community. The mainstream system needs to make use of these schools as resources to win the trust of the black population in Britain.

Another way of doing this could be through a recruitment drive and retention of black teachers. These teachers will assist as role models for both white and black children. For the white children, it will give them the opportunity to see that black people have contributions to make to the society. On the other hand for the black children, it will be a positive perception of black people.

What motivates black people to set up Supplementary Schools such as the CSEP seemed to be manifested in Andrew Johnson's statement when he was describing his response to the on-going debate about black students' underachievement in schools in 1982:

I was sitting in my front room one day of course like everyone else listening to these debates on our black kids underachieving, black kids this and that and all the rest ... As a result of that debate I became incensed about some, the way the debate was going, the way it was being interpreted because as someone from the Caribbean area from Guyana which is just outside the Caribbean ... but as a

person of the cultural experience I knew these things weren't true. It was an interpreting of a situation without relating it to the reality. With that annoyance of the way the debate was going, I went to ... I decided as a professional I can't just sit there in a armchair.

I went round to the local Community Relations Council ... to seek their help about doing something, about setting up something, ... to see how it can be done.

(Interview transcript no 1).

The actions of Andrew Johnson here, could be stated as ways of seeking to turn some of his ideologies into reality. The reality of this could be stated as one which is to practically do something to effect changes. This way of taking action seemed to be based in following fundamental codes which are ideologically related to the struggles of black people against racism, one in which most black individuals and sometimes groups tend not to sit down and wait but where actions are taken to make life better for the black people.

There are six ideologically related principles identified in the respondents of this research which could be used to discuss the processes in operation in Supplementary Schools.

The principle of struggles: (realised in the political control of the organisation) signalled the differences between the provider and the funding agency. As it has been stated earlier on, although the CSEP is founded by a black professional, the fund for running it is still mainly from the LEA. Such a dichotomy of the organiser not being the source for funding creates potential for a power struggle of who is responsible for laying down the rules of what is to be done or not to be done. Although there seems to be no struggle at the moment, if the white community should query the provision, by stating for example that they are not being treated equally with the black community because the LEA is making funds available for one part of the community and not the other, this might generate a struggle in which 'when two elephants fight, the grass (black students) gets hurt'. They might lose this source of funding.

The CSEP seems to have catered for this by stating in its constitution that:

THE CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT is an Equal Opportunity Educational Project providing equal opportunities to all students of school age irrespective of gender or ethnicity.

The CSEP Constitution 1994:1.

Thus the CSEP provider could argue that their provision is open for anyone to use. However, this seem to be in collision with the founder's idea of who to cater for when he stated that:

... my programme is aimed specifically at the Black and the African full stop.

(Interview transcript no: 1).

When this principle is examined, it is designed to cater for all, but the reality of the matter is that the students making use of the project are mainly from black, mixed race and ethnic minorities origin.

This possibly may not create a problem in the London Borough of Croydon, because there are many black people, and it has a black Anglican Bishop and until recently a black Mayor. However, such schools in other boroughs, sparsely populated by black people might need to find a way to reconcile the struggle. Possibly they could do this by encouraging black students to bring their friends along to the school or if black children who are attending are doing better than before they started it might be an informal way of advertising the project. With white people attending, the provision in the CSEP will cater for all living in a multicultural community.

The principle of support: (realized in the supplementing of the individual and the organisation) indicates the needs of the individual and that of the organisation. According to the founder (as cited in Chapter Seven), he stated that the students use the provision not because they are underachieving but because they find themselves not doing as well as they wanted. This was

confirmed in another interview with Bihari, a Lecturer at the Sutton College in the following excerpt:

Sam: What is your own view about the aim of this place?

Bihari: The aim is to ensure that ethnic minority students gain confidence in the basic skills being offered by the Supplementary School, so that they could perform well in the mainstream situation and those who perhaps are doing well in the mainstream, the Supplementary School gives them the chance to excel more. We work at much on the level of the individuals and the children are taken further on an individual basis.

(Interview transcript no: 17).

In this individual needs were addressed. This tends to differ in the mainstream. The reason for this could be because the classes are bigger and as such teachers have more children to cope with. However, the CSEP method of addressing black children's need seems to have the support of black parents as reflected in this response:

I always thought, therefore, that they needed extra help and then I brought them to this school where there are black teachers and they are role models for the children. It is not just their being black but they have been victims of the system

also, so they know how to help the children.

(Interview transcript: no 4).

In this statement, Ianthe James, the Chairperson echos other parents support for the organisation and the rejection of how mainstream schools treat black children.

The parents, therefore, seem to have felt supported. There is in this sense a circle of continuum support within the system of Supplementary Schools. Such support and the feeling of being supported are needed for the continuance of any Supplementary School.

The principle of constraints: (realised in the type of provision being made by the CSEP) indicates that the school has to operate within the resources available. During an informal discussion with one of the female teachers, she informed me of the drive in the school to raise £5000 so as to balance the account for the year 1996. Another teacher, also told me of his not keeping any out of pocket expenses. The view that this non availability of funds puts pressure on what could be provided was echoed by one of the parents, Verna Jackson, who is the treasurer to the Parents Students Association (PSA) when she told me of the limited contribution from parents.

Such forms of contribution suggests that the school will be operating on a 'shoe string' type of budget. Thus, this could mean that some of the activities might need to be cancelled. Although there were no indications of any cancellation of activities, operating on a tight budget is limiting and could affect their future developmental plan. Also, it could mean that there will be no long term plan.

The principle of discipline: (realised in the ethos and activities of the school) describes the success that Supplementary Schools could bring to the lives of black children. There is no wearing of school uniform or any list of written rules and regulations, or any punitive measures being administered, yet there was an observation of an orderly atmosphere in and outside the buildings. There seems to be a sense of pride, i.e: 'this is our venture' amongst those observed during the period of research.

This is reflected in the following excerpts of an interview with Vernon James, a lecturer with the Croydon College, and who has been a teacher with the CSEP since 1982:

Vernon: The Supplementary education tend to give them that bit extra that will help them within the system. We cannot aim to remedy the fault but we try to show them that if they are disciplined it is possible for them to achieve like any mainstream child. That is the type of Supplementary education that I am talking about.

Sam: You raised some issues about discipline then. Can you please expand

further?

Vernon: If you look at the motto of this project, it states 'without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained' and that is one point that I try to get through to the students here and at the college.

Sam: How is this being conveyed or implemented?

Vernon: It is being implemented by, let's put it this way: The students that come here do come here voluntarily, so what we convey to them is that if they are giving up their spare time to come to the Supplementary project, then they owe it to themselves and to their parents to get something out of it and they cannot get something out of it unless they discipline themselves. So, we try to input into them that discipline is something that comes from within and nobody can force you to do what you don't want to and that they have to exercise the discipline for themselves. You have to have the aims in your life. You know that you have come here to do something and it is by disciplining yourself that you make sure that you achieve these things. So we appeal and talk to them logically so that they use these things.

(Interview transcript no: 14).

This view of the nature of discipline at the CSEP seemed not to be shared by one of the Caucasian teachers, Pat Davies, a Biology lecturer at the College, who stated that:

... discipline is quite strict and children are motivated to work hard (8)

(Interview transcript no: 11).

Yet this same teacher stated that she likes the set up and would like to see the project progressing.

It appears that the difference here is that of a cultural perception of what and how discipline should be meted out. However, both the provider and the users seem to have a silent agreement of the types of behaviours that are expected, a promotion of discipline which is reflected in the teachers' expectations of the students. This could be because the teachers know and have shared experience with the students of being black students in British schools, where there

tend to be a stereotypical way of addressing disciplinary issues with the blacks especially 'Afro Caribbean' boys being the sufferers (see Cecile Wright, 1992b:16).

Although there is a conflict of this cultural perception of discipline even amongst the recipients, they seem to enjoy the way they are being treated as shown in Kola Longe's, (a fourteen year old male student from a Jamaican mother and a Nigerian father) response when he was asked about the discipline at the CSEP:

Sam: What about discipline, are there differences between the two places?

Kola: Here, I feel the discipline is better because you feel more free to do what you want to a certain extent. You can't just cause disruptions in the lessons, the teachers will tell you off but they are not as harsh or cruel in the mainstream school. In mainstream school you cannot have a quiet chat with the next person. They just ask us to get on with our work.

(Interview transcript no: 5).

The difference observed was in the gender perception of people involved. Although another student Onika Moses (a fifteen years eight months old female student from a Jamaican home) liked it at the CSEP, she saw the discipline as strict and similar to her mainstream school, The John Loughborough School, as shown in the following interview:

Sam: What do you like about this school?

Onika: It is good.

Sam: What's good about it?

Onika: The environment, the people, friends, travelling - I travel to both schools, but they are quite strict.

(Interview transcript no: 10).

This cultural and gender differences needs to be taken into consideration when addressing the issue of discipline of black children.

The principle of collision: (realized in the LEA funding of the CSEP) indicated a struggle between the principle of autonomy and that of the LEA financial support. In the case of the CSEP, the LEA is the major fund provider, and therefore has the power to dictate the tune of what the CSEP is to be doing. However, the dictation of what is to be taking place in the CSEP is yet to happen. The reason for this could be because the LEA acknowledges that the mainstream school is not catering for the education of black children and therefore needs a system such as the CSEP to do it. On the other hand, it might be that the LEA, to use Dacosta's (1988:421) description is 'embarrassed' for failing to educate black students adequately and in order to deflect the criticism turns to support the CSEP. Thus, feeling it is its responsibility to provide funds to support it. The providers recognise the implication of such funding and are resisting any form of contribution that will take away their autonomy. An example of this is the excerpts from the interview with Cynthia Graham, the Director of the CSEP cited earlier in Chapter Eight and as confirmed in the response from Patrick Braithewaithe, the Chairperson of the Management Committee:

One of the downside of this for the project is because we have not got any direct funds our own and we rely on the external funding from the Local government, we have approximately had to move premises several times. I find that this distracts the school from its focus. It also gives opportunities for the community including the teachers, - staff and the members of the community to interact and share ideas and bring other professional in the community together and to do other activities, i.e. fundraising, an activity which needs to grow and expand. I feel that this is an area where the minority community could be more instrumental in doing so. I am encouraging the CSEP to go forward in that direction. I feel that as an organisation and as an African Caribbean organisation in the community, I belief that we should not only target the local government for fund but we should also look at the business community. It is something that I have a high regard for since I am the Chairperson of the PSA. My dream is to have a building which I think leads to us being autonomous and do what we feel its good for the education of our children.

(Interview transcript no: 28).

However, it will be appropriate to argue here that if the LEA should withdraw the funds that they currently provide, running the CSEP might be impossible because about 84% of their income in 1995 financial year came from outside agencies. The provision from the LEA could be argued as what has helped the CSEP remain open . However, accountability is being required from every service agency and the autonomy might go over a long period of time because it might be required of the CSEP to follow the dictates of the LEA or lose the support.

On the one hand, the autonomy of the CSEP might make it credible as an organisation, because it will be able to control all its own operation through being self financed. Also, its operators will be answerable to the management and the users. However, there is the need to examine the loss of the income from the LEA if the CSEP decides to be truly autonomous and manage on the present state of operation. There doesn't seem to be an agency that will be able to replace the current fund provider, and losing such a source of income might bring constant uncertainty about the future because of the high dependency on the LEA funding .

One way of reducing this dependency and for the CSEP to maintain its true autonomy, is for the school to look for an alternative funding source, especially by attracting people and businesses within the black community. The CSEP management are already exploring this by inviting people from the business arena to one of their open days during the period of this research. Another strategy could be to ask individuals within the community to sponsor a child for the duration of their stay in the school.

The principle of issues relating to the relationship between Supplementary Schools and mainstream schools: (realized in the perception of the user of the CSEP) indicated an ongoing criticism of the mainstream school. The parents interviewed all have reservations about the existing provision in the mainstream school for their children. Parents seemed not to be satisfied as reflected in the following:

Ianthe: The teachers in mainstream school tend to make a big issue of this fact

by saying that they can do better but they are not and that they just play about in the class.

Not doing that will mean they might fall out of mainstream system as casualties. But once they start coming here most of them want to go on to colleges to do their 'A' levels. Also, some of them continue so that they can get good jobs within the mainstream system. Education is power isn't it and people come here to get it.

As I said, education is part of it. They try to show them that by learning you are capable of achieving all the time. By learning you have that power to get on in life; that is how they do it here. At school (mainstream) they don't do this and they say that the child is not good. Whatever they are good at they need to learn more to make them better and we try to see that they do this.

(Interview transcript no: 4).

Margot: I think that in the mainstream school, they didn't do their homework because the school didn't put that much pressure on them to learn, but coming here emphasis is placed on them doing well and they put emphasis on that for them to achieve. They are told that they have to do well to achieve this or that and this is a message that they don't get at their mainstream school.

(Interview transcript no: 8).

Mainstream schools on the other hand seem to be removed from the community they serve. An example of this is the silence received when the researcher contacted them during the period of this research (9). The fact that the researcher does not reside in the Croydon area could have made the headteachers contacted unresponsive. It could, also, be that the teachers were being cautious of research into relations with mainstream schooling.

The researcher's view here is that if the mainstream school is to be trusted by the black community, and if the current on-going tension in the field or hostile relations are to be resolved then mainstream schools have to make the initiative as the bigger organisation by making their school a real community school. In this parents will not be invited in only to listen to their children's failure or bad behaviour, they need to invite them to celebrate the success of the children of the black community. Mainstream schools could also open a

dialogue by inviting black activists and others to be role models, speakers and participants in the day to day running of the school. In this, the issue of recruitment, and retention of black teachers through promotion will need to be considered and promoted.

On the other hand, the black community also will need to make the move to cooperate and work with the mainstream educational system. Most black children are now born in Britain, and need to be challenged to see ways of contributing to their own education.

9. ii. Conclusion

The responses from the different participants of the CSEP have been used to document this chapter. Some would say that the CSEP is only one of the range of Supplementary Schools. However, this study represents an attempt from within a framework of critical policy scholarship to illuminate the crises, struggles, and settlements of alternative educational provision in the form of Supplementary Schools.

Whilst the two main agencies in these conflicts and resolutions (or attempted resolutions) have been represented as the providers (the professionals in the CSEP) and the users (the students and parents), the crucial roles of other agencies (the government, the Local Educational Authorities) and interest groups has also been indicated. Mainstream schools, and political issues have featured significantly in this analysis.

The Croydon Supplementary School is still in its developmental stage, and operates within a white dominated community. There seemed to be a good support from the black community, however, the school needs to take risks of expanding and become either a full-time school or a self supporting establishment. The initial stages of this might not be easy, but it will be a road towards the school being truly autonomous. Although the school appears to have a sound constitution and curriculum programme, it seems to be at a newly formed stage. This stage is

yet to be tested as most of the students who are having 'real' educational problems in terms of class, gender and value differences, are yet to be recruited by the school.

The initiative of starting and the development of Black Supplementary Schools such as the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project has been through a series of struggles. The struggle has been an attempt to resist the racism that black children are experiencing in mainstream schools through their underachievement and under-performance, and in the stereotypical views of the teachers.

The government attempted to initiate strategies for addressing these issues but due to the government's contradictory agenda, manifested through the silence which has occurred for almost two decades, the issue has remained unchanged and black children have continued to underachieve and under-perform in their school academic work. If this had been in relation to white middle-class children, the government would have set up a 'task force' to resolve the matter. The silence that has occurred about this matter indicates the government's inactive reaction to black people.

A critical but balanced analysis of the development of Supplementary Schools cannot ignore the effect of the economic contexts and the ideological and political implications of what goes on. If the government wants to be positive, it needs to encourage and sponsor different schools to operate on a funded basis. Such sponsorship will give black Supplementary Schools the opportunity to compete on an equal footing with mainstream schools.

The idea of funding alternative provision is not new, the Anglican, the Catholic and Jewish schools tend to receive about 85 percent capitation from the government. Although there are historical reasons for this, such grants allow these voluntary schools to function effectively. Black Supplementary Schools represent a new development in the provision of voluntary education. The Croydon Supplementary Educational Project is a voluntary provision from the black community. Although it could be argued that such provision might connote 'apartheid', a

division in the educational provision, because the CSEP is not a religious organisation, however, it will be one of the ways of helping black students to get justice in the educational system.

10. CHAPTER TEN

10. i. Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter, the focus will be on a critical reflection of the materials collected during the period of this research. The first part will focus on the findings from the literature and the information gathered during the fieldwork of this study; the latter on the findings and the future of Supplementary Schools from the researcher's perspective. On reflection, the literature sources on Supplementary Schools in the U.K. have been few.

Although Coard (1971) highlighted the issues related to the schooling of black children in Britain, and Maureen Stone (1981) followed by examining the education of the Black Child, there were no earlier references to any research being conducted or writings on the Supplementary Schools in Britain.

Stone's (1981) focus was generally on the education of black children in Britain, with only part of her work making references to Black Supplementary Schools. Even fewer are the research sources on this subject. Although the Rampton Report, (1981) and the Swann Report, (1985) made reference to Supplementary Schools as a provision which West Indian groups have established as a 'direct response to the under - achievement of their children'; (Rampton Report, (1981:45), the government has yet to carry out a detailed study of this alternative educational provision.

On the other hand, emphases have been on the underachievements, the higher rate of exclusion, and the poor home background of black male students; all these tend to be negative issues, which could serve as indirect indications in terms of how mainstream schools respond to students from a Black background. These issues are marginalised; yet they could serve to alienate black students more from mainstream classrooms because some head teachers might see students as problems, and perpetrators of anti-social behaviour in the classroom (Wright,

1992b:30). Although this situation is similar to previous white working class experience in the British system of education, when the issue of colour is added (Chapter Two), black children become even further removed from the centre to the periphery of the British Education system. The experience of 'ending up at the head teacher's door for punishment', as expressed by one of the six years old in the CSEP, accentuates this. Such an example illustrates the distinction between some mainstream teachers' response to black student behaviour and that of the Caucasian students. It is a situation that stigmatises black children as 'disruptive' even though others, non-Black, were found to behave in the same way in the class (Wright, 1992b:39); this raises questions about institutionalised racism.

Most of the research studies, Dacosta, (1988), Dove, (1993), Jones, (1986), Reay and Mirza, (1997) and Stone (1981), have been located around London Boroughs. The reasons are that the schools and the researchers are located in these areas and the researchers operate on limited funds, mostly self-financed apart from Stone (1981); and are done on a part time basis. Although there is no difference in the location, this study is being conducted by a researcher who is a Nigerian, one who is not from the Caribbean community, which most of the previous researchers belong to. In this sense, the work was done by an 'outsider', who, by his being from one the African countries, was never the less received as a 'soul-brother' by the Croydon black community in which the study took place. Also, the study examined and extended the areas which had been researched before, by examining the literature and combining different perspectives, for example the expressions and experiences, the historical, the psychological and the sociological perspectives of racism on the one hand, whilst on the other, the study examined the development and practises of the CSEP as a community initiative among the black population in the London Borough of Croydon and some adjacent areas.

There are six principal themes which have run through this study, the first of which is that, historically, through existent power structures, both in the white dominated society and white controlled mainstream schools, black students, like their population in Britain, continued to remain at the margin of both mainstream policy and the practices of the policies in schools. It

is important in this conclusion, therefore to examine the issue of power structure in the light of this community initiative of Black Supplementary Schools provision.

10. ii. Issues of Cultural Power and Resistance

The culture of power and resistance as realized in the setting up of Supplementary Schools indicates the challenge to the status quo that exists in British mainstream society. All the people involved with the CSEP are from the Caribbean or African countries apart from the two Caucasian women who are currently teaching there. Although class issues are not being displayed as central to the provision, all the people involved see themselves as part of the oppressed group in a white, male dominated British society. On reflection, the people involved mostly see themselves as in persistent struggle to emancipate themselves from mainstream policies and practice and in resistance against the forces which subordinate black people and women in British society. Hall and Jefferson (1975), writing about such action, stated that:

The 'culture' of a group or class is peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shape in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. A culture includes the 'maps of meanings' which make things intelligible to its members. These maps of meanings are not simply carried around in their heads: they are objectivated in the pattern of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a 'social individual'. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted.

Hall and Jefferson (1975:10-11).

Although the 'class' of the people in the CSEP could be regarded as middle class (Chapter Six), in this, the perception of the class, the culture and the motivating force of the people initiating the provisions at the CSEP and other Supplementary Schools and the users of such initiatives is that of a 'powerless group' (Dacosta, 1988:402). In this instance this operates

within a context, where 'blackness is seen as normative' (Reay and Mirza (1997:447). They are in resistance and are working as a group to oppose the dominant structures to obtain greater equality and justice praxis in the CSEP and oriented towards what users, parents, helpers, staff and students felt was needed in a real life setting.

On the other hand, what went on was dictated by the users as illustrated in the demands of the parents and the work the children engaged in to have a good grounding in the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, and for all students to attain their academic full potential.

Having examined the aims and the development of the initiative in the community of the London Borough of Croydon, it was noted that the CSEP aims to provide a place in which literacy and numeracy skills would be taught to black students, the basic skills, which black parents want their children to have. There is the belief, and it has been demonstrated in the perceptions of black people in the school studied, that this does not happen adequately in mainstream schools. This provision as demonstrated in Chapter Seven, thus becomes the surface level of the deep structure of resistance, and as 'grassroots educational movements' (Stone:1981:171-173), that focus on the basic skills as a starting point. In theorising this, Maureen Stone stated that the grassroots activism of the black community is:

reminiscent of the kind of activity amongst working-class (1) Socialists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. There is no comparable contemporary, English working-class equivalent to the West Indian Saturday schools. Unable to influence the school system, the West Indian community has devised its own response ... the Saturday school.

(Stone, 1981:238).

This culture of resistance to the oppression in mainstream schools as perceived by black people is epitomised in Ianthe James', the Chairperson of the Parents Students Association, statement about her disappointment with mainstream teachers when they make a big issue out of what a black student has done (cited in the interview with her in Chapter Seven). Ianthe James is a 'successful' and highly placed individual working as a nurse in the London Borough

of Croydon and she could be classified as being middle-class. An alternative explanation for such resistance is that though many Black people are becoming successful in the mainstream system, they tend not to 'feel' to 'belong' to the system and as such are alienated and at variance with the British mainstream. The cultural - structural difference racism generates, creates a difference between a Socialist Sunday school and Black Supplementary Schools. However, it could be argued that both have sought to teach their children what they felt is not being taught elsewhere and both demonstrate local grassroots resistance of the oppressed group to the forms of education which are imposed rather than negotiated.

Similarly, and along the same line of resistance, is the desire of the students interviewed in which all of them are aspiring to become professionals such as lawyers, accountants and doctors, a position which could be interpreted as one that they perceive will liberate them from the oppression in the British mainstream. This finding in this study gives support to the finding in the Wandsworth Afro - Caribbean Association (WACA), (1995) study of the underachievement by and expulsion of black children from school in the London Borough of Wandsworth who are attending Supplementary School. In WACA., (1995) study, the respondents to the questionnaires were clear in the type of professions that they want to be when they grow up:

20% Doctors
40% Lawyers
60% Business persons, and
20% Skilled-workers.

Wandsworth Afro - Caribbean Association (WACA), (1995:22).

Although the data in these studies is not sufficient to make a generalisation, the conclusion that could be arrived at here is that the vision of the young black people in the Supplementary Schools about their future is positive and that attending such a school is perceived as a key way of overcoming their disadvantages (2).

10. iii. The culture of Success in the CSEP

The culture of success in Supplementary Schools: (as realized in the continuance and the growth of such schools) demonstrates the growing numbers of dedicated individuals working towards the improvement of the black young adult's education. The growth in the number of schools being established, although it indicates an increase in the number of users does not occur in isolation. It could be stated that the occurrence corresponds with the meeting of the users demands, i.e. that of educating black young adults. The finding in this study shows the increase of the number of students on the waiting list of the CSEP which within one year has grown from 158 to 250, a growth of about a 100 young adults. The satisfaction of those attending was demonstrated in the interviews with Kola in which he stated that coming to the CSEP helps build his 'self confidence' (see Chapter Five).

Such comments are in contrast with their experiences in mainstream schools. These indicators of success are similar to the studies which have been conducted both in the U.S.A and in the U.K. Kifano (1997:216). These studies provided parent's expressions of satisfaction as users' perception of the success being made by the Supplementary Schools. The success being made were identified to be in the 'political, moral and cultural development' as well as helping students who have been identified in mainstream schools as underachievers and as having literacy problems (cited in Chapter Five).

Although this success is attributed by this student to his attending Black Supplementary School, the finding of this study suggests a link between positive teachers' and parents' expectations for the students' work to improve. This was illustrated in the interview with Andrew Johnson, one of the Directors (cited in Chapter Five).

Although there is no quantitative data to support this, the criterion of the success of the work which the CSEP provides are the users, the students who attend the schools. This finding

supports Dacosta's (1988) study in which students claimed that they found coming to the Supplementary School:

... very useful. We learn so much here. We are lucky to be able to come here ... this is our school ... for black kids only.

Dacosta (1988:313-315).

Whilst the emphasis of the CSEP and of some students in Dacosta's (1988) study is on their success in developing students skills in Reading, Writing and Mathematics, emphasis in Kifano's (1997) study and that of Reay and Mirza (1997) is on the success of the cultural aspects being developed by the Supplementary Schools (as in the excerpts from Kifano's 1997 study cited in Chapter Seven). Although the reply produced by these students in this citation 'sounds parroting' the combination of this with the Mary McLeod Bethune Institute (MMBI), (U.S.A) philosophical maintainance of Afrocentricity in their curriculum through an exposure of students to African languages such as Swahili, Medunetcher (the language of ancient Egypt) and Yoruba provides another dimension. This dimension is supported by the work of Reay and Mirza (1997:486) in which one of the students interviewed stated that:

... the best thing about Saturday school is black studies. We learn a whole lot of things we don't get told about at Milner Primary.

Although the schools in these two studies are meeting the needs of their users, the finding in this study is in contrast to the needs presented above. The CSEP focuses on the development of the basic skills of Writing, Reading and Mathematics, however, how these are being taught relates to the black student's home experiences (examples of these will be discussed later on). The school's contribution to 'Afrocentricity' is with the displays of black personalities around the school. The presence of all black teachers, except for the two Caucasian women cannot be argued as one which is to satisfy the lack of black adults representation in mainstream schools (Gates, 1988), and the decision not to focus on black culture is not because they are afraid of

being labelled as 'teaching black power' (Tomlinson, 1984:39), but rather is a response to parental and students demand for the basic skills development in literacy and numeracy (3).

One conclusion that could be arrived at here is that the perceptions of what the 'needs' of young black adults are differ from one Supplementary School to the other, however, Supplementary Schools are perceived to be meeting the needs of the black young adult, in one form or another hence the increase in their being used by black young adults. On the other hand, it could be argued that some mainstream schools tend not to be meeting the needs of this group, hence the dissatisfactions being expressed by the students and their parents. Although attending Supplementary Schools might not be the only factor for such improvements, these schools seemed to be perceived by the users and the providers as a place providing for those young black adults' needs which are not being met in mainstream schools.

10. iv. The 'caring' culture of the CSEP

The caring ethos: (as realized in the relationships between the users and the providers) indicates a positive element in the teachers-students relationship. The philosophical emphasis of the CSEP is to provide opportunities for the holistic development of black students. The CSEP as an organisation whilst doing this, complements and supplements mainstream work. This holistic ideal is similar to the mainstream schools' theoretical orientation upheld in theory by all teachers, however, in mainstream school practice, according to the participants in the CSEP, it tends not to materialise. There are many factors that could be used to account for this. In the CSEP, although they operate for only two and a half hours a week, there is the luxury of time to spend as much time as is desired on a topic, and to use a variety of teaching styles when a student needs help, although there are also curriculum pressures, as in the mainstream school. Having an average of three teachers in an average classroom of 15, students were able to have more adult contacts, thus developing a relationship that encourages

students to participate more. This finding was substantiated in the interviews with Andrew and Kola (cited in Chapter Eight).

The conclusion that could be arrived at from such comments is that students perceived teachers in the Supplementary School as providing them with a clear boundary and as such they operate within that parameter without being 'bossed around'. This could be because they feel safe and since the teachers are considered by students as an extension of their parents, students are able to relate and trust the teachers in the CSEP more.

The finding is similar to that of Reay and Mirza (1997:489) in which the authors juxtaposed and compared the relationships in Supplementary Schools and the mainstream. According to these authors, black educators in Supplementary Schools are able to have 'strong elements of empathy, inevitable degree of identification and the desire for dialogue'. Such findings indicates a psychological support in the relationship that exists in the CSEP, a relationship which encourages students and their parents to come and be helped to do well in their school work.

Although such relationships might exist in some mainstream schools, further research will be needed to ascertain whereabouts: as in the Supplementary Schools, there is a need to quantify the effects of such relationships. Although it could be argued that race is an important factor in the structure of relationships in multicultural settings (Smith and Tomlinson, 1989:306), the indicators that make such relationships occur need to be quantified to support or disagree with the evidence in this study.

It would therefore be reasonable to arrive at one conclusion at this stage, that there is a high degree of correspondence between the aims and the practice of the CSEP: the fact that children attending develop positive attitudes to school work means, therefore, that further improvement in their achievement in schools can perhaps be anticipated.

However, there is the need to examine the achievement made by initiating Black Supplementary Schools in the light of other movements in British educational history. Other movements, especially the socialist Sunday schools, which developed in nineteenth century Scotland (Green, 1990; Steedman, 1990), with the aim of teaching educational skills to working class children, skills which were not being provided elsewhere, and a movement which remains uncharted in the official records, has similarities in the impulse and purpose. The main one was the provision at the 'local grassroots' level of a resistance to the imposed education of the dominant group on the poor. Although most parents in the Croydon area could be regarded as middle class because of the type of houses they live in, the education they have received, the number and type of cars belonging to their households, the work they do, etc., they classified themselves as relatively 'poor' in Britain and want their children to have better lives.

10. v. Community Involvement in Schooling

Community participation, as realized in the involvement of both the providers and the users, generates a new dimension in the debate about parental choice and their inclusion in the education of their children. Although the issue of schools being a microcosm of the community is not a new idea, the CSEP and other Supplementary Schools provide evidences of how the ideology and practice of whole community involvement works. However, there is a need to be cautious and to state that the nature of involvement might differ from one Supplementary School to another.

In the CSEP, parents are able to share their interests and their concerns and work with the school as much as the professionals who are concerned with the curriculum and the pedagogical issues: both parties work for the benefit of their children's education. The defining characteristics of the CSEP is that the school is generated by the community and operates with the involvement of the community to meet the educational needs of black students in Croydon.

The evidence collected during the period of this research in the Croydon Supplementary School, indicated that the parents see themselves as contributing to the school and their children as having positive attitudes towards their education. The openness, demonstrated in the philosophy of inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in the CSEP, the provision of an environment which promotes the achievement of black personalities in their display, the identification and valuing of individual's needs and well-being demonstrated in the relationship between the participants, created a shared vision and a community in which both the provider and the users participate equally for the progress of their children's education. Andrew Johnson, the ex-Director, made very many references to parents and their 100% involvement with the CSEP, (cited in Chapter Eight).

This type of relationship, which involves others and where 'power' is not an issue but is simply a question of how to best work for the benefit of the students, was supported by Tessa Carter, who holds a diploma in Social Work, and has been a Treasurer of the Parents Students Association, and currently is one of the school Secretaries, and has been involved with the CSEP for thirteen years, (cited in the interview with Tessa in Chapter Eight).

This evidence supports the findings of Reay and Mirza (1997:485) in which Supplementary Schools were found to be operating within 'the themes of activism, community and commitment.' However, there are limitations to this inclusion. Although the CSEP opens its doors to all students, including white students in the London Borough of Croydon; the school is yet to successfully include students who have been excluded from the mainstream education. The CSEP and the London Borough of Croydon were interested in the inclusion of this category of students, and according to Brenda Able, two students who were admitted into the CSEP after being excluded from the mainstream school found it hard to settle down with other students. Despite the borough funding an extra teacher to help develop this idea, it had to be abandoned (4). The conclusion from this is that although there are some limitations, there is a high degree of correspondence between the practice of the philosophy of inclusiveness and degree of well-being of the students. The participation of the children attending the CSEP

encourages further improvement in their holistic development (body, mind and spirit) and they reciprocate by giving back to the community which has included them, (cited in Mark Robertson's statement in Chapter Five). This is similar to Reay and Mirza's (1997:485-6) respondents:

The school started off in someone's front room on Saturday mornings. The parents doing all the teaching themselves to start with and it was very much focused on what was their main concern; their children not being able to read and write properly. ... They spend their spare time shovelling rubbish out of the room, ... doing building, repair work, getting groups of parents together to decorate. They pulled together and did all this work themselves, used the expertise they had to get the school on its feet. ... The black families on the estate haven't given up, they have still got their drive and their sense of community and I really like that.

Reay and Mirza's (1997:485-6).

The concept of 'giving back': (realized in the teachers and young black people wanting to come back to help 'bring up' and train younger ones after being trained and adults' contribution among the black community) indicates a high hope for the future of the education of black children. Such action denotes that of reciprocity in which there is the giver and the receiver, who in turn becomes the giver also. The practice of this was expressed by the teachers in the CSEP who see their work in the school as that of making their own contribution to the children in their community. Some of the ways the students are giving are demonstrated in their presentations as 'giving back' during their annual prizegiving evening and the older ones coming back after completing their University education to remain in touch and give back to current students.

There is no available research evidence to suggest that such action of 'coming back and giving' to one's own community is or is not happening in mainstream society. However, it could be suggested that the philosophy of seeing one's self as a contributor to the community does not correspond to the 'consumerist individualism' (Reay and Mirza, 1997:485) of the 1990s.

The conclusion from this is that it is not just the school, the parents or the students that are the only contributors to the education of the black students in the CSEP, but rather everyone is collectively pursuing a course of action which supports the individual child and their needs. Although this area needs further research to elicit which aspect of this communality affects students' participation, this theme of activism in the CSEP community initiative generates positive participation of the students as well as others involved.

10. vi. Contents and Pedagogical Culture in the CSEP

The contents and pedagogical issues: realized in the related contents and different teaching styles employed indicate the complexities that are involved in the organisation and the teaching of young adults, especially black ones, in Britain. The radical assertive, self identifying nature of the Supplementary Schools is not just in their operating after school hours, and on Saturdays, but includes what they teach and how they are being taught (5). In mainstream schools, the curriculum emphasis is dictated and directed by the National curriculum, whereas, the CSEP and other Supplementary Schools provide a 'context in which whiteness is displaced as central and blackness can be seen as normative' (Reay and Mirza 1997:487).

The contents in this context link with the first theme of resistance in the political nature of setting up Black Supplementary Schools and with the fourth theme of collective actions by the participants in educating the young adults in the Black community of the London Borough of Croydon as argued earlier on in this chapter. In this the CSEP provides a curriculum which is to meet the needs of the students in:

... the basic core of Mathematics, Reading, Writing (English), and Articulation;
... the hidden curriculum of Good Behaviour, Self Respect, Respect For Others,
Improved Concentration on subject matter and Positive Self Awareness.

The CSEP Curriculum Document (1994:1).

This type of curriculum as stated in the CSEP document is not new, however, the contents and the ways it is being taught are different to mainstream schools experience and both the providers and the users see it as helping the students to understand their work better and encouraging students, after graduating, to want to come back and give to others in the black community. The need for institutional and social support which such a curriculum generates as indicated in the studies on African American students in the U.S.A., (Allen, 1992; Davis, 1994) is akin to the innovatory curriculum of the Plowden Report (1967), and Stone (1981:138-142).

Having examined the curriculum content and how it is being practised in the CSEP, it was noted that the aims and the practices in the school are not solely dictated by the National Curriculum, their work extends the National Curriculum and presents it in the context of the everyday lives of the young black adults. The school works to meet their communal needs as well as those of individuals, and this was evident in the perspectives of both the providers and the users that the curriculum and what the school does incorporates the aspirations of black parents and is relevant to the needs of the students. These are evidenced in the continual involvement of the parents as stated earlier on in this chapter, and in the perspectives provided by the providers and the users of the CSEP during the field study.

The curriculum content in the CSEP has evolved from various discussions and consultation; and has been formally agreed by a curriculum development committee made up of the Directors, two section leaders, two teachers and two parents. A committee that determines what the parents' interests in the curriculum are (Chapter Seven), could be concluded to have emerged from a collaborative and cooperative effort between the organisers and the parents of students. The CSEP, also, whilst using materials related to the students' background such as newspapers, books and so on, keeps the focus on the students' development of skills in Reading, Writing and Mathematics.

The content of the curriculum in the CSEP, therefore, is one which the providers and the users of the CSEP believe will enable students to become proficient in literacy and numeracy skills and develop autonomy that will help them in mainstream schools. This finding is contrary to the findings of Kifano (1997:212) and Reay and Mirza (1997:490). The providers of the Supplementary School in Reay and Mirza's (1997) study 'would like to give more time to Black studies' whilst parents want the school 'to concentrate on the basics'. Although this is a conflict, it identifies the variations that providers of Supplementary Schools see as the 'needs' of their students. The view of this study is that there needs to a careful consideration in devising an appropriate curriculum. It should be one in which students' needs are met yet should be for the holistic development of the individual and for their full participation in the life of the community in Britain as Black individuals.

In this light, teachers see the student as their client and tailor the classroom strategies to the needs of the different students. Different learning styles such as the progressive pedagogy (Bernstein, 1971:60), in which learning is centred around student's needs, and formal teaching in which the boundaries are tighter and the mode of transmitting curriculum materials is more defined were drawn upon by the teachers in the CSEP. The learning styles used aim at making the work being done interesting to the students and with an emphasis on the acquisition of primary and higher orders of thinking based on the everyday life of the students (cited in the classroom discussion between a teacher and a student in Chapter Seven).

Although the parents in Stone's (1981:97) research favoured the whole class approach styles of teaching because of their own experience of schooling in the Caribbeans, parents in the CSEP were 'convinced' and 'entrusted' what their children were doing to the teachers as professionals, who are seen to be working for the benefit of their children. Conversely, the parents interviewed expressed their mistrust of the teachers from the mainstream school as not challenging their children enough. (cited in the interview with Ianthe, the Chairperson of Parents Students Association in Chapter Seven).

Also, the students were in favour of the Supplementary School as a place that encourages them and works with them to achieve their aspirations; the consequence of this is that classroom management, effective teaching and the training of teachers, and teachers' attitudes with their suitability for teaching of students from diverse racial/ethnic background needs to be examined in a further investigation.

It would, therefore, be reasonable to arrive at one conclusion here, that there is a high degree of correspondence between the individual needs and the aspiration of the students on the one hand, and on the other, the teaching styles being used encourage high level of student participation in the school. Teachers' attitudes and motivation in the CSEP have a high degree of correspondence with the attitude of students towards their work and attendance at the school. Although it is not possible for this research to suggest the Supplementary School as the causal link between their good behaviour and the increase in their level of confidence, having a relevant curriculum that engages with and meets students' needs appears to correspond with the objective of setting up the CSEP. Such a link could only be established through further research. However, students in the CSEP perceived their interest as being met, thus generating a sense of satisfaction and self-fulfilment. The low teacher/student ratio gives opportunities for the teachers to have time for selecting what is relevant, organising, pacing and timing what the students are to learn.

The lower exclusion rate of only one or two students in the history of the CSEP could be as a result of such support as found in the CSEP classroom and organisational practice. The consequences of this could be that it is not in excluding black students and that of promoting a limited notion of culture as practiced in the 'Samosa, Sari and Steelband' type of multi-racial education which is the way forward, but of teachers getting to 'differentiate' work and strategies through knowing their students. The work set should be challenging enough to occupy the students and not one in which they become bored through the lack of challenge. The curriculum that encourages self-realization is not one of examining oneself and 'digging' into one's past, but that of the individual knowing, improving and using their own potential to

manipulate their life to attain the best without the wasting of energies. In the CSEP, there is no direct study of African Caribbean cultural practices, rather emphasis is on the development of literacy and numeracy skills and students were found to be fully engaged in their work.

10. vii. Leadership and Gender Culture in the CSEP

The leadership and gender culture (realized in the gender composition of the providers) indicates a cooperative system that allows the contribution of all the participants. The findings of this research show that there is high representation of female teachers in the CSEP. The ratio of 3 female to 1 male in this findings is found to be higher than the national picture in which it was 2 female to 1 male teacher. However, a further breakdown of the national trends show that more than four out of five nursery and primary teachers in the United Kingdom in 1994/95 were female; the ratio of gender balance in secondary schools is 5 female to 4.9 male teachers (Social Trends, 1997:60). Although a similar picture of the over-representation of female teachers in the classrooms of Supplementary Schools was documented by Reay and Mirza, (1997:482), the emphasis by the Coordinator of one of the schools is that:

It's mainly women who are the ones who are involved in education in this country. Within the African-Caribbean community it tends to be mainly women. In my family that was the case and at Colibri it was mainly women who came and that was fine. Obviously, there were a few fathers who were involved and there were a couple of men who were on the committee but it was mainly women.

Reay and Mirza, (1997:482).

This finding by Reay and Mirza (1997) does not correspond with the findings in this study. Though the female gender was more represented than male in the number of staff in the CSEP, both genders were found to be very committed. The rotational method being used for the appointment of assistant directors, and the democratic practice of 'getting everyone involved' (Chapter 8) in which an attempt is made to seek everyone's opinion and arrive at common goals that satisfy the needs of black professionals, volunteers, parents and students,

provides everyone the opportunities to contribute regardless of gender. The commitment was not just from female teachers, but from male ones, (as cited in the interview with Tessa Carter, the Secretary in Chapter Nine.)

Tessa's statement about commitment encapsulates not just the commitment of all as stated by different participants interviewed, but one which links the activities of the CSEP to the social context in which it operates. There are also in the statement, powerful resonances which echo the mission statement of the CSEP of black people taking responsibilities to improve the education and well being of black students and make life better for them, better than black people had in the earlier years of being in Britain. Although the evidence in this study is from a small sample, it provides some indicators which could be investigated further in future study of Supplementary Schools.

10. viii. Separationist Culture and the CSEP

The separationist culture realized in the advocacy for the setting up and managing of 'all black' African-centred schools indicates a new movement in the history of education of black students in Britain. The findings of this research indicates that the management and those involved in the using and in the running of the CSEP are more interested in the students' development and becoming proficient in literacy and numeracy. The issue of promoting one culture over another as a form of educating the students attending the CSEP is not perceived as a priority. However, the CSEP welcomes qualified black teachers to be involved in the education of the students. The separationist idea needs to be analysed with caution.

This blackness as normative in the Supplementary being organised by West Indians has made some black writers such as Dove (1993) and Sefa Dei, (1995) to advocate along separationists line for fulltime black school as an alternative to mainstream schooling for black students. Although there might be the practicalities of attracting enough students, there are some

fundamental issues to be considered. Presently, the only all black full-time school in Britain is the John Loughborough Seventh Day Adventist School in Haringey. The fundamental binding factor for the establishment of such a school, similar and in line with other religious schools such as those belonging to the Church of England and the Catholic mission, is to 'provide a service which is truly civic and apostolic' for the children of their members. (Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1997:25).

The main thrust of Dove's (1993) argument is that all black schools will serve to resist racism and will provide a context in which there will be the 'focus on cultural affirmation through an African-centred perspective for gaining educational skills and knowledge' (Dove, 1993:445). Although Dove's argument seems plausible, it seems to be rooted in a negative contextual background. Although racism exists in mainstream schools in Britain, it does not confine racism to schools. School is just an aspect of the community into which black students like any other students will need to learn to relate with others. There are two main issues in Dove's argument, i.e. the issues of racism and that of cultural affirmations for black students.

Racism tends not to be experienced in the same way and the expression and experience of racism differs from one community to another; also how it is experienced sometimes depends on the geographical location of where the group are living. (Makinde, 1994). In Croydon, there is the presence of a Black Anglican Bishop and until recently a Black Director of Education and the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project receives the LEA grants, which many Supplementary Schools do not enjoy. Establishing a school primarily to counteract racism might therefore not be appropriate as there are too many differences and might divert the focus of attention from that of educating black students.

On the second issue of African-centredness, the providers and users of the CSEP received me as a 'soul brother', not because they want to know about and accept my Yoruba-Nigerian culture as 'the culture' for black people, but as a black person. Rather than linking me to them it served to differentiate me from them and I was referred to by them as the 'cultured-man'

(Brenda Able's comment on the researcher's analysis of the respondents' interviews at the CSEP). The issue of African-centredness in Dove (1993) and Sefa Dei, (1995) seems too simplistic. Their work appears to be portraying Africa from an Euro-centric perspective, with one culture, one language, a group of people belonging to a race, just because the people are from the same continent - Africa. An analysis of this must take into consideration the pre-colonial Africa.

Africa is a continent with diverse culture, language, history and tradition. An example of this could be reflected in Nigeria alone with over two hundred languages spreading across its borders into the neighbouring countries. Although some of the languages are spoken by a few thousand, some are being spoken by over ten million and have long term history to go with it. These different groups have within them different religions and traditions which are quite different from one to the other. In such instance, which part of the culture or tradition will be promoted in an African-centred school without the other being left out? In which of these cultural backgrounds will a student belong for example whose grandfather is from a Yoruba kingdom in the Republic of Benin and whose grandmother is English, and who is born to a father from a relationship with a Danish mother? This is not an imaginary example, it is one of the students attending another Supplementary School in the London area. Although one could assume that because the student had a bit of Yoruba blood in him then he is a Nigerian. Although official statistics such as the Census might classify such a student as Black, it is an assumption that might not be able to withstand the rigour of any analytical scrutiny. How this could be resolved is to educate the student to respect all and develop a global culture belonging to world citizenship. Such education could enable an individual see her/himself beyond race issue and adopt a more global view to her/his education in Britain.

The study, therefore, agrees with Andrew and other organisers of the CSEP who perceived themselves as part of British society and that the way forward is not in creating another apartheid but in equipping black students to be able to participate fully and be included in everyday mainstream living in Britain. If black community should set up all black full-time

school, the exclusion of black student would not be from the mainstream education, which tends to fail and uses exclusion as a response, but a segregation which has been created by the black communities themselves. The alternative world vision can only be created for black students like any other students by including them, not by excluding them.

10. ix. Recommendations

The implications of the findings in the present study are of practical interest to educators and others concerned with the education of black students in Britain. The findings here suggest six areas for further research. First, the relation between young black adults attending Supplementary Schools such as the one in the London Borough of Croydon and their achievement in mainstream education needs to be examined through quantitative studies. There needs to be an examination of the correlation between this and the success and failures of Supplementary Schools. In this, there is still a lot to be learnt about why some Supplementary Schools, such as the CSEP, succeed and others fail. Such studies will generate more interest and provide data for testing the qualitative results of this study.

The second recommendation is that the problems facing black children's education are the problems of mainstream schools, families and communities, and these require critical action from research. There needs to be more understanding of the interactions that are taking place between the providers and the users of these Supplementary Schools, a result of which will assist mainstream schools to understand black youths' culture and the approaches to be taken by the school, families and the community.

Thirdly, the CSEP and other Supplementary Schools as community schools have the support of black parents. The type of communication process that enables these Supplementary Schools to succeed in the provision of their range of services to the black community needs more understanding. Home - school collaboration models that offer a range of services to both

children and adults and which promote a sense of responsibility and ownership among members of a school community should be studied and implemented.

The CSEP focus is on Reading, the writing of English and Mathematics, and the children see this as beneficial to them. The provision in the CSEP offers intensive instruction in these areas. Therefore, fourthly, there needs to be instructional reform through an implementation that has emphasis on meaningful and contextual presentation of the materials in these areas and ways of exchanging ideas with mainstream schools. This could come through more study of how these Supplementary Schools succeed where mainstream schools have failed and have to continue excluding black children.

The fifth issue which has arisen from this study is the relationship between the teachers in the Supplementary Schools and their students. Black male students tend to be seen as problems by policy makers and mainstream school teachers (6). Some questions that this study raises include the suitability of teachers in schools, and the type of training they receive to teach in multi-racial schools. Black students in the CSEP are relating well to their teachers in this school. There needs to be more study to find out if there is a correlation between the teachers' attitude and perception of the students and their performance. Results from this will affect the type of individuals who are selected and the type of training they will need to 'succeed' in educating black children.

Although future research must be directed toward developing approaches that might provide guidelines for facilitating 'better' mainstream schools in which black students are attended to as individuals and not as a group, the Supplementary Schools, also need further development.

In the Supplementary School itself, and as was suggested by the providers and parents, more studies are needed in the area of funding. The sixth recommendation is for an examination of the advantages and disadvantages of Supplementary Schools becoming self-sufficient, or becoming fulltime schools in a white dominated Britain. Although many writers like Dove,

(1993) and WACA, (1995:3) have advocated fulltime black schools, this might not be possible in the present geographical distribution of black children and the limited contribution available from the black middle class and professionals. Black children live in communities which are historically dominated by white people and education needs to be a tool for racial harmony and not for creating separation. However, more funding will enable the Supplementary Schools to generate their own resources which could include internal professional training. This could possibly be developed in conjunction with places such as the Institute of Education in London, Cambridge and other universities, for monitoring and certification. In effect, Supplementary Schools, if developed properly, could also become training grounds for the teachers from mainstream schools. In this way black people would be included in the education system. Black people, especially the young adults, are part of the British community, and need to be included not excluded and including them needs to involve the contribution and the cooperation of the community in the form of Black Community Schools.

10. x. Conclusion

This chapter started as a concluding chapter to the analysis and as a reflection on the findings of both the literature surveyed and of the data collected during the period of the research. It was highlighted that there is a dearth of materials available in this field. The initial part of this research focused and contributed to the knowledge and understanding of the concern that the black community are having about the education of their children and how they have turned to alternative (Supplementary School) provisions to enrich their children's education. It has also contributed to the knowledge and understanding on the historical development of these provisions, within the contexts of the community in which they existed and on how the experiences differ from one school to another. The main body of the data collected focuses on a more positive note with the main aim being to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the development of Supplementary Schools in

Britain. In the analysis of the body of data collected through a qualitative approach to research data collection, therefore, this research focuses and provides evidence on the management, the organisation and the curriculum of the Croydon Supplementary Educational Project. A triangulation of the responses from the students and their parents as the users, and the Directors and the teachers as the providers in the black community, provides what could be regarded as rich 'knitted patterned' materials. The materials suggest that Black Supplementary Schools are succeeding in providing skills that black students need for success in the mainstream education. The material collected is more recent than any other in this field, and this provided the knitted patterned materials for an analysis of the perspectives of the participants. The comments further made by the participants on the analysis of the researcher provides what Rowan (1981:105) described as 'recursive validity of a cumulative nature'. Thus, their perceptions could be regarded as authentic and could therefore be suggested to have contributed new knowledge into this area of study. The latter part of this chapter extends the analysis of the data collected by making recommendations on the areas that could be further examined for further insights into what goes on in Black Community Supplementary Schools and the implication of these for the teaching of black students in mainstream schools. The inclusive nature of the BSS appears to have valued and accommodated black students' participation more than the mainstream system is doing currently. The suggestion here is that the mainstream schools need to 'visit these school to see at first hand the work being done' Rampton (1981:45). Such an approach will indicate a positive and constructive move by the mainstream to working together with the Supplementary Schools.

10. xi. Personal Reflection

This research began as a response to the challenge posed by the comment of the head teacher of the school where the researcher teaches when it was stated that he 'should go and look after the interest of black people' in an almost all white school. The outcome of this work has come

through a determination and it indicates that black people need not dwell on the negative aspects of racism but rather should let it energise them to action and to make their position better in Britain. Working on this research has been a rewarding learning experience for me as an individual. It has enabled me to extend my own knowledge on the contributions that the black communities are making in the United Kingdom in education and has enabled me to have more insight into the notion of community amongst black people. Although this project is the work of the researcher, a good relationship developed between the community and the researcher. In this the researcher learnt to contribute as well as receive the contribution of others.

The contribution from others has enriched and made the whole project become a community initiative in which people from different geographical areas of the world and varied socio-economic backgrounds were able to contribute their perceptions. Thus the decision to use ethnographic methodology proved a right one, because it enabled all the participants to present their perceptions, whilst the researcher assisted them in creating meanings from their contributions. The opportunity to be able to have personal encounters with the experience and encounter of both the providers and the users; and the opportunity for these participants to validate what has been written about the encounters makes this research unique and thus the research does not hang the predicative explanation of the participants at the CSEP. In this the explanations provided in this research are the contribution of collaborative work between the researcher and the participants. In this research, the participants became co-researcher and were able to take 'devil's advocate' role by making themselves available for challenging, disagreeing, picking holes and confronting the researcher during the period of this research. Another development that took place in the life of the school during the period of this research is that the research motivated the Director, Cynthia Graham, to carry out a survey of their work. This is a self-assessment exercise, the result of which is yet to be made public. However, the indication from the analysis of the materials collected during the period of this research is that Black Supplementary Schooling is working for the academic and personal progress of black students in Britain.

On a more personal note, working on this research has extended and enriched the researcher's experience as an individual and the skills learnt has whetted his appetite and equipped him to want to assist others and himself to participate in further research. Although the researcher has been called upon by different Boroughs to help with developing Supplementary Schools and to take up other advisory roles, he now sees his role beyond teaching in one mainstream school but that of going into a Teacher Training institution, where he will be able to combine both teaching and research work, and be of wider use to the community. Also, the contribution of this research indicates the role that research could play in learning and teaching, and the role of Supplementary Schools in affirming ethnicity and identity and in promoting black students' achievement.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. All the participants in this study accepted and gave their self description as 'black'. However, there is the need to point out that some ethnic minorities, especially some of those from Asian communities, tend not use 'black' as their descriptor. They tend to use a more inclusive term 'black and ethnic minority' when giving a general description.

Definition of black is not universal. In government statistics, being black was described as being from the Caribbean, Africa and black people of non-mixed origin. (Social Trend No. 24, 1994:52). The British born Black people are the children of Black people from different parts of the world. They are British by the virtue that they are born in Britain. The definition changed in 1980. In this new definition to be a British born, a child must have a parent who is of British descent. In this thesis, a black person will be regarded as one who can trace her/his descendants back to Africa.

2. Educational Sub-Normal Special schools (ESN-M) in Britain are 'institutionalised forms of special education' of the 1960s and 1970s. Statutory categories were phased out under the 1981 Education Act which came into effect in 1983. Children who used to be referred to these schools are now being attended to in the main-stream schools under 'Special Educational Needs' provision. Although statutorily this division has been abolished, in every day occurrences African Caribbean students are being segregated through streaming and the tier systems in operation in both the school classroom structure and the examination bodies.
3. 'Bussed' and 'Banded' was introduced in Britain in the late 1960s and 1970s. In this when a LEA feels that there is a large percentage of black children in a catchment area, they are moved on to an adjacent one. This was abolished in the early 1980s. Banding is the grouping of children into different abilities. However, it could be argued that the tier system introduced with the School Curriculum Assessment Agency (SCAA) is a form of banding. The only difference is that it now affects both white and black students who tend to be mostly from black and working class backgrounds. The leopard, in the form of Education Reform Act 'ERA'; the Standard Attainment Tests (used to group children into different ability of 'High', 'Intermediate' and 'Low' abilities with the removal of the intermediate in 1998 GCSE examinations and the newly developed assessment agency - Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA), has merely changed its skin. Once placed in these categories children hardly cross the threshold of differing abilities. This seems to be against the official requirement that calls for an annual review of any statemented child. Officially review takes place, but children affected hardly change from the category that s/he has been placed.
4. The Office for Standard in Education (OFSTED) : A monitoring unit formed by the Government after 1992/93 restructures of Department For Education.

The posts of Inspectors were scrapped. Mostly the inspection of schools is now being carried out by agencies constituted by ex-inspectors who have now formed their own Private Inspection Companies.

5. Black people have been in contact with the Europeans during the last 300-400 years, but the migration and the settling of large numbers of black people in Britain began in the early 1950s when British industries needed cheap labour. (See Solomos et. al, 1982 in *The Empire Strikes Back, -The organic crisis of British Capitalism and Race: The experience of the Seventies.*)
6. 'Human nature', philosophy, using one's own 'instincts' and looking after one's 'own kind' are all ideas of the 'New Right' in British Politics. The new right tends to be mostly associated with people from the Conservative Party. They have a political tendency of drawing on old ideas of the Whites superiority and the Black inferiority, and presenting this in a new context mostly through the media. The thrust of many of their arguments tends to be that if Britain is to retain her place within the world economy then it has to maintain the 'Britishness'. Policies are presented in a kind of code, thus hiding the true agenda. This type of code has been referred to as new racism. It has patriotism as the basis for this ideology and the maintainance of 'pure' English 'blood' in the veins of its people. Black communities tend to feel that there is a lack of acknowledging them and a lack of regard even though they fought and died alongside white soldiers under the Union Jack during second World War. The first group of 'West Indians' who came in the 1940s and 1950 and many even in the 1990s saw Britain as 'home', however the type of welcome they received made it otherwise for them.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. This conclusion was subsequently echoed by the full report (Swann, 1985:63).
2. The development of Racism was explored through the historical, psychological and sociological literature from which the common trend is that the negative value being placed on black people is because of their colour; a value that regards and makes blacks feel inferior consequently makes the whites superior. Also the review of these literatures was able to indicate how this negative value has been used to exploit the human and land resources of the blacks since their contacts with the whites. It was argued that though many changes have occurred in the nature of the ways in which racism is manifested, the underlying trends still continue even in the modern relations between black and white people, i.e. white people tend to blame the black people for all the ills in the British society and see the black people through the colonial mentality of negativity.
3. The 'us' and 'them' situation is well documented in Miles (1982). It is the racist description of non-western culture, in which they are seen and described as the 'other'. In these negative values tend to be ascribed to the non-western culture and on the other hand every good thing is from western culture.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Unfortunately, the majority of evidence of such improvement in the educational performance/success of black students who have attended Supplementary Education Schemes is largely anecdotal (e.g. Sharron 'Night School', TES. 1984). As yet there is no formal research of this phenomenon available.
2. To be an underclass puts black people below the working class, the lowest group in the class system being used to classify people in Britain. In this black people become the poor of the poorest group.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Ethnography tends to be applied to any form of qualitative research, but in this research I would try to retain the distinction between ethnography and the more generic notion of qualitative research.
2. Some sociologists may prefer the term 'constructionism', in order to distance themselves from past traditions which focus solely upon the role played by cognitive schemata in generating individual differences in perception and interpretation. Within sociology, the term constructionism tends to be associated specifically with Berger and Luckman's (1967) thesis on the social construction of reality. Latterly, the term social constructivism is preferred by those sociologists who advocate the 'strong programme in sociology of knowledge' (see Woolgar, 1988). Here the primary concern is to challenge the idea that social processes function merely to bias scientists' attempt to accurately represent reality (the so-called 'weak programme'), in favour of the view that the social activities of scientists necessarily constitute the objects of knowledge.
3. Gaining access to the first school was through personal recommendation from one of the teachers of the school. Possibly knowing teachers from the other schools would have helped secure easy access. With limited time and resources available to the researcher, having more than one school would have been an arduous task to accomplish. Also, having an official letter of introduction from a recognised funding agency might have swayed their decision as the letter from my supervisor did help get interviews from some people within the black community.
4. There were two schools originally at the beginning of this study. One from Finsbury Park and the other from Croydon. However, the third school around Camden was introduced to the author of this study by a member of the NUT during a conversation on the subject matter of this study during the 1996 National Union of Teachers - Black Teachers' Conference.

During the 1996 NUT Black Teachers' Conference in London and the 1997 one at Stoke Rochford Hall the researcher made an appeal to those involved with BSSs to provide him with the details of their schools. Only a few people came forward. This request was followed by writing in the 'Teacher' (NUT Journal)

with the view of starting a national register for black teachers. It has taken two years to collect twenty nine names, despite making appeals twice. By 1997, the Equal Opportunity Unit of the NUT and three other Teachers' Union have shown some interest in this and are helping to circulate the registration form to all black teachers in their union. During one of these Black Teachers' conferences the researcher was quoted by the 'Teacher' because 'the system needs to be overhauled and reworked (and) ... stop blaming the child' (September/October 1997:6)

5. Donations from parents at the George Padimore school in Finsbury Park is 50 pence per child per attendance which is about £5 for a ten week term. With only 16 children paying, this provides them with £80 a term. This is being augmented by the teacher's free-will donations and some children were allowed to bring their own drinks. Some of these children only brought water which might be an indication of the level of poverty of their home background as they are all except two from unemployed families. This school folded during the time of this research, which according to the organisers was due to the dwindling number of children in attendance. The focus in this first school was in direct contrast with the other two. They were culturally oriented in this school (e.g. organising children to participate in the annual Notting Hill Carnival events and their curriculum was geared towards educating children about how racist the society is whilst at the same time presenting black personality figures such as George Padimore, Malcolm X., and Kwame Nkrumah as the champions of black resistance. Whereas in the other two schools, though there is a display of the photographs of these black figures, their focus was on getting the children through their academic work whilst being taught by mostly black teachers. This is an experience which rarely occurs for the children at the mainstream school. The dichotomy between these presents some of the complexities of the existing schools.

Parental financial contribution helps the schools in different ways. In the Finsbury Park one, it was used for paying the rent of the Youth club building they use on Saturday mornings and to buy refreshments for the children. Whereas the one in Croydon used the contributions collected from the parents to pay other bills e.g. buying textbooks, exercise books and other stationery.

6. Note making was done in different ways, however sitting in the car park was found useful. It took me away from the participants and the information collected are still fresh.
7. Despite all the contribution made by the researcher, the school finally closed two years later. The providers were unable to provide the researcher the reason why they had to close. However I later learnt from other sources that the numbers of students attending dropped to just five and there were six adult helpers. Some schools around Birmingham have similar numbers of students and still remained open.
8. The collection and the use of data from various sources tends to help minimise inaccuracies of data. When this is done, it tends to help make the data be

authentic. They will either confirm and strengthen one another, or they could be used to refute the claims made.

9. The identity of the researcher is not concealed as he speaks English in his broad Yoruba - Nigerian accent. Some of the people were able to ask immediately after meeting which part of Nigeria the researcher is from and for others it became a way of introducing myself to them rather than as a researcher. The researcher later learnt during his post fieldstudy visit to the school that children were referring to him as the 'cultured man'.
10. This was done after obtaining the list of the participants present at one of the National Association of Supplementary Schools (NASS) meetings. The list reflected only those in the London area. Further attempts were made to collect a list that reflects a national location through the locals and through many teachers' professional Unions. List of cities where supplementary schools exist is documented in Appendix Three. Although there is the National Association of Supplementary Schools (NASS), the list is outdated as some of them are no longer in existence when the researcher tried to make contact with them. The list in Appendix Three was collected through various sources like asking any black person that the researcher came in contact with during conferences -the NUT Black Teachers and Equal Opportunities, carnivals, and other meetings. The experience during this was that many black people were reluctant to give the details of the schools that they know because of 'funding' and that if the white population know about the funding, that might make it difficult to have continuous sources for funding.

CHAPTER FIVE.

1. **Directors:** At the beginning of this study there was one Director and three assistant Directors. The director oversees the day to day running of the project. There is one assistant director in charge of the primary section and the other in charge of secondary. The third director is in charge of the staff. This seems an over the top use of resources on the one hand whilst on the other it is a way of retaining those who are already in positions of responsibility in the mainstream school. One of the directors is the Head of Mathematics in a comprehensive school. Another is a head of Year group in another school in Croydon and the other is the head of a special needs unit in a comprehensive school.
2. The argument for teaching black history is put forward as one which is to create a balance in the Euro-centric curriculum currently in operation. In such a situation, the proponents of this argument emphasise what they 'feel' European history has omitted about black people, e.g. the 'pillaging of the economy and human resources of African countries'. One could argue that without the cooperation of some of the African rulers, this could not have been possible. This is an argument that tends not to be included. Although black people need to be involved in the writing of history, what this author will advocate is that history should be based on facts of what happened and leave room for students to draw their own conclusions.

3. The only difference between a black individual and a white person is biological, i.e. the pigmentation of their skin colour. To be British at heart means that the students have grown up in the same country and have been exposed to the same culture especially that of the media.
4. The project employs the qualified teachers. All teaching staff except one are qualified teachers. During the study the one who is not a qualified teacher obtained her Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) to teach in secondary school. Also one has a post-16 certificate.
5. There are 150 students currently on the CSEP register. The background of these children cannot be located in any of the official social classification because of the ways the family backgrounds are. Some of their parents have been to the University and are now in professional vocations that takes them away a lot (see notes 11, on parents) whereas, these children now live with their grandparents. These grandparents owned detached houses in some of the popular housing estates around the London Borough of Croydon, yet they do not see themselves as middle-class. Out of these 150 students 98% are from African Caribbean background and the remaining 2% are from Asian background.
6. Racism as a word that is rarely used. This was possibly because the people around are all black except two white teachers. As such there is no need to emphasise this because of the assumption that they are all sufferers and are in the same boat. Whenever it was mentioned, it seemed to be mentioned in an apologetic way and usually with 'I don't mean to be hard' or 'I am sorry to be mentioning this'.

Also this word was hardly used by any of the directors. Even when mentioned it was quickly dismissed as not wanting to talk about it, as in the interview with Patricia McCarthy, 'When we talk about black, we are talking about racism and I don't really want to go into that', or are referred to as 'institutionalised racism' thus removing the impact of the individual on this as in the interview with Yvonne Bailey. So this is the way that we could see institutionalised racism at work because the teachers are not showing their commitment and the children are not achieving as they could do. Black people need to be comfortable to discuss issues that are affecting them and their children. Stating that there is racism in a relationship does not mean that people from other ethnic groups are racist. It is just a way of making what is occurring concrete. Such open acknowledgement could possibly be the beginning of finding a solution to the problem.

7. Progressive formally meant maximise in numbers: now it could stand for well intentioned or knowingly subjective in terms of control. In this use Pat McCarthy seems to mean parents who reject the traditional definition of their children as underachieving at the mainstream school.
8. All those attending, both staff and pupils, are very keen and are dedicated to the values of succeeding in the community in which they live. However, there are hundreds of young adults in Croydon who are not attending the project. A reason for this could be because the project recruits pupils by word of mouth, i.e. through

those who have benefited from the project. There is the need to have a recruitment drive amongst this 'untouched group' as these may be the ones who are not doing well in the mainstream school and their parents might not be interested in their education or might not know the way out of their poor performances at school.

9. Hidden curriculum more important than exam success. There are various values that were found to be present in the CSEP. They range from that of giving respect to others, that of developing self-disciplined study habits and work ethics. These were not documented in any of their work. Although they are values which could also be found in the mainstream school, the present relationship between the mainstream school and black students seems not to be encouraging this. It tends to be mostly confrontational.
10. Vernon's response was that he had to attend further education in order to teach in Britain. According to him, he stated 'I took an Open University Degree. Having come to England, the system in which a lot of black people from the Caribbean were said to be underachieving, I knew that it was possible for black people to achieve because when I came to this country (UK) I did much better than the majority of the locals - business populations. I was very qualified because I did some courses back at home. Anyway, I took this degree and I wanted to go into teaching, so I did a PGCE in Education.'

This was similar to the researcher's own experience, he came as an experienced teacher, with a B.Ed. degree and was a headteacher and yet had to go for further training by doing PGCE before he could teach in Britain.

11. 10 parents were interviewed, 7 of which were born in Britain and the 3 others are born in the Caribbean. They seem to have the same value being put on education and they all want their children to do well in their school work. Their age is between late 30s and late 50s. They were mostly professionals as teachers, Engineers, Accountants, Building contractors, and so on. They all owned their cars, and the majority of the cars they used in bringing their children to school as seen by the researcher were relatively new with the latest registration numbers. Yet these parents regarded themselves as working class. This could be that they want to appear humble, or it could be that it is the reality as they see themselves within the structures of the British system - see Rex (1986).
12. 10 interviews were carried out with the students selected from the following groups:
 1. Pre G.C.S.E classes Ages 4-13 (8 with 3 interviews)
 2. G.C.S.E classes Ages 14-16 (10 with 6 interviews)
 3. Post G.C.S.E classes. Ages 17-19 (2 with 1 interview)

Twenty names were randomly selected from the registers and then given to the Yvonne Bailey, the Deputy Director, who assisted in arranging for the students to be called out of their classes. Some of the students didn't want to come alone, as such were seen as couples. This possibly was because they have not met the researcher before. I later learnt from one of the parents during an informal conversation that she has warned her children not to see any adult when not with

other children.

13. Students seem to be taking up the offer of attending because their parents are paying. I wondered if they will do the same if it is free. Mainstream education is free in the U.K. In Nigeria, where students' parents had to pay for their education beyond primary school, students tend to take their studies seriously and they want to do well. Could it therefore, be argued that payment of fees will make students to be more responsive to their school work.
14. One of the strengths of the CSEP is that the teachers teaching in it are the same teachers that the students have in the mainstream school in Croydon. This could be stated as providing some form of continuity.
15. Although the majority of the students do attend punctually to receive additional help, Brenda commented that, 'A very few older ones do truant or come very late'. This could become an issue if not addressed. Tessa, the Secretary, seemed to be managing this well, she was seen interviewing the students that came late and documenting their lateness during the fieldwork. Teachers were seen to be prompt and punctual in their attendance. thus it could be argued that they were positive role model for the students. On the role-model issue, having a role model is 'normal' for every growing child, so why are we emphasising this for black children as if it is a novelty. It is important because there were more black adults in the CSEP than you would have in any mainstream school. Thus these adults become a concrete model of these values such as punctuality, work ethics, etc., for black students.
16. Majority of the students attending the CSEP want to do their school work and are hardly with any 'special' difficulties. Although Brenda as staff at the support unit in Croydon stated that the deaf and Educationally Behavioural and Druptive (EBD) students are hard to accommodate in these circumstances because they need specialists' assistance, there is a need for the CSEP to invest in this area to see the possibilities of working with such students.
17. Brenda commenting on this chapter stated the necessity of having parental support. She stated that without the involvement of the parents, that is without their moral and financial support, for example organising barbecues, the school could not function.

CHAPTER SIX.

1. The dynamics of the relationship within the CSEP seems positive and people there are closely knit together. This appears to be different when compared to the mainstream one as in the remarks made by Brenda on this Chapter. Brenda's experience as a Caucasian teacher who is involved with the two establishments is that secondary mainstream white male teachers in the mainstream are the most hostile to female non-white teachers and tell filthy jokes openly. There are no Black/Asian male teachers present. In Advanced and Further Education there may be a subject room or common room. Since she does part time, she said that she

couldn't comment more on this. Such could cause the feeling of isolation in an individual who does not have self-confidence. However, there is the need to state that each school has its own staffroom atmosphere and the stress in the teaching profession could also be one of the contributing factor to the negative atmosphere in a school. The NUT and NASWUT are currently negotiating with the government in 1998 for a reduction in the workload of teachers and the bureaucracy in the system.

2. Home backgrounds of the 10 pupils interviewed have a positive motivation towards how they are treated in the CSEP. Their parents have benefited from education and are working successfully in Britain. This could have been the factor which assisted the students to be positive in coming to the CSEP. See Chapter Five notes 5 and 11 for further clarification.
3. There was no written evidence available to demonstrate this. Yvonne, one of the Directors told me that they are planning to start this as part of their next developmental phase. This is necessary, they need written evidence to support their claim that students' work is improving.
4. This is like some private schools with limited entries and families are guaranteed a place on a first come first served basis. In order to meet this criteria, parents place their child's name as soon as the child is born.
5. Treating and making an individual feel as the only one having a problem could make people feel less confident, whereas the more success an individual has, it could affect the level of their confidence and make them want to try new ventures in daily life.
6. Some other people have been involved like these two Caucasian teachers, Brenda and Pat and have now left. The strength of the CSEP could be argued to be the inclusiveness of the people within the community it operates. There is no discrimination of whom to be part of it. Everyone is welcome. This is probably the reason the school is able to have the grant from the London Borough of Croydon.
7. Brenda's 'sort of odd English' is Creole and mixed Creole which tends to be spoken by some Caribbean families in Britain. According to her, it is very hard for the teenagers from the South-East of England to comprehend this and it could, therefore, be argued that it is a foreign language to them.
8. Their 'we don't steal' could also be a way of asserting their honesty as against the usual stereotypes of Black males as thieves.
9. The effect of teachers expectations and self fulfilling prophecy of teachers on children in their care have been documented by various authors. Could it be that the students being seeing as 'more disciplined' emanates from the positive expectations and positive regard that the teachers in the CSEP have towards these students.

10. Sometimes the European perception of black families is that black people are too strict with children. This is not necessarily so. Black people tend to want to enforce discipline and be consistent with what they have told their children to observe. This is not strictness, it is just a different cultural perception of discipline. If discipline is taken to be learning, then black people are teaching their children to learn and the CSEP is providing a venue and an atmosphere.
11. Many newly qualified teachers at times feel unsupported by their superiors. If this is the case in Wright's (1987) study, where the teacher seemed to have different expectations of her student's behaviour, the way to resolve this might be through a discussion on the implication of the students' behaviours and not that of blaming black students.
12. This shows that there are some things that the parents' wing of the community might be doing which the teachers do not know about. The CSEP needs to develop a way of letting teachers know what the parents are doing and vice-versa.
13. Good relationships tend to occur when there is trust between two individuals. The CSEP seems to be encouraging this between the parents and teachers and they have developed a good rapport.
14. Mainstream schools operate a twenty-eight hours, forty-five minutes week. The CSEP only opens for two hours, one day a week. There can therefore be no comparison. However, parents and students of the CSEP seem to have more appreciation of the CSEP than the mainstream school.
15. The cooperative nature of the relationship between parents, teachers, and students in the CSEP is manifested in their working together towards one goal which is that of improving the academic performance of the students. Having a single 'vision' seems to help both the providers and the users of the CSEP work better. All other needs of the students seem to be catered for under this main vision.
16. The students here seem to perceive mainstream school as a regimented place, whereas they see the CSEP as freer without being bossed around. Such perception could affect the response a student makes towards the authority figures.
17. Having the best teachers needs more clarification. The best is not in terms of their academic qualification, though all the teachers have teaching qualifications and are teaching in mainstream schools. Rather it is in terms of attitudes and willingness to work to make a change in the students' academic performance. Hence, the appointment of teachers is not based on their being black but on whether they are qualified and willing to work with black children. This thesis does not support any in-discipline from students, however it needs to be stated that black students seem to be reprimanded by teachers more than their white counterparts, hence their high number of exclusions.
18. Seventh Day Adventist philosophy is based on religion. Although there are some black people from African countries and other parts of the world attending the church, the culture of focus is not that of Africa but that of their own religious

denomination.

19. The display of black personalities who have 'made it' in life both in Britain and abroad and the presence of thirty four black teachers working together with them, could be stated as a positive declaration of black ethnicity in a white dominated society.
20. The vetting is re - the paedophiles issue in Britain, it is not to do with colours / race etc. All agencies, except private agencies, unfortunately, where there are adults with children, MUST vet their staff. However, the implication of this is that some people who are interested in helping might be denied an access.
21. Contribution comes to the CSEP in different ways The open-days is one example. Having an open door means that people can come in, provide the assistance as they wish to without all the 'red-tape' that tends to occur in mainstream schools such as getting the approval of the head teacher, the care taker, etc. The people visiting were made to feel welcome.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The focus in the CSEP is on the basics skills of literacy and numeracy, and this is what the parents want for their children. The reason for this is that the parents feel the mainstream is short changing their children's education and as such want the CSEP to provide the skills. This is different from some other Supplementary Schools, which focus mainly on the cultural issues and home language development. The view of the researcher is that the home has a role to play and the school have theirs. Supplementary Schools should focus on the skills that the users want and in the case of the CSEP it is literacy and numeracy skills.
2. The outreach to help an individual student in their respective home is not a novel idea, the mainstream system does it. The only difference is that the one in the CSEP continues even when they have left the compulsory schooling. All a student needs to do is to come and let the organisers of the CSEP know that she/he needs some help in her/his studies. The success of such activity needs to be documented.
3. According to the CRE (1988) survey there are more ethnic minority teachers in Science posts than white teachers. This specialised post possibly attracts black teachers because they think it might be possible to get promotion. However, this easy promotion seems not to be the case as shown in the narratives of one of the teachers in Osler (1997).
4. The presence of black teachers in the CSEP is more than any mainstream school in Britain would have, yet the emphasis is not on their being black, rather it is on the development of literacy and numeracy skills.
5. The teachers are there as role models as opposed to Dacosta (1988) in which he saw their presence as what will encourage children to learn more about black identity. The children want to learn Maths, English and Science, giving them any

other thing possibly could have created problems with students and their parents' demands. This form of negotiation is not just with the subjects being taught and the areas being covered with the students from one Saturday to another. Such negotiation although it is possible, might not be practicable because of the structure and the demands of the curriculum in the mainstream system. It will be a challenge for the mainstream school to try to design the curriculum according to the demands of the parents, however, the examination constraints might make it difficult.

6. This seems not to be what one would expect from a six year old. However, the CSEP seem to be making some impacts on these students the educational and developmental outlook, which the mainstream school is not making.
7. Further discussion with this teacher revealed that this was to emphasize the clarity with which students are to develop their understanding in the different subject areas.
8. There seems to be a vertical and horizontal progression in the work being done with the students. The students perceive this as helping them because it extends them beyond their mainstream school work and in turn helps them to cope with the demands of their school work.
9. This is in contrast to what tends to go on in mainstream school, where the only contact seems to be the annual parents' evening in which parents are allocated between five to ten minutes.
10. The less emphasis on black studies and black history seems by design and in response to parental demand which is that of educating the students in the 3'R's.
11. Parents, teachers and students themselves perceive the skills in Mathematics, English and Science as what is important, hence the patronage.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. In the Western society, issues of oppression are 'power' related. Black people, like women and the working class, tended not to be in the position of power, and as such have to 'struggle' through resistance and other means such as education to become involved with the issues that are related to them. Having the opportunities to borrow books written by both black women and men could provide an avenue for parents and their children to understand the society they live in more.
2. This is a way of making cultural issues lighter for the students and these visits to such places will take the students outside the Croydon environment. This will help generate more discussions and ideas. Some of the discussions on these visits have been documented in the CSEP magazine (Appendix 12). Also during the period of the field study, the researcher observed the students practising drama and dance from the Caribbean and some African countries for the annual prize giving events. This is similar to the researcher's own experience about his culture.

There was no statement of inclusion of the Yoruba culture in the curriculum, though Yoruba language is being taught from the primary school upwards. Most children learn about dance, music and performance as extra curricula activities. However, being in such culture could be argued as putting students in Nigeria at an advantage.

3. Andrew Johnson retired early as a teacher. He seems an energetic individual who wants to get things done in the way he considers best. Although this could have been a source of friction, it does not appear to be because he has taken up an advisory role in Education to the Guyanain government and he is still in contact with the CSEP.
4. The role of the Director in the CSEP seems to be a 'Jack of all trade' who does everything from teaching and administration, to being the janitor who opens and locks up the building after each session. He/she meets the parents and supervises the teachers and so on. Such roles needs an energetic person and one who has a vision, acumen and the energy to carry other people along. The two Directors in the CSEP, Andrew Johnson and Cynthia Graham, seem to be doing this well.
5. The grouping of classes is done according to the class in which the students are at the mainstream school. Thus it has mixed abilities and age groups. This is similar to some mainstream classrooms situation.
6. Wanting their children to have good education is the priority for additional schooling and many communities even operate with as little as two students, with the hope that more will join. An example of this is John La Rose who started with his own children and then convinced people within the African Caribbean community to send their children.
7. Parents were a good influence, the support they provide removes the friction that sometimes occur between home and mainstream school when the school says one thing and the parents another. In the CSEP both parties seem to operate for one mission, which is to give better education to black children.
8. It could therefore mean that the majority of black children have been to only one school and that is in Britain. If all their schooling has taken place in Britain, why is it that the underachievement of black students continue? Could it be on the one hand that the description which has been used to describe the students during the early years of black people in Britain is affecting teachers' perception of students? On the other hand is it the mainstream system that is underperforming and using black students as the scapegoat of their ineptness - a form of projective identification? Thus the black students become the sufferer as they are the ones being expelled and documented as underachieving in the mainstream education.
9. Celebration seems to be a community affair, which is not limited to the school just taking photographs to be included in the local newspapers.
10. The CSEP seems to be more than a school. It has on the ground level foyer a display of leaflets about what is going on in the Croydon and London area,

blood donation centres, educational institution prospectus, cafes and so on. Parents come to ask for teachers advice on how to approach issues in their children's mainstream school. The CSEP is like a school, an advice providing centre, a youth club and a social club for the students and their families.

11. The Charities Act of 1985 demands some legal requirements from Charitable organisations, one of which is that there must be an annual auditing of accounts. The CSEP uses Leroy Reid and Company, based in Norbury, London, a certified accountants and registered auditors.
12. The collection of this statements of accounts almost brought friction between the Director, Cynthia Graham and the researcher. The Director for Finance was approached many times but was too busy to give an interview. The researcher had to use extra pressure from others in the CSEP to obtain the document. Cynthia Graham was not pleased about this and was able to inform the researcher. The researcher had to explain the need for such a document and information in research of this calibre.
13. There is a deficit of £3,801 for this year. This is more than the parents' contributions for the year 1994/95. This could have some implication for future planning.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Fundamental in this study will be taken to mean the foundation, the essential or main points or the pivot on which everything to be considered for a better understanding of the reason for setting up Supplementary Schools in Britian hinges.
2. Although there seems to be a higher number of black teachers now in schools compared to 1981. TTA (1997:6) provides statistics of 4.7% from ethnic minorities of black and Asian background in the total of those accepted for PGCE courses in 1996/97. This is a 2.7% rise when compared with the CRE (1988). Although there is an increase, the proportion is still low when compared with the population of the ethnic minority in Britain.
3. The exclusions of black students have been well documented. However, emphasis is on those being excluded and nothing about the reasons it happens, thus focusing on the students rather than on the system which excludes them. It could, therefore, be argued that the exclusion is a symptom of the inequality which exists in the mainstream system and an effect of the inappropriateness in the British educational system to meet the needs of the Black student. Although this inappropriateness affects all children, black children tend to bear the 'brunt' of it all, especially now that some schools may use exclusion to get their school on the top of the school league table. Education becomes a system which is not there to meet the developmental needs of the children, but is a means of social control.
4. In as much as it is for the benefit of the black students, Supplementary schools will be encouraged to cooperate with mainstream schools, however both have

distinctive roles and this might be lost if Supplementary Schools become an adjunct of the mainstream instead of being an alternative provider. This is possibly what Reay and Mirza (1997:495) argue as reasons why four Supplementary Schools deliberately avoided direct funding by the local authority. They suggested that an acceptance of such funding could mean the loss of autonomy and control. This is contrary to the perceptions of the people in the CSEP. They see themselves as part of the system and the system needs to share the responsibilities of educating Black children and be involved to contribute and not to control.

5. The reason why this school closed in an area where there is a large population of black people may be a mystery, however one could suggest that possibly it's because of the school not focusing on the development of literacy and numeracy skills. The parents in the CSEP like the idea of their young adults being taught by black teachers, and their needs being met (see Chapter 4, note 7).
6. Although these 'white' mothers are married to males from black and ethnic minorities background, they tend to be conscious that they are not black and sometimes find being within a large group of black women threatening though there is no reason to feel so. In my opinion, the issue of 'race' relations in the U.K., could account for this. The researcher's wife went to so many social functions when in Nigeria without saying anything about it being a black people's function, whereas the opposite has been the case here in the UK., during which she has sometimes remarked on the composition of the group being black.
7. Although blackness could be argued as one of the factors that has encouraged the trust between the Supplementary School system and black community on the one hand, on the other black people's interests in education could be another factor that makes the two groups work together. What makes this not to be the same with mainstream? The answer to this is in Yvonne, the Director 4's, statement that 'there is a welcoming atmosphere for them' at the CSEP.
8. Discipline being quite strict does not mean that there is no indiscipline. Brenda, commenting on this chapter, stated that 'we have had the "naughty" odd one but it can be resolved in a friendly way, usually'. This friendly approach is quite different from the antagonistic attitude and condemnatory stance being taken in mainstream schools in the discipline of black students.
9. Even the Heads of KS3 and KS4 in my mainstream school who commented on the work being by students in the CSEP stated that their comments must not be published. Although one could argue that it is because they were too busy to reply, the issue of racism is a sensitive one and mainstream schools might not want to be linked with anything negative.

CHAPTER TEN

1. There needs to be more clarification on the aims of such schools. The nature of the organisers tend to change the whole concept and the name of such schools. They could be regarded as 'Miners' schools, 'Sunday' schools, 'Co-op Education' and

'Secular' schools.

2. Stephen Lyle, John Benyon, Jon Garland and Anna McClure (1996). It is a study on Education Matters - African Caribbean People and Schools in Leicestershire commissioned by the Scarman Centre, at the University of Leicester for the Study of Public Order. Their study is really appropriate here as an independent organisation that concluded that 'Supplementary schooling has taken on a special place' (p. 21) in the education of Black children in Leicestershire Schools.
3. The type of activities going on in the CSEP could be qualified under three headings:
 - i. GCSE and 'A' level work allowing for a Black perspective,
 - ii. Black books for all ages are on sale every fortnight and
 - iii. Visits by school e.g to Barbados, 'Suramese Centre' in Holland.
4. This measure, according to Brenda Able, was a short term scheme around 1984. There are unknown numbers of male students who have been suspended, however, in the CSEP they get on quite well. Reay and Mirza (1997) highlighted the possibilities of some Local Authorities funding Supplementary Schools as 'special schools' for problematic black students. Although this is a possibility which the black community needs to be aware of, the implication of this for such local authorities is an admittance of failure, a failure to educate and cater for black children in mainstream education. One possibility for addressing such issues is for the local authority to confront the problem squarely by examining what causes the 'failure' of one particular group within mainstream education and not look for an half-way house 'haven' which on the long term basis does not address the structural issues raised in Chapters One and Two of this study.
5. The setting up of Supplementary Schools could be argued as subversive, i.e. that it is radical. The reason for this is because the Black Business Peoples' and other organisations contribute to such ventures and as such are however, not against the established system. All black people 'want' is for their children to be well educated and take their place within mainstream society.
6. There is another group of young black adults that tends not to be mentioned in research work. The people in this group are mixed race children with white mothers, who are often excluded from mainstream education and are being sent to referral units. Future research needs to address this issue. It seems to be acceptable now for white women to marry black men and vice versa. Such marriages and relationships will generate a new group of children.

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**COLLENSWOOD SCHOOL STEVENAGE
SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION 2000**

This proposal is to extend the one that I produced earlier and to encompass all the children in school. Under this programme each child will be regarded as special and their needs within education will be viewed from a holistic perspective (i.e the academic, physical and social areas etc). This programme will also take a system view for the application of the programme. It will extend the existing one and capitalise on maximising the potential of every child and the resources available within the school.

In any support programme, the school will have to make some decision as a system.

- (a) Which support programme is desirable at this point in the school's development?
- (b) Which support is economically possible.
- (d) The co-ordinator is to define the type of operation and how it is to be delivered.

AIM

- To identify the areas of need for special education within the school.
- To assess the current provision of special needs education in the school.
- To maximise the provision of special education within the school.
- To create a structured special education within the school.
- To link all areas of curriculum in working together when assisting each child.
- To establish a special education that is comprehensive and specific in assessing in promoting and in administering to each child.

TARGET AREAS

1. General areas of development of children as specified in DES Circular 1/83. and County documents on special needs education.
2. Identifying any specific areas of weakness or gaps in skills acquisition which impede the child's progress (e.g. short term memory deficits)
3. Suggested methods of approaches and their implications.
 - the curriculum to be modified.
 - the curriculum to be developmental and be progressively related.
 - the curriculum to be within the mainstream plus support.
 - implications of the Child's Medical condition.
 - (e.g. advice on the side-effects of medication for epilepsy)
 - Teaching and Learning approaches - using specialised methods.
 - the socio-emotional climate generated by this approach. (in staff and pupils)
4. Facilities and Resources.
 - Special Equipment - e.g. Visual aids, electronic typing machines, short-circuit television.
 - Specialist Facilities - e.g. Treatment and drug administration. (up-grading present medical room)
 - Special Education Resources - e.g. New text books, worksheets, etc.
 - Other Specialist Resources - e.g. Nurse, Social Worker, Psychotherapy/ Counselling, Educational Psychologist, Audiology and Speech therapy.
 - Physical Environment - e.g. Attention to lighting environment, attention to child's seating position - in poor hearing and sight.

School Organisation and Attendance - e.g half / day attendance arrangement, extra coaching, visits, inter-curriculum link, extra- curricula activities, paired-teaching.
Staffing- Re-organisation of the current cover periods to encompass all.
Transport - e.g Minibus, Taxis, Staff cars (Vehicle Insurance might need to reflect this).

PROCESS

The type of integration in this proposal is on-site locational, socially inclusive and educationally funtional. Children involved will be treated carefully, without much distrupction if any at all. Participation will be within the regular classes with full contribution to all other activities within the school. This will mean a great demand on the existing system. It needs careful planning of the programme, the class and the teaching programme. The dividens will be an increase in children level of performance, quality sixth form intakes and increase in level of self esteem of staff and pupils.

ASSESSMENT

To identify areas of need.

To provide guidance for the type of programme to be developed.

To minimise error of judgement.

To ensure the provision is adequate and appropriate for the child and the school

Types:

A. Standardized tests.

Medical examination.

Class based tests.

Self profiling

Consultations with those involved in developing the programme.

B. Formal assessment. To be done in stages to minimise error of judgement.

Follow County guideline. However it needs to be used to identify the need of the child. It needs to be done in consultation with the parent, the other support agencies and the LEA.

ADMINISTRATION

The scope school can assist depends on the skill and the insights of the coordinator and the teachers supported by adequate resources as well as the institutional and organisational form it takes.

Once the need has been identified. The Co-ordinator is to meet with the child, the parent and the member of staff concerned. Clarify and discuss the needs identified Plan the progamme with them and set the targets to be accomplished and how to get there.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

To start from the area of assessment, the clarification and administration of the support programme. They should be involved in the testing and examinations if necessary. They should be made aware of and be involved in all the arrangements that will increase their child's aptitude and capability level.

COLLENSWOOD STUDENTS' SUPPORT SERVICE

Introduction

This support programme is to provide opportunity for the older students to support the younger ones and become more involved with other aspects of everyday school activities.

It is a programme that could be used in every aspects of the school, however, it is advisable to initiate it in different phases. The first phase could be in using Year 12 and 13 students to assist during one of the PSE programme with in-coming Year 7. This could be followed by the second phase which is for these students to help other students resolve conflicts.

Such activities could assist both students and members of staff.

What support programme will offer

Some of the positive things about this programme include an opportunity for students to

- manage situations themselves.
- learn to become more independent
- forum for participating in other activities in the school.
- increase student participation in decision making process.
- offer students opportunity to negotiate
- provision for resolving conflicts between students.
- opportunities to get one another to talk instead of bullying.
- motivate students to utilise the support services.
- create a school climate that encourages caring, honesty, co-operation and appreciation of diversity.

What will staff / school gain from this?

- Opportunity for collaborative problem solving.
- Reduction in discipline issues which may lead to reduction in detention.
- Reduce bullying, aggression and suspension rate.
- Conflicts are permanently resolved and so not to continue to distract students during lessons.

- Difficult to moderate any on-going issues with the students during class time.

What will be the gains for students?

- Students will learn life skills, such as listening and inquiry, that help them in class and beyond.
- Students will learn how to create trust between themselves and those being helped.
- Students self-esteem would be increased, leading to more confidence and potentially to better academic performances.
- Once felt they are being listened to, may make some students more interested in school, which in turn would have positive effect upon their class work.

Structure

i) The Co-ordinator / Trainer

- The co-ordinator who has the responsibility for co-ordinating the peer support programme.
- Be given fund, time, resources and supports to implement the program effectively.
- Co-ordinator should be chosen on merit through interview.
- Head and deputies needs to be available to provide morale support to her/him through monthly consultation.

ii) An advisory council consisting of a deputy, a head of school, a faculty head and one (MPG) teacher Their duty will be to

- provide differing perspectives, and ensuring that the programme addresses the needs of all.
- facilitate acceptance of the programme by disseminating information about peer support to peers and colleagues.
- provide support to the co-ordinator during the programme implementation.
- provide more hands to get the job done.

iii) Students to be involved -

- Initially Years 12 and 13, but could extend to different class, where each group will work with their own age group. However, the qualities that will be sought for will be those
- who possesses warmth, energy and capability to talk to their own mates and has undergone training, as will be provided by the designated body.

- who will be willing to give up time and spend extra time to catch up with the work missed.

Building the Programme

- Use questionnaire and survey with students and staff to find out the need, how much support people are prepared to give, identifying the type of programme that will meet Collenswood's needs, building support for peer support.
- Have meetings with P.T.A, governors, teachers, school committees, students, council, administrative staff, student assemblies and classes.
- Have meetings with the Pastoral Team, the Curriculum Group.
- Have an Inset - workshops for departmental heads, parents, etc.
- Have an Inset open for all with the agenda to combine conflict resolution theory, opportunities for personal and professional growth and support skill development.
- Invite speakers on Community Support services .
- Invite Drama Company to stage work based on Conflict resolution

Process

- There will be an introductory meeting for all those who are interested - during which the programme will be discussed together. Their areas of commitment in terms of attitude, time, behaviour in school, the code of conduct, i.e. attending classes, doing homework, not fighting
- Complete written application form.
- Conduct individual interview with nominees. (See selection criteria on p. 6)
- Those selected need to have permission from form tutors and parents/guardians.

How Support Programme can be introduced across the school

Curricular

- Teach skills directly in 'conflict resolution classes' i.e. during P.S.E, form time activities etc.
- Use core curricular subjects like English and Maths to discuss issues of resolving conflicts.
- Use drama to dramatise the conflicts in a novel and analyse

Staff Education

- Teacher to learn to provide role model, teach students and have Inset on conflict resolution. Use it for class management.

Administration

- The principle of equal opportunities for administration and monitoring of the programme. Students, teachers, parents to jointly participate in the programme development, implementation and evaluation.
- Assess current disciplinary procedures and re-develop this to include peer support as a line of action to take.
- Encourage adults to moderate disputes with their students and with each other.

Educational Programmes and Training

- Students are to be intensively trained in listening skills. There will be a 15 hour session training to be run over 5 sessions. These will take place during and after the school hours.

The contents of the training will be as follows:

Session 1:	Introductions Boundaries Helping
Session 2:	Listening skills
Session 3:	Listening skills
Session 4:	Listening skills Record keeping
Session 5:	Supervision

- Provide opportunity to practice and develop their skills by helping their peers resolve conflicts.
- Opportunity to make listening and social skills become an educational tool.

Possible problems

- Time for training and support
- Funding for class coverage for teacher who participates in training.
- Freeing a staff person whether part/full time to co-ordinate the program

- Locating a private space where sessions can be held.
- Find space for training and other programmes as needed.
- Teachers, school committee members, heads of schools, deputies and others responsible for the continued morale, financial and philosophical support.

What type of Funding

This depends on the type of programme we want. This could include e.g.

- Co-ordinators compensation, i.e. providing timetable cover etc.
- Training expenses - fees, travels, materials, refreshments, badges, outreach materials (posters, T-shirts etc.)
- Evaluating cost - buying an outsider to evaluate the programme.
- Allocating room / spaces for the programme within the school.

Issues of Confidentiality

- Boundaries of things not to be entertained to be made clear during training and after. (Especially Child Protection Issues which must be reported to the Co-ordinator en-route to the appropriate Personnel.)
- This needs to be maintained to enable students to talk freely in the session without feeling that their personal business will be divulged to unauthorised person in the form of gossip.
- The co-ordinator and supporters can and should told everything that happens in a session.
- Other interested party like the head and heads of school need to be provided with information as necessary for administrative purposes.
- the process of confidentiality must be applied competently and consistently.

Criteria for selecting Trainees

- Students will be selected to represent the diversity of group represented in the school. i.e. race, ethnicity, physical capability, social economic background, academic ability, grade level, sex, home backgrounds as well as at-risk student.
- Students with personal skills and abilities that will make them good mediators i.e. communication skills, the respect for others, self-confidence, empathy, leadership potential, willingness to receive feedback, ability to speak in front of pupils, etc.

- Students who will be committed - voluntary students who are willing to be a moderator for at least one year. They might have to stay after school, be prepared to catch up with work if they have missed any. Those willing to be committed to work for 2 - 4 hours on the programme each week, even if not mediating.
- (Later, when the programme has taken off) There will be a good representation of each year group.

What type of Training

- Although it is for pupils, staff and advisory body will be encouraged to participate in the training.
- This will follow a process which will be divided into stages that are easy for all to understand. It will incorporate
 - an emphasis on reconciliation as well as the creation of agreements
 - the use of co-ordinators
 - the encouragement of written agreements.
 - time management
 - listening skills and communication skills
 - self evaluation skills
 - confidentiality
 - supervision

Timing of Training

- The initial selection and training will take place during the summer term 1997. This will help have trained students in place for 1997/1998. However, subsequent training will take place during spring term so that we will have them in place for subsequent session.

Publicity of the programme

- This will be done before training
 - to secure initial support for the programme
 - to recruit support trainers.
- Then after training
 - to inform students, staff, parents, the programme is about to "open for business". This is necessary to inform everyone that the programme is ready to serve them.
- Method
 - posters

make a promotional video tape - to educate all about the services.
certificate evening to mark the end of training - invite and inform others.

Why Evaluation

There is the need to have an in-built process for evaluating the programme.

This is

- For building on-going support for peer support.
- To help identify areas of successes and failures.
- To help improve the programme

Support Programme as a specific related activity

Support Programme and PSE

The best people to speak to young people about issues related to them are the young people.

Reason: Help ease transition from Primary to Secondary
Help students take greater control of their learning process
Help build self esteem and increase level of confidence
Give more responsibilities to 'senior' students
Atmosphere to care for and help each other

This is to be

set up for and to be run by senior students
use a small group approach
Could be used to cover issues related **peer pressure, cooperation, self-esteem, dealing with feelings, assertiveness, goal setting, group decision making, friendships, self awareness, etc.**

It will need a re-organisation of the PSE programme to include

- Year 12 students to be **trained** with a prepared programme manual
- Year 12 students to be **allocated** to 5 - 8 year 7 students right from their first visit induction visit to the school to work with a Form Tutor.
- Same Year 12 students to **take their Year 7 group** for a social education period a week, supervised by the form teacher and coordinated by the Co-ordinator but with no staff present during the actual sessions.
- Year 12 to be **mentors** and be a **link** of contact at all times.
- Year 12 to assist staff and be extra '**pairs of eyes and ears**' around the school.

Co-Ordinator

- To prepare / compile a programme manual in conjunction with HOSs.

- Train students involved with the programme
- Supervise programme
- work with HOSs to provide support for students and staff

Training

- To include workshops and advice in leading groups
- Create atmosphere of team work
- Role play and discuss scenarios e.g. Bullying

Evaluation

- To take place at the end of first term by the use of questionnaires to Year 7 students and those involved with the programme and the form teachers involved with the programme
- Compile a report
- Provide a written report.
- Disseminate findings to all through a presentation.

'Sam Makinde 290497 doc2. Proposal2'

**CROYDON COLLEGE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, BUSINESS &
MANAGEMENT STUDIES**

ACCESS TO PRIMARY TEACHING - 1996

WHEN?

On Monday to Friday from 9.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.

WHERE DOES THE COURSE RUN?

Croydon College, Fairfield Site, 2 minutes walk from British Rail, East Croydon

Telephone 0181 686 5700 Fax 0181 760 5921

WHO IS IT FOR?

The course is for you if you are 21 or over, live locally, and are interested in teaching in primary schools (5 to 11 years). You do not need formal qualifications; but all applicants will be mature people wishing to become teachers. All applicants will be interviewed and places will be offered on the basis of past experience, educational attainment and future potential. We particularly welcome applications from African, Asian, Caribbean and other members of the community who are currently under represented in the teaching profession. Why not come along to our Open Evening in February, 1996 to find out more?

HOW?

We will offer help in returning to study and give tutorial support throughout the year. Also included in the course will be visits to, and time in, local primary schools. The Course offers a range of subjects to help course members develop skills in areas such as classroom interaction, creativity, social science, communications, science, information technology, mathematics and technology.

LENGTH OF COURSE

The course begins in September 1996 and finishes in June, 1997.

WHERE DOES THE COURSE LEAD TO?

Successful completion of the course leads either to the offer of a definite place on the Bachelor of Education (Honours) degree course in Teaching Studies (Primary), a four year full time course run at South Bank University or additionally to other higher education courses.

THE DELIVERY

The course will be delivered by a team of experienced teacher trainers and you will have a tutor to guide and work with you throughout the course.

ASSESSMENT

There will be some examinations but progress will also be gauged by continuous assessment and profiling.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

The College regards all its members as being of equal value. Racism and Sexism are totally incompatible with this principle and must therefore be resisted in a positive way. The members of the College come from a wide diversity of communities with a variety of backgrounds. The College is determined that this diversity will be reflected in the curriculum and every other aspect of College life. We positively welcome applications from members of the ethnic minority community.

FEES

Applicants living in the London Borough of Croydon will be able to apply to the Local Authority for consideration for a discretionary Grant Award to meet the cost of course fees and maintenance whilst on the course. The approximate value of this Award, if it is granted, could be £3,500 maintenance for the year, plus payment of the course fees.

NUT'S STATEMENT ON SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS APPENDIX 4

Sam Makinde
Collenswood School
Collenswood Road
Stevenage
SG29HQ
Herts.

8th. September, 1995

Dear Ms. Darlington,

I am doing some research work on Black Supplementary Schools in Britain. I have come across a statement made by the National Union of Teachers in 1967.

It was stated that this form of schooling is a

'pattern of organisation that enshrines the principle of what is usually known as apartheid .. that is the setting up of separate institutions or school organisations'
(NUT, 1967:3)

I am interested to know the current stance that the union has on this subject matter.

I am a member of the Union and I work at Collenswood, Stevenage.

Please treat as urgent.

Yours sincerely,

Sam Makinde

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS HEADQUARTERS

Mr S Makinde
Collenswood School
Collenswood Road
Stevenage
HERTS
SG29HQ

28 September 1995

Dear Mr Makinde

Thank you for your letter dated 8 September 1995 which was addressed to Shirley Darlington.

May I first draw your attention to the fact that Ms Darlington is no longer head of Equal Opportunities as she took early retirement from the Union last year. Race issues are now dealt with by me.

In response to your query, the Union does not have a stance, as such, regarding Supplementary schools. I would, therefore, be most grateful to receive your views on the subject as it may be appropriate for the issue to be raised again with the relevant Executive sub-committees.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) SAMIDHA GARG
Principal Officer (Race Equality)
Education and Equal Opportunities

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS HEADQUARTERS

HAMILTON HOUSE MABLEDON PLACE LONDON WC1H 9BD
TELEPHONE 0171 388 6191 PAX 0171 387 8458

GENERAL SECRETARY DOUG MEAVOY DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY STEVE SINNOTT

LETTER OF ACCESS

APPENDIX 5

Bickler House
Tamworth Road & Drayton Road
West Croydon
CR9 1XQ

To: Mr. Sam Makinde
11A Barclay Crescent
Old Town
Stevenage
SG1 3NA

Dear Sam,

Re: Supplementary Education for Black Children.

Thank you for your letter of 15th December.

In the Croydon area CSEP is the most established of the Supplementary Schools; our roll is 165; ages range from 5 to 17; our main curriculum offer is Mathematics, English, Reading and articulation. Our school operates on Saturdays only, during term times.

We will be pleased for you to visit us any Saturday morning from 10 am when classes start. The writer of this letter can be contacted for any further information.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. D. Andy Johnson.
On behalf of CSEP.

S: I would like you to introduce yourself please Mr. Johnson

A: Are we going to speak about this as though I'm presently or ex...

S: No, no you're ex

A: My name is Andy Johnson, founder of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project. I'm now retired from the project. This retirement took place last July 1995. I was a teacher- secondary school teacher Croydon Education school teacher- head of a mathematics department but my qualifications are in statistics.

S: OK. What I'm going to do Mr. Johnson is to try as much as possible to relate to your experiences there. Can you let me know? You said that you're the founder, what, why, why did you decide to start such a project?

A: Ah yes, this project came about in 1982, it was if you remember the era, it was a period where a lot of discussions and debates in the education circles and political circles about Black underachievement. There was also the high point of the SENs which is the education of.. eh.. what is SEN?

S: Special Educational Needs.

A: Yes, yes, yes. It was during that period where black kids from African Caribbean were being labelled and em there were all these debates about this and I was sitting in my front room one day of course like everyone else listening to these debates on our black kids underachieving, black kids this and that and all the rest ... As a result that debate I became incensed about some, the way the debate was going, the way it was being interpreted because as someone from the Caribbean area, from Guyana which is just outside the Caribbean.... but as a person of the cultural experience I knew these things weren't true. It was an interpreting of a situation without to there, that annoyance of the way the debate was going, I went to.. I decided as a professional I can't just sit there in a armchair and I also went round to the local Community Relations Council as they were the only body who I knew had some sort of relationship or government or quasi government responsibility towards the people at large. I went to seek their help about doing something, about setting up something, you know, just talk to them to see how it can be done, I really went for their help. I joined their organisation the local CRC and I became a member of their education sub committee and became vice-Chair and finally became Chair. I wanted to become Chair because I was able to use their premises and get the project was formed. Other than that, the ideas as well but those ideas, those causes wasn't quite.. I formed a supplementary school because how can I get into an organisation which can use their offices to help. Same time if you remember the Lady Plowden report was published just a few years ago, the Lady Plowden Report identified various ethnic communities Irish, Caribbean, Africans, ethnic minorities ... ethnic population ... white population and one particular phrase she had there stuck in my mind ... she spoke of this period of community education... I can't remember... but the essence of it is there and what she'd done in her Report is that she broadened the aspect of education from just the narrow mainstream, she broadened it widely into seeing that organisations like the schools with a lot of premises these should be opened up to the community to assist in that sort of thing. She defined... shortly after that came the Swann Report and the Swann Report again spoke about underachievement all of these things. Having joined the CRC their role was not they are going to do something. That's how we started,

- that was 1982. When you look at the documents, I've looked out some pictures you'll be able to see some fundraising and some newspaper publications.
- S: So what you're saying Mr. Johnson is that you were able to join another organisation in order to achieve your aims. And why this aim ?
- A: It was during that time as a black professional at that time I was going around doing a lot of private teaching as well but of course you can only teach one student at a time you know in somebody's home and it was also that the thinking well... why be of use to one if you can have a system that will be of use to many ? Because the need is not just the one person who can pay you whatever a lesson you know there is a wider need. And initially, when we started the idea was not commercial and this school is still not commercial, it's never been a commercial venture, there's always been behind it all this anger of those politicians and educationist who were labelling our case... justifiably wrong because part of our cultural variant the ablest people were given extra lessons, those people who were not able were guided towards vocational training but here we have a system that was labelling in general.
- S: So what you're saying Mr. Johnson is that you wanted to help those that have been labelled as underachievers and so what else do you have in this mission statement?
- A: You say we want to help those who were labelled underachievers, yes, but I want to qualify that term underachievers in relation to this project. This project in its early statement and in its early days... and still remaining... it is not about underachievement it is about general academic excellence. It is not about underachievement as you see our statement will say at the top. I'll hand it out.... this bit bears no information.
- S: So what you seem to be saying now is that it's not just the people that are underachieving but you wanted to encompass everybody that needs that type of education.
- A: Anybody yes.
- S: Are they mostly black children?
- A: As far as I am concerned I have no thoughts to that and I'll say it. I- my programme is aimed specifically at the Black and the African full stop. It is not a racist thing, it has nothing to do with race. It is this what was motivating to work and I was aiming. These were two communities who were constantly being labelled as underachievers or low achievers and all the rest of it and hence this is why I think it should address these groups.
- S: OK you are talking about what motivated you and it wasn't a racist to have such an original project for black children but you wanted to counteract the statement that had been made by more or less the community.
- A: The politicians and yes, the educationalists.
- S: And that is that black children cannot make it and you wanted to show them that they can make it!
- A: I don't want to so much as show them, I know we can because if you too remember in these early times, it was just coming on to... , people were integrated, a lot of people brought young children to school, it was just in the '80's, maybe it was just the second generation of school kids.. eh.. children were still coming from the Caribbean, from Africa, these were still coming in and hence it was all sorts of things, it was cultural things, it was change of our behaviour pattern, you know the overall societal behaviour pattern as children accustomed to society pay certain respects and the inner society where these things were you know, no longer mattered, in a classroom where the teacher was the highest person, suddenly kids reaching the classroom where

children you know literally create havoc and hence there were a tremendous amount of conflicts within young people coming from one society, you know, here and these were creating all sorts of problems. I knew that as a person who was teaching you know and this, part of this was happening because a lot of teachers didn't understand it, didn't understand a lot of these things. These students were being left back because these students were grappling in many cases with cultural problems and hence their academic problem was being put secondly you know and hence why and why they're in an environment which was looking at the academic side of our children coming in who were grappling with cultural and sociological changes and hence their academic was suffering.

S: So what you seem to be saying Mr. Johnson is that black children are facing cultural problems in Britain.

A: But not at that time. I don't honestly believe black children facing- and this I might be totally awry here- but my own belief is that black children aren't facing cultural problems anymore at 1995. I don't think it's a cultural problem.

S: What are they facing?

A: My own view is that- em- in the black community black youngsters have developed a culture divorced from their own, say, parent's culture and its akin to the native culture but yet it is not quite like you know... it takes all the.... you listen to things.... certainly the language style.. you know its such a mixture, the language style in a way in talking it's Jamaican patois or whatever seems to be Jamaican patois you know ... right across ... that's in language style, in their body language is not American but their accent and ah, certain, ah, eating styles and these sort of things are... these are European you know and it's this sort of ah mixture of things you have when you do look at our youngsters and you try to understand. Yet there are, their mode of thinking, their thought matrix are European in that they do not uphold or even want to uphold the same values as our community, the black.

S: So what you seem to be saying there is that children although they are black they are British in heart, at heart.

A: British at heart, yeah but with a very great inference of North American culture as seen, as perceived through the news, etc.

S: Now, I just want to know the type of community in which you started the supplementary school.

A: When we started the supplementary school, before we started, having thought it was a good idea. The first thing I did was to have a publication in the local papers as you see from the cuttings there. And this was saying ideas... want to start a school and saying... inviting people to meetings held in the hall. At that meeting, over 200 people attended. That's the appearance you know. Because I've always held the view it's not so much what I want but if I'm going to do something with people I've got to find what they want, not impose my ideas but see what they want and after this meeting where 200 people came and hence at that meeting the Parents Association was formed at that very meeting and there was so many people turning back there was no longer a question whether there was a need for a supplementary school because of the response. So that question had been answered because of the response - there should be a supplementary school and so the Parents Association was formed and it went on from there.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that it's been designed by the community for the community.

A: Absolutely.

- S: OK. In what way did you involve the community apart from the P.S.A?
- A: The Croyden Parents and Student Association was formed. They always had a role in that they were responsible assisting the school in all areas of constitution of the CSEP, they had a Chairman and Treasurer of that association members is of the management committee. They are responsible for all of the outward, political work, political campaign of the CSEP, they are going to go out there and do any sort of political agitating. This is the aim of the CSEP for the wider political community campaign rather than teachers or me or parents themselves. This is how that operated. Parents worked very close with me in all the rest of it.
- S: So parents worked with you so they are more or less the vehicle that you used?
- A: Yes they were... appropriate word.
- S: OK. Now let us look at the type of people who make up that constitution. Those parents, who are they?
- A: When you say "they" what do you mean ?
- S: The class structure or the type of work they were doing or the type of background they had before they came to Britain.
- A: Well, I wouldn't know that because we were not interested. What our programme was ... our programme was about children, the parents were only the means of our ... the parents were the ones who had to in the first case get their children abroad.
- S: So they brought their children.
- A: So we were not really interested in the sociological make up or socio-economic make up of people brought ... we were just interested in the students and then the programme. The only thing is where the parents were concerned the parents determined our curriculum, in the early days and that then, that determined the curriculum, in the way, whether the knowledge could have been delivered and that was decided in whether or not we could have attracted personnel to deliver it. If the parents, in the early stages, if the parents wanted French but we could not attract French teachers to the delivery so hence we couldn't do it. And in the earlies when we would have two or three children who want to do a particular subject and we did not have a teacher in that subject, this is what we did in the earlies years we would hire private teachers again and the CSEP would pay those private teachers from each other and fundraising.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that you had a form of curriculum that you are operating and when the one that the parents wanted cannot be met so you employed other people. Can you tell me a bit about your curriculum ?
- A: The curriculum is here ah ...
- S: You are trying to tell me about the type of curriculum that...
- A: In the earlies of curriculum, in the very beginning, speaking here from the very beginning ... In 1982 and 1983 we had a wide curriculum. We had... I'll tell you what we had. These magazines I hope you get... I say this timetable for 1984/1985 we operated on Monday. Monday was from 4.30 - 6 p.m. we did O Levels and CSE English and this was intended for 4th years only and above on a Monday. On Tuesday we done O Level Maths and CSE Maths for 4th years and over. On Saturdays we had from 10 to 12 o'clock. We had English, Maths, Biology, Physics intended for all age groups. On Sundays we had O Level Mathematics. This is a special course AEB Syllabus B. And I'll just read what it says, 'ppropriate numeracy course'. This course is designed for those who would like to try the O Level having some basic and are prepared to apply themself. This course run from 11 - 1 p.m. But this course on Sunday, this course was not for school age children, this course was for

parents whose kids were attending the study school and wanted themselves to do Maths and this course was a response from parents and hence we ran this class on a Sunday. This was the type of curriculum for 1984/1985. That's very successful. A lot of people went on that and gained O Levels there. This is for '86. I tell you what our timetable was, that'll give you an idea of our curriculum. In 1986 we had Monday again, we still had English on Mondays, Tuesdays, Maths, Saturdays, English, Maths, Biology and Physics. So by 1986 we had dropped this Sunday class so now we just has three days. That's in 1986. Some magazine now for - just coming out now... for these magazines now... This is the curriculum for 1985 and this says again Monday,, same, same as before - English, Maths, Biology and Physics on Sundays for all age-groups. Monday, English, Tuesday 4th years and above. And why we had run this, where we were, where the school was housed at that time we had(n't) the space but because we had such a crazy man we had to structure the school across the week because it was not we wanted to do it so much it was just we hadn't (?) the space, just the logistics so Mondays and Tuesdays were say 4th years and above... those were preparing for exams. On Saturdays we took the lower ages ... Saturdays ... only Physics and Biology.

S: So how did the parents come to know about these different subjects ?

A: We always... we let the parents have... or parents... parents to join the school and we advise them and they'll be informed that... if... what the child wants to do and if the age of the child... exactly where we can take the child we'll instruct them, inform them, this child that it is from Monday or Tuesday and Saturday or we'll only want you on Saturdays we instruct you and the parents at that point will... ah the community school will be instructed- eh- you know, about, eh, where they take.

S: OK, so, so, is it because the children want to learn more in that subject or because you feel they are not doing well or because they are doing well and they need to extend their knowledge in subjects?

A: We are... say we started as a supplementary school, that word in my mind is sup-plement it is only recently... in the last years that we moved into, towards the idea, the philosophy, complementary, but at that early stage we were supplementary. Now it is because we view the child as the client that they come with their parent and say they want to join supplementary school. On interview we'll understand that the first thing they are failing is in Maths or in English or Physics or Biology or whatever, you know and that determines how we address the problem. It's not us... in the early stages we have as well... it'll take me a long time to find them but they're all here... in the early stages as well we used to... eh... students on entering the service...we had a

A: test, we that's in the early '80s at least til 90 we... used to take a test so that we would know exactly what is rather than just carte blanche we did an analysis and said in the decimal section this child needs to work here. The test was to give us a starting point so we had two things, a starting point where we will work and the same time working with the child where the child is at in secondary school so the child can keep up but at the same time we started filling these gaps, supplementary, so that was how we worked, so that programme... I tell you the materials are all in here somewhere together... we had forms where the child could fill in so that we know where the child is at etc.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that you are not just sticking them in but you assess them, you give them a form of assessment to see where they are and where they need help and where they need to be complemented and also where things need to be added onto their knowledge.

- A: This was the early period of the supplementary school up till about '90 or I say up to about '93 but right now that programme has altered... we cannot do that anymore because we have this massive great mix... what we do now... we take in children as they come... over the years we've restructured the school rather than before when there was just myself as director who would literally direct etc. etc. We've structured the school into section leaders... division heads of department and these individuals have responsibility if we take a child in say at the age of ten to go into the area that a person was responsible for ten years ago and that person has the responsibility where to put a child in the area of their concern so it became no longer this testing on entrance... if in a person's secondary school they are fourth year or year ten or eleven, they go into the area of year ten or eleven but the section leader which is normally Head of Department is responsible for organising the weaknesses and strengths... where the child shall go.
- S: Good, good.
- A: So in the structural change... you know... as the development became bigger it was necessary to make these structural changes that we have here... we break it up into smaller groups.
- S: Can you tell me more about the way that these needs that the parents were bringing or the clients that parents were bringing with children's needs, how these students' educational needs were being met?
- A: In 1993/1994, we moved to complementary in that while I say complementary, before we were particularly looking, our emphasis was on making youngsters catch up academically using these terms so to speak... eh, say, we know they were finding English difficult or finding Physics difficult to understand the equations of Physics... well we would go there and say "look, the reason why this child isn't understanding the equations in Physics or Chemistry is because they are weak structurally in Maths or they don't really understand equations in Maths" so we would work on that so they can transfer that, their algebraic knowledge into Physics and hence the equations and the manipulation equations then become ... you know ...it's not the terminology you don't understand what this stands for, but how you move these things around... so in that sort of way we will work. So we were doing that and hence making children catch up... We move into the programme of sup ... complementary in that the secondary programme became split, split into two halves, our aim is that the first half of the programme was strictly helping students to understand things they don't ... and therefore ... you know ... they're weak in whatever it is they don't understand decimals or percentages whatever their weakness ... that will be supplement of course and then in the second part of the programme we move into complementary education. We as teachers and professionals we knew from our own experience that a child within Year ten should... targeting the work in the top level should be able... be doing these things say Pythagorus Theorum, should be able to handle a quadratic equation or whatever and we within our own curriculum had this programme which we were developing.
- A: We developed... we... of course we were working only two hours on a Saturday we could not have followed a school curriculum... we had to look and take out exercises ... we know that we're working two hours, two and a half all day Saturday over thirty four, thirty eight weeks in the year... er we had to count it up how many that ... and it was a matter of thirty eight days of a lesser period so we had to say over this period in order to achieve these things we could only achieve say four specific topics ... How do we deliver the four specific topics, to what depth do we give these four specific

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topics, this is part ... this is how we approach it so we could pick out Pythagorus Theorem, you know that trigonometry there are four basic concepts of trigonometry which are sin, cosine and tangent- we did the three and that was how to use them ... this was done in year ten, fourth year and fifth year ... and we did as well as percentages. What else we did at that age? And of course equations, solutions of quadratical equations formula ... these these are some of the things in the programme we were doing that I can remember. In the programme there are a lot of more things but ... it's all there. Everything in this place has been documented.

S: Can we just move on now indeed into the, I'm just interested in that curriculum area because you seem to have spent quite a lot to develop the curriculum to meet the needs of the children and you had a sort of picture about the type of curriculum you are ? Can you just describe that to me?

A: We in this... as a black supplementary school and all the rest of it. We had what is still here, we had what we call the undeclared , the hidden curriculum, we placed a lot of emphasis on hidden curriculum in that in the sort of say visible or curriculum with the sort of bread and butter, mathematics, English literature, physics, reading, that sort of thing, the hidden curriculum had as its the basic time keeping, proper physical presentation, this was important, we had no tutors come in to tell us that the children are having problems with proper manners, respect, attention, concentration, in the class as our headings about discipline. And hence, this discipline, this overall personal physical discipline, time keeping, attention, respect, application, this was part of our hidden curriculum which we, you know, promoted and spent a lot of time on talking through with our kids.

In our English curriculum within their youngest tutees that is the low part of the school all our students, we have a reading programme which you must have seen in the back of our form ... and that we are always developing ... we struggled with that all over the year but we persist and I think the first time now 94/95 we've really got it together no, and we are really able to help children with their reading more and that sort of stuff.

S: What sort of problems in the early stage did you encounter at this stage?

A: Well it was just, in the early days, we eh we have limited finance because we are financed through the local authority and most of our finances are just some revenue but no sense of paying bills and parents make contributions, we have to meet our teachers' expenses. So we always have a problem with our finance and part of our, my major thing as director of those years was allocating funds; where do we put the finances to have the greatest effect. We had you know evolved something rather than say our teachers get a very small amount of money. I had always been of the opinion rather than me giving you an extra five pounds I'd rather have an extra teacher and more children. It's not about ... So that curriculum we had ... so within the lower school I call this school those below the secondary age we had a real chore.

A: So every student had a reading test and we have a specialist teacher. We have a record of every student in the lower form and know whether that student needs a weekly reading session, a weekly reading programme or a two weekly check or whatever but that person worked out a programme which was for them. This programme was discussed as well with the parents and students were encouraged to take books home from the library and that sort of thing. And so this was not just our thing. The reading programme was a joint thing between ourselves and the parents. That was the lower school so that programme of reading was going on. On the upper school, we had

within the English area ... we produced what we call articulation. Here all the English in the upper school within their programme had to have built into it ... and you'll see when you get a piece of newspaper ... what we call free speech, discussion, debate. One of the things we wanted to improve, we wanted to improve the articulation of our young people, we wanted to remove the mistake of our young people using, say, too many conjunctions, young people speaking, e.g. 'you know', 'you know' ... 'ah..ah..ah' and all this sort of thing between. You listen to them, but still you're not clear about what they're really saying, you too are making an assumption, a guess at what they really mean... and you have a shady area in conversation. So our debates or arguments, or whatever was to remove that from the conversation and was also in the articulation was to train our students to listen not to hearing someone speaking and because you have a good idea you catch onto a word and you immediately intervene in the middle of their speaking to you. Here we are trying to wait until someone has finished ... then you do your stuff. This was the, eh, part of that programme to ensure the English programme, the English we had was normal, that sort of thing. This is the part of that other part of the curriculum. Within mathematics as I said before we developed our kids to make sure they were ahead. We moved into the complementary and supplementary. Within biology we bought a lot, we have a microscope, we bought microscopes slides and we were ensuring that our kids were using slides and we have a Biology teacher who was looking at slides, talking about various things and we bought a set of slides and the microscopes. These things we don't use it now because of the change in the curriculum that biology isn't taught anymore as such. We're teaching now integrated science but before there involved a separate subject but now it's called integrated science, our science programme- being, you know...

S: So what you seem to be saying there is that sometimes the changes in mainstream curriculum now does affect what you are doing here.

A: Yes, we have, we have to, we've always kept this project in touch with the mainstream because we've always held this and I've always held this, it's no good a parent, a parent does not send their child to any extra curricular schooling like this because they want to get rid of them, it's the ... your success depends upon if the parents can hear, well, he's doing better, he's gone to a higher group, you know, you know, that is a, that is our success but if we can tell the parents a hundred times 'yes, your child had improved, yes he's doing better' but every time the parents go to the parents' evening the child has either been demoted or doing worse or is the same old problem then the child is getting no benefit as far as the parent is concerned from this institution. But say we measure our progress, by continuation of children coming to the school ... by the parents coming back and knowing yes the child has been going to our Saturday school and here they were in Grade three and now they are in a higher grade etc., etc., etc. That's how we measure our success and that's how we know our curriculum is as good. It is important too that we keep in touch with what is happening in mainstream schools because it's no good we are doing something here when a child is doing something different in school. In the earlies and if you look of most of our books we had contact with most of the schools in Croydon and we knew that the schools in Croydon were using some books in mathematics, some of the schools were using 'SMP', eh some schools were using 'TP' but we kept at it all so we knew the schools that were using certain texts and we would get those texts for, just a copy for the teachers and hence children who were using that text, we were getting them to do work out of that text, those were using SMP, because and then within all of that there

were things which were common and hence those were the things which we complemented but for particular work we did things separate.

S: And how did the mainstream schools take that?

A: No, the mainstream schools we were always... ah... you know, we were always, ah, we were never a threat or we never felt anything with the mainstream school... We always had a good working relationship with all the mainstream schools in that mainstream schools themselves would recommend students, in that many headteachers, headmistresses, phoned me and asked if I had a place for some child, either child just come from the Caribbean or Africa having some problems with settling in and they think when the child comes to the CSEP, being in a community, children of their own kind might assist them to overcome, you know, the cultural thing and of course help them with their work. Oh no, we've had very good relationships all the time with schools in our area.

S: Good, good.

A: ... dedication towards everybody in the schools.

S: Good, good. So what you seem to be saying is that although you set up for the black children you've tried to involve as many areas of the community as possible, aspects of the community as possible.

A: I'm not sure what you mean by that.

S: Eh, like, you said the education authority had been involved, the headmasters had been involved ...

A: Oh, agencies, yes, oh, yes. The agencies we involved, the schools, we've never made distinction, it's never been a planned self esteem thing. It's never been something to ... eh ... to say undermine the schools. I personally always preached and I've preached to the parents, I've preached to the kids that we inside the schools are not better than your teachers in the mainstream because that will in a way condemn us all because we ourselves are teachers in mainstream and I've always preached this, I still maintain this is the essence of our project, it is we provide an atmosphere provide an environment in which our students can (1) learn how to learn (2) because it is an environment, we provide an environment where our students can increase their concentration level. I think these are things too ... OK we teach in between, we bring clearer understanding maybe to areas where students are having some difficulty or some, you know, they're not clear about it but in the main I think it's the environment which is the most important thing we give here but it's not that anyone of us are better teachers than, you know, because it would be condemning us. It means we are not doing our professional jobs. And I personally, have always thought what a school has five days to do, we can't do it, you know, we cannot claim any success for our students getting through their exams. So what we do, we've made a contribution to it, either attitudinal contribution, changing a child's attitude to study, you know, we've that contribution to make and we've helped in helping them to understand things more but we cannot say that we have. We've made this child succeed as such and I preach that publicly, openly and I think that's one of the reasons where schools and headmasters in the early years have understood. This is not some sort of clandestine thing which wants to say what the white people or schools can't do, we can do better because to my mind it's a nonsense and of course in a teachers' mind it's a nonsense because I don't think I teach less when I go into mainstream than I teach in the CSEP.

S: So what you seem to be saying there is that the school here, they are not in competition with what is going on in the mainstream.

- A: We are supplementing, contributing to and clarifying, and I said we started complementing, in that we were enriching children's understanding by providing a little bit more the depth to what they have before coming to us, even then we say complementary.
- S: Now let us just look at this what have you that you would say are making a ... I mean, children have ... many people have said that they behave well but when you compare that to the mainstream school they say that children's behaviour is not in line with some of the things going on within the school system, how do you see that?
- A: Well, all ... what you find is that if you should put a trace on the children attending the CSEP, you find that if you just spoke about misbehaviour, poor behaviour patterns in the mainstream school, that does not apply here to my child who had, who has now become part of the supplementary school or the CSEP population. What to define that this might be ... There are many factors that children come to the CSEP. (1). Might be poor behaviour in school, that parents are just at there wits end and do not know what to do for them. (2). It could be poor behaviour affects, academic performance and hence that is the reason why they come. They can come because of poor academic performance you know, or just ambition to improve themselves more than the sheer academic thing. And because I said earlier this is not a program about school learning, it's not about underachievement, it's a programme to enrich and increase their knowledge. Now, all of these, what you find, when a child comes along to this school for whatever reason, you find that once a child becomes part of this population, they begin to understand and conform to this school, that those things are no longer a problem, that most, all of our children who are in the mainstream haven't got a behaviour problem, it isn't there anymore if they had it before because of the interaction of this and you know, the high standards that we preach here ... these things disappear .
- S: So can you please just explain about the people or things that you think are helping the children not to create the type of problem in this school?.
- A: Well this CSEP is more ... because in the main, it's not so important the CSEP in its make up of its personnel. I've always noticed. It is not about having black people stand up in front of black kids. It's about having the best we can get to teach our children, very often they're White, Portuguese, Indian ... Whoever they are so long as we can get the best teachers who are prepared to come and work on our programme. I've always felt we have that. Because I've always believed that as the leader ... we can instruct, we can create the curriculum, monitor the situation, that those teachers will give our students the best and you know, that business about whether they're White, Asian, whatever, standing there in front of the children doesn't matter but however and because of that and because of the staff teachers are in the main, as you can see, we have a mixed race of teachers with black teachers standing in front of black children in a black environment. These students come to see us in two ways. They know we have a 100% parental support, not 50, a 100% parental support so they see as an extension of parents. This is a special parents repertoire here. Our skills, knowledge, whatever we can impart to them. So it's all of these things which are all in the extra emphasis of the school which has given these children a kind of respect and they respond in that in this school a child isn't concentrating, isn't able, it is, eh, nothing hard done, if we just hold that child back and have a talk to that child and to the parents. And we know that we'll get response from that child and from the parents. I personally, when I was a director, I had a way, I would walk round in each classroom, and I would view sometimes through the window and I have been in many

classrooms and clipped children round the ear, you know, they've taken it in their stride. Now that can't be done in mainstream school, you know, there are no teachers there who can clip a child round the head. I can do it here because I am black like them and they see me as a kind of parent, etc., etc. So these are the things which are, you know, happen in this school and that I say is the sort of echoes that we have done, you know. The other thing is that parents will come, parents will give us all of their support. So those are the sort of things which are the efforts, they are a problem constantly for children. It constantly varies over time ... what we are supposed to be doing, what we expect of them, you know, that is important, we always tell students what we expect of them. I always preach to them, this is not my project, it is not any of their teachers project, it is their thing and they have to, you know, deliver.

S: So what you seem to be saying there is that you are expecting the best from the children.

A: Always, always, we preach that constantly, yeah.

S: And in what way have you seen that materialise with the children?

A: It materialises because if you speak to the parents, the parents are the ones who tell us because the parents are interacting directly with the schools and the parents have always, you know, said you know, how the feeder schools react they know that, and their families.

S: Is there any difference in the way parents view the CSEP and the mainstream schools?

A: They've received the CSEP positively, very positively.

S: What do you mean by that?

A: They think the CSEP, again it's because, part of the general education delivery within the area, in Croydon and they view CSEP not as something, eh, let's say, clandestine, it is assisting their children in achieving in, you know, the mainstream ... whatever they want to achieve.

S: OK, now you've really helped me extensively on this curriculum, can we go to the aspect of management. How did the teacher come to be here? (Andrew laughs) ...How do you attract them?

A: The teachers come to be here through many areas:

One, we ask, we advertise through word of mouth and we have had teachers here ...teachers rarely leave ... rarely you know, the whole thing has become so important. The way the teachers have enjoyed here so much that they haven't really left.

And we used to advertise in the early. Through the teachers bulletin which is through the local authorities so and word of mouth yes, that's how we advertise and get our teachers.

S: So when this teacher comes in how do you just take them, because you said that...

A: No, we get, we've turned down many teachers ... When teachers come here we ask them first of all to look around, we take them round the project, so that they'll see, go into the classrooms and look around to see if it's the sort of thing, the area they really, they want to be involved in, you know, they might hear about it, they might hear there's a lot of money to be made.

So, you know, we have all that sorted out, so they go round the classroom and see how things are. Having seen how things are then I'll have an interview with them, they'll talk to me and we'll go through what's expected of them, eh, we'll ask them to see if they're a trained teacher, practising, if not we'll ask them to see their qualifications etc., and if we think they can give, I really think they can make a

contribution in a subject area and really think and are looking hard so that they can give that we will like them to give, that's how we attract them.

S: OK, that's very good. Now, let us look at the organisational structure of CSEP . How have things developed over the years because you started in 82/83?

A: Right, eh, in 1982 when things started it was, eh, we had, the structure we had was myself as Director. At the time I was not called that, I was the project developer. We engaged a part time secretary who worked Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, a part time secretary we engaged . That run for a while but the Saturday, the Parents Students Association (PSA) used to come in and assist in typing etc. This girl, Tina was one of the Parents in the PSA who would come in and help the secretary in the office, do all the typing, take in money, make tea, you know, all the rest of it .

And I was responsible for basically hiring and firing, the curriculum, dealing with kids, you know, taking kids on and entry and all that sort of, or the dealing with local authorities and outside agencies. We developed from there, then we, our school became bigger, we started all the sixes which is what you see was started at the same time by some of us within the school who had the skill.

S: What does that stand for?

A: ... the pre-school?

S: ... no, the sixes ...

A: ... oh the under sixes that's ...

S: ... under sixes

A: ... so that started. Then the schools' getting big. The management was now something and they sought areas that I couldn't do, wasn't efficient in. We then had a teachers meetings, teachers decided because I put it to the teachers, we're going and things are happening, we have to move on the management of the project. The teachers decided that they'll elect a deputy and he'll serve for one year and every year we'll have a deputy. The teachers elected Mrs Graham who is now the project leader and having elected her they decided well she remain and hence they never elected anybody else. When the election came up the second year they chose her, they said let Mrs Graham stay as Deputy Head and hence she was elected Deputy and she just remained Deputy ever since. So we had this Deputy and I was still a bit occupied, Mrs Graham then became totally responsible for the juniors and thus, all the teaching then started then on the sixes, the pre-school group, she was responsible for the pre-school group. I was responsible for the secondary and overall hiring and firing and all the financing and external agencies. So my work cut down in a way, still having overall responsibility and the general curriculum, still discussing the curriculum,

A: the direction of the curriculum and with secretarial staff, that sort of thing and finance, and other outside agencies and raising funds. We developed and we got bigger. As we got bigger we moved on to a site and increased and of course the school grew. Our staff because in the thirties I no longer, I found that a strain because in the meanwhile, and because we got bigger we changed to new premises, we could then have consolidated the project, we could then having it on three days, Monday, Tuesday's and Saturday's because now we have the accommodation we concentrated the project into just 2 days so it removed that third, you know being here three days a week. But still with small premises, increase of staff, increase of students population, of course management problems also became increased.

S: Yes.

A: I was more, I could not longer have taught, I removed myself, I had to remove myself to just purely administrative role where I was no longer teaching, I was just administrating and financing all this, talking with parents ... Hence, it was a lot of change. We had to make a lot of change and myself and Mrs. Graham we sat down and discussed the other changes we'd made was to have what we call section heads so the project was split up into section leaders. We have section leaders, section teachers were people responsible for their areas, say we had the under sixes, also for a section leader we had students who were in the first three years of their life, we had section leaders for that. And henceforth these people were responsible for the curriculum, for the delivery of curriculum as agreed by parents and teachers, teachers meetings etc. They were responsible for delivery and efficient delivery of that. They're also responsible for if one staff is short ... they are responsible for managing the area re-organising their staff etc. classes ... because before that if somebody was short, the teachers or someone would come and tell me, haven't got a maths teacher, that is my responsibility so all of that was removed from me.

So we have section heads and at the same time we had section leaders it was just myself and Mrs. Graham, who were say two overall leaders, directors and assistant director. Again, we came and we spread out on to two different sites, one site had 3 buildings and the other site we had one building and because again of the growing, of the growth of the project, we compressed the project, increasing the number and population, increasing the varied curriculum, the indepthness we wanted to ... We have to change the structure and here we decided to bring in what we call assistant directors and this is where we are now. So we brought in assistant directors, myself as director, Mrs. Graham as Deputy Director, two officers, and these assistants are for specific areas of responsibility so that's how. And again during this period we had a parents' committee which is as though ... we had trustees called not governors, we don't call on, management committee! And the management committee during all this went into the front. Of course we had some political struggles on the way ... In the political struggles we had a girl who was of course on the management committee. We had a struggle in the management committee where the parents on the management committee thought they ought to be totally responsible for the project, that they ought to decide, they ought to hire, fire, since its a parents thing, all the hire and fire, be responsible for the project, eh, ought to be responsible for the finance, managing the finance. I myself having had some experience see what's happening around with some organisations, I resisted this vigorously. We had eh and hence our project was literally split because I said to have that we became political. I was determined that professionals should be responsible for the curriculum, the delivery of the curriculum, the hiring and firing of staff and because I myself was so deeply involved I did not want any and everybody to be responsible for the financing of the project because in the past history these things have gone away and very, a lot of good ideas have hit the, you know, came a cropper because of somebody, whatever, some, somebody, some political thing nothing to do with the real essence of what issues, it's political or personalities. And hence, anyhow before this opened up, the management committee came to found out about this as well as the parents committee was, eh, the parents organisation rally round me and with a lot of parents, we talked, and they became close with me and were able to resolve the issue. The school never suffered as such. Never, it was just political within the parents and me, the teachers and myself ... Some parents thought I was too powerful but eh ... may be I was and may be I was

too autocratic and dogmatic but I dreamt of this thing and I gave a lot to it, it was my lifeblood was in this thing and I was not prepared to see politics. At the same time there was this great debate about Black history. A lot of people, the politicians among the black people were talking about black history of course we have parents who believed the same thing who came to complain because we're not teaching black history. Now, my view on black history has always been this that eh, yes black history matters but I was not prepared to preach my own brand of politics, history one, history this. I'm not a historian. I was not and I have always held the view that the parents send their children here not to ... they send their children here primarily because they want their child to improve in their mathematics, we're getting this request in their academic subjects at school. That was the mission, that was the criteria. It was not the criteria of politicising the children, that is not ... And hence I always had the view that black history, black politics whatever was done with visual aids. I give you that sort of thing thus those visual aids around the building and we adopted that in secondary school all day. In secondary part of school all our library and our books on history they, the English book that we would be writing would be my forte that is where I sit and I left it there and I really concentrated on delivering what the parents wanted for their children.

S: So what you see to be saying is that the focus of CSEP is basically to increase the life chances of children in Britain.

A: If you look at our constitution sheet that is being used, "to improve the life chances and so on", that is our philosophy.

S: Good, good. And can you just expand more what and how you were able to really get children to do that, to increase their life chances.

A: Well, we, we, yes, but that is done by making children become more aware. Education isn't something like an enlarged nursery class, but education, their education is important to them because their education determined their quality of mind in more years than OK they span about ten, twelve years in school, but that education which they have sown in that ten, twelve years, basic sort of education I'm talking about, will determine their quality of life in the next forty, fifty years. We, we, we, preach that to our students so it became important that they understand that this time is not just a passing phase but is going to determine their lives forever, because, you know, that's how things are. These sort of things hence you must get yourself some copies from the school .. we have ... a lot of these things in the writings of our kids in secondary schools.

S: OK, OK, So let us just go back to them, some of the things that you've raised. You were mentioning about problems that you encountered at support, as the project leader within the, eh, project and you were talking about the management structure, the politics of management, also about the curriculum issues, council, black history wanting to be introduced by some black activists.

A: That's right, uh huh.

S: What are your own views about that?

A: Black History?

S: Yes

A: I have ... my views are very positive. I believe in black history but I, I, ah, I as a, I think I like to call, see myself as an educationalist, however you want to interpret that and as also one who's politically aware. I do not believe, as an educationalist and if I'm going to be true to all the things you know I believe in, I don't believe I can have, say someone who reads a book tonight or reads something about something, stands in

front of a class of young people telling them about history. If you're going to do history you become, eh, you know, you be a historian so I know when you're interpreting that you're not just, ah, performing a political thing because this is something you have to care for a lot. Most of what we call thing with black history going around is really a political, you know, look at it. OK, There are some black issues but there is politics more than the history. And I have always, always, and therefore preached, I'm not into indoctrinating young people with my black politics. I have my brand of politics, I have my own philosophy but I'm here as a professional educator. I'm here to educate children to enable them to use their own minds in, as liberals, to use their minds clearly to their much extent not to be roped in or hemmed in by any sort of dogmas, you know, then I, you know teach all my classes is if you can think about it, not to think about it and then be drawn in that is a sin or whatever. So, part of my thinking is always, always, always, always, parents are here because of their children and our task as professionals was to do a professional job not a political job. Although what we are doing, the mere act of working with our children outside of the normal school hours, this is a political act in itself without making it overtly so, there is no need.

A: So, by just, this is a political act in itself, you know, so this is the way I see, my view of black history is not so, I know my black history, I think. It is not for me to confuse that in young minds, it's to open young minds to think, open young minds.

S: So let us just look at the, em, the future of such projects. What, eh, I mean, what do you see as the future of such projects, what, eh, I mean, what do you see as the future of this type of project before we specifically come to CSEP.

A: What will be the project? I think, what will be the future, I think

S: Of Black Supplementary Schools, in general.

A: I think the future, my own view and this is what we have in the school been thinking about. I don't think, I think BSS, not this here but many Supplementary Schools are facing a massive problem. My own view is that many Supplementary Schools haven't really, philosophically developed, haven't really understood their role philosophically because I think too many Supplementary Schools have seen themselves as a political thing, too many Supplementary Schools, activists have got hold of them. I see Supplementary Schools having to think seriously, they have to indeed come together, we are the professionals, retain the Supplementary School to take the leadership and that coming together, here in the London trust, a thing that was set up by a universal sort of Supplementary Schools body which hasn't really gone anywhere, the National Association of Supplementary Schools (NASS) which I supported extensively but that no longer exists, that has gone defunct and all of these things because in none of these things do people really have, you know, only occasionally, these things be moved from politics rather than the educationalists. I think education will bring these voices together.

But it's important that Supplementary Schools begin to develop their own curriculum, Supplementary Schools of the past have been reactive to either political or educational problems. They have been reactive institutions. They haven't yet come forward and made, and become what I call complementary to the, rather than reacting become proactive. Supplementary Schools with all this have to come together and be seen in the future as a national body with a national curriculum, understanding clearly what they want to do and how they want to do it. I think the Supplementary Schools at least what we are discussing, discussed that and this, and that is why If I still

remain in CSEP that would be my project this year, it's to bring them together. The Supplementary Schools have a lot to learn, they can research how they can get more funding, how they can maintain themselves as we do here in this project, train, we do our own internal training because teaching in Supplementary Schools is different from teaching in mainstream, there are differences. Supplementary Schools have problems with their books, most Supplementary Schools have old books and teaching old things Supplementary Schools have been bogged down or some Supplementary Schools just have political activists, their teaching isn't progressive and I'm not saying this in a bad way, I don't know if you've been around to all the CSEPs ...

S: Yes, I've been around some.

A: But I've been, I hope, you are getting the same. Some of them are teaching the same thing week after week, whilst our population goes up, in these schools they remain small and kids don't go to them because the kids get bored and the kids find their teaching not something progressive. Some of them stagnated, not progressing, kids can see that this will be done, this will not be done, and they won't see progression. This school, it is because of the curriculum here, it is a progressive teaching school, kids know, they know they can come here. Kids know what they want. So, Sam, some Supplementary Schools because of the political nature, activists, parents and teachers who haven't got the skills, professional skills and all these, Some Supplementary Schools are without the professionals because of the politics, somebody doesn't know their subject very well you know, so the school remain, become, eh, stagnated, you find they don't grow.

Now, ah, within these schools we need now to look over the last 10/20 years or so, Supplementary Schools have been about helping all students to cope with these, what I call the, easy R's, the 3 R's and trying to get on top of that etc. etc. We ... within the last 10 years there's been an explosion, we've now moved fully, heading fully out into the technological age. Now, we have to within Supplementary Schools on a national basis or at least on some regional basis understand that we have to be more involved educationally, that we have to help guide, we have to come to a way of guidance for teachers, for students, and ensure our students go, don't go into areas, or be guided into areas that will not be helpful in their future. When I say this, that students, you know, are somewhere doing exams and learning how to file, filing is something of, you know, it's on its way out, you know, people are now filing by calculator, data base, you know, they are not putting pieces of paper in order in cabinets any more you know, but that's still happening but that's not where things are.

In Supplementary Schools, we have to fully understand that we are in a technological age, we have to gear them to think seriously about equipping our children to cope and to survive and to become functional within that age because otherwise our work will be irrelevant. You know, we are reaching now the age where we ask ourselves who cares if you can spell well because every child will have a machine and in that machine somewhere has put all the correct spellings for them already, you know, you know, who cares if you can punctuate or you can write grammatically well while someone has put in the machine already, eh, you know, how you put correct grammar, you know, it's all there in the machine so someone. These are important technological questions to ask is you see yourself now, that eh, you know, there is no need for you to walk because if you need, have a plastic card, this is money, or if you need a £5 you can go and push it in a hole in the wall and get your money out. These

are steps which they have to learn. What sort of careers are we .. can children find, these are things within CSEP we have a great work to do. We have what you see here, a lot of our young people are indeed electronically equipped, you see a lot of black youngsters with their ear phones and using mobile phones to communicate with their friends, they have all these things but what the videos and all the rest of it but they haven't yet begun to find themselves as being part of this technological revolution and becoming a workforce in it and hence unless these things are being done and we as educationalists are political activists, whatever begin to preach this, our students, our young people, I foresee that they will become unemployed because the skills they will have to offer, the skills they need are no longer needed. You need to know the skills that are needed. Yes, that's where I see Supplementary Schools working. We have to now understand, it's not a competing with technology, we have to go the technology root, we have to begin to play a part within this thing or else we will still be training kids in theories that are not relevant, so, you know ... we will be failing the students.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that technology matters. What are the things which you say matter in order to really, make or assist black children through projects like this to become somebody who has a future in society?

A: Eh, this, we still, we still would have The CSEPs, we would still have a role because within the CSEP students can speak to people, professionals. Students feel that speaking to teachers within The CSEPs about problems, about career choices, that there is an honesty and there is a caring. I think this is very important.

S: What is that?

A: Caring, care, there is a care and there is an honesty, that no-one in the CSEP is, ah, going to say to a child I really think you should do this because, just because. There are jobs in the community I think you are best and you're really good at, do that, or something, you know, or let's explore, you want to do this or that at school, this catering or you know this, you know, so they know that is there. I think this honesty helps our young people and this is where I think the CSEP, the CSEP expanding and becoming a community resource. The words school I don't see quite defining. the what it is about us. I see in the future it becomes a whole community resource, ah, but with its main emphasis on the academics, academic achievement and that will be its main emphasis not to be distracted or side-tracked by other projects that started as Supplementary School but become what it takes you know, take on order, social areas and all sorts but to remain focused on education but slowly understanding that they are a community resource but within the umbrella of education.

S: So, what you seem to be saying is that the education or academic areas should be the area of focus.

A: Yes.

S: And what vehicles do you think they could use to achieve this aim?

A: Now, the vehicles, the vehicles are, the vehicles that we could use to achieve these aims must be a partnership between all professionals, we are professionals, black, white, whatever, professionals who are professional in the CSEP, parents and other agencies because education is extremely expensive and you need to work with these other agencies. Some schools are rich, and some schools are not. This is the part of the project which we have been discussing, I say, and as I've always try to convince people, I hope the leadership in the CSEP will go along that area. One will be to link in with certain businesses so that we can get what we need. Get stricter training for the workforce, and for the children in our schools. Another area is to work closely with the schools themselves where our children are in. Other areas will be to expand

out and extend our students so that students who want to work on any areas of any subjects in which they are weak, we can link these students with private tutors for may be a term where we will pay and monitor children their performances. It could be say, that a student want to do technical drawing or geography, we can get them extra tuition. Education area is a poor arena, it is the area where we need to be linking in with parents, bringing in parents more to put their moneys into the project and also to bring parents in more to be participants in the project, to assist with those areas they can, you know. There are other areas in which I see the job, where they are the local authority and those sort of agencies are concerned. We in the CSEP are already working with some agencies and as a matter of fact if you look here we have documentation where the local authority, where we talk, we are preparing to work together on a programme where we can work, we can bring our teachers and all teachers in local authorities so we can, eh, discuss areas, all areas working on with the local authority as a means of say, bringing the richness of the supplementary schools into the mainstream, other areas the CSEP can benefit financially is to have schools seconding their teachers so rather than the CSEPs having permanent teachers and having to pay the teachers, if we can have, say two or three teachers or one teacher seconded, we're no longer talking three salaries, now you're not talking about payment, only a wage, we will have that teacher, we wouldn't have to pay their expenses but the other teacher would come and the teacher would be working under us, delivering the curriculum under us on Saturdays, we will have that, and that teacher will be learning in a new environment to cope at the community school and try something different. We are working on getting the local authorities to fund this. This is something where negotiators are looking into so as to cut the expenses of the CSEP. If we can have on Saturdays the local authority seconding some of the teachers so OK they are getting a wage, the local authority says we will pay the national salaries and second you for three months, you know and in another three months we will second another teacher and then the CSEP will have a continuous supply of teacher being funded by the LEA.

S: You have solve the problem!

A: Right. Still at the same time we will be looking to decide how long a teacher should stay. It's no good having a disturbance, if in all academic areas you have teachers and then a new secondment they will need time to change. For example they will need the time to inform the new teacher that this was something or the area they were working on, these are the ideas, etc., ... there you are ...

S: Now, some people say that ... eh, I mean these are just arguments but there are also the possibilities ...

A: I'm supposed to go to a place near Oxford Circus at 2.0'clock. Do you have a vehicle to get me there on time?

S: Yes, I'll certainly take you, its on my way out of London.

Let me just look at the area that some people have been debating, that is, some people have been saying that the best way of really helping black children is to have a community black school and other people say if you have a black school you are segregating them from the community. We are on two sort of areas here, Supplementary school or Black school, which route do you think black people should follow?

A: Let me stay on this point there and this has been addressed in fact, some of this is my personal view. We blacks have this great problem. At any moment we separate ourselves, we and other people around us start to see it as something bad. Everyone

who is separating themselves, therefore must be bad. We only believe that this is not the right thing. OK. We welcome anyone to join us here, and nobody has come to join us, who is capable and has been turned away. We are the ones who always want to join others. Jewish have their own schools and no one complains about them having separate schools. OK. Europeans have their schools and they don't want black people there. Asians have their schools and their languages and we don't go there. When we have our schools we feel as though we have to justify our schools. I have always said that it is open to all. Personally I find this as a weakness of ours, you know. We need to psychologically and intellectually fight this. Sometimes we do not feel that we can have our own excellence and we've been bogged down by this by those who try to articulate things on our behalf. We always have to mix with others to have what we want. I need to say this, we are always open to any race.

Every other people want to have their own school because they think they can do better for themselves. I find no problems in having a black school as a school, myself. I believe that if I have my way as a black person, I'll like to to set up black school not as a school for black people, but as a black school for excellence. We must have competent people. I want the best. We have to move away from this sort of area of defense, and move to where black people set up schools that are able to compete with other schools in their area.

So I want to remove any incompetencies from this project, I want us to strive for a place of excellence. If this happens, we would find ourself becoming attractive to others. To prove itself as a school of excellence, ah, yes, ... we have to get the best people to prepare for the best, totally committed, absolutely committed.

That's how I see black school, not black schools as something for just black people. It has to be more than that. It has to be a passion, a real commitment.

S: So, the other time you said to me, sort of, your own view about students who are high achievers because you said that you had a sort of, eh, sort of vision for black high achievers.

A: Yes.

S: Can you tell me more about this vision?

A: We have, I had a vision (background - you have to go now? Tessa: I'm coming back). Yes, we have a vision of high achievers in that in the early days in this project we had quite a few areas that we wanted to develop. We wanted to run a school, although some people might not see that, we wanted a school that runs along academic line.

That was the beginning of the dream. It is now happening. The second stage is to identify some of the children who are high achievers and then get some sponsorship for them to be financed to have the whole curriculum which would be so different, so intense which is to get the best from them.

This has not happened yet, because, we again, this is a long term project. It's a project that takes tremendous amount of determination, tremendous amount of finance. I spoke to a lot of people within the community, ah, people who held my sort of ideas and these people are willing to be part of it. I say eh, I keep saying that my time is running out on me, and I just haven't got the time anymore. I'm finished with the CSEP, I'm now returning home to Guyana, may be when I get back there, may be I'll pick this up but that is my vision of the high achievers. Not necessarily in the CSEP,

we know that there are African Caribbean students in some schools who do exceptionally well. We would recruit a set of special teachers. And if for example in this lesson they are doing exceptionally well in computing, biology and physics, maths and whatever, we would ensure that we train them higher. This would be something that has to be closely worked out with the involvement of their parents and with the student themselves. On top of this type of curriculum, is to infuse a higher other curriculum with philosophy, not just educational philosophy but that which makes people to want to be the boss rather than be bossed. They have to be the boss. They'll have to be compulsive students who want to excel not just in reading but in life, and we should be there to help them, shaping them up here and there. We need to extend them through compulsory reading and study in philosophy and other areas of life. They have to be people who would like to be above others in their studies. This needs to be backed by philosophy. It's something that I can't quite explain to you but I can write it down, I can't quite explain it to you now because it would take too long.

S: OK. Would you be able to get that to me?

A: I don't know, I doubt it because it's just ideas I have in my head and it's just you know, it's just, it's an idea I have, it's not what's going to happen in the CSEP because I have moved away from the school. I did have, as I'd foreseen this higher order school, which is something that would have to be self financed. It would have to be totally commercial, and be financed with parents and other benefactors. That's what I think will make it to work.

S: Now just before we finish, this is my last question really. I'm still concerned about the future of black school because, em, you stated earlier on, that it should be a sort of school of excellence, and to aim to be the best. How do you see that materialising within the British system?

A: Within the British system the only way I can see a black school, I do not call the John Loughborough school, the school in North London a black school. A lot of people here call that a black school but it's not because it operates on Seventh Day Adventists philosophy. All over the world Seventh Day Adventists churches have schools, so Britain is no exception. But it's just because its congregation are Black people in London, Britain and they go to Seventh Day Adventists church. That's not a black school.

Black school in Britain is yet to start. When I say black, I meant one with black philosophy, black secular not religious, purely, high academic things. This has not started yet. We have not yet got this in this country. We've got ah learning school, where boxer has given some money to send some students to colleges, that's his own duty to his community.

To open a Black school, it will take a lot of hard work, take tremendous lot of faith, tremendous lot of vision and people with extremely clear vision. They will have to be carefully financed because they, you know they're financed everywhere and anywhere so they'll have to be politically separate, you know, black separate, within their own community. Now, that black schools as I see it, its personnel have got to be from the black community. Its leadership must be from the black community, that is the headteacher and the leadership in that school has to be someone from the black community, who passionately believe in black philosophy, someone with a clear vision, someone who has the ability to lead that school. Its teachers can come from any cross-section of the community but the leadership must be and the control of the

curriculum must be in the hands of black professional. Now its student population I say must be 90% black, that has to be, that school then must aim for the black vision. The leadership have got to be in the hands of those with clear vision and who are well aware of the problem facing black people in Britain, not in a racist point of view but a point of view of how the Europeans would operate their school to educate their young ones. They have to have that sort of professional skills to combat this, and do what it takes to educate black children along similar lines.

If we make it to be competitive, and become professional black school, we will turn things around and people will want to come to us. It's not that we would be running it blacks, people always chase for better things. So, if we make it better than other schools in the community people will always be chasing after it to get their children in. We would be better, we have to be to survive in the UK. or anywhere. Just aside, the same thing I believe economically, sociologically, in this country we should not assume that we can just get a good job, get a good car, get some more money, or we want to move out of our area. One has to work hard at it. We have to maintain our ground and ensure and give leadership to the people our area. We need to ensure that it is a well done job and ensure that everything is well done, then put it back into that area so that our area becomes an example to follow. We need to move away from that of following some other group or working with a group that are not interested in our welfare. We need to be able to stand on our own feet as a group and make something of ourselves. I believe this has to be done within education, we have to create our own education establishment, just as they're doing in America and with places like Horward University which has now become place of excellence, you know. That's been done in the West Indies, Universities have become places of excellence, you know, and in their schools. The is similar to what is happening in Africa. They have become a place of excellence not because they know better, but because they have people with clear, strong leadership and clear vision, you know. We have to do it here as well but I don't know, Sam, where we'll get people that have such view. Where do we get people that share similar vision? Where do we get such leadership from? I don't know. I say, hope and pray that it will soon come along. If it could happen in America, then we have to do it here, you know. We have to get those of our scholars who are excelling, we have to get them somewhere along that line to bring this to realisation but like everything, bringing it to realisation, it needs people who will be pioneers. In that they are prepared to give their life. Most pioneers have broken life to achieve things. Then those that come after are able to enjoy the fruit of their labours and are able to make it happen. But who will make the sacrifice? That is always the problem. If you are a pioneer in anything, you as a pioneer, you bring things about at an expense to yourself, to your family, to your finances, to your future but those after you will bless your name, you know.

S: Now, still on that, some people are saying that relationships matter, that is the, the black people are working with black children, they develop a sort of communal relationship that enables the children to achieve more, whereas some people say that no, you just sort of give them, the, teach them the three R's and everything will work. Could you please tell me more?

A: No, it's more than that, it's more than just the three R's. I said before it's the whole, ah, the, it's the commitment of everyone involved with the school, the parents, the children, yeah and all. The local authority, ah, supports us, but without the parents, you know, we haven't got anything because one of the things that we are very, very

much aware of is that today with ah, with all areas funding agencies are so short of cash and all that sort of thing and projects like us who are, who become too dependant on handouts from funding agencies are in grave danger of being forced into imminent destruction because of these agencies removing their funds to one of these other projects. This project has been developing and is very much aware of that danger, we've been developing additional resources. We've done this through other resources, kept our books. How we keep our book ... we keep our parents income separate from raised incomes from different funding agencies. We are always preparing, that if it should happen, hope to God it never happens, that we are in crisis from funding agencies that it will not be the end of CSEP. We must prepare ourselves for that eventuality because it is not inevitable but it is possible, you know.

S: So, still on the relationship. What you seem to be saying there is that there needs to be a good relationship between all in the CSEP children.

A: What type of relationship in ... Eh, it must be a respectful one, one of respect, em, the relationship, eh, we have with children in one respect as elders, respect as teachers. We've also got to respect them.

S: Respect of elders.

A: Yes.

S: We're talking about relationships and you said that, respect of elders is one of the things mentioned. Could you please tell me more?

A: Respect of elders, respect of the teachers as a person who have knowledge, a person who has knowledge and that knowledge is what they are after. We're trying to bring in the same as a sort of regard, respect that we had when we were growing up before becoming teachers, you know. It's that sort of real honesty the old West Indies style that we try to bring. These things you can't really articulate but all of us know when we're talking to each other, we know, we understand what we're trying to get at. Children don't need to call out, don't talk back and if they talk back in a certain way. Children are allowed to debate, allowed to ask because that's what we're about. We're not about passing them words of wisdom, the child's not passive, the child's an active part in its learning process. We do that all the time in the CSEP so the child's taught to ask the questions all the time, you know. That's what we do.

S: So what you seem to be saying there is respect for elders, would you say that that's African?

A: It is, it is, it is, it is, it is African, something we Caribbean people take with us into the foreign land. We've always had it there, you know, something coming back. This society needs it badly. I don't know what that has become in this society, you know, it has been seen as a weakness in our young people. If they show respect then people, you know, people think they are not as confident as their white counterparts.

S: So what you seem to be saying there and it agrees with some Canadian project that they are running. Their view is that black children should have some black orientation, that if giving them some of the concepts that we have in Africa or concepts that are based in Africa which sometimes is against what em people are advocating here like in Africa people advocate the spirit of community living. That is, like you were saying earlier on that the CSEP is for the community and by the community. And so what you are really saying there is that there should be a form of communal orientation.

A: Yes, but at the same time we have although, we look within our heritage, our Caribbean heritage, yes, we find things of great value, great cultural value, yes. We must be careful that even though some of these qualities, some of these things, some

of these attitudinal approaches will be good and will enrich our own lives, we must be careful that here the only thing that separates our young people born here, culturally different from us is the colour of their skins. We must be careful that we do not create a person who do not, who cannot cope within our society. We're not talking about people who are going to go back to the Caribbean. We're talking about kids remaining here in the UK. Exactly. I mean to say when we hear our kids talk, I mean some of them try to talk Caribbean patoi in English accent. It is so false and it's so, you know, the Caribbean people don't understand it, it's so different, it's something different. So we have to understand that we do not ever bring too many ideas, we might think we bring something good but at the same time we might be hampering the child who has to be functional, you know, in what we are called to use, a term of course, I hope you understand that problem, the first world society. We have to be very, very capable and that's why I'm saying in education it's very important that, you know, you can have politics and education, you have to be careful in this African oriented black education, politics is a very, very high thing, you know so that you have to be careful if you do not want to become under attack from young people.

S: Now I will be stopping here but I would just like a sort of word of advice for everybody that might either want to set up such a project or for anyone that you think might want to know what black people are doing?

A: Anyone who wants to think about setting up supplementary school what I would say to them? Let there be as many - and as Moses says 'let many blossoms bloom', let many supplementary schools exist. Every BSS, every area of help, any sort of help you can get, or get is a plus. It's not a minus, it's a plus. Whether or not it reflects this point on supplementary school, that's irrelevant. It must be but as I said earlier on, let us all be true to our young people and give of our best, our very best because we as the older generation we are cutting down our batons. We have to hand that baton of life, that baton of opportunity, that baton of educational excellence over to another generation, that generation must be able to run faster than we ran, must be able to achieve greater than we achieved, must be able to take the opportunities that we've missed. They must see them when they're about to come and exploit all the opportunities. We must work, whatever we do, to assist our young people to excel and be much more than we've ever dreamed. But as far as supplementary schools, the more the merrier. We can have, I say, we need, we need as many as there are and if only some of us believe that school is not just Saturday, schooling does not start on Saturday, last Friday. It is a continuous process. We have to get our young people to understand that schooling does not end on Friday and start on Monday. Education is a continuous ongoing stream, we have to enthuse them with that from the very beginning.

S: Great.

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

B: My name is Bihari Nouth. I am a full-time lecturer at the Sutton's College, where I teach students of 16 to 19 and 20+. My involvement with the Supplementary School has been for approximately 5 years.

S: What is your own view about the aim of this place?

B: The aim is to ensure that ethnic minority students gain confidence in the basic skills being offered by the Supplementary School, so that they could perform well in the mainstream situation and those who perhaps are doing well in the mainstream, the Supplementary School gives them the chance to excel more. We work at much on the level of the individuals and the children are taken further on an individual basis.

S: How do you see that working?

B: Some students are very passive in the mainstream school and if the majority are not progressing or do not have incentive to work on and take examination papers or look at it or perhaps come for the exams they need the exposure and this place gives them the opportunity for that exposure.

S: This is really interesting. Can you tell me more about this exposure?

B: I teach the upper groups, where they prepare for the GCSE and this time or even from January, we try to encourage students who feel less confident in themselves or are not aware about different examining boards in mathematics which is my field and the student are taken through this and they begin to understand the differences in the examining boards' requirements. This enlightens them about the different boards: i.e London, S.E.G., M.E.G., and others. It is not just that, it makes the children become more equipped in what the examining boards mean. The students become confident and understand the different examining boards and they themselves have the initiative to go to their teacher at the MSS and ask for papers from the different boards and bring it here to practise. They are then more confident and able to say 'I can do last year's papers and I can do that of the year before. If this year's paper is going to be like last years, then it is possible for me to get a good grade.'

S: You seem to be saying that by coming here, the students are being helped academically as well as psychologically.

B: It is not just so. It is being proved that education is not just about examination but about the enlightening the individual about what education is. For example, in Jamaica, we have the Western Caribbean and Overseas Examination Group, here we don't just have one examination board, we have several available. This is an enlightenment and even parents ask why are you doing this or that? They themselves become informed that in Britain it is not like the school in the Caribbean but that this is a different system.

S: What you are saying is that this place serves as a place to enlighten the students and their parents about what goes on in the mainstream. How has that been working here?

B: Excellent. I have been taking those who are in Year 10 and 11 and I found that the children are pleased to be aware of the examining boards, the papers and the preparation for the examinations.

S: Can we say then that this place is like for extra coaching?

- B:** Yes, it is extra coaching. It could be explained that because the students are so vague about what this all means, it can be shown on an individual basis what the exams paper look like. Also, unfortunately the children are not aware of the levels that they are: i.e Foundation Intermediate or Higher level and what these means. I am sure it is explained to them in the mainstream, but because it is done in a sort of general way it does not register. Also, because this is non-territory to them. In the College, in my own environment, we actually provide them with a little introductory booklet with about 8-10 pages to explain each examining board and the subjects they do. Also, how the College is structured is provided in the booklet, dates for the tests and when the examination entries close.
- S:** Is this for every student?
- B:** All. It is mandatory to tell the students what we offer, which board, the date of examination entries. This prepares the students with a format that they can actually see what they have got within a year. We have got all these built in the programme so that they can see that if they are sitting for the G.C.S.E. they should finish the syllabus by March and use April, May and June for the preparation for the exams. What we also do is to get them ready for the exam., so that at least the day before, they know what to take to the examination hall, i.e. like not leaving their calculators at home. They feel more at ease.
- S:** I am not trying to hurry you along, but I know that the time is short and I will like to get your view on other areas of the school. I am sure that everyone has views about this school. What motivates you in coming here one Saturday after another?
- B:** What motivates me is that I will be involved with a group of 12-15 students and I can monitor what subjects they have been doing and see that their confidence being developed on the exposure, and they can look at past question papers and answer those questions. I feel that if they can attempt these questions and do them and of course to see that they are interested in their work.
- S:** So what you are saying is that you want to help the students by monitoring them and helping them to build their confidence.
- B:** That's right, and that is the career which I have chosen and that's my job.
- S:** Is there any other thing that is motivating you in coming here?
- B:** I know that my own education suffered a lot and I have seen parents always aiming for their children to achieve higher in education and in this case all parents devote their energy, money and resources on education and if these students and their parents have decided to attend this Saturday School, I am delighted to be available to help them.
- S:** Good, so what you are saying is that you want to be involved in such place. What type of relationship is that generating within the black community?
- B:** The relationship between students?
- S:** Yes the students
- B:** Oh, excellent!
- S:** Can you please explain further?
- B:** Friendly, the one that we all help them. They are willing to ask questions and they are willing to perform. There is like in any institution like Saturday School, there may be one or two students who are still very lazy and don't want to perform but because everyone around them is trying to do a little bit more, it moves them to a higher percentage than they are achieving. This in time will alter their perception to want to achieve as well.

- S: So what you are saying here is that the teachers are helping children and the students are helping one another by motivating one another.
- B: Clearly, it is like I have heard a student in one of the group saying to the other 'why don't you try number 5? I have done no. 5 and I'll show you how to do it'. This is a peer group factor, and they use it to help one another to improve performances.
- S: Good. How do you see that being translated into their mainstream school work?
- B: I am sure that not all black students come here, so there may be black students in some schools for whom it is not convenient to come here. One will hope that these students working with their peer group at their school will help one another to perform. The long waiting list here shows perhaps that there are students who will like to come here, but they have to travel from a far place to come. One will hope that working with students will enlighten and encourage students to help one another to perform well. I think in these days, children are willing to help each other whereas when I was at school, we always want to do better than the next person. Today's children are perhaps not so concerned if they all get grade A's. This is a good factor.
- S: You said that you have been here for about 5 years. What changes have you seen within these five years in terms of development in this place and the progress of the children?
- B: We are getting more and more students, which years ago I thought were academically good and this place was an addition. Now we are getting more and more students whose academic competence really need to be addressed. In that point of view, although we say that their academic standard had risen, there are within it a large percentage of children who in my own opinion are underachieving, where this place is more or less the only hope or the main hope for them. Without this place, they will totally be lost within the system. That is one thing that this place is addressing.
- S: Addressing the issue, can you please explain this further?
- B: There are some students who are achieving purely because other children around them are doing so. I still feel that only a percentage of our students are achieving A's and B's. We hope that over 80% of them will get A's and B's but this is not necessarily happening. However, this place provides a real hope.
- S: Can we look at other area, the area of discipline. Can you describe how you see the discipline in this school.
- B: There is no discipline problem here, but there is the problem of laziness and as I have said, we are trying to address that by saying to the students, 'You are here for a purpose and that the time will go quickly if you achieve something. Also, you will be more confident in yourself.' Here you can sit with a group of four students with all of them working together and this may help them to perform very well. If there is something which they could not understand, I tend to say to them that I am here to help, so let us work together.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that here you encourage and challenge the students to do more by what they see around them and make them to use it to motivate themselves.
- B: That's right. Also they are able to see the results of working hard. They will soon be 15 or 16, if they don't have G.C.S.E. certificates, what have they achieved and what will they put on their c.v.'s. We also help them to prepare c.v.'s to be sent to their employers. You see now that we help our students and they feel helped and as such there is no discipline problem.
- S: Are you saying that you do not have discipline problems?
- B: Yes, not with year 10.

- S: Can we now move to other things. I know that you are involved with the College away from this place and you have seen the relationship between teachers and their students in the mainstream. How will you compare the relationship between the teachers and their students here with the MSS?
- B: The relationship in the college is one similar to the mainstream school. We teach students in groups. We have back up facilities at the College, where poor students who are underachieving could go to take workshops. They are forced to take this up. In my College, if a student is underachieving, they have opportunities to go on such workshops but it is not being monitored. Here, there is a difference. There are many teachers in the room, so, if it is not being monitored by me, it is by another teacher. Also, our students here do self monitoring, so that if they are underachieving, they see it as their own issue and will not blame other people.
- S: So they address the issue rather than blaming other people.
- B: Yes.
- S: Let us look at the assessment procedures. How do you assess the progress of the students here?
- B: We have a check sheet for topics in Maths. Also we have a tick box to show what they have done, and that they have done it and got it right. They diligently do this. Then we will say to them that when they have completed these ones they can go over the past exams papers. Provided they have covered all the skills that we have in all the different sections, they can practise these, and then tick the box that they have done it.
- S: Let us look at the programme as a whole. How will you describe the ways decisions are being made here?
- B: Decisions about what?
- S: In terms of running this place and in running your classroom.
- B: I can only tell you about how decisions are made for running Year 10 and 11. Sandra, who is in charge of the Section, has meeting with us (other teachers) and together we decide what plans and processes we must adopt or to do with the students and assessing how they feel or work on the work that needs to be done. We have series of worksheets, and materials which children could use to practise. In this school we have the section leader who is in charge of the section and acts as the supervisor for the implementation of the programme.
- S: How will you describe parental involvement in this place?
- B: I haven't got much to do with parents. I am sure but I know that they do take interest in what the students are doing. The group which I teach are age 14, 15 and 16 and at this age, students begin to take more responsibilities, as such there are less parental involvement.
- S: How do you see this place in 10 Years?
- B: I would like this place to continue and the areas that I would like them to focus is in the areas of literacy and numeracy. I will like them to be first assessed and if these skills are lacking, then they should be addressed.
- S: Some people said that such place should become a full-time school, and others say no, because of lack of resources and that it should remain as it is and maximise the present resources in helping black children. What is your own view?
- B: I think living in a multicultural society, it is important for the children to involve themselves in a multicultural society, and experience activities and education where they could mix with other students. Some parents, if they have girls, they send them to an all girls' school. Whereas if it is a boy, they send him to a mixed school. For me, as a parent I will send my girls and boys to a mixed school. Likewise, this society

where, we have people from different race and I will prefer my children to be in a multicultural society rather than be isolated into a corner where only their own black culture exist. If they are in the West Indies, possibly that's what they will see, but here I feel we need to be more tolerant to other students and perhaps make friends not only with the white but with black people and people from other race.

- S: That brings me to the last question, which is about culture. Some people say in America and Canada where they now have all black school, and they try to teach them and introduce the students to black culture and a black oriented curriculum. What are your comments about this?
- B: Here, there might be a problem about the definition of black as there are black people from the West Indies, people from African background, and some Asian countries. So at home in the West Indies, the issue of black has a new definition. Here in Britain, we have white children and black children on our streets which black children will have to learn to live with and work within a multicultural society. You have to equip them for this and for them to understand for example the work ethics of waking up and getting to work for 9 o'clock. Time issue is a problem for example when we say people should come at 10 o'clock they arrive at 10.30. If a work place starts at 9.00 and you come at 9.05, then you are late.
- S: You have raised some issues here, that is the issue of perception of a black person, how do you think that white people see this place?
- B: They will be jealous and will want to know why people's tax money should be used in this way. That is something that they might want to condone or work with.
- S: Thank you for your time.

BRENDA ABLE – TEACHER, CAUCASIAN INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 18

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

B: My name is Brenda Able. I am 64 year's old and I am white. I have been a teacher since early 1950s, when I was a Sunday School teacher, and had a sort of teacher/pupil relationship. I have no religious affiliation actually, I am an atheist. I am a grand mother and I have two grown up children. I have moved and worked in different areas. I have worked with the Barnados as a teacher, and as paid and voluntary worker in Croydon with the Local Authority doing teaching work. I have also been a visiting teacher. Until last year, I worked part-time with the Croydon Further Education College. Otherwise, I have worked within secondary education all my life. Almost, all my experience since 1965 has been part-time. That's why its a bit sporadic.

S: Since when have you been involved with the CSEP?

B: Since 1983, when some kind of advertisement was put in the Croydon Local Education Authority, by the Multicultural Education Unit and the unit which works with students who have English as a second language. The two are not the same as you know.

S: Mm.

B: .. and I just saw it. We've always had black children in Secondary School in Catford area since 1966 and in Eltham in 1964. That is when I first met some black children. So I thought that I will try and see if it is a good idea. I have been here since then, mainly looking after the interests of the senior students in their English classes. It didn't used to be on a Saturday. It used to be on a Tuesday. I think when it was founded, it used to be on Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays, and then we went to just Tuesdays for English and Mathematics on Mondays.

S: So, you have been with the school from its inception!

B: I didn't help found it. Mr. Johnson and Mrs. Graham did in about 1982. They had two rooms in somebody's house and then the council rented us a very derelict place over the mosque with a dangerous fire escape that the children used to run up. I mean we just have to do the best we could and that has all been pulled down now.. We then have a place at Woodside, and then we had to go on to two sites and then a couple of years ago, we got a place which used to be a very old boys' grammar school. Unfortunately, the place was too expensive.

S: ... then you moved to this place!

B: We moved to John Ruskin, where you met us about two years ago, last July. Yes, that will be right. We rented it from the council and it was expensive to run - the heating, and lighting were very nice, but a bit too expensive for us to run.

S: Mm. Why are you really involved with this, since you have now been involved for the last 15-16 years?

B: Yes it has.

S: So why are you involved?

B: At first, I have been very much interested in being a teacher. I always have been from the time I was a pupils teacher. I am very much interested in teaching. Secondly, I regard my role as a mother and a teacher to some extent co.-terminus. I am fully

- aware that many men teacher will not be very happy about that. I should think that any concept of professionalisation of a teacher might find such a role difficult and a bit awkward. I don't give a damn.
- S: Why do you see it as co.-terminus?
- B: That they overlap or almost overlap, almost as the same things. In my opinion and in my real heart, I think it is the same. I don't care if the child is illegitimate either. I don't care if the child is black, white or Chinese.
- S: So any child!
- B: Yes. But to develop that in an advanced theoretical phenomenological way, its going to be very difficult.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- B: Well, because on the ground, it is going to be dicey. How do you prove it and what exactly does it mean? If you are going to have a unionised profession or a professionalised group of teachers, you have got to be very unfortunate to be. You asked me why? I have not told you.
- S: No you haven't. I am waiting! Why are you involved?
- B: Well, I went to school in my early years. My mother died and I was brought up by the Plymouth brethren. Then I went to Belfast because of the bombing. I went to a Roman Catholic convent school, where I was quickly expelled at the age of 11.
- S: So you have been a bit of a rebel then!
- Both: Laugh
- B: The age of 11 is quite young really, but it is most equitable and if I am called, I will sue - S-U-E- the convent. But it was according to the law then and was long time ago, this thing called statutory obligation barely exist now. It's at the 6th Form that I went back to school in the Fairland Way, where I was born. It was a Protestant school, but now they accept Roman Catholic. They are about half and half. The big division in Ireland isn't about colour as you probably know, well it was religion. Then I got to the University, I was very lucky to get a scholarship in 1950. I was lucky and I got my degree in English. I work for a little while in the civil service and visiting schools to teach. Then I went to London University. I was very lucky to get another scholarship. Then I got my PGCE. Then I went to work at Pittsbrook. Oh! I have been working for a term or so in Northern Ireland. During that time, you see, if you just had an honours degree, you could go straight and be a teacher. Then I worked in London and then took 5 years leave of absence. I emigrated for £10 to Queensland, where I worked for some time. I came back for various reasons. I worked in the ILEA until 1965, then I had my two children. I took a degree in BA subsidiary in Relations in London. It was easier to do that then. After having my children, I went to work part-time with the ILEA.
- S: You were saying earlier that you were interested in being a teacher. Can you tell me more about what made you to become interested in Black Supplementary Education, especially in the Croydon one?
- B: Well first of all, it was pure chance because I saw the advert. Secondly, because I had been very good friend with some black girls, who came directly from Jamaica in the Secondary School in Catford County and they came partly due to the rules of 16+ and so on.
- S: Mm.
- B: And they came say about 12. Also I was interested in Languages as I was an English teacher. It was very interesting for me to see different kinds of English in the world. Standard and non standard, and some of them are what I would take to mean Creole

or Spanish of Dutch where Guyana is. That was two things. I feel number 3 is the teacher' duty to be liberal, decent as she can and I think that when they first came most had very bad time really in the 1960s and they gradually got a bit better. I remember talking to a white class (You see because I had a degree and a PGCE I saw all the range top-bottom sets) about 'immigrants' and they said that they knew one who was working as a domestic worker, earning £2.10 a week. That will be about £1.05 for a 40 hours week. I said to them that that was exploitation. So they said 'we do too'. I mean I weren't particularly friendly- lower middle class and that's reason number 3 and as an occupation I like to work. When you get in there, it is very interesting because you had children who had been previously referred to as being 'backward'. I know that you are not allowed to say backward. But other kids of similar age will be doing their own 'A' levels and are doing well. Then you have one or two students who were a bit sad - Mr. Johnson know about it. Whatever it is they speak, it is totally a form of English unknown here. It is very sad really. Like in Antigua, you get a few kids that are pedantic here than in Antigua and that is not very useful to their education. I mean we all do the very best we could and I really admire the other people, they are very very good indeed. You hardly ever get one who is never bothered.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that they work very hard when they come here and that makes you to want to help them.

B: Children?

S: Yes.

B: The children, they are OK. When I was young, you will find a class of white pupils, girls or boys and they will be top stream of the grammar school and they were bloody obsessed.

S: With what?

B: Obsessed with work and with careers. They were career driven. That's necessary. They say that's how the Japanese are. I don't really know.

S: Let's talk about these black students that you have been working with for the past 14-15 years.

B: In that school?

S: Yes.

B: But that's a voluntary one outside school.

S: Yes, are they OK. Since what I am trying to do is with this school, we can limit it to your experience within this school.

B: I will try to.

S: Let's look at your involvement with the children. Let us see the type of children you have been involved with. You were saying that some of the children were from the Special Educational Needs as referrals and you were comparing them with those doing 'A' levels.

B: Well, I used the term backward because that's the way I think of it because I am old and it is probably forbidden to use such term now.

S: That's why they are being called referrals?

B: You must know that the Special schools have closed, so forget it.

S: So, what do you mean by being backward?

B: Well, especially in boys. It is rare to find girls, very hard to find girls, almost never. It can happen but almost never. By backward we mean person who wouldn't or couldn't read properly and would be say 14 years old and will have the reading age of 8. Should they come to writing, when they write, they either cannot write or they write

- sentences which are not sentences, even though they try their very very best. Is it due to missing schools? or coming in and out of different schools? I am not saying that all boys are like this. You can find both black and white at age 17, who cannot read well and they are in further education. It is by no means uncommon in Nescourt and in Sandhurst. It is sad because in these days it shows it begins to show that there is not many job they can do.
- S: You said that you came to know about the school through advert, and through some black people that you've met.
- B: I like them and I have known them and some of them have been in our classes before. So we just carried on.
- S: So let us see how you have been involved with the CSEP. In what ways have you been involved?
- B: Teaching.
- S: I know, but as a teacher do you just help with English?
- B: Well, I have to admit that where I am, I am in the senior English, my main aim is on the examinations. I don't care what they say or how many theoreticians produce ideas. If a young person is 15 years old, they are looking at the GCSE, or they have jacked it in and they are truanting or they are best to go on the GNVQ. So, therefore, they have come and I mainly deal with the people for the GCSE and beyond. Because everybody is black except me. I make it my business to get the book we have got like 'Roots', 'Colored Purple', 'To be a slave', 'Roll of Thunder', 'Kill a Mocking Bird' and lots and lots of books.
- S: So you have been introducing them to books which are related to their own history?
- B: If you can, yes. But I have already admitted that my main interest is in their GCSE. There is one other thing.
- S: ..Yes,
- B: It is very very embarrassing, to me that 'Black' is a metaphor for evil.
- S: Mm.
- B: In the Bible, in Shakespeare like *Macbeth* and lots of other references. It is funny really, I've started to be embarrassed and I started saying to myself that it is just a metaphor and it has nothing to do with me. It is very difficult.
- S: Are you involved with the development of this programme? You said that your main interest is to help students pass their examinations in English!
- B: That's right.
- S: How are you involved with what you are doing in the classroom?
- B: I would like them to succeed in their exams.
- S: I mean what you have been doing in the classroom, are you involved with the planning?
- B: We've got a thing called section leaders meeting, and I am a section leader. Every now and again, we have meetings, just after school really and try to develop our ideas. Our focus as at the moment is to raise £5,000 so we have to set a couple of things aside. We had sponsored walk in Croydon. Neither of these have happened much. Well it has happened once, spelling has, but we still have to raise £5,000. Last year we had a barbecue and I it is a lot of money really apart from anything else.
- S: What will this £5,000 be used for?
- B: Mr. Vic Hansen, he is in charge of all those things. He is the best person to ask and Mark, he is the assistant Director. They have just explained the balance to us, and as I said before, the building is very expensive. It costs about £11,000 per year to rent and then the Council wants us to pay rates, though we are a Charity organisation. We had

to find £800 for that. I mean it is a major operation to find money. So we have to come up with bright ideas.

S: Mm. So what is the £5,000 for? You were saying earlier that it is to develop new ideas.

B: Oh no. It is what we need to have to cover our expenses and maintain the school and all till we get to the next financial year.

S: OK.

B: I am really sure. I know it is £5,000 and I know that they have asked for ideas and some of the ideas are good. I mean lots and lots of charitable work are in some form of difficulties about finances you know.

S: Yes. OK. What will you really describe as the mission of this place?

B: Children and young people should be conscious of themselves as proper people, which they are and proper black British. I am not too sure about this 'Africans' here. I want you to put that in invited commas. I know that I have often been paid to take naughty boys, but they are not naughty here. I have a particular boy in mind who is at Selhurst. They have been trying to get him in here but we haven't had much success.

S: So are you receiving funds from the Council to do that, i.e. for specific purposes?

B: In the past we did. I think we did but it was years ago. So the Council will pay. Croydon Council Corporation are not too bad really, but they I mean the lads might come two or three times and cannot work around what we are doing. We know there is no ill-will and people will put up with a lot of things, but if you have someone who is acting out a lot, it distracts other students and young people.

S: Sure!

B: ... and it is ... I don't really actually care that people might be upset but there you are.

S: Still with what goes on in the school. You said that you are a Section leader and that you have been involved with the curriculum development by looking at different ideas. Can you please elaborate on these ideas which you have been involved with?

B: Well, first of all, we collect as much as possible about black people and black history and a lot of that is black American. Daphne has got lots of books about it. That's the thing. There is a friend of mine who is on the same course with me and she is willing for you to interview her. She used to be a nurse but she is retired and she is looking for a bit of work as a nurse. She has completed her MA and I am still struggling with mine. She lives up in Haringey. I said it is about Black education and she said that she doesn't know much about it since she has left Antigua. Back to what I was saying, first of all we collect as much materials as possible. If you want the stuff from America, you could if you want them. (Journals on American Negro University). 2. You have to look at black English syntax. The child is unlikely to get past 'D' grade and so what I am doing there is that there are different sorts of English. I have got very interested in different books of pidgins and Creoles and of all varieties of English as a language in the world of English and Spanish and I tend to point out the differences as one which should exist in their own right. However, for the purposes of getting a better certificate and surely for examination purposes, you must watch it and not leave off the final 's', if you do it will look like a grammar mistake..

S: Yes.

B: But if you do it a lot, you cannot really expect to get 'A' grade. When you come to 'A' level you should pass, because in 'A' levels examination there is a place for different sorts of English' like Lancashire dialect- written with very strong, so you have to look at the actual language and the production of language and for the purpose it is being used. 3. This is to maintain harmony and to good self image as much as one can and

promote that. These are some of the things that I think the school is doing and I think they are really interesting. They are normally always supportive and very matey with each other, with very nice atmosphere.

S: What do you mean by their being matey?

B: Amenable, nice with each other. I have to tell you that it is not so in the mainstream, where people hate each other, very much so in some cases. Different groups like Turkish, Cypriots and Greeks - years ago, Africans are not too keen on Black British sometimes and Black British are not too keen on Nigerians sometimes, I hope I am not insulting you.

S: No, its alright.

B: Whereas in this school, they mostly get on nicely, not absolutely, always but mostly. I think some of them didn't use to like it where somebody came and they spoke very very odd sort of compared to standard English language. They thought that they are letting their side down. I don't know. But normally, they are very matey in comparison to other people. School class used to be very very nice to each other - though not always - a lot of them say things like we wouldn't steal of you miss, we don't steal off people we know. And you could take them out, anywhere like Spain, I would think twice before taking a class in the mainstream out now. I am talking about Secondary state school, because there are too many splits and too much violence and sometimes the authority pretends that its not happening till somebody gets killed.

S: So, how do you see that being related to the CSEP?

B: Well, the children who can manage to come will come but often as to the rest of Croydon you just have to do the best you can. I mean a lot of Croydon schools will probably be privatised- as this is the second richest Borough in London. So a school like Westwood and Crommer probably will become private girls' school. Then, people who cannot afford that will just have to carry on at the state school.

S: How do you see the CSEP as a community?

B: It is a very good thing. I mean the Mayor of Croydon and the Bishop of Croydon is black. The people that are black and live here have probably always live here. People can't emigrate much now a days. I think it is a very very good thing. I can see that people who are far 'Left' will complain about the school saying that parents are buying extra help for their children, it's not right, but I don't agree with that. If you want to put extra money into helping your child, it is up to your - good luck. I think it is right that they should have it. Compared to other black schools, though I don't know much about other black schools. I think that there is one in Mitcham and one in Hackney.

S: Mm

B: But you must also look at the character of the population in a certain area because we get lots of people coming as far as from Peckham. You know coming in their car because there is a certain amount of goodwill in Croydon which might not be so in Hackney or in Peckham perhaps. I myself don't think that the black people hate it, I think it's the Pakistani that hate it, but I have had conversations with them about the matter and I would have thought that a lot of them are leaders, they are leaders in dancing, in education and often in good behaviour. The girls anyway. They are what used to be called "well-doing people". We have a number of that kind of people in Croydon. You have people who are bringing their pupils in and you see them as good people. I would think that some areas of London, are becoming no-go area for any decent people, black, white, or spotted. That's what I would think.

S: Let us look at CSEP itself, how do you see the people in it as a community?

- B: Oh there is a girl there she has left our school because she has to work full-time at New Addington, she is a primary teacher I can't remember her name. She said she was full of fright because it was full of proportions criminals. New Addington is somewhere far out you know, she was going to New Addington because she felt she could uphold some kind of black ideology, because she would be the first black teacher there. We had another white teacher called Angela who was here for two or three years. She used to come from New Addington which I don't to say is a deprived area but not ... not ... I don't know what to say.
- S: How will you say the teachers are relating to the children?
- B: Oh extremely well. That is how schools used to be very well.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- B: Well... good will on both sides. Not at all like some places, some classes in some schools are war zones. Let's face it both blacks and whites or whatever else may be. We have got some few Indians who are troublesome and vicious here, it's not just whites and it's not just blacks, it can be anyone, and now more and more girls in secondary schools from what I've heard and it's now coming into primary schools. I can't remember state schools in the past where it was so bad and horrible.
- S: What has been your own experience with the children?
- B: As far as I can see, I think I'm alright, they think I am alright more or less. One girl said to me once "You are the only white in this room, don't you feel odd?" Or some words to that effect. So I said, "Not really because I'm used to it, because I'm a teacher first and a white person second." So I think some like status role, but because I was a teacher for so long, even before 1983 when I came here, I was a teacher for something like thirty years. Well, could have been a pupil teacher, get the role established in my mind. I think it would be better if we could have a lot of black teachers, but we do now. It's alright it is quite enough now. People that can stick it.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- B: Well, I was thinking really of secondary schools, endured shall we say. Mean some secondary schools they add to that and the government had to shut it. Although it is partly the government's fault. I mean in some secondary schools, for a long time, see I am a retired teacher, but I still go to work. Some secondary schools and probably some technical colleges in places are different.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- B: Well you have got too many different groups that do no like each other. You have got class splits, you've got colour splits, you've got different groups, I've said this before, may be form the same areas that hate each other very much. And they hate school, I think they hate themselves, some of them do. I mean like before, say in the early 1980's, I cannot put a date on it, it is silly to try to do so, if their kids would see that you are on their side and you are more or less half sensible, they come along with you, you know. They say hello and how are you? You could take them out say to London and have a trip to look around the area of employment an other places, you know you can go to. Places to do with women in London, places like the theatres, take them to St Laurence's Hospital for those who want to be nurses. Areas to do with social studies syllabus, with something like that.
- S: Have you been able to take some people form CSEP to these places?
- B: No, not yet, what we were going to do is to have this black history walk, but we couldn't manage it. They have taken them to a lot of places though. Last year they were taken to Liverpool's Museum of Slavery, but you see because I work on a Sunday, and because I work during the week intermittently, it is difficult, I have never been. They had a trip to

Barbados once, and they have been to 'the Surinamese Centre in Amsterdam, Holland; and this place in Guyana, where they used to speak 'Papamentor'. And they have been to Linden a town in Guyana. But I haven't been on any of those. I am a widow and you see my children used to live here. I am sorry that such trip is not on as at the moment.

S: Mm

B: I would have liked to have gone really, at least to one.

S: Let us look at your other involvements, you said that were a section leader.?

B: Just one second, before we leave that one. Now we are in that building with lots of stairs, it's so funny having little lads running up the stairs, having seen my face, because I am white with surprise, and think that that is good. But other times, like when Joyce Gardener was killed, the woman that was gagged and all that, and there were dissuasions on it, I felt myself that I was turning blacker. I suppose you just have to do the best you can. So sorry about being a Section' s Leader, you mean in curriculum development and that?

S: Yes.

B: Mm, I hate to tell you this, we need £5,000 I am sorry about that, we are looking at it, there is a finance committee; it's a lot of money.

S: Mm

B: We need that building but it is a lot of money.

S: What aspect of the curriculum do you really want to develop with this money?

B: The £5,000 is to pay the existing debt. Like to balance the books by the end of this financial year or tax year. It is not spare money.

S: Mm, Yes.

B: You want to hear about the curriculum.

S: Yes.

B: Well to look about books on black consciousness syntax, hopefully that they will get through some kind of exams in the mainstream school. Number three that they should be in themselves reasonably and happy people, able to function in the world. We used to teach filling out job forms and prime them for interviews and we still do some occasional preparation.

S: In the mainstream school, they do that also...

B: Sort of ...

S: Which is under careers development.

B: Yes, sort of. Also City and Guilds that has a various sort of job searching vocational preparation.

S: You were saying earlier on, taking you back in you conversation about children running up stairs and seeing your face as white, can you tell me more about this?

B: Or even down the stairs or upstairs, it doesn't matter, the little lads and some of the girls say up to age 11, they expect everybody to be black but I am not.

S: How is that for you as an individual?

B: I am used to it.

S: Used to what?

B: To them looking a bit surprised. When we were at Woodside before, it was ever so much smaller, like you didn't sort of interact, I am glad they look surprised as it is their own school. I am only helping out and that is perfectly OK. It is good, they are not nasty about it. That is alright.

S: I am the only black person as a teacher in my school with 800 strength school.

B: They will be mostly white there?

S: They are ...

B: I don't care.

S: I see them along the corridor.

B: I don't think that they will mind.

S: No!

B: It is naturally what you get used to really. And nothing nasty about it.

S: Are you expecting them to be nasty?

B: But I know that you are looking at ideas, so it was when we just first moved there and you see children jump up and down. They are not horrible, just surprised, well which is quite justified, and it is lovely.

S: What makes it to be justifiable?

B: Because it is a black people school. I have told Mr Johnson once that I am quite used to getting along with working ethics.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that despite that you are white, children are still getting along with you.

B: It's okay.

S: And what will you say is contributing to that?

B: Habituation, just used to being a teacher. They expect you to be a teacher

S: They expect you to be a teacher, do you.....

B: But they expect you to be a black teacher in this particular school.

S: Mm.

B: But I supposed after that, nobody is funny about it, no.

S: You said that you have been teaching also in the mainstream school.

B: Yes.

S: What has your experience been with black children in the MSS compared to CSEP?

B: No real difference. You get --- is that still recording? ---(asking me to turn the tape off) --- some children who are little bastards who needs a good hiding ... if you do this they might say you are a child molester (that's why I asked you to turn the tape off.)

S: And has that been your experience

B: Oh yes.

S: In CSEP?

B: Oh no, there is nobody like that there, no. The council pay us a bit extra to look after those children who have been excluded from school. We try hard and they were alright. One or two were alright for a little while, but on the whole it was not very good.

S: Let's look at the management aspect of this school now. As a sections leader, in what way have you been involved with the management?

B: I am not on the management committee, I am only a section leader.

S: How do you see the management?

B: It's alright. It's good and they are doing the best they could, I am not complaining. No complaints at all but you must know that private schools in some sense this is a little bit like a private school. They find it very hard to manage because they don't have all the big endorsements and so on that the public schools have. And because the school caters for people who can be called middle clan or those who are in the working class category but cannot afford private school. Wilton House has closed last year, that was nearly all black. My son once went there, a little while and I paid. I noticed that it was nearly all black and Indians, but had to close last year because they couldn't manage even though they charge bigger fees they couldn't keep it going. I think it is going to be difficult to keep going in the years to come. Also the lottery is taking away money from charities. Which I mean, we used to get

I don't know what exactly we used to get; You have

- to ask Mrs Graham for the balance sheet. We used to get money there from charity money. That is going right down.
- S: How will you describe the way decisions are being made?
- B: Very democratic, very good, lots of communication, like Mr Johnson, we got him to write a letter to a school of children causing us some problem and once or twice the school wrote back to us to say the child should have more help with the course work and Mr Johnson wrote back. Another time, the school lost the boy's course work which was not his fault, I don't believe it. And he (Michael) came and they sorted it out on a letter headed note paper. As far as I know, very good. A lot of interaction probably was on the telephone, perhaps on a less formal level. (Named 4 teachers working with her who are teachers in the MSS). So I mean there are so many people on relational links, say like with the same time teachers who work around Croydon. They are ever so many.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that children are having contacts with these teachers. Who are in the MSS as well as in CSEP?
- B: Not necessarily so, probably not, very rarely. What happens is that the teachers are working in Croydon MSS and the college and they work in CSEP, and teachers working in some other areas and places in South London in schools or colleges.
- S: You were talking about the democracy and how you have referred some children to Mr Johnson, who has been able to take it up, can you tell me more about these?
- B: He sends a letter if necessary, and sometimes he makes contacts for example a teacher working in the MSS or in the college will just mention to him and he turns up and sticks the name in the register.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that he was making contact with the community?
- B: Oh yes, yes a lot more, not necessarily overt, lots of contacts. As far as I know, I really don't know much about finances and management. It isn't my affair. Croydon council as far as I know has been very good.
- S: Mm – Let us now look at the future of such places. How do you see it say in 10 to 15 years time.?
- B: Well in the works picture, I mean the school will close for lack of money. I think the parents pay £10 a term but I don't really know for the whole family of children to come, but there are several families who are not well off, so the fees are waived if they are genuinely in need. There are few pupils like that. There is one with a little old grandma who is not well off, so it is quite possible that she couldn't find £10 a month. As far as I know they'll work something out. But may be I shouldn't say that because I don't know. So if you want to know about finances, you should ask Mark.
- S: When I said 10 years into the future, I meant the way you see it as an individual, not in terms of finances but in terms of a place children could go to. Is there any new things you would like there, let's say there is money?
- B: Provided there is sufficient money, I will like to see the school operating on Saturday mornings and every week day, say from 3 o'clock onwards for say 2 hours for whoever wants to from Secondary or College, or Special needs who want to come. But at the present moment there is a special coaching for primary school who might have a chance in the assisted place. I think that's on Thursdays.
- S: OK. Some people argue that if there is such a school, they should focus on their Africanness or being Caribbean, whereas some ...
- B: But they are mostly Caribbean's.
- S: Yes, but there are different types say the Rastafarians ...

- B: Yes we had a Rastafarian chap who asked for a job but Mr Johnson wouldn't give him one. They've got a book about Rasta there. Yes well, it's a perspective if some people want to go on Rastafarianism as part of Black culture, that's fine by me. Where that perspective might fall down might be some parents, they are very respectable and they don't like Rasta, you see because they concentrate on Rastas that carry guns. And I suppose that's OK.
- S: When people talk of African they are not just talking of the Rastas but talking about respect for elders, respect for the community the sense of belonging rather than focusing on the individual so there are so many values ...
- B: Sorry I try to cut you off there.
- S: Some of these values which some Africans claim originates from African ways of lives.
- B: Books like *'The Color Purple'*. I don't think that Africans exactly exists. I think when you've looked at the proliferation of dicusses with lots of different cultures of which some might identify perhaps with white people's values, what's it called coconut – Bounty bar – got it.
- S: What is it --
- B: ... a metaphor ... sorry.
- S: It's alright.
- B: They want these kids, about 2 or 3 year's ago, we were having this type of discussion, they said that I could be a honorary 'wog' because in Muslim countries you could have an honorary aunt who is a woman. So there you are.
- S: So many new things I have learnt today.
- B: Such discuss means power/knowledge.
- S: Yes.
- B: Which are sets of ideas. They constituted with an individual. You've started me thinking there, so I don't really see too much of Africanness. You can find certain amount of material households in slave households. Coming down to modern day times, and in ancient times in Nigeria, Sierra Leone that was a completely different idea about what Africans than what you might get if you are reading something else. You know.
- S: Yes.
- B: Or the view of women you get in Spark Lee's film both black women and coloured women, Italian women – like "Jungle fever" of a poor little girls who had a boy at 13 and she was on what they called speed, which is some kind of disgusting, designers' drug. That's in South Central Los Angeles and the reason I know about this film is because my class has gone through it looking at the video or getting the film making them to do the reading and respond to it. Also you get *"The Color Purple"*. So I am not together with you on the concepts of Africanness.
- S: OK.
- B: Black British possibly.
- S: Let's say, we are talking about Black British now. Although they are British, they still have some affiliation with the black community.
- B: Certainly.
- S: ... and around the world. Most black communities are more or less saying that they are going back to their roots, trying to find out who and what they really are. Although they might not get what people from different parts of African will regard as traditional ways of life because even in Nigeria, we have about 377 languages there.
- B: Yeah.
- S: With different cultures, so what is African really to anyone overseas might not be African culture to the indigenous. What I am saying is that some black people in

Britain, America or Canada are having some views that they want to return to their roots i.e. – a resurgence of black culture which is quite different from the values of the white – and example is capitalism. This is not within the values of black people.

B: Yes, that's true.

S: Although they are now getting into it.

B: Yes I suppose they are because capitalists mode of production now dominates different part of the world even the most secretive of all tribes in America or the Indies or wherever they are all being dragged into it.

S: Possibly that's what causes the confusion in different parts of the world because people are trying to buy ideas – alien to them and are not used to it and they are trying to make it theirs.

B: If it is the matter of the capitalist mode of production you are forced into it you cannot hang around arguing about it otherwise you will starve to death. I had this Japanese student, there is nowhere in the world that he can escape capitalism in some form what a person must try and so it to have a bit of free thinking by recognising who they are and just get on with it.

S: So really what these people are possibly arguing is that black people should get to know who they are.

B: Something like that.

S: And they are at schools where they could do that or have something to help them do that then that type of school should exist and should be for black children by black people. How do you see this?

B: It's a good idea. If they can do it. But, Mr Johnson when he first started, had one little Indian boy and sometimes the girls have brought their white friends and they've asked if they could sit in the lessons or she's run away or something or whatever they said. I think unfortunately or fortunately, it is a multi- racial society. You've got black guys going out with white girls and pale people. What you are suggesting is being pushed to the limit, you are really suppressing apartheid within certain societies. Well in that case you have to ready the works of 'Lewiby Farakah'.. Or may be you have?

S: I haven't.

B: I mean have a sort of separatism with you own black state in 'x' country or like when America was opened up and various groups took over particular areas and a few of them still survive today. The 'Duki-boards' in Canada survived. 'Duki-boards' means spirits of the 1880's and they are still like in Canada in their own villages but the Canadian government got annoyed because they have this kind of separate attitude to them. So now and again the Canadian government goes in and kidnap the kids.

S: Mm.

B: I suppose what you could, if you wanted to, I have often thought about it, you can do whatever you want to do but try and infuse some kind of consciousness I cannot say nearly but at variational level so that you can think about yourself as having been engaged in someway. Lots of Christian sects that have tried to do this. 'Brian Wilson' - 'SCTTS' – tried to preserve some sort of conscience with their own values. You also have the Seventh Day Adventists you know.

S: Yes.

B: A lot of them are black. They've got their own school in Haringey – London.

S: I've been there –

B: John Loughborough – You've been there?

S: I've interviewed their head teacher.

B: I know that although they are black, they do accept white.

- S: They also have a sister type of school in Watford and they are mostly white there, due to the geographical areas in which the school is located.
- B: In your own conceptualisation, does your Africanmen exist within Africa diaspora? Which is throughout the world I suppose. Is it dependent on colour, I think you are on dicey ground there.
- S: It is not dependent on colour. Even some of these schools are aimed at educating white people about black attitudes.
- B: That's right, like this girl who has gone to the ...
- S: So that it is not that they want to encourage only black children to come there. How do you see this from this angle?
- B: The way I see each person or each group in the world, they have got perfect right to maintain their own identity and their own ideology, but they've got no right to inflict that on anybody else. I told you that I was brought up by the brethren, the brethren is a rather obscure sect from 1832. Now until very recently, they are forbidden to proselytising in Nepal because the Nepalese government felt they are going to make presumably Asiatic brethren. They could convert people who are over twenty years old the same you have Moslem forcibly converting Christians in the Sudan and forcibly driving out the Bhai people or militant Moslem group forcing less militant group to go along with their pleas. What I am against the use of force. I mean if you just go around asking people what they believe, and they change, good luck to you.
- S: I mean, that you are white and you are within this black community, how do you think that white people see the CSEP?
- B: They don't see it. The majority of people are very, very interested in money and in their sort of respectable, status quo. My general impression of white attitude to black people is that they like them a lot and they envy them sometimes perhaps because of being more happy or more sexually powerful or better dancers or better at being funny. As I said the people that are hated are the Pakistanis, and 'Antikas' Gypsies in Ireland especially, they are hated. There is almost no blacks in Ireland. They are so few so hardly any. The only time, I mean people at the top, they will be glad that black people are having their own school is that schools will be able to maintain order.
- S: Mm.
- B: They've got problems and I supposed the problems are worse than here. Some terrible things have happened there.
- S: That is quite interesting what you have just said. The people at the top are not providing the John Loughborough the money to function properly.
- B: Of course, they deny the Moslems money for this separate school, but then the John Loughborough is not a supplementary school.
- S: Even as a school.
- B: The John Loughborough is a full-time MSS isn't it? The government especially this particular government the Conservative is disgusting.. I told you that I work all over the place the secretary of one of the schools said on the phone when I said that this government is running things down, she said she thought so too and this government amount to raving loony party. Basically, they don't care, they just want a minimum conscientiousness and they can buy that, with unemployment pay though low it is, to get the lottery like bread in circus in the ancient Rome and the money that we have got how in England, we don't have a bad standard of life, mostly, that gained from the gross exploitation of the third world. Africa is mostly categorised as being the third world.
- S: OK, Brenda, I am coming towards the end.

- B: I like the discussion, I hope I am not just rabbiting on.
- S: So now let us look at what you were saying earlier on about black school being run by black people will amount to apartheid if they only limit it to black children.
- B: If they have a mainstream only black school I wouldn't really want that because in the past we have mainstream fully Roman Catholic schools with the something, something priest keeping a strangle hold on the fort. I am against that. Also, if the government allow money for separate school then the Moslems will move in and they will want completely separate schools which is separate for men and for women. And I happened to be some sort of feminist. I don't like the way Moslem women are treated and I wouldn't like to give any of my money in tax wise and I will do the damndest as I can not to have such a school. But for a supplementary school where people attend more or less MSS education I would have thought that it is very good for potentially disadvantaged groups. Not so much the girls more the boys. I think it is very good and I think they should have bigger grants. I can't see a separate full-time all black school, I don't think it is right myself. I think it will be better if people have like extra coaching, Saturday school or supplementary school or whatever.
- S: You seem to be in favour of supplementary school what are you using to assess the performances of children to make you to be in favour of this school?
- B: Well, it is better for the children from what I could tell. And I think it is very slightly but not an awful lot of an improvement in their exam performance. It's better for children in their own development.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- B: They can meet and mingle with people of their own more or less their own race. I know there is a problem there, for example how white is white. You can get people I had a lad last year who is pathetic really, he reckoned that he was totally maladjusted as he has never been to a mainstream school since he was five years old and had some South African connection. He was demented. He said really, Brenda I am black. – if anything I would have said that he had some one or two Indian ancestors showing me his arm; he was really demented.
- S: You seem to be saying that supplementary does not increase children's performances.
- B: I said it does a little bit.
- S: What will you say is contributing to that little bit?
- B: Oh well back to us in the CSEP. Having a separate area, being comfortable in their separate area, feel you can ask for any help, mingling with people who are on a level with you and gives them courage. Like this lad this morning who told me that he has actually asked in his MSS to have help with his reading and he is getting this at lunch times improvement in confidence. All round personal development but I can't point to them and say we've got a line of straight 'A's. This publishing of results and saying we have straight 'A's, we haven't but it's getting a bit better.
- S: OK, thank you very much Brenda because I think that that has covered all the areas but is there any other thing which you want to say about this type of education which possibly I have not asked?
- B: Well, I just would hope that this sort of school will continue and perhaps other ones be developed. That's all really. I wish them luck.
- S: Thank you very much Brenda, for giving me your time.

DR. CLINTON VALLEY, HEADTEACHER, JOHN LOUGHBOROUGH SCHOOL
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 2

S: Can you please introduce yourself.

V: My name is Dr. Clinton Valley and I am the Headteacher of John Loughborough School; a comprehensive school for pupils aged 9-16 in North London.

S: Thank you very much, I am researching areas of Black Community Education in England. I would like to ask you some questions: First, I would like to know more about your school here. I've heard a lot about your school and that you have got a large population of black children . I wonder if you could let me know more about your school.

V: John Loughborough School is one of the schools operated by the Seventh Day Adventist Church - a Christian denomination. The church operates over 5000 schools internationally. We believe that church school education is a vital point of holistic development of any human being. John Loughborough was established in 1980 to cater particularly for the ethnic minority community of the church in London. The school was not set up as a black school. It was set up as a Christian Grammar School. Given the composition of our church in London, which is primarily immigrant community. The parents from this church sent their children to the school. Yes, right now we have a large proportion of our community, about 90%, from the Caribbean and African background so that is the ethnic composition of the school.

S: You said that the school was established to cater for the holistic development of the child, can you please expand on that?

V: As a Church, we believe that man needs to be developed physically, mentally, spiritually, socially. We seek to reflect that in our curriculum. That is why I think a religious programme is an integral part of the curriculum of the school. Because we see this as an important element in the educative process, prayers are a regular feature and the reading of the Scripture with emphasis here and there. We let children read their books with emphasis being on giving time to pray, then we give time to mental development and social development of our students. We operate as a family, the school is small enough; 160 pupils. We know everyone personally. We have a family atmosphere and strong links with home. Students see teachers as almost their second parent. Many parents acknowledge that the pastoral system here is second to none. They have gone to other schools and come back here and they have been quite impressed with the pastoral care which is at John Loughborough.

S: You are talking about the family atmosphere and I am interested in this, can you please expand more on this?

V: Yes, as I have said, the school is small enough for us to know the students individually and their parents and family background to some degree. We seek to build on that. We had an occasion where a girl came and said that her brother had just had an accident and we were able, during our worship, to offer prayers for her brother and the family. It makes the system to offer a type of support structure, where the struggles at home can be shared by being part of it. You must recognise that here in London our children come to school with a lot of emotional baggage from home - one parent family, sometimes victims of rape, abuse to some extent. Sometimes we have children who have been witness to husbands beating wives, boyfriends beating girlfriends, witnesses sometimes to their elder brother or sister, who had to stay at home to care for the

younger sister because mum had to be rushed to the hospital. So the children have a lot of baggage with them when they come to the school and we have to help them to unwind.

S: Mm.

V: We have to help them for the learning process to take effect. We don't see our school as an academic factory where you have to go in and come out and that's all that you want to know. Where what is bothering the children does not matter. It matters to us. We see the students not as statistics but as human beings. We seek to work that way, where we look at the total development of the child and not merely the inculcation of the 3 'R's.

S: So, what you are saying is that the school gives a kind of support for children from varied background.

V: That's right.

S: Can you please expand more on the type of background where the children are coming from and whether that is effecting them during the school or creating some problem for the school?

V: Yes well, you know, the school's catchment area has changed over time and we have to deal with situations as they arise. Initially when the school started it started with 50 students, primarily from the Seventh Day Adventist Church. There was less of a variety of backgrounds than we experience now. Then there was a sort of homogeneity because of being all members of the church. There was, therefore, little or no variety as we now have. It was not present. Over the years as the school developed more, community orientation became our areas of focus, right now we have over 60% of student population not being from the church membership. We have students coming from the Council estates, students who have been finding it difficult in other schools; state schools.

We recognise that some of the parents are struggling and so when they make a decision to send their child to this school, and they pay the school fees of £650 a term, it's because many of them find out that at the end of the time, they are looking for better ways for their children. So we have this type of child at one end of the continuum and we have to work with them and at the same time, we have at the other end of the spectrum some gifted students and parents who are like black role models and they are doing well. We have them as star pupils doing their GCSEs with A's and B's! What I am saying here is that in this Christian environment we have the breadth of the catchment areas at ability level and so on.

S: You were saying earlier on that it started as a Christian School but now they have a wider ...

V: It is still a Christian School. It is still being operated by the Seventh Day Adventists. What I am saying is that initially we had 100% enrolment from the church but now it is 60% from the community and 40% from the church. We have a wider catchment area with children coming from over London.

S: How do they get to know about the school?

V: I think it's hear-say. By word of mouth. We have not been very strong at advertising. The school has always attracted a lot of publicity. We've had the media coming here, looking at the school as an example of where black children can be bright, attaining top grades, no language barrier, no drugs and 0% truancy ratings. So we've had a lot of public attention. We have two students who come from Slough every day to attend the school.

S: Can we now look at the areas of curriculum. You said that in your assemblies you have ones with Christian Orientation. What is the main focus of your curriculum that is being operated in this school. Are you following the National Curriculum?

V: Yes, we follow the National Curriculum as in English, Maths, Sciences, Technology and so on. Information Technology is one of our strong areas. We are having 100% success. In terms of the areas of focus, we believe that above the subject that we teach, we can instil values in our children that prepares them to live successfully in the world of work or higher education. We are very heavy on value orientation. We believe in building self-worth, motivation, helping the students to achieve excellence. Our whole system is geared towards achieving excellence because many of our youngsters are underachieving. Not because of lack of ability but because of lack of motivation.

S: When you say many of our children, are you referring to black children.

V: Black children, yes. They are underachieving because of lack of motivation. For some, perhaps they believe that it wouldn't make a difference. Perhaps going to school, they believe wouldn't make a difference and so they stay as they are and see school as a place of entertainment. That's the type of model that has been set before them. Here we tell our youngsters that, yes, they have got to be twice as good to be good enough and that it is possible. We make them believe that they could achieve genuine success.

S: You were saying that they need to be twice as good. What do you mean by that?

V: You know what I am talking about. The society in which you and I live is against people from minority ethnic origin. You know what I am talking about; we are talking about actual life. So for them to have equal opportunity with the people who are indigenous, they just have to be twice as good.

S: Now, let us just go back a bit. If I can ask you this: Why are you involved in such education?

V: That is a good question. I am a Minister and I am an educator. I was trained first as the Minister of the Church and believe in the ministry of the Church. My first appointment with the Church was in a pastoral role and I was ordained as a Pastor. I was trained as a teacher before I entered the Ministry and I did my post-graduate in education administration. I believe that in a sense, education and redemption are one. I believe that the whole process of redemption is in re-educating man - mentally and spiritually - teaching him how to live, not only in this life but preparing him to live for the one to come. I am always intensely interested in Christian advancement, not only for myself but for others. When I see this reservoir of talent all around of our young black people, I believe that they can go very far and they can accomplish much if given the right motivation and they are in the right context. As such, I see it as a joy to be a channel to inspire them towards greater achievements they deserve.

I see this as a part of a religious call. In fact, a Seventh Day Adventist Teacher regards himself as a missionary.

S: Are all your members of staff of the Seventh Day Adventist?

V: They are from the Seventh Day Adventist. It's more than a job, it is a calling. – silence -

S: Are they all black?

V: Yes, it's not that we discriminate. We used to have some white members of staff here but they have left over time. We have a sister school in Watford - Stanborough School. Their history is different; the Church in England which began over 100 years ago has its roots in Watford, so that school was established over 50 years ago. It has had a longer history. It was basically a school to cater for children from the Church membership. That school has developed a heritage of a rural, white school. Over time,

because the Church is non-discriminatory, it has changed as immigrants moved into the area and the school is no more mono-cultural. It has white students, Asians and black students.

S: What of here, is the population the same?

V: As I have said, it is about 90% from the African Caribbean background, we do have one or two Asian students, some Philippino students but we don't have any English student.

S: What do you think is not encouraging white students to come? You were talking earlier on about high standards and all the high values that are being inculcated into the students. What can you say is discouraging them to come here?

V: First of all, as I said, our Church membership in London are mostly blacks who live around London area. The second factor is that as far as the community is concerned, where you have 90%-95% of African Caribbean in an area, it's difficult for an English child to come in and be comfortable.

S: Will you say that accounts for the 3 white members of staff that left here also?

V: I wouldn't say that they left because they were uncomfortable. They were before my time. Staff do leave because of various reasons. One retired after years of service and the other, who lives around Watford area was transferred to Watford when a vacancy became available. So I can say it's not prejudice, I would do the same if I was in his position because of travelling up and down. The other moved out of education altogether and moved in the area of business.

S: Now let us look at the teachers. You were saying earlier on that they are all members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. So does it mean that you employ them on that basis of being a member. Or on the basis

V: Yes, we employed them on that basis. You need to belong to a community to be able to share their ideas and be able to transmit the philosophy.

Because we believe that every teacher is a valued educator and so if you are of different values from me, you may be skilled in your subject area but you may not be able to transmit what the school wants you to transmit. And so we are very concerned and anxious that beyond professional qualifications the teacher has the values of the Church, which comes most easily from being a member of the community. We have a person who left us last term who is not a member of the Church. He was excellent - he did his job very well.

S: Now let us just examine the issue of black education as a whole. You are a teacher, a pastor and an educator and you've seen the pool of talented black young adults and you have seen your being here as a calling for you. Do you have the same type of calling for white people?

V: I don't regard myself primarily for the black community. However, I do believe that there are some disadvantages of being black in this community. Not benefiting as they could have, in the educational system. I am not angry about that but that's the reality of life that this society has not come to terms with addressing; the issue of blacks coming into this community. Over the years, they have tried to address the problem of the immigrants. The white society think that by bringing black people here to be coal miners, train drivers etc. they would go back home and they didn't see that by bringing African Caribbeans here to work they are actually forever changing Britain. Britain could never be the same once you have introduced these elements. Even up till today, this country has not been able to grapple successfully with the question of immigrants. It has always been a bone of contention. As a result of that, our youngsters have been

disadvantaged. I do not feel it is a burden to be of help to them when they come here. I have no objection if the white student should come for admission. They would be admitted. At a point I was the regional education coordinator for the Church for Southern England and I had the opportunity to visit and supervise at other schools in Plymouth and Bracknell. Their populations are predominantly white as there are no blacks around there. I supervised the programme in these schools which were predominantly white. I didn't have any problem as a black person. The issue is not that of colour as such but that of putting together the pool of talents. Here in London, I have seen a pool of black talent that needs to be developed and that is my focus. Equally, that could be for people of any colour.

S: Now can we go into the nitty-gritty of running such schools. What type of problems do you encounter?

V: As the Regional Manager I have a routine that is run by my secretary and another by me. As I've said, many of the students come with different backgrounds and experiences. It is a matter of trying to pull this motley group and merging them into a cohesive group called the John Loughborough School family. It has its troubles too from day-to-day. We have my deputy Head, who is responsible for pastoral care. She has a pastoral team, they have their regular monitoring meetings to look at students' cases, delve some more into the background of students and their reasons for behaviour etc. and try to look at strategies to be developed. My deputy is also a trained counsellor, so she runs counselling sessions with children who are having difficulties and sees with them how to improve the situation. On the student management side, behaviour management, she has more of that and it is a challenge from day to day. Sometimes, we have some students who have had rough experiences the night before. They come here and blow up in the school. Sometimes it takes some of these actions and sometimes it is the event itself. Sometimes you need to pause and go back and ask what are the conditions at home. I have had one here where a girl blew up at a teacher. I had to sit her down for a while and then she burst into tears and talked about her experiences. Then it came to light that she was pregnant. She had kept silent about it and nobody knew, not even her parents. I asked her if she had involved her parents but she doesn't want them to know about it. She is one of our year 11 pupils. It was a heavy burden that she was carrying. Sometimes we just deal with the action as it comes, trying to help the child. It does take time to help the child and deal with the underlying issues. I believe in human centred approach to administration. The other day to day problem is the kids' management because as I have said before we have kids here who are from single parent families, students living on grants and who have got to wait for their grants to make payments. Sometimes their grants come late and they can't afford the payments. You have to use different strategies and try to see how you could help them. We have to try and look at their needs and how to survive as a school.

S: Now you said ...

V: ... We are not getting a penny as a support from the state.

S: Why no support?

V: I suppose we operate as an independent school!

S: Have you applied for a grant before?

V: Yes, we have applied for a grant, as a voluntary aided school and has not been successful. We have also tried to apply in 1987 for a grant maintained (GM) status and for the last two years we have been going to and from the LEA with the matter. It's been a long and protracted situation not knowing when it will end. Yes, we have applied because we believe that we have a part to play in education and the LEA should be

involved. This is sort of enigma situation. We call ourselves an independent school, the nearest to what we can describe ourselves to be. We are not a maintained school or a special school. We are an independent school and it is the closest word to describe us. We are not within the traditional description of the independent schools, ... which operate as elitist, high fee paying schools.

S: Mm.

V: Although we are a church founded school, most of our children are from working class homes. The fees are not too high, in fact the fees are heavily subsidised by the church. So none of the descriptions of the typical independent school can be used to describe us. It is a hybrid between comprehensive school and independent school. I, therefore, see a scope for our role and we need public funding to survive.

S: You said that you have tried to apply in 1987 and that you were not granted the GM status?

V: Yes.

S: Is that between you and the Greater London Councils (GLC).

V: It did not get to the GLC because as one of the pre-conditions for getting this you have to have the support of your LEA, and Haringey as a Labour controlled authority said that they could not support our application and that we couldn't pursue this further as we did not secure the support of the LEA.

S: So it's the Labour and not the Tories that turned your application down?

V: Yes, the Conservatives have not even had the opportunity to comment on it, because we needed the LEA's support as part of the application. But with the GM status we could by-pass the LEA and go straight to the Secretary of State and that is what we are now working on. Although the LEA still has to comment on the application, we are not dependent upon them. They have maintained this negative position and I don't know what the Secretary of state will do.

S: Do you have any document on some of these matters?

V: On what?

S: On the matters which you have just stated between you and the LEA!

V: We have the proposals.

S: ... and the reply to your proposals?

V: They are yet to make decisions on that. they have requested for several documents, which we have submitted, but I think the whole GM issue is different because this is an independent school that is trying to opt into the State sector, as a result of the 1993 legislation's. I believe that it is not politically prudent to bring such a school into the State sector, given the fact that there are so many issues about the funding of state schools. You know that we had many marches and protests about funding schools of late and to bring another school in when they are not fulfilling the funding of the existing ones will not go down well. The current perception will act against us as a church school.

S: But do the other church schools receive grants? I don't know much about funding in Britain and which schools receive and which ones do not!

V: Roman Catholics, Church of England and Jewish schools are all receiving grants as Voluntary School. That has been our argument that these schools operate as voluntary school and we think it is unjust and unfair to be able to give some and not to others. They keep rejecting our application.

S: Are there any documentation to support this?

V: Haringey in 1987, the argument against us is that it cannot be supported on educational grounds because there was no spare capacity in Haringey, so there was no need to bring

- another school into the existing state schools. At the present time, depending on how you calculate it, there could be spare capacity to establish another school. it depends on the measures you use to calculate. this time it is the economic measures which are being used. The view is that if another school is open and Haringey doesn't get that much money from the central government for what they have to give to their school, it will cut into their budget. So it is on the economic ground that they are opposing it.
- S: You said that the church is giving £¼m every year to run the school with about 250 students. that's just about £1,000 per student, which is a chicken fee. How do you cope financially? Do you organise fundraising activities to survive?
- V: That's what I meant. We live on a shoe-string budget, the fees are kept to a minimum because we like to attract as many children as possible. (Yawns).
- S: Sorry that I have to be interviewing you after a whole day's work without you having any rest!
- V: It's OK. the low fee is because we want to make it affordable to many. these are the two components of our income - school fees and Church grants. The teachers here do not work for the same salaries that people in the State sector work for.
- S: Mm.
- V: They work for about 10-35% less the state salaries depending on our income. So its sacrifices that they are making to teach here. Their salary sometimes is about £6,000 less the State sector's pay.
- S: Mm.
- V: Having to struggle with the provision for salaries, very little remains for the maintenance of the buildings. The fabric of the building is falling apart and that's why we urgently need money from the State. If we have to spend a large sum of money for the refurbishment, that might cut into salaries. We have been patching up the roof and other areas. There is a great need of money for capital work, the electrical, the sewage system, all need urgent attention. You see, there is a capital need. We try to get by on a day to day basis, but there is a problem looming.
- S: Are there any parental involvement in all of these?
- V: Yes. We do have parents on our Board of Governors. we have the Parents Teachers Association. The PTA have really been helpful. They have bought us some computers and all other things. They tend to raise between £5-6,000 a year for our school. It helps to attend to some extras. They are kind of generous about it.
- Both: Laugh.
- S: Some people argue that such school like yours and BSS should be free for everyone to attend with black ethos being promoted as the main thing. What are your views?
- V: We have church orientation here rather than black orientation. My blackness is accidental. I have found that some people make a mockery of their being black by over emphasising it saying black this and black that. I disagree with that approach. I need to be accepted. Colour is not important or the country where one comes from. What is important is one's character. So I don't make an issue of my blackness. However, the reality is that because of the colour of our children, I have to take note of their background and prepare them for the world outside there. We don't have black module or black consciousness or black studies. I don't think that it is important. I think that it is important for a child to be aware of their identity.
- S: Mm.
- V: To be competent and not be apologetic. Yes, we do have some Caribbean history, we celebrate some Caribbean events. We celebrate the richness of this culture, and at the same time I don't want to make an issue out of it.

S: Mm. What you seem to be saying is that it is not the blackness that needs to be emphasised and it is the achievement of the children which encourages the parents to send their children here. Is that what you are saying?

V: I think parents might have many reasons for sending their children here. I know some parents do so because of the black population here. This is not a black school. It just happened that we are all black here. This is a church school. If you want a black consciousness school, you probably will have to go elsewhere. We welcome any student who comes here. We want to be here as people who could be approached and help these students to achieve their highest potential.

S: This is a big question, it is more of futuristic in nature. How do you see such school in 10 year's time?

Both: Laugh.

V: With or without financial support ... ?

S: ... say with financial support, let's start with that.

V: I believe that there are some contribution which our school could make to this community. Like, I think we could demonstrate the success that the children are making, achieving their potential by being there for them. For example, over the past years around 65-70% of our graduates have gone on to higher education. This for black community I'll say is very high. we have a number of them who are now in their final year obtaining their degrees. Two of them who have come back here as graduate teachers. There is also one who is a clinical psychologist and one who is a paediatrician. We have some who are physicists. So these are there as source of inspiration for the young ones when they come around.

I think than over the past years, that there are less of them becoming casualties of the system and are unable to continue their higher education. Those who go and work at McDonalds are able to raise their heads high. We have instil some certain values in them. I believe that the society could benefit from our approach. Our children have learnt to be respectful, sensitive and be aware of themselves.

S: Mm.

V: ... and be tolerant of others. I think these are some of the values that our society needs. These are some of the things that I'll like to see more of in our society. I think that they are somethings that are worthwhile.

S: Mm.

V: I'll like to see this place taking up to 600-1,000 students, if we can find the funds. I think this school could develop into such capacity. The demand is high and we can be motivated to do it if we have the necessary support.

S: You have been talking about the motivation of others, what is it that is motivating you to continue in this work?

V: (Silent) ... that's a good question! I am first a Christian ... (Tape ends)

S: I was just talking to you about what motivates people, what is it that motivates you?

V: As a Christian, there is that love of Christ which constrains me and gets me to want to help others. in my own experience I am from a poor background with one parent family. I am what I am today because of education. I was fortunate to be awarded a place in the school in a Caribbean Island of Trinidad. I was brought up in that experience. It was also a Church school. They encouraged me to excel and from there I moved on and I wish that other youngster that I see around to have that kind of opportunity. They might not have the means but if they have the intellectual ability, it is a joy to be able to give them the opportunity. What brings me great satisfaction is when I see for example a lady who was lacking in motivation and was roaming the street, in

west London, just wasting her time -she was one of our Church member- talking to her about the potential that she has and what she could become and do, and then encouraging her to go and do it. She was about 19 years of age. I started to encourage her to go back to school and try and get some G.C.S.E. It is amazing to see it when the message started to sink in. She came off the street, she started to take some subjects at the G.C.S.E level, gained the access, went to the London University, where she finished her Masters and now she is on a PhD. programme. As I look back over the period of 7 years, this young lady has moved from the wasted life on the streets to being a PhD student at the University. This kind of things brings tears of joy to my eye. I'll like to see this kind of things going on in our youngsters' lives, to achieve the highest. I don't believe that they are stupid. Sometimes we classify them as special needs, I would like to state that they are the products of special neglects because of their domestic environments, they become disaffected with the school environment. For example, there was a lady who came to my school, from a single parent family, who was totally de motivated but when she came to my school we spoke to her and encouraged her and now she is gaining her motivation back. This kind of things just makes you keep going. Lives have turned on and enriched and they are, in time making lives for themselves.

- S: Is there anyway that I could get documentation to support these developments. I know that you are the head and might sometimes be too occupied with work. This is a PhD. research and it demands documents to substantiate any findings. I would like to have documentations to support the statements which you made about funding and the LEA and the Central government. This is because of the Law and Order scenario which blames the black community and individuals instead of the inequality in the system about housing, employment and education. You have created some new dimensions here, and they need to be substantiated with documents.
- V: I am not sure the type of documentation that you are looking for.
- S: Possibly for example, the one that refers to the refusal of grants to your school. An article has suggested that 'the Tory turned down the grant to the John Loughborough School'.
- V: That is not true.
- S: This is really interesting!
- V: Which book is that?
- S: I have not got the book here, it is in one of the key articles that I am using -Dove, 1993.
- V: We did not apply to the Tory government, we have applied to be a grant aided by the Haringey LEA.
- S: It is interesting that it is not the Tory government!
- V: Nothing to do with the Tory government. In fact, if for anything some Tory individuals have been supportive of what goes on here, e.g. Baroness Cox, who has spoken on one of our speech night activities. She was one of the people behind the 1993 Act. The Act which was to get Voluntary Schools opted in. The progress of our school has been used as one of the reason for the need of this Act. In short, some people with the Tory Party have been supportive. I am saying that the reason the issue of the GM status is hanging on is not because of finances but because it is not politically expedient to do so at the time.
- S: Other documentation that I would need could include the curriculum, financial statements, documentation about parental involvement and letter of thank you from parents as you stated earlier on. Another one which will be useful is one which you use to monitor students' progress or report to parents.
- V: You are asking a lot there.

Both: Laugh.

S: As you said earlier on I see the documentation of what we do as the way forward for us to achieve the highest. We've got to start to document what we do and use these to argue our case. We can do this not by rioting or just on the political level but on the intellectual level and to back our arguments. We need to start collecting data as they evolve through our activities as black people. I am an outsider in terms of the definition of my immigration status. I came 10 years ago.

V: I came 10 years ago myself!

Both: Laugh.

S: I came to do my Masters in Durham, my wife is from Scarborough, so I am given the permit to remain.

V: Me also.

S: I started teaching in 1989 and I have encouraged myself not just to have teaching career as my goal but to do something for the black community as well as for the community at large. In my school as at the moment, I have just submitted a proposal for helping those children who are high achievers to extend and enrich what they are doing through Collenswood Education 2000. It has taken me 3 years to get this through. I see my starting this as a way of extending myself. I am a Christian too and I am doing these on the basis of 'do unto others as you'll like them to do to you'. My goal is to fly high like an eagle.

V: That's the kind of the motivation that I have been brought up with and I had a student here who wants to know the motivational level of black children who were born in the caribbeans and those who were born here. I said to her that as far as I am concerned in education 'you just have to succeed.

S: Same in Nigeria.

V: ... So that a parent and a child do not just get satisfied with Cs and Ds, they want to get As and Bs. They know that that is the way to get promotion. On the other hand you just have to do it because it is expected of you.

S: That's what my dad will say.

V: That's the story of my life and that's the difference. We have a lot of young people here in Britain that thinks because the state will support them, then they don't need to work hard. My philosophy is that you might not have the resources, you should struggle with the little that you have got as opposed to not struggling at all.

S: Mm.

V: The more you struggle, the the more you can rise to achieve your potential.

S: It is the same in Nigeria. My father was a mechanic. He saw my interest in reading, and he decided to sell all that he had to send me to the secondary school. I was the only one who was able to make it. My brothers and sisters are making it in the world of business and are also doing well. So, I am grateful for all that you have shared with me.

V: Thank you also. I'll like a copy of this tape, please.

S: I'll get that to you.

V: I'll speak to my secretary and see what documents we could get to you.

S: I'll be very grateful for that. Please could I use you as a stepping stone to get to Gus John?

V: That'll be OK. He works closely together with us.

S: He also works closely with Mr. John La Rose, I interviewed him in December. As you said, we black people are hardworking and we should not use our blackness as an excuse.

- V: I want to get a job not because I am black but because I am competent and that's what we teach our students.
- S: I agree with you and we should not let people classify us by saying that we should work for only the benefit of black children. My headteacher said that about my proposal for the high achievers and I told me that if it is good for black children it is good for all. So thank you for your time.

S: Can you please introduce yourself.

IJ: My name is Ianthe James. I am a parent and I am the Chairperson for the Parent Student Association. I have been involved for about 4-5 years now because of my son. I had two sons here then. One has gone on to the college.

S: Why did you decide to send your children here?

IJ: I was disappointed with mainstream teachers' attitude towards black children and I felt that they were not pushing them to their potential and they allowed them to work beneath their ability. I always thought, therefore, that they needed extra help and then I brought them to this school where there are black teachers and they are role models for the children. It is not just their being black but they have been victims of the system also, so they know how to help the children. I was disappointed with the main system.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that you were disappointed with the mainstream system. What was it about the system that you were disappointed with?

IJ: Well, as I said, in the education of the child. When you think that your child is not doing well or you feel that the child could do better, or the child has done something silly, the teachers in mainstream tend to make a big issue of this fact by saying that they can do better but they are not and that they just play about in the class.

S: So what you seem to be saying here is that they are not being pushed to the limit.

IJ: Yes, they are not being pushed. Like when you go into a private school where it is all white, children are being pushed and here in CSEP black people are doing similar for black children. This is another way out.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that the CSEP is helping black children just like a private school helps white children.

IJ: In a way, yes. I think it is good for the children because it gives them that extra incentive. When they come here they feel good. Like the prizegiving day; at the end of the term they get rewarded for something or the other. So they have something to look forward to. If they have that extra push, they will do better. It is not good enough just to say they could do better. This is always being said at the mainstream school but they do nothing about it.

S: You said something interesting when you were introducing yourself; you said parents/students. What do you mean by that?

IJ: Parents/children, yes. The Association was going for 10 to 12 years before I came here. The Parents' decided that it should include the children because the children are involved in all the activities, like in raising funds to go on exchange trips. We always need money to do extra things like that. Members of the Association have the task of raising funds for these things and generally helping out. So the children are involved. We try everything and this is working and the parents themselves and children are happy about it.

S: Okay, so you are involving parents as well as children.

IJ: Yes. We have tried that. It is not just in raising funds but it is also in having fun, even with coming here on Saturdays.

S: How would you describe the goal of this place?

IJ: The goal is really to give children the incentive to do better. The bottom line is for them to do better and, in fact, to give them that extra push. Without that a lot of them

would just fall out of the system. Also, to be a role model for the children; to show them that they could do better. Not doing that will mean they might fall out of the mainstream system as casualties. But once they start coming here most of them want to go on to colleges to do their 'A' levels. Also, some of them continue so that they can get good jobs within the mainstream system. Education is power isn't it and people come here to get it.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that education is power and people come here to get extra help in order to do better in their education.

IJ: That's it. Because especially with the older children, they can do some of the work here that they do in the mainstream school but don't understand. You know, they could bring their work here and the teachers help them through it.

S: So it is not just making it better but giving them help they need.

IJ: That's right.

S: And you said that, although your son has gone on to the college now, coming here helped him. For how long did you send him here?

IJ: For about 3 years. He came when he was 14/15 years old and stayed until he was 17. He then went on to the college. My other son is 11. He is not here at the moment but I still get myself involved, to provide continuity.

S: To provide continuity. Okay, let us look at the school as a Community. How would you describe this school? You said that you get children involved, which is something that I have never come across before - i.e. Parents and children forming an association. Let us look at the community as a whole. How would you describe it?

IJ: In what way?

S: The whole system - as a community.

IJ: The project?

S: Yes.

IJ: Hmm. It's interesting for the children and for the parents. The parents themselves can get quite disheartened when their children are not making it in the mainstream schools. Not only do we do it together, but it is sort of a unity thing. We look after each other. Things like when they have expulsion from the main system. The parents don't know what to do. We get all the information from this area and we share it with those who are affected. It is a sort of a meeting place for information, i.e. general information.

S: So it is not just a place to help the children but a place to receive information and to get the information that will help parents.

IJ: For example, we have an AGM which is in our constitution.

S: Yes.

IJ: And we elect new officers. We always have a guest speaker. Someone important, like from the education department. Somebody that knows about the area, so this person is able to relate properly to the parents when they come and the person is able to take the parents through the protocol.

S: How would you say that teachers relate to parents as this is an aspect that you have been involved in?

IJ: Here?

S: Yes. I'm talking about here at CSEP.

IJ: It is quite easy really. I mean, they are approachable. We relate to each other like a family and we all feel at ease and we feel more easy to come to them and speak to them. Generally, I think it is quite easy.

S: Do you feel like that when you go to the mainstream school?

- IJ: I mean everyone is not like myself. I am open and can easily approach people but a lot of people find that difficult. If I want information, I go to the school and get it, whereas, a lot of people shy away from things like that when they are involved with the mainstream schools. Even here, they don't go to the parent's meeting because they feel embarrassed and they don't know what to ask. I am always seeking information, so I am always here! Generally, I think people find it easier coming here.
- S: Okay. Let us just look at discipline in this school. The motto says "Without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained". How is this being done?
- IJ: That has to be instilled in them here. That is the first thing. You have to discipline yourself before you can start learning and this is something which some schools do lack.
- S: Yes, but how do you see it here?
- IJ: I think they instil it here properly.
- S: How do you think this helps?
- IJ: As I said, education is part of it. They try to show them that by learning you are capable of achieving all the time. By learning you have that power to get on in life; that is how they do it here. At school (mainstream) they don't do this and they say that the child is not good. Whatever they are good at they need to learn more to make them better and we try to see that they do this.
- S: How would you compare this to the discipline in the mainstream schools?
- IJ: Discipline in the mainstream school is done differently to the one here. Because all the teachers here are black, the children don't have chips on their shoulders. They get them to do things and they are encouraged to do it well and better here.
- S: So what would you say is causing the failure of the mainstream schools to achieve this with black children?
- IJ: Mmm. I don't know. Possibly it's a different environment plus there are so many rules and regulations and also, they allow the children too much freedom in a way. They are not strict enough. They might have the regulations but they are not carrying it out.
- S: So they don't follow things up?
- IJ: Yes, they'd rather expel a child than get to the bottom of what is going on. They try to get black children to conform but this is not the reality in the society.
- S: Let us look at what they are teaching here. What do you think of the things they are being taught here?
- IJ: They do have more or less what they are doing at the mainstream school. It is a back-up system. What they don't understand, they can get extra help for. They teach them some cultural issues that are not being taught in the mainstream schools.
- S: What would you say are the differences in the way the children are being taught here that make them learn better?
- IJ: Not being a teacher, I would not be able to say exactly, especially about the technical areas of teaching.
- S: But your children could have said something.
- IJ: They bring their homework and they can take it back into school. So they have sort of continuity in what they do.
- S: So there is continuity. What do you mean by that?
- IJ: In the work they do. If they make mistakes in what they are doing that particular week, they can come again next week to look at it more thoroughly, so they have that continuity.
- S: I know that you have not experienced what goes on in the classroom. What improvement would you say you have noticed in your son?

- IJ: His writing and his English has improved. In the mainstream school they just say it's okay - like with the bad spelling and so on, but here they are corrected and I find that his general attitude in doing school work has changed. Before he would say he couldn't do something and that was because there was no pushing in the mainstream school.
- S: Let us just look at the management here. You have been a parent and the chairperson of the Parent/Children Association.
- IJ: They are a dedicated lot, I know that. Management in the mainstream school, I don't know much about.
- S: What makes you say that they are dedicated?
- IJ: For a start, they give their time to come here on Saturday mornings after they have been to work all week. That is dedication. To come in here on Saturdays, year in, year out. And they come regularly.
- S: You were talking about dedication earlier on. You have been involved here for 4-5 years; what have you noticed in terms of dedication apart from coming here every Saturday?
- IJ: I don't quite understand your question. What do you mean by that?
- S: Sometimes people notice other things apart from the first thing they have said. You have said that they are dedicated because coming here every Saturday is dedication. What I am now saying is what other things have you noticed which lead you to the conclusion that these people are a dedicated lot.
- IJ: Mm. I know what I want to say, but I haven't got the word for it.
- S: Just in your own words.
- IJ: Okay, let's say for instance, last week they had a management committee meeting and one of the chaps, a business person, said they should have an open day for the local business people to come and see what the children are doing. The Chairperson of the Management Committee, within days, was able to call around and get about 26 people in the business of computers, entertainments and so on and to come along. We have this meeting and the children were all kept back so they could introduce themselves and talk about what they do and what other black people in the community do. I mean that they didn't have to come but it did help; to open the place up for some of those people who wouldn't know about it otherwise. Some of them have got children who have come here and gone to the University.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that other people are being involved.
- IJ: Yeah.
- S: What do you mean by that?
- IJ: Everybody seems to take it as a personal thing and they treat the children as if they were their own. So I mean they have this sort of interest, which does not just say I have a child who I want to do better, but it is all the children which they target to do things better. For example, we had a barbecue in the summer. Those that were interested really put themselves out to do things. We didn't get as many people as we would have liked but a lot of us gave their own time up to come for it. That sort of thing; giving up their own time. Nobody is saying it's only when you set a day aside and do it on such and such a day.
- S: Do you think black people are involved like that with the mainstream school?
- IJ: I suppose some of them are. I mean they have friends but you don't know the reason why black people tend not to involve themselves. Possibly they don't feel comfortable, you know, in that way. However, there might be one or two like me. I go

- to whatever functions they have. I know some people, like within the second generations of black people, who will come along.
- S: So now let us just look at that in terms of finance. You do all these things in order to get money, would you say that the school takes these decisions or do they involve parents? Either in getting money or spending the money and do they involve parents in the decisions in CSEP?
- IJ: Yes, we do. We do have meetings. We do have problems with people attending the meetings, but you find that the ones who are interested do come along. We have a sort of battle to get those who are not interested to come along. Like when they have prize giving next week; we try to get some parents to come along. Some of them don't even know about us but their children are coming.
- S: Now let us just look at the pupils. I have seen children that have been practising plays etc. for the prize giving day and I was really impressed by the way they were organising themselves rather than a having a teacher running around. How do you find that?
- IJ: The teaching part of the pupils, I am not really involved with but I am in agreement with letting children do things themselves. That is good isn't it. It shows that they have a contribution to make from what they have gained. I think by coming here it helps us all. They get something from the mainstream and they only come here for 2 hours but they must have got something out of it and that's why they want to come. Even if their parents are not attending, they still want to come - I mean, the older ones.
- S: Why?
- IJ: Our children are not progressing in the mainstream school and this is one way of getting them to progress. This is one positive way of getting them to progress. That is the main reason. The majority of them are way behind in their work and black children seem to be at the bottom of the ladder. Why can't they be like everyone else, at the top? That is the reason for it.
- S: So what do you think is making white people ask those questions?
- IJ: Laughed ... They probably see that the children are getting more things than their own children. They wouldn't see the problem as we do because the System is geared to assist them. Although it is for everyone, it is geared for them. We are here as added people. This is insulting because not all the children are in this category of not being bright. Unless a child is extremely talented or bright, they don't seem to make it. Like some parents, they do allow them to take their children out of school to attend Grammar school but for the ordinary locals, it is quite a different story.
- S: So let us talk about this place. I mean, some people are arguing that this place should be a full-time school, where black pupils can come every day of the week.
- IJ: A school like this?
- S: Yes, what's your own opinion about this?
- IJ: Well, if they have the funds it would be good. Others, like the Jewish people have their own schools. I am sure it would be good. They need that incentive you know, to better themselves.
- S: What do you think? You mentioned the Jews and the Germans have their schools. Some Asians have their own schools too. What would you say is keeping the black community back?
- IJ: The money. We came here poor. I don't know the reason, black people tend not to unite as we would like them to. People that sort of make it, have made it and gone on or they have gone to the other side. I don't know, some of them that have the money

have gone to the other side ... As I said with the open day, that is why we tried to get them to see what they can do to help. You know, everyone had said that they have this sort of negative attitude and they wouldn't make it anyway.

S: Is that what they have been told?

IJ: That's right. That's what they have been told. If somebody tells you all the time that you are not good at this and not good at that, you eventually say that you are not good. This sort of mental attitude.

S: So, what type of values would you say should be promoted in this place?

IJ: Just to continue to instil a positive attitude in the children so that they know they can do well and make it like any other person. We are not expecting them all to be doctors and lawyers and so on. Whatever they want to do they should know that they can do it.

S: Just to have a positive attitude towards success.

IJ: Yes, that's right. To instil this in them always.

S: You were talking earlier on about black people teaching their children to respect their elders.

IJ: Elders, mmm.

S: Do you see that as something that could be taught or promoted here?

IJ: It is being promoted and I hope it continues. I believe it is and should be continued in that manner. We want them to be educated and we want them to be able to give respect not just to elders but to everybody.

S: What other values do you think that could be promoted? But before you answer let's look at what they have been promoting first - their strengths. What other things have they been promoting apart from respect for individuals?

IJ: Mm - silence - (thoughtful).

S: Let's say I meet you on the street and I ask you to tell me 5 positive things which CSEP has been promoting.

IJ: That's a difficult question. One is that children have role models, that is they have black teachers teaching them (although we have some white teachers here too). It's a meeting place to meet others of different backgrounds; it's a place for information, not only about black, but about education and what goes on generally in the community.

S: What would you say they could develop more?

IJ: Maybe the further education bit, that is after 16, where the career part is concerned. Maybe guide them.

S: Is there any other thing?

IJ: Nothing this minute.

S: Possibly if you think of anything else you could write it down for me. Let us look at the community - how do you think CSEP could be helpful to other schools in Croydon?

What do you think this project has to give to other schools or do you think that other schools would not learn anything from them?

IJ: To learn a bit more about our culture. I think that is important so that they can understand us at a different level. I mean, for them to understand our differences. We have different values and attitudes for instance. They should learn a bit more about us and I think they should be teaching more about our history in schools. If they get to understand us I think that would be helpful but they don't. I think they see us as a threat, especially in numbers. They say that if there are too many it becomes a problem school. If they knew us better then it wouldn't be so.

- S: So what you seem to be saying is that people in the community seem to be seeing the large number in population as a problem as opposed to part of the population.
- IJ: That's right. For example, they tend to say that if the black population increases in an area, then you will get more black pupils in the school and they fear this is an underlying problem. Although white people pretend that this does not exist.
- S: Okay. Thank you very much Mrs. James for your time.

KATRINA JONES – 8 (F) 2 YEARS, CHARLEEN HOUNSELL – 7 (F) 3 YEARS.
BOTH AT THE LOCAL PRIMARY SCHOOL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 23

S: Please can you introduce yourselves.

KJ: My name is Katrina Jones

S: And you?

CH: Charlene Hounsell.

S: How old are you?

KJ: I am 8.

S: And you?

CH: I am 7.

S: How long have you been coming here?

CH: Three years.

S: And you?

KJ: I have been coming for two years.

S: Why do you come here?

KJ: Saturday school is my favourite school. They were running it in my school before moving here and I saw them and I asked if I could come and they put my name down and I started coming.

S: So you were saying that they were running it in your school and you saw it and you decided to tell your parent. Why did you ask your parent?

KJ: When I saw people there are working hard and I want to learn more and go to university.

S: You want to learn more and go to university. What about you Charlene?

CH: My dad does the accounts for them here and he introduced me to it and I have been coming here.

S: And are you getting used to it now?

CH: Yes.

S: What are the things that you do in the classroom here?

CH: Well, we do work in English and Maths and today we have been doing handwriting.

S: You have been doing handwriting.

Both and we have started to read.

S: You've started to read.

CH: and when we have finished that the teacher will let us do some other work.

S: Like?

CH: Poems.

S: So sometimes you do poems and sometimes you read and sometimes you do Maths...

KJ: and English also.

CH: and sometimes we have to do Maths and work in groups.

S: OK. Do you enjoy doing that?

Both Yes.

S: What makes you to enjoy doing that

CH: I just want to work and my favourite subject is English.

S: Your favourite subject is English! What about you?

KJ: My favourite subject is Maths.

S: So you like Maths? Which school do you go to at the moment?

CH: _____ (name withheld for anonymity) Junior School.

S Is that a private school?

CH: I'm not sure.

S: What work does your Dad do?

CH: He is a governor at this school and he helps with the finance.

S I mean outside this school?

CH: He works on a site.

S: Which site?

CH: They are making the Jubilee line.

S So he works in the constructions. What about your own parents and your School?

KJ: I go to Woodside school and my Mum is a Childminder and my Dad is in the Insurance company.

S: So let us see this. Do you like it here?

CH: Yes

S Why?

KJ: Because I do writings here and I am not that good but this place is helping

S: What about you CH.

CH: They let us do work - they are not very strict and when we do something wrong they don't just shout at you that you have done it wrong, they just help you do it.

S So they help you to do it.

CH: Yes.

S And also they don't shout at you.

CH: Yes.

S And they are not very strict.

CH: Yes.

S When we look at that and when we look at your Mainstream school, how will you compare the two.

KJ: This school tends to be kind.

CH: Yes.

S What do you mean by that?

KJ: The teachers here are kind and when you do something wrong, they are not like heavy on you and send you to the head-teacher .So our head-teacher is strict at school.

S :Is that the way you see teachers Charlene?

CH: Yes, they are not just strict but really strict.

S: Yes.

CH: Like when you do something, they shout at you and then send you to the headmaster and they tell you that you've got it wrong.

KJ: But here they help us.

S :So they help you here.

CH: Yes, they help you and talk to you about your behaviour.

KJ: Whereas at school they send you out and tell your parents.

S: So they punish you and tell your parents about your bad behaviour.

CH: They assume things without talking to you.

S: So they assume things, do they assume things here?

Both: No.

CH: No, they don't.

S: Why do you think that they don't assume things here?

Both Because.

S: One by one please, so that I could get it down properly.

CH: Because they ask you who is responsible.

KJ: And everyone is watching you if you have done it or not and they help you.

S: What you seem to be saying is that teachers here they watch you doing your work and if they see that you needed help then they give you.

CH: Yes.

S: How many teachers are the room where you work here?

KJ: Erm. One. Two, three teachers.

S: Three teachers and how many of you in the classroom?

CH: Mmm... about 16.

S: 16. How many of you in your main school classroom.

CH: Thirt....y one.

S: 31 and how many teachers.

CH: We have a helper in the morning and in the afternoon we have our main teacher.

S: So it is just one all the time. Let us look at some of the things you have been doing. You said that they have been helping you with Maths and English and you have been writing poems.

Both Yes.

S: How will you compare what you have been doing here with that of your main stream at school? Do things here help you at school?

CH: It helps you at school.

S: How?

CH: When you come here they give you something bigger and they help you to do. Like here we do multiplications with higher numbers but at school they give us easy work to do.

S: Is that the way you see it Katrina?

KJ: Yes.

S: Would you like to tell me how you see it?

CH: I see it as the teachers are quite easy to work with. In my school, sometimes they don't teach us on how to do joined up handwriting but here they teach us different types of hard things and also they allow us to use the handwriting that we want. In our school they just ask us to use joined handwriting. If you don't do it then they send you to the headmaster.

S: So whenever you do anything wrong they send you to the headmaster?

CH: Yes and sometimes it is not even your fault.

S: So you will say that coming here has helped you to be doing well at school.

KJ: Yes.

S: Because you said you do hard things here, harder than what you are doing at school!

CH: It is fun doing hard things.

S: Is it? Fun doing hard things!

CH: It is easy doing things at school and it becomes boring because you already know what to do. So it is boring having to do it again. When we are in Year 1 it was fun doing the work but having to repeat in it in Juniors just makes it boring. So it is quite good here because you move from stage 1 to Stage 2 and then to 3 so that learning is fun.

S: OK. Let me ask you one by one. I will start with Charlene now. Okay, how will you say that you relate to other children here? Do you make friends with them?

CH: Yes.

S: I will like you to tell me what makes you friendly with them.

CH: Because my brother comes here also and he has got his friends and I have got my friends so we've both make lots of friends.

S: I am coming to ask you Katrina. What of in the main stream school, do you have friends as you have here?

CH: Yes.

S: And do they play with you?

CH: Not all the time because when you are not doing things together then they play with other ones. For example, when you are not doing technology together they say they don't want to be my friend, so I just go and play with someone else. Like the other day they told me where they are going but one of the girls didn't want to play with mw so I just went and played with someone else.

S: What about you Katrina?

KJ: In this school, I have made many friends. If they could help you do the work, then they do. When I was at junior school, the teacher tells you where you are to sit and I had to sit behind and I didn't like it but in this school you could just sit where you are and that is good.

S: And do you like that?

KJ: Yes I do.

S: (to CH) What about you? At your mainstream school, do you sit where ever you like?

CH: No they don't allow us but here we can... get to make more friends because we sit where we like.

S: What you seem to be saying is that you are able to make more friends here. What about the way teachers here treat you, how will you describe it?

CH: Sometimes they even shout at you when they don't need to shout at you, but not all of them.

Both In my school the all shout.

S: They all shout? And you don't like that?

Both No I don't like that.

S: Let us look at how you relate to others, do you meet other children outside this place?

KJ: Yes because when we finish we have to wait for our parents and we wait outside.

S: Do they talk to one another?

CH: Yes, because sometimes I come with my friends.

S: Do you have many white friends?

CH: Yeah, my best friend is white.

KJ: I have some white friends also.

S: How many white people are in your classroom?

CH: There are four children including me.

S: Including you? What about you?

KJ: I have four also.

S: You have four also. That is interesting. Do you get on with the children there than here?

CH: I get on better with the children here than there. In our school the teachers tell us that we can do things by ourselves but they never allow us to do it.

S So they say one thing but they don't do it.

CH: And this really gives me head ache not knowing what to do.

S Oh - - - oh. Let us look at the teaching here? What will you say that they need to teach you more of here?

CH: Maths.

KJ: English.

S So Katrina wants English and Charlene wants maths. You both like different subjects then. Now in some schools in America, which people go to every day as school. If this becomes one would you like to come?

CH: No, because I want to mix with other people and not just be with blacks.

S What if Katrina?

KJ:: In America, white people don't like black people. So if there are white people they shoot at the blacks. Some times here, (England) in my school when white children are not talking to you and you go to tell the teacher, they say it is not there problem.

S Oh - - - - -oh - - - - -. How do you think your white friends see this place? They are playing at home now while you are here on Saturdays?

KJ: They like it because when I am at school and we are doing work that others in the class don't know, I normally help them out.

S What about you Charlene?

CH: What Katrina said.

S: Now in some schools in America, they will not just teach you Maths, English and Science, but they teach you also about black people. What they did in the past and what they achieve. Do you do that here?

Both Yes.

CH: Like Martin Luther King.

KJ: And other black famous people.

Both Also we hear it on the radio.

KJ: We have heard about Malcolm X and others.

S: Okay. Will you like this to be taught to you some time here?

CH: Yes.

S: Do they teach you this at your mainstream school?

KJ: No. They don't mention anything like that.

Both Because our teachers are white, and they don't really like them.

S: So you see them as not liking that type of thing.

CH: Also we learnt about how white people arrested Martin Luther King and how they treated Matma Gandhi, and they got arrested and Martin Luther made a speech about being black.

S: You said that your Dad helps with money here. How do you see that, what type of money?

CH: The wages.

S: So he helps them to do the calculations. What do you think this place will become in about 10 years time?

KJ: They will continue being a Saturday school.

S: What about you Charlene?

CH: The same.

S: The same? So what will you like it to become?

CH: To be a big Saturday school and be a mixed one to enable my white friends to come here.

S: So you will like to see white children here. Will you like to see more white teachers here?

CH: Yes, but they don't want to come here. We might get more white children but not many teachers.

S: Let's say a child wants to come here or is looking for a school. What will you tell that child?

Both I would say 'Come here, you'll like it here'!

CH: And I will say we learn a lot of things here and it will help them at school.

S: You said that your brother is here Charlene. How old is he?

CH: He has left.

S: And do you have brothers here Katrina?

KJ: My brother in 13 and next year he will be going to the senior school.

S: What will you like to be when you grow up?

CH: I'll like to be a Doctor.

KJ: I'll like to be a Lawyer.

S: Why?

Both: More money.

S: Well thank-you very much for your help.

KOLA, 14, MALE, MOTHER – JAMAICAN, FATHER – NIGERIAN, - ATTENDS A MIXED COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL. INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 5

S: Why do you attend the CSEP.

KL: I came here because this place helps me to expand my education in Maths. We spend more time on different topics and the teachers here help me more. In English, they help me to spell better.

S: How long have you been coming here ?

KL: I have been coming here since I was eight / nine years old.

S: What has been making you to come one Saturday after the other.

KL: It's just to expand my knowledge that makes me to come here.

S: Who influences your coming here.

KL: It's mainly my parents who want me to have better education and this school has been helping, so they have been sending me here.

S: What are your views about the help you have been receiving ?

KL: I think it is really good because we have time limit and we just concentrate on Maths and English, and you feel more particularly at home and you tend to work more than in the other school.

S: You said you feel 'at home', what do you mean ? Can you tell me more about this.

KL: At my main school, I am not talking about all school, in my English class there are only two or three black people, but here there are more of these people, so you generally feel at home and you feel you can relate to them.

S: Have you been able to relate to other people here ?

KL: Yes.

S: Let us look at what you have been learning here, i.e. Maths and English. You said it helps you to learn better. Are these things you have brought from school or things teachers gave to you here ?

KL: They are things we have here. Here teachers kind of work on the same basis as school, but they tend to cover it a lot more here.

S: When you say they cover it a lot more, what do you mean.

KL: They help a lot more.

S: In what way.

KL: They help you a lot more because they explain more. If you don't understand something in the school teachers are quite strict and there are too many children but here there are more than one teacher in a class and there are teachers who are willing to explain.

S: How many teachers in your main school classes.

KL: Roughly around thirty to a teacher.

S: What about here ?

KL: It's about eighteen to twenty with two to three teachers.

S: Let's look at how things have developed. You said that you have come here to expand your education - why.

KL: When you leave school, especially if you are black, you need to have more than good qualifications. If you and a white person go for a job, they are more likely to get the job. Whereas if you have got extra qualifications to your GCSE's like O levels, then you are better placed for that job. If you don't have the education then you have to settle for something less.

- S: And you don't want to settle for something less. When you finish school what do you want to do ?
- KL: No, I might go into acting or become a G.P. and get more money.
- S: What are the things you think will help you to do this.
- KL: The things we do here can help you do well at school. If there is a kind of topic you are doing at school, it helps you to feel being helped more than at the main school. It gives you more here.
- S: Do you mean self confidence ?
- KL: Yes; it helps you to build your self confidence. Where as at the main stream school, you are there in a week but when you come here you spend more time on it and you are able to build more confidence.
- S: Who has been helping you to do this. Teachers, yourself or your parents ?
- KL: All of them.
- S: All of them ?
- KL: Yes. It can't just be one or the other. If you know that what your parents are asking you to do is for your best interest then you work more at it, and the teachers here are there to help you improve.
- S: What has your parent been contributing to you doing well ?
- KL: They have been praising me and telling me that if you work hard, then you will get on well get on well in your career.
- S: And what have you been contributing ?
- KL: If I work harder, I should be able to get a better job.
- S: What of the teachers.
- KL: Here they are quite good. They help us as we go along, and they help me to understand things better.
- S: What makes them a good teachers ?
- KL: We are able to relate to them and they to us pupils, they are not really too strict, we are able to have a laugh and get on well with pupils.
- S: So what makes a teacher a bad one ?
- KL: They don't want to know how pupils feel. They just want to get on with their job. They don't want to listen to pupils or relate to them.
- S: How do you see teachers here then ?
- KL: They are really good. If you don't understand something, they will explain it to you, they have a way to make you do the work and you really enjoy doing it. They are easy going and you get along with them.
- S: What about the teachers at the main school.
- KL: I will say that more than three quarters of the teachers although they know what they are doing, they are not very good in handling and coping with the children and how children feel and how to make them enjoy their lessons.
- S: Let su look at rules, you said that a good teacher will relate to you, make you laugh, understand you, and get on you to work. What type of rules help you to do this ?
- KL: Here ?
- S: Anywhere, even before coming here ?
- KL: Teachers needs to understand that GCSE's are hard to get, and if you don't study, you won't get there. They should be there to help you as much as they can.
- S: Will you say the teachers at the mainstream school are helping you to do that.
- KL: I will say more teachers here, because they are easier to get along with and they not shouting or screaming at you, they help you to improve.
- S: So they help you to improve here.

KL: Yes.

S: In what way.

KL: It is not just in improving Maths and English, but they kind of help you to learn about your culture and certain things which you didn't know as a black person when you are younger. For example knowing that black people were involved with fighting the World Wars, was taught here but nothing was said about it in my mainstream school as you did here. It makes you know about your root.

S: Let's look at your attitude, you said earlier on that teachers and parents could help you but you need to be involved. What makes a good pupil ?

KL: A good pupil will enjoy the lesson, and will get along with pupils in the class, get along with teachers and enjoy the subject.

S: Would you say that you have been doing this.

KL: Yes, here.

S: What will you say has been encouraging you to do that.

KL: You keep on working you know that you have not just come here to laugh and that, you concentrate more on what you are doing.

S: Let us look at the way the schools have been relating to you and your parents, have the schools been doing this the same way ?

KL: Yes, the same way.

S: What of when you go for parents evening.

KL: Yes.

S: When do they invite you and your parents ? Say like in the prize giving day which you are having here.

KL: They don't do that at our main school

S: Will you say your parents are involved in the same way at the mainstream school as they are here.

KL: I will say they are more involved here.

S: Why.

KL: Because here they have a kind of open evening, prize giving day which helps you to know how your child is doing, and how they have been working hard, whereas at the mainstream school you just get a report without encouraging parents to come.

S: What improvement or difference have you noticed in you since you have been attending here.

KL: It has had an effect on my work, things I didn't understand at school or I was half understanding, I could just ask the teachers here and when I have done that, they give me more work to do.

S: You said that (they?) explain things more, is that when you compare it to the mainstream school.

KL: Yes.

S: Is that just to you or to everybody.

KL: They just tend to deal with the class as a whole and tell us which and that is.

S: What about here.

KL: No it is different, they explain things to us and they make you see things differently. We are not treated as a group. They make you to enjoy coming to the supplementary school and you enjoy it. This make you feel that you learn a lot and you want to come.

S: How would you describe the relationship between you and the teachers ?

KL: I will say that I get along with the teachers here because, I wouldn't say strict, but you understand that you have to do your work, and they kind of make you want to

come. They treat you as they would treat themselves and they don't boss you around or tell you to do this and that or if you don't do it they will send you downstairs.

S: Do they tell you that at mainstream school.

KL: Yes, when you are told off too much, it makes you not to enjoy your lesson.

S: What motivates you to come here ?

KL: To learn more, so that when new subject topics are being treated at school, you know how to do it. When we do them, I already know or learnt about it here.

S: Has that been (you?) your experience that you have been tapping in ?

KL: Yes, and it has been motivating me to do well. It is a sort of joint help here.

S: How will you describe the differences in your result since you have been coming here if any ?

KL: I have seen a lot of difference and in my response. I have been putting a lot of effort. So now I know what to do, what is to say and how to go about it. It has been helping my results at the mainstream school to improve.

S: You are talking about the academics, what about you as an individual ? What improvement would you say has occurred when you compare yourself with another black person at the mainstream school ?

KL: I know more about what I should be doing, what to do and how to do it. Whereas, other black pupils in my mainstream school, they don't really have the knowledge.

S: Why.

KL: It could be because they don't want to learn or they didn't know what we are doing in that topic.

S: Have you seen any difference with the way you interact with other people ?

KL: Because, I get along well with others in my class I tend to want to work harder. I do spend sometime in talking with them but at the same time I get on with my work and when you didn't understand you can revise up your hand. Whereas in the mainstream school you can('t) really do that, you will be told off for talking.

S: Let's say this place becomes a full time school; will you like to attend ?

KL: Why?

S: Why ?

KL: It's just the atmosphere- it's kind of nice to work in, it is a happy atmosphere, where you want to be. You get along well and you understand your work. You learn more than you do at school, though it is a shorter time. You just widen your knowledge about everything.

S: You say you learn more though it's a shorter time. What do you mean ?

KL: In school, we have fifty minutes or so in a period, whereas here we have a whole hour or sometimes we go more than we go in school in just one hour because the teachers here spend more time with the individuals rather than the whole class in general whereas here it is not like that. We have three teachers that go around the class, they talk to you and explain things more. If you don't understand something, you just ask them and they explain it more.

S: Mm. How do you see the future of the place, say in ten years time.

KL: I think, if the work continues the way it is and the teachers continue to be good and easy to get along with; I can see a lot of people coming. Now, the waiting list is even long and many people see it as having a great potential.

S: Will you like to help in such a place ?

KL: Yeah, I wouldn't mind helping if I am able to fulfil my dream. I wouldn't mind helping.

S: Does any of your friends know that you are coming to this school ?

- KL: Yes, they do, they just think that I am with another on Saturdays. It does not really affect how much they like me.
- S: Are those friends black children.
- KL: Some blacks and some are white. They are of widers varieties.
- S: Does any of your teachers know that you are attending here ?
- KL: My Maths teacher knows.
- S: What are his/her response?
- KL: In as much that it is helping my performance at school, they don't really mind.
- S: Which set are you in Maths at school?
- KL: I'm in Set Two and same in English.
- S: In what ways have you been involved in this place?
- KL: At prize giving, those who are interested went for the auditions and contest for the parts in the play on songs performance. I just take part in everything that go on.
- S: Do they give you openings like that at school to participate in things?
- KL: They do sometimes, but not as much as fun as it is here
- S: What are the differences between what you learn here and what you learn at mainstream school?
- KL: One I can think of is that we don't learn about black people and how it has been for black people in my mainstream school, because it is a white school. There might be a few odd black dinner ladies but you don't have many black people taking part in many things, as you have here.
- S: What about discipline, are there differences between the two places
- KL: Here, I feel the discipline is better because you feel more free to do what you want to a certain extent. You can't just cause disruptions in the lessons, the teachers will tell you off but they are not as harsh or cruel in the mainstream school. In the mainstream school you cannot have a quiet chat with the next person. They just ask us to get on with our work.
- S: Will you say your parents are more involved here than the mainstream school ?
- KL: Mmm, maybe.
- S: What do you mean by that ?
- KL: When there is a open evening here, they attend and they come to look at my work here. They attend all the functions at the Supplementary school.
- S: Do they attend all the functions at the mainstream school ?
- KL: The mainstream school doesn't have much for parents to attend. They have the usual parents evening. That's it, they don't really relate to the parents as much as they do here.
- S: Why does that happen ?
- KL: Cos the teachers here have more time for you, they want to talk to your parents, about your progress and because everyone is (mostly) black, they want to help each other out; so that you are not left alone as you are in schools.
- S: Do you feel alone at school ?
- KL: Not really alone, but there is no lesson where you can learn about your roots and you have here. Mainstream school is a different environment.
- S: What do you like about this place ?
- KL: I just like it here because it is easy to get along with everyone here, the teachers are friendly and easy to get on with. This encourages you to want to learn about everything.
- S: What do you dislike about here ?

KL: Mm. it starts so early in the mornings. So you get up though you want to have like a lie in on a Saturday. You have to get up and come down. Apart from that, I like all other things.

S: What do you like about Mainstream school ?

KL: Cos you look forward to seeing your friends and stuff like that and you are able to go out with them after.

S: What about relationship with teachers.

KL: The teachers don't really relate to us. they don't have much time.

S: How do you see teachers at the Mainstream school in terms of authority?

KL: I think they like having the power and they exercise it by asking you to keep quiet and do your work. They will not ask if you have finished or not. Once they see you talking, they just shout you to keep quiet, or give detentions and that.

S: What about here ?

KL: It is different, the teachers are quite good.

S: In what way ?

KL: They give up their time and they want you to learn.

S: Because others are going now, it would be nice for me to release you. but before I do this, what would you say makes people to wait on the waiting list here ? Somebody said that they have waited for seven months before getting admission.

KL: Because people know that it is a very good school. Teachers here give up their own time, they want you to get as far as you possibly could.

S: Well Kola thank you very much for you time.

KL: Thank you.

S: Bye.

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

ML: My name is Mrs Luke, I am a parent of a pupil in this CSEP. My niece introduced me to this school.

S: When was that?

ML: Three years ago.

S: How many children have you here?

ML: I've only got one child.

S: How old?

ML: 15 years old.

S: What made you send your child here?

ML: Education is never too much, by sending them here is to help them with their education. In case he is lacking in something from the MSS programme. He'll be able to gain more knowledge in this school. Education is very important and with our colour we need extra.

S: Why do we need more as black people?

ML: We need more because when we go for jobs and we might have the same qualifications, I am not being prejudice here but, you find that we need extra to help us along. It shouldn't be like that but you find that we need a little bit extra of education to put us in good posts.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that white people might not go out openly to prejudice against black but it does happen and black people are not getting what their white counterparts will get?

ML: Yes.

S: How have you experienced that?

ML: I cannot say that I have experienced it myself because where I am working I've been there for quite a number of years but I have seen it happen to other people.

S: What type of work do you do?

ML: I do admin work.

S: What really influence your choice of this school?

ML: When my boy first started, it was at the Longlane, which was nearer, then they moved to this one and we still continue because I didn't know of any other one. They helped him with his English and Maths.

S: What will you describe as the aim of this place?

ML: It is to help the children and it is to further their education.

S: In what way have you experienced this happening with your son?

ML: Mm. He doesn't use to do well with his English and his Maths and he was lacking in some areas but coming to Saturday School, he's had some extra boosts.

S: What you seem to be saying is that by him coming here, that is helping him.

ML: Yes. It is helping him especially next year when he will be doing his GCSE.

S: Okay.

ML: Then we come to the school to see which other help we could give, for example – next week we'll come to see the help we need. He comes here to be given that boost. I will like him to get through his GCSE and from there to further his education.

S: What are you really hoping that he'll do later on?

ML: He wants to be an architect.

S: Okay.

ML: Yes, so he needs quite a lot of Maths and English, drawing and some other subjects.

S: You said your niece introduced you to this school, how did your niece get to know about the school?

ML: I don't know, but I think it was a friend who told her about it because when we were talking about it she said that a friend of her's working in Fulham always talk about Saturday School and she said that there is one in our own area – so we looked for it.

S: How will you describe this place as a community?

ML: I think it is good and I think the teacher have a lot of experiences and they give up their social lives to teach our children at weekend when others will be doing their own thing and yet they give up their time to teach them. I always appreciate what they are doing.

S: So what you are saying is that you appreciate what they are doing.

ML: Yes I do.

S: How will you describe the atmosphere here? You came in here this morning and I called you in to this room to be interviewed. What type of atmosphere have you noticed generally when you come into this place?

ML: Everybody has been nice to me whenever I come in here. The directors, the teachers and the secretaries, they always been nice and pleasant to me. They make me feel at home when I come in here.

S: What will you say contributes to this?

ML: Attitudes.

S: What type of attitudes?

ML: Friendly atmosphere, always pleasant to me when I come in here and my son is happy as well.

S: You said your son is happy, is he happy at the MSS?

ML: We have not had any complaints, they are alright. These are his results for this year. You see he has a 'B' there and an 'A' grade there. These are all attributed to him coming to this school. It boosts his results.

S: Good. When you said that you came in there is always friendly atmosphere, is that the type of atmosphere that you get when you go to the MSS?

ML: Well, I always go during their open day they seem to be nice as well.

S: Good.

ML: The headmaster always talk to me and say hello to introduce myself and tell them whom I am.

S: So you put yourself out to let him know that you are around.

ML: Yes, when there is an opportunity, I go there and show myself around and make myself available and I try to do it here as well. When there is AGM here, I come here also to give my support.

S: What you seem to be saying is that you contribute to the social aspects of the school.

ML: Yes.

S: That's really good. How will you describe the discipline here compared with the ones at the MSS?

ML: I have not really had any complaints from the MSS or from this school. The last time I came they said that everything was alright and there was no problem. My son is one of the prefects at the MSS.

S: That's good.

ML: We have to apply for it and at the time I just guided him on how to write the letter.

S: Who did that?

ML: I did that, I told him what he could write and that he shouldn't let it be long and we make sure that his spelling was correct and told him how he could start and end it.

S: More or less the structure of the letter?

ML: Yes. The structure of the letter and he's got the post and the prefect badge.

S: Okay so he is really being trained to be a teacher.

ML: Yes.

S: You were talking about Maths and English earlier on and you were saying that your son was doing well. Will you say that that is enough to be taught here?

ML: Mm. I think if there is anything else we would appreciate that.

S: What other things will you like to be taught?

ML: Things like Geography and History.

S: Why?

ML: I think it is necessary for them to know their roots and how other black people are. They have been to places like the 'Museum of Slavery'.

S: That's in Liverpool.

ML: It will be interesting to know the history of black people as well because it is important.

S: Why?

ML: Well, because the society we are in, you don't and you are never told anything about black people unless you read it in newspapers or see it on a telly and mostly negative. They need to know the scenery and this will help them get the background of black people.

S: When you look at that and you looked at what is really being taught, you spoke about Maths and English. Why do they focus on Maths and English?

ML: Because it is important because whatever they do they need it and in English they need to learn how to speak it properly so it is important.

S: You were showing me some evidences earlier on, will you mind photocopying it?

ML: No.

S: Let's look at relationship, does your child associate with other black children here?

ML: Yes, I should think he does.

S: What about at school?

ML: Yes he does. I think he is quite sociable. In the morning, one black child called Graham, they go to school together with two other white ones. But they started from Junior school together.

S: So they have grown together.

ML: Yes grown together.

S: That's good, and they live in the same area?

ML: Yes, so they call on each other in the mornings when going to their school.

S: What have you noticed in his own personal developments as your son, over the three years he had been here.

ML: Well, even teachers remarked that he had made progress in this school and in the other school as well. They have like progress evenings and on different occasions he had had prizes for progress reports.

S: Good.

ML: In his MSS he had had 100% attendance and another one for progress. They do quite a lot here considering that they only spend two hours here on Saturdays.

S: Will you have like them to extend this two hours or is it enough?

ML: It depends, as a weekend, teachers have already given up their weekends to teach the children. They have their own lives as well. We cannot be too pushy but at the same

- time we are very grateful. The children enjoy what they are doing and they probably like it as well. When you've worked Mondays to Fridays, you only have two days. So by the time they have used their Saturdays, they only have one day left, they need to socialise as well as they get tired as well.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that the teachers are contributing, the children are coming --.
- ML: - to gain and add to their knowledge
- S: So what will you say is helping to keep this going?
- ML: Well children and their parents give support.
- S: Which type of support have you been giving?
- ML: The first will be probably, the money to keep us going and I know that this is not much but I pay my dues and I appreciate what they are doing.
- S: Which type of support will you say the community could give? Teacher are contributing as well as parents and children are giving up their Saturday to come here.
- ML: Well, teachers could give their time.
- S: What do you see that the white people see this place?
- ML: (silence) Mm. I don't really know how they see it. At the end of the day our people are here helping our children to further their education so that they could have a better standard of living. If you want to get on in this country you have to be educated or you want to move to other country, provided you have education they can go where they like to work. At the end of the day they may want to get a degree like you.
- S: You said that some of them were born here. Where were you born?
- ML: My son was born here, he wouldn't know my country as far as he is concerned, this is his country. At the end of the day he can move around other countries provided he's got his education and they can show that they can do the work.
- S: Some people were saying that, if this place continues why is it that they don't open it up to like MSS. What is your own view about this?
- ML: I have no objection to it.
- S: But will you still send your son here?
- ML: Yes, of course. All I am concerned about is for him to have a good standard of education. Here as at the moment they give attention to the children in small groups, but if this place becomes bigger, it might lose that smallness.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that teachers giving attention in small groups is important.
- ML: Yes, it is important to children.
- S: Why is it important?
- ML: To be able to learn better and for them to get more knowledge.
- S: And that gives them more adult contact?
- ML: Yes, more adult contact and this is good.
- S: Good. You were talking earlier on of this place becoming a full time school that is running from Mon. – Friday and not just Saturdays.
- ML: That will be difficult because all children here are already attending school only this time.
- S: Like mainstream itself but organised by black people.
- ML: I see.
- S: In America and in Canada, there are some schools like that, even in Britain people are now saying 'Why can't it happen' Is that how you see this place? There is one as at the moment John Loughborough but by the church.
- ML: Good.

- S: So is that the way you see this place? That is having many teachers to support smaller groups as they are doing now but as a full time school. Will you like your child to come?
- ML: Yes, why not, it might be possible. Once they have smaller classes, then they will be able to give the children more individual attention.
- S: Still on this, some people said that if it becomes a full time school, they should have things about African Caribbean cultures and some people said 'No' it should be just Maths, English and Science. What are your own views?
- ML: That will be nice. If you gain a bit more, it will be a bonus, no education is too much.
- S: If it becomes something like that what do you think white people will say?
- ML: Mm. It's difficult --- (silence) .. Because at the end of the day they need to live in harmony with others. I can't think about that at the moment.
- S: So it is not harmful?
- ML: It is not harmful.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that you will not like a segregation?
- ML: When you think of it in this country they are all different types of people. I mean we all need to learn to live together and we are all in together. I am not really interested in pursuing an all black school where there are no white at all. Together we should mix.
- S: Mm, so what you are saying is that this place should be opened to white kids!
- ML: I am not worried really, my son being able to come is good and as long as they get education their knowledge is what they are coming for. So really there is nothing more to it.
- S: So you moved here originally from another country?
- ML: That's right.
- S: How long ago was that?
- ML: Over thirty years ...
- S: Over thirty years! That's good.
- ML: And I have seen so many things.
- S: Can you share some of these things with me as it will be helpful to give a background to the lives of black people here in Britain and possibly what is making them to set up such schools. You have been saying earlier on that you want your child to get on to do and be somebody in the community.
- ML: Even at white church, the people as if they don't want to know you, they just want to get on with white people and that one of the reasons black people set up their own church. Because people didn't seem to accept them in a white church and that's why black people started their own church and I suspect the school are all the same. Also another reason is that black people think that their children are not getting enough and by having this school setting up they are helping their children. I know of a child that the teachers said was not doing well at school and she was coming here and now she had gone on to University. By coming here our children have done very well. When I first came here not many black people work in the shop to my knowledge, even in Marks and Spencers only whites were working there but as years goes by it is mixed. If you want to rent a room, they wouldn't accept you because you are black or they don't want children. So that's why some black people try and save and by their own houses. When you buy something and you hand them money, it is as if they don't want to touch you. I have seen quite a lot.
- S: How will you say that that has affected you as an individual?
- ML: I am a person. I just want us to live with one another. In my country, we have white people there and we treat them with high esteem but not until we came here then we

realise that apart from our skin colour, that we are all the same. I remember that once I worked in a shop in the Strand and I was a clerk there at the table and I was typing. When I went, one of the girls for good some times wouldn't even look at me and they did other sort of things but I had to work as I need money. When I look back I see that this is not the way it used to be so to get something you have to work for it. So I had to hang onto that job until I could find something better. So in the end I didn't get the job I wanted but I took it because I wanted the money. Then I applied for another job and got it and moved on.

S: Thank you for sharing that experience with me because, not many people has been prepared to share that. It feels that they think by sharing it, they are criticising the white people but really, that's your experience.

ML: Yes, that's my experience. When I first started I was shy but then I got to know people because they shown me the place.

S: Good, so thank you very much for giving me your time.

- S: Can you please introduce yourself
- OM: My name is Onika Moses. I am in Year eleven group at the supplementary school.
- S: Why do you come to CSEP instead of enjoying yourself on Saturday in other ways ?
- OM: It has been to improve my work for my GCSE, I want to do well in my English and Mathematics and I need to have help to do this.
- S: So you want some help with your English and Mathematics and that's why you are coming here one Saturday after another. Why ?
- OM: I wanted to improve myself. I could have stayed at home watching television but I decided not to but to come here.
- S: So you are saying that you are occupying yourself with constructive things rather than just watching television. Now let us look at this properly; you could have occupied yourself more at your mainstream school.
- OM: When I go to my mainstream school we do some work and when there are things which I do not understand, then I bring them here and they are explained to me.
- S: What do you mean by that ?
- OM: Sometimes things are difficult and I couldn't understand them and I have tried week to so I bring them here.
- S: And that doesn't take place at your mainstream school ?
- OM: It does take place sometimes, but sometimes they don't have the time.
- S: So what you seemed to be saying is that they explain things better to/for you here and they spend more time on it. How do you see this? Is it in the numbers of teachers in the room helping you.
- OM: In the mainstream, you just have one teacher to a lot of students, nobody has the time to explain things.
- S: So how many teachers here ? Because you said that it's only one teacher in the classroom in the mainstream school.
- OM: There are many teachers, so if one is busy teaching, the other one comes to explain whatever you are finding difficult or stuck with and give you help.
- S: Normally, how many teachers do you have in the room at the same time ?
- OM: Roughly about four/five teachers.
- S: And how many pupils ?
- OM: I think about fifteen children.
- S: Let us just look at this further- you said that instead of watching television, you come here. How will you make your friend know that it's more important to come here than watching T.V.
- OM: I will say that if you don't learn something now, you won't be so happy because you'll get your GCSE screwed up. And without your GCSE. you cannot really go far in life. You need to learn something now.
- S: So if you don't learn something now you cannot go far !
- OM: You might go far, but you will find it difficult to come back to your studies. If you learn one thing now and finish that, you will find it easier.
- S: OK, let us just look at it, you were talking about teachers and the classroom, and pupils and you said that when you have not got things right, they come to explain it better to you. How do they relate to you? How will describe the relationship between you and the teachers ?

OM: They are friendly.

S: Where ?

OM: Here. They are quite friendly and they really help you when you need their help.

S: And does it happen in the mainstream school ?

OM: It occurs there but not all teachers are willing to do it.

S: Mm. OK let us look at the relationship between you and the administration here especially the head teacher.

OM: She is quite friendly and she is strict, and she keeps good order and maintains good discipline here. If you come late you have to write your name down in the office and you parent will be informed.

S: What about in other activities, like the other day I saw some of you doing some recordings (they came to borrow my tape).

OM: Drama.

S: I saw you organising it, yourself. What would you say is helping you do this ? Do you normally do this like that without teachers' supervision in your mainstream school ?

OM: In the mainstream school, teacher will have to supervise you in everything. But here, the teachers trust us and give us opportunities to show responsibilities.

S: That's very good, opportunity to show responsibilities. In what ways will you say you personally have been showing that ?

OM: By being trusted, I have organised things and I have organised it properly and show how much as I can how interested I am. This helps us show the skills that we have. Skill to do things and show our talents. They help us as we go on towards life experience.

S: How do you see the things you are doing here? Are you doing more than you are doing at your mainstream school or are the things here mainly helping you with the ones at the school ?

OM: At school here, they go over some of the things which we have done at school and they do them properly. In case we don't understand, they explain it to us and we solve the problems.

S: Is that what you were looking for when you came here ?

OM: Yes.

S: Let us look at other things. You have said that they do Maths, English. Do they allow you to communicate things in your own way especially in English essay ?

OM: When we written essays, they correct us and tell us why things are wrong- either with grammar or spellings.

S: Does that happen at your mainschool ?

OM: At school when things like that happens, they just write it down on your work and you have to go home with it and do the correction.

S: OK, so you don't have sort of teachers input into what you are doing ?

OM: No.

S: How does not having teachers input affect you at school ?

OM: It is difficult, if I didn't come here, I wouldn't have known as much as I do now. It was better at the primary school.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that CSEP is just like a private school. Are you saying that they give you more meaty things here ?

OM: Much more. Exactly.

S: Now let's see, can you describe to me what you mean by much more ?

- OM: Much more is that when they (teachers) come to you, they are willing to help and more they will show you things that you haven't learnt and explain it to you better individually.
- S: That's good. Let us look at your own aspirations. What do you think of doing in the future ?
- OM: I am thinking of becoming a bank manager.
- S: Mmm; because ?
- OM: Because it's good money.
- S: Yes
- OM: I like dealing with numbers and I think I have the ability.
- S: Mmm. That's good. It is really encouraging that you realised that have got the ability. Let us look at how you have been making yourself to develop that ability. How will you describe this ?
- OM: I think my Maths is important and it is good to improve my English. You have to deal with customers, when they come back, you have to meet with people and make new friends, and work as a team.
- S: How will you compare the discipline here to the one at the mainstream school ?
- OM: The discipline here is quite good compared to the mainstream school because in the mainstream school, you have got discipline but not as much as here. Like if you do something in the mainstream school, there is the opportunity to do it again, but here if you get into trouble, if you do it again they make you think about the consequences; and as such you wouldn't do it again.
- S: Does that happen in the mainstream school ?
- OM: It happens in the mainstream school but some things you just do it again because you don't really care. But here they inform your parents and you don't let it happen again.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that here they involve your parent than in the mainstream school. In what other way will you say your parents have been involved ?
- OM: They have been involved in looking at your progress and in all other activities and they are free to come in and see the teachers and they contribute to different activities here.
- S: Let us look at the discipline here. How will you say that you have been involved in making decisions about what is good and what is bad ?
- OM: By not coming late all the time it will not help you to get important jobs.
- S: Mmm. Do you play truancy ?
- OM: No.
- S: Why ?
- OM: We come here early but not as early as we go into the mainstream school. So there is no need playing truancy.
- S: Do you truant at the mainstream school ?
- OM: No. My friends are really good and we go to school together.
- S: OK. Let us look at the community. How will you describe what goes on here between teachers and pupils ? How will you say they relate to one another ?
- OM: We have quite a good relationship.
- S: Between teachers and pupils ?
- OM: Yes.
- S: What do you mean by that ?
- OM: If they are teaching one thing and you don't understand, they are willing to help, and they go out of their way to help you, and I think that is quite good.
- S: OK; and do you have that type of thing happening in your mainstream school ?

OM: Yes with certain teachers [quiet and went into some think mode]

S: What are you thinking ?

OM: Nothing [smiles]

S: It would be nice for you to let me know some of those thoughts because they do matter. [pause] How will you describe the interactions between you and the teachers outside this place ?

OM: What do you mean ?

S: Let's say you meet the teacher after school hours, what type of interactions do you get ?

OM: We don't have much contact.

S: What for when you come here on Saturday and do you want to describe what happens between you and the teachers here, how will you describe what happens ?

OM: Quite friendly.

S: What makes you say that they are friendly ?

OM: When you walk past them or they walk past you they ask you how you are and how you are getting on. [silence]

S: So you like to be asked that ?

OM: Mm.

S: Do you see that as important here ?

OM: That is the manners of black people. It is within their culture to do that.

S: Let us look at what is going on here. You said that they help you here to become a "disciplined person". Will you say that the same thing is happening at the mainstream school. Would you say they help you to be disciplined ?

OM: Discipline here is not the same as that in the mainstream school. [silence]

S: And you like that.

OM: Yes sometimes.

S: What makes you to say that ?

OM: Sometimes, they help you with what you want to do and sometimes they are very strict and they are over the top.

S: Who are they ?

OM: Teachers here and in the mainstream.

S: What do you mean by "going over the top" ?

OM: Sometimes they are reasonable but sometimes they have certain rules that they don't really need it.

S: Give me some examples.

OM: Sometimes at school here, when you get into trouble, they contact your parents.

S: What will your parents say ?

OM: It depends on the circumstances; sometimes they shout and so on.

S: And you don't like that ?

OM: Yes.

S: Let us look at the relationship between teachers, would you say that they get along together well ?

OM: With what I have seen so far, I would say that they get along very well.

S: What have you seen.

OM: They are quite sociable with us and with one another.

S: Does that happen in your mainstream school ?

OM: In my mainstream school they are quite sociable also.

S: How will you say they help you here to really be yourself, as an individual ?

OM: Myself, well, they give you problem to solve, and they encourage you to work. They allow you to persevere.

S: How do you take this from the teachers ?

OM: I take it kindly.

S: Why ?

OM: If you want to get good grades and you are ambitious, then you will work harder.

S: Let us look at finances, your parents contribute some money don't they. How do you see that ?

OM: It is quite good.

S: Why ?

OM: It allows them to get good teachers and to improve the facilities.

S: OK, let us look at your own contributions to this place. What would you say that you have been contributing once you came to this place ?

OM: I have been doing things myself and this has been helping me to achieve more. I have been contributing to the prize giving day.

S: How do you feel that black people see this place ?

OM: They see it as something which is quite good. If they do something, they see that they have done something good, and it gives them a sense of achievement.

S: Do you think other black children who are not coming here see it that way ?

OM: I am not sure.

S: Have you met other black children who are not coming here, what do they say ?

OM: They say that you have got time to be coming -- [laughs] that's children at my school.

S: So they don't see it as positive.

OM: Yes, they see it as another school where you learn what you have already learnt.

S: Do you think white people see it that way also ?

OM: I am not sure.

S: What about your white friends at school - have you told them ?

OM: I am not really sure.

S: How long have you coming here ?

OM: About seven months.

S: Let us look at this more, you said that you have not told your friends about it.

OM: Mm.

S: Do any of your teachers know at school ?

OM: Well, one teacher knew that I come here.

S: What did she/he say about your coming here ?

OM: He said it's quite good, and that he has seen some improvement in my work.

S: Which work ?

OM: Mathematics.

S: Let's say you tell other teachers, what do you think they would say ?

OM: In my school, they want us to do well, so, if coming here will improve my grade, they will see it as good.

S: Let us see your work with teachers here. You said that they ask you what you want to learn. Do you choose what to do ?

OM: They show us the level we ought to be and also some past question papers and I choose what I want to do, in Maths.

S: What about English ?

OM: We do the same thing in English.

S: Is that how you do it at the mainstream school ?

OM: No; the teacher gives us what to do and we are rushed to cover it until we have finished. I have to concentrate more when it is my weak subject.

S: In which subject are you weak ?

OM: English, Technology.

S: Do the teachers help you in those ones at school ?

OM: Kind of.

S: What do you mean ?

OM: When I am at school, they try to explain it and when I come here they explain it using other words.

S: And this helps you ?

OM: Yes.

S: What do you like about this school ?

OM: It is good.

S: What's good about it ?

OM: The environment, the people, friends, travelling - I travel to both schools, but they are quite strict.

S: Here or at your main school ?

OM: My main school.

S: Do they treat white people differently ?

OM: In my school we are all black.

S: Black, which school is that ?

OM: John Loughborough.

S: I've been there to see Dr. Valley

OM: [laughed]

S: That's interesting, but my seeing you is confidential.

OM: [continue laughing] I never knew that you have been there ?

S: I have been there.

OM: When.

S: In January. It was after school hours because, I teach full time. What are the differences which you have found.

OM: In my school some children behave towards white people differently.

S: In what way ?

OM: Negatively.

S: What about here ?

OM: People here are from different cultures.

S: What do you mean by different cultures.

OM: Here you see white people, black people and I am in contact with them all.

S: Let's say this place becomes like your mainstream school, which one will you choose ?

OM: [laughs] I think I will choose here.

S: Why ?

OM: At my school it is in a different place and different area and I prefer the teachers here.

S: Why do you prefer the teachers here ?

OM: There are many of them in the class and they are able to spend more time with you when you need them.

S: Doing what ?

OM: Explaining things to you.

S: But if this place becomes a mainstream school the numbers of teachers might reduce.

OM: I will still like it here.

S: Why ?
OM: It will be a change.
S: How do you see this place in ten years time ?
OM: More pupils, and more classes.
S: Will you like to come and help because you'll be twenty-five then.
OM: I don't like teaching, I want to be a bank manager.
S: Bot you can still come and help ?
OM: Yes.
S: Why.
OM: Because if you succeed, it is nice to let ohters know. Then they will know that-
nothing is impossible if you try your best.
S: Some people have been talking about black history, what is your own about teaching
it here ?
OM: It is quite good to know your history and to know where you are coming from and
what has happened before. Also, to know why there is racial problem between white
and black and what happened exactly.
S: Do you know more about that here or at the John Loughborough ?
OM: At here and at my main school.
S: What in your view is making such a place one that black children like you want to
come ?
OM: That people are not being judged by their own colour. That they are seen as equal,
and encouraging children. It is a place where black and white children can come
together to learn.

PAT DAVIES – TEACHER, CAUCASIAN INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 11

S: Please can you introduce yourself?

D: I am a biology teacher with Croydon College and I have been teaching 'A' level. First of all 'O' level and then 'A' level, for about 20 years.

S: Why are you in Supplementary School?

D: In the spring of 1983 I had some family problems and I found myself at a bit of a loose end at weekends. A colleague of mine, who was teaching biology with me, gave me a bit of paper with a phone number to ring and said that they wanted a biology-teacher to teach on Saturdays at a Supplementary School. After a lot of deliberations, I phoned up the number and spoke to Andy and this is how I came to be here.

S: So, what you seem to be saying is that you got to know through a friend.

D: I got to know through Andy ringing the college, because the friend didn't know anything about it. I knew through a friend who had received the telephone call from Andy.

S: Were you trained as a biologist?

D: Oh yes, I got a combined degree in zoology and botany at Manchester University.

S: What year?

D: 1964.

S: So you came to Supplementary School to help them with biology. In what areas have you been helping them?

D: Well, at the beginning Andy wanted somebody to help with the 'O' level students and they gave me 7 students. I was very thrilled when they went into an 'A' grade and this continued with the 'O' levels for about 2 years. Then 'A' level students appeared and Andy asked me to help with them instead and I started to work with them.

S: So you have been working with children since 1983?

D: Yes.

S: And you have been talking about the progress in their A grade.

D: Since I have been here one of the children that I have been helping passed with an A grade.

S: Can you let me know about the details of your involvements with the school? I learnt that there were two white teachers helping here.

D: Just that I come every week and I help children to the best of my ability. I became quite interested in the project and I have known Mrs. Graham since I arrived. She has been very helpful and friendly since I came, like everybody else. I have found it rewarding doing something quite different to what I do on a normal weekday. Although it is the same biology content, the way it is being delivered is quite different. On a personal basis rather than on a class basis. One gets quite caught up with the students and life is built around that.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that the one to one situation helps with the teacher/pupil relationship and that encourages the children to work.

D: Yes.

S: You are a white person. The teachers are black and all the children are black.

D: As far as I can see, it doesn't seem to make any difference. I don't notice any difference between their relationship with me and with other teachers.

S: Do you see any difference between the way the children relate to you and the black teachers?

D: No, I don't see any difference at all.

- S: Now, let us just look at the class situation, because in your own case, you said that it was a little cozy situation with 7 pupils.
- D: In the beginning I had a lounge room with 7 students and that was a small class situation. Then the number of students waiting to take biology dropped and the number that wanted me to help with their 'A' level went down to 3/4 and sometimes they were working on a different syllabus so I would have to organise work to accommodate the syllabus and I tried to help them. Most of them seem to have done really quite well. This may not be due to me, but due to their schools. But I am here to help them with their problems in the subject that they want to rectify.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that they come with some problem from the mainstream school, which because of the class size, they have not been able to address. How do you find the responses?
- D: It was quite good - I had one child coming from 10-12. She did pretty well at school but there were one or two things that she got stuck with. The teacher had to rush off to another class so she would bring the problem she was having difficulty with. I can't teach a whole syllabus during Saturday classes, so I told her to bring the areas she is having problems with.
- S: So you focused on specific topics?
- D: Yes, we focused on specific topics in the syllabus; the ones she found particularly hard.
- S: So what really made you become interested? You have been here for quite a long time.
- D: That's a very difficult question. I suppose I am one of those people that when they start something they don't like to give it up and I have made certain commitments. When it is Saturday morning and I feel like staying at home reading a book or going shopping, I find it hard to say what I do get out of it. I do like the set up, I have known many of the people here for a long time and I like the project and would like to see it progressing.
- S: So, you said that you get something out of it personally but you find it hard to put into words. What words would you use to describe it?
- D: Laughs - You get your kicks when you see your student making progress and you have helped them over a particular problem that they were not able to sort out. Also, I find it interesting from the point of view of different culture. I had no knowledge of 'Afro-Caribbean' culture before coming here. I have met many people here like Mark and Mrs Johnson and they have told me about the Caribbeans. Some of them cook various food and when we have prize givings they cook different African Caribbean food and this interests me.
- S: So, what you seem to be saying is that you were not just interested in the academic aspects but you were into the culture of these people also. How would you describe the mission of this project?
- D: Andy says "Without discipline ...
- S: I know the statement, but I would like to find out the way you see it.
- D: "Without discipline there, knowledge cannot be obtained".
I didn't like school myself and I see that helping children in their education in a more informal way is beneficial to them. I see that the mainstream school can't provide everything, especially now that I see, in my opinion, the class sizes are too big, Mostly over 25 pupils in each class. I just see that it is a good idea and children do come along and I have been coming here to help them.

- S: You mention the differences with mainstream schools and the class sizes. What other things have you noticed especially between the culture of the mainstream school and the culture here?
- D: The children here don't have many discipline problems because the classes are not so large and they are here for only two hours, so we don't have to manage them over the lunch hour and during other activities. Even though the discipline is quite strict here, you can be more relaxed because the children know that they are here, with their problems, to be helped and many of the children seem to address very well to this and work hard to succeed. Some of the younger ones need quite a firm hand.
- S: You seem to be saying two things here: Strict and yet relaxed. I mean, these are of the opposite of a continuum.
- D: I think the children know that they have to work hard, with their parents' input. I really don't know how much input their parents' have, other than that they have to pay certain fees and others help with the coffee mornings, which makes them responsible. I think that the parents of the children are quite strict; basically they have told them that they need to work hard and the children respond quite well and most of them behave really well. We expect a certain high standard of discipline but we don't have to spend a lot of time enforcing it. I think parental support comes in and that means they'll behave very well. We don't see any bad behaviour from them in this school.
- S: You were talking about management earlier on and you said that you have not been involved in total management, what happened and why is that?
- D: Well, I think I felt that it wasn't really my ..., you know, it was an Afro-Caribbean project and is not for me to put my nose in and say what I thought really. I feel that I have to leave other people to work in the management and I have other responsibilities to my 9-5 job.
- S: So what do you do?
- D: I am a Lecturer at the Croydon College teaching 'A' level Biology and GCSE and this is more on the side but is much more relaxed.
- S: OK - good.
How do you find classroom management, because earlier on you were talking about discipline and saying that children are willing to work. Is there a difference between here and the mainstream school? Some people say that black children are disruptive in the mainstream school.
- D: Remember, I am not in the mainstream school, I am with the 16 to 19 college.
- S: Have you seen a difference between white people and 16+ black children?
- D: Here they behave quite well really because in the college where I am, we have quite a large number of Indians and African Caribbeans and some of them are a bit naughtier; not in my class, but in the college in general, they do seem to behave on the wild side. But I would say that mostly they behave well.
- S: So, you have noticed some changes between yourself and other people within the college and the way white people relate to black people - is that what you are saying?
- D: I don't think that the question is put in a way that I can answer it.
- S: Let me rephrase it. You seem to have said that you have noticed some children who are not behaving well in the college but not in your group, which means that you are differentiating children in your group and other people that you have seen.
- D: That is not what I am saying.
- S: So what differences have you noticed?

- D: In class, they all behave very well, but I can't speak for other people's classes. If I see them behaving wildly, it is out of class during lunch times. In general, we don't have problems in the college; they are very good.
- S: You said that there are quite a large number of black people in the college.
- D: About 75% black and 20% Caucasian and the rest Indians and others. I couldn't tell you the right proportion. In the old days, we used to get some foreign students but this is no longer common.
- S: So let us come back to Croydon Schools. In what ways have you been involved with the organisation of your own classes?
- D: I have been involved with the planning of my own work. I have deliberately kept out of the organisation because I have quite a big responsibility in my own job.
- S: I mean the organisation of your own classroom, not the project as a whole.
- D: Yea, I am involved with that. I decide what they are going to do, whether they are going to have help with the practicals. They have got a couple of microscopes in the store for the practical work. I do plan my own work.
- S: Does anybody supervise that or
- D: Well, it's been difficult. When I was doing biology I was just responsible to Andy. Then I came to the infants - what they call the under 6's - pre-junior. Mrs. Lucia downstairs is the infant teacher so she allocated the work that was to be done. We just carried it out.
- S: Does she sort of look at what you are teaching?
- D: She'll say "I think there should be so and so this morning".
- S: i.e. The content.
- D: Yes, the content.
- S: What about the delivery - does she do the delivery with you?
- D: We have a couple of children in each group - some have the under 5's and the others 6's and we have them in their ages under 7.
- S: So you do that in splits?
- D: Yes, we have them in splits, with different age groups doing different things.
- S: How many children are there in these groups?
- D: It differs. However, there are about 4-5 in each group sitting around a table and about 4 tables in each room.
- S: How do you assess their performances?
- D: Mm - we were just getting around to the assessment. We have just allowed them to progress during the last 3 years of the introduction of the National Curriculum. When we feel that they have done enough of the reading and writing then they are moved to the next class, where the next teacher will be told how they have done. There is a waiting list of 156 - this is to try and get some off the waiting list.
- S: So you were talking about out of pocket expenses. In what way have you been involved with finances?
- D: Now I just claim my expenses. What you get paid is called an honorarium. I sound pathetic when it comes to finances. As such, I have not had any involvement with the finances.
- S: Laughs. How do you see the future of this place?
- D: Mm - it's a good question. With such a lot of students on the waiting list, I see this place as doing a very good job helping the children to achieve better results in their education. Some of them have done quite well and one of them got several 'A' levels and has gone to University. One of them I taught privately, paid for by the school

because she was doing something else on Saturday mornings. She wanted biology lessons and so came to my house for them.

S: So she really belongs here?

D: Yes, she belongs here. Mrs Thompson, she is actually one of the Governors, brought Alison along and she came along for nearly a year to have lessons in my house, which were paid for by the Supplementary School, and she had it as a sort of supplementary extra.

S: That's very interesting. In America and Canada there have been some opinions that schools like this should have some African orientation, that is involving them doing things related to their culture and some people are of the opinion that it should just be academics focussing on Maths, English and Science. What's your own view and how do you see that in terms of the future of this place?

D: They do have a little bit of their own culture here. When it comes to the speech and prize giving day, they do special African dance and guests are invited to come and they cook some Caribbean food and um..... I just feel probably that there are other times of the week that they are exposed to their own culture and time should have been used supplementing their subjects. I think they have the whole week to socialise in their own culture.

S: So you see the role of this place as supplementing the school curriculum - Maths, English, etc.?

D: Here they could extend it to cover the whole day. I see it from another point of view. In P.E., after they have completed what they do between 5 and 16, we run part time day and evening classes in centres, which might sound pompous. They come there for evening classes to do several things. We don't ask for previous experiences.

S: Previous experiences?

D: Of-course, when you come to a French class and you have never done any French, you tell them that they might not pass it within a year. But some people might decide that they want to try and are dedicated and work hard at it and get through. We teach a one year - September to June - 7-8 months course. In most of them they come to do GCSE subjects that they need. However, at the end of it all they need Maths and English, which everybody has to have. You cannot do anything after, either going to the University, further education or going into any job anywhere without GCSE Maths and English and that's why I think it's most important to have this to focus on.

S: Most important!

D: That's what they are trying to do in Maths, English and Science. I resisted it for a year saying that I wasn't a science teacher but a biology teacher. But because it is in the curriculum in the Primary school, they seem very keen that children should be taught science. Personally, I don't think it is necessary.

S: OK, are there other things that possibly I have not asked you that you think might be useful to write about such a place like this?

D: Mm - Can I just comment again about the discipline here. I think I helped here at a Maths class where they were about age 12-13. The teacher was quite good, she had to keep the discipline very tight because they were a little bit less interested in their lesson than the lower classes, the infants, but I seem to get along well here and continue to come because I like the people and I like the subject. I like being involved with the project.

S: What you seem to be saying there is that there is something motivating the children. In your own view, what are the things contributing to this motivation?

- D: In the 'A' level, they want to try and improve their grade/performance in the subject. With the young ones, I am not sure how motivated they are. I think that a lot of the motivation comes from their parents wanting them to do well. They feel that in the school that they have from 9 to 5, oh, 9 to 4, the class sizes are large. They maybe don't get as much benefit from the school as they could and this gives them that extra, almost personal attention. I am saying that because the class sizes are so big children might feel that they are being left out.
- S: Let's say this place becomes a full-time school. Would you like to teach here?
- D: Mm - I don't quite know really - laughs.
- S: Why?
- D: Well, because I didn't really like school myself, I didn't like being there. I liked the education but I didn't like the set-up; being told what to do and what not to do; being told to keep quiet and being made to stand in lines. I think I'm a bit of a rebel in school!
- S: Good. How 'rebellious' were you?
- D: I didn't have the guts to play truant seriously. I am telling you the truth, the school made me feel quite ill and lots and lots of days I felt sick and ill with headaches. I didn't realise until ten or more years after I had left that this is what you call 'psychosomatic'. Something about it that made me not want to go and it wasn't the lesson, it wasn't that I didn't want to learn anything, it was just a sort of scary place. Nothing happened to me but I just felt somehow threatened. It was a very small school, about 250 in my Grammar School, but I just didn't like being there.
- S: Has that been your experience of children here; with them falling out of the system like that?
- D: No, nothing like that.
I met a man from Zimbabwe who I knew quite well and who lodged with me for a year. He explained to me that the school he attended was 8 miles from his farm and he couldn't get to it so all his lessons and reports came through the post. Hearing this, I started counting my blessings.
- S: But some of us in Nigeria were walking 8 miles daily to our schools - 6-8 miles.
- D: Can I be cheeky and ask what is on your face?
- S: Go on. They are traditional marks. It enables me to recognise my own people.
- D: That must of hurt quite a lot when you had it done.
- S: I had it when I was 8 days old so I don't know how painful it was.
- D: I am sorry to ask you.
- S: Don't be sorry. That is part of me, just as you were telling about
- D: I thought it was just like some people in this country who have a little tattoo or marks. OK, so which, which
- S: I am a Yoruba from Nigeria, from the South Western part of Nigeria. You can tell by my traditional marks which part of the Yoruba area I am from and even the hierarchy within the Yoruba society.
- D: How do you find it here?
- S: Mm, I came 8 years ago and I am still getting to know.
- D: It is very good to know you. Nigeria is quite - eh - different.
- S: Politically it is rough at the moment. My brother is there at the moment. He is a business person and lives in Berlin. He is in Nigeria at the moment but will be leaving in a week or two.
Thank you very much Pat for all that help.
- D: So, I hope to see you around again and I will ask how you are getting on.

PATRICK BRAITHEWAITHE, PARENT AND
THE CHAIRPERSON MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 28

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

P: My name is Patrick Braithewaithe and I am the current Chairperson of the Management Committee and I am the ex-Chairperson of the Parents Students' Association.

S: You said that you are the Chairperson of the Management Committee, what does that entail?

P: The Management Committee was established approximately 3 years ago and that was through the former Director, Andrew Johnson. It was one of the criteria required by the funding agency for the project - the Croydon Council which is our main funder. We receive funds from other organisation but we haven't receive any this year. The school also, wanted to set up something like this because as part of our interaction with the community, it has to grow and have this link. There was a need to set up some kind of structure, whereby there is a full, proper and sound accountability to the community and to the school itself.

S: How will you say that this accountability is taking place as the Chair?

P: The Management Committee has a role to play. In this school, it comprises of the Chair, selected from someone in the community who has been contributing to the school or through Parents Students' association. It has other members as well as up to 4 members and these members are parents from the school, active community members, there is no hard and fast rule regarding this. It also has in it the Directors and the Financial Officer. Also, it has 2 members of the Parents Students' Association. One of these is the Chair, and the other person is the Secretary and the other is the Treasurer.

S: You were talking about the roles of all these people. Can you please tell me more?

P: The Management Committee, you can associate it with that of a governing body of the MSS. Their function is similar. The only difference is that the minority community are all black in the racial content. Also we are all committed towards the growth of the Supplementary School education. We are here to support the Directors in any policy that might require any changes, or any problem that needs to be addressed. We also give guidance and direction towards the prosperity of the school itself. We have meetings four times in a year or at least once a term.

S: How will you describe this system as a community?

P: I will try and give you a background information about the project but I need to stress that the project started long before I became involved. I became involved first as a parent and then through the Parents Students' Association and now as the Chair of the Management Committee. I think the benefit of this project is rather huge. If you have in mind that the CSEP is probably the biggest and the most popular and proactive organisation that is functioning as a Saturday school in this area. It started sometime in the late 1970s or early 1980s. I cannot remember exactly when. It started in someone's house and then it grew and moved into an acquired building. Hence it is where it is situated now. One of the downside of this for the project is because we have not got any direct funds our own and we rely on the external funding from the Local government, we have approximately had to move premises several times. I find that this distracts the school from its focus. It reminds me of having to move house.

- You think of the cost of moving, we think of the human cost and the inconveniences with having to travel around. In this case, where the project is now is an advantage as far as travelling is concerned. many people don't have to travel far - at most 2 bus changes. I don't know that partially answers your questions. Do I need to elaborate more?
- S: Yes, please. I would like you to tell me more about the relationship between the different bodies, i.e. PSA, Directors, and you. How will you describe this place as a community?
- P: Well, because the whole purpose of the CSEP is the supplementary education, its roles are limited as far as interactions with the community are concerned because of the contract that we have.
- S: We can deal with that of the community later on, let us just look at here, the CSEP as a community itself.
- P: I cannot actually give you the specific role of each employee because they have their own roles and their own contract. I think there is a common point whereby we interact and that occurs at the minority communities' meetings, and at the Directors' meetings or at fundraising activities such as those that are organised by the PSA, which another common point, where people meet or the school meets with the community. There is also the prizegiving day activity which is held once a year to make the community aware of what goes on in the school. This is a focal point or opportunities where the staff meet with the community or the parents are able to interact and exchange ideas and see the fruits of their labour. This is being demonstrated through the awards. There are occasions for example when the Parents Students Association have meetings and it is open to all parents including those who are teachers here, and those without children here. One of the Directors, I can remember when I was the Chair of the PSA was invited to our meeting to provide some input, and that helps.
- S: What you seem to be saying is that decision is not being taken by one person but as a collective responsibility of the parents, students and teachers and that they are being involved in an on-going interaction between the community and the school without having the 'us ' and 'them' type of scenario. Is that what you are saying?
- P: The only meeting where others are not allowed except by invitation is the Directors' meeting, because it is for them only and they are there to discuss how the school is to function properly as an institution. It is similar to teachers' staff meeting which is only meant for the teachers. They need their own space.
- S: Sure! They need their own space. What will you say is the mission for establishing such school?
- P: The reason why the CSEP or the Project as Andrew Johnson calls it. I have mentioned Andy Johnson because he has been with the Project since its inception and he is one of the founders of the project and we are sad to hear that he has left or leaving. However, from the little that I know about the project, the main purpose of the project really is to give the students the opportunity to work towards achieving excellence in their academic career, opportunity to identify with people of their own ethnic, religious and cultural background. It also gives opportunities for the community including the teachers, - staff and the members of the community to interact and share ideas and bring other professional in the community together and to do other activities, i.e. fundraising, an activity which needs to grow and expand. I feel that this is an area where the minority community could be more instrumental in doing so. I am encouraging the CSEP to go forward in that direction. I feel that as an

organisation and as an African Caribbean organisation in the community, I believe that we should not only target the local government for funds but we should also look at the business community. It is something that I have a high regard for since I am the Chairperson of the PSA.

S: What type of business groups do you want to involve?

P: We are hoping to hold an exposure day on a half day session inviting the local community for them to visit here and see how we conduct business. I feel that it is the best way forward. Instead of contacting them and asking them to fill forms which are forms of communication that will limit their perception on what we are doing and what we do. Inviting them in will allow limitless opportunity and ability to make sound financial contributions to this place. If they come and they see what we do, they may be more encouraged to make an input whether it is a professional one or a financial one.

S: So you want organisations to be involved?

P: Yes, that's right.

S: Let me now ask you a personal question. Why are you involved in this project?

P: I was involved in this project because I was encouraged by Andy to become involved. He saw that I have some skills, and talents and interpersonal skills and social leadership skills which he felt that the only way for this to be done is if I am given the opportunity to do so. Hence, I became involved with this organisation. It gives me some kind of purpose. It is difficult to explain or express it in technical terms. I feel that in all these, as a parent myself, I feel proud to be involved because education is something that I whole-heartedly support either it be in political or financial terms. I feel that education is good for the progress of the community. I feel that to some extent, the mainstream school has been unable to offer to our black students the kind of education that they deserve. The system has been fraught with problems and unfortunately it is not getting any better. The current government (the Conservative) attitude towards community education, and towards the comprehensive education is appalling. The grant maintained schools for example operate on different from that of the mainstream. Schools are now being run as a business, so what I am putting across to you is the plights facing many of our parents. On top of trying to educate the child, the schools are under constant pressure to go grant maintained. Schools unfortunately have got to get rid of students who are not achieving as they should of who are failing them in some way, i.e they are not helping the school to go higher on the league table. What I am saying is that the Supplementary School has to pick these groups up and play an important part in educating such children. Where schools are unable for one reason or the other to offer those students' education at its best, then the Supplementary School is there.. It is not taking away the work of the teachers in the mainstream school who are teaching the children most of the time and it is not down grading the work that these teachers do despite that they may be having difficulties or the students might be having difficulties in comprehending what they are being taught at school, or they may not be achieving as it is expected of them at different examinations. ...

S: What will you say that the CSEP has got that the mainstream school has not got to offer black children?

P: For example, this project differs from the mainstream school on the quality of ratio and the composition of the teachers who are predominantly black. That you cannot find in any mainstream school. Pupils who are coming here feel up-lifted. It is also culturally biased because the materials being used and murals that are stuck on the

wall in this complex remind the children that there are black people in the community and in the world who have achieved so much like everyone else. It speaks to them that they can also do well.

S: Are you saying that the mainstream school is not doing this or is they neglecting it?

P: Some MSS are neglecting the cultural awareness and others are making some effort. However, there are restriction on how far they are prepared to go. What the CSEP does is by its mere nature, that is a black organisation, there is no problem about the advertisement of black people or display in the school. It has no restrictions from the local or central government or the community as to what the CSEP should put up, provided the materials are not defamatory, which they are not because I have seen them. It is very historical because we have several kinds of materials. We not only display materials which tell us of black people's achievements, we also display materials which tell us about the history. The school also has a library which I hope it grows and the books there will grow, those books which refer to the history, the history of black people in the world as it was and as it should be. This needs to be developed.

S: You have been talking about library books and that, let us look at the contents of what is going on here. How do you see the contents of the curriculum going on here? You have been talking about history, culture and so on, all helping to uplift the students and their learning, their self awareness, and their development. I would like you to describe to me the curriculum contents here.

P: Well, that is really not my area. Those are the directors. The directors are committed that the school follows the guidelines and the policy as laid down by the policies of the mainstream school curriculum. The contents and the delivery are at the hands of the Directors of the Project. Having said that, the project is to maintain and ensure that the mainstream curriculum is being taught. The difference between the Project and the MSS is that there is more supervision for students here. Teacher students' ratio is greater than at the MSS and more direct methods are being used. Students have more opportunities to excel because they have more teacher adults' presence and supervision on a hand on type of situation.

S: You have been a parent, and you are now involved with the Management Committee. What has been your own view about the discipline of the students here?

P: Well, to my knowledge, children tend to notify their parents of what goes on and they inform their parents if there are any problems. To my knowledge, the school is able to handle any discipline issue. The motto of the school is about being disciplined - 'Without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained'. That is one of the first thing that we do here. The school speaks about discipline throughout all its activities and the issue of awards during the prize-giving event. We are always looking at the issues of discipline and the ways we could improve on any of the weaknesses - whether it is to do with the classroom behaviour, classroom management or conduct. The Directors and the team are committed to this and any issue arising from this are being passed on to the respective parents. Parents send their children here to the Project for two and a half hours on Saturdays and those hours they want the children to spend it doing their academic work not dealing with classroom disturbances. We are here for a short time and we have got to get on with the little we could do to get the job done. That is the reason we are here. If the classroom discipline is a problem, it has to be tackled.

S: That is really good. Sometimes people tend to say that black people enforce too much discipline on their children, when compared with white children. They tend to say

that black people are too strict on children. Could you tell me more about your own experience here?

P: No, fortunately we do not encourage any form of physical punishment. Even detention is not being encouraged here. We have a long waiting list of people who want to come here. We encourage parents and pupils to know the rules, regulations and policy going on and anything which is relevant to their child's

P: success. We are saying that if the child's main aim is to cause trouble, then she / he has got to be removed from the system. We are here mainly to teach and we will do our best. We offer the students what are not available at home or in the MSS. One of the fundamental things about the project is 'LOVE, RESPECT and UNDERSTANDING' and if that is not demonstrated, which I am sure that it is being done, then the child will not be a success story in the community. Where discipline is concerned from parental point of view, we do not have much input in that. I do accept the fact that as parents, black people are strict and we do sometimes overreact. However, we do it for the betterment of the child. We as a race, must be seen to be serious and committed to what we do. We need to enforce and encourage the children to be disciplined in what she / he does whether it be in attending MMS or coming to the Supplementary School. If the MSS is failing in that regard, we as black people will either have to do it ourselves or find another way to convey it. I think we are willing, because most of us here as parents are doing our best to make it happen. In the mainstream school, it is not always the case, i.e. in the MSS a lot of the Heads and their Deputies are not parents, so their tolerances are not the same. (Interrupted by mobile phone.)

S: You were telling me that you are willing, in what terms?

P: I think with the problem, the word discipline is an emotive subject and very controversial, and as parents we sometimes differ in the way that we discipline our children. I think a lot of black parents are a mixture of generations. We have about four generations of black people now in the U. K. The first generation differs in the way they scold or discipline their children. They hand out punitive sanctions to their children and this graduates through different generations with the latest ones thinking that spanking children is not necessary, when the child does something wrong. The latter ones are sometimes with the older generation of black people who feel that anytime a child is naughty you have to whip her/him. We are different but at the same time we commonly feel that if a child has done something wrong or has been naughty, then the child needs to be disciplined. The school encourages discipline but not advocating how the child should be disciplined by their parents. Here, we want the child to feel at home and see that we help them to concentrate more. That is what the project is all about. How the child sees it might be different. You need to ask them.

S: How will you describe the interactions between the parents and the teachers?

P: I find the interaction very positive and encouraging because the school holds at least once a year parents' day during which the parents are encouraged to bring their children, and to view their children's work. Now, this may be similar to the MSS but the difference is that parents and their children are encouraged to attend this together. It is good because it provides opportunities for all parents to express their opinion. It is a joint collaboration and there is consistency there. It encourages them to find and establish all avenues for success. If there is any weakness, they work on that no matter what type it is, whether it be academic, physical, or communication skills' weakness. We have very good relationship here, and what encourages this is not because we are black but because we are committed. We are a small community and

every person knows the other. One of the things that we always encourage is parental presence, and this is done through the annual general meeting, we hold one once a year; or fundraising activities which differ from time to time. The relationship between the parents and the teachers is exemplary. I would like to see more parental involvement.

S: Let us now examine pupils, teachers' relationship. I know that you are not being involved in the classroom activities, but you have children here and they could have told you their experiences. Could you tell me some of this?

P: In any school or institution, you will always have different situation or misunderstanding or pupils being cheeky. What we have here is that pupils come from varied background and we are winning. (Interrupted by the Director who wants to lock the building up.) The naughty ones are not in the majority, they are in the minority, and how we tackle this is that we make it clear at the beginning that they are here to learn and if their behaviour distracts them from this, they are told that they have to be with the system and do as they are expected.

S: Because of the limited time, let us look at some issues quickly. Some writers have put the idea forward with arguments about black people's value and about the values that needs to be communicated to the children. Which values do you think a school like this should communicate to the children?

P: This question needs a lot of thought and it is a controversial one. I happened to have been involved in a debate about it.

S: So do you want to leave that for now because of the limited time?

P: Yes, we have to pick that up at another date when we have more time to look at it. I would like to give my view and that of our community.

S: That is very essential. Also, on the issue of having a full-time school, how do you see that?

P: This place cannot become a full-time school because it is not situated in a suitable building. Full-time means different things. It could be in the way we use the building- I will go along with that but in this we need to consider the terms of the contract when hiring the building. When the building is not yours, then, you have to bow to the pressure of landlords and the funding agencies. My dream is to have a building which I think leads to us being autonomous and do what we feel its good for the education of our children.

S: Possibly we should leave it at that because you have other explanation to give.

P: Yes.

S: Thank you very much for giving me your time and for coming especially for this interview.

S: We were discussing the values which you will like to be taught in the Supplementary School. Would you tell me more about this?

P: As a parent, I think that Supplementary Schools should try as much as possible mirror the image of what the MSS do. However, I think that the school has got a certain limitation in terms of financial constraints. I feel for the time being the school is in a position of offering core curriculum subjects such as Maths, English and Science. I also feel that whatever subjects the school can offer, the primary importance is that is based on the ethos of the school - 'Without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained'. I would like to echo what my colleagues on the Management Committee and who are in teaching say. Yes, the school is offering the core subjects based on sound teaching methods, the teachers are from mainstream schools and colleges, and they have a

track record that backs what they do. They are committed and there is the commitment which coming here involves.

S: That is really interesting, what you are saying is good. If this place should become a full time, what type of curriculum would you like to see?

P: I feel that one of the beauty of this establishment is that it can and it has a tradition of black, African Caribbean background. The majority of staff are from this, so there is a lot of black images and pictures along the corridor also reflect this, This is somewhat how different from most of the mainstream school. Here there is no question of whether one should put or should not put up the display. It automatically goes up without any problem. Whereas, in the mainstream because it is white dominated culture, the ethics and politics make it difficult to get across that kind of message.

S: There are two issues in what you have just said that I would like to know more about. One is what type of things does the putting up of such images generate? The second is the issue of the mainstream culture not encouraging such activity, what do you think that black people could do to resolve or challenge that?

P: I am an ex-governor and I have suggested to the school that I was involved in that they ought to consider moving the agenda forward from once a year parents' day to reflect more of the ethnic nature of the community and be more international. The committee did not take this idea up, when such is not done., it leaves a lot of our children to feel marginalised. The beauty of this establishment (CSEP) is that it is ahead of the rest. When you have a culture, that is already there, as far as achievement is concerned, it will not be difficult to achieve, because you already have role models in place. You also have a long history there, there is the parental involvement and the murals that have around of black people who have attained high position among the professionals. Seeing all these will encourage the children to want to achieve and move up academically.

S: What you seem to be saying is that the mural provides the children not just the role model, but the teachers who are physically there , encourage the children to want to achieve. Also, that these images are there to inform children that black people have succeeded and contributed to science, politics and all other fields. Is that what you are saying?

P: Indeed. What is happening especially these days with politics is that unfortunately black people as a race tends to be forgotten or pushed aside when it comes to international affairs and achievements. We know that there are lot of our people who have succeeded and are making it and will make it. Without an establishment such as the CSEP to highlight this, we will not know and our youngsters will not know. But since we have establishments such as this, it is in a position to, and if given the budget and the resources, they will be able to pass the information. You can see the results of what we are doing in this school, i.e. our annual prizegiving day is to encourage black people from the community. This does not only support what is being done here but it also gives flavour to what they have found useful.

S: OK., I will like us to move on to other things. There are some things which I would like to have a record of your experiences and I know that time is very precious to you. You have been involved in the area of technology and its developments in Britain. In your own view, what type of curriculum do you think this place needs to encourage? In America some people have said that Supplementary Schools should become full time school and should teach everything as in the mainstream school and address issues related to black people. What is your opinion?

- P: I think that one of the areas which we can contribute to is in the area of Information Technology. Although some of black business are doing this, I think the
- P: Supplementary School has a lot to offer. Again, it depends upon the resources of course. However, it has to be said that for those of us who have achieved it, are only few. There are not enough black scientists, not enough in the information technology business. I work with the British Telecom and as at the moment, I am embarking on a programme and I am working with the Director here to see if the company can give something to the community and to the CSEP. British Telecom has been known to give grants to the community and I can only hope that my application will get somewhere and the CSEP will get something out of it. I feel that information technology is an area where the CSEP can build on and should endeavour to have more teachers on that field to apply and teach our children.
- S: Good, talking about teaching our children, in Ontario in Canada, they have a whole project developed and it is being sponsored by the government there to introduce them to black values. What type of values would you like to see being promoted in the school here?
- P: Well, I think this is a very emotive subject, because black values in these days vary from one household to another and from one parent to another. Lets deal with the core values. The school should promote sound moral values to love and respect one another. I do not think any black parent in her/his right mind will object to that. Where it varies, is on how we deal with the situation as it occurs. How we deal with a disruptive child and what causes that may differ. This does not just affect how we treat them in the public places but on how we address the issue if they become disruptive. How we teach them to combat this. You will find that parents have varied opinions on this. Some black parents have got modern ideas of not spanking a child, which others will use as the first option to remedy the situation. However, many will agree that we should find out in the first place what is causing the child to behave like that. Obviously, there are ways of using some kind of therapy and the use of social skills of teaching such child what love and respect means. On the other hand you have many parents who prefer to dish out punishment for a child's misdemeanour. To sum it up, what I am saying is that we all have beliefs that our children should respect one another, have respect for grown ups, whether at home, school or community. There are different factors which relate to children being disruptive. I will not go into that now, but it is a great concern to most parents, especially in the number of exclusions of African Caribbean children from mainstream schools. We as black people need to examine this. We need to see what could be done.
- S: Looking at your wealth of experience. What are the types of things that you think that black community should do or help the school to do in order to minimise this or achieve a decrease the number of exclusions?
- P: You see, what is really happening now is because we are from the ethnic minority, the school hardly inform us and when we do hear about it, it has become sensationalised and the media and mainstream society blamed it on black people and say it is because they are ex-criminals and ex-offenders or ex-this and ex-that. They tend to see black people as people who have failed in one way or the other. We as black people don't want to be labelled as such. We want community intervention with sound spirit and genuine love for others and good community leaders. This is sometimes difficult to find. However, that is how I see the way forward.
- S: So it is more or less, an egg and a chicken situation. What you seem to be saying is how do we get leaders if there are no school that are producing or educating or being

- S: taught the ideas that you are advocating. How could people then grow up to become such leaders in the community and in what way can they go back to contribute to the education system? Also, what you are saying is that the mainstream community tend to focus on the negative aspect of black people being ex-prisoners and ex-convicts. Focusing on such image, you have said will only produce negative image of black people. What do you think that black people could do for themselves since you are advocating independence?
- P: Black people are from different backgrounds, faiths and political orientation and are from different parts of the world. We tend to have different approach to dealing with such problem. I am all in favour of a community centred approach that will bring various groups and families together. The problem with this is that there are many of us who do not see that this community centred approach will benefit us as parents as far as individual politics are concerned. The fact that we have to ask the local or the central government for money is wrong because they have their own agenda. I believe this is day and age when we should start thinking of doing things for ourselves and by ourselves and be independent. However, we have to apply some strategies. We have to get our black people in business to become involved. Even if it means that we have to buy in black professional people who may be able to approach them on our behalf. That is one of the ways that I think this school business will be successful. There are so many black communities in London. They are all doing different activities. There needs to be some form of coordination. There are some activities that are embarking on re-educating the community, we hardly hear about that. We only hear the criticisms and not the positive things which black communities are embarking on. Criticism could be a positive thing. It could help prevent us from making mistakes in the future. It could also help to build self confidence of resistance and I think without criticism we would not achieve anything in life. We have got to be prepared to take that and that is my own belief. However, we need praises as well as criticism.
- S: Looking at that within this system, what are the things you will consider as strengths of this establishment here?
- P: I think the establishment is successful because historically, it has had leaders who if you like, are the sparkle of the project and are willing to give their time, self and energy to the project. I have been involved for about six years now and I am regarded as one of the key people in the project. I said to you earlier that I got involved as a parent and I have sons who are attending here. I was encouraged to get involved with the Parent Students Association and through that my involvement with the CSEP has grown.
- S: What do you think could encourage black people to become more independent in Britain?
- P: I think that one of the things which could be done is for this organisation and others to invite positive role model to functions such as prizegiving day. A while ago we encouraged people to think positively, i.e. by telling them that the only way to achieve something is through perseverance and to listen and educate ourselves. I would like to use myself as an example. I have worked for the British Telecom for the last 16 years and I would not say that I knew as much as I do now, when I first started. I had to make mistakes, be criticised and learn how to receive criticism and at the same time learn how to rectify my mistakes. I learn from others and I listened to others.
- P: I think at the end of the day, these are just basic things which are sometimes taken for granted. Many of us cannot and do not know how to handle criticism. Some people tend to get very annoyed and very upset when they are criticised. There are some

parents who have shown themselves up at our functions. I am not very happy with some parents' attendance at our annual general meeting and fundraising activities. The school has well over 150 children and I am expecting to see at least 50% of that number at our functions, this has not been so. I am hoping that the school will do more to encourage parents to become involved. Being a parent myself, I have to sacrifice my time to attend some functions. As far as the education of our children are concerned, parents have got to make sacrifices and get involved.

S: What other weaknesses will you say are present here, apart from low parental involvement?

P: I don't see the present state of parental involvement as a weakness, though we need to keep working at it. Also, I think the Management Committee are trying to be proactive because a proactive Management Committee will make some impact. As I have said earlier on, my involvement with this school has helped to make a positive person with a positive outlook in life. In a way, and as far as this project goes, this is an important factor. The school helps both students and their parents have a sense of achievement in what they do. This will not happen overnight. You have to mingle and mix with different people who see things differently from you and at the end of the day (paused - interrupted by a teacher waiting to be interviewed). I think that there are others in the school who feel in the same way as I do. There are some children who can achieve more with nurturing. What the school does is to make students to be more aware culturally and politically, etc. and they need to move this forward.

S: You said that you will like this to move forward, how would you like to see it being moved forward?

P: What I would like to see is more parental involvement and interaction. As at the moment, we have a small number of business people from the community being involved. Perhaps more would be involved if they see that the Management Committee mean business and are prepared to make sacrifices. I as the Chairperson of this Committee, I owe it as a responsibility to see that this takes place. I will like to work closely with the Directors on the things that we might have overlooked in the past. Our fundraising situations need to be closely looked at. We need to examine how to make people make their contributions. The strength of this place is that we have committed teachers, who work relentlessly to see that things are done professionally. We also have a school that justifiably involves the community and has earned people's respect because of the work they do. This is what I would like to see being continued.

S: Thank you very much for giving me your time.

P: Thank you.

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

SN: My name is Sharon Nester. I have been teaching in this project for 2 years. I am also an ex-student of this school.

S: Good. You said that you are an ex-pupil of CSEP?

SN: Yes.

S: When did you know about CSEP?

SN: I went to school in this borough. I attended at St Mary, where CSEP used to be, so it was a natural extension of school time. I loved going to school.

S: How did you find that?

SN: It was fun because at the time I didn't go because I felt that there was a group of us and we didn't see it as anything different if we go, so it was just a natural extension.

S: You said that it was a natural extension, so can you tell me more about that?

SN: When people finished at the school, we just go into another class for CSEP.

S: OK – so you must have enjoyed it then to see it as an extension of the school?

SN: Yes, Andy didn't teach me – Brenda taught me and I said, these people go together. We shared classes at school. So it didn't seem anything different. I have always been interested in school and in my studies.

S: So you were interested in your studies and you find CSEP as a place to do that?

SN: Yes.

S: You were saying earlier on that your parent didn't encourage you, can you tell me more about this?

SN: My parent want me to go and get additional help. I don't think that they knew about CSEP until I started to go but when I told them that I will be going with my friends they said that it's okay.

S: So they supported you in going?

SN: Yes, they did support me.

S: Did your parents come to England originally from where?

SL. My parents – yes – St Lucia.

S: So they moved here and started working?.

SL. Mm.

S: So you were from here?

SN: Yes.

S: Which really gives us more things to talk about because I would like to know about your experiences as a black person who grew up here and as an adult your experience really matters. What made you decide to come back?

SN: When I graduated from my first degree, I said that I wanted to do something. All the time throughout, since leaving school and going to college to do my degree, – I have always been involved in Youth work. I wanted to give something back to the community because I am interested in Youth work and I didn't see anything different. Originally I work at the Sunday School for about a term and then I spoke to Richard who works here, if they needed somebody and then I came back.

S: What was your degree in?

SN: Development studies.

S: So in what ways have you been contributing to children's education here?

- SN: I think the contribution has not just been in academic per se, because I was a youth worker, I no longer work as a youth worker, but I love the children that I work with and they come here so it is an extension of their learning. Also as a youth worker I am familiar with their experiences and I am able to relate to them.
- S: Before I ask you the way teachers relate to children. It would be nice to ask you yourself, having been in the two areas, how will you describe your relationship with the teachers when you were at the MSS as a pupil?
- SN: I changed school three times – laughs.
- S: What happened?
- SN: I went the convent and when that closed down, I went to another school, I went to St.-Mary – I have always been labelled as ‘well – able’ like white students. However, what I found was (possible that’s why I decided to work with young people) even though it was recognised that I was able, I didn’t have the support from my parents or from teachers.
- When I first left my first school and changed school at about age 13, I was good at all subject but I only managed to leave school with 1 ‘O’ level in needlework. That was because in my first school I was put in the A stream originally. It means that I could only move along with these people in this stream so I had to go and sit the exam. It was quite a lot to move school. Then it got to a point that having got to the Mock, I didn’t meet the criteria. I only ended up getting two (passing the subject) that was Religion and Needlework. I was not in the position to go back and query it because I did not know that I could have extension. I didn’t have any black teacher to identify with. While I was learning till I actually left school completely, then I went back to the college at the age of 19. Before I actually met one, apart from Andy, who was teaching me as a black teacher – Mr Leroy. Not that I didn’t have the ability but to be able to see somebody else black at their work and at home as role model.
- S: What does your Mum do?
- SN: A caterer.
- S: And your dad?
- SN: A plasterer, my brother and sister didn’t go to college. None of my immediate family, I am the only person. Not that I didn’t know what to do but I didn’t get the support and I don’t just mean academics.
- S: Are you talking about moral support?
- SN: Yes, my careers teacher told me that I will never be able to get a job because I didn’t use to smile.
- S: (both laugh) But you smile beautifully now.
- SN: So I had to go into youth work then I want to go into teaching.
- S: So what will you say is the aim or such a place like this CSEP?
- SN: Taking it from the advertisement, I think it is to provide moral support apart from anything else. There is the need for academic support, but there is moral support which I don’t think that a lot of people get. Obviously, however, young people now grow up and go into different institutions, they are facing a different Britain from which their parents grew up. They know that their parents didn’t know much about the British Education system and they are in the position to challenge it. I think it is more than academic support, it is to provide positive role model of black teacher who can communicate with them on a level where they will not be at the MSS. When I was at school, my colour was an issue for everybody else up to the university. Being black is on what I was judge first before everything else. I think it is to provide comfortable surrounding that in which they could discuss relevant things without

being judged on any of the issue or having to hold back because of being called names. This is why at this place doesn't do to them.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that black children need to be empowered and be given confidence to really be able to go on.

SN: To deal with it. I don't think their bad performance is due to lack of ability but it is that of having the confidence to go with it – because there is a wide difference between knowing it and not being able to say it.

S: Mm.

SN: So it is to build confidence and deal with things.

S: So what really is there to deal with because you said it is to deal with things?

SN: I don't know what you mean!

S: You said 'having the confidence to deal with things'.

SN: When people, when the public, when other members, when you go into the community, when you go into work, when you go into college, when you come up against people who have different opinions from you, being able to assert yourself.

S: When do black people or you as an individual, have different opinion, is it because you are black?

SN: This is because I am translating what I am experiencing. When I am in the community I am face with some issues for example, last year we went on a trip to Liverpool and then we discussed it in the class. They said 'oh yeah' but the teacher said it isn't true. But that is it, I didn't say anything because I thought that white people might be offended. Situations like that, when there are conflict of information, and it is not that there is anything, but because they are in the situation that is predominantly white environment and they are not in the majority, they don't have the ability (knowledge) and they don't have the confidence to say 'hold on a minute, I disagree here'. Or say 'this is not true' and be able to say 'I have alternative information' and have the confidence in the situation, in the community, to be able to stand up and say what they think or feel.

S: So you are saying that this place is to provide like role model and adults that could communicate with the children and really help the children to build up their confidence.

SN: Yeah.

S: Will you say that this place (CSEP) has really been doing that?

SN: I can't comment on what goes on in other classes.

S: Yes, but in yours?

SN: Yes, I think we do and as I said, I have seen children outside here and in here and I see them on a regular basis and as I see them I think it is amazing how confident they are. I think that we have given them.

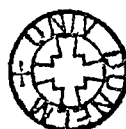
S: Will you say that the mainstream school is doing that?

SN: No, I don't think that they do. I don't think that they give them the help that they need. I think black community will have to take care of that. I think because there is more pressure on them in the MSS on examinations and so on, I think there is not always time to do that. Unfortunately no, they are not being listened to and help to grow.

S: So what you are saying is that they are not being listened to and help to grow in the MSS.

SN: Yes and grow in an wider and rounded form.

S: Okay, now looking at that let us look at the discipline here. How will you describe the discipline here compared to the ones at the MSS?



- SN: I don't teach at the MSS so I can't comment on that. What I will like to say is that, largely the reason that there is discipline or what I should say is lack of discipline, is that we give them the care and support and the children know that they are here because their parents have sent them. At the beginning of the term we always start with 'Why did you come to the CSEP' and majority of them say that their parents want them to be here. So whatever they want to do here they know that they have to deal with their parents and their parents will be informed about what goes on here. Also, they are here because of their own dedication as opposed to the legal obligation to be there. Because of that there is no issue about no discipline in general. However, if you think about discipline in terms of regularity. For example, in the class that I teach, we tell them that they have to be here for 10 o'clock or 10.15 to start at 10.30. So in terms of what we expect from them is to be disciplined in the attendance, punctuality as they are expected in the MSS. So there shouldn't be a difference because this is a voluntary sector than we have in the MSS.
- S: Good. Let us look at what is being taught here. You were saying that although children need academic support they need more moral support. What will be your comments about the things which are being taught in their place?
- SN: Mm. I am only commenting on the class that I teach here, supplementing the literature. For example, we have an article in the newspaper about Trevor McDonald – (TV Newscaster) to help raise the standard of English. So they could compare newspaper and that of standard English and make them to do summary. Also the values that are surrounding thing. For example, should there be a standard English, what is and is not standard English? Is it good or is it bad? Is it good to continue like this? The problem, I think, is not about right or wrong, but it is to translate what they learn from this to the other. For example, to translate their everyday conversation into English in the way they are expected to. Then there is the culture as well, to take their Jamaican culture and translate it into standard mainstream one in Britain. We work with them at their level as black people and translate this to meet what they are expected to be able to do in the mainstream school. And we take time out to support them in that. In year 9 they stop that and we give them extra support to work on that.
- S: Is it possible to have these materials like the article in the paper, and what they have done with it?
- SN: They are all up on the wall. They are all put together there for the open day.
- S: Let us look at the interaction which goes on here, like the social interaction, how will you describe it?
- SN: LaughS: Social interaction between which people?
- S: Staff and between people within the community here. How will you describe this place as a community?
- SN: At the beginning when I first came here I really enjoyed it.
- S: What did you enjoy?
- SN: The atmosphere here with a lot of young people around you with the same interest and same goal which I thought I'd left behind when I went to college. So we came together with same interest to discuss and share thingS: But now I don't really mix much, I just teach my class and am away.
- S: So what made you stop that?
- SN: I mean I don't know, I don't know.
- S: Is it because of lack of time or -.??
- SN: Mm. I really don't know. Before, everybody used to congregate in our classroom but since we've moved here, possibly it's because it is new building, I don't think we

communicate as before in the old building. People I do communicate with tend to be the people that I knew before being here (the new site). I don't know the other people from the other site and I don't even know what I expect. Since we moved here I associate with those who teach with me.

S: So will you say that that is a strength or a weakness here in this establishment.?

SN: I don't really think that it is an issue.

S: Okay. Let us look at the management of this place – i.e. the hierarchy of this place.

SN: Mm, autocratic at times – (laughs)

S: What do you mean by that?

SN: In the past, it tends to be certain people who dictate how the school should be run and particularly don't pay attention to the new ideas of others. Not to say that they are necessarily wrong but they don't give opportunity. Not the opportunity that will allow others view, but one in which things said are not being taken as important. However, since the management change, to my knowledge, I don't think we have had staff meeting. I have been away for about 2 months so we have not had staff meeting and in terms of our class interactions, the idea tends to be dominated by one person and we tend to be supplementary to that. There is no equality in contributing ideas, but I think that is our fault because we tend to pass the work to others. For example, you know that if you are not here another person will take it up and do the things which are necessary. So people are always not bothered. So we do tend to relax and take things as they come.

S: Do you think that this affect people's output? I know that it's only 2 hours that you are here.

SN: I think it tends to vary and unequal. It tends to be on one person. Also the opportunity is not always there to put your ideas. It's not that we gonna listen to everybody on how people will like to see the classroom. At the end of the day, if I see that it is now very important, then we are not going to do it that way. As a student will see it, I think when there is an issue here then it tends to be directed at the person concerned and not addressed to everybody.

S: Looking at this, will you say that this is a weakness?

SN: Yes, I think it is a weakness. Me personally, I feel intimidated when I first came here, I was looking to people with lots of experience. So I kind of take a kind of secondary role, but I have been here for about 3 years now and I would like to kind of contribute even though I haven't make that bit of effort. I think it is a lot different as it prevents you making your own thoughts known.

S: You said that you were encouraged, when you joined this place, to take up full time teaching.

SN: I have just finished my PGCE.

S: Okay.

SN: Yesterday.

S: Yesterday? Congratulations.

SN: Thank you.

S: So what encourage you to go into it and what are you hoping to do? You said that as at the moment you are in the FE?

SN: Yes F.E. I have just finished mainstream lecture in my main area of Psychology, Sociology and Communication – though I would prefer more teaching in adult Education and related subjects for up to 19 year olds. I did consider secondary education but because I had my degree in Public Relations, it will be difficult to teach at that level.

- S: Yes, how will you describe the support that this place is getting from the community? The way you see it, is there any support as you would have liked it to be?
- SN: I am not sure about this but I am aware of the Parents Association but the type of support they give, I am not aware of because, as at the moment, I just do my teaching and go home. However, they had the prize giving and the AGM. I don't know much about that support. When I speak to people I say I work at the Saturday School in the local community they tend to be very, very supportive. There are people who want to donate money and bring their children here. They seem to be quite good in terms of a community but in terms of work and what the school perceives it and how much support, you can measure it, I really don't know because that information are not available to me.
- S: Okay, you said that you mention it to the people in the community. Do you mention it to white people also?
- SN: That I've got a job here ... (both laughs) No.
- S: How do white people see it, or perceive this establishment?
- SN: Mm. Because it has been in Croydon and most schools use it, so they know about it and it is not having to explain it as they know what it is.
- S: And what has been their reactions?
- SN: And to the white people, when I mention it, people become racist and say that they don't think it is right that black people should have their own school. Then I explain it that people don't complain when it is Asian, Jews, Greeks school so why should they have any objections. The door is open for white people but if they don't use it, it is their problem.
- S: What will you say are the strengths of this place?
- SN: I think it provides young black people a venue to meet teacher, to talk to them and to feel that their concerns matter. This is important and what is more important is that parent could come and know that they have someone that they can talk to. They know that most of the teachers here work in schools in Croydon. Parents can speak to them and they know that they (the teachers) are knowledgeable about what is going on. Also because we work in smaller groups, that is around 15 – 18 children to about 3 or 4 teachers, so they (the children) work in smaller groups and they can learn better. Also, I love to give them moral support because we have time to discuss things. Also for them to be able to get the rapport that is missing in schools because in a lesson of about one hour they have about 5 minutes of teachers time. Also they have teachers they are able to relate to and they speak the same language. That all builds into their academics because they are in a familiar environment. The issue that they didn't understand what the teacher was talking about isn't there. So what is being taught becomes the main focus here rather than the personality. I think this helps with their confidence because they didn't have to deal with other issues.
- S: So what will you say are the weaknesses of this place?
- SN: Lack of continuity, lack of commitment, erm..
- S: Can you tell me more what you mean by lack of continuity?
- SN: What happens in my own class doesn't necessarily happen in other classes. The parents have come here today but I have said to myself, 'Why is it that classes are going on in other rooms' I don't know if parents are aware of that either, so there is lack of continuity in terms of punctuality. We've ask pupils in our room to come between 10.00 and 10.15 for a start of 10.30 but some classes are more relaxed. They come from one class into another one and the first thing they say is that they didn't

have to do that last year. These create a lot of problem, and in terms of the content, you don't know what is going on in the other class, so that you could build on that.

S: Okay. What you seem to be saying about continuity is that in terms of curriculum. It differs from one room to another, teachers just teach what they wanted and do not link it to what has been or will be done. You said 'unfortunately this place is still a supplementary school', are you advocating a full time school here?

SN: Oh Yeah.

S: What will you say encourages this?

SN: I think it is with the children being here. This is self evident and the children want to come. I am not in the MSS but looking at them and what they say (though they talk a lot of rubbish sometimes) so you've got to see what they say, for example, how can a child who raises his/her hand up in a MS class could be said to be disruptive, and you see, because we have them from 8 – 9 you can see how they are changing over a two year period. I think it is beneficial and that is why I would like it to be full time. I think it is self evidence.

S: I would like to know about your own experience now as I said earlier on, it will be nice if I know about your own experience as a pupil and as a teacher.

SN: Well I haven't got a full time job yet, I have just finished my PGCE and will be teaching in FE. I miss working with young black students and as a youth worker. It is difficult to get a job. I don't know what you mean by experience.

S: I mean when you were in say like Secondary School – i.e. your own experiences as a black pupil in the MS establishment. How did you find it?

SN: How did I find it? I have said that in the Secondary School that I never had any black teacher until I went to the college, then I met one.

S: You met Andy?

SN: No, not at secondary school. It was when I came over here and when I was at secondary school, Andy didn't actually teach me, but this was at Woodside site, and it was only when I came to the College that I had a black teacher.

S: Did you experience racism in any form at all?

SN: The problem is always there all the time in secondary school, there is the issue of racism, it is a different way of life. It is quite political. The subtlety is that they don't kind of recognise you and this comes out when you kind of become aggressive and people can't handle it. Even though I can deal with being harassed by fellow students and by the teachers as well because I am a bright student. They say 'don't worry if you're 'A' type student and you are bright', but they didn't recommend me to sit the exam. This is quite rude and they could have recommended me to sit the examination and I have continually been at the top of my class in the last 3 years of my secondary school. For there is no need, if they have registered me why I should only ended up with religion and needlework. I think that kind of deflated all my self confidence and again going back to college, I actually met some teacher who said 'what are you doing you should have been doing this long time ago' giving me the confidence back. The college have helped me to development my self identity and who I am and made me what I am now.

S: Okay, let us look at the future of this place. How will you describe this place more or less what you will like it to be say in 10 years?

SN: I hope it would have grown and would have out grown this place and to be more fully in the mainstream education and be a full time school. That's what I would like it to be.

- S: Let's say it becomes a full time school, what type of programme curriculum will you like to see being taught here?
- SN: Mm. Probably along the same line as what we teach in our class, because you have to be within the national curriculum. It is surprising, whilst I was at the college and talking to our lecturer in the FE, and the first time we actually had a black lecturer coming in and speaking to this 'A' level students. I said 'What will you like to see being introduced here?' She answered as I thought was that actually introducing black teacher is recommended, but nobody decides to do anything about it. To have the opportunity and to have the alternative to what we have now. At the end of the day it is down to having an alternative to think we can turn to and provide black people with a challenge and to have a curriculum that is appropriate. I don't know, do you want me to put it down to the specifics, well I can't because I don't teach in secondary education.
- S: What of the FE? What will you like to see in the Further Education?
- SN: Well, that is a bit different isn't it. (both laugh) I like to see more alternative and a broader range of subjects that could be studied, that incorporate black aspects of life and represents all people across class and culture as opposed to one which only represents white middle class: If you talk about equal opportunity, people talk about abstract things, but you need to make it more practical in terms of the content of the curriculum. Thing like this should be made to influence policy.
- S: So what you are saying is that it should be a curriculum, a curriculum that will be of the same standard with the mainstream one and also, it should not just be the curriculum but there will be black people involved in implementing it. Is that what you are saying?
- SN: That's not what I said, but I think that's a good point.
- S: Obviously you've got to have black people who are in the community implementing the content of the curriculum. Every time I look at school from the primary ones onward, I will say black are not being represented. They have to be in there. When you go into school and there is nobody validating your experience we then need equal representation of the community.
Lastly, in America and Canada as at the moment, they have gone beyond supplementary school, they have moved on to having black secondary schools, colleges and even black University. In America and in Canada, they are now doing that.
- SN: Where do they have black school in Canada?
- S: In Ontario.
- SN: My friend's there and they are trying to cut all black studies down.
- S: In which part of Canada is that?
- SN: In Montreal, Quebec they are trying to cut all black studies down.
- S: Oh, that's interesting because there is paper that came from Canada last year, 1995 and was about this development being funded by the government.
- SN: They say that there is not enough funds so they are trying to cut all black and Latin American studies: I just kind of bring that up.
- S: That's really interesting. Okay, let's say that happens and black people are able to fund it. What type of things will you like to see in such situation?
- SN: I don't know what you mean?
- S: You said that you were using black writers here earlier on, but instead of just using that they are teaching them for examples with stories around the value of respect.
- SN: Mm.

- S: Values about respect for everybody and properties Just as some schools of thought here in Britain are pushing forward the idea of role model as something which black children need to succeed. In Canada they are pushing this what will you like to see being introduced, taught or promoted in schools if this place becomes full time.
- SN: I don't think it makes any difference. I don't think that any white is disrespectful to elders, so I don't quite understand the issues you are trying to get at. The values we are teaching are not different. I am not sure. I don't know why you are asking me.
- S: Let me explain this further by going back a bit. Lets look at it this way. In America and Canada some black teachers there are saying that it's not just role model that the children need, they need to be taught some values that they are using African (when I say African, I mean black values as there is no value which could be said to be totally African). They are trying to use black values as a premise to work with the children. What I am now asking you is that do you see this as something that is paramount to what should be taught in schools if this place becomes a full time school?
- SN: No. It's because it can't be separate. I don't think that there is any black value that exists outside white values. It seems to me that the question you are asking doesn't exist. Culture does not exist in isolation. There aren't any black values that are not white values, so how can it be taught in isolation? I don't understand the question here.
- S: Okay, when you say it doesn't exist, is it that the way you see it that black and white co-exist they now have the same values?
- SN: No, what I am saying is that there are no sets of value that are for black community that are completely different from white ones.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that white community have have the same values as black community.
- SN: I am saying that there is no such thing as a black value or a white value.
- S: Good – because another idea, some have some other thoughts which are different.
- SN: What are white values that exist in England, that are different from the ones that exists in Canada or America? Are they not representatives of the society they live in? It is inconceivable to pin it down to a continent or place or whatever because the difference is that you have to ask me to respect black values and say the world that I live in is different to that which my parents live in. There isn't any difference so I can't understand why you are asking me those questions.
- S: So what you seem to be saying is that the values are the values of the society in which people live.
- SN: Yes. It's intransigent, you can't separate them.
- S: Good. So let's look at the finance area and that will be the last area.
- SN: I have to go because I have got a class next.
- S: If we look at the finance what do you know about the finances of this place?
- SN: Anything about funding and anything about finances, I don't know anything about that.
- S: Okay. Thank you very much for your time.

STUDENT SHELLEY ANN 17 (F), MELLISSA 18 (F), ATTEND CROYDON COLLEGE
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT NO 30

- S. Please can you introduce yourself.
- SA. My name is Shelley Ann and I am 17 years old and I go to John Ruskin's College.
- M. My name is Mellissa and I am 18 years old and I go to John Ruskin's College.
- S. How did you get to know about this place?
- SA. My teacher here teaches at the college and he introduced me to this project.
- M. I got to know through Shelley.
- S. Why do you want to come to such a place every Saturday?
- SA. Well, I go through my week without thinking twice but during the weekend I have time to relax and think about what I have been doing and I have more time here to think about my work. The teacher who teaches us here teaches us at the college. Sometimes at the college during the week we don't have time to be helped with our Maths during lessons but here the teacher is able to help us.
- S. So what you seem to be saying is that the two of you are being helped here!
- SA. We used to receive great help with Biology, I am concentrating on my Maths now because I could do the other things at the college.
- S. You said you came here to get help with your Maths. Why do you need this help?
- SA. I know that I've got to practise and some things I don't really know and I am hoping that coming here I'll learn some of the things which I didn't have time to learn at the college.
- S. What about you?
- M. I came here as it gives me more incentive to do my Maths and I could get help from the teacher. At the college when we work, we don't have time but coming here I get more practice here.
- S. So coming here you get more practice, but at the college you just have to do your work there. What are the differences between here and your college?
- M. It is not so much the type of work that you are doing but here it's like the two of us in the class and the teacher has more time to spend on our work, but at the college he has got to teach all the students at the same time. Here they examine things more and they see your potential whereas there they group you and stereotype you.
- S. Is that the way you see it Mellissa?
- M. Yes, you get more attention. For example in a lesson of about 1 1/2 hours that has got to be divided amongst 15 – 20 people. Here we get two hours for just the two of us.
- S. Have you found that useful?
- M. Yes.
- S. What is useful about it?
- M. Somebody seeing what I am doing.
- S. So you are saying that being attended to on a one to one basis by the teacher here, as opposed to 1 – 20 at the college. How would you describe the relationships between the students here compared to the ones at the college?
- SA. In some class, all of us get on well and in some class we are not together, we are divided but here, because it is just the two of us we get on generally.
- S. Is that the way you see it?
- M. Yes, we get on well together.
- S. How do teachers relate to you?

- SA They judge you as an individual, whereas at the college they put you in a group, in this group there might be one person with a potential to do well but some are weak in their performance. Coming here is just a one to one basis and the teacher knows that they can see a child who had the potential and help him/her with the work. It doesn't matter where they are they try to identify the area they are having problems with in their work, and help.
- S Is that the way you see it?
- M They treat us like that.
- S. What do you mean by *that* ?
- M They relate to us and they try to identify areas in which we have problems and then they help us.
- S I have spoken to about ten students now and they have all given their own views. How will you describe the discipline here compared with the mainstream school?
- SA I think here there is more discipline here. At school they used to swear at the teachers. Some teachers allow it and some don't but here I have never seen that.
- M Here, because most of us want to be here some times, whereas at the school or college some are there reluctantly. But here people want to bring their work or get on with the work they have been given. They come here because they value education and they want to learn.
- SA I can relate to that. There is no compulsion here.
- S Does that make any difference in your judgement?
- SA. Definitely. People are willing to do their work and they are with the right frame of mind.
- S How will you describe the way teachers treat pupils here?
- SA I have only been having one teacher here. They are quite helpful, discipline helps as well. My Maths teacher just does not have different attitude here or at the college. He treats me the same. I don't know what to say.
- S That's really interesting. I have not met anybody who has the same teachers here. It would be nice if you can tell me more about that. About him being your teacher at the college and then here.
- SA Well there are no differences at all in the treatment. The only difference I could probably say is, (but he does that at college also) that he gives you more personal attention. At the college when he is teaching and finds that you are having a problem and he couldn't attend to this because of other students he has to attend to, he tells you that he could see that you are having a problem. He tries to address the whole group with the problem. If they are not resolved he asks us to bring it along to CSEP on a Saturday.
- S This sounds like a continuation of work.
- SA Yes.
- S. (to Mellissa) Is he the same teacher with you at the college?
- M. Yes. The same teacher.
- S Let us look at the social relationship between students. When I say students, I know that you are at the college, but you were in the MSS before and even at the College. You are only two here but there are others in the room with you so you must have seen the way they relate to each other. How will you describe it?
- SA In the MSS I have just arrived in the country as at that time, from the Caribbean, but I kept to like Asian friends because they are a bit quiet like me and then move to the College. I am not used to white people anyway. I have mainly black friends. When I moved to the college I now have friends from different races. I get to know how they

- think and be and use it to my own advantage. Most of the classes we relate well in the class but in the dinning room every body kind of split into their own little group and will not relate to anybody else.
- M That is probably true at school. In school people tend to know each other well say, from the primary school and when you move to the college people are from different areas and they don't know each other well, so they try to form new relationship.
- S How will you say the children get on in this little groups in which children group themselves at school?
- SA Yes, it happens at the college also because in the canteen you have the Caribbean area, the white area, the Asian area, some black and white people in their own area. So we do group separately. In the class you kind of interact, but when it comes to break time we all go to where these groups are.
- S. Will you say that black people are grouping together here then?
- M. 'laugh'
- SA. If you walk into our college and you will find Asian, mind you even that , they separate into other little groups, even the African Caribbean's themselves may only want to be with their own group. I remember some of the teachers earlier on were actually worried and thought there is a black/white divide in the college. This got them quite worried but we said to them that it is not something they need to get worried about. It is nothing like all Asians are against the white or white against the black. It is not happening like that at the college. It just happens that they tend to know each other before and it just happen like that. There is no real barrier of blacks against white. For example, you get to lesson, the Asians meet with whites and so on and there is no division in the classroom. It just happen to be like that.
- S. You said that you moved from Jamaica here when you were at school. How will you compare the way children relate in the two settings?
- SA. You have people who will meet and be as friends at the start and then you find that they are into your personal affairs and they spread it around in the college. Or if you have some lunch money which I don't consider as too much money, but compare to what others are getting I get a lot of money, but they try to be my friend so that they could rip me off. In the classroom as well, you have children being really cheeky to the teacher. That would never have happened in Jamaica.
- S. Were you taught by white teachers then or black ones?
- SA. I only had one black teacher and others were Asians.
- S. What about at the college?
- SA. It is also white dominated and in balance to the number of students.
- S. Now let us look at what you are being taught here. You said that you only came with your Maths?
- SA. No.
- S. Now let us look at your area of focus. What differences have occurred by your coming here?
- M. I think that I am getting better in my Maths because I am able to get more practice by coming here. Also I am able to bring what I didn't understand and I am finding this way useful in my work.
- S. What about you Sally Ann?
- SA. I am getting some different techniques from my teacher at the college. Here he will pick up some basics that he knows will help me to tackle the problem better. At the college he just goes through things quickly so that we get as much in a lesson and

concentrate on little problem areas. Here he picks up areas that I need to work on to make things better.

S. What are your parent's reactions to all these?

SA. My parent thinks that it is a good thing that I could go and get help.

S. What about you?

M. My Mam think that it's better for me, that it gets me up and get more work done, especially on a Saturday morning. She says that she's pleased that I am getting 2 hours or more work done. Also, many problem that I might have during the week I am pleased that I have a place to bring them to so that I can concentrate and resolve them.

S. Do you meet with other students here socially?

SA. Some students from here go to my church but that is all.

S. Will you say that coming here has enriched your relationship with one another?

SA. It is just like a continuation of what we are during the week. We are always together.

S. What about you as an individual? Do you really see you growing by coming here or is it the same with the college?

SA. Now I've seen myself growing because it been like an atmosphere of a teamwork done, so I am able to get some more work done. I have started to take the work that the teacher sets as a challenge instead of holding back like I used to do. Now I practice what I could do here instead of leaving it till I see the teacher.

S. What about you?

M. This place gives you a bit more to do and makes you step away from normal school atmosphere. It is just 2 hours per week to concentrate on the work that needs doing in my 'A' level. So it's like a different atmosphere because, at the college everybody is like going for their 'A' level and you get like stressed out. There is a lot of motivation to work because you are being helped.

S. Let us look at finance. Do you pay any money when you come here?

Both. I do.

S. What are your views about that?

SA. I think it is good that we are giving some money to help the project, but I think they need more to get the project going.

M. As she has said, I think they need more money to keep it running and those people within the community need to contribute because this place really helps children who are coming here.

S. Now let us look at the relationships between teacher and teachers. How do you see this?

SA. They all seem to get along well and they all help the children.

S. Are you saying this helps you as an individual?

SA. Yes, I see them working whole heartedly and give their best to the students and I think that if I finish here I could try and come back and do something as well to the students by going back to help them.

S. What about you?

M. Yes, I think they are quite genuine and they give up their Saturday mornings to come here. So it is really good.

S. Let's say this place becomes a full time school, with 6th form college. Will you like to come from Mondays to Fridays?

M. I have almost finished that now and I am looking forward to University.

S. But will you send your children?

M. They will start first at the nursery.

- SA. No not really, No. I quite like the College atmosphere.
- S. So let us look at other people at the college. They must know that you have been coming here. What has been their reaction?
- SA. Well, it's just that if you tell anybody, they will be expecting too much from you. You can't do more than what you can do. So that's why I don't really tell people as they might say you have got extra bit and you must come out better than others, but my other teacher have seen me putting more effort in my work.
- S. But did you tell them what is affecting your attitude?
- SA. No, I don't really want to, but I have found myself working harder and concentrating more.
- S. What about you?
- M. Really, I have not had the opportunity to tell anyone.
- S. What if any other boys or girls should ask you if you go to Saturday school?
- M. I see no reason why I shouldn't tell them. I'll tell them that I go there for extra help.
- S. What would you say are the views of white people about black people running the school?
- M. I've told my friend who is not doing Maths and she said that it's good because I am getting extra help.
- S. Where are you from originally?
- M. I am from all over. It is very complicated. I was born in India.
- S. So what made you, as an Indian person, to want to come to this African Caribbean setting?
- M. Mnnnnn.
- S. Is it because your friend is coming?
- M. No, not necessarily. I just mix with everyone.
- S. Let us look at the organisation here. How will you describe the organisation as a setting or community?
- SA. I think they are well organised really.
- S. What are your expectations about an organisation like this?
- SA. I think it is quite good for such organisation to be there and make black people see that they can better themselves and aspire to higher things, rather than roaming the street. It should be for the whole community really.
- M. I think they are well organised. I think they need to get the community to know more – if it is not for one of our teachers, we wouldn't have known about it so I think it needs to be more publicised.
- S. How will you like this publicity being done?
- SA. Maybe by giving leaflets at the college or by telling the church. I am sure there are lots of African Caribbean out there who actually want to learn and get better in the society but they don't know about the school. Really now, I think it is just down to the word of mouth. It needs to be publicised more.
- M. What do you see as the future for this type of organisation?
- SA. Well, I see, I think there is a lot of students attending. I think it will get more people coming to it and some coming back to contribute and so it should go on. Except, if some outside force decide they don't like it.
- M. I don't know what the funding of the project is but really in the end this sort of project falls through due to lack of finance. If again it is publicised they may not have enough people who will like to give up their Saturdays to come here.
- S. What has stopped you from helping to publicise it at the college?
- M. Nothing is stopping me.

- SA. In my college you mean? I have told some people but they said that they have got other things going on Saturdays and that it is not easy and that is what has stopped them from coming.
- S. How do you think white people in the community see such a place?
- SA. They might begin to see it as a threat if black people start exercising their rights but they don't know much about the project.
- S. What is your aspiration?
- SA. I want to be a journalist or a lawyer.
- S. Why?
- SA. Big question.. 'MN'.. I don't know why. I just picked that out of my head when you asked me.
- S. What do you want to become?
- M. I will like to become a scientist.
- S. A scientist? Possibly Shelly Ann could combine her aspiration and become a law journalist.
- SA. I will like the money in being a lawyer but also I like travelling a lot so being a journalist will be good.
- S. Where have you been?
- SA. I have been to Spain, Paris and other parts of Europe.
- S. What of Australia? Asia etc.?
- SA. I have not been because of lack of money but the day is coming when I'll go when I have the money.
- S. So that's why you want to be a lawyer.
- SA. I'll be a criminal lawyer because they are the ones who are not making money.
- S. But you could get a 'big' criminal who will pay a lot because if they make their million then they'll share it with you.
- ALL Laugh.
- S. What really will you say is motivating you one Saturday after another?
- SA. The fact that the teachers here give their time to come Saturday after Saturday teaching us to aspire me, is one of the factors and they teach us the values which will help us when we grow up and do better things in life.
- M. Mine, I've always got this urge to acquire knowledge and be wise. I also like general knowledge. I also have a passion like everyone in my immediate family is a graduate so that is a personal motivating factor. This is not being forced on me because everyone is a graduate.
- S. Coming from 2 different cultures really interest me – you are from Jamaica and you said that you were born in India. Some school of thought said that such project should teach things like African Caribbean cultures other than what schools present in Britain. What is your own view?
- M. Personally, I always say that I have no culture – because my family is mixed, so having being born in India, most Indians are Muslims or Buddhist but I am a Catholic. This comes from my ancestry. My dad is English/Indian and my mum is Scottish. So I just happened to be born in India. Hindu's have their culture and Indians have theirs but as a Catholic I will say that has influenced on me. As for me, it is not my culture so it is all mixed. I cannot pinpoint which culture to really belong or teach.
- S. What about you?
- SA. I am Jamaican but I will like to separate myself as well because in Jamaica we are all mixed up as well. We have the Chinese who have come to settle and work there, we

have the Spanish people, we have Africans etc. so we are all from different races. In our native language we have got Spanish, English, African languages in it. We have those who are half African and half Spanish so we cannot really call ourselves Africans. We just say we are Jamaicans and we are really proud of that. It does help you to stand out amongst everybody else. What about you?

- S. I am from Nigeria. I only came here ten years ago. What some people have been saying is that they would like Black history to be taught. What do you think?
- SA. I would like that. No just the down side. Even if they show the struggles, they need to show how we overcame and why we should be proud of ourselves. All those teachings like that of Martin Luther King. They should teach about love and not hatred. It should not just be a teaching of loving blacks but it should include loving other races. I think being Godly is important and should be in it.
- S. What about you Mellissa?
- M. I think, actually, teaching people knowledge of their background, where they came from is useful.
- S. Thank you very much for giving your time.

TC: My name is Tessa Carter. I am originally with the Parent/Students association of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project. I came to the Project because, at the time, my daughter was at the secondary school and was having problems with her Maths. I had gone to see her teacher one evening and he actually dismissed her as not being capable of doing Maths and I was quite alarmed at this, so I set about trying to find someone to give her extra lessons. I had quite a lot of trouble trying to find a supplementary school as, at that time, supplementary school was just trying to begin. I eventually met someone who told me about the Croydon Supplementary Education Project and I came to see the Director, Andy Johnson. At that time they were based at Wallesby Road in a building that was not adequate at all, and he took my daughter in and worked with her. She subsequently sat her 'O' level and passed. At that time Croydon LEA introduced another type of Maths; the result of that was that she got Grade 1 in her 'O' level Maths. I was quite pleased with her performance. From my daughter joining the supplementary school, I then became the Treasurer to the Parent/Student Association and that Association continued for some time. I then moved onpause.

S: You were telling me about becoming the Treasurer.

TC: I was the Treasurer and I wanted to use some of my time to come on Saturday mornings to help. That carried on for some time and then the secretary left and I was asked whether I would like to take over her position, which meant me having to resign from the Parent/Student Association, because it would have been a conflict of interest. I resigned from the PSA and became the secretary of the Project. At that time the job of secretary of the Project involved quite a lot of work because we were building up the Organisation and certain administration procedures had to be put in place. I took over and we built the Organisation up. We then moved to Mollan Road. Just like the previous premises, it was not adequate and we were being constantly burgled. Eventually, the Council gave us other accommodation. From there I was made the Secretary/Co-ordinator. Being Secretary/Co-ordinator involved doing everything. I saw parents when they came in. I spoke to children. I made appointments for the Director to see them, spoke to the parents to find out why they wanted to join the Project and told them about the Project. I also helped to organise the first youth exchange programme to the Caribbean. That was quite large. I went down as one of the workers as well.

I have also been involved, up until the last 3 years, in the prize giving day committee. As the Project has expanded, we now have three secretaries. The position of Project Co-ordinator was handed over to my colleague Sandra, who now works with the Directors. They then looked at the work that I had been doing. I knew most of the kids, so I am now responsible for working with the teachers and children. Also my colleague, Syona Johnson, is secretary. Between the two of us we see new intakes and register them. We see the parents when they come in, wanting their children to come into the Project. We have to make sure the administration work downstairs is being carried out. We register the new intakes, we get together all the teachers' requirements for the school to operate properly.

My Saturday starts at 9.30 am and the Secretaries finish at 2.30 pm. Because we have one day to do everything, we have to try and make sure that we do all the things that need to be done: sending out letters, updating our database and waiting list. Looking

at the registers for those who are present and for those who are not attending regularly and writing to the parents to find out why their child is not coming. We total the attendance of the day to see the class attendance and then have to make sure that the building is secured before we leave as well as general things like turning off lights and so forth.

S: You have been involved now for 11 years. What would you say has been the driving force behind you coming here every Saturday 9.30 - 2.30?

TC: I think it's my interest in the education of black kids. In the borough that we live in they are beginning, within the last 8 years, to recognise the work that the Project is doing. People think that the supplementary project is for those who are bad and behind, but we have quite bright kids here. We have students that I have known who came here when they were at secondary school and have gone on to University and that gives me pleasure in knowing that I/the supplementary school have had some input in their education. At the end of the day they are in the community of tomorrow and it is important that we help them. If they are not getting what they need. I remember that in the earlier times, there was a black kid who had never seen a black teacher. When she came in this Project she had never had a black teacher and she was thrilled to be coming here on Saturday mornings to be taught by a black teacher. Somebody that she could relate to. I know the parents.

Coming from an African Caribbean background where education is important, I became interested in the black kids and finding out what they are doing. How they are getting on and sometimes, I don't even see them but they come up to me. Two weeks ago I was walking around and a man came to me and said hello. I looked at him vaguely and replied, hello. I had to think fast, I knew he was from the supplementary school but I couldn't remember his name because he had left and gone to the University. He has now finished University and is an accountant. Sometimes you get a whole family that have come through the supplementary school. Their older brother or sister might have come and left and the younger ones have come along. I can name quite a few families where all the children have come through the supplementary school and have gone on to do other things or they may have younger brothers or sisters who are now coming.

This is a community spirit you see, they are part of Croydon Community. We have kids coming from Streatham, Forest Gate, the other side of Croydon - Putney, and as the (demographic) geographical location changes the demographic nature of the school changes. When at Mollen Road we got students from Satmoore Wood, Stanley and so on and others who were already here from Thornton Hill, Allington. We have children from all areas of Croydon.

S: Looking at that, you said bringing people together is the work of this school. What other purposes does the school serve students and parents?

TC: For the parents it alleviates some of their anxiety towards their children not achieving in school. They can bring them here and, if there is a problem, they know that this Organisation has in place a reading scheme, Maths, English and Science. We couldn't take up those children who have real problems because the facilities aren't available and parents can come in. They are told that if the child has a reading problem at the primary school they will be taken on board. If he/she has problems in Maths - because we keep our classes. Although to somebody from outside our classes might look overcrowded, there might be three groups within one room, so the classes are small. Parents know that their children are getting individual attention. Teachers work with children and try to understand what the child is doing before they are taken on. Also,

the children have the responsibilities of bringing what they have done at school. They know it's going to take time, so they come in here and teachers work with them until they pass through.

S: Let's look at what you have said. You said that the school brings people together and it is becoming a community as such. How would you describe it as a community?

TC: It is a community of its own. Although it is 'Afro-Caribbean', we have people from all different sections of the community here. We have continental Africans, we have 'Afro-Caribbean', we have mixed race. These children have begun to learn about each other; about their community and hopefully, they will go on and pass on the information so that the discrimination that exists, even amongst our own people, will be dispelled and we can look at each other as part of the community and not say it's got nothing to do with us.

S: What other values would you say are being passed to the children?

TC: First and foremost, we want the children to be proud of their origins and when they look around this place, there is pictorial evidence of black people's achievements in science, education, politics, all around us. That in itself helps to raise an awareness in children that they can achieve whatever they want to achieve. Also, it brings discipline because when they come in they know when they are in here, they have to sit down and work. We teach them so many things. We don't just look at their academic work. We teach them to be able to concentrate and focus on work for a period and not think about going to the shops. They know that when they come they have to do that.

S: Let us just look at the relationship between the children and teachers. You have been here for thirteen years and you have seen it all.

TC: I've seen it come and go.

S: How would you describe the relationship between teachers and children?

TC: I think the relationship is very good between teachers and pupils in this Project, when you hear about teachers being assaulted by pupils and the fears that are at the mainstream schools. I know it's a small project of 2 hours, 1 day a week, but I know that children are children and wherever they are, if they want to misbehave they will misbehave. It is a tribute to our teachers that children coming into this Project are well behaved.

We have never had a difficult student. A difficult student is one that misbehaves to the point that we have to say that he/she has to discontinue. If we do get a student who is not settled and not working, the teacher in whichever group that child is working, brings it to the attention of either myself or Mrs Graham, or when Mr. Johnson was here, Mr. Johnson or Mrs. Bailey, and somebody will take that child out and have a word with him/her and tell the child that he/she is here for a specific reason. We will talk with them and try to get them to understand why they are here. You easily find that that's all you need to do.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that you are able to communicate and children are able to change their attitudes.

TC: Exactly. We are able to communicate and children are able to change their attitude. Also, because it's a black project of-course when they come in here they can identify and see people around and that in all aspects of this Project we have black teachers. Yes, we do have European teachers, we don't dismiss that and they have been with us for sometime. They've been with us almost from the time we started. We also have other European teachers who have come and gone, so they are important as well but, because it's a black project, the children can see that it's 95% black and they get some

pride out of that and can relate to it. I normally talk with them, not as a secretary, but as their mother. If they misbehave I will say to them, behave yourself and I will talk to them on their level as if it's their mother and ask them to sit down and they respond.

S: How do you know that they respond?

TC: Because you see the improvement in their behaviour. Let me give you an example. Last week I had some children running outside and I said that they should stop but they carried on with what they were doing. I then called them up and sat them down and said that I don't expect children to be running around this place and creating havoc. I said that they can't do that in their mothers' home and I don't expect them to do that here and reminded them that this is their Project. I told them that at the end of the day they can run around but if they fell down and hurt themselves here, we could have to close the place down. So, therefore, it would not be in their interest to run around and deny other people access to the Project.

This morning I saw them as I was in the corridor; one looked at me, he was about to run and he stopped and said hello, how are you Tessa? I said fine and he carried on walking. My point had got through to him without being suspended or expelled or told that he could not come back or any of those things.

S: So, what you seem to be saying is that you are developing a culture in which you say something to the children and they respond.

TC: They listen and they respond with proper behaviour. We also stress before they come here that this is their Project and they have to take care of it. If you walk around here, you won't see any graffiti. We have never had a problem with graffiti, even when we were in a smaller building. You go to the mainstream school, you have graffiti and so on. Children feel that they belong here and that the Project is theirs. They take care of it. I tell them that they should keep this place as they would keep their mothers' front room.

S: Can you just tell me more about the spirit of belonging that you are talking about?

TC: Because they belong, they take pride. Pride in being here, pride in the Project, pride in coming here and being taught by black people who they can relate to. I think that in itself helps them to feel that they belong somewhere. Also, because it is small, the classrooms are small and they have individual attention and, therefore, they can feel that somebody is actually taking an interest in them and it's not like in a large school where they are lost in the system.

S: Good, good, good. As we have been saying, you have been here for a long time. Let us look at the way you see the management here because I know you have been through two Directors.

TC: We now have a management structure, whereas before we had Mrs. Graham, Mr. Johnson and myself. It was just the three of us. I knew everything that went on, Mrs. Graham knew what I knew and Andy knew what Mrs. Graham and I knew. As the Project has got bigger, we have taken up other things that are necessary to see that we have a management structure. So now we have Directors and Finance Committees with a Finance Officer. We have Section Leaders who are responsible for looking at what is going on in their areas and various sections. So our management structure has changed and that is only right because it should change as the Project grows.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that you now have a structure in place to see that every aspect of the community is running smoothly.

TC: That's right, and to see that they are running effectively as well.

- S: How would you describe the changes that have occurred and how have people responded to them?
- TC: I think that in general people have accepted and recognised that these changes are required and they just take them on board and work alongside their colleagues and know that at the end of the day it is for the benefit of the Project.
- S: Now let us look further at this. You said that you have been doing or are involved with some preparations?
- TC: The preparation I am involved in is for the teachers. My colleague and I make sure that the teachers have the implements they require in the classroom. In this building it is not so much a necessity as the teaching implements are already in the classroom. Where we were before, because of space, most of the materials were kept in the office so on Saturday mornings when we arrived we had to make sure that chalks were in the classroom, that the books were there, the heating was on and the place comfortable and so forth. That is the preparation; making sure that the registers are around and marked and up-to-date. Most important that the teachers sign on, because without that they don't get paid - well not paid but they don't get their remunerations. So that's where I come in, to keep an eye on those things.
- S: Good, good, good. Now let us look at parents and their involvement in the school. How would you describe relationships between them and the Project as a whole?
- TC: I think we have a very good relationship with the parents. We have a strong parent/student association that has been very involved with the Project. We also have personal contact with them. Parents have always been welcome. They know that they can come in and they can sit down and wait in the corridor for their kids. If they have a problem, they can come and see someone. They don't have to book an appointment. Of-course, if the teacher is teaching when they come in, they may be asked to come back later so that they can have a word with the teacher. I think in general, parents are made to feel welcome and, therefore, they have no problem with coming in to see us. The school and parents work quite closely.
- S: Talking about working closely, you've said that they were helping to raise funds. What other areas have they been involved in?
- TC: Err, mainly the Parents Association is the fundraising aspect of the Organisation and that is one of their functions regarding the Project. They do other things though. I haven't been involved with the Parents Association recently so I don't know what they have on their agenda but they normally have things like the AGM. They invite people from education departments to talk to the parents about the education of their children and they get them involved. They are very active in our prize giving event. The Parents Association tend to do the catering and so forth.
- S: So this means that they are involved in every social aspect of the school. Are they involved in the curriculum aspect of the school?
- TC: No they are not involved as far as I am aware. They are not involved in the curriculum or academic aspects of the Project. I am sure if the parents have problems, as I have said before, they know that they can come and see Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Bailey or any of the Directors and they can sort it out with them. They are not alienated from coming to talk to people in the Project.
- S: Now, you have said that the parents are welcome. In what other ways do you think that the Project could help parents?
- TC: Some of them might want extra tuition themselves. We have had parents that have come to us and have actually used our facilities when they themselves have been studying and in further education. They have come in and have used our library

- facilities or have met up with one of our teachers who has knowledge in the field that they are studying and so the particular teacher helps. That was in the past. Recently, I have not been aware of any parent that is seeking that type of help from us.
- S: Okay, now let us just look at the organisation. You have described the organisational structure and how you have been involved. How would you describe the relationship in the different structure of the organisation?
- TC: The relationship has always been positive. There have never been negative influences. Everyone involved with this Project wants to be here and be involved. You can't say it is monetary led, the remuneration for the teachers is not that fantastic. They come here on Saturday mornings. To come here is a sacrifice. I come here on Saturday mornings and even though I am in full time education and value my Saturday mornings, I still give them up to come here. So I think it is a commitment. Everyone within this Project is committed to it's success.
- S: Why are you committed?
- TC: Why? I can't speak for others.
- S: I meant you.
- TC: I am a woman; I am a mother; I am black and foremost, I have gone through the System and know the disadvantages that affect our children. I have seen the Project work. I know the Project works and for all those reasons, I am here. There have been times when I have thought about it and I say, that's it, I am tired, but somehow I find the energy to get up on Saturday morning and get here. Once you have got here, you see the kids coming in and whatever is going on, or parents coming up to you asking all sorts of questions. I personally have decided to take an interest in parents and how I can help. I say to them, how are you doing now? Are you ok? If I know that a parent isn't working and I hear of a job going within the area, I will direct them to it. We are not just interested in the children but also in the parents. If I am walking down the road and I see a parent, I walk up to them and talk to them. It just makes them feel that they belong as well.
- S: What would you say has been the strengths of this Project?
- TC: The commitment of everyone. I think that is the strength. Everyone is committed to the Project. We have people leave and people coming back. People say, how can they work, that they need to do something else. They go and come back. We have had pupils left and gone to the University and then come back. This time is their time for the Project. I think it is about commitment. From the Directors and right down, we are all committed to what we are doing here and as such, people are willing to give up their time. If you haven't got commitment people might think, what am I going there for. Also, because of the structure of the Organisation. Although we are only here on a Saturday, we do accomplish a lot and people/visitors coming in see a well organised Organisation. People sometimes generalise and think that because it is a black Organisation they will find chaos or rage, but when they come in they see that it is very professional. The teachers are professional in their attitude and they are professional people as well. I tell parents that in this Organisation all our teachers are qualified. They are all teaching in the mainstream school, so they are aware of the curriculum; they are aware of the disadvantages facing our kids; they are aware of everything. We do also have volunteers but they are people who come here for help and for one reason or the other they have come back here to give up their time. So it comes back down to everybody wanting to contribute.
- S: You were talking about achievement. How would you describe the achievements of the children? I know that the prize giving day is one way of celebrating this.

TC: We celebrate the children's achievements and these are for various things. Some achieve in terms of behaviour. We have students who come here with some attitude problems and as I said earlier on, we talk to them and then there are changes - that's an achievement. I can think of one young man who when he started here about three term ago had some attitude problems. I saw him about 8 months ago. He was smiling and quite happy and communicating with others - that's an achievement. It is about communicating. When he first came here, for whatever reason, though I wouldn't like to speculate, perhaps he thought that on Saturday morning children should play around, watch TV or even just lay in bed and he was resentful of that but he came and realised that we are actually here for his benefit. We (teachers and others) have managed to communicate with him, everyone communicating to him, and he has now changed his attitude to being here. He is now more pleasant and this will show in his relationships at the mainstream school.

S: Now, let us just look at the other side. What do you think this Organisation can improve upon?

TC: I think mainly the use of the building. We are here and we can only be here on Saturday mornings. I personally would like to see the building utilised effectively so that other activities could take place that would continue to reinforce the achievements of the black community in Croydon and the surrounding areas. That is how I see it. No doubt the management is looking into that and they will, at some stage, implement something that will utilise the premises more.

S: What are the constraints for this?

TC: Money. One has to look at the funding. Croydon Council is not going to fund us to carry out certain works. We decide to continue, we shall have to look somewhere else for funding, i.e. the community, to actually pay for it. I think what has been one of the strengths of this Organisation is that though there are supplementary schools around, students have to pay. (They pay for every lesson and not just to be at the Project). In this Organisation they are not asked to pay. Yes, we have donations from parents but at the end of the day, whether you donate or not, and whether you have one or ten people from your family coming here, you still donate the same amount. One of the facilities we offer (though we haven't done one for the last two years because of moving to the new site) is our play scheme. This is very useful for parents during the two weeks that we run it. There is no continuous play scheme in Croydon, so we are the only ones who can help the parents. They know that for two weeks, their children have a place to go, especially working parents. We tend to have a huge response with about 100 parents waiting outside and we only have 50 places. So we have to take the first 50 and send the others away. Parents get quite upset saying there is nowhere else for them to go and asking what they can do. All these things are our main success.

S: Some people argue such places like this should employ African values like respect for elders and story telling to communicate with children.

TC: I think we do have those values. This Organisation is a black Organisation with black values. Whether you are African or Caribbean, those values are there, e.g. respect for elders, education is important; self awareness; awareness of the contributions that the black community has made to the wider community. All those things have been in place for years. We may not teach, or have a black session where black history is being taught but I think it registers a lot more if a child is seeing a painting or a photograph of a black scientist with his/her name under it. They can relate by saying, oh, this is a black scientist and the name. OK, our hero, Kwame Nkumah's picture is

hanging in our main hall. We have lots of others but because of the problems which we were having in our last building, a lot of our pictorial evidences were ruined and this is one of our intentions, to get those things back in place. If you had visited our previous site, you would have seen all the classrooms decorated with pictorial evidences of black achievements. Our students could stop and read them and if they wanted more information, they were given it. We have a library which is upstairs and there we have literature. At one time everybody, parent, teachers, students, anyone had access to it. We are meeting the needs of students this way.

S: So let's say CSEP has decided to become a full time school. What would be your opinion about that? #

TC: Actually, I think it would be a good thing. It would be an expansion of CSEP and therefore, we would be operating every morning and be working with more students and that would mean a lot of black students could come to us. There are lots of black students out there who are having problems for one reason or another. The high ratio of expulsion is an avenue that we could look into. Those kids need help rather than being expelled and then being left to roam the streets and being moved around. I think, if we can work on Saturdays in such a positive way with the students that we have here, with a little extra training, our teaching staff would have the capabilities required and, should we expand, we would be able to work effectively with students. At the moment that is not what we are here for. We are about academic work and getting them to a level where they can compete within the mainstream school.

S: Now that you are talking about the mainstream school, what contributions do you think this place could give to the mainstream school?

TC: Positive things that the children come out of this place with. Being positive about themselves and their education. Students who come here may be introverted and suppressed. Their emotions are encouraged to blossom and then you see them blossom. This is one of the things that the mainstream school never sees. We have headmasters who have seen this and they have been here and asked to see our work as they notice the improvement in students who couldn't be controlled at school before attending CSEP and the students have been talking very highly of the work that the Supplementary School does.

S: Good.

TC: It's all about us being able to communicate with our children and being positive about them. We don't say that they are stupid or say all these negative things about them; about their colour or their race. The result of this is that the Project has become a positive thing for the children and, as such, they stay and we have had second generations coming in. If we should expand, it shall be of benefit to the community.

S: What do you see as the future of this place?

TC: Expansion. I'd like to see it expand. I'd like to see, as did the last Director, us moving forward. We cannot stay stagnant. Each time we move has been a new phase of the Project. We need a permanent building to move forward. We need somewhere concrete that is permanently ours. We don't want to think that, say in five years time, the Council will be moving us to another place. If one examines our records everything has been in a five year span. Every five years they move us on. We don't get to put our roots down. It would be excellent to have our own building, which students could relate to; a building with a display of our name outside it. People don't know that we are here. This could have advantages and disadvantages. It brings us to the attention of the community and the disadvantage could be that, although people see us in this big building, it's only the small part of the building that we have access

to on Saturdays. As such, our waiting list is still high. We are working on reducing our waiting list. People thought this would be reduced when we moved in here but the space which we occupy within the building is very small. If we have a building that is ours and a building that is large enough we could address our waiting list and carry out more activities with students and their families.

S: So what you are saying is for it to be like a community school.

TC: Yes.

S: Please can you expand on this?

TC: That is my view. I think we need to go forward and develop this establishment so that we can have more input into the lives of our students. Not losing the insight into their academic aspects but also developing other areas of our children's lives. As such, enriching it and making it become positive.

S: How do you think that the white community see your Project?

TC: I think quite a large number are unaware of us. Even though we have been going so long. Even within the vicinity of the school - even if you go outside there now and ask people they will not be able to tell you what we are doing inside here. To me, this shows a positive element. People expect black kids to be destructive, they expect them to be breaking down the place and ruining everything and vandalising things outside. We don't have any of those things so they don't know that we are here. The disadvantage is that they should know that we are here. They should be questioning why it is necessary for us to be here. Isn't the education system meeting their needs? Why do they have to set up their own?

S: But that means that Black people can do things for themselves.

TC: Yes, it means that they can do things for themselves. We are not without our own resources that, given the opportunity, we can develop our own network to the benefit of our community. There is a sort of informal network that goes on here. I said earlier on that I enquire about parents. If I know that they are not well, I tell another person who can visit them or I say to the teacher, please go easy on that student that has come in this morning because he/she has got some problems at home.

S: Thank you Tessa for your time.

TC: Did you get enough?

S: Yes, I think so, if not I will get back to you. Thank you.

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

Y: My name is Yvonne Bailey. I am one of the Assistant Directors of Croydon Supplementary School. I have been here for approximately 8 years. I started as a classroom teacher, teaching English and Maths, then I became a section leader shortly after that, then Assistant Director for about 3 years.

S: So, how did you get to know about this place?

Y: I lived quite close to the school when they were at a place in Woodside and I happened to find out from one of the parents that the school was in existence, so I went to register my own kids and there and then found out that there were vacancies for more teachers so I applied and was accepted.

S: OK, so you said that your children attended the school also then.

Y: Yeah.

S: So let us just look at what and how you have been involved. You said you were teaching English and Maths.

Y: Yes, yes, I teach English and Maths at the Supplementary School.

S: For how long?

Y: I taught that for about 3 years.

S: Then you became a section leader.

Y: Yes.

S: What was your role as a section leader?

Y: I looked after the work of the group - the 8-10 years old.

S: So, you said that you were coordinating.

Y: As a section leader, yes.

S: You were looking at the work of every teacher - the content.

Y: Yes, the content of what the different teachers were doing. What the needs of the children were and fitting the contents to the needs of each individual child and each small group of children that I was responsible for. Monitoring their progress regularly to see if they were achieving the targets set for them.

S: And how have you been doing this monitoring?

Y: We have paper record-keeping to see what they are doing week by week. We set them small tests to see how they perform and when they have difficulties we try and highlight those difficulties.

S: So you highlight the areas of difficulty through the tests.

Y: That's right, yeah.

S: And then what do you do after that?

Y: As the child progresses, they may move on to more areas of advanced work and so that what was done - pause - after the difficulties were highlighted and dealt with and the child has made sufficient progress, then they move on to more difficult areas of work.

S: OK. Let us just stop and look at the set up here as an Assistant Director. How would you describe the structure?

Y: The hierarchal structure: There is Mrs. Graham who is the Director and responsible for the entire running of the whole school. Then she has two Assistant Directors to help her and the Director of Finance to whom she could delegate those responsibilities.

- S: What are the duties of these Assistant Directors?
- Y: The Assistant Directors: Their duties are many; to see, with Mrs. Graham, if the school is running as it should do on areas of different responsibilities such as staffing, resourcing, the curriculum developments and the management of the school and the staff. To oversee the prize giving events, open mornings for parents to come and see their children's work. Organisation of overseas travel projects and any other such projects that we have - that we are involved in at school.
- S: So, why are you involved in this? You have been spending your Saturday mornings and afternoons here!
- Y: I am an on-going school teacher. I teach science as my subject and I am also a pastoral head of a large comprehensive school. It's an all boys school and I see that there is a need for such a school to supplement the education of the children. I do see the results feeding back into ordinary school. The result of smaller classes and the form of teaching that we do here. Supplementary school is almost entirely black as far as the keen population are concerned. I see that black children are underachieving for all sorts of reasons in general, not necessarily because of the poor teaching that we have in schools but there are many other reasons that affect the learning of the children and I see that there is a need for additional help for those children and that is why I am involved.
- S: So, you are talking about your involvement in schools and your involvement here and also you were highlighting the achievement of black children and you seem to be saying that it is partly due to poor teaching in schools . What other factors would you say are contributing to these under achievements?
- Y: The lack of parental involvement in the education of their children. We should not blame the parents because they too have to earn a living and work long hours and so children perhaps don't get enough help and support within the system or at home. As such, the supplementary schools sort of bridge this gap. Lack of positive role models for all children. To see professionals who are black, who are achieving and high achievers. When they come to a school like this, they see a large proportion of their teachers, who they can identify with in a positive way. So basically, that is it. In the mainstream school, they don't get enough support as they could possibly need, or for all sorts of reasons.
- S: So, basically what you seem to be saying is that the support is not there in the mainstream system and that with other factors, are contributing to the poor performances of black children in the mainstream schools. How would you compare that to CSEP?
- Y: In CSEP the staff have high expectations of all the pupils in the school. No matter what age they are, no matter what their social economic circumstances - which is not the case in the mainstream school. Unfortunately, lots of the underachievement of a lot of black pupils is due to the low expectations. We do not place a high priority on a child who has come from a single parent home in the supplementary school, and use that as an excuse that the child cannot do his or her homework and cannot do the things we expect and cannot behave well. The discipline here is extremely good and the children here are good at exhibiting self-control and discipline.
- S: And do you find these being exhibited in the mainstream school or a mainstream school teacher.
- Y: I think that there is a large proportion of teachers who, in the mainstream schools, are not sufficiently committed enough to put these factors aside and lay emphasis on

where it should be. That is on high expectations and achievements for the ordinary black child.

S: So what is ...

Y: So this is the way that we could see institutionalised racism at work - because the teachers are not showing their commitment and the children are not achieving as they could do, the child is taken out of that and they are surrounded by a caring staff who are expecting them to achieve as they can do. They usually find that their achievement level is raised.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that black children, no matter what is happening, if they receive full support and have people like you or like the school here and have positive role models, then they will perform like any other children.

Y: Indeed, and there has to be some inclusion of parents in their children's education. Black parents do not think twice about coming into the Supplementary establishments.

S: What would you say is encouraging them to do this?

Y: Because the majority of staff are black, they do relate to them and there is a welcoming atmosphere for them. As parents they feel some amount of confidence when they step inside such schools. They see, during our annual prize giving day, that their children, no matter who they are, are being given some recognition for the effort that they put in. We welcome black parents coming into the school at whatever time. They speak to whoever they wish at whatever time. The open morning that we have, the structure, does not prohibit any parent from coming in and feeling that they are welcome. It is not where you have rows and rows of desks lined up in one large area. They go to their individual classrooms, just like the system operated in primary schools. The arrangement is such that the teachers are able to talk to the parents in such a way that it doesn't make them feel that teachers are mini gods and they cannot be approached.

S: So, you seem to be saying that there are dialogues between parents and teachers in the supplementary school which does not happen in the mainstream schools.

Y: Indeed. That does not exist in many of our mainstream schools. Because for a number of our parents, they are asked to go into the mainstream school, especially secondary schools, only when a teacher wants to see them: e.g. At the parents' evenings or at the time of their children entering the school, or when their children are having real problems or are facing exclusions.

S: What you seem to be saying is that parents are not contacted for positive things but mostly invited to hear about the negative things that their children are doing.

Y: Most schools have prize giving events. For example, the school that my sons go to does have prize giving events but they are not open to all parents. They are open to mainly the parents whose children are receiving prizes. You don't get a large proportion of the parents represented so that they could see what is happening. Whereas, in our school, all parents are invited, whether their children are receiving prizes or not. The children can see, even if they are not receiving prizes that year, they can see what is possible. The programme has been a high boost. We invite Councillors, VIPs, have a speaker (mainly black) who have important positions in Croydon Community and the wider community so that the kids can have somebody to identify with.

S: You were talking about the type of high profile that you give to prize giving events - something that does not occur in many mainstream schools. You were discussing that

before you were interrupted. Can you just tell me more about how you plan the prize giving day. You said that you invite parents.

Y: Lets go back to inviting parents. Lets go to inviting guests who have high profile within the community. The Section Leaders determine who gets prizes for special categories. We do have a special prize given to the student of the year; the student who achieved the most out of Saturday school. Last year, we were covered by the press who took the photograph of the best student of the year.

S: Please can I have a copy of that?

Y: Yes, you could have a copy of the press report. The Director gave a report on the project achievements of the year and usually there is a speaker who speaks on something educational and uplifting to the pupils who attend the prize giving event. Last year we had Peter Herbert, the barrister, who is very active in the black community.

S: So you have evenings dedicated to this and you have prizes given for different categories. Can you please expand on that?

Y: Categories are for attendance, progress and achievements.

S: How are these people selected?

Y: The details are left with the Section Leaders who have the detailed records of each child's progress. The Section Leaders and class teachers are in discussions on who achieves what prize and for what reasons. The decision is left to them as to who gets which prize.

S: These prizes are the results of children's performances. What are the areas of curriculum that you focus on in CSEP?

Y: The curriculum areas are Maths and English. These are the areas that we have time for within the two hours. These are the two most important subjects and perhaps, for some children, the most difficult areas of the curriculum and where they need extra input. There is also a small proportion of science being taught to year 6 children, which is being carried through this year to year 7. This is to introduce children to science - just to make them more confident. We have no facilities to go much into practicals in any great depth but, wherever we can, we do the practicals that we don't need many apparatus for.

S: Who decides the content of the curriculum?

Y: There are qualified science teachers. I am also a qualified science teacher and I also share in the curriculum development in that area. We have Pat Davies, a qualified science teacher, who is taking up the role this year.

S: Are these tailored to fit with what is in the school or are they developed separately?

Y: We definitely fit into what is taught in the mainstream schools. Those year 6 children are at the upper year of primary school who would have been taught science in the National Curriculum. Before this, there was not much science being taught at the primary level prior to the National Curriculum. As a science teacher I have lots of children in year 7 who have no confidence because they don't see what goes on at the primary school as science, because lots of primary schools haven't got the facilities. The primary school teachers who teach science are not necessarily specialists and, therefore, there are gaps when they come to secondary school and so we in supplementary school are trying to fill those gaps wherever we can. I mean mainly in the theoretical and in the practicals that we can do, not involving many apparatus.

S: That's in the science area. What about the Maths and English?

Y: In English the curriculum that we follow here is just to supplement what they do in schools using National Curriculum as a guide.

- S: How do you look at the progression within that? Because I have seen that you have different classes.
- Y: Each class here is equivalent to the ones in the mainstream school. So we have from year 1 right through to year 12, so not in tandem.
- S: So what you are saying is that the project correspondingly supplements what goes on in each class.
- Y: The fundamental difference is that in the mainstream school there is a teacher to a class of 30, here the pupil-teacher ratio is such that the children could get individual attention more often and that makes a big difference. Contrary to what the Director of the Ofsted Inspections is saying. We found that total nonsense. We found that smaller classes do work: Small groups do work. You can give the child individual attention. Find out what the child is finding difficult, because each child must be treated as an individual.
- S: How would you describe the culture of this community?
- Y: This is a close knit community. There is one thing that bonds us together and that is the fact that the majority, pupils as well as staff, are black. We have the same aspirations; we have the same outlook as a lot of the parents, we share quite a lot in common. We could understand when a parent is sharing that "my child is having difficulties in the mainstream schools dealing with such and such". We can readily identify with that and that is what makes us so popular. We have a very long waiting list.
- S: How long?
- Y: About 150-160 pupils waiting. These are children of all ages. Some parents are so interested in what we are doing that they register their children before they are ready to come to school at 3-4 years old.
- S: So it's more or less like a school then.
- Y: Yes.
- S: If this place were to go into a full-time school, what would be your opinion about that? A school that is designed for black children and maintained by black people.
- Y: So that we are not supplementary schools: There are such schools like that at the moment. I wouldn't say whether or not they should continue. I personally, given the choice and thinking very deeply about it, don't think that I would readily send my children to an all black mainstream school for reasons that we could spend all day discussing.
- S: Can you just highlight more on that.
- Y: I think it is necessary for children to integrate. They are in the society, we cannot go down the road of segregation as far as mainstream schools are concerned. Nobody would gain anything much from that. But yes, I see a place for supplementary schools such as this because it has been the case for many years that black children are underachieving, especially black males. There has got to be somewhere for such children to increase and enhance their achievements. So I would prefer it to remain a supplementary school rather than be a mainstream school.
- S: Let us examine the interaction between parent, teacher and children in the mainstream school and here. Being a teacher in the mainstream school and being a teacher here. What are the things that you have noticed?
- Y: A number of black parents, I feel, do not trust the mainstream school for many reasons. A lot of teachers feel that parents are not taking a lot of interest in their children, so you get a dichotomy there, don't you. We are seen by parents as being very much committed and interested in what their children achieve. Parents will come

to us for advice about the situations and the problems that they are going through at the mainstream school, trusting us to give them the best advice that we can. So the relationship with parents in this establishment starts from a completely different starting point than the relationship with the mainstream school between the teachers and parents.

S: How would you say that has come about. The starting point there seems to be that parents are able to trust teachers and the organisation here but not at the mainstream schools. How would you say the supplementary schools have been able to engage and sustain that type of trust with parents.

Y: I don't know, possibly it is something that is pretty much automatic. If you go anywhere and you see a black person, see another black face, you feel a sort of bonding with that person almost immediately. You want to go and say hello, you want to go and start a conversation with that person and at least have a smile. In my own school, I am naturally a relaxed and friendly teacher. No matter who you are coming through the door, whether it's a parent, a workman, I am always saying welcome with a smile, saying can I help. I noticed with my colleagues, they just walk past, they don't recognise that there is somebody standing there. So when I do this to a black parent, there might be some affinity towards me and therefore, they feel that this school has a black teacher, this school must be alright, that is how I think it has developed.

S: So you seem to be saying that the race bonding is there between black people.

Y: It must be.

S: And that is what creates the unity to want their children to achieve more and better than they are achieving within the mainstream schools. And that is one of the missions of this place here, CSEP. What are the other things you would say are the mission of this place apart from "without discipline, knowledge cannot be obtained".

Y: That is exactly what it is about. You read a lot about the lack of discipline that occurs in the mainstream schools and is filtering down and very very fast into even the primary schools and the younger classes. Automatically, when a child comes here parents and children are told at the induction that there has to be good discipline and that is something that seems to be bringing the parents to the school, together with the teachers. Most of the parents of our children are people that have had their education in either African countries or West Indian countries and we all share something in common - a very, very, strong discipline in school and so when they come in here, even if the children don't exercise self-control and discipline in the mainstream school because of all the other things that are going on, it is a completely different picture. I taught in a school, not the present school that I am in because I started in the school that I am in now, changed school and moved back to the original school, when I made that move I found out that when the teachers are committed the discipline problems that they have will be dealt with and will be made less. When there is no commitment, the children will run out because they know that they will not be found and dealt with.

I soon left that school because I couldn't get my head around the fact that the teachers were not controlling the situations which they should find easy to control. In fact, they had no boundaries. They could do whatever they wanted. There was a girl whose class I went to cover. The children had water bombs and were throwing them all over the place. She hated me because I told her that she needed to get her behaviour under control but by the time she left that school, she came and thanked me for what I did for her, because I didn't allow her to waste her time. Whereas other teachers were

allowing her to run riot. This was a bright girl who could achieve 8-10 GCSE grades. It made me question why she was allowed to do this. If she came to a place like this, she wouldn't be running, not in the classroom, she wouldn't be running around, she wouldn't be trying to do what she is not supposed to do in the classroom, she would work.

S: We looked at the mission of the school and you have described the trust that exists between CSEP teachers and black parents in this community. You have also described the type of curriculum that exists here. Now, let us look at the outcome of children's performances. How do you measure this, especially when compared to their performances in the mainstream school?

Y: We have not been able to do that since 1983 - what we have to do is get information back to us about how children have performed in their GCSEs - Maths and English in the main. We do get letters of thanks from parents and pupils. It has been seen by parents and pupils that the type of help that they get from this school enhances the children's performance levels. But we have not been able to collect data that will be meaningful.

S: Let's say there is an opportunity to do that - how would you like to see it being done?

Y: I don't know. The only way we could measure the effect of supplementary schools I suppose is to have contact with the mainstream schools on the kids who attend supplementary school and be given a sort of yearly report on what progress they are making and we have to know the starting point for each pupil coming here - maybe through reports from the mainstream school.

S: So do the children bring their reports here sometimes?

Y: Yes sometimes, so that we can see what is happening in the mainstream school. Also parents are anxious to show their children's reports showing us that their performance is not up to scratch and perhaps we could help them to improve.

S: Are you being paid for being an Assistant Director?

Y: We don't have a salary as such, our expenses are met and we get some small remunerations. We are not paid at the going rate. We spend quite a lot of hours.

S: Doing what?

Y: Meetings to improve the running of the project. We are expected to attend the Management Meeting; hour after hour. We have 2 hours of teaching and then we can spend anything up to 4 hours on a Saturday, if not 5. So we do spend quite a lot of time.

S: What do you see as the future of this place?

Y: I would not like to see it become a very large institution because if we get bigger then we might not be able to do the kind of job that we want to do with the individual.

S: Some people might argue that you are denying some the opportunity of benefiting.

Y: Whatever you do, some people will be denied the opportunity, but what I would like to see is other projects starting up all over the place and all over the country. What I am saying is that there could be more.

S: Are you in link with any other supplementary school?

Y: We do have contact with a few of the supplementary schools around but not the kind of contact that I would like to see.

S: What type of contact would you like to see?

Y: More frequent contact, we don't get the chance to visit other schools on Saturday. We are quite busy on Saturdays. We would like to meet regularly and exchange ideas with them. We do send out invitations to the ones we know of for, say, our prize giving days, but there is no time to do much.

- S: Are you saying that you have been sending information to those schools and a lot have not been taking this up?
- Y: No, it's not that we have been sending invitations to them, what it is, is that a lot of them know about us and they have made enquiries about us, but like ourselves, they must run against time and, therefore, we have not been able to link up and do something meaningful.
- S: So, in summary, you seem to be saying that you would not like to see this project get bigger in the future, but you would like to see others springing up all over. How many of them do you think are around this area?
- Y: I think there are two others in this area; there used to be two.
- S: As big as this?
- Y: No, I don't think they are as big.
- S: What do you think has made one bigger than the others?
- Y: I am sorry, I couldn't hear you?
- S: If there is one with 150 plus on their waiting list?
- Y: I really cannot answer that. I really don't know. Maybe they have a small space area to operate but not knowing anything much about them, that is all I have got to say.
- S: Thank you very much Mrs. Bailey. However, before I finish this interview, is there anything that I have missed out about this project that you think might help my writing about it.
- Y: No, I can't think of anything as at the moment but if I find anything, I will come back to you.
- S: Thank you for your time.

S: Please can you introduce yourself.

WA: My name is William Anderson. I live in Croydon for the past 20 years. I have three children, one 19, another 11 and 6.

S: What do you do?

WA: I am an electrician by trade and then later I went to the college to do some practical course on radio and television to understand electronics and then within that I do plumbing, central heating and in the past I was in general building so I've got everything to do with building.

S: When did you decide to send your child here?

WA: When it (the project) first started in Wellesley Road, my son was not doing well at school he was attending. He had problems with reading and writing and then the whole project developed, year after year more children are coming here and then I have been with the project ever since. So, it's a long time I have been with it. I feel it's a part of me.

S: So you found it useful for your children.

WA: Yes, yes.

S: What did you find it useful for your children?

WA: 1, 2, because he goes to an all white school, (1) It helps them to know the roots they are coming from, the school helps them to provide the backup and letting them know that they are black and they have to work hard than their white counterparts and to get their work done properly, that way the CSEP helps them. (2) It teaches them that we are a people which I don't think that other school does. The CSEP doesn't just teaches them school subjects, it lets them know about their history and what has gone on before. I am not sure that if they get bigger if they will still keep up with letting the children know that black men and women have been developing over the years. I am really pleased with what is going on.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that the CSEP has been teaching them not just Maths, English and Science but they teach them about black history.

WA: Black history, yes.

S: And you are interested in that and you also provide the background for your children to know that they are back at home.

WA: The one thing is that as a 'West Indian' parent, I know most of the 'West Indians', they don't teach their children where they are coming from, English language is not our mother tongue. We also have our identity, we have got to make sure that our children know about it. We are pioneers in a lot of ways make safe this country to be a place where black people could walk freely around, other than that we don't know our history, we don't know our roots and white will say to you who develop this? you don't make anything, you don't create anything. At least we can say to them – yeah we invent things which are good and not just bad. We do not invent bombs, we do not make them, we make things that are good for people.

S: Now, you have been to an open day today, here, do you feel free like that in the mainstream school?

WA: No, because each time that you walk in I keep thinking, who can I identify with? what am I going to say? Is the English alright? Can I drop back into my lingua? (language) You know you got to be on your heels with them all the time. You have to step up each time. Your mind is always on what is going to happen.

- S: So you psyched yourself each time before going to your child's school.
- WA: Yes, you are right. Your mind is always there.
- S: So how will you describe that compared to the atmosphere you have experienced here today.
- WA: Oh... This is a family, this are people working, anytime I come here you feel you are greeting your own black fellows; you feel you are part and parcel of this place since the beginning.
- S: You said you are part and parcel of this place from the beginning. In what ways has this been positive for your children?
- WA: I know that in the beginning, I myself was a bit shy coming forward in doing things. I am working with teachers from the CSEP, I am working with Mr. Johnson, he is a quiet man but he is got heavy cloth behind him and I think that has rubbed off and you come out to say what you want to say and do what you want to do. Be positive. I can remember that he's never talk about anything but positive, so from that you yourself get up here and do things yourself. All the years you feel you can come here and say what you want to say, so the children here have learnt that they can come to the CSEP and say what they want to say. They make them good and that is good.
- S: So what types of things will you say this place teaches your children?
- WA: Mm.
- S: In terms of the subjects?
- WA: Maths and English. Reading, our children find it easy not to read and very easy no to learn Maths and they will get away because at the other schools the teacher teach them to look at pictures, so that they can read and tell you what is going on with pictures so that they can read (associate) this with words, this gets me down. This is where I know that the CSEP are helping us quite a lot because when you can't find the pounds to pay an extra tutor, then you know this is the place you can get that from. I know that when my older son was going for his exams, he used to come here regularly and get the backup that he needs.
- S: So they didn't just helped him but you but gave him like backup to really do well in his exams?
- WA: That's it, that's it.
- S: And did he do well in the exams?
- WA: It hasn't come out.
- S: So he has just done it -
- WA: But hoping...(that he'll do well) ...I know that he has sent off to going on into the University at Queens College and he hasn't gone with (for) the newer universities because as I see it newer universities are just colleges and they have been given a bit more grant to become universities. And again we know what the government is doing and that is they are making sure that our people wouldn't learn anything. And we know that we are sending people to the universities and they have to work to come out with something so they lower standards to get them into the universities.
- S: Being part and parcel of this place for a long time and you said that you knew Andy Johnson very well and he gets the pupils to work. How will you describe the way teacher and pupils and teachers and parents relate to one another?
- WA: Mm.
- S: Do they get on well?
- WA: Yes, I used to be one of their parents support group with the Parents Support Association and I know that everybody seems to know one another personally and

one of this is that people get on quite well. When people get on quite well, things should flow without any problem, which is good.

S: Good, I know that you go for parents meeting at the mainstream school, do they call you in for other meetings. I have been coming here now for a year and I have seen parents coming in freely but in the mainstream school do they do that?

WA: No, you have got to get an appointment to go into the mainstream, but my son is fortunate because the school my son goes to, we get a lot of feed backs through letters. If my son should sit outside where he shouldn't I would get letters from the school that he goes to.

S: And do you receive positive letters also because you said if he does something wrong?-

WA: Yes, yes, yes, not even letters but telephone calls.

S: Oh... good.

WA: I don't know if it is because of me (he explains this later...) The one thing I say to my son is that if you want to tell a lie then don't talk to me, I don't want to hear. Even if it is at school and he has done something wrong, I am the one he comes to tell. He doesn't tell his mum.

For example is (was) in the class and two guys were bothering him – by the way he goes to predominantly white school, there is hardly any black children in their school, so some sort of things do happen, so in the class these two children were bothering him a lot. So he became crossed but said that he wouldn't make problem....So he came home and he told me about it.

After hearing this I phoned the school and had appointment the following day. I went in and I started not with the teacher but with the Deputy Head. The teacher in whose class it happened hadn't reported this because he was trying to think about all the consequences. The teacher came in but because I was there, the report that he came to give he changed it, so that part of it, because I have gone through a lot, bearing a lot.

I made sure that I put this forward and made sure that I identify the things myself so he has got to come and tell me. Everything has got to go into his file in a correct way so as to keep records of it.

S: Why do people set up this type of school?

WA: We need to and even so we need the one that will take our children from morning till evening. You see television teaches them too many wrong things. Everything they see they think it is right and you cannot tell them not to watch television.

S: Mm.

WA: You know as you turn your back, they are watching the television. You know many times you tell them that those guys on the television are getting paid for what they are doing, what are you gaining. They have done their reading and got what they wanted. So you need a school that will teach them to know a lesson. Teach them what the mainstream school will not do. You need a school that we prepare them not to leave a doctrine as such but for them to understand that if they don't do well, they are going to end up at the end.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that it should become like a full time school.

WA: Yes.

S: Just before we continue let me just change the tape and we'll continue on that. OK. Mr. Anderson you were telling me that you would like to see it to become a full time school. Why that?

WA: I am sure that in the mainstream school they don't cater for you as a black person. Even the teaching of him, you are always learning about the white man's history. You never learn about you as a black person and the history of where you are coming from and so on and so forth.

Once you get to know and become aware of where you are coming from, what you are hoping for is that you will do it better. Because when you look at everybody else, you can understand and you know well this is what they did to us and hopefully you'll do better. We don't want people to come and tells us that because they enslave us and become bitter and go on to say we must fight them, this is not necessary, but we need to know where we are coming from.

At this present moment you go out there and see a black man working out there and he doesn't know where he's coming from. He hasn't got (tribal) traditional – marks on him to say that he is from Africa. He can speak English, he'll tell you that he is from Jamaica. Why? because Jamaica has got reputation. So we need to know where we are coming from. Why we are who we are and so on and to do better for ourselves. There are too many people (guys) who want it easy by going to do drugs.

Too many people want too much easy money, and why can't we start doing things for ourselves. There is no industry around here in Croydon, which a black man owns. You know, there is not a garage really which we could say that a black person owns. You know, all these things do get to you, maybe because I can't help. Maybe because I haven't got a voice but it is very hard to see how long we are in this community and we can't have things. This is why I'm glad that the CSEP stands up here because when it started I am sure that even the council thought that it was not going to get anywhere. There is one thing that the council does is to give you grant to help you go far because once you start on year they help you to go another year but sometimes they start having bothers. So this why the CSEP, you can't let it die because it will be too bad to do so.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that you will give support, what other types of supports do you see parents give to this place?

WA: The only thing that I cannot work on is with us as black people for example my son goes to John Fishers' school in Perth. Just to give you example the other comprehension school which is around there, they do not play sports with them. They play sport with Witcliff, they play sports with Trinity the play sport with Donnell's College.

You know you name it, the places they play sports with are all paying schools. And all those parents of these paying schools are always at the sports day; doing all the things possible. But we black parents, it doesn't matter how cheap things come to us, we do not support it.

Yeah, then you can understand why all children they get away without doing anything. My son's school on Fete day, I am not sure which day it is, each year they have a fete between £19,000 and £18,000. This year they made £28,000 and there are only about 638 children in the school. How did that happen? Parents power. Yeah. Now we got the CSEP here that our children came to.

Anytime we call meetings you have a handful turning up. This is why we can't get anywhere, our children want us to back them and work for them, but they are loosing out because we dump them. You see we bring them to the CSEP and there we dump them. Parents that are coming here, their children are lucky. They come here to give all the help needed and find out about others.

You need to make sacrifice, you see on that Fete day, my wife was cooking but she had to go. This year I was not there because I was in Geneva. My wife was there and every other parents were there and not just few that day, they are there on all other occasions. We as parents are lucky with children and we know things are hard and so on. But if we don't support them a hundred percent, how can we expect them to do well? You cannot just put it down to teachers because the teachers only have a limited time here at the CSEP.

S: So what you seem to be saying is that first they have smaller groups here and as such they were able to help the children. What you also seem to be saying is that parents are not putting their weight into it as they ought to be doing and as you have doing at the mainstream school. So what are the types of things that stops that from happening?

WA: It's hard, people say and you might say they are working. Yeah, but you bet if it is to go to a party, they find their way to that party. You know I think all there is, is that they are not putting their effort. Everything is sacrifice isn't it? Everything. If you know that you want to "catch that horse, you've got to get up in time to do it." So why not if you know that you have got something there to say? This is happening, why aren't you here. Don't give me excuse that you are sick or this or the other. If you are working, you know if you have got to go to work, you have to find time. That time is for the child you know. It runs on a Saturday. They have got a fundraising night. How come you couldn't find yourself there? They are selling lottery tickets or programmes to help and raise money to support what is going on. If you don't do it one way, do it another. Let it be seen that you are doing something, you know.

S: So you are saying that even though they are no physically doing something, you will like them to support financially. How will you say parents have been supporting this place financially?

WA: I know that they have been giving small sum of money to help with books but I'm not sure of what is happening as I have been away for the last three years. Anything that we do, we may not be able to get fund from outside, so therefore we need money. The more funds you have, the more things you can do. I know that in the main school, Croydon Council give over a million pounds a year. Although you pay to get children there, they still don't have enough funds to do what they want. So we need to learn from other things which are going on you know.

S: So learning form other things. Will you say that teachers have learnt from you and organisation have learn from parents.

WA: I hope so, but not being here for two years, I cannot really comment but I hope they are and parents are to.

S: What will you say are the good points about this place?

WA: Once you walk into this place you feel welcomed. You see them work and may be you see a teacher, or some black figures which reminds you. Yeah this is my people you know. They remind you that you are black and you are able to say this is my Supplementary school. You know you need to ask some people...You need to be in a black environment and you know that your children are learning.

S: What will you say this place can do more?

WA: Mm. Like today is an open day and I have been to the class in which my children are working, and they were doing Maths and English, but not much Science. When you can read well and do Maths, you can do Science. But Science should not take so much time because you need to be able to read and do grammar. Once that is done then, Science can come. Science is not different from Maths and English but they are just trying to push Science to them now. Mainstream school are doing that quite well. They have the equipment and everything else to do it properly, they have slides and microscopes and everything else. They are here and they do a lot of paper work, but not enough time to do other things. To do Science here you need many things: especially for those who could not read properly or do Maths. They need it to be drummed into them properly to get it, once they have got it then they can move on.

S: Looking at this place as a community, because people are moving on in one way or the other and they are doing things for one another. How will you describe this place as a community?

WA: It is getting better, it is getting better. Black people are doing things for themselves. I know of a black women in Brixton who wanted black people to have pride in themselves and what they can do. Some black people came to support her but few didn't. Here you have people coming in one way or the other and things are getting better. You find some problems here and there...

S: I mean this school as a community, the CSEP?

WA: Yes, yes, you can't find that. As I said, this started out of a small place and now it has grown this big. What we need now is to make it grow bigger and for it to have all the elements and become a school by itself. A black school by itself. If a white person comes we should not turn them away, but the question that you will ask them is that what things have you done for our community? If they have not done something for the community, then they cannot come to a community school.

It is like getting my son into the mainstream school. I had to find out and dig deep to get him in. The way that I got him in is not just his work at school that got him in but the things I did. And I did a lot, so when I went for the interview so they asked me what I did and I told them all I did and the called me back for another interview. They didn't turn me off because I told them what I did. Once I did, they then told me that what I did was on record, so therefore it is not scret. Therefore they would have mentioned it.

S: So you are not just contributing to this place but you contribute also to the mainstream to see your child do well.

WA: Yes.

S: So you are contributing to this education in everyway.

WA: That's right.

S: So, how do you see this place, say in ten years time? How would you like to see it?

WA: In ten years time we hope that the school will get the other side of the building which is currently being used by Debenhams and this will be all black school. Not taking away from the other schools, but contain all black or with few whites. Just as they treat the blacks.

S: So you will like to see many black pupils and less white ones.

WA: Yes, yes, yeah. We must not be seen to be all blacks school.

S: Why?

WA: Because the council is helping us with grants and whatever. It should not be seen to be all black. You need to show therefore that you are not prejudice, or racist. Although you are a black school, you are not racist, you are there to achieve things. You don't need to be radical.

S: But has whites been racist towards blacks?

WA: (Laughs) We don't go out looking for it. We don't want to see it.

S: Why don't you want to see it?

WA: It's not that I don't want to see it, it is there all the time. I don't have to highlight it to you. It is there, so when I go (to the mainstream school) I go armed because each that I leave home. I know it is a battle out there. So, therefore I go prepared. Yeah so when somebody did something to me I know when to keep quiet and when to act and if you want to fight. I'd rather not fight out there I will catch the person coming around the corner later on. It's a different story. At time I always tell people that as they leave their home they must be prepared.

S: When you are coming here today, do you get yourself prepared like then.

WA: Yes, so much so, but as I stepped in the gate, I switched off; as I stepped in the gate, I switched off.

S: What made you switch off?

WA: May be just how things are done here. I feel warm when you are here; when you are home, you switch off. I came home today and I switched off.

S: That's really interesting. Mr. Williams thank you for all that you have said. They are really important and I am glad you feel at home.



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INVITES YOU TO
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AN EVENING OF PAN AND CALYPSO



On: Saturday 14th December 1996
Venue: The Red Rose
129 Seven Sisters Road
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(400yds from the tube station between Fonthill Rd & Hornsey Rd)
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Admission: £3 (£1 for 1996 Band members)

LICENSED BAR AND GOOD CARIBBEAN FOOD

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CONFIDENTIAL

HARINGEY COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

1. This paper excludes the four denominational Schools.
2. The aim is to provide the appropriate education for each individual pupil.
3. Certain factors make the aim less easy of attainment. Among these are:
 - (a) Unsuitable premises;
 - (b) The high proportion of immigrants in the Borough;
 - (c) The small size of the majority of the Schools;
 - (d) The historical background.
4. The first factor can only be overcome by the provision of more Government money for School building. Each of the other three presents problems which affect the quality of education, particularly for the more able pupil, and the first involves as difficult a social problem as it would be possible to face.
5. Immigrants. (The word is used in its technical, quasi-legal sense throughout).
 - (a) A comparison of the percentage of immigrants in the Infant and Junior schools shows how steep the rise will eventually be in the Comprehensives. As examples, the contrasting percentages at Bounds Green are 41% against 20%, at Bruce Grove 59.5% against 30%, at Crowland 61% against 45%, at Stroud Green 67% against 54%. at North Harringey 70% against 55%.
 - (b) If the Comprehensive continue to draw from the same schools as at present, all will see an increase in immigrants, the majority a very large increase. Only Creighton and Tottenham are likely to have under one quarter, Wood Green a little over; the remainder will be around the 50% mark, with one over that (Stationers) and Hornsey Close (48.5%).
 - (c) On a rough calculation about half the immigrants will be 'West Indians' at 7 of the 11 schools, the significance of this being the general recognition that their I.Q.s work out below their English contemporaries. Thus academic standards will be lower in schools where they form a large group.
6. Size of Schools
 - (a) A Schools Council study assumed as a reasonable basis a 6th form of 200 divided up by years into groups of 90, 90 and 20, the last figure being for those staying on a third year. Such numbers, It was calculated, would enable 18 "A" level subjects to be taught in teaching units of 12.

- (b) None of the Haringey schools is at present large enough to produce such 6th forms in the accepted sense of the term. Only one (Creighton) is above an 8 form entry school, the rest are that or lower, and assuming that 20% of a year's intake are 6th form material, the 6th in an 8 form entry school will be 96+. This will either limit the range of subjects that can be offered, or, if an attempt is made to cover the normal range, will mean teaching to small groups, which is an uneconomical use of staff and produces a lack of competition for pupils.
- (c) The present figures for 6th form in the Haringey Comprehensives conceal the probable shape of the future as 7 of the 11 schools will have a Grammar school nucleus for a further four years from the start of the academic year 1969/1970. The contrast is striking. At Creighton, based on Tollington G.S., out of 160 a mere 16 are not 'A' level pupils; at Hornsey based on Hornsey High School, 18 out of 159; at Stationers 20 out of 133. But at Downhills the figures are 50 out of 97; at Drayton 41 out of 57; at Highgate Wood 57 out of 102.
- (d) The figures for the last three Schools reflect the increasing tendency for pupils to stay beyond the school leaving age, resulting in the growth of a non-academic 6th form; it is a process that will continue and it could particularly affect Haringey where the immigrant parents will see education as the way to open doors for their children. But it does not mean that projected figures for 6th form want very careful analysis, for which accurate statistics are probably not yet available. And it would be wrong to equate overall numbers with the numbers of 'A' level candidates.
- (e) The biggest imponderable here is the assessment at the intelligence of the immigrant pupils. I venture to doubt whether in 10 years' time the academic 6ths. in the majority of the schools will be above 80, which brings up the objections raised in 6(b), quite apart from the complications of running academic and non academic 6ths side by side.

7. Historical Background

This influences the situation in these respects:

- (a) The four schools without a G.S. base have started out on their existence as Comprehensives without an academic tradition. which could be a severe handicap to an intelligent child. The temptation here will be to lop off the tops of these schools, but this would amount to strangulation at birth and the reduction of the schools to Comprehensive Secondary Moderns.
- (b) The schools are not homogeneous in that four are single sex and seven are mixed, and this, coupled with the location of all the schools, makes it far from easy to evolve a plan of rationalisation whereby not every school would offer the full range of 'A' level subjects.

8. Summary of paragraph 5 - 7

The evidence indicates that the large number of immigrants. with 'West Indians' in the majority, will result in a lower level of intelligence than average and that this, when added to the size of the schools, will produce small academic 6ths. If, then, able

pupils are to be given their fair chance, as equality of opportunity demands that they should be, special arrangements will be required to ensure this.

It can be added that these conclusions accord with evidence from America. There the experience in the great cities is that Comprehensive schools are neighbourhood schools and an educationalist with very close acquaintance of the scene has written, 'the high ability student has always been penalised in our Comprehensive schools'. What, then should be done?

9. Immigrants as a Social Problem

- (a) It is not possible to consider solutions without turning first to this, the more fundamental, problem. Briefly, it reduces to a simple question - is it, or is it not, in the interests of the country, faced with the complexities of the racial issue to allow events to take their course? If so, the outcome so far as Haringey Education is concerned, will be that some schools will become predominantly immigrant, which will in itself reinforce divisions, and if, as the evidence already given suggests, some of these schools are weaker academically than others, that will make matters worse.
- (b) It is hard not to conclude that events should not be allowed to take their course. But any attempt to arrest the course of events is fraught with peril. A head-on assault on the problem, whereby a limit is set on the percentage of immigrants in any one school, will fairly certainly produce an outcry - immigrants not permitted the school of their choice will shout about racial discrimination, non-immigrants will object that their children are being unfairly handicapped.
- (c) Thus a less direct solution must be sought, and those that seem possible are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

10. Categorising of Schools

- (a) Under this system, some schools would have sixth forms, others would not, and the effect of this would be for the latter to become Comprehensive Secondary Moderns, with able pupils transferring at the 6th form stage.
- (b) The advantages of this scheme are:
 - (i) the concentration of scarce teaching and expensive equipment resources, and therefore,
 - (ii) satisfactory teaching at the 6th form level over a wide range of subjects. BUT
- (c) The disadvantages are clear: for
 - (i) the solution does not begin to touch the immigrant problem between the ages of 11 - 16;
 - (ii) pupils in the Grammar Comprehensives from the start would be at a considerable advantage and the majority of parents would be opting for these;

- (iii) recruitment of staff would be uneven in quality. with the well qualified shunning the Secondary Modern Comprehensive;
- (iv) if the School Leaving Age is raised in 1972, those schools would be left to cope with what could prove a very awkward rump.

11. Banding by ability

- (a) This system is used by I.L.E.A. Pupils at the primary stage are classified in ability groups and the Comprehensives are allocated an agreed proportion of each group so that they cover the whole range of ability. Parents choose schools under a degree of direction from Primary School Head Teachers.
- (b) While this method is not a complete solution to the racial problem, it helps to meet it indirectly through ensuring that the varying ability ranges are more evenly distributed among schools, and this makes the schools stronger Educational Units. The method certainly ensures that all are given an equal chance at the start of the Secondary stage.
BUT
- (c) It does require roughly the same 6th form provision in all schools, it is not certain to produce really powerful 6th form (this depends on the quality of intelligence in Haringey and it seems that it must involve some limitation on parental choice which is a principle written into the 1944 Education Act).

12. Sixth Form Colleges

- (a) Strong arguments can be adduced in its favour for:
 - (i) It fits into a Comprehensive pattern;
 - (ii) Administratively, it is attractive in the economical use of staff and of laboratory and library resources;
 - (iii) It will provide a full range of courses;
 - (iv) It meets the current theory that earlier maturity makes the 16 year old unsuitable material for the disciplined atmosphere of a school.

BUT

- (b) As strong, or stronger, arguments can be brought on the other side:
 - (i) To remove the ablest staff is to impoverish the Secondary Schools; these people teach below the 6th form level and their influence is disseminated throughout a school. Secondary teaching could become a secondary profession;
 - (ii) Similarly the influence of a 6th form is felt all through a school;

- (iii) It is not clear that the scheme would encourage pupils to stay on at 16;
- (iv) In any case continuous assessment of pupils and continuously planned courses go by the board, and continuity of contact between school and parent will be lost;
- (v) A two year period is too short a period to establish roots; there will be no community;
- (vi) It can be said that 16 is a bad age for transfer and could be described as the age of maximum insecurity. How far are the arguments from earlier maturity valid? Is identification with a peer group the best way to become mature? Is not membership of a school community, with its restraints and responsibilities, a better way?

Briefly, this solution is not to be 'taken in hand unadvisably, lightly or wantonly'. Nor could it be done without having a purpose-built College - and the feed into it from neighbourhood Secondary Schools could work out very unevenly.

13. Conclusions

- (a) All the 11 schools have a G.S. base. This is a strength which is prudent to use;
- (b) Our problem. would Increase if some schools developed into second class institutions;
- (c) Neither the categorising of schools nor a 6th Form College deals with the immigrant problem at the roots;
- (d) The banding scheme does in some degree, though it does not guarantee that all intelligent pupils will have the best possible chance. Nevertheless,
- (e) At the present early stage in Comprehensive Education when further upheavals are to avoided, this is, in my opinion, the solution to adopt though two corollaries are important:
 - (i) Streaming, after the second year in a Comprehensive School, is essential;
 - (ii) Some rationalisation of 6th form courses must be introduced for efficiency and economy.

A.J.F. Doulton
13 January, 1969.

1. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the National Association of Supplementary Schools, herein after referred to as NASS.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS

- a. To co-ordinate the work of all Supplementary Schools who are affiliated to the NASS.
- b. To provide training for all persons involved in Supplementary Schools.
- c. To be a resource unit and to assist in the dissemination of information to parents, teachers and young people.
- d. To communicate and cooperate with other Associations where applicable.
- e. To advise, support and offer guidance to affiliated Supplementary Schools in relation to organisation, curriculum and practice within such schools.
- f. To provide information on career, training and professional development.
- g. To run separately or in conjunction with any sympathetic organisation, seminars, conferences, etc. for the benefit of parents, young people and staff and other interested parties.

3. MEMBERSHIP

- a. Membership shall be open to Supplementary Schools whose aims and objects are consistent with those of the Association subject to a majority approval.
- b. Each Supplementary School shall elect to appoint a maximum of three (3) official representatives to act on their behalf in the NASS, but each school shall be entitled to one vote.
- c. There shall be a general meeting of NASS which shall meet at least twice yearly.
- d. Each Supplementary School will retain its independence and autonomy.
- e. Individual Members and Member Supplementary Schools shall be subject to censure and expulsion from the NASS.

4. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- a. The Executive Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the NASS.
- b. The Executive Committee shall carry out the decisions and policy of the Annual General Meeting and the general meetings of the NASS.
- c. Any further actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be within the policy and guidelines of the NASS, as established by its AGM and general meetings.
- d. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per school term.

5. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

- a. The Executive Committee shall call the Annual General Meeting of the NASS not later than the 31st May in every year.
- b. The agenda of the AGM shall be circulated to each Supplementary School at least three (3) weeks before the date of the AGM.

6. OFFICERS

- a. The Executive Committee shall consist of:
 1. Chairperson
 2. Vice Chairperson
 3. Secretary
 4. Assistant Secretary
 5. Treasurer
 6. Assistant Treasurer
 7. Public Relations Officer (PRO)

Each Officer's Deputy or Assistant shall act on their behalf in their absence or at such time when it is deemed necessary to represent the office.

- b. The duties of the Officers of the NASS shall be:

Chairperson

1. The Chairperson shall ensure that the organisation is following a consistent line in relation to overall thinking of members.
2. The Chairperson shall, in conjunction with the Public Relations Officer, act as official spokesperson on policy issues when discussed outside.
3. The Chairperson shall see that the organisation is in a position to plan its work for a few coming years.
4. The Chairperson shall make contact with as wide a range of people as possible.
5. The Chairperson shall chair meetings.
6. The Chairperson shall be cosignatory to all cheques.
7. The Chairperson shall be informed of and be part of all activities of the NASS.

Secretary

1. The Secretary shall be responsible, in conjunction with the Chairperson, for formulating the agenda and for arranging all meetings including the AGM.
2. The Secretary shall be responsible for all correspondence on behalf of the NASS.
3. The Secretary shall be responsible for co-ordinating the work of the NASS as directed by the Executive Committee.
4. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to circulate the Agenda of the AGM to all Member Supplementary Schools at least twenty one (21) days before the date of the AGM.

Treasurer

1. The Treasurer shall have responsibility for all income and expenditure of the NASS.
2. The Treasurer shall provide regular financial reports for the meetings of NASS:
 - a) Brief update at Executive Committee meetings.
 - b) Detailed reports at other General Meetings.
 - c) An audited financial report to the AGM.
3. The Treasurer shall advise on forward financial matters.
4. The Treasurer shall negotiate on behalf of the organisation on financial matters.

Public Relations Officer (PRO)

1. The Public Relations Officer shall be responsible for the positive promotion of the policies of NASS between the Association, the media, other educational institutions and individuals concerned with matters of education.
2. The Public Relations Officer shall consult closely with the Chairperson on all issues relating to NASS before making representation on behalf of the Association.

7. **SUBSCRIPTION**

- a. There shall be a Subscription of £20 payable on the date of acceptance and thereafter renewable annually on the 1st of January every year. To be reviewed annually at the AGM.
- b. Membership shall lapse if subscription is not paid by March 31st in every year.

8. **DISSOLUTION**

In the event of dissolution the assets and funds of the NASS shall, after all debts have been paid, be divided among the last member organisations at the time of the dissolution.

CYNTHIA'S QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX 9i

Name:

AGE:

How long have you been attending CSEP?

Has this Saturday School helped you, and if so in what way?

What do you like about CSEP?

What don't you like about CSEP?

C.S.E.P. PARENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1) How many children do you have of school age? _____
- 2) How many of your children are between the following ages
5-7 _____, 7-11 _____, 11-14 _____, 14-16'?
- 3) Do your children attend State or Independent schools?

- 4) Do you attend every Parents' Evening?

- 5) Do you belong to the Parents' Association of your child's school?

- 6) Are you a Parent or a Co-opted Governor at your child's school?

- 7) How involved are you in your child's mainstream school?

- 8) Are you happy with the curriculum which your child is following
in his/her mainstream?

- 9) Are you happy with your child's progress?

- 10) Are you happy with your child's attitude towards school?

- 11) What are your expectations of your child?

- 12) What are your expectations of your child's school?

- 13) Why do you send your child to C.S.E.P?

- 14) What are your expectations of C.S.E.P?

- 15) Since your child started to attend C.S.E.P. has it made a difference?
If it has, what is the difference?

- 16) How long has your child been attending C.S.E.P? _____
- 17) Are you the parent, guardian, other relative or other carer? Please
delete as necessary.
- 18) Does your child attend a single sex or a mixed school?

- 19) Are you at home when your child leaves for, or comes home from
school?

- 20) Does your child have good study habits?

- 21) What do you consider to be good study habits?

- 22) How do you support your child in his/her schooling?

23) How can C.S.E.P. support you and your child while he/she is attending the project?

24) Does your child have any specific learning difficulty?

25) Have you any suggestions which you would like to make to the teachers at C.S.E.P?

As a Parent, how, would you evaluate the work of CSEP?

Comment on your satisfaction or otherwise.

CSEP Constitution, amended, 19th June, 1994

This is the AMENDED COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT

1. NAME

The name of the Association is **CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT**, (herein after called **THE PROJECT**).

THE CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT is an Equal Opportunity Educational Project. providing equal opportunities to all pupils of school age, irrespective of gender or ethnicity.

2. OBJECTS and POWERS

(a) The PROJECT is established with tile objects of helping and educating young people growing up in a multiracial society so as to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities that they may grow to full maturity as individuals and as members of society and that their condition of life may be improved.

(b) In furtherance of the said objects but not otherwise THE PROJECT may:-

(1) Employ and pay any person or persons not being members of the Management Committee on a sessional part-time basis for the time being to supervise, organise and carry on the work of the PROJECT.

(2) Bring together in conference representatives of voluntary organisations and others of like minds.

(3) Promote and carry out or assist in promoting and carrying out research, surveys and investigations and publish the useful results thereof.

(4) Arrange and provide for or join in arranging and providing for holding of meetings, lectures, classes of academic and non-academic nature, and seminars.

(5) Procure to be written and print, publish, issue and circulate gratuitously or otherwise such papers, books periodicals, pamphlets or other documents or films or recorded tapes as shall further the said aims and objects of the PROJECT.

(6) Purchase, take or lease or in exchange, hire or otherwise acquire any property and any rights and privileges necessary for the promotion of the said objectives and construct, maintain and alter any buildings, or erections necessary for the work of the PROJECT.

(7) Sell, let, mortgage, dispose of or turn to account all or any of the property or assets of the PROJECT.

(8) Accept gifts and borrow or raise money for the said objects on such terms and on such security as shall be thought fit.

(9) Procure contributions to the PROJECT by personal or written appeals, public meetings or otherwise, provided that the PROJECT shall not undertake any permanent trading activities ill raising funds to further its objects.

(10) Invest the moneys of the PROJECT not immediately required for the said PROJECT in or upon such investments, securities or property ads may be thought fit, subject nevertheless to such conditions (if any) as may for the time being be imposed or required by law.

(11) Do all other lawful things as are necessary for the attainment of the said objects.

3. MEMBERSHIP

(a) Full membership of the PROJECT shall be open to all young people of school age requiring Supplementary Education and living in the London Borough of Croydon or its neighbouring Boroughs.

(b) Admission to full membership shall be dependent upon the availability of places within the PROJECT.

4. FINANCE

(a) All moneys raised by or on behalf of the PROJECT shall be applied to further the objects of the PROJECT and for no other purposes PROVIDED THAT nothing herein contained shall prevent the payment in good faith of reasonable and proper remuneration to any employee of the PROJECT or the payment of reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.

(b) The PROJECT DIRECTOR shall keep proper accounts of the finances of the PROJECT on behalf of the Management Committee.

(c) The accounts shall be audited at least once a year by the Auditor or Auditors appointed by the Management Committee.

(d) An audited statement of the accounts for the last financial year shall be submitted by the Chairman of the Board of Directors to the Management Committee and to the funding agencies, and others having an interest in the accounts of the PROJECT.

(e) A Bank Account shall be opened in the name of tile PROJECT with such Banks or Building Societies as the Management Committee shall from time to time decide.

The Management Committee shall authorise in writing the PROJECT DIRECTOR, and two other members of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS to sign cheques on behalf of the PROJECT.

All cheques must be signed by not less than two of the three Authorised Signatures, one of which must be the Project Director or his /her delegate.

5. TRUST PROPERTY

The Title to all real or personal property which may be acquired by or on behalf of the PROJECT shall be held in the name of the PROJECT or in not less than three (3) or more than (5) individual persons (not being members of the Management Committee).

6. ORGANISATION:

THE PROJECT SHALL HAVE:-

(a) A Management Committee consisting of at least three (3) persons and no more than six (6) plus the Chairman and Treasurer of the Croydon Parents and Children Association. The PROJECT DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTORS shall not be members of the Management Committee.

(b) The Management Committee shall be further guided by tile section of this constitution headed "ROLE OF THE MANAGEMENT" COMMITTEE".

(c) The Management Committee shall elect from its members a Chairman, Vice Chairman; The PROJECT DIRECTOR shall act as SECRETARY to the Management Committee.

THE PROJECT SHALL ALSO HAVE:

(d) A PATRON

(e) A BOARD OF DIRECTORS consisting of the PROJECT DIRECTOR and at least two DEPUTY DIRECTORS or such numbers as the Management Committee shall deem appropriate for the proper management of the PROJECT.

(f) ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY, he/she shall be directly responsible to the PROJECT DIRECTOR.

(g) and other such personnel as shall be agreed by the Management Committee for the efficient operation and the achievement of the aims and objects of the PROJECT.

(h) The Management Committee, with THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall be responsible for the General management of the PROJECT.

(i) The Management Committee shall meet at least once in every academic term.

(j) The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall meet at least once per half-term. The Project Director shall be the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Administrative Secretary shall be the Secretary to the Board of Directors.

(k) The PROJECT DIRECTOR with the DEPUTY DIRECTORS shall be responsible for the day to-day management of the PROJECT and shall report Directly to the Management Committee.

(l) The Directors shall attend Management Committee meetings to inform/report to the meeting on the activities of the PROJECT.

(m) The Deputy Project Directors shall give such assistance to the Project Director as shall be deemed necessary for the efficient operation of the PROJECT, and they shall have special responsibilities for the various areas of the PROJECTS work/activities.

(n) The administrative Secretary shall perform such duties as designated by the Project Director in addition to those specified in her/his job specification.

7. ALTERATIONS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Any alteration of the Constitution shall require the assent of not less than two-thirds of the full members of the Management Committee at a meeting specially called for the purpose provided that Notice of any such alteration shall have been received by the Secretary of the Management Committee in writing in not less than twenty-one (21) clear days notice in writing of such a meeting setting forth the terms of the alteration to be proposed, shall be sent by the Secretary to each member of the Management Committee PROVIDED THAT no alteration shall be made which would have the effect of causing the PROJECT to cease to be a charity at Law.

8. DISSOLUTION

If the Management Committee by a simple majority decide at-any time that on the grounds of expense or otherwise it is necessary or advisable to dissolve the PROJECT, it shall call a meeting of all members of the PROJECT, interested persons and groups at which the Resolution to Dissolve shall be proposed there at. If such decision shall be confirmed by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting at such a meeting the Management Committee shall have powers to dispose of any assets held by or on behalf of the PROJECT.

Any assets remaining after the satisfaction of any proper debts, any liabilities, shall be given or transferred to such other Charitable Institution or Institutions having Objects similar to the objects of the PROJECT or to the benefit of the Children associated with the PROJECT as the Management Committee may determine.

9. **NOTICES**

Any Notice may be served by the secretary on any member of the Management Committee either personally or on its appointed representative as the case may be or by sending a letter through the post in a pre-paid envelope, addressed to such member at his/her last known address in the United Kingdom, and any letter so sent shall be deemed to have been received within ten (10) days of posting.

10. **ROLE OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE**

(This section is to be added

11) **INTERPRETATION**

For the Interpretation of this Constitution, the Interpretation Act 1978, shall apply as it applies to the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

I certify that this is a true copy of the Constitution of the Croydon Supplementary Education Project,

adopted at the meeting of

SIGNED:

POSITION:

DATED:- 19th June, 1994

THE PREAMBLE

In the early years, it was deemed necessary that the contents of the curriculum should be the basic core of Mathematics, Reading, Writing (English) , and Articulation; added to this was the hidden curriculum of Good Behaviour, Self Respect, Respect For Others, Improved Concentration on subject matter and Positive Self Awareness, We now extend and develop this curriculum offer, in line with the requirements of the National Curriculum, in order to afford our students greater opportunities to excel in the mainstream educational system.

This DOCUMENT is not fixed or static, it is meant to be a dynamic Document, continually being improved and adjusted to meet the changing requirements in education. To ensure that this Document remains relevant; A CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE will be established consisting of: The Directors, two (2) Section Leaders, Two (2) Teachers, Two (2) Parents. This committee will be led by a Director and the secretarial backup will be provided by the Curriculum Secretary.

THE AIMS OF CSEP

In keeping with the stated constitutional objectives of CSEP .which states .."The PROJECT is established with the objects of helping and educating young people growing up in a multiracial society so as to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities, that they may grow to full maturity as individuals and as members of society and that their condition of life may be improved". This Document sets out the path wherein CSEP hopes to achieve this objective. Through the faithful application of the below we are confident of providing a supplementary and complimentary educational service to our young people growing up in this multiracial society.

To achieve this the following is the Curriculum Programme.

THE PROGRAMME.

The following programme is designed to meet the standards and the requirements of the National Curriculum in those areas relevant to the work of CSEP,

- a) **A READING PROGRAMME** throughout THE LOWER SCHOOL: i. e. from the under six's to the fourth year (year 6) Juniors. This must operate on a continuous throughout the year ensuring every student is heard reading and articulating what it was about they were reading. Students should be able to identify initial sounds, e.g. Ch, Sh, Th, Ing, Ong, etc. This area of work will have an Annual reporting element back to the parents. The appointed section Leader will be responsible for the development of this most important area of work.
- b) **LOWER SCHOOL MATHEMATICS**: The Mathematics programmes for years 2 to year 6 will be delivered in a progressive manner over those years; topic areas will include Number Bonds, Use of the four arithmetical signs, Place Values, Knowledge

of Multiplication Tables, Decimals, Fractions, Percentage, Money, Time, Shape and Space. Whenever a new concept is taught, Tests will be given to ensure those concepts are understood by each pupil. Multiplication Table Tests will be given at regular intervals. The first three years secondary school mathematics groups i.e. YEARS 7, 8 & 9, will be having MENTAL ARITHMETIC and also 'REVISED' TESTS at intervals throughout the Year. Students within these years groups will be expected to be proficient in the knowledge of the two (2) to twelve (12) times multiplication tables. The appointed section Leader and her/his team will be responsible for the delivery. This will also have an Annual reporting element back to the parents.

- c) LOWER SCHOOL ENGLISH: The content of the English Curriculum for the Junior pupils will be based on such exercises that will enable each child eventually to write Stories, Poems and to recognise the use- of Stops. They will also be involved in Comprehension work so that each child's skill is developed in the method of "searching texts". Spelling tests will. be held at regular intervals. The first three years secondary school English groups will be having DICTATION and also SPELLING and MEANING OF WORDS TESTS at intervals throughout the year. The appointed Section Leader and her/his team will be responsible for the delivery. This will also have an Annual reporting element back to the parents.
- d) UPPER SCHOOL MATHEMATICS & ENGLISH: Years 10 & 11 secondary mathematics an English groups will undertake work closely in line with their examination syllabuses. Students will be expected to bring the relevant text books, calculators, etc., wherever possible, and to play a major role in the planning of the relevant areas of study. The work will not have a compulsory Annual reporting to the parents, nevertheless all students will be closely monitored as to progress and, where it is considered necessary, parents will be informed of any lack of progress and motivation.
- e) EXPOSURE TO CAREER CHOICES: The Upper School Mathematics English Groups will be exposed to speakers from various careers areas, three times per year. This programme is intended to enrich, inform and motivate choices of careers.
- f) USE OF COMPUTERS: We believe that the early introduction to Information Technology is of the utmost importance in the process of educating our young people; hence, at. least one computer with appropriate software will be always available to the under six's group. Students from the other areas of study will be encouraged to Word-process their project work, particularly English. Progress in this area of work will be dependent on appropriate space and security for the equipment.
- g) IRREGULAR ATTENDANCE AND LATENESS: Poor attendance and lateness are considered as inappropriate social tendencies; we will monitor students and in the first place speak with their, if there is no significant improvement we will seek the assistance of parents/guardians.
- h) "BLACK STUDIES" and "BLACK HISTORY: The time available to us (two and a half hours) does not permit us to adequately address these two important areas; to compensate, students in the Lower English, groups will be introduced to writers from the 'Third World' and work for essays will be set from materials taken from such works. Such use of appropriate materials will also be encouraged wherever in the

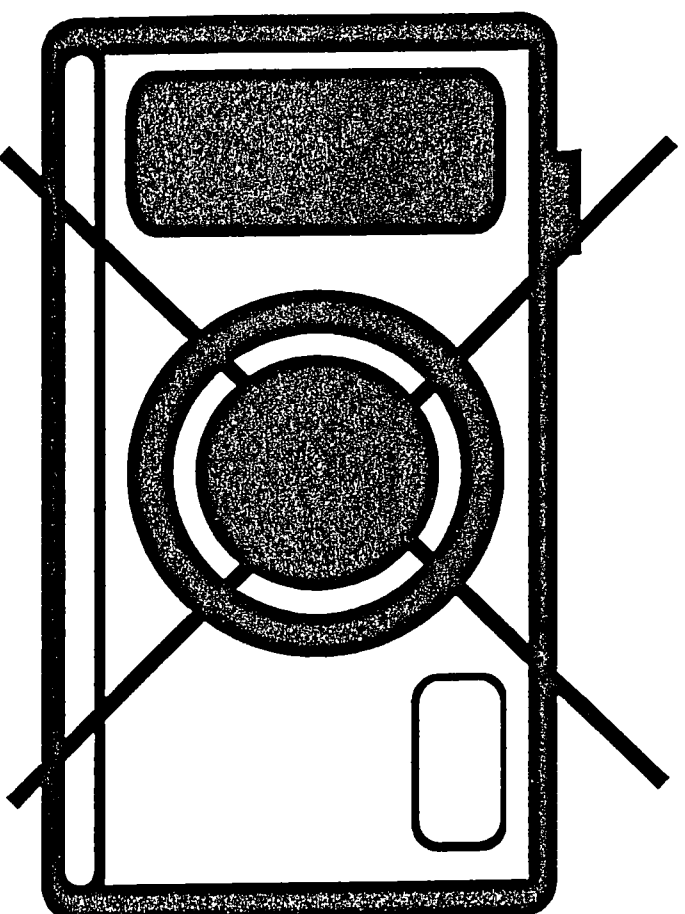
Senior Groups (years 10 & 11). Posters and Images within the building will- in some ways address the issue in visual terms.

- i) ANNUAL PRIZE GIVING AWARDS: This will be an annual. event wherein students will be exposed to an invited audience- of their peers, parents and guests, where their achievements and progress will be publicly recognised. There will be special prize categories, including the CSEP Student of The Year Award. At this annual event the Project Director will give a progress report. This event will be the highlight of the CSEP year.
- j) SCIENCE IN THE FINAL JUNIOR YEAR: An integrated science programme will be developed by CSEP, wherein the areas of observation, application of mathematics, basic science facts, comprehension and writing will be included. This programme will be delivered by a science specialist and is intended to make the student aware of the interlinking of ideas and skills.

SOME RELEVANT NOTES-.TO THE CURRICULUM DOCUMENT:

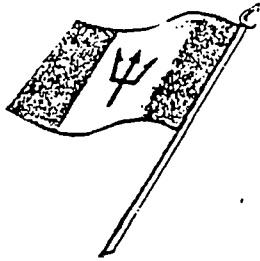
- 1) Students entering the supplementary school should bring their last School Report, as well as the supplementary school should be regularly updated of the contents of School Reports contents.
- 2) The Reading Programme should be extended to the older age groups. Teachers could provide an initial assessment to be followed up by the Section Leader responsible for the Reading Programme. This will involve additional personnel.
- 3) Older year 10 and year 11 pupils to manage their work programmes/records..... Teachers will sign such records to indicate the work has been completed satisfactorily, especially in Mathematics.

PUBLISHED PAPERS NOT FILMED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS



Appendix 12

VISIT TO THE CARIBBEAN, BARBADOS and GUYANA



CSEP



**CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY
EDUCATION PROJECT**



**CSEP IN BARBADOS
SUMMER 1993**

£1.50

Life At The Manse

By Jason Joseph

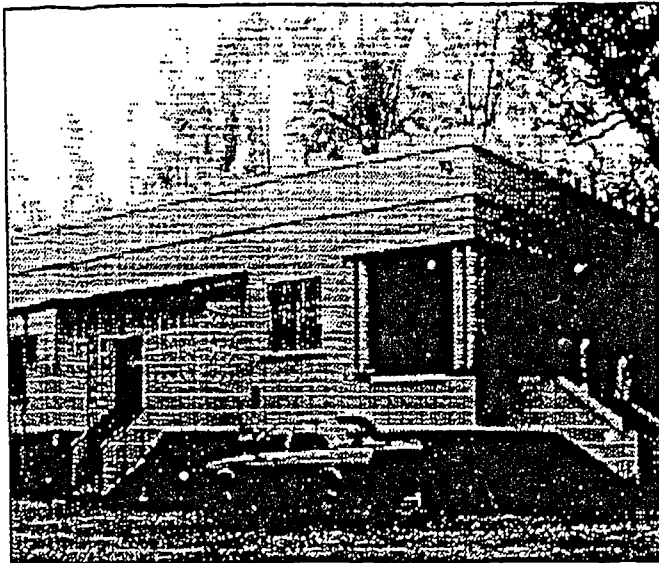
Our habitat for the first two weeks produced mixed feelings from the group. From the men's point of view we were quite "shocked" to say the least. The beds were like death traps, ready to collapse at any moment. There were more bugs than in the Amazon Forest, but worst of all, was the mild electric shocks you got from the shower. Waiting for the shower, was like waiting on death row.

After a week, some people's hair had fallen out, but we all got used to it. Another irritating point was that the toilet, shower and sink were all supplied by the same pipe. So if someone was using the sink while brushing their teeth there would be no water from the shower. Total congestion in the mornings.

The women had better luck with the shower than we did, but their beds were in bad condition. Have you ever tried sleeping in a bed congested with FLYING ANTS ... yes flying ants!

The Manse became a sort of haunted house, and we were scared to have a shower. We were lucky to have access to a television and a video cassette recorder, and air conditioning. The Reverend was a gracious host, and the cooks and I became good friends.

For the next two weeks, we were staying in the Dunbar Apartments in Dover. Compared to the Manse in Speightstown, we were living like royalty.



We had modern appliances like cable television, video recorder, and washing machine. The sleeping arrangements I found were quite annoying at first, but you get use to sharing beds after the first three days. We were a bus ride away from Bridgetown, and a short walk away from the beach, restaurants, the basketball

court and the cricket pitch. As you can see there was never a dull moment.

Cooking arrangements were fun because we split into teams, and took turns to cook for everybody. The cleaning was arranged in a similar way.

Youth Groups

By Marsha Davidson & Dave Walters

During our stay in Barbados we were hosted by two different youth groups, in accordance to where we resided. Both groups had different attitudes to us being there. The second group who were from St. George, were all friendly and did everything they could to make our stay as comfortable and enjoyable as possible.

They were as interested in us and our way of life as we were in theirs. I was told by individual members of the St. George Youth Group that they all enjoyed our company and wished that we had stayed there longer, but all good things must come to an end.

The St. George youth group are planning a return visit to England in 1993 and we will welcome them with open arms.



Cohobblopot

By Yvonne Baillie

Cohobblopot and the Kadooment day celebrations are the highlights of the Barbadian Crop Over festival.

Cohobblopot took place on the Sunday evening and the Kadooment Day celebrations started very early on the Monday morning. Both events happened at the National Stadium but the Kadooment Day celebrations continued on Spring Gardens Highway, after the bands left the stadium.

Before going to Cohobblopot, at the National Stadium, I tried to find out the meaning of the word "Cohobblopot". I discovered that there was not a strict definition but that it meant "pot-pourri".

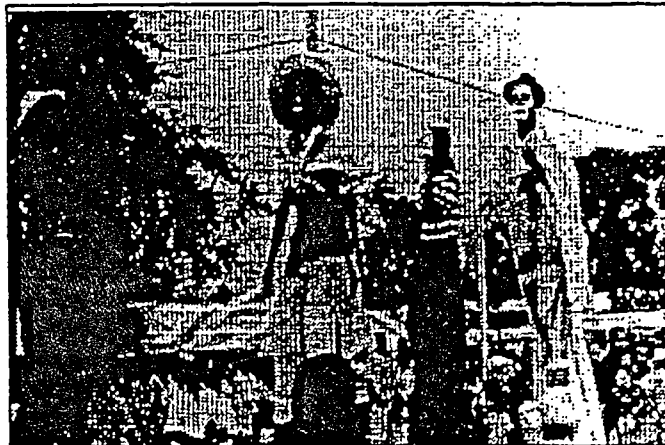
I consider myself extremely fortunate to be among the noisy and enthusiastic audience that evening. I was taken to the celebrations by an old school friend and her husband. It was in these two people that I discovered what effect the Crop Over festival had on the population of Barbados. It was magical!

When we arrived at the Stadium it was so full that some people were sitting on the steps. Before the

proceedings began I could feel an air of excitement and anticipation. The crowd was buzzing.

The programme for the evening consisted of present-day calypsonians singing songs from the 1950's to the 1990's and tributes were made to older calypsonians who had either retired or

The King & Queen of the calypso bands were judged on the design of their costumes. A competition to select the song for the "Road March" on Kadooment Day was also held. As the night wore on there was an electrifying air. The audience participated in the singing of the old calypso melodies and was very



died. There was also a parade of the costumes which were selected to lead the costume bands, the following day. I thought that almost all the costumes were well-designed and the use of colour was ingenious. However, the Barbadians were highly critical. There was no satisfying many of them. They were busy jeering and shouting much of the time.

critical when they felt it was necessary to do so. What was extremely poignant for me was the tributes made to past masters of the calypso sounds such as Jackie Opperl.

On leaving the Stadium at about 1 a.m. we discovered that several cars were burgled of which ours was one. Despite that sad experience I can say I truly enjoyed that event. ■

◆7◆

Interview With The Reverend Goldson

By Simone Bowman & Dave Walters

Dave Walters and I interviewed the Reverend Goldson in whose house we were guests. She is Jamaican born and now lives in Barbados.

It was very interesting to meet and talk to such a wonderful and contented lady. As you will notice in the interview. Reverend Goldson is a respected and renowned person in the clergy.

Dave
What aspect of the ministry are you involved in?

Reverend
There are different aspects of the ministry. There is the ministry within the pastoral setting in which I am in now, and there are other aspects of the ministry, one can be in the teaching ministry, one can be working, in terms of development of work. For instance, I'm involved in setting up work, particularly with the unemployed, but still doing that within the context of the Methodist Church.

The church reaching out to the Community.

Simone
What do you feel is gained from doing this kind of work?

Reverend
A sense of fulfilment in terms of being confident that this is really what I want to be doing with my life. Also I gain a sense of satisfaction.

Simone
How long have you been in the ministry?

Reverend
Well I have been in this aspect of the Methodist Church, that is the ministry of the Word and Sacrament, for four years. Prior to that I served in the Christian Education Department of the Jamaican district for five years. So I have been working with the church for about 9 years.

Dave
Why did you choose to come to Barbados?

Reverend
Well, the choice was not mine. How our church operates is that once you are offered to be in the ministry

of the church, you are assigned to a district, and in that district, assigned to a circuit. So in our district we are the Methodist Church in the Caribbean and Americas (MCCA). And this is the South Caribbean district. It is made up of Trinidad, Tobago, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Grenada. So I was assigned by our conference to the South Caribbean district.

Simone
What about your family and friends, how have they responded to your career?

Reverend
They are very supportive. They wanted to make sure that this is what I wanted to do. I really could not have been in the ministry today if they were not as supportive as they have been. A number of my friends were already in the ministry.

I also have friends who have nothing to do with the church. They respect my point of view and the way of life I chose. ■

◆9◆

Creative Writing

Petrina Barker

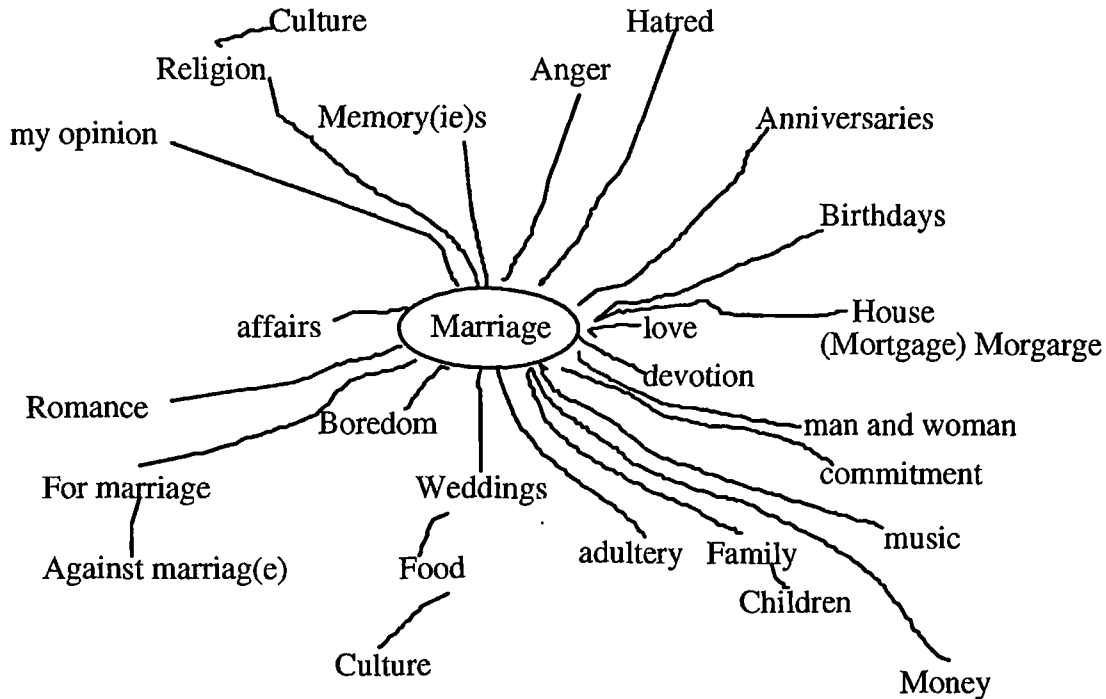
9 March 1996

Marriage

Plan.

Beginning Marriage is the legal union or contract made by a man and (a) woman to live as husband and wife.

Commitment
love, devotion

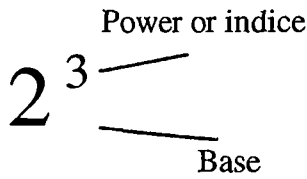


Paragraph 1

Man and woman, Devotion
Love
Commitments

Paragraph 2.

✓ Excellent plan.



$a^m + a^n = a^{m+n}$

$2^4 \times 2^2 = 2^6$

When you multiply two powers together you add when you divide you take away.

2.. $2^2 \times 3^3 \times 11^2 \checkmark$

4. $2^3 \times 3^1 \times 4^2 \checkmark$

6. $6^3 \times 6^2 = 6^5 \checkmark$

8. $3^6 \times 3^{-2} = 3^{+4} \text{ or } 3^4 \checkmark$

10. $3^{-2} \times 3^{-2} = 3^0 \times$

$3^{-2} \times 3^{-2} = 3^{-4}$

$3^{-2+2} = 3^{-4}$

12. $8^5 \div 8^4 = 8^1 \checkmark$

14. $5^{-2} \times 5^{-8} = 5^{-10} \checkmark$

16. $7^4 \div 7^2 = 7^2 \checkmark$

18. $3^8 \div 3^{10} = 3^{-2} \checkmark$

20. $3^{-2} \div 3^2 = 3^{-4} \checkmark$

22. $8^{-1} \div 8^4 = 8^{-5} \checkmark$

24. $10^{-1} \div 10^{-2} = 10^3 \times$

26. $(4^5)^6 = 4^{30} \checkmark$

28. $(10^{10})^9 = 10^{90} \checkmark$

30. $(9^9)^9 = 9^{81} \checkmark$

$(\frac{12}{15})$

Teacher's Example
1996

Revision

Petrina Barker

8 June,

1. 15
 $\frac{-2}{13}$
 a. Mode = 7
 b. Median = 6.5
 c. Mean = 7
 d. Range = 13

2. A pictogram

3. $3\frac{1}{2}$

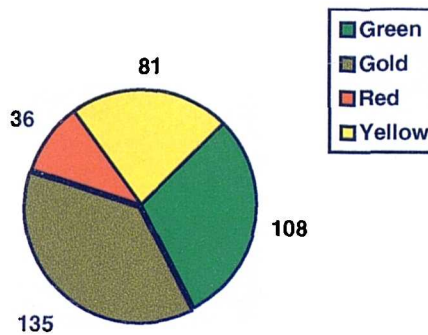
4. Scattergram

5. Positive correlation

6. To find the angle you divide the amount by the total and times by 360°

Colour	Gr	Gold	R	Y	Total
No of cars	12	15	4	9	40

Angle on pie chart	108°	135°	36°	81°	360°
--------------------	-------------	-------------	------------	------------	-------------



e.g $12 \div 40 \times 360$

7. W is greater than or equal to 50 but less than 60

Noun: Name for person, place of thing. We went by train to London.

Pronoun: Stands in place of the noun. He and she can clap their hands.

Adjective: Describes a thing. Black coat, magic ring.

Verb: Doing or action word. To think, to speak, to hop.

Adverb: How things are done. Slowly, quickly, fastly.

Preposition: Shows a relationship between 2 things. Sat next to, across the room
from

Conjunction: Joins words or phrases. I fell down so they took me away.

Interjection: Words needing an exclamation mark. Fine!

Adjective

bold
honest
modest
mean
violent
wicked
brave
stupid
angry
efficient
wise
prudent
humiliated

Adverb

boldly
honestly
modestly
meanly
violently
wickedly
bravely
stupidly
angrily
efficiently
wisely
prudently
humiliated

Noun

boldness
honesty
modesty
meanness
violence
wickedness
braveness
stupidity
anger
efficiency
wisdom
prudence
humility

Verb
economise
boast
differ
amaze
excite
play
irritate
rely
prefer
enjoy
satisfy
admire

obey
deceive
doubt
defy

Adjective
economical
boastly
different
amazing
exciting
playful
irritable
reliable
preferable
enjoyable
satisfactory
admiral
hurried
obedient
deceitful
doubtful
defiant

Adverb
economically
boastfully
differently
amazedly
excitedly
playfully
irritably
reliably
preferably
enjoyably
satisfactorily
admirably
hurriedly
obediently
deceitfully
doubtfully
defiantly

Noun
economy
boastfulness
difference
amazement
excitement
playfulness
irritance
reliance
preference
joy
satisfaction
admiration
hurry
obedience
deceit
doubtfulness
defiance

English: 'Dear Diary'

Creative Writing

Rashada Harry

9 March 1996

Read and Respond

Dear Diary,

Today was one of the most exhilarating days of my life. I could hardly keep still, today was the day of a festival, it was the day the griots came to the village.

Everyone in Juffure was excited, everyone in sight was dressed in exciting colourful native African robes. The kitchens and mud huts of every woman in the village was filled with the aroma of delicious foods and appetisers, the sun shone brightly above us all, setting the colours red and orange. We were all running around preparing and organising events, children were running around singing and dancing.

My village Juffure

Today, the musicians came to our village(;) today was the day of the harvest festival. The musicians led ~~them~~ (Re-write) out in a snaking line beyond the village. It was great(;) the noise and the atmosphere. My 'Kafo' and I ran ahead and formed our own parade, and then we trooped back and fourth (forth, fourth = 4th) past marching adults, passing my parents. I could feel by the looks on thie(ei)r faces they were proud of me. ((Trale)) Travellers were welcome(d) with open arms. The Kitche(s) of every woman in the village offered a variety of food in open invitation to anyone who passed by and whished to stop a moment and enjoy a plateful.

✓ C+/B-

Good - but (i) some work missing,

(ii) some work from last term needs to be repeated

You have got the ability in English; now, please take on some practice.

Say what they ate.

English: 'Caribbean'

Nathan Graham (16 i.e.)

2 December 1995

I used to be her(e) once

1.) I tthink this story was set somewhere in the (sp) ~~Carabien~~ because of the things which are said in the passage such as when it says 'The grass was yellow in the hot sunlight'. And also it talks about Mango trees and cloves trees which are only grown hot Carabian countries. Also I says
 (2) Very fair children, as Europeans born in the West Indies so often are. This is saying that they are already in the Carabian(, the white children and their family live in her old house.)

2.) The story is called 'I used to live here once', because she used to live there once. ~~You can tell this because in the passage it says. 'She came to the worn stones that lead up to the house and her heart began to be(at). The screw pine was gone, so was the the mock summer house called the ajupa, but the clove tree was still there at the top of the steps(-) (T)the rough lawn stretched away, just as she had remembered it. She stopped and looked towards the house that had been added to and painted white. It was strange to see a car standing in front of it.' Thin means that she used to live there and she has retur(n)ed and know some one else is living there.~~

(2/3 words in RELEVANT quotes.)

3.) When the story begins the woman is standing by the river looking at the stepping stones ✓ (: one is and was dangerous.)

(D)

(Caribbean already

- 1. 1.
- 2. 2.
- 3. 3.

To get B/ A/ A* grade you should now look closely at the meanings which the language carries

- i. Who is she? 2/3 answers.
- ii. How do we know this? 2/3 word quotes.
- iii. What is mystereous in this account?

Including the above in your work will get you (C + / B) grades

A Short English Test Nathan Graham

25 November 1995

1. ~~(Thier) Their~~ (There) was a book on the table which belonged to (g) Jane she was the girl over there. ✓ They're to(o) many books on the table and you can hear them fall ✓ off the table(.) ~~What's~~ Whose books are on the floor. Mrs. Jean is angry she calls every body and they all look over here whose the one who did it they all shout out.

2.

3

Do again, please.

- i. their = they own
- ii. there = place
- iii. they're = they are
- iv. too = (a) also, (b) too little, too much
- v. to = to a place, to a person
- vi. two = 2

English: 'CSEP SPAG'

Nathan Graham

CSEP

SPAG

SPAG means a new government ruling that 10% of marks in GCSE go on Spelling, Punctuation and Grammar. This is a sheet to help improve the marks for SPAG.

Part 1

Homonyms are words that sound the same but have different meanings.

There = a place or a position. There are the books, over there on the table.

Their = they own something. Their books are there on the table.

They're = they are. They're going out, they're ready now.

Too = too much / little;

Two = 2

To = to a place / person

Too = second meaning = also.

Were = past of was, eg. We were outside.

Where = to do with a place; eg. Where are you going?

Exercise 1: Fill in the gaps in the passage below;

One day John and Peter were going to✓, the School Sports. There (There=place) were lots of other people going there✓ too✓. They met all there(their=owns) friends. Later some of their✓ friends were going to✓ MacDonalds. John said, "If they're✓ going there✓ we can go to✓(too).

Peter said, "They're✓ only going because their✓ Dad's won the Lottery and they're rich now."
Fairly good

Exercise 2

Carry on the story. Use as many homonyms as you can.

Exercise 3

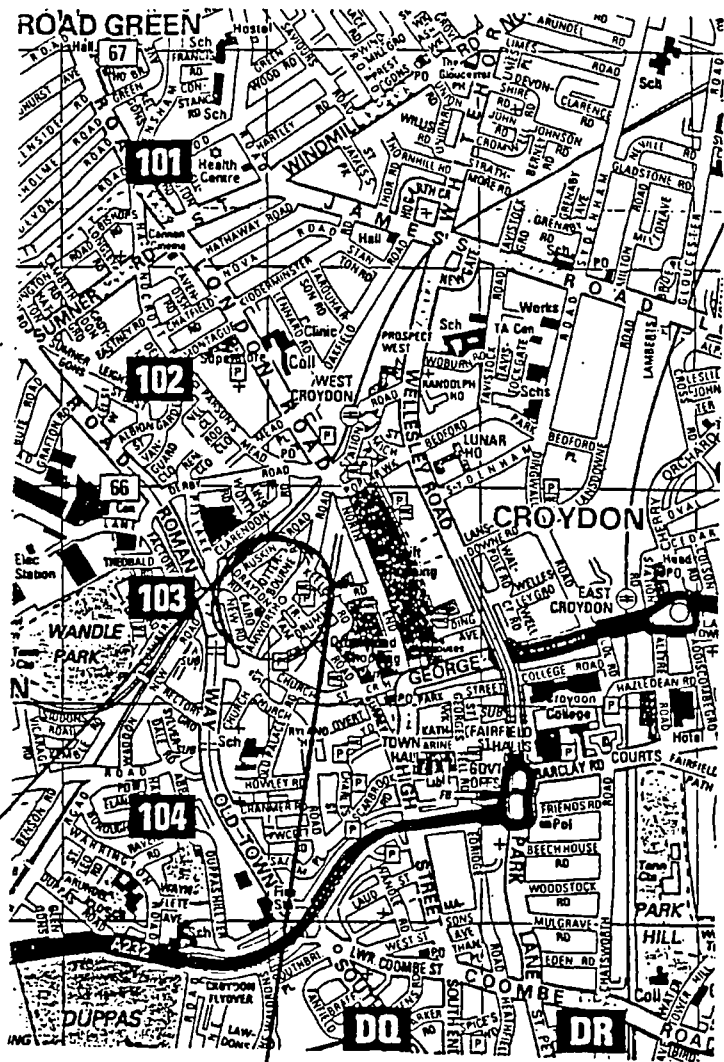
On this sheet, write in as many corrections as you can in the following passage.

(W)✓ we was(were)✓ going out and their(ther)✓ was nothing too(to)✓ use for money so we ask(ed)✓ our ma(mum)✓ and she give(gave)✓ us to(two)✓ pounds so we said thanks and run(ran)✓ orf(off)✓ two(to)✓ get the bus and the bus was late.

their(There)✓ wasnt(was not) no(a)✓ bus so we walk(ed)✓ it an sid(she) and jim saw us an(d)✓ say(said)✓ their allright there going out in stile(style) there(their) in the money.

(S)so we run orf(off) and they come(came) after us and got us down theyre(there) in the park and took the readies and run and there brother come up and we tol(d) him and he say(said) there(they're) out of order an(d) he gort(got) the to pound back orf(off) of them and give(gave) it (to) us and we said ta(thank you) and run(ran) back home.

✓ Good



THE
* CSEP

THE CSEP AUDITORS' REPORT

APPENDIX 23

**CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT
INDEX TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1995**

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Balance Sheet	5
Statement of Cash Flows	5
Income and Expenditure Account	6
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REPORT OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS OF CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT

The Management Committee has the pleasure in presenting their report and the audited financial statements for the year ended 31st March 1995.

ACTIVITIES

The principal activities of the project are to provide for the advancement of education, training, social welfare, recreational and leisure facilities for children and other groups in the community.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

Details of the company's financial position for the year are shown on pages 4 to 8 of the financial statements.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The members of the committee throughout the year are:

Mr Vic Hanson	Chairperson
Mr Patrick Braithwaite	Vice Chairperson
Mr Andy Johnson	Treasurer
Mr Gavin Mike	Member
Mrs Tryphena Howard	Member

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS' RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The law requires us the Executive Committee members to prepare the financial statement for each year which give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the company and of its profit and loss for that period. In preparing the financial statements, we are required to:

- (a) select suitable accounting policies and then apply them consistently through the years
- (b) make judgements and estimates that are reasonable and prudent
- (c) state whether applicable accounting standards have been followed, subject to any material departures that should be disclosed and explained in the financial statements
- (d) prepare the financial statements on the going concern basis unless it is inappropriate to presume that the company will continue in business. We are responsible for keeping proper accounting records, for safeguarding the assets of the company and for taking reasonable steps for the prevention and detection of fraud and other irregularities should they exist.

FIXED ASSETS

Details of any changes in the fixed assets are shown on the attached accounts.

REPORT OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS
OF
CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT

AUDITORS

Messrs Leroy Reid & Co have indicated their willingness to serve as auditors and a resolution re-appointing them will be proposed at the annual general meeting.

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD

Secretary

27th April 1995

**REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS
OF CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT**

We have audited the financial statements on pages 4 to 8 which have been prepared on the historical cost convention and the accounting policies set out in Note 1.

**RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND
AUDITORS**

The executive committee are responsible for the preparation of the financial statements. It is our responsibility to form an independent opinion, based on our audit, on those statements and to report our opinion to you.

BASIS OF OPINION

We conducted our audit in accordance with Auditing Standards issued by the Auditing Practices Board. An audit includes examination, on a test basis, of evidence relevant to the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements, it also includes an assessment of the significant estimates and judgements made by the directors in the preparation of the financial statements, and of whether the accounting policies are appropriate to the company's circumstances, consistently applied and adequately disclosed.

We planned and performed our audit so as to obtain all the information and explanations which we considered necessary in order to provide us with sufficient evidence to give reasonable assurance that the financial statements are free from material misstatement, whether caused by fraud or other irregularity or error. In forming our opinion we also evaluated the overall adequacy of the presentation of information in the financial statements.

OPINION

In our opinion the financial statements give a true and fair view of the state of the projects affairs as at 31st March 1995 and of its deficit and cash flows for the year then ended and have been properly prepared in accordance with the

Charities Act of 1985.

**LEROY REID & CO
CERTIFIED ACCOUNTANTS AND REGISTERED AUDITORS
299 Northborough Road
Norbury
London SW16 4TR**

27th April 1995

**CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST MARCH 1995**

EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL	NOTES		1995	1994
Fixed Assets	2		3,372	2,345
CURRENT ASSETS				
Cash and bank balances			8,117	11,918
			8,117	11,918
CURRENT LIABILITIES				
Creditors and accruals			752	752
			752	752
NET CURRENT ASSETS			7,365	11,166
			£10,737	£13,511
FINANCED BY:				
Accumulated Fund	3		5,231	9,032
Special Fund	4		5,506	4,479
			£10,737	£13,511

Chairman: (Signed)

Date: 13.May 1995

Member of Committee: (Signed)

Date 13.May 1995

The accompanying notes form an integral part of the accounts.

CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT
STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS
YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1995

	1995	1994
CASH FLOW FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES		
Excess of income over expenditure for the year	(3,801)	(7,563)
ITEMS NOT AFFECTING CASH RESOURCES		
Depreciation	-	-
Funds generated internally	(3,801)	(7,563)
(Increase) Decrease in current assets	-	-
Increase (Decrease) in current liabilities	-	(1)
Net cash flow from operating activities	(3,801)	(7,564)
CASH FLOW FROM INVESTING ACTIVITIES		
Purchase of fixed assets	(2,334)	(50)
Special Fund	2,334	50
Net Increase (Decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	<u>£(3,801)</u>	<u>£(7,564)</u>
Represented by:		
Cash and bank balances	(3,801)	(7,564)
Bank overdraft	-	-
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	(3,801)	(7,564)
Opening cash and bank balance	<u>11,918</u>	<u>19,482</u>
Closing cash and bank balance	<u>£8,117</u>	<u>£11,918</u>

CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1995

SOURCES OF INCOME	NOTES	London Borough of Croydon.	Others	Total	1994
Grants receivable	1(a)	24,106	-	24,106	23,750
Parent contribution and donations	1(a)		2,729	2,729	3,049
Bank deposit interest	1(a)		25	25	57
Miscellaneous income	1(a)		1,768	1,768	1,854
Commonwealth Youth Exchange	1(a)			-	1,907
Trust for London	1(a)			-	5,000
		24,106	4,522	28,628	35,617
LESS APPLICATION OF INCOME					
Volunteer expenses		2,522	630	3,152	2,466
Teacher's honorarium		14,943	-	14,943	20,577
Administration expenses		2,144	536	2,680	1,968
Coach hire		-	-	-	285
Rent and rates		4,280	815	5,095	7,964
Light and heat		570	109	679	1,339
Postage, stationery and telephone		558	106	664	1,316
Auditors remuneration		420	-	420	420
Accountancy		332	-	332	332
Computer consumables		-	79	79	-
Cleaning, repairs and maintenance		1,228	234	1,462	1,054
Commendation, awards and events		-	1,394	1,394	1,144
Youth exchange costs		-	-	-	1,800
Books and magazines		-	205	205	216
Travelling, food and provision		-	-	-	116
Insurance		611	298	909	1,801
Bank charges and interest		-	334	334	316
General		-	81	81	66
		27,608	4,821	32,429	43,180
EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR THE YEAR		£(3,502)	£(299)	£(3,801)	£(7,563)

The accompanying notes form an integral part of the accounts.

**CROYDON SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION PROJECT
NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS**

YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1995

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

(a) Income and Expenditure

The income and expenditure account is prepared on the accrual basis.

(b) Depreciation

Depreciation is calculated on the straight line basis at rates estimated to write off the cost of the assets over their useful lives.

(c) Special fund

This fund represents grants, donations and sundry income received, for the purchase of the fixed assets. Depreciation of these assets is written off against this fund.

2. FIXED ASSETS

	Furniture & Fixtures	Equipment	Total
COST			
Opening balance	1,678	7,284	8,962
Additions	1,049	1,285	2,334
Closing balance	2,727	8,569	11,296
DEPRECIATION			
Opening balance	1,472	5,145	6,617
Charge for the year	273	1,034	1,307
Closing balance	1,745	6,179	7,924
NET BOOK VALUE			
31.3.95	£982	£2,390	£3,372
31.3.94	£206	£2,139	£2,345

3. ACCUMULATED FUND

	1995	1994
Opening balance b/forward	9,032	16,595
Surplus (deficit) for the year	(3,801)	(7,563)
Closing balance c/forward	£5,231	£9,032

NATIONAL REGISTER FOR BLACK TEACHERS'

Please complete and return to: Sam Makinde, 23 Jessop Road, Stevenage SG1 5LG (01438 721956)

(Title: Dr, Mr, Mrs, Ms, Miss, any other)	Surname:	Other Names:
Address to be used for correspondences and networking:		Telephone:
		Fax:
		E.mail:

Areas of interest:

Area of specialisation:	Field of interest:
Research experience:	Other experience/s:

Union (membership)	Any post of responsibilities in the union
---------------------------	--

Do you teach in a Supplementary School	Name and address of the one currently involved with:
YES / NO	
	Phone: Fax:

Other community involvement:

Any other area

1. Conference: Workshop leader/ speaker	2. Public speaking
3. Book writing :	4. Any other
Signature	Date

Please leave blank

<i>Reg. No</i>	<i>Date</i>
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SUPPLEMENTARYS' SCHOOLS REGISTRATION FORM

APPENDIX (24ii) 24

BLACK SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS
NATIONAL NETWORK REGISTRATION

Name of organisation:		
Address:		
County:		
Post code:	Phone :	Fax:

Person to contact:		
Address:		
County		
Post code:	Phone :	Fax:

Details of school: (please complete, or tick as appropriate)		
Year founded:	Fees: Yes / No	Amount if Yes:

Students on roll	Male:	Female:	Total:
Staff	Male:	Female:	Total:
Term times:	First:	Second:	Third:

Area of curriculum focus	Curriculum as in 3Rs	Cultural development
---------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

Subjects	Yes	No	Subjects	Yes	No
Mathematics			Business Studies		
English			Art		
Science			Music		
Technology			History / Black History		
I.T (Computers)			Geography		
Others					

What your school can contribute to others:
1.
2.
3.
What you want other schools to contribute to yours:
1.
2.
3.

Please complete and return to:	Sam Makinde
	23 JESSOP ROAD, STEVENAGE. SG1 5LG
Phone: 01438 721956 Fax: 01438 368577	HERTFORDSHIRE

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS LOCATED AROUND BRITAIN
APPENDIX 25



- Planning regions in England
1. North
 2. Yorkshire and Humberside
 3. East Midlands
 4. East Anglia
 5. South East
 6. South West
 7. Midlands
 8. North West



KEY

West Midlands	20
Avon	2
London	68
Hertfordshire	3
Leicestershire	8

**COMMENTS ON THE REGISTER FOR
BLACK TEACHERS**

APPENDIX 26

Brian Noel
64 Thorncliffe Road
Southall
Middlesex
UB2 5RQ

6 January 1997

Re: Black Register

Dear Sam

I would be delighted if you would add my details to the national register you are setting up.

I am currently in a school in Slough which is 75%+ Asian. I am the only black teacher on the staff and would welcome information showing where other black teachers are in my locality. It will also be interesting to see how the information is used to better the lives of black teachers.

Keep up the good work.

Yours sincerely

Brian Noel

200 Lydgate Lane
Crosspool
Sheffield
S10 5FS
0114 2679085

8 January 1997

Mr Sam Makinde. Black Teachers' Register

Dear Sam,

Ref.: Black Teachers' Register

I would like to join the Black teachers' Register. I have finished a PGCE in Modern languages (French) at Sheffield Hallam University (June 1996) and I am still trying to find a decent job. I also obtain an MA in Linguistics from York University.

I have worked with Sheffield LEA / Sumes (Caribbean, Yemeni and Asian communities) as a bilingual support tutor in many multicultural schools in the area on a temporary basis only, for about six years. After my status changed to that of a British qualified teacher last June, I was told that I was too expensive for them as Section 11 to recruit me anymore for 3 to 6 hours a week. I also suppose that priority goes to the people of the three communities above even if they are not qualified.

I registered with three teaching agencies for supply but none contacted me last term. I am a full UK resident originally from North Africa (of Amazigh descent).

I hope the register you suggest could help us exchange ideas about vacancies around the country.

Yours truly,

(Signed)
Mahfoud Nana (Mr)

Dear Mr. Sam Makinde,

I was extremely saddened by your letter printed in the Teacher of December 1996 asking people to register their names in the Black Register. What a shame!

We whites fought in South Africa to decimate apartheid and many of us whites and them blacks sacrificed their lives to get rid of the idea of Blacks' and Whites' segregation and here you are publicising your separate black register.

We do not understand why you people wish to be segregated and isolate from us.

We white Christians wish to see our society as one undivided unit but you want to see more divisions in society.

When you blacks behave like that how can you complain about racism? You are simply promoting racism.

Our Jewish brothers and sisters are no doubt at the forefront of implementing racism because they stand to benefit from the idea of black and white so nobody can distinguish between Christians and Jews.

Do not be misled by this black register idea camouflage like our Jewish communities and proclaim to be British and normal.

Do not be deceived by the whites who want you to be separate.

Think seriously about our advice.

Thanks.

Philip and friends.

HOME OFFICE

Constitutional & Community Policy Directorate

Community Relations Unit

Room 1279, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London, SW11 9AT

Tel: 0171 273 2145 Fax: 0171 273 2893

1 October 1997

The Chief Executive
County/ District/ City/ Metropolitan
District/ London Borough Councils

with Section 11 projects operating in
1996/97 or who have registered a future
interest

Dear Chief Executive

**PAYMENT OF GRANT UNDER SECTION 11 OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ACT 1966 - ETHNIC MINORITIES**

FUNDING POSITION FROM SEPTEMBER 1998

This updates my letter of 25 September.

As you may know, the Prime Minister referred to section 11
funding in his speech to the Labour Party Conference yesterday afternoon.

The Prime Minister said that the Government had inherited spending plans for section
11 which would see the funding drop substantially. He announced that these plans
will not stand.

The Prime Minister emphasised the importance that the Government attaches to the
activities that section 11 grant funds, which he described as an investment for the
future.

The spending plans have been under review. We hope to complete this as soon as
possible so that we can let you have precise information about the future position. We
shall certainly let you have more information as soon as we can.

I shall again be happy to deal as best I can with any enquiries.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)
R A WRIGHT
Section 11 Group

SHIRLEY HIGH SCHOOL**Year 10 Report****English**

Name:	Daniel Luke	Effort Made A-E:	A
Tutor Group:	10E	Set:	2/4
Subject Teacher:	Ms Ashton		
Year Exam Result:	English Literature %: 70	English %:	63
Year Average:	English Literature %: 49	English %:	57

KEY STAGE 4 -PROGRAMME OF STUDY

In Year 10 pupils study a course leading to levels of achievement in Attainment Targets

Speaking and Listening, Reading and Writing

Texts Studied:	Shakespeare	Romeo and Juliet /Macbeth
	Drama	Our Day Out
	Poetry	Narrative Verse /War Poems
	Prose	English Short Stories/ Lord of the Flies

SPEAKING AND LISTENING EXCELLENT. GOOD. SATISFACTORY.
FINDS DIFFICULTY

Spoken contributions				✓
Attentive listening	✓			
Co-operation within groups	✓			
READING				
With sustained concentration	✓			
With understanding				✓
WRITING				
Imaginative/creative				✓
Personal				✓
Response to literature		✓		
Planning & structuring				✓
Spelling			✓	
Presentation of work		✓		
PUPIL'S ABILITY TO WORK				
Independently	✓			
Co-operatively	✓			
Confidently		✓		
HOMEWORK ATTAINMENT				
Regularity	✓			
Quantity	✓			
Quality				✓

TEACHER COMMENT

Daniel has worked very hard all year and has produced good coursework. I was very pleased with his literature mark which showed through revision. He was much less successful in the 'Reading With Understanding' paper for English.

SIGNATURE: (Signed) Ms. Ashton _____ **DATE:** June 1996

SHIRLEY HIGH SCHOOL

Year 10 Report

Mathematics

Name: Daniel LUKE

Tutor Group 10E

Mathematics Set $\frac{5}{8}$

Effort (A-E) B

Intermediate Level Exam (%) 50

Exam Level Average (%) 37

Pupils are following a two year course that can lead to a G.C.S.E. examination in Mathematics with the Southern Examining Group. Pupils are required to submit coursework which represents up to 20% of their final grade. The course covers aspects of Mathematics including Number, Algebra, Space, Shape, Measures and Data Handling. Pupils are encouraged to approach their work in an investigative manner allowing them to develop logical thinking and reasoning.

Extent to which pupil has shown the ability to :	Excellent	Good	Fair	Needs help
--	-----------	------	------	------------

Produce homework on time				✓
--------------------------	--	--	--	---

Produce homework of an appropriate standard				✓
---	--	--	--	---

Develop an independent approach to learning				✓
---	--	--	--	---

Work systematically				✓
---------------------	--	--	--	---

Apply previous knowledge to solve problems				✓
--	--	--	--	---

Develop recording skills in written work				✓
--	--	--	--	---

Concentrate on a task				✓
-----------------------	--	--	--	---

Contribute orally to classwork				✓
--------------------------------	--	--	--	---

Additional Comments.

Daniel has made a very encouraging start to his G.C.S.E. course and I hope this standard of work will be sustained next year.

SIGNATURE: (Signed) J. Whittakes **DATE:** June1996

Year 10 Report**Science**

Name:	Daniel Luke	Effort Made A-E:	B
Tutor Group:	10E	Year Exam:	44
Subject Teacher:	Mr Allen	Exam Average:	53
Set	$\frac{4}{6}$		

ABOUT THE COURSE:

The course contains elements of biology, chemistry and physics plus some additional material on geology and astronomy. Final assessment for GCSE is by written examinations and coursework. The coursework represents 25% of the final marks. For this, pupils plan, perform and then analyse the results of a range of experiments. It is essential that this work is completed promptly so that advice can be given in order to improve subsequent tasks. Pupils must remember that the quality and care of the written aspects of the coursework have more influence on the mark than the actual practical performance.

HOMEWORK:

Always produced, always on time and usually a lot of work goes into producing each piece - well done.

COURSEWORK:

Complete and up to date.

UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE:

Daniel works very well throughout the lesson and his consistent efforts will be rewarded.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT:

More involvement in class discussions would help together with a willingness to ask questions when a topic is not fully understood.

SIGNATURE: (Signed) P. Allen

DATE: **June 1996**

Name: Daniel Luke

Tutor Group: 10E

Subject Teacher: Mr Suffling

ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN: EFFORT GRADE A-E ATTAINMENT 1-5

.....
..... <u>Basketball</u> <u>A</u>1..
..... <u>Football</u> <u>A</u>2..

INTEREST AND ENTHUSIASM:

Shows no interest in this subject.	Does not show a lot of interest.	Normally shows interest.	Always works with interest. ✓
------------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------------

EQUIPPED FOR LESSONS:

Never equipped for lessons.	Rarely equipped for lessons.	Sometimes not fully equipped.	Always fully equipped. ✓
-----------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------------

ABILITY TO WORK WITH OTHERS:

Tends to disrupt/is not accepted in group.	Sometimes has difficulty co-operating.	Works well to achieve a common aim.	Sensitive: helps and encourages others. ✓
--	--	-------------------------------------	--

ATTITUDE TO STAFF:

Attitude is of concern.	Attitude/behaviour is poor.	Usually co-operates well. ✓	Relates well to staff.
-------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------

FITNESS:

Appears to be very unfit.	Tires easily.	Can keep up with exercise. ✓	Appears to be very fit.
---------------------------	---------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------

TEACHER COMMENTS:

Daniel is enthusiastic and well motivated. He enjoys all sports and performs well but must try to be more aggressive in his approach.

TEAMS REPRESENTED:

Basketball, athletics

COLOURS AWARDED:

Basketball, athletics

SIGNATURE:

(Signed) A. J. Suffling

DATE: June 1996

SHIRLEY HIGH SCHOOL**Year 10 Report**

Name: Daniel Luke Tutor Group: 10E
Times Late: 3/290 Times Absent: 4/290 Commendations: 2

Form Tutor's Comment:

Daniel is a very quiet, well mannered, young man who has a very pleasant personality. He makes consistent efforts to achieve his maximum potential at all times and in recognition of these achievements he has been awarded two commendations. Daniel's punctuality and attendance are excellent and his undoubted athletic ability is fulfilled by representing the school at sporting field events and a member of the school basketball team.

Signature: (Signed) R. Allen

Head of Year's Comment:

This is a commendable report for Daniel, showing clearly that he is doing well in all subjects, particularly in terms of the effort which he is making. There are some useful pieces of advice for improvement in those areas where he has some difficulties. Daniel sets a good example to others, and is fully deserving of his status as a Prefect..

Signature: (Signed) A. R. Cooper

Headteacher's Comment:

The many A/B effort grades are noted. Well done and keep working hard.

DATE: June 1996

SIGNATURE (Signed) Headteacher

The Director,

Croydon Supplementary Education Project.

Croydon Supplementary Education Project. English Syllabus Year 10, 11, 12.
A Key Stage 4 syllabus is followed with special emphasis on writing skills since there are only five terms before the GCSE Coursework must be entered.

Timed essays and other work directed towards the exam is done when possible; this includes the study of first World War poems, argument type essays on moral problems, such as the reparations for slavery, some personal writing and some read and respond to essay questions.

When possible, texts from black writers or on black issues are used especially when these fit the GCSE syllabus. Examples are Alice B. Walker, Rosa Guy, Mildred Turner, Harper Lee, and Richard Wright.

A few students need extra coaching since their basic skills are inadequate for the GCSE examination; these follow work parallel to the main stream but in a small withdrawal group.

Formal teaching in Year 10/11/12

Much teaching is examination oriented; a few students at 16 /16 + need elementary skills in reading and writing.

Informal teaching

Try to inculcate a better frame of mind for study and for conscious effort from some students who are not working to capacity; try to moderate anxiety in a few students

What else is needed

1. Black History but it is harder now to tie in with the mainstream curriculum, especially in view of the exams pressure.
2. Careers work such as interviews, application forms and Job Search skills

Difficulties

There is a very wide range of ability; and a wide range of age, 15 to 17+. There are 4 Exam Boards which each set a variety of syllabuses. Sometimes/ usually children do not know what syllabus they are taking nor what set books are to be studied until two terms before the exams.

Some students come late and disturb the others. Latecomers at 11.00 are very disturbing. (Yet they did come). We need a printer attached and a supply of paper, A3 as consumable stock. It has not been possible to get students to bring their own paper and the small exercise books are not useful for GCSE. One alternative is to get them to use the old computer sheets of which we have a plentiful supply.

Books etc in the Year 10/11 room are continually disturbed during the week. Tables and materials not belonging to CSEP are left in the corridor and could constitute a fire hazard.

What I don't want to do is go to more than one meeting per term.

We could ask our students what they think about development matters; after all school is for them.

Examples

More / less exam work. general knowledge. leisure pursuits like the trip to Liverpool life skills

Funds

It would be a pity-if those who fund us have great control over the curriculum, in my view. In any case students need a mainstream syllabus when they are 15/16 years old and could lead to our becoming just a cram school as many schools nowadays. It is hard to present Black perspectives sometimes Experienced voluntary workers might be recruited via Age Concern, Transaction, to work as fund raisers?

KEY STAGE 3&4 COORDINATORS' COMMENTS
ON STUDENTS' WORK

APPENDIX 30

English KS4 Teacher: A	Comment on			
Name	Adequacy / inadequacy of content	Marks being awarded	Type of work for the Group	General Comment
Melanie Sewell	Adequate but too little variety	Marks are fair but comments are brief and lack encouragement	Reading, comprehension, Poetry analysis, spoken work, information retrieval from non literary materials.	
Nathan Graham	Content is good but if the work here represents a years work, it is rather limited. There are no story telling, poetry, or information work.	Marks are fair but some of the teachers comments are difficult to read, difficult to understand and rather negative.	Descriptive writing, poetry criticism / writing, reading comprehensions, information retrieval from non literary materials, Spoken work	
Petrina Baker	Good but not much variety.	Generally good, comments are good, and on the whole helpful.	Descriptive writing, poetry criticism / writing, reading comprehensions, information retrieval from non literary materials, spoken work	

English KS4 Teacher: A	Comment on			
Natasha McFarlane	I am dismayed to see <u>all</u> the work in this book is grammar, punctuation and sentence structure work. It seems <u>very</u> tedious and I wonder how much a child would learn from this type of work. The level of the work is accurate for the year group but there is no story writing, no poetry, writing about reading; the content is very limited and would not stretch a child of this age or ability.	There are no 'marks' awarded (apart from spelling) which I agreed with. I believe childre's work should not be 'graded' but marked using positive comments. There is very little evidence of this. The comments in this book are limited to banal comments with no encouragement or any attempt to point out the child's strengths and weaknesses	Reading suitable fiction / non fiction. Writing based on that fiction / non fiction. Story writing. Poetry. Writing about themselves. Comprehensions. Letter writing.	Inadequate and unsuitable topics covered.

KEY STAGE 3&4 COORDINATORS' COMMENTS
ON STUDENTS' WORK

APPENDIX 30

English KS4 Teacher: B	Comment on	*This is purely my opinion in a rather busy week. NOT TO BE USED FOR PUBLICATION.		
Name	Adequacy / inadequacy of content	Marks being awarded	Type of work for the Group	General Comment
Melanie Sewell	Very easy tasks - not a lot of demand put upon students.	Extremely high.	Difficult without knowing group. The teacher could be trying to encourage the pupils.	Some interesting work but felt the marking was too high.
Nathan Graham	Obviously rather a weak group	Rather high	Difficult to judge - odd mixture of work seems very easy for Year 10.	There is a piece of unmarked work in this folder! Some helpful comments.
Petrina Baker	Rather simplistic tasks,. Were the tasks focussed?	Comments would be more useful.	A strange mixture of work - unsure of focus.	I feel the comments about the student's work are not altogether helpful.

Mathematics KS4 Teacher: C	Comment on			
Name	Adequacy / inadequacy of content	Marks being awarded	Type of work for the Group	General Comment
Natalie	There seem to be a configuration of different years - Years 9, 10, & 11 at intermediate level. But they seem reasonable work.	Marks not being awarded. There seem not to be a coordinated marking structure.	Seems suitable for Upper school in preparation for GCSE.	
Daniel Luke	Index work, Circle theorems. Some contents are from the Higher level papers.	Does not seem to be marked.	Looks like a revision of the work from Years 8&9 or possibly Year 10 work. Seems the work has been used in preparation for the problem identified.	Very little mark being done compared to the work covered. Difficult to see any progression in a book or between books. Lots of missing dates, 'not' accounted for. Makes it difficult to identify progression.

Mathematics KS3 Teacher: D	Comment on			
Name	Adequacy / inadequacy of content	Marks being awarded	Type of work for the Group	General Comment
Davina and others	Some work are quite advanced for Year 7 and a bit of Year 8. Some of the Year 8 work similar to the ones being done in MSS Year 8. Some of the work seem Year 9 work – trigonometry. The work is appropriate for the age group.	Some better marked i.e Davina's marked consistently and she was having A* and Excellent. Whereas others were sparsely marked. Cannot comment as not many of the work have been marked.	Ratio will be done at Higher level. Some work - dimensions of formulae are Year 10 work.	Progression could not be identified, properly. Possibly because the teacher was focussing on individual problems. Could be there was a big spread of ability and absenteeism.

