

MASTER'S THESIS

Master of International Education and Development

November 2023

The Windrush Scandal

A Case for Teaching the British Imperial history from the margins in the UK Compulsory Curriculum

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ABSTRACT

This research is about the teaching of a specific history from the global South to a specific global North population. It explores the policy approach to including this aspect of history in the core curriculum and the effect of this approach on the integration of a specific population from the global South as its people made lives in a new environment in the global North. Noting that the information on the education and the official policy behind the inclusion of the colonial history in the Caribbean and other territories is opaque. This research should seeks to provide an additional interpretation in this area. British citizens of Caribbean descent are not represented in the compulsory core curriculum. As a result, different sectors of that society are ignorant of the extent of the British colonial past and its impact in the Caribbean (and other territories). The research uses critical race theory and the racial contract to explore the UK government's interactions with the Windrush generation and their consequent integration into that society. Findings from the research suggest that racism was pivotal in the lived experiences of the generation, their integration and the telling of their history from the margins. It concludes that ignorance, which sits at the far end of the knowledge spectrum (Moore & Tumin, 1949, p. 794) supports and preserves the underappreciation and othering of some members of society such as the Windrush generation and progeny.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grateful to have been able to study in Norway at Oslomet. The completion of my thesis would not have been possible without the support of family and friends in Jamaica and Norway.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Deanne Heath for taking the time to answer my many questions. This project could not have been completed without the interview participants in the UK and Jamaica who shared willingly and wholeheartedly – Thank you!

Special thanks to my professors especially Tom Griffiths, Hege Roaldset and my supervisor Paul Thomas. I'm grateful for your insights, advice and professionalism. Most of all I'm grateful for the kindness that they extended to me.

During this master's programme I have been privileged to meet good people and to make great friends. Special thanks to Julie, Fidan, Sam, Laia, Rana, and Aurora. And thanks to Julie for introducing me to her family and friends!

My friends and family in Jamaica have been truly wonderful and supportive. Thanks for the many phone calls and check-ins, and thanks for being interested in my everyday life in Norway. Special thanks to Marcia, Fay, Joycelyn, Donna, Shereyl, Adrienne, Syreeta and Sandra, Lurine, Everton, Beryl and Rori.

. Thank you!

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The National Windrush Monument by Jamaican sculptor Basil Watson in London Waterloo Station.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PREAMBLE

History according to Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, is “concerned with all those human sayings, thoughts, deeds and sufferings which occurred in the past and have left present deposit; and it deals with them from the point of view of happening, change and the particular” (Elton, 1969, p. 24). My research is about the teaching of a specific history from the global South to a specific global North population. It explores the policy approach to including this aspect of history in the core curriculum and the effect of this approach on the integration of a specific population from the global South as its people made lives in a new environment in the global North. While the teaching of the entire imperial history is very important, my thesis specifically explores the teaching of Caribbean colonial history within the UK core curriculum, thus presenting a broader history than students are presently exposed to. This chapter will introduce my research project by providing contextual information which will lead into the research problem, the aims, problem definition and research questions to be followed by the significance and limitations of the research.

1.2 CONTEXT

Periphery to Core Movement

Where history is written from the lens of the core, it sometimes gives scant regard to the periphery. For the global South, “historicism [has] meant that the one human history uniting humanity either culminated in or was observed from the vantage point of Europe, or the West” and told from the point of view of imperialism and colonizers which is the core (Said, 1985). Core here references Wallerstein’s World-System Analysis wherein an economical and socio-historical relational

framework predicated on countries' political, financial and military hegemony dictates unequal worldwide interdependency among core, semi-peripheral and peripheral nations. Core countries approximate global North as former colonizers and are beneficiaries of a world economic system which exploits semi-peripheral and peripheral nations to varying degrees. Immanuel Wallerstein explained that humanity lives within a historical system that is measured in a unit of the world-system and that the current world system is that of capitalism (Wallerstein, 1990). World-systems analysis explains the hegemony of former colonizing countries over the colonized. The analysis speaks to a world system that is divided into core, semi-periphery and periphery countries. The core countries, which include several former colonial powers, have unequal advantage in such areas as industry, technology, finance and in their military over the semi-periphery and periphery countries which in turn makes them more dominant economically and politically.

The movement of raw materials and other resources including labour, from the periphery to the core, is indicative of an exploitative relationship due to the under development of the periphery by the core. The core acts upon cheap raw material to produce value added finished products that they sell at a profit to the semi-periphery and periphery. The periphery neither has the infrastructure, finance, nor technology to further produce or innovate away from the raw materials. This analysis undergirds the relationships of such countries as Jamaica and the UK, and influences the movement of people and other resources, the ownership and use of land and where capital resides from the former colonies which lie on the periphery to former colonies who are at the core of the world systems. Wallerstein's analysis contextualizes stories being told from the lens of conquest and not of the conquered. The periphery is acted upon, as the periphery has no agency from which to act or to be proactive. In many instances they are not given credit for the actions that they take until it benefits the core for these actions to be so noted. Such is the case of the Windrush generation and their off-spring.

According to Lee's Migration theory, "every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles" (Lee, 1966). Explaining that factors influencing migration may be categorized in four i.e. factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles and personal factors; Lee makes the case that the individual's

perception of factors are paramount to the decision that will be made (p. 51). Paul (1997 p. 112-114) describes economic conditions of British citizens in Jamaica to be poor and desperate. With the abolition of slavery and the end of the sugar boom, the West Indies was left with a poorly developed economy and a population too large for its natural resources... [W]ith a birthrate estimated variously at between 2 percent and 4 percent and an unemployment rate of between 20 percent and 35 percent, [Jamaica] was one of the poorest of Britain's colonial possessions (Paul, 1997, p. 114). Local economic factors provided reasons for migration, while prospects of employment and economic advancement beckoned to them to come hither to the “motherland”. Migrating to the “motherland” was after all practical for citizens who wanted to achieve more than was possible in their current circumstances. Consequently, 492 Caribbean men (mainly Jamaicans) emigrated to that country on the Empire Windrush (M. Collins, 2001) thus, starting the migration of coloured immigrants to that country. Colonial citizens arriving in the UK from the English speaking Caribbean countries between 1948 and 1971 became known as the Windrush generation. The term Windrush generation refers to the significance of the docking MV Empire Windrush in Tilbury on 22 June 1948 up to 1971 of Caribbean immigrants to help fill post-war UK labour shortages.

Colonial citizens and the Core

At the same time, Paul (1997 p xi-xii), notes that Post World War 2, Britain employed a four pronged approach regarding the manpower shortage in that country. Paul cites these as 1) Encouraging roughly 1.5 million UK residents to emigrate from Britain to self-governing parts of the empire. 2) Recruiting roughly 600,000 European aliens from refugees camps to work in basic industries. They were imagined as possible progenitors of Britishness. 3) Encouraging Irish people to live in the UK by giving them privileges of citizenship despite their alien status. 4) No government outreach or recruiting of coloured British colonials. Those searching for work were not welcomed inspite of having citizenship and were specifically discouraged from doing so in the mother country. Further, inasmuch as there was a need for labour after World War 2 (WW2) to help with the acute shortage {Langer, 2021 #61} and (Pollard, 2018) the colonial citizens were not met with open arms and experienced different forms of oppression in the new environment {Dawson, 2007 #426@8} (Paul, 1997, pp. 111-130). There was no campaign to ensure acceptance

into the new society as there had been for the Poles who were labelled “gallant” (Paul, 1997, p. 86). Instead, the Jamaicans’ arrival was labelled a “problem” and their arrival seen as an “incursion” with every effort made to discourage any further mutually beneficial exchange (Paul, 1997, p. 116). Non-citizen European refugees and displaced person were labelled as European Volunteer Workers, Jamaicans as citizens of the British realm were labelled as “Jamaican Unemployed”(Paul, 1997, pp. 85, 116). Citizenship then for the West Indian seemed “located within an exterior, political community and best maintained at the periphery of the empire, not the core”(Paul, 1997, p. 114).

White homogeneity and citizenship

Interestingly, Wallerstein delineated the history of the concept of citizenship in Europe and tells of the difficulties with which people of colour achieved this designation in Europe (Wallerstein, 2003, p. 670). Indeed, it was noted that European states sought to create homogeneous nations of White citizens to inoculate against the backward areas of the world (Manuel,1956:105 in Wallerstein, 2003, p. 672). Thus by the late 19th century, “[t]he concept of the Aryan now became the justification of European domination of the non-European world” (Wallerstein, 2003, p. 673). In the USA, David Walkers’ 1830 plea that Blacks be recognized as belonging to the human family and having world citizenship was built upon by Frederick Douglass who saw the debased citizenship and tainted laws as being complicit in denying equality based on natural rights (Gilroy, 2009, pp. 8-9). Centuries later, there seemed not to have been a collective understanding of British citizenship regardless of the law. British citizenship maintained an insider-outsider frame.

As the government’s leadership changed so too did the legislation towards immigrants and citizenship. Changes to legislation included 1) the British Nationality Act 1948 which acknowledged Commonwealth citizens as citizens of the UK and Colonies; and The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962. As the disenchantment with Black immigrants continued, and was amplified in the Former Secretary of State for Health and Social Care of the United Kingdom, Enoch Powell’s River of Blood speech to Conservative Association meeting in Birmingham on April 20, 1968. In it he theorized that by 1985 immigrants would be in the majority and “the Black man will have the whip over the white man.” In a foreboding vision he saw "the

River Tiber foaming with much blood." ("Enoch Powell's Speech of 20 April 1968, Roy Jenkins' of 4 May 1968, et al," 1968). By 1968 The Commonwealth Immigration Act restricted commonwealth passport holders citizenship and introduced a work voucher application process. Thereafter, the government leadership reverted to the Conservative part in 1970 until 1974 when temporary stay was granted to new arrivals. During this time the Immigration Act 1971 granted only temporary residence to most new arrivals, while allowing arrivals prior to 1973 indefinite stay in the UK (Full Fact, 2018). The British Nationality Act 1981 entitled An Act to make fresh provision about citizenship and nationality, and to amend the Immigration Act 1971 as regards the right of abode in the United Kingdom has undergone several reviews and updates which has eroded automatic classification of British Citizenship based on birth in the UK and citizenship or settled status of at least one parent ("British Nationality Act 1981,") Other acts implemented after 1981 made it even more difficult for Commonwealth citizens to migrate to the UK.

Some of the policies enacted between 1948 to the present time have shown the changing attitude towards immigrants, and may be juxtaposed with the change in government over the period. The Windrush period of 1948-1971 saw several government changes starting with the Winston Churchill Conservative government of 1940-45 which changed into the Labour government of Clement Atlee 1945 to 1951, changed into the Conservative government of Winston Churchill 1951-55 and remained Conservative led up until 1964 when Labour's Harold Wilson was voted in to serve until 1970. A new conservative government took over from 1970-1974 under Edward Heath.

Education Reform Acts

As England tried to redevelop in the post war era, changes in the outlook towards the economy, welfare support for citizens and education were also being formulated and in some instances enacted. One such change was in education. Education during the Windrush generation period was structured on the 1944 Education Reform Act (ERA). The Act envisioned Education After the War (also the name of the green book compiled by the Board of Education in 1941) and was undergirded by the post-war consensus of the economic order and social that the major political parties supported. The consensus coalesced around economic regulation, high taxation,

nationalization, trade union, and a welfare state. The welfare state would address the needs of citizenry in health, education, public pension and social insurance. The 1944 ERA aimed to address the post-World War 2 education needs for citizens from nursery school to adult education. The Act divided primary (5-11 years old) and secondary(11-15 years old) education and abandoned the all-age school system (5-14 years old). Access was provided for girls, and the working class could access secondary schools through the elimination of school fees as well as free meals and milk would be provided for those in need. The Act however did not impact the curriculum of the day. It was not until the 1988 Education Reform Act, under the Margaret Thatcher led conservative government that the National Curriculum was developed to have a cohesive same stage, same subject, same curriculum offering of education in England and Wales. Under the National Curriculum, students between 5 and 16 years were exposed to four compulsory subjects of English, Mathematics, Science and Physical Education along with additional foundation subjects which included Art, Geography, History, and Religious Education. As much as the history curriculum was standardized there was no inclusion of the British Caribbean citizens, colonialization or imperialism.

Present Day Hostile Environment

On the political front, fast forward to 2012, and Home Secretary, Theresa May reveals the UK's conservative government's strategy of a hostile environment to immigrants (Kirkup & Winnett, 2012). This culminated in the Windrush scandal of 2018. The strategy cast a wide net and included legislation and policy in banking, property leasing, marriage registrars, policing, health care, schools, and homeless services (Griffiths & Yeo, 2021). The sectors identified were mandated to report any suspicion of persons being illegals in the country. The Windrush generation and their offspring were excluded from some of the benefits of society through the reports made from banks, landlords, schools, medical practitioners as to the status of the immigrant. They were targeted and, in some cases arrested and deported to countries which were alien to them, and in which they had no relatives or support or access to a social safety net. In the new country they were homeless and unemployed without any identification to prove that they were Jamaicans. After the scandal in 2018, the annual Windrush Day was instituted in the UK and has been celebrated on June 22nd, thus re-imagining and handling the scandal and the government's role and the Windrush generation through the lens of the core. Migration numbers to the UK continue to decline and, in fact, the

number of Jamaicans living in the UK declined between 2008 to 2021 from 52,000 to 44,000 (see [statista.com](https://www.statista.com)). In addition, the hostile environment strategy is now known as the Compliant Environment under a new Home Secretary.

A place in compulsory history education?

As discord grew about the treatment of Black and brown UK citizens and immigrants, the discussion about history education tended to suggest that the history taught presents UK students with limited content that was cherry-picked and position the limited empire and colonial history for the benefit of image of the UK. To this end, The Teach Britain's Colonial Past as Part of the UK's Compulsory Curriculum petition of 2020 garnered 268,772 signatures. The government's response to the petition was that:

Within the history curriculum there is already a statutory theme at Key Stage 3 titled “ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain, 1745-1901”, as such we do not believe there is a need to take this action as the option to teach this topic exists within this compulsory theme. The history curriculum gives teachers and schools the freedom and flexibility to use specific examples from history to teach pupils about the history of Britain and the wider world at all stages. It is for schools and teachers themselves to determine which examples, topics and resources to use to stimulate and challenge pupils and reflect key points in history.

A sample of articles such as those from Deana Heath in the November 2, 2018 Conversation, or the Ruqaya Izzidien's opinion piece *It is time to teach colonial history in British schools* published by Aljazeera advocated that the history content ought to include the history from the margins (Izzidien, 2018). Historian Deana Heath made the point that some students were unaware of some aspects of British history and more so those aspects that might make the British Empire seem less savory than some would want it to appear (Heath, 2018). This is supported by journalist Hasan Ali's article (Ali, 2021) who opines that British colonial history should be a compulsory subject in schools as “[w]ithout making the study of empire a mandatory part of the syllabus, Britain will forever be plagued by the scourge of racism”. It is a sentiment also expressed by Izzidien as she shared that “Growing up in Britain, I knew nothing of the many crimes the British Empire had committed against my Iraqi ancestors”. In the June 12, 2020 New Statesman article from John Elledge, *The history of the British Empire is not being taught* explains that the history taught “ignores a difficult and bloody period of our history, leaving us ignorant about our place in the

world today.” Indeed, research participant Hope opined “They want to tell you your people had no history.”

The scrutiny of history studies is not new as seen in 1998 when eleven historians were asked questions of history teaching which are still current today (Cronon et al., 1998). These include “What history should our children learn?” Should children learn “the patriotism, heroism, and ideals of the nation” or “the injustices, defeats, and hypocrisies of its leaders and dominant classes”? The consideration then, appears to be the same now, and is not limited to the specificity of the United States of America. A look at the United Kingdom, reveals the same conundrum. That history is written and taught from a global north perspective to citizens and disseminated to other societies, erases swaths of factual information that is pertinent to both the global north and south.

Historian Deanna Heath, in responding to questions in this research espoused the view that:

History teaching in the UK, as in most of the rest of the West, is the embodiment of Western enlightenment thinking - i.e., the West as progenitor of modernity. The rest of the world, in other words, is still made up, according to such logic, as what Eric Wolfe termed, 40 years ago, "the people without history".

Such modernity is, moreover, posited largely as a force for good, even if there were some 'bad bits' to it - although such 'bad bits' are largely, at least in the UK, relegated to Europe, to people such as Stalin and Hitler. Empire, in other words, doesn't fit into the 'bad bits' - not only because it's not taught but, I think, because empire was a progenitor of modernity. That it was a violent progenitor doesn't seem to matter, nor does the fact that other peoples have also been progenitors of modernity, or the fact that the Western world became modern as a result of empire - rather than, as the myth would have it, that the West became modern and then 'exported' the so-called benefits of Western/modern civilisation to the rest of the world.

By the discourse it is suggested that the teaching of past events has limited currency if it does not lean into analysis, empathy and change. While the knowledge of details of the past is important, it is even more consequential that judgement and action taken in the present, be done with the benefit of reflection, denial of hubris and an openness to engage with and grow from the encounter with the past. History, taught and offered as part of an inclusive school curricula with this intent of engaging and growing from the encounter may foster understanding and tolerance within societies.

In keeping with the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (1996) four pillars of learning – learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to

be, history learning could then be transformative. Learning to know through developing learning and study skills such as engaging with the material and critically questioning and interacting with it becomes an antidote to the banking model of education as espoused by Paulo Freire, (2000). Here the power of the educator lies not in the telling as with a sage, but in the facilitation and development of discerning minds. Further, learning to do moves the student from inert recipients to resilient creators of new paradigms through learning the lessons of the past and being willing and able to take risks which should lead to a different and hopefully better outcomes than those of the past. It is in the learning to live together that brings about new empathy, appreciation, collaboration and mutuality. It reduces conflict where there is a meeting of the mind. As one embraces education and undertakes ongoing learning, the individual is accepting and at peace with self and society. The twenty-first century aim of education opined by UNESCO results in the ethical development of the intellectual and emotional intelligences of the 21st century human.

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE PROJECT

The topic is being investigated because of its historical context and the impact on lives many years later. On the individual level, some of these lives have become very tangled and complicated because of this history. At the same time, the vestiges of the hegemony of the former colonial country seems to be waning. With more critical views taken of the global North-South relationship, there is more realization of the negative impact of the North's embrace of aggrandizement at the expense of the South. In Jamaica, there is a groundswell for the country to become a republic. The Windrush scandal added another component in the litany of stories that demonstrated the seeming insincerity of the former colonizers. In April 2022 in the 70th year of Elizabeth 2, tours by her grandchildren in the English speaking Caribbean countries were met with protests demanding acknowledgement of the empire's role in slavery, apology and reparation. The Jamaican Prime Minister indicated during one such tour that Jamaica was "moving on". ("Jamaica is moving on!," 2022).

With this said, I was particularly concerned when exposed to Paul Willis's book *Learning to Labour* (1977) which is held up as a classic book about knowledge production. The Jamaicans

were portrayed negatively but there was never a thought given as to their experience and why they might have been the way they were portrayed. The history of the changing citizenship definition, context of assaults by the Teddy boys, skinheads and the National Front was not shared (Hansard, 2018), neither was the Bernard Coard 1971 findings of the marginalization of the West Indian child through the often used label of “educationally sub-normal” referenced Coard (2021). This led me to wonder how much of this narrative was being digested unthinkingly and being repeated to people without context or investigation. *Learning to Labour* did not claim to give voice to Black voicelessness, however, it reinforced the stereotype of Black belligerence, academic inferiority and lack of ambition. In fact, it was because of that book that I read *Mongrel Nation* by Ashley Dawson (2007). Written much later than Willis’s book, it gives a view of the insularity and the waning superiority of the British empire and its impact on the Windrush generation and other migrants. Further, just in the preliminary research for this project I have been exposed to academics of colour that I had no idea existed or had written so extensively on race, Black studies and white studies. With this background, this paper seeks to explore: *The Windrush Scandal: A Case for Teaching the British Imperial history from the margins in the UK Compulsory Curriculum*.

1.4 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

That Caribbean and other Commonwealth citizens came to aid the British during and after the World Wars is established. Several books and articles have been written on the Windrush generation and, while the jobs they had and the treatment they received is documented, the information on the education and the official policy behind the inclusion of the colonial history in the Caribbean and other territories is opaque. This opacity lends itself to various interpretations, and underscores the lack of the British colonial imperialist sojourn in the Caribbean being taught as part of the history compulsory core. British citizens of Caribbean descent are not represented in the compulsory core curriculum. As a result, different sectors of that society are ignorant of the extent of the British colonial past and its impact in the Caribbean (and other territories), the contributions made by the Windrush generation in Britain, the basis of their citizenship and its denial, and the subsequent effects on that group and the wider society. Ignorance, which sits at the far end of the knowledge spectrum (Moore & Tumin, 1949, p. 794) supports and preserves the

underappreciation and othering of some members of society such as the Windrush generation and progeny.

1.5 RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

1.5.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

The research will investigate the context of and the UK government's response to the Windrush generation arrival, interactions with the progeny and actions taken in education since 1948. The objective is to determine the underlying justifications for including different aspects of history in the compulsory curriculum. The research questions historical sources about the UK government's approach to the Windrush generation, the inclusion of colonial history from the margins and the Windrush education in particular. It also looks at the influence of that government's approach on the educational, social and affective integration of the Windrush generation and their progeny.

1.5.2 OBJECTIVES

This research will review existing literature on the introduction of the Windrush generation to the British isle, and examine their lived experience in that society. The primary objective will be to determine what factors have been influential in the inclusion of topics such as the Windrush generation in the compulsory curriculum. Secondly, the research will seek to find out the currency and consequences that these factors have in society.

1.5.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The project will seek answers to the research questions:

- What does a review of historical sources reveal about UK government's approach to the inclusion of the Windrush education?

- What impact does this approach have on the social integration i.e. engagement with education, institutions and belongingness of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Coming on the heels of animated demands for past and present wrongs from historically marginalized people, to be righted by historically advantaged people, this research is situated in the broader discussion that history studies in the UK, as a former colonizer, should include the teaching of history of the colonized as a part of the core curriculum and not as an optional item. It posits that history affects the present and the future and therefore history education in the UK should incorporate colonial history from the margins as well, in particular the Caribbean history in light of the recent Windrush Scandal to transform the UK into the multicultural society that it claims to be. The research takes a critical look through the lens of the Windrush generation and progeny at identity and construction of reality and how they integrate into the wider fabric of society.

According to Kane (2022), the “[s]cholarly publications dedicated solely to the Windrush Generation are scarce’ (p. 6). Noting that the time of the Windrush scandal (2018) to the time of her writing was relatively short (2022), “the majority of existing knowledge about the Windrush Generation comes from the popular press”(p. 6). My research should add to the existing knowledge and should have value outside of the Windrush context as it is relevant to the larger question of how to handle the colonial past and how open the society has been of its imperial past. If history is a way of communicating through time and space, and if education should serve humanization, to learn the lessons of the past and to move to an improved situation in the present then it might behoove the history taught in the UK to tell both sides of the story within the compulsory curriculum.

1.7 DELIMITATIONS

The research is focused to the actions taken in education and other legislative areas, including 1948 onwards as it relates to the Windrush generation and the UK government's response to the Windrush scandal.

1.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research takes on a new sensitivity in light of varied reactions to the death of the UK monarch who reigned for 70 years (from 1952 to 2022) during these postcolonial times as the monarch received positive and negative response to her death from Commonwealth countries and other citizens. As it is, the scope of the research is very narrow as it does not include the teaching of histories from other immigrant or marginalized groups. Additionally, the findings might not be generalizable across other immigrant or marginalized groups.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The research will look at the migration and education of the Windrush generation, history teaching and the representation made of the Windrush citizens and progeny. It will then investigate integration and the educational policy outcomes for the generation and progeny.

NOTE

The word "impact" in research question 2 refers strictly to the effect or influence and could therefore be used interchangeably with these words. "Impact" is not to be read as implying any quantitative analysis such as an impact study or assessment.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the theories used as the framework to structure and build out a logical plan to understanding and interpreting the research topic. The aim of this paper is to set the stage for determining the underlying justifications for including different aspects of history in the compulsory curriculum, as it is through the inclusion or exclusion that we are encounter knowledge or ignorance that respectively repudiates or supports and preserves the underappreciation of some members of the society and affects their educational, social and affective integration. The research seeks answers about the UK government’s approach to the inclusion of the Windrush education as well as the impact that the approach has had on the educational, social and affective integration of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years.

As such, the chapter includes previous research on education, curriculum and the Windrush generation. It should be noted that not all resources speak directly of the Windrush generation and progeny, however the time period to which they refer suggest that they are related. The use of the terms Black, Black mixed-race, Black Caribbean and African Caribbean relate to the changing ethnic descriptors for the descendants of migrants from the Caribbean and other parts of the Commonwealth. These terms have been used as they appear in the literature and other resources.

The research uses the definition of the terms integration and inclusion as per the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance under the Council of Europe (ECRI, 2023, p. 3).

[I]ntegration [is a] two-way process with society, governments and local authorities facilitating, supporting and promoting the integration efforts of individuals. Inclusion is an approach that values diversity and aims to afford equal rights and opportunities by creating conditions which enable the full and active participation of every member of society.

The theoretical framework relies on established, formal theory to guide “coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships” (Eisenhart, 1991, p. 205). Accordingly, the theories are the camera lens through which I will conduct the research. Whilst my approach is eclectic, the theories fall within the critical theoretical perspective and thus Critical Race Theory (CRT) as my lens, and The Racial Contract as my aperture are the main theories to be used in my theoretical framework. I therefore will use concepts from The Racial Contract to illumine and give depth to the image caught in my CRT lens. These theories demand researchers, readers and others engaging with this project to be open to critical thinking and enquiry. This is necessary as the CRT has itself recently come under attack from politicians, some scholars and other persons, some who would want to silence any critique which gives primacy to viewing the experiences of marginalized people through racial lens or offer an alternative view (camera) which dilutes and changes the focus away from the racial experience of the minority. Some of these perspectives will be included in this chapter. As a critical perspective theory, CRT is inspired and has itself inspired different ways of viewing phenomena and relationship related to the lived experiences of racialized persons. While the multiple theoretical inspiration for this research rest in the CRT enclave, different aspects of the theory will be uncovered.

The starting point of a discussion on CRT is understanding the terms race, racism and racial discrimination. The words are part of the everyday language and lived experience for some people. A common view of race is that it is a human identifier based on observable biological characteristics which is contrary to the view that race does not exist in observable biological factors and is in fact a social construct. This view is discussed further in this chapter. Racism is “the racialized ideology of a racialized social system that sustains racial domination” Bonilla-Silva in (Back & Solomos, 2022), or as Gillborn understands it, it is “a multifaceted, deeply embedded, often taken-for-granted aspect of power relations” (Gillborn, 2005, p. 485). According to the European Commission, racism is “ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin” (Commission, 2023). Further the United Nations situated the term by explaining that thoughts and behaviours resulting in victimization of persons based on a concept of race is racism, (United Nations Educational, 1978)

Racism includes racist ideologies, prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory behaviour, structural arrangements and institutionalized practices resulting in racial inequality as well as the fallacious notion that discriminatory relations between groups are morally and

scientifically justifiable; it is reflected in discriminatory provisions in legislation or regulations and discriminatory practices as well as in anti-social beliefs and acts; it hinders the development of its victims, perverts those who practise it, divides nations internally, impedes international co-operation and gives rise to political tensions between peoples; it is contrary to the fundamental principles of international law and, consequently, seriously disturbs international peace and security.

The UN's definition, through the scrutiny of the Racial Contract neglects in explicitly recognizing racism as global, it is not contrary to fundamental principles of international law, it was always intended to disturb international peace and security as it is built on expropriation, colonization and slavery. Charles Mills (1997) fills the gaps of the UN definition and specifically cites racism as a global political system of white supremacy (Mills, 1997, p. 3).

[...] racism (or, as I will argue, global white supremacy) is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties.

And, Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1965 declaration states:

In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

With those definition, what is missing is that of "race" as a social construct, and this will be dealt with as the tenets of CRT are explained.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section includes scholarly works which, though some not specifically stating the phrase Windrush generation or progeny, relates, based on content and timeframe to this research. Further, the works presented herein either use an aspect of CRT or conversely other analysis tools to interrogate the lived experiences of the generation and progeny.

Gillborn (2005) applies CRT and whiteness studies to analyse education policy in England. From this approach he revealed the existence of race inequality and the patterning of racial advantage as a tacit intentionality on the part of white powerholders and policy-makers”(p. 485) and shows that the education policy as an act of white supremacy that “is not the obvious and extreme fascistic posturing of small neo-nazi groups, but rather the taken-for-granted routine privileging of white interests that goes unremarked in the political mainstream”(p. 485).

Sutherland (2006) used a descriptive analysis to explain the African Caribbeans' subordinate social position in the British society as a result of British racism. This work gives a historical perspective and highlights the nature of racial disadvantages experienced by African Caribbean immigrants when they were in the Caribbean and when they met the majority white British people. The paper describes how the immigration policies affected African Caribbean migrants; how the early African Caribbeans coped with the socio-economic aspects of life in the UK such as education, the workforce, criminal justice system and the mental health system; and how nationalist and racist tendencies impacted African Caribbeans migrants.

Later, Taylor-Mullings (2018) used CRT to interrogate the issues of race inequality in the education system. According to Taylor-Mullings, the UK education system in addressing Black children has been plagued by a lack of racial equality. It is an existing issue that he identifies as predating the Windrush generation. As more Black children migrated to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s the problem became more apparent (p. 10)s. The racial inequality in education “constrain[s] improvements in the social, economic and political circumstances of Black people”. Policy changes have only been made in response to Black outrage and protest. Focusing on interest convergence – a tenet of CRT, he uses it as the conceptual tool in analysing the issues and concludes that institutional self-interest worked in favour of improving some Black children’s academic outcome (p. 300).

Remi (2017), work on Black mixed-race males using CRT has application for this study. In investigating the perception of the UK school curriculum from the point of view of Black mixed-

race males, Remi demonstrates the intersectionality that sometimes results in Black mixed-race males identity being subsumed into Blackness without regard for their other ethnicity. The Black mixed-race experience of the school curricula as a white Eurocentric curricula (especially the history curriculum) is similar to that of other minority ethnicities. The research showed that Blacks, Black mixed-race and other minority heritage and representation was either not present or was erased from the curricula. The invisibility of Black, Black mixed-race and other minority ethnic presence in the curricula reinforces White supremacy in a curricula that is designed for and taught by White people thus giving advantage to White students in grades, jobs and opportunities. Remarking on the prospects for change Remi reminds the reader “One should be aware that it is because of this society in which White educators and policymakers are socialized (and educated) that change is so difficult (Boutte & Jackson, 2014; Picower, 2009 (Remi, 2017, p. 455).

2.3 CRITICAL RACE THEORY

According to Fay, (1987) “Critical theory perspectives are concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class, and gender” (Fay, 1987 in Creswell, 2014, p. 98). One such is critical race theory (CRT). Critical race theory has a relatively short history as a method of analysing the results of the dominant and secondary group relations in the USA. It is “a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of people of color” (Solorzano, 1997, p. 6). This theory is born of critical legal studies (CLS) – a theory which looks at the law as not being secluded from society or divorced from the political and social morals that govern (Lucarello, 2010, p. 621). The legal system as a construct of society is not objective as it conforms to and reinforces the interest of the dominant group for whom and by whom it was created. Where CLS scrutinizes the power of the historically privileged that is used by them to maintain the status quo, CRT looks at the centrality of race in benefitting the historically privileged to the detriment of the historically disadvantaged. It is grounded in ‘racial realism’ or the admission of the “permanence of [the Black] subordinate status” (Bell, 1992, pp. 373-374). Progress is invariably followed by regression as new guardrails are enacted to prevent wholesale upward mobility. CRT then is “a practice of interrogating the role of race and racism in society that emerged in the legal academy and spread to other fields of

scholarship” (George, 2021). Critical race theory is an omnibus theory that has influenced several other methods or approaches to interrogate the contact of a historically privileged white majority with a historically disadvantaged Black minority in a setting that is predominantly founded on white majority norms and structures. While CRT has opened up the critical theory framework by centring on inequities because of race, sexism (Thomas, 2009) it has also expanded to look at inequities brought by minority type such as Native Americans and Latinos/Latinas i.e. TribalCrit and LatCrit respectively. CRT, since it was first coined has expanded to include intersectionality as a domain of studies to identify and analyse how factors such as race, class, gender and disability interconnect to bring about experiences of subordination and marginalization of racialized people. CRT in education will be included as lens in my study in order to comprehensively address the multidimensional nature of the research questions and to provide context and make sense of the Windrush generation encounters in the UK.

There are five main tenets from CRT that are applicable to this thesis, which will now be itemized and then discussed individually. The main tenets of CRT are 1) racism is normal, 2) race is a social contract viz-a-viz a biological fact, 3) changes are made only when there is a convergence of interest that best suits the white majority, 4) “whiteness” is a property or asset held by the dominant class, 5) storytelling and counter storytelling by the visible minority is important to balance the predominant narrative from majority lens. These key tenets means that race is the platform on which the Black minority discrimination and other disadvantages is built.

Racism is normal Race and racism is seen as central to people’s experience of the law (Russell, 1991) and has been regularized as a part of life so much so that they have been identified as endemic, and permanent (Solórzano, 1998). In examining the history of race as a concept George I. Armelagos and Alan H. Goodman (p. 361) shows that “racism was an integral part of the intellectual climate” from the time of Carolus Linnaeus, the father of taxonomy, who is also known as the father of scientific racism. This bled into popular discourse and has remained fairly unchanged outside of the intellectual circles. It is seen as the natural order of life in a majority white country, in which the minority Black population face automatic, pre-conscious or unconscious microaggressions or put-downs on an ongoing basis (Pierce, 1974 in Solorzano, 1998, p.121). The implications of this for minority people is that they face racism by just existing – from

birth to death. This might occur in social, business, school, medical, housing and many other contexts. Therefore, at the micro level, minority people's experience of racism through institutions "is reproduced through 'microaggressions': those small, unremarked, daily acts of disparagement that – intentionally or unintentionally - diminish people of colour in their encounters with those racialized as white"(Warmington, 2020, p. 7). Accordingly, "racism is normal...it is the usual way that society does business" (Delgado, Stefancic, & Harris, 2017, p. 8).

Race is a social construct Race in the popular everyday context refers to categorization of people based on obvious human traits such as skin colour. It has been scientifically disproved that race is biological, but instead a social construct. That people still conceive race as a biological factor tells how entrenched the collective thinking has become. By the 1940s, anthropologists such as Franz Boas pushed back against the popular conception of race and "seemed to swim against the tide of racism" (Armelagos & Goodman, 1998, p. 362). The Human Genome Project launched in October 1990 to April 2003, proved that race could not be isolated in the human gene (D. Roberts, 2011) The definition from the National Human Genome Research Institute reads thus:

Race is a social construct used to group people. Race was constructed as a hierarchal human-grouping system, generating racial classifications to identify, distinguish and marginalize some groups across nations, regions and the world. Race divides human populations into groups often based on physical appearance, social factors and cultural backgrounds.

The meaning of race becomes fluid and will change over time, place and context (NIH, 2023) as, "races are categories that society manipulates, or retires when convenient" (Delgado and Stephanie in Warmington, 2020, p. 6). To attribute a race to someone means that there are political, economic, social, and institutional factors that will influence that person's position in society. This is relevant to the research based on the implications for stereotyping.

Interest convergence Derrick Bell's analysis of the decision to desegregate schools in the US shows that steps to mitigate the Black minority conditions are only taken when there is some benefit to the white majority. "The interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Derrick, 1980), or put another way "measures to

address racial inequality are initiated only at moments of interest convergence: when demands for reform converge with the self-interest of white elites (Warmington, 2020, p. 5). Dissecting the 1954 decision to desegregate schools in light of the political standing of the USA on the world stage at that time, the country's actions abroad were in stark contrast to how it treated its own citizens at home. Such citizens might be more easily swayed to look at a different political ideation, and others could not see the South advancing economically while being segregated. The one action solved three issues – world image, preservation of democratic ideation and the opportunity to economic advances thus giving credence to the analysis that “[i]t is only when racist practices threaten to destabilise rather than secure elite power that it is in the self-interest of elites to address racism through legislation and policy” (Warmington, 2020, p. 5). The concept allows the minority to realize that their needs are subjugated to the needs and wants of the white majority and will only be addressed when that white majority will benefit. Accordingly “[i]nherent to the framework is that oppression will not be addressed except where it converges with the interest of the white majority” (George, 2021).

Whiteness as property. Property is a thing owned or possessed by someone. Owning a thing gives someone rights over that thing or rights to benefit from that thing. “Whiteness can move from being a passive characteristic as an aspect of identity to an active entity that - like other types of property - is used to fulfill the will and to exercise power” (Harris, 1993, p. 1734). Whiteness as property was (and is) integral to racial identity and was reflected in the right to own, to use and to transfer that particular thing (Thomas, 2009, p. 6) Further, as explained by Cheryl Harris, 1993, p. 1720-1721, the rights and access to privileges was dependent on ones colour

Because whites could not be enslaved or held as slaves, the racial line between white and Black was extremely critical; it became a line of protection and demarcation from the potential threat of commodification, and it determined the allocation of the benefits and burdens of this form of property. White identity and whiteness were sources of privilege and protection; their absence meant being the object of property.

Owning whiteness therefore unifies both privileged and disadvantaged whites to secure and stabilize the social order as socio-economic advantages and cultural status accrue along racial and class lines first to white elites and then to white working class (Warmington, 2020, p. 7). The

hegemony then of the white majority is built on privileges based on whiteness and is ingrained in structures, systems and institutions that were developed for the white majority, which causes Blacks and other marginalized persons to have unique experiences with these structures, systems and institutions. “As a result, whiteness automatically carries with it greater economic, political, and social security”(Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education, 2021, p. 18).

Counter storytelling. CRT “exposes the limited ability of traditional legal scholarship to adequately reveal how integral racism and racial subordination are in the everyday lives of people of color. CRT employed techniques of chronicles, storytelling, and counter-narratives to point this out”(Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education, 2021, p. 18). The verbalization of the minority experience counterbalances the majority narrative. According to (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27), “[c]ounter storytelling is a means of exposing and critiquing normalized dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes. The use of counterstories allows for the challenging of privileged discourses, the discourses of the majority, therefore, serving as a means for giving voice to marginalized groups”. Storytelling and counter storytelling therefore allows the minority experience not to be lost, buried under other stories or trivialized and for it to be held up for scrutiny and accepted in the face of what is promoted as normal. “In other words, counter- storytelling "help[s] us understand what life is like for others, and invite[s] the reader into a new and unfamiliar world" (Delgado & Stefancic, p. 41 in DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p.27).

CRT acknowledges that the minority has experienced “normal” as different from the majority norm. It honours these experiences as stories to be told and a lens to look through to determine the real plight of the minority. Similar to the one gospel that is different from the three synoptics, telling the same story but from two different angles; the same exposure, but different experiences – story telling is pivotal to demonstrating that minority Blacks experience unequal economic, political and social security. In this way, counter story telling has direct implications for knowledge production (Matsuda, 1995).

2.4 THE RACIAL CONTRACT

Thoughts around the Racial Contract were developed by Jamaican philosopher Charles W Mills as he theorized that the social contract was a political and moral contract framed through the white European experience by white Europeans for the white Europeans. The social contract enabled them to live in and benefit from community and as a consequence, they agreed to the authority of a governing body over them to protect their rights and interests. Mills inverted the social contract to show that the white Europeans and progeny banded together to protect their rights and interest at the expense of non-white, non-European, non-people who were not a part of the contractual arrangement. The social contract (i.e. political and moral contracts) supported and preserved a white supremacist society which subdivided humans (refer to the work of Swedish Carolus Linnaeus as the harbinger of scientific racism) into initially four categories with the African always at the bottom of the classification. In short, “[t]he Racial Contract is an exploitation contract that creates global European economic domination and national white racial privilege” (Mills, 1997, p. 31). The Racial Contract’s formal and informal agreements are made within national borders and globally among white people which enables the domination within and across borders of non-white people. As possession of whiteness is supreme, white people control wealth, power and access to these. Further, as white people exercise their dominance or white supremacy, the assets of non-white people are expropriated while the non-whites themselves are colonized and enslaved. According to Mills, the Racial Contract is an understanding among and between whites to which their tacit and explicit agreement enshrines and reinforces rights and privileges based on their colour. Therefore, the Racial Contract is buttressed by three claims about white supremacy in that, it is existential, conceptual and methodological. White supremacy has a local and global existence, is a political system and operates as a pact between whites (Mills, 1997, p. 7).

White supremacy is more than the overt, aggressive, violent actions of some whites towards non-whites that is often seen in the media. According to David Gillborn, (2005)

‘White supremacy’ is a term usually reserved for individuals, organizations and/or philosophies that are overtly and self-consciously racist in the most crude and obvious way: organizations that not only claim a distinctiveness for white-identified people, but add a

social Darwinist element to argue for intellectual and/or cultural superiority, frequently based on a supposedly fixed genetic inheritance (Gillborn, 2005, pp. 490-491)

For Taylor (2009) it is “a political system, a particular power structure of formal and informal rule, privilege, socio-economic advantages” (Taylor, 2016, p. 4) which “is systematic and global: a system of power wherein structural racism, white privilege and overt race hate are mutually reinforcing” (Warmington, 2020, p. 7). White supremacy then connotes the entire system within which people live, wherein white people are more privileged than non-white people through the political, legal, health, housing, education, employment and other aspects of life. White supremacy reinforces the superiority of whites and inferiority of non-whites by limiting the access to political, economic, social advancement whether formally or informally. Yet another definition of white supremacy points to its insertion and everyday presence in the lives non-whites. As explained by Ross and Mauney, “[w]hite supremacy holds that the interests of people of European descent are superior to those of people who believe, act, or look differently than "normal." It perpetuates the stratification of class, race, religion, sexual orientation, and gender” (Ross & Mauney, 1997, p. 552). As such, non-white people are impacted in the fulfilment of their basic and higher-level needs as per Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs. The tentacles of white supremacy are far reaching as explained by Frances Lee Ansley, they run through “political, economic, and cultural system[s] in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources...” further, the “conscious and unconscious idea of white superiority and entitlement are widespread” and thus are seen and “re-enacted daily across a broad array of institutions and social settings” (Ansley, 1997, p. 592).

In sum, Mills by conceptualizing the existence of the Racial Contract, identifies race as a social construct within a white supremacy political system that decides societal hierarchy with whites being superior and non-whites inferior. To maintain societal hierarchy, racial erasure, whitewashing white atrocities and eliminating non-white contribution are undertaken. These actions are indicative of white ignorance.

White ignorance In 2007, Mills further explicates white ignorance as introduced in his 1997 work on the Racial Contract. The Racial Contract engenders white misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion, and self-deception on matters related to race to sustain the myth of white supremacy

through conquest, colonization and enslavement (Mills, 1997, p. 19). A corollary of white supremacy, white ignorance features a collective amnesia of achievements of non-whites and the atrocities of white people, and invalidates the testimony and credibility of non-white people (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007, p. 3). Moreover, it includes “pervasive social patterns of mistaken moral cognition” which also manifest itself in a lack of sensitivity to social oppression (Mills, 2007, p. 22). Ultimately, it manifest itself in white peoples lack of knowledge of their own ignorance (Glazer & Liebow, 2021). Therefore, as the prerogative of a “privilege[d] group, [white] ignorance [is] borne out of self-deception, bad faith, evasion and misrepresentation [and] supports the perception of race superiority as it “insulates itself against refutation” through “false beliefs, and the absence of true beliefs” (Mills, 2007, pp. 19, 16). It's “refusal to recognize the long history of structural discrimination ... has left whites with the differential resources they have today, and all of its consequent advantages in negotiating opportunity structures (Mills, 2007, p. 28)

The white ignorance subsumes individuals, institutions and structures (Boodman, 2017, p. 2) and is sometimes experienced by non-whites as stereotyping, microaggression and other forms of othering or racialization based on the implicit racial bias. This implicit racial bias is unconscious and is a negative attitude, and is held against specific racial groups. Jennifer Eberhardt defines implicit bias as “the beliefs and the feelings we have about social groups that can influence our decision making and our actions, even when we’re not aware of it.” As white ignorance is selective in attention to knowledge then shortcuts in knowledge acquisition results in the maintenance of any information, thought that sustains the myth of white supremacy. These include thoughts built on fear or threats to the supremacy of the whites.

Related terms

Here I will add more details to two related terms mentioned previously. While understanding whiteness as property is key to CRT, understanding the term whiteness itself and the attendant privilege i.e. white privilege, should give a fuller insight into the intricacies of the theories. Whiteness studies for sure has explicated various aspects of whiteness. For example, whiteness and white people has been scrutinized by Zeus Leonardo through whiteness studies. According to Leonardo (2002, pp. 31-32) “Whiteness is a racial discourse ... which attempts to homogenize diverse white ethnics into a single category (much like it attempts with people of colour) for

purposes of racial domination”. The category white people on the other hand, represents a socially constructed identity, usually based on skin colour” (much in the same way that race itself is a social construct). Leonardo further explains that whiteness frames a worldview from a racial perspective (in the same way that Black people will have a world view based on their experience).

Furthermore, whiteness is supported by material practices and institutions. That said, white people are often the subjects of whiteness because it benefits and privileges them. As a collection of everyday strategies, whiteness is characterized by the unwillingness to name the contours of racism, the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group, the minimization of racist legacy, and other similar evasions (Frankenberg, 1993 in Leonardo (2002).

The false and oppressive nature of whiteness is evidenced “in the superiority assumed by some aspects of white culture through slavery, segregation and discrimination” and has resulted “in the historical stratification and partitioning of the world according to skin colour” (see Hunter, 1998 in Leonardo, 2002).

White privilege according to Peggy McIntosh (1988) works as invisible and unconscious advantages accrued to the racially white group (McIntosh, 1988, p. 188). Being white allows the privilege of “protect[ion] from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence”, which white people in turn might levy on people of a different color. This privilege systematically over-empowers white people and “confers dominance” over other groups. Kendall (2002) advances that it provides a “built-in advantage, separate from one’s level of income or effort” as it is bestowed at birth (Kendall, 2002, p. 4). While [w]hite working class people do not have the same socioeconomic privileges as white upper-middle class people... they are given the same skin color privileges(Kendall, 2002, p. 8). Indeed Cory Collins (2018) sees “white privilege is both a legacy and a cause of racism.”

2.5 CRITICAL RACE THEORY IN EDUCATION

In earlier work, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) espoused that race “as a topic of scholarly inquiry was untheorized” and thus embarked on using CRT to develop an understanding of the impact of the inequalities experienced by racialized minorities within the education system which gave little credence to race and racism. This groundbreaking work gave focus to the intersection of race and

property in analysing the social and school inequities. Referencing both Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois as considering race as the central construct for understanding inequality, in the lived experiences of African-Americans, the researchers showed the relationship of whiteness as property to educational inequity.

By 1998, Gloria Ladson-Billings, was to use CRT to scrutinize to five areas in education – namely, curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding and desegregation. Curriculum, based on Ladson-Billings is complicit in the “sustained inequity that people of colour experience” (p.18). Further, instructional strategies starting from a place of deficit sees students as deficient in need of remediation. High stakes testing for what is taught and not what is known invalidates Black student knowledge in a society that funds schools and education based on the property taxes collected in affluent or poor areas. And desegregation is not occurring in every school district despite the gains of traditional civil rights legislation(Ladson-Billings, 1998, pp. 18-21).

In the USA in 1992, Ellen Swartz identified that the debate over curricular knowledge was really about the maintenance of a Eurocentric narrative that reinforced the supremacy of whiteness. The debate:

[was] not over the relative importance of historical figures and events, nor [was] it over the potential impact of the curricular experience on self-esteem or the modeling of race, gender, and class heroes and heroines. Rather, it (was and) is a debate over emancipatory versus hegemonic scholarship and the maintenance or disruption of the Eurocentrically bound "master script" that public schools currently impart to their students.

According to Swartz, a master script exists for every discipline and includes classroom practices, pedagogy, instructional materials and theoretical paradigms which are grounded in Eurocentric and White supremacist ideologies (Swartz, 1992, pp. 341-342).

Master scripting silences multiple voices and perspectives, primarily by legitimizing dominant, White, upper-class, male voicings as the "standard" knowledge students need to know. All other accounts and perspectives are omitted from the master script unless they can be disempowered through misrepresentation. Thus, content that does not reflect the dominant voice must be brought under control, mastered, and then reshaped before it can become part of the master script.

... public schools complete their legal obligation to their respective states, the basic tenets of Eurocentric ideology are inscribed upon the minds of students through repetition of a monological, exclusionary knowledge base that legitimates and replicates inequitable

power relations from one generation to the next (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1986; Wynter, 1990b).

Taking a more in-depth look at the curriculum, and making reference to Swartz, (1992), Gloria Ladson-Billings, 1998 opined that “[c]ritical race theory sees the official school curriculum as a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script” (p.18). Thus, the master script mutes and erases ideas of African-American (or read Black) knowledge which challenge the dominant cultural authority and power. Secondly, CRT identifies curriculum that silences the diverse cultures and perspectives in the name of colour-blind perspectives. Thirdly, CRT sees the distortions, omissions and stereotypes of school curriculum content and the lack of access to rigorous content by non-whites thus limiting their development.

While Ladson-Billings and Tate reviewed the curriculum through CRT, DeCuir and Dixson (2004) would use it to examine the experiences of African-American students through their counterstories. Based on the counterstories of two African-American students in a predominantly white school, the researchers demonstrated how various CRT tenets were relevant to their experiences and in so doing explored the role of race in the students’ educational experiences.

Advocating for the continued scrutiny of school practices and policies, DeCuir and Dixson (2004), supported CRT’s focus on race at the center of such analysis. At the same time, they also encouraged the exploration of other aspects of CRT outside of counter-storytelling and pointed to the developing interrogation of Whiteness using CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 27)

In the UK, Gillborn (2005) was to use CRT to examine the *Education policy as an act of white supremacy*. Using CRT, Gillborn used the work of Leonardo (above) to interrogate the role of racism in education and found that the education policy is an act of white supremacy based on the tacit intentionality by white policy makers and powerholders. In his later work - Gillborn (2006) considered CRT as a useful concept and methodology for the UK context to further analyze racism and anti-racist efforts in education. “Racism takes many forms and so antiracism must be flexible and constantly adapt” (Gillborn, 2006, p. 3). His review of antiracism theorizing in the UK led him to advanced CRT as “an appropriately critical yet accessible conceptual map that can describe what is characteristically antiracist about an “antiracist” analysis; and offer a suitable starting point for

further explorations in educational theory, policy and practice” (Gillborn, 2006, p. 3). In conceptualizing CRT in the UK, Gillborn (2006) looks at some of the defining and applicable elements from the US context. “The starting point for CRT is a focus on racism. In particular, its central importance in society and its routine (often unrecognised) character” (Gillborn, 2006, p. 9). Racism resides in and is experienced through individuals and institutions and, it is seen in the outcomes and effects to minority ethnic people. It goes beyond the crude obvious acts of race hatred and includes the “subtle hidden operations of power that have the effect of disadvantaging one or more minority ethnic groups” (p. 9). Further, in the case of institutions, racism may be manifested “in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Macpherson, 1999, p. 321 in Gillborn, 2006, p. 9). The Inquiry Report stated categorically that institutional racism was a routine and pervasive factor in many of the key agencies of society, including the police, education and the health service.

In giving us a conceptual map (p.12), Gillborn delineated defining elements from tools to be utilize in a CRT analysis and believing that with growth, CRT as an analytical tool will become more sophisticated (Gillborn, 2006, p. 12).

Nevertheless, as CRT grows, so the range and sophistication of its conceptual toolbox becomes a little clearer. In particular, concepts which have, in the past, been seen as definitively “CRT” in nature, may now be viewed as tools rather than defining tenets. These are lines of analysis that often appear centrally in CRT treatments but whose presence does not necessarily signify a conscious appeal to CRT.

Noting the “complex, contradictory and fast-changing nature” of racism, “it follows that antiracism [and it’s analysis] must be equally dynamic”. In this sense, inasmuch as a concrete rule book of CRT goes not exist, the use of CRT “offers a coherent and challenging set of important sensitizing insights and conceptual tools”(Gillborn, 2006, pp. 14-15). In giving an example of a conceptual map, Gillborn has shown how others can conceive using CRT elements which will influence the sophistication and development of the analytical tool.

These are just a few examples on how CRT has been used as an analysis tool in education. However, CRT has not been without critics and has faced criticisms including the primacy given

to race as the central unit of analysis, the focus on white supremacy, the lack of a grand theory as in the case of Marxism, the non-inclusion of capitalism and class in the analysis, and the focus that should be given to intersectionality in analysing oppression and the social change. The next section will detail some of these criticisms from academics and politicians.

2.6 CRITIQUE OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY

CRT and Academics

Tracing the growth of CRT in the UK, Paul Warmington, (2020) noted that it “has emerged as a significant intellectual force among anti-racist scholars and activists in England”. At the same time, he also noted that some CRT opponents regard it as an unwelcomed, imported concept which does not fit the UK context. CRT is disparaged by opponents, including academics who opine that it teaches others how to “think racially” (Hayes, 2013: unnumbered in Warmington (2020), or that it misses the real areas that should be analyzed such as class and the economic system of capitalism. Warmington, (2020) accordingly notes that:

CRT’s fiercest opponents have often been academics who depict themselves as progressives: anti-racist allies...In England much of the academic antagonism towards CRT is built upon a powerful ‘left’ reflex action: a reiteration of old, paternalistic convictions about the ‘objectivity’ of class and the ‘subjectivity’ of race”.

Further, Warmington (2020 p. 3) notes the academics opposition and resistance to CRT and the current school of race-conscious analysis in English academia. Kevin Lam, (2023) notes the “tensions between the two seemingly competing theoretical analyses and approaches, that are Marxism and critical race theory (CRT), while thinking about race and racism in the United States”. At the same time, Darder and Torres (2004) in *After Race* “question the analytical limitations of “race” with respect to the formation of a critical social science and execution of progressive social policies” (p. 97). They argue for class and capitalism to be central to the analysis of social order and oppression and that “race” as the central unit of analysis obfuscates “a systematic discussion of class and, more importantly, a substantive critique of capitalism” (Darder & Torres, 2004, pp. 98-99). Citing Leonardo, (2004, p. 485) Warmington (2011, p. 268) points out, that Black people “find it unconvincing [to be told that] they are experiencing only class relations when the concepts used to demean and dehumanise them are of a racial nature”. Darder and Torres

(2004) further critiqued the use of race as a theoretical construct in spite of it being under-theorized, a claim made despite the growing volume of work on the matter.

Ryan explicitly states his concerns about race-based theories and intersectionality as “not their failure to embrace class primacy as such but rather their tendency to overlook or diminish class”(Ryan, 2023, p. 4). He noted that Marxism as a grand theory that points towards capital accumulation as a cornerstone to analysing class primacy had come under challenge from race and gender perspectives. He further argues that Marxism is more than a class-only framework as posited by P. H. Collins (2019) and that as a class based theory it can also be intersectional. At the same time, Warmington (2011) argues that “within the fraction of Marxism that takes issue with CRT, residual post-1980s panics over ‘culturalism’, ‘cultural essentialism’ and the like have led to a retreat from proper cultural analysis of raced practices”(Warmington, 2011, p. 272)

Summarizing the Marxist reproof of CRT, Warmington, (2011, p. 266) states:

Marxist criticisms of CRT have, despite good intentions, done little in practice to illustrate how Marxist concepts might contribute to the eclectic development of CRT. Much has been written about how CRT should work with Marxist categories (Cole and Maisuria 2007; Cole, 2009); predictably, less has been said about precisely how Marxists might draw upon CRT.

Cole and Maisuria (2007) critiqued CRT’s concepts of the normality of race over class, and white supremacy from a Marxist perspective. They found ‘the term white supremacy ... homogenises all white people together in positions of class power and privilege, which, of course, is factually incorrect’ (p. 2). Warmington (p.270) corrects this misinterpretation of Gillborn, (2005) by noting the Gillborn’s specific purpose in using notions of ‘Whiteness’ and ‘White supremacy’ ‘is not to argue that White people are uniformly powerful’ (Gillborn 2005, p. 491).

Cole (2009) has several issues with CRT as he takes umbrage with the centrality of race rather than class being the major form of oppression in society. Conversely, citing Agosto et al., (2015, p 787), Taylor-Mullings (2018) notes that CRT “centers race at the intersection of other social identities”. Other issues presented by Cole (2009) included his exception to the use of white supremacy instead of racism as a concept that explains the central and extensive form of racism and the lack of “a priori need in CRT formulations to connect with capitalist modes of production”. Citing Cole, (2009 a, b) he identified and critiqued four problems with the concept of ‘white

supremacy' and posits that the Marxist concept of racialization more aptly "explains historical and current reality in capitalist societies than does white supremacy"(Cole, 2009, pp. 113-114). Moreover, "CRT is ill equipped to analyse the discourses of non-colour coded racism" while Marxism can do so because of its focus on the capitalist economy (pp. 115-116). Indeed, according to Cole (2009) "Whatever happens, it is Marxism and Marxism alone that I believe provides the possibility of a viable equitable future" (Cole, 2009, p. 118).

Darder and Torres (2004) also takes exception to the centrality race and wants CRT to include or centre analysis based on class and capitalism, giving credence to Collins who opines that "[i]n essence, each group identifies the type of oppression with which it feels most comfortable as being fundamental and classifies all other types as being of lesser importance"(P. H. Collins, 1993, p. 25). She further notes that "[adhering] to a stance of comparing and ranking oppressions... locks us all into a dangerous dance of competing for attention, resources and theoretical supremacy" (p. 26).

According to Trevino, Harris, and Wallace (2008, p. 9) CRT is not a *unified* theory

... but a loose hodgepodge of analytic tools that are frequently used in a catch-as-catch-can manner...[Further the tenets] "do not constitute a fundamental set of beliefs on which all critics agree. Because of these two related issues of architecture and fundamentalism, we contend that CRT is rather less a 'theory' than it is an intellectual 'movement' in thought and work about race".

Yet, according to the same Trevino et al. (2008, p. 8), from the hodgepodge, CRT has directed

attention to the ways in which structural arrangements inhibit and disadvantage some more than others in our society. It spotlights the form and function of dispossession, disenfranchisement, and discrimination across a range of social institutions, and then seeks to give voice to those who are victimized and displaced. CRT, therefore, seeks not only to name, but to be a tool for rooting out inequality and injustice.

... CRT has been disproportionately influential in bringing race discourse to the forefront of informed discussions on civil society.

Thus suggesting that the structure of principle ideas, insights and tools exist within CRT (Taylor-Mullings, 2018). Weick (1995) notes that "theory work can take a variety of forms, because theory itself is a continuum"(p. 387) and according to Runkel and Runkel (1984) in Weick (1995, p. 386)

[t]heory belongs to the family of words that includes guess, speculation, supposition, conjecture, proposition, hypothesis, conception, explanation, model. The dictionaries permit us to use theory for anything from "guess" to "a system of assumptions, accepted principles, and rules of procedure devised to analyze, predict, or otherwise explain the nature or behavior of a specified set of phenomena" (American Heritage Dictionary).

In calling CRT a movement (as some proponents have also called it) it is not clear whether the concern of Trevino et al (2008) is with theory as a product rather than as a process see Weick (1995, p. 385), however based on Van de Ven (1989), CRT might yet be a good theory as a “[g]ood theory is practical precisely because it advances knowledge in a scientific discipline, guides research toward crucial questions, and enlightens the profession of management”(Van de Ven, 1989).

Trevino et al. (2008) also cite CRT for working within the law that it wants to change (p. 8), and of being too centred on a “simplistic Black/White binary” without attention “to the injustices experienced by multiracial persons and the prejudicial treatment of individuals within a racial or ethnic group based on differences in skin pigmentation” (p. 10). In this rejection of CRT, Trevino et al (2008), suggest that uncritical agreement amongst theorists is a requirement for identifying a theory as such; thus rendering Marxism for example neither a social nor a political theory because proponents advance different views (Taylor-Mullings, 2018, p. 43).

Apple (2006, p. 686) in his review *Rhetoric and Reality in Critical Educational Studies in the United States* around calls out

those white scholars who think that everything of central importance can be fully understood by somehow merging race as a set of historically determined and determining relations and realities into a relatively economic understanding of Marx- and here I must speak bluntly-risk practicing a form of whiteness themselves, a form that is based on a privileged position of being white in our societies.

As much of academia is white and knowledge production Eurocentric, issues with race and racism as units of analysis from these academics raise questions as to their worldview. Such is the criticism of Maisuria (2012, p. 89) who posits that white people face criticisms of white privilege in criticising CRT. This harkens back to DiAngelo (2011) showing a pattern of white people pivoting attention away from racism to themselves. Accordingly “[w]e shift the focus back to us, even when

the conversation is not about us (Kendall, 2002, p. 8). In quoting Vodde (2001), DiAngelo reiterates that, “[i]f privilege is defined as a legitimization of one’s entitlement to resources, it can also be defined as permission to escape or avoid any challenges to this entitlement” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 3).

The ongoing debate around the centrality of class and race, in determining the drivers of oppression and the “shared political vision” for social transformation, was to feature in Darder, Ryan, and Hayes II (2023). The contested views of Marxists, critical race theorists and intersectionalists, moves from embracing a grand theory approach to engaging with multiple theories.

Some criticisms from some academics have found currency with politicians and political usage. These include that CRT is divisive, fatalistic, pessimistic and spreads gloom see (Litowitz (1997), Taylor (2016), Subotnik (1998), Rosen (2000), Freeman (2000) in Taylor-Mullings (2018)). Others include CRT being dangerous as it propagates conspiracy theories, challenges the rule of law, champions criminality and empowers race wars see (Rosen, 2000, p. 584) perpetuating a cycle of hatred and violence within the Black community, (Peterson, 2003, p. 2). This next section will highlight some of the political presentations of CRT.

CRT and Politics

The outpouring of criticisms against CRT from majority white people gives credence to the minority Black and people of colour insistence that their voices be heard and stories be told. These criticisms have been voiced by USA and UK politicians who have vilified CRT for political gain. Charles M. Blow (2021) explains that CRT may be threatening to some white people.

Critical race theory [is] simply an analytical tool, but to some white people, the fact that white supremacy [is] overtly used to infect America’s systems of power with both racial oppressions and racial privileges is too much to handle. It is discomforting. It unravels the American myth.

According to Abramowitz and McCoy (2019), Donald Trump, then candidate for the 2016 US presidential election capitalized on the anger, insecurities and fears of the Republican base. The white working-class vulnerability was exposed, and their identity threatened as the continuous shifts in the global economy and the erosion of their previous dominant social status, seemed to be

replaced by “the growing diversity of the country in terms of race and ethnicity, gender roles, and sexual orientation” (Abramowitz & McCoy, 2019, p. 139). Since then, other Conservative politicians have and continue to engage in fear mongering regarding the diminished status of whiteness, patriarchy and the dominant white narrative with the privileging of Blacks and immigrants who would eventually replace white people (Blow, 2021). The idea to restore balance in favour of white people through the 2016 election was espoused as a means of righting the discontent of white working class voters (Abramowitz & McCoy, 2019, p. 141). Donald Trump who would eventually be the 46th president espoused a message that appealed most strongly to white, male non-college graduates (Abramowitz & McCoy, 2019, p. 141). Added to this, a theory, not well known outside of academia was targeted as threatening white people in “making America great again”, as the education of young white students and the society at large was in jeopardy because of the empowerment of Black people through CRT at the expense of white people.

The theory was disparaged in the political arena and consequently in 2020, the Donald Trump administration cancelled all federal training that focused on CRT, white privilege or issues involving race, or gender bias (Kim, 2021, p. 64). Some state legislatures banned the teaching of CRT which in turn allowed changes to some universities, schools and libraries offerings as some books and courses were consequently banned. A beating stick of the right wing Conservative media, CRT criticism has been used to agitate and energize the Conservative base to vote Republican. A Republican vote is seen as a vote against the ascension of nonwhite people, the immigration of nonwhite people, [the] threat to white security, [the] displacement of white power and white culture, and [the] expansion of rights for “the gays” and abortion (Blow, 2021).

Meanwhile in the UK, a similar approach to fearmongering was undertaken within the parliament, with the Conservatives taking the position that critical race theory was dangerous and that the advantages and disadvantages experienced relate to individuals and not colour. In short order, criticism and actions against CRT was to follow under Prime Minister Boris Johnson. According to Daniel Trilling, 2020 “[b]y importing Trump’s culture war, the Conservatives are trying to close down any discussion of structural inequality”(Trilling, 2020) This obfuscation of the issue of racial inequality by focusing on what some believe to be critical race theory, cast the analytic framework as a divisive ideology. According to Blow (2021), in speaking about America, critical race theory

has been cast as teachings that challenge the narrative that whites manufactured about the country, and that unveiled any truths that it had tried to hide or erase.

Andrew Lewer, Conservative member of the House of Commons from Northampton South in the debate on Black history month in the House of Commons opined that critical race theory is was destructive, much in the same way that it was spoken about in the USA, further that unconscious bias and unconscious bias training should be challenged based on “the potential for damage to race relations”. “[CRT] is a dangerous and divisive ideology that should not be adopted in educational theory. It creates a system where people are identified solely by their race and starts from a premise of identifying them as victims of oppression” (Hansard, 2023). Similarly, equalities minister Kemi Badenoch noted that “We do not want teachers to teach their white pupils about white privilege and inherited racial guilt”(Hansard, 2023)

At the same time, other speakers moved away from the criticism of critical race theory to focus on the debate at hand – Black History Month. Labour representative Chi Onwurah noted that she was not exposed to back history in school and that racism still exist as expressed through implicit stereotyping, exclusion and the ceiling occasioned by the colour bar.

...racism in the workplace remains a barrier to the success in school in the UK, of so many. Explicit racial discrimination may be illegal, but implicit stereotyping, exclusion and the burden of being the only Black person in the room forms the ceiling of achievement for so many.

A sample of the published discourse shows opponents and proponents of CRT. Kavya Sharma of the Bristol Institute of Teaching and Learning opined that the Equalities Minister Kemi Badenoch condemnation of “critical race theory, its connotations and its applications, namely discussions of white privilege and structural racism” itself exemplifies structural racism (Sharma, 2020). “Structural racism refers to the totality of ways in which societies foster racial discrimination through mutually reinforcing systems of housing, education, employment, earnings, benefits, credit, media, health care and criminal justice” (Caldwell & Bledsoe, 2019)

While comedian Andrew Doyle on the other hand referred to the Minister’s speech as a “welcome[d] confirmation that section 406 of the Education Act 1996, which requires teachers to

be politically impartial in the classroom, applies to Critical Race Theory”. He further opined that CRT “offers us an alternative vision of society, one that is pessimistic, regressive and opposed to material reality... Describing it as a theory of obscurantism, “[l]ike all offshoots of postmodern thought – such as intersectional feminism, disability studies, fat studies and queer theory – incoherence is built into CRT’s core principles” (Doyle, 2020).

2.7 SUMMARY

So far, we have looked at the theories and relevant terms that will direct our view at the inclusion of the history from the margins in the UK compulsory curriculum. From CRT we have seen that non-white people experience race as normal in their daily lives and do not have the luxury of not seeing or living “race”, and as much as race is a social construct, conceptualized and kept alive by whites for the most part, non-whites continue to live in the long shadow of this concept despite irrefutable proof that race is just a social construct. CRT also exposed that it is only when and where the interest of white people will be best served that actions to right or mitigate a wrong will be taken. Non-whites have been and continue to be excluded from economic, political and social power because they lack the obvious physically visible characteristic of “whiteness”, and it is only through storytelling and counter storytelling that the majority narrative is balanced out as minority experiences are verbalized and exposed to the world. TRC illumines the fundamentals of white supremacy and white ignorance as they interactive and support each other as lead actors in an ongoing play. White supremacy invokes white atrocities against non-whites to achieve and maintain superiority, while white ignorance conjures their collective amnesia thus eliminating the contributions and invalidating the achievements, narrative and the lived experiences of non-whites.

In the latter chapters I will detail the findings from the research and then I will both apply the core tenets of CRT and TRC to the Windrush generation as well as aspects of the education to which they and progeny (and the wider society) have been exposed and analyse the findings to determine the justifiability of the inclusion of the Caribbean colonial history in the compulsory curriculum. It is important to reiterate that it is my belief that all colonial history is pivotal and relevant and that the Caribbean colonial history is a part of the entire history of conquest, subjugation and slavery of the British empire on a significant part of the world.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As previously discussed, this research aims to determine the underlying justifications for including different aspects of history in the UK compulsory curriculum and thus questions the UK government's approach to the inclusion of colonial history from the margins such as the history of former British colonized Caribbean countries, which includes the education on the Windrush generation. Further, it considers the implications of the UK government's history approach to the integration of the Windrush generation and their progeny into the UK society. To do this, research includes some information before the Windrush period i.e. after World War 2 in 1945 and up to 2018 with the publicity of the scandal. The research was conducted as follows: A review of historical documents related to citizenship and nationality and education from 1945 to 2018; a review of articles, speeches and other documents related to immigrants, race, the Windrush generation, citizenship and nationality from 1945 to 2018; interviews with six persons from the Windrush generation and progeny; interviews with experts in and teachers of history.

This approach was used to answer the research questions of:

- What does a review of historical sources reveal about UK government's approach to the inclusion of the Windrush education?

- What impact does this approach have on the social integration i.e. engagement with education, institutions and belongingness of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years

This chapter has four distinct sections - the Research Design, Ethical Considerations, Reflexivity and Methodological Challenges and Limitations. The Research Design i.e. Section 1, will discuss the research groundings as follows: research groundings, type, strategy, sampling, data collection method and data analysis. Section 2 will then look at the Ethical Considerations for the project, with Section 3 reflecting on my positionality and role in the research process and Section 4 will discuss the Methodological Challenges and Limitations.

SECTION 1: RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1.1 RESEARCH GROUNDINGS

The first components in designing this qualitative research were to determine the research philosophy, ontology, epistemology and methodology that would form its foundation. “Research philosophy refers to a system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge” (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2019, p. 130). The research philosophy or paradigm is the worldview that is displayed in the ontology, epistemology and methodology of the study. As such, it is seen in how data is collected, analysed and interpreted. This research embraces a critical theory inquiry paradigm wherein the basic beliefs of reality as subjective and constructed are held. Further, as there are different experiences of reality, there are different interpretations of the lived experience and therefore of truth. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), the aim of critical theory inquiry “is the critique and transformation of ... structures that constrain and exploit humankind” (p. 113). Spencer, Pryce, and Walsh (2014) adds that the use of critical theory inquiry paradigm underscores “the ways by which the values of the researcher and those studied impact the social order” (p. 90). Thus, the knowledge and understanding can become a basis for social criticism.

The ontology of this research is historical realism and assumes that “reality is subjective and constructed on the basis of power” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109). Consequently, there are many truths as individuals have different social exposures, experiences and interests, so too will their interpretation of reality be different. Historical realism is reality that has been shaped by social,

political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender factors which has solidified over time and manifest itself in structures that founded on a reality, or experience thereof that is not common to all. “For all practical purposes, the structures are “real”, a virtual or historical reality”(Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110).

Another support beam for the research is the epistemology. “[E]pistemology deals with questions about how we understand reality – about how we can make knowledge claims of any kind” (Bryne 2017 cited in Flick, 2018, p. 69). Another useful definition of epistemology is the “assumptions about knowledge, what constitutes acceptable, valid and legitimate knowledge, and how we can communicate knowledge to others (Burrell and Morgan 2016) in (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 133). Therefore, the epistemology or “how I know what I know” and what is believed as acceptable, valid, legitimate and the manner in which it is communicated is foundational to the research process and its outcome (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Within this research, knowledge is dynamic as it is contextual and historically situated. What we know over time is expected to change as knowledge undergoes scrutiny under different lens. History is a predictor of the future without the scrutiny of the different lens.

Jackson (2020) states that the “methodology refers to the broad collection of methods and principles inherent in particular research approaches or strategies” and further that there are variations in emphasis of underlying principles and the techniques used. The underlying paradigm to my research is that of critical theory which is concerned with power relations and the marginalized (Creswell & Poth, 2016, p. 27). As such, researchers need to acknowledge their own power, engage in dialogues and use theory to interpret social action (Madison, 2005 in Creswell & Poth, 2016). As a corollary, the methodology which best supported my ontology and epistemology is a dialectical one. This allowed for the examination of pre-existing power structures in light of suffering and struggle experienced by some marginalized groups. The methodology facilitated a dialogue between the tension of historical understandings with elements of critique and hope (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). A range of methods and data was used to support this.

3.1.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND TYPE

According to Flick, “ qualitative research is of specific relevance to the study of social relation” (Flick, 2018, p. 3). Qualitative research was an apt strategy for this study based on the Constance T Fischer (2006) definition that “qualitative research is a reflective, interpretive, descriptive and usually reflexive effort to describe and understand actual instances of human action and experience from the perspective of the participants who are living through a particular situation” (Fischer, 2006, p. xvi). This facilitated the investigation of the social relation within society, the UK government and the Windrush generation and progeny as it considered the individual’s experience which are subjective and given to interpretation. The research focused on the collection and analysis of non-numerical data such as individuals’ experiences and opinions. This strategy allowed access to the stories of individuals in their own words in order to understand their individual experiences and their perception of reality. Moreover, the research project included considerations of the power dynamics of institution, and knowledge production.

The inductive research type is used to investigate a particular case which may allow for generalizations that may be useful in other contexts. Inductive reasoning allows for the focus on individual meaning and the importance of complex situations (Creswell, 2014, p. 32). Individuals subjective meanings are “varied and multiple” which necessitates that this researcher consider “complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas” (Creswell, 2014, p. 37).

3.1.3 SAMPLING STRATEGY

Inasmuch as the stories of several Windrush generation exist in the public domain, this study sought to get a first-hand account of the experience including education in the country of origin and in the UK. This was necessary to cross reference media reports and opinion pieces on the issue of inclusion of the history from the margins as a part of the compulsory curriculum. The intention in getting such sample input was to address areas of the educational, social and affective integration of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years. The decision to utilize a purposive sample was undertaken because of the intention to collect specific information about

specific experiences from a specific population. This non-probability sample targeted a particular demographic niche i.e. Caribbean and from the Windrush generation or progeny.

The Sample

The sample was taken from persons who had migrated and made new homes in the UK during the Windrush period, as well as their offspring. The sample raised families, held jobs, lived in and educated their children in the UK. Participants were developed from referrals made by persons living in Jamaica who knew of individuals who had migrated to the UK. This list was refined to meet the criteria which meant the exclusion of persons who migrated for a short period of time for schooling, work or to visit and returned to their country of origin. The sample is specific to persons who migrated during the Windrush period and their offspring. Accordingly, four interviews were conducted to get first-hand account of former colonial nationals who migrated to the UK during the Windrush period and two interviews were conducted with offspring of the generation. The participants have been anonymized and were assigned names based on rivers in Jamaica – Cabarita, Hope, Martha Brae, Yallahs, Rio Cobre henceforth Cobre and Rio D’Oro, henceforth D’Oro. The four older participants – Cabarita (75-years old) and Martha Brae (70-years old), Cobre (87-years old) and Yallahs (72-years old) are retired health care professionals who were trained and worked in the UK health sector. Hope is the progeny of Cabarita, born in Jamaica and sent for in 1976. She has lived over 47 years in the UK and was educated there, and now works in the education sector. D’Oro is the progeny of Cobre, was born in and has lived his in the



The referrals enabled me to have access to and engage with participants through our cultural similarities and this allowed the participants to share their stories freely. I was able to tap into cultural norms of addressing older persons for example in addressing Cobre who was the oldest participant, it was culturally appropriate to address her as Miss First Name example Ms Cobre. I also understood the similarities of the Jamaican non-bank saving approach called *Partner* to the Trinidad saving approach called *Susu* when one of the participants, Yallahs spoke about it as I probed the ability to get financing for home ownership. Yallahs responded:

Yeah, so we have our *susu* going and the Jamaicans have their *partner* going and they get the house, you know. Yeah, because you could take, you know, your *susu* money. When you build up your *susu* money, you give a down payment and things, you know. So, that's why the Jamaicans, they have, they had a better foundation in the sense of buying homes. Where the Trinidadians, like, oh, I'm going back and wouldn't be buying a house and, you know, they want to rent, you know. But, yeah, it was, once you let the banks have your money, they're fine, they're happy with you, you know.

I also understood our Caribbean way of telling a story to tell a story i.e. story within story as well as our Caribbean wisdom sayings. For instance, Hope spoke of the Langston Hughes poem Harlem as she discussed the dreams and the need to push against systemic structures that caused these dreams not to be fulfilled. She shared:

To the point that... Langston Hughes, right, is an American poet and he wrote a poem called *Harlem* and the first line of it is "What is a dream? Is it something lost, something in the distance? What do you do with your dream?" And that basically to me is saying we have dreams, but their system won't let us explore our dreams. We have to keep pushing and pushing.

I was cognizant of the paradox of indwelling while at the same time being aware of my "own biases and preconceptions" as they intersected in the interviews as posited by Maykut (1994, p. 114)

Thus the qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others -to indwell- and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand.

3.1.4 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The data collection strategy involved traditional research methods of working in brick-and-mortar libraries and reviewing documents, as well as a relatively new method of using an internet-mediated research approach to get contextual data from experts in different fields with knowledge that was material to the study. At the same time, interviews of participants allowed for the gathering of their first-hand account of their experiences through electronic mediated synchronous technology. Details of the data collection method are explained below.

INTERNET-MEDIATED RESEARCH (IMR)

According to the British Psychological Society, internet-mediated research (IMR) “can be broadly defined as any research involving the remote acquisition of data from or about human participants using the Internet and its associated technologies” (Hewson & Buchanan, 2019). Internet-mediated research involves asynchronous and synchronous approaches in acquiring knowledge. As a rule, asynchronous refers to the ability for respondents to interact with the research without researcher-imposed time restrictions and over a longer period of time, while synchronous refers to participation at the same time in a shared space whether the space is a physical or virtual space. I used IMR asynchronously and synchronously to facilitate the data collection process with interview participants and experts as further detailed.

QUESTIONS VIA EMAIL

An asynchronous approach was taken to get responses from UK experts in academia in history and sociology; and secondary school teachers of history. This involved the use of emails as an internet-mediated communication instrument. This approach was used to allow the experts to complete their responses to questions at times convenient to them and to overcome the inability to travel to these locations during the research period. The approach is unobstructive and convenient to respondents and helped to overcome the constraints of time and cost. At the same time, the asynchronous approach does not lend itself to instant feedback, real-time or personal interaction, thus limiting the ability to probe. This was a limiting factor as all questions had to be clear and direct to avoid misunderstandings or misinterpretations. Additionally, the time period for correspondence can be an extended one in some cases, as I experienced. It is very likely that other

related information could have been unearthed with a face-to-face interaction. Expert participants were developed from the Royal Historical Society and the British Sociological Association while teachers were identified from referrals or snowballing.

Experts were asked open-ended questions that were similarly coded and analysed for themes. This process will be explained in more details in the data analysis section.

INTERVIEWS

A synchronous approach via Zoom videoconferencing was used with the Windrush generation participants order to acquire direct and immediate interactions. This was convenient for participants who were able to set aside time to be interviewed and give feedback online. The Zoom conferencing platform licensed through Oslo Metropolitan University was used to conduct these interviews. In this way, participants were facilitated at a set time that was convenient to them. While videoconferencing allowed some amount of face-to-face interaction, interviews faced the risk of delays in building rapport and technological issues. The synchronous approach allowed for instant and direct interactions inasmuch as the ability to read body language and cues was diminished. The approach was also helpful in overcoming place and cost constraints.

Windrush and progeny participants were interviewed online between September 18, 2022 and May 23, 2023 with voice recordings and notes made of the interviews. Participants were in their home environment at the time of the interviews. Open-ended questions were administered to the participants and different points probed as the interviews proceeded. The interviews were slated for 45 minutes, however most ran for more than that time as participants willingly shared their stories. Indeed, it was an expectation that the pace and timing of the interviews would be set by the participants as it would have been improper of me to do otherwise with this sample. The interviews, while guided by previously developed questions were not pressured by time constraints in that participants were encouraged to develop and share thoughts at their own pace. This also allowed for follow-up questions to be asked based on the responses of the participants. The open-ended questions were not pre-coded as answers were not anticipated and in-depth answers were solicited.

This use of open-ended questions enabled more detailed responses, while minimizing the propensity to researcher bias as the responses were not proposed by the researcher as in closed-ended questioning. Further, the participants were able to freely express themselves, however care had to be taken to ensure that participants stayed on topic and provide relevant information. It was also easier to probe different responses. At the same time, some of the detail responses from these open-ended questions were difficult to code, analyse and interpret. I had to be cognizant that researcher bias can be introduced in the analysis based on my own perceptions. The interviews after being conducted, were transcribed, and coded by themes, please see data analysis for more information on this. The resultant themes were analysed to develop a clearer understanding of the participants' reality.

DOCUMENTS

In this research I reviewed historical and contemporary books and public records which included legislations, newspapers and reports relating to education, citizenship and nationality. Historical documents are those produced around the time of the event or the period under review and provides primary, firsthand or direct information. As a research tool, document allowed me to gather data where persons germane to the topic no longer had a voice in this life. The book and document search took me to several libraries – virtual and in person. Legislations were identified through the UK government websites – [Legislation.gov.uk](http://legislation.gov.uk) which is managed by The National Archives. Parliamentary debates were accessed from Hansard online which is the official verbatim record of parliamentary proceedings. These documents were searched by words relating to citizenship, education, Jamaica, migrants, and Windrush. Also, a search was undertaken by politician names and events where the websites allowed. Only documents related to citizenship, education and nationality, immigration were included. In this way the changing legislation related to citizenship and education as introduced in Chapter 1 was accessed from the National Archives through the website <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/>. Other legislations accessed from the site were: the British Nationality Act 1948, The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 and 1968, and The Immigration Act 1971, The British Nationality Act 1981 and the Education Reform Act 1988. The debates such as Minors Entering the UK:1941-1971 was accessed <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/> and

Cabinet correspondence from www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. News media reports were accessed from the British Newspaper Archive at <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> and through the National Archives using similar words as above. The newspaper search was concentrated in the areas of London where the majority of the Windrush generation settled.

3.1.5 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Analysing documents, interviews and transcripts

The type of research lent itself to using a hybrid analysis on the collected data from documents and interviews. It required the perspective of the government and the new Commonwealth migrants and access to migrant stories of their lived experiences. The data analysis methods which best accomplished this was content analysis (CA) and hermeneutic phenomenology (HP) analysis. Specifically, I used CA along with HP within a critical race theory (CRT) and the Racial Contract (TRC) framework to interrogate the documents and interviews respectively. Content analysis is preferred over a historical analysis in this instance to unearth the sentiments of the time given the theoretical framework discussed earlier.

In keeping with the authenticity required, consideration was given to the source of the documents, the purpose for which they were created, authorship and biases, and other existing documents around the topic (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, pp. 176-177). Every effort was made to get documents from public credible sources as shown above. Documents from these sources along with participant interviews allowed me to triangulate the data to ensure credible and reliable results and to eliminate potential biases. Further, credibility through triangulation was achieved by checking interpretation against raw data, member checking. Data collection strategies facilitated the design of transparent processes for coding and drawing conclusions from the raw data as per (Zhang, 2017, p. 323).

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents so that the researcher may make meaning about the area of interest (Fischer, 2006). Documents include both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material (Bowen, 2009, p. 27).

Further, “it is a process of evaluating documents in such a way that empirical knowledge is produced and understanding is developed (Bowen, 2009, pp. 33-34). In this process, public records, personal documents and physical evidence are sourced for evaluation. This research looked primarily at public documents and transcripts. Qualitative analysis of content was used to interrogate the existing historical sources as it relates to the UK government’s approach to the Windrush generation and their inclusion in the compulsory education, as well as the impact of the government’s approach on that generation and progeny in subsequent years.

According to Zhang & Wildemuth (2017 p. 318), qualitative analysis of content “emphasizes an integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts... It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner”. Additionally, drawing on the previous works of (Berelson, 1952; GAO, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990) Stemler (2000) offers a definition of content analysis as a “systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding”. The definition of content analysis as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” Ole Holsti (1969) in Stemler and Woodrum suggest that content analysis has wide applications using consistent methodical procedures during the process thus ensuring replicability (Stemler, 2000; Woodrum, 1984). Thus, content analysis was the document analysis strategy of choice as it allowed for the examination of words and concepts within texts to have an understanding beyond the manifest content i.e. explicit content versus latent content or hidden meaning (Eisner, 2017). This was important for my research as the obvious or manifest meaning might have been different from the implied or latent meaning. I also considered that one piece of legislation might affect another in terms of execution so the manifest meaning might in fact be different from the latent meaning which might show itself in the real outcome.

Given that CA requires a well-defined theoretical framework within which insight can be gained into the nature and social context of content under scrutiny (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p. 93), and, given the nature of the project wherein global north-south interaction and people of different ethnicities with a history of imperialism and colonization living in the same time and space might give rise to undertones of bias, it was therefore best to use the directed content analysis approach

within the critical race theory framework. The directed approach allowed the use of CRT and TRC as a guiding framework to develop the initial codes. As such the tenets of the theories were used as reference points for the analysis. That CRT and its tenet of racism is normal, interest convergence, social construct to race, storytelling/counter storytelling are controversial at the time of this research, and it might not be viewed as a 'safe' framework, it was important to use this and TRC which continue to be credible theories for this content analysis. Nevertheless, given the nature of the subject i.e. the intersection of North and South through conquest and enslavement, and the dominant view of history told from the victors, the option chosen for analysing the topic was one based on a view from the marginalized.

The eight-step process followed in conducting the content analysis is based on the work of Zhang & Wildemuth (2017) is outlined as follows: 1) prepare the data i.e. make data available in text form (2) define the unit of analysis (3) develop categories and a coding scheme (4) test the coding scheme on a sample of text (5) code all the text (6) assess the coding consistency (7) draw conclusions from the coded data (8) report methods and findings (pp. 320-323). The unit of analysis was based on themes as per Minichiello et al., 1990 in Zhang & Wildemuth (2017). This allowed for the texts to be reviewed for the expression of different ideas or thoughts relevant to the research question. The documents were analysed using coding categories based on the tenets of CRT which were inputted in the NVivo programme. Additionally, an inter-coder assessment was done to determine coding consistency.

Inasmuch as content analysis is a widely used procedure offering several benefits, it is countered by some and drawbacks. It highlights the meaning of text and can offer frequency occurrence. At the same time, while it is inexpensive, it is time consuming especially if working with multiple complex text. The consistency in using the systematic procedures for searching and coding and offers reliability and the prospects for replicability. On the other hand, good text coding is pivotal in establishing the categories and accuracy which has implications for the research findings validity and as with computing – garbage in, garbage out. It is therefore important that the contexts within which words are used are not disregarded. Content analysis offers wide application as it is

useful for analysing text, images, and sounds; it is however difficult to work with complex textual analysis.

HERMENEUTIC PHENOMENOLOGY

Hermeneutic phenomenology (HP) was employed to scrutinize information gathered from the interviews. This is a qualitative method that explores the lived experience, together with its meanings for several persons. It is the science of interpretation of texts, whereby language, in its written or spoken form, is scrutinized to reveal meaning in phenomena (Rapport, 2005, p. 125). Text requires interpretation, and hermeneutics is the “art and science of interpretation” (Ezzy, 2002, p. 24). Phenomenology on the other hand studies the meaning of experiences from the first-person point of view to get to the essence of the meaning of the experience. This research method “is a matter of openness to everyday, experienced meanings as opposed to theoretical ones” (N. Friesen et al. (eds.), 2012, p. 1). Further, HP is a way of understanding human beings in a culture through the language of that culture. After all, it is through language that traditions are preserved and transmitted (Rapport, 2005, p. 128). I used HP because it aims to reveal the particulars of experiences that may seem unimportant which upon closer inspection have deeper meaning (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991 in Laverty, 2003, p. 24)).

The HP process starts with sampling as the sample and the interview(s) must be relevant to the research question. Here the participant selection is made based on the “certainty that participants possess real experiences and intimate knowledge about the phenomenon being studied” (Ramsook, 2018, p. 16). In other words, a purposive sample was necessary as it is based on knowledge that they have experienced the phenomenon under study and can provide authentic data from these experiences. Further, the interview becomes a “conversational partnership... in which the interviewee feels understood and trusted as a reliable source of information” per Rubin & Rubin in Ramsook, 2018. The process continues through the collection of participants’ experiences and analysis of their meanings. It is an iterative process and reflexive process of reading, writing, talking, mulling, re-reading, re-writing and keeping new insights in play”(Smythe, Ironside, Sims, Swenson, & Spence, 2007, p. 1393). The text must be examined and reflections made on the content to uncover something ‘telling’, ‘meaningful’ and ‘thematic’ see van Manen 1997 in (Sloan

& Bowe, 2014, p. 3). Once the themes are identified, the meaning of the lived experience are interpreted in light of these themes.

In my study, consent was obtained and confidentiality and participants' anonymity maintained. Data was collected by interview using open-ended unstructured questions which were later transcribed. An iterative process of examining the text, reflection was undertaken to identify themes which were later re-examined in order to come to a true understanding of the phenomenon that they experienced (Ramsook, 2018, p. 14). The unit of analysis is the lived experiences of persons from the Windrush generation and progeny.

Because HP focuses on the internal world of the individual having (or who had) the exposure, it acknowledges the strength of the individual's experience and their interpretation of that experience. HP therefore values individual's stories and the context to those and through a process of reflection tries to move between the individual's internal and external world. Nevertheless, the method has been criticized as vague and abstract because it deals with the interpretation of (for want of better word) – experiences, and perceptions about a lived experience. It is therefore not, and does not pretend to be positivist. Finally, HP is dependent on the hermeneutical circle which is an iterative process of establishing the understanding of text by understanding the individual parts, while to understand the parts one needs to reference the whole. The process can therefore be time consuming and cumbersome nevertheless useful.

SECTION 2: ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Data collection methods was in accordance with best practices and gave due care to regulatory obligations and ethical requirements. Prior to the execution of the project, all research protocols were followed. Accordingly, the project description was submitted for approval to the Norsk Senter For Forskningsdata (NSD). This included obtaining approval for interview execution from the in order to obtain participant's personal data. Personal data relates to any data that can identify the participant such as name, date of birth, email addresses and voice recordings. It was therefore important that the NSD Informed consent was sent to and discussed with participants before the

interviews were conducted. Before participating in the study, participants were sent the Thesis Information Letter so that they could read, question and clarify any aspect of the research before giving consent. This also allowed participants to have a full understanding of how their data would be collected, used and stored and the time period associated with this. At the beginning of the interview, the Thesis Information Letter was again detailed and questions invited from participants. Participants were reminded that they could withdraw consent at any time and were asked to state if they agreed to being a part of the research project.

An interview guide was submitted for both participants and experts along with the NSD application. The guide was tailored for each expert based on their field of study and publications while the guide for the participants remained largely unchanged. Voice recordings were captured using the Nettskjema-Diktafon app as well as notes taken of the interviews. As the participant's told their stories in their own words, it was important that the transcription accurately reflected these stories. A semi-verbatim transcription was done to omit pauses and word fillers to give clarity. Documents used in this research are public records which anyone can access and examine.

SECTION 3: REFLEXIVITY

My research lenses are forged in independent Jamaica (which up to 1962 was a British colony) where the descendants of former slaves are in the majority, they are in leadership in government, community, church, media, banking, business, education, tourism – everywhere. Our motto “Out of Many One People” celebrates the cultural diversity and the colour spectrum that makes us who we are, knowing full well that this diversity belies a history of intermingling which was painful for many generations of the majority people.

As a Jamaican, I was exposed to our history from primary through to high school in an age and stage appropriate manner. I was also exposed to our history through the commemoration of significant dates by way of music, drama, dance, worship, and media presentations to name a few. The celebration of Emancipation, Independence, Heroes Day (national and everyday heroes) are usually met with coverage of the history of Jamaica through the media spectrum including the

significance of our national symbols. For the most part, we as a people know our Jamaican history, told by *our* storytellers and written by *our* historians. I believe the matter of history and representation are important for individuals to successfully navigate their citizenship and ultimately identity if the individual and society is to thrive.

In some ways I am divorced from the Windrush Generation and progeny and in some ways not. I have no knowledge or personal experience of family members or any friends who migrated to the UK during the Windrush period. At the same time, I share a common cultural heritage, language and understanding of our idioms with persons in the diaspora. I am aware of what has happened to some Jamaican migrants through the media or from someone relating what has happened to someone else. I am also very aware that my post-independence Jamaican experience of governance is very different to those who were born prior to independence. Having said that, my interest in the topic was spurred because the Windrush generation is a part of Jamaican history outside of Jamaica. To fully understand my research groundings, I found it necessary to reflect on and read more about beliefs of reality and knowledge. Grasping the two and having an appreciation of them was difficult as the concepts of ontology and epistemology very often appear esoteric. After much research and reflection, I was guided by the framework developed by Guba and Lincoln (1994). This provided “a useful map and a language” of the competing research paradigms (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 93) and helped me to locate my research on the paradigm continuum. My eureka experience came from the practical explanations from the business and education fields which synergises my exposure and I therefore try to present this chapter (and indeed my research) as non-esoteric, non-exclusive and as practical and accessible as possible (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Jackson, 2020; Saunders et al., 2019).

SECTION 4: METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

As a purposive sample, the participants were limited to British citizens of Jamaican origins. It is recognized however, that the Windrush generation includes people of different national origins and their experience might not be reflected in those of the sample. Participants in the interviews were mainly female – not by design, however the females responded more favourably to being

interviewed for the study. Experts in history teaching at the secondary and higher education levels were contacted. An informal conversation was not voice recorded, and will not be quoted in this research as the expert did not expressly give consent to being a part of the research. It was generally found that more persons indicated that they would be willing to participate but did not respond to further contact to conduct the interviews.

Two organizations (The History Association and Cambridge Assessment) were approached for information with one not responding and the other citing that the information was protected under the Freedom of Information Act. Completion of the request under the Freedom of Information Act went unanswered up to the time of writing.

3.2 SUMMARY

This study looks at the inclusion of the history of the Windrush generation into the UK compulsory history curriculum and considers the implication of the approach taken by the UK government for the integration of the Windrush generation into the UK society. Using a qualitative research design, I explored documents and engaged in synchronous and asynchronous data gathering from research participants and experts in the field. I used a purposive sample to get the lived experiences of three persons and engaged with academics in history and sociology. A hybrid approach was taken to the analysis of the data. This involved content and hermeneutic phenomenology analyses moderated by a reflexive approach in light of the nature of the research. The next chapter will give a historical context to the research by looking at some narratives behind the Windrush generation and their contact with British education.

CHAPTER 4

APPROACH TO WINDRUSH INCLUSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This research investigated the UK government and society's response to the Windrush landing and subsequent interactions with the generation and progeny. This was done to determine the underlying factors for including different aspects of history in the compulsory curriculum. Further, the research was conducted to find out the currency and consequences that these factors have in society. In order to do this, the project focused on two research questions:

- What does a review of historical sources reveal about UK government's approach to the Windrush generation and their education?
- What impact does this approach have on the social integration i.e. engagement with education, institutions and belongingness of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years

This chapter and the next, focus on the findings from documents and research participants and the responses from experts in answering the research questions. The findings for Research Question 1 are presented in this chapter. Research question 1 was approached in two steps – 1) the UK government's approach to the Windrush Generation and 2) that government's approach to the Windrush generation and progeny education which includes history teaching.

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 1

What does a review of historical sources reveal about UK government's approach to the inclusion of the Windrush education?

4.2.1 NO GOVERNMENT INVITATION

One of the main findings of the research is that the Windrush generation was never considered, invited nor envisioned by the UK government to help with the reconstruction effort after World War II. This is important as it framed the reception and daily lives of the generation and progeny from the time they landed to the present period. While a few public entities organized direct recruitment in the late 1950s and onwards, findings from the document analysis suggest that the Windrush generation were never considered to give assistance in the re-building efforts in the

1940s. In 1948, migration of the West Indian colonial subject to the UK for the purpose of rebuilding the country after the second world war was not envisioned, encouraged or wanted by the then government and the Windrush generation were not invited to the motherland to rebuild. This is first seen from archived correspondence between the Acting Governor of Jamaica – D.C. MacGillivray to Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies and subsequent correspondence from Secretary of State to the Cabinet. On May 11, 1948, the Acting Governor MacGillivray sent an important telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inform that Jamaican men had booked passage to Britain with the possibility of more men to be added (MacGillivray, 1948, p. 3245).

I regret to inform you that more than 350 troop-deck passages by EMPIRE WINDRUSH-your telegram MAST 275 refers-have been booked by men who hope to find employment in the United Kingdom, and it is likely that this number will be increased by another 100 before the vessel leaves. Most of them have no particular skill and few will have more than a few pounds on their arrival.

By May 13th, correspondence was sent from Welfare Department at Kinnaird House with a request for guidance regarding the situation (Jewell, 1948). With the arrival of the British colonial subjects, the Secretary of State for the colonies, Arthur Creech Jones (1948) had to explain to Cabinet that the travelers decided on their own to travel to the UK in search of job opportunities. The archived correspondence (CAB 129/28/4) accessed from The National Archives points to the unwanted and uninvited help of the generation.

The government of Jamaica has no legal power to prevent their departure from Jamaica and the Government of the United Kingdom has no legal power to prevent their landing. This is a spontaneous movement by Jamaicans who have saved up enough money to pay their own passages to England, on the chance of finding employment, as they are free to do now that the allocation of berths has been discontinued. We do not know who were the ringleaders in the enterprise, but I have asked the Governor of Jamaica for a report on this point.

Jones was to further stress in his June 18th memorandum to the Cabinet that the migration was not organized by the government.

It was certainly not organized or encouraged by the Colonial Office or the Jamaica Government, on the contrary, every possible step has been taken by the Colonial Office and by the Jamaica to discourage these influxes. Not only has the position about employment and accommodation in the United Kingdom been explained by me to the Governors in correspondence but a senior officer of my Department visited Jamaica and certain of their other West Indian Islands last year and made great efforts to explain the

difficulties at this end and to discourage people from coming over to this country on the chance of finding work.

He explained that there were at the time up to 50,000 unemployed or under employed persons and the economic circumstances in Jamaica was dire and had been long standing (p 2). In his account to Cabinet as to why coloured British subjects were en route to that country on June 18, 1948, Jones is explicit and makes clear that neither he nor the Government had a hand in the scheme. The Jamaicans who had not been encouraged, went on their own volition, paid their passage and travelled to find work as they were free to do as British subjects. Further, he was trying to identify the “ringleaders”, and “every possible step has been taken by the Colonial Office and by the Jamaica Government to discourage these influxes” (p 1). To avoid public scandal and possible disorder they would make arrangements to “deal with the situation”, which included organizing accommodation and transportation (p 2) . While not planning a welcome for the men, there had to be an appearance of hospitality. They would look at employment possibilities in British Guiana and British Honduras and also the possibility of having the men work in Africa was being explored but was not expected to meet with success (p 3).

The research found a change in the language used by the media to report the Windrush landing. For example, different newspapers at the time reported the landing with the page four headline of the June 22, 1948 The Evening News (Final Night Extra) reading *200 Jobless Jamaicans Come to Britain*. This was different from the previous day’s Evening News article which read *Welcome Home! Evening Standard ‘plane greets the 400 sons of Empire* (Richards, 1948). On the same day (June 22), the Birmingham Mail reported *Jamaicans Seeking Work in Britain – Conditions at Home ‘Pretty Bad’*. By the next year - 1949, landings such as these were reported as *Immigrants from West Indies - 254 for Britain*, (The Times p.4). Over the years reports of the “coloured colonials immigrants” or immigrants would continue as too would the reports of the wives and children joining family members.

The initiative to recruit from former colonies was made by entities such as the London Transport (LT) and the National Health Services (NHS). These employer-sponsored schemes were separate from other such recruitment drives made by the UK government such as the recruitment of Polish

and Irish workers. The London Transport however recruited workers directly from the Caribbean. According to the London Transport Museum website (Museum, 2023) the Caribbean recruitment was open to

Men and women [who] were recruited directly from Barbados to work in a variety of LT roles. The Government of Barbados lent recruits the fare to Britain, which was then paid back over two years. Similar schemes were run with British Rail and the National Health Service.

The Jamaica Information Service (JIS), reported the London Transport direct recruitment started in Barbados in 1956 and in Trinidad and Jamaica in 1966 (JIS, 2006)

The Caribbean recruitment started in the 1950s as London Transport began a major recruitment drive to cope with the labour shortages following World War II...The direct recruitment began in Barbados in 1956 when men and women were invited to become bus conductors, underground staff, and canteen assistants. The scheme was expanded to include Jamaica and Trinidad in 1966.

Despite the research findings, there seems to be a perception held by some that the Windrush generation was invited by the government of the UK as seen in the response of Martha:

... And at the time, Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, was in power and wanted... because the war had ended, and they wanted people to come and work, so they were inviting people up to come and work in the UK.

Hope similarly responded that the generation was invited:

They invited us. We didn't go to the King, Queen and said, we want to go, we want to come. They came with their list of requirements and said, do this, do that [...] So you come, you paint this pretty picture, what they did not say and make clear - that when you come here you've got nowhere to live. They did not make it clear that when you come here we don't want you to stay. They said it was there, that it's a five year plan. Well, I've spoken to many Windrush people - *did you read the five year plan that yuh haffi go back ah yuh yaad?* No, it wasn't explained.

The lack of invitation from the government to Black colonials is a clear indication that they did not want to bear the responsibility of introducing non-white people into that country. Maintaining the country's colour profile was important even in times of need. The maintenance of this racial purity or a racially homogeneous society was to be discussed later in Chambers of Lords and Commons. Racial homogeneity and concerns of the Chambers are discussed below.

4.2.2 A RACIALLY HOMOGENEOUS SOCIETY

The attempts to keep the country racially homogeneous was seen in the governments central role in espousing a racial binary that embraced European demographic features as Britishness and racialized others from outside those demographic features (Carter, Harris, & Joshi, 1987, pp. 335-347). Accordingly, Carter et al. (1987) highlight the dichotomy of prohibiting racial discrimination under the Brockway Bill, while refusing aid local authorities on housing (where the discrimination was most obvious). The scholars noted that state racism was built on the concern of Black immigration changing the racial character of English people, citing the call on then prime minister Atlee for immigration control on Blacks who were likely to “impair the harmony, strength and cohesion of our public and social life and to cause discord and unhappiness among all concerned”(Carter et al., 1987, p. 335). The government’s campaign to racialize the British colonial subjects continued with the intent to cause public anxiety so that actions taken against the Black colonial subject would be in response to the public (Carter et al., 1987, p. 337). Evidence of the Black immigrant problem was sought in “unemployment and National Assistance, 'numbers', housing, health, criminality and miscegenation” through intense police surveillance of the Black communities and surveys undertaken by the Ministry of Labour, the National Assistance Board, the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office, the Home Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Departments of Health, Housing and Transport, as well as voluntary organisations.

The Draft Report of the Working Party on Coloured People Seeking Employment in the United Kingdom set up by Cabinet in 1953, identified the Black male slave descendants as “physically unsuited for heavy manual work, particularly outdoors in winter or in hot conditions underground and appear to be generally lacking in stamina”. They were labelled as volatile and violent. Coloured women were labelled as mentally slow and lacked the speed and dexterity to work in modern factories. The coloureds were portrayed as a drain on the National Assistance, despite not being eligible for this assistance. Further, Black immigrants put a strain on the housing shortage and were responsible for creating primitive, squalid living conditions and fears that the Blacks would build new Harlems (reminiscent of New York) were stoked. Moreover, relationships between Black men and white women “undermined the sanctity of white British womanhood” and Black men were stereotyped as drug traffickers (Carter et al., 1987, pp. 337-342). As the state was

active in framing public opinion and the stereotypes associated with Black immigrants, it was not long before the racialized construct of Britishness as well as legislative efforts to limit the Black presence was accepted as being in the common good. The narrative of Black immigration posing “insoluble problems of social, economic and political assimilation(Carter et al., 1987)” was complete. One year later (1954), the Commonwealth Relations Office representative, W.A.W. Clarke wrote to the Mr. Morley Home Office Committee on February 1, 1954 to say that there was not sufficient basis to take action against the influx.

So complete was the narrative of Black immigration posing social, economic and political problems that the Migration Observatory’s British Election Study (BES) shows that in 1964, 1966 and 1979 there was high “opposition to immigration with 85-86% of people at each of those times reporting that there were too many immigrants in Britain”(Migration Observatory, 2023). Sally Tomlinson (2019, p. 64) citing MacKenzie, (2015, p.197) speculates in that the lack of government and political leadership in positively portraying and working with immigrants influenced the response to migrants even to present times.

Consequently, the British colonial immigrants faced several racially based riots in the motherland from EVWs and white British and people alike. Government response was generally muted and the colonial immigrants were seen as the problem. One of the earliest racial conflicts was in 1949, just one year after the docking of the SS Windrush. The disturbance occurred when Polish workers tried to expel British colonials out of the hostel that they shared at Causeway Green in the Midlands (Searle, 2013, p. 45). As a consequence, restrictions were placed on the number of Black workers who could stay at government hostels. Even where the white recruited workers were the instigators, limitations were placed on the Black British colonials. Several other race-based riots were to follow such as the 1958 Notting Hill, into the 1981 Brixton Riot up to present day. Discrimination in employment continued and in one such instance led to the 1963 Bristol bus boycott. Intense police scrutiny and discrimination continued which culminated in protests and Black citizen action. In 1970, the trial of the Mangrove Nine on the grounds of inciting a riot acknowledged racial prejudice in the Metropolitan police and policing.

4.2.3 DISCUSSIONS IN THE CHAMBERS

Discussions were to continue in both the upper and lower chambers of government about the status of the Windrush migrants and progeny throughout the Windrush period. A snapshot of the discussion in 1956 highlighted the fear of racial mixing if not at that time, then in the future. Lord Elton (1956) in the House of Lords raised several issues regarding the West Indian Immigrants (Hansard, 1956), in spite of pointing out “a number of countervailing circumstances” such as service to the realm during World War I and World War II, when they served in the Armed Forces and in the Merchant Marine; and that the immigrants are not applying to the assistance boards, or appearing in court on criminal charges, in numbers sufficient to cause comment, let alone concern.

Lord Elton’s concerns were threefold – 1) racial conflict arising from competition in the labour market, 2) housing issues and 3) miscegenation and were expressed thus:

Of concern however were the great many risks involved in the present situation; and, first and foremost, the risk, not now but at some future time and in altered circumstances, of racial conflict arising from competition in the labour market...Then there is the trouble which may arise, and indeed has arisen, from competition elsewhere than in the labour market...[i.e. in housing]. But, of course, the real hardship of the housing problem falls upon the immigrant.

Then, my Lords, there is the delicate question of miscegenation... But we must surely ask ourselves what will be the results after, say, a generation of immigration on this sort of scale. We have absorbed a great many immigrations in our long history, and profited greatly by many of them, but it is no reflection on either of the potential partners to say that history itself has shown that not every form of interbreeding is successful or desirable in every context and in every area. [...] Have Her Majesty's Government any views on this profoundly important aspect of immigration?

Lord Mancroft in response did not foresee any trouble, however there was always the possibility of this problem arising in the future.

I come now to the subject which one or two noble Lords have raised—that of miscegenation, which is nearly as difficult a subject as it is a word to pronounce. Here again, I have no reliable statistics to offer the House, but I am told that it is not really a serious problem; and as 40 per cent. of the immigrants now coming in are women, that may again reduce the chances of future trouble. It is certainly true that a high proportion of these West Indians are illegitimate. I am also told that there is a high proportion of coloured children in the care of local authorities and voluntary organisations. Here again, I can find no evidence of this. I do not believe the number is excessive or the position acute, though here again there is the risk of trouble in the future. (Hansard, 1956)

This discussion in the Chambers highlighted race as a social construct. Inasmuch as it was a human-invented taxonomy which stratifies persons based on colour, the Black coloured person was always at the bottom of the classification. It would therefore be a great mistake or heinous act of miscegenation if Black and white persons were to copulate and produce a brown child. Interbreeding of this sort was a great fear of the white people as evidenced by this discussion.

Based on the evidence of the Hansard recordings, the lack of government and political leadership in positively portraying and working with immigrants (Tomlinson, 2019, p. 64 MacKenzie, 2015, p. 197) seemed to have been based on the racist beliefs that some government members held as a result of their understanding of the races.

4.2.4 THE DISQUIETING INFLUX

The lack of government outreach to the Windrush generation is in line with the recruitment strategy identified by Paul (point 4) in Chapter 2 and was manifested in the actions taken by British politicians. From the National Archives records of the November 15, 1960, Richard Butler's Memorandum to Cabinet shows the thinking of the time was that the migration from Commonwealth remained unabated and other statutory control measures might have to be considered (Butler, 1960).

Inasmuch as Butler noted that unemployment remained low for the migrants (as only 5,500 of the total 160,000 British West Indians were without jobs up to August of 1960), the coming of the immigrants was termed an 'influx' which remained a concern as the situation was 'disquieting'. According to information from the BBC, approximately 500,000 persons from the Caribbean migrated to the UK between 1948 and 1971 ("Caribbean migration: the Windrush generation," 2023). By 1971, UK population was 55,650,166 (www.macrotrends.net).

In light of what Butler described as a disquieting situation, he suggested that the Cabinet Committee on coloured immigration should be reconstituted [...] to consider and keep under review the problems caused by the uncontrolled entry into the United Kingdom of subjects from overseas"(Butler, 1960, p. 2). Indeed, the British colonial subjects continued to migrate to the UK

and continued to face problems within the motherland. While many found jobs for which they were many times over qualified, they faced mixed acceptance from white British citizens. Headlines counting the number of British colonial arrivals continued such as the one in the Manchester Guardian ("Immigrants Arrival from Jamaica," 1954).

4.2.5 NATIONALITY AND IMMIGRATION LEGISLATIONS

A review of the treatment of immigration and citizenship shows policies and legislations made to reinforce the exclusivity of British citizenship. In 1914, the British Nationality and Status of Alien Act Part 1 section 1(a) defined a natural born British subject as "Any person born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance" (*British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914*). Persons born within the British empire were therefore considered British subjects. Between 1914 and 1948 the Coloured Alien Seaman Order (1925) was to be passed that would set the stage of the treatment that those considered aliens. This is discussed in details below. With the passing of the British Nationality Act 1948, the status of British subject remained unchanged. According to Olusoga (2019) the British Nationality Act was passed to underscore the relationship between Britain and former white colonies:

When, in 1948, parliament passed a new British Nationality Act the aim was to reaffirm existing rights that enabled the two-way flow, between Britain and the old Commonwealth, of people who were regularly described in postwar official documents as "our stock", "our people" or people of "British stock".

However the British subjects right to enter the UK was to be restricted by the Commonwealth Immigrant Act, 1962 by the implementation and again in 1968. The Commonwealth Immigrant Act, 1968 made the distinction of British subjects by their place of birth and their ancestors, therefore including another way in which British subjects could be excluded from entry. All persons became subject to immigration control with the passing of the Immigration Act, 1971. The effect was to stop Commonwealth citizens from migrating for work from the new Commonwealth countries except those meeting specific conditions such persons born in the UK or who were resident for five or previous years. The refining of the Immigration Act has continued even to present time and with each new layer of refinement, less immigrants are accepted.

COLOURED ALIEN SEAMEN ORDER, 1925 ONWARD

The government set the tone in how foreigners like the West Indians should be perceived and accepted by society through regulations and legislations. Regulations such as the Coloured Alien Seamen Order, 1925 were made on the face of it to control the movement of aliens, coming after of the first World War. According to Tony Lane (1994, p. 105) anti-German sentiments enabled legislation to control, supervise, detain and expel Aliens to be passed in 1914 and 1919 which laid the groundwork for instituting the Special Restriction Order on Arabs and other persons classified as Blacks. The Home Office Order in April 1925 read

Notice is hereby given that, in accordance with the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, coloured alien seamen are required to register with the Police, whether or not they have been in the United Kingdom for more than two months since their last arrival.

Any coloured alien seaman who is not already registered should take steps to obtain a Certificate of Registration without delay.

Indeed, Lane (1994, p. 104), sees the Coloured Alien Seamen Order of 1925 as being the first attempt by a British government to restrict the employment of Black workers, and, as much as the Arabs from the Aden Protectorate were the target for the order, it also netted other non-white aliens. For Laura Tabili (1994, p. 56), the order was 'the first instance of state-sanctioned race discrimination inside Britain to come to widespread notice'.

The implementation of the Coloured Alien Seamen Order (CASO), 1925 limited the coloured seamen in the UK and made it necessary for Arabs, Black and mixed seamen to provide proper documentation of their citizenship or else risk deportation. The seamen's identification certificate or discharge papers were no longer accepted as a form of identification for persons who were not white seamen (Tabili, 1994, p. 77). Persons who were not able to provide documentation as well as their British spouses needed to register with the police. Coloured men unable to provide the requisite documentation were to be apprehended. Persons without proof of citizenship were unlikely to get jobs and as a consequence these families sometimes slipped into poverty and other hostile living conditions, as they were no longer privy to amenities available to British citizens. As World War II raged on, the Order was revoked in 1942, once it became necessary to have

seamen on ships for the war effort (Tabili, 1994). This revocation is an early example of interest convergence inasmuch as the coloured seamen also benefited it was done primarily for the benefit of the British.

This legislative backstory is pertinent as it foreshadows the move to restrict the domicile of Black British citizens and citizenship later on. The erosion of citizenship status and the burning of the Windrush landing cards by the Home Office in 2010 was to ultimately enable the hostile environment of 2012. Without proof of citizenship, the Windrush generation were subject to being apprehended and deported. They were not privy to social services, and amenities which other British citizens were, and some were hemmed in a cycle of poverty and hostile living conditions which were intended to make unwanted migrants uncomfortable enough to leave that country. This was the intent of the Coloured Alien Seamen Order, 1925 – aimed at Black unwanted subjects in the first place, and eventually to morph into the hostile environment policies of 2012 and onwards which affected Black citizens and/or persons with leave to stay without documentation.

4.2.6 BRITISH SOCIETY AND THE BLACK WEST INDIAN WELCOME

According to Baker (1956) from the Coloured Survey-2 he had undertaken, the West Indian received little help when settling in the UK. According to him, the West Indian was met with indifference and nowhere to sleep because of his colour. And, inasmuch as there were plenty jobs, they were also met with suspicion based on the possibility of taking jobs from the white locals.

Research participants in sharing their stories confirmed the difficulties they experienced with accommodations and acceptance. Cobre (at the age of 21 years, was the first of the interviewees to migrate in 1957) recalled access to housing as difficult.

Well housing - it was very difficult with housing in the 50s, and you would only be able if you are lucky (to get housing) from a Black person. Three bedroom house, you could only get a room to rent and it was 1 pound for the week because nobody ... White people wouldn't rent you the house you know honey.

Particular areas were available for Black people to live. Cobre remembers:

it was areas for Blacks only because when we bought the little house, the neighbours would move out. If you got a house beside a white person they would move. And the building society people anyway, they usually direct us to certain area. They wouldn't put us in a progressive area. The prejudice was bad from the top right down to the bottom.

Making friends outside one's race was not common.

No, they were not accepting of us to be your friend. I mean, you work with them but that is where it ends. You just work with them you wouldn't be going to restaurants with them. They wouldn't even be accepting of us in restaurants in the '50s in England. We were not bothered really because there were a lot of us here and we had our own friends.

Everyday experiences made some aspects of life unpleasant, for example Cobre recalled an incident on the public transportation, wherein unpleasant comments were made.

You couldn't even...look, when you go on buses in those days, and you sit on the bus no white person would come and sit beside you. The little boy said to me one day, when he saw me, he said to his Mom, oh mommy she's got a tail.

Her reflection on the UK of the time was that prejudice existed.

So, prejudice, this is the place. It must have been even worst in the 40s for those people, because in the 40s, quite a few persons came on the banana boats, not Jamaicans alone, people from the islands - and it must have been terrible for them, even worst.

As it relates to her children who were born and educated in England, she recalled them as also experiencing prejudice during their school years.

Oh yes, they usually call them Black niggers and crude names like that. And when we came here there was a marmalade, I can't remember the name of the marmalade, but there was a marmalade with a certain name and they usually link us Black people to that marmalade.

Cobre says of her education in Jamaica that she was exposed to reading, writing and arithmetic in elementary school. There was an emphasis on British history, “[b]ut they never teach us that the people were prejudiced though”.

Hope, progeny of Cabarita also commented on the association with the image on the marmalade bottle:

[...]you went from being colored, West Indian, Caribbean, Negro, wogs to Black. They always got some sort of derogatic with way to describe us.

Researcher: What is wog?

Hope: It's a doll. I think it's a terminology for... they had this golliwog, and the golliwog is a Black face, with Popeye...used to be on the marmalade jars. All you could see were

the white of the eye and the hair was all spiky. And they just said, ...because they couldn't understand our hair, they just call us wogs.

According to interviewee Martha (aged 11 yrs. when she migrated), there were signs of “No Blacks, no Irish” on some rental properties.

Because when my mom first went to England, and even when I went up there, there were signs - no Blacks. Because when they first went up – a majority of them had to rent a room and most of the signs that was, you would see signs put up outside houses - No Blacks, no Irish.

Martha also recalls being cursed and called names.

Of course, all whites are not bad people, but you would get the people who are... I can give you an incident. One day, me and my brother was coming home from school and there was a lady walking with a bread under her arm and it didn't have no paper on it. So I am calling out to her to say that the bread ..is the paper is dropped, but not realizing that in those days they would buy a bread, a loaf of bread, and it would be not covered up. And she actually used the F word to me, you Black bastard. And we had a lot of that in those days, people calling you Black bastards and why don't you go back to your country, you monkey, go and swing on your trees and all that. We had a lot of that. There was a lot of it.

Despite the time elapse, the society remained a difficult one to be comfortable in. Martha further shared:

Things have changed tremendously now, but no matter what, you are still not, - you still feel that you don't belong... You don't belong. It's not your country. You go there, you work, you earn and then you try to get out.

Cabarita migrated at the age of 18 yrs in 1967. Her experience was of a West Indian who had prior arrangements for somewhere to stay and for a job. Cabarita recalls living with her siblings and getting a job in a coat factory within two weeks of being in the UK, and within a year applying to do nursing. “My eldest sister came here and then she sent home my second brother, and that one sent for the third brother, and they all sent for my sister, and then they sent for me”. She however recognize that even after living here for over fifty years, “British people wouldn't accept me as British cause I’m Black. For instance, I go to church, and in the evening there was three of us Black and this white woman who says she's the warden, she walk around and give everybody which is white lolly, and we are standing in the middle of them. We didn't get one”.

The experience of being made invisible is one of the slights or microaggression endured by Black people , while curses and being called names is also an aggression that Black people endure. It is the same with the erasure of one’s personhood. Being made invisible is an ill treatment that is

attributed to racism, which divides the racial groups based on hierarchical biological claims of one racial group over another. That Cabarita's experience happened on church grounds with church people is indicative that racism knows no boundaries. These everyday acts of racism become normal encounters that Black people face, thus explaining the CRT tenet that racism is normal and it is lived by Black people. Another view of this indicates the existence of white privilege i.e. advantages accrued because of white skin. White privilege offers the protection from hostilities such as the ones experienced by the research participants. As previously cited in Chapter 2, white privileged people are emboldened to levy hostility, distress and violence against non-white persons because of the dominance they can exert over the non-white group(s). This advantage of skin colour privilege, and therefore dominance is available to all socio-economic class of white people.

4.2.7 GOVERNMENT APPROACH TO WINDRUSH EDUCATION

The lack of welcome in society was also reflected in the education of the Windrush generation and progeny. According to Whitehead (2007) the educational experience in the colonies was different from those in the mother country. In the colonies, missionary societies were very often solely responsible for schools, while in Britain the state supported private initiatives in education and believed that parents with the ability to pay should do so as it gave them the ability to choose the type of education that they wanted for their child (p.164). This resulted in the continued class and colour stratification in the UK and in the colonies, as persons of means were sent to the mother country to pursue their education. With the access provided under the 1944 Act, the immigrant child in the UK was assured an education in a new country, new school environment, with strange and new norms and peers.

The 1944 Education Act, assured access to education for all children including immigrant children. The Act also made the provision for students who were considered to be physically or educationally subnormal to access education through specially designated institutions. An educationally subnormal child (ESN) was one who was assessed to have an IQ of between 50 and 70 percent and would typically make up 10-15% of the school population (Smith, 1967, p. 124). All children therefore had a place in school – whether they were academically capable or academically challenged. By 1966 the “immigrant” child was identified in the Department of

Education and Science (DES) statistics as to whether he or she was born to Commonwealth parents or to parents who had lived for less than ten years in Britain i.e. non-Commonwealth parents. The 1972 statistical data provided by the DES for England and Wales suggest that 3.3 percent or 279,872 immigrant children formed part of the total school population (Tomlinson, 1982, p. 647). The effort made to contain the 3.3 percent of the student population is seen in the use of the educationally subnormal categorization and the lack of acknowledgement of their history.

The scandal of the use of the ESN designation was to come light in the 1970s. The lack of acknowledgement and the government's approach was to come to a head in what has been called a racial reckoning. The government's response to the 2020 petition to Teach Britain's colonial past as mentioned in Chapter 1 continued a pattern of ignoring the *problem* of the Windrush generation.

4.2.8 HISTORY TEACHING AND THE WINDRUSH GENERATION

During the 1950s and 1960s, about the same time that immigrant children started attending British schools, History teaching came under scrutiny. Linda Rosenzweig (1984, p. 170) noted that during the 1960s serious concerns were expressed about the future of history in schools. History was seen as in danger and vulnerable. Further, according to Nicola Sheldon (2012) the national story had disappeared during that time as the stories of “Alfred and the Cakes, King John and the Barons, even Henry and his wives and certainly Nelson and the *Victory* were no longer standard fare in history lessons”. The creation of the National Curriculum was seen by some politicians as an opportunity to reinstitute the national story across all schools as a way to reinforce the national identity (Sheldon, 2012, p. 256) - a national identity that was clearly pre-immigration. Students were therefore not exposed to “changes in Britain's international status, the loss of empire, the emergence of the Commonwealth and the effects of the related economic decline in the 20th century” (Sheldon, 2012, p. 259).

Students were also not exposed to the colonization and imperialism from the margins as attested to by participants. Within a class there was no history that the Windrush generation and progeny would have identified as their history. When asked about history teaching in school, Martha who

attended UK school in the 1960s onward, stated that they were not taught anything about colonialism or contribution of Black people.

Absolutely not. There was nothing. Our history in England was about the kings and queens, Henry VIII. Well, my school was named after Edith Cavell and Florence Nightingale. You were taught about those things.

We weren't taught any West Indian history. Nothing about slavery, colonialism, nothing. Absolutely not. The only thing we were taught about that Christopher Columbus discovered the West Indies.

Hope (progeny of Cabarita; born in Jamaica; received elementary and secondary education during the 1970s-1980s in Britain) recalled:

I had a history teacher that didn't know history to teach. So, when he started teaching about, Mr. X, Mr. X, when he started teaching about slavery, all he showed us was a picture, and he said, oh, this is where Black people came from. And they came in ships like sardines. And at that point, I think I understood what slavery was because I wasn't taught slavery in Jamaica (before migrating – researcher's insert). And to be packed up like a sardine, I remember those Brunswick sardines. And it just opened up thinking, this is how my people were taken to the Caribbean.

D'Oro (progeny of Cobre born in Britain and attended school in the 1970s -1980s) remarked:

The lessons were no different as they were in the curriculum for that particular time of my learning. You know, just British history. You know, there was nothing positive that was taught about Black people or anything like that.

[...] I mean, our history is important. Everybody's history is important. You know what I mean? And unfortunately, British history in relation to Black people from Jamaica per se is negative, because there's nothing particularly positive that they've produced in it. Even though there's a lot of great things that have come from Africa in particular, with regards to inventions and, you know, maths and various other things, trigonometry and what have you, those things, the reality, the facts of those have never been taught. Never.

Yallahs (born in Grenada, with children born in the UK) recalls the children being taught history, but not Black history. In her words:

Well, not Black history. It wasn't Black history, and even now. Now they take away all that from school. In the day, they were all about the Vikings, anything white. That was history. The king, the queen, and all those, that was the history. They never taught them Black history, and that is why the children don't know their culture. They don't know where they belong.

With the Education Reform Act, 1988, the standardization of what should be taught was soon to follow and by 1991, the history national curriculum was complete and gazetted (Sheldon, 2012, p. 267). There have been several changes made since that time, nevertheless, the story of Empire, colonization and the Windrush generation are not part of the compulsory curriculum.

Historian Deana Heath reflecting on history teaching for this research, sees some history from the margins being taught, however, there has been little changes in the purpose of teaching history in the UK since before the 1950s and 1960s.

History from the margins does filter into history teaching in the UK, but very sporadically. History teaching has been somewhat chronological - a bit on ancient China here, or ancient Rome there - it is completely incohesive - children are not taught how it all adds up to a larger whole. The history that is taught, moreover, is largely about political and religious elites.

The margins do, then, enter the history curriculum -.. for e.g., in Black historical figures like Mary Seacole and Olaudah Equiano - but only during the course of studying specific subjects, like slavery, and these aren't linked up effectively into a larger narrative whole. I have seen little evidence, moreover of non-Western peoples or people of colour being studied as anything other than marginalised figures, or historical victims - not, in other words, as drivers of historical change.

The purpose of history teaching she opines has remained unchanged.

I think that the purpose of teaching history in the UK is the same it's been since the foundation of state schooling in the 19th century and of the fashioning of history curricula - the fashioning of children into modern, obedient, national (and nationalist) citizens. History teaching in the UK remains deeply conservative, in other words, because that is precisely its intent. It's not meant to take into account 'other' histories in any meaningful way, or show the ways in which Britain itself is a product of global interaction and exchange, including through empire - because its purpose is to keep shoring up the socio-political system as it currently exists.

So, all of those children who are not white, male, and middle-class, are expected to identify themselves with the status quo, and see themselves as belonging to that - rather than the status quo expanding to include them (and note my inclusion of gender, here, since the history of women and gender are also virtually absent from UK history curricula).

Adrija Roychowdhury, journalist with the Indian Express was to write that teaching about Empire was challenging for Britain (Roychowdhury, 2022)

Britain has for long struggled in determining how to best represent its Empire to its own people. In the 19th century there was much propaganda around the Empire inside classrooms. By the 1980s, Empire had become a dirty word. At present, although it is mentioned as a non-statutory topic in the national curriculum, it is hardly ever taught.

Classroom teacher HT thinks that history teaching serves several purposes such as:

1) show students how life/society has changed/developed. 2) for students to be able to see themselves and be able to relate and match up their lives with what has gone on before. 3) to teach students about different peoples/groups/races and people who have contributed to society and important changes/developments. 4) to be tolerant of others - showing stories of what events happened and why and how impacts us now. 5) to hear stories of people that may have never come in contact with. 6) to learn and not make the same mistakes and 7) to enjoy history in general.

The Government's approach to education for the Windrush generation and to history teaching seems racially-based, as the approach supports the maintenance of a racial hierarchy and perpetuation of an underclass which divides and dampens working class militancy (Coard, 2021, p. 36). The ESN designation for Black children ensured the continuation of an underclass according to Coard (2021, p. 38).

Thus, the one way to ensure no changes in the social hierarchy and abundant unskilled labour is to adopt and adapt the educational 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 the comprehensive schools, and bussed and banded about the school system.

Further, the approach seems to support the maintenance of white ignorance. The strategy of selective history teaching facilitates racial erasure, whitewashing white atrocities and eliminating non-white contribution. As certain aspects of history education remain optional it engenders plausible deniability by ignorant white people who through learning the history of white kings and queens are inculcated into white supremacy. Furthermore, the histories of Black people who have no prior knowledge become the history of white kings and queens so that they too believe in the superiority of white people.

4.3 SUMMARY

The government's approach has been exposed through historical records and the stories of the lived experiences of the Windrush generation and progeny. The generation experienced what it was

supposed to experience with such government approach. There is dissonance in the Windrush participants' experience of history teaching and the views of historian Deane Neath, with the purposes of history teaching as espoused by HT. The execution of the national history curriculum is layered through several curricula such as the written, taught, excluded and hidden curriculum. The seeming disconnect might be explained in the difference in the written curriculum (inclusive of the optional element) and the taught curriculum. Further, the optional element in the History curriculum becomes the excluded or null curriculum if it is not selected to be taught by history teachers. This excluded curriculum could possibly influence students' and society's critical thinking about the value of Black and minorities as well as their contribution to society. Finally, the hidden curriculum which by its very nature is unplanned and imputed by the excluded curriculum, time, resources allocation with the education facility, could alienate all students from immigrant cultures and make adjustment and acceptance difficult.

CHAPTER 5

WINDRUSH & PROGENY INTEGRATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports the findings related to Research Question 2 which looked at how the government's approach to the generation impacted and continues to impact their integration as well as their progeny's into the British fabric. According to the Report of the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995,

Social integration, or the capacity of people to live together with full respect for the dignity of each individual, the common good, pluralism and diversity, non-violence and solidarity, as well as their ability to participate in social, cultural, economic and political life, encompasses all aspects of social development and all policies.

Thus, integration in this chapter is viewed through education, engagement with institutions and the feelings of belongingness. This chapter engages mainly with the stories of the participants as they describe their experiences.

5.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2

What impact does this approach have on the social integration i.e. education, institutions and belongingness of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years?

The stories of the generation and progeny provides insight into how they settled in and managed the contours of society. The participants were of English-speaking Caribbean origins with one participant being born in London. Of the six, five had retired and one is still employed. They were asked similar questions in order to get a rounded view of their experience in that society, whether there were similarities or differences and/or additional information.

The stories were told through unhurried accounts have unearthed that 1) integration through these structures have provided challenges for the participants, 2) All participants experienced some form of racism in their lifetime in the UK, whether through schooling, housing or work, 3) Most participants have mixed feelings about the UK as home.

This section shows findings related to the areas of education, engagement with institutions and affect.

5.2.1 INTEGRATION THROUGH EDUCATION

As previously highlighted, with the passing of the 1944 Education Act, it became mandatory for children in the UK to attend school up to age fifteen. This included immigrant children living in that territory. Immigrant children experience of prejudice at school was noted by Goldman and Taylor (1966, p. 175) who observed that “coloured children had a difficult time and probably will have as long as colour is an important sign of alienism”. Citing the Kawwa, (1965) study, white peers’ prejudice against coloured children came out in their reflection of parental attitudes and stereotyped opinions. 'They take our jobs, our homes; they are dirty'. Consequently, “[t]he attitudes of the immigrant children generally were that the English were not friendly and did not believe that all men were equal”. As such, immigrant children and families hardly had English friends.

The linguistic difference between West Indian creole language and standard classroom English caused teachers to presume that West Indian children were “dull” (Coard, 2021, pp. 12-13). Immigrant and West Indian children were disproportionately labelled as educationally subnormal (ESN) based on language skills. (Coard, 2021, p. 4). Citing 1970 figures which estimates that “ 34 per cent of the ESN school population is immigrant” with every four out of five being West Indian. Coard goes on to note that the number of students returning to ordinary school who were wrongly placed, or who had improved because of the initial ESN placement was low at 7% returning to ordinary school. ...”an ESN school is a one-way educational ticket”(Coard, 2021, p. 5). According to Gewirtz in Sutherland (2006), British school were segregated by race and class because of residential segregation and there were some White British parents who envisioned the detrimental effects that Black students’ presence would have on their children's academic goals. On the question of ability scores, Goldman and Taylor (1966, p. 171) state that “[w]here cultural differences and linguistic handicaps and differences in environmental opportunity are great, intelligence test scores are lower among children in non-technological societies than among those brought up in a West European or North American culture, which is industrial”.

Coard (p.11) explained that the ESN designation was a deliberate ploy to place West Indian children in ESN schools by misleading parents and diagnosis (p. 8) and that the “ESN school was not designed to help the student academically”. Further, special school placement for the WI child was made on cultural bias more than actual fact and that these children were being educated for

survival through placement in simple, repetitive jobs requiring little mental effort. Accordingly, Black parents organized and set up supporting educational facilities known as Black supplementary schools (Gerrard, 2013). By May 1971, Weinraub from The New York Times followed up on the Bernard Coard report. The fact that the placement in ESN schools of West Indian children was three times the average for all children was highlighted to be the forebearer of more serious problems in the future. The Times page 2 article underscored that 1970 estimates approximate that 3,000 out of 100,000 West Indian students had been placed in special schools. Out of the combined primary and secondary school population of 7.5 million there are 50,000 children in special schools (Weinraub, 1971).

At the same time, the West Indian child in the British school system faced exclusionary practices based on the underlying stereotypes in the society. Gerrard (2013) cites HMG. 1960. Draft memo MHA: PRO/CP1031/3937, an internal draft government memo on West Indian migrants, pointed to “the ‘problem’ of West Indians, including issues of difficult police relations and neighbourhood disturbances”. The presence of West Indians was deemed disruptive and it was therefore thought to disperse immigrant children across schools to prevent their clustering. Government’s ongoing “depiction of West Indian communities as problematic, disruptive and as requiring intervention, either through policing or more subtly through the state funding of social workers and community associations” manifested itself in the 1965 DES circular (Gerrard, 2013, p. 41). Entitled *The Education of Immigrants*, the circular starts off with the Secretary of State squarely pointing to the arrival of immigrants as the source of the many problems that the education service faced, regardless of which the immigrant child must be educated in accordance with the Education Act of 1944 and made to understand the way of life. Parents should be equally exposed through English language and background classes to enable them to understand the social and cultural nuances “in which their children will be brought up”. Points 8-10 speaks to the dispersion to avoid undue concentration of immigrant children and suggest that local authorities make “policy and make plans for dealing with the rapid and substantial influx of children which may follow”. An active policy of dispersion was undertaken based on the suggestion that schools should have no more than 30% immigrant children. Consequently 11 local education authorities (LEAs) adopted

dispersal by bussing (Tomlinson, 2019, pp. 66, 84). The policy of bussing continued with Bradford being the last to end in 1980.

According to the Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (*The Organization of Race Relations Administration*, 1976, pp. 8-9), teachers needed to be trained to get students ready to live in a multicultural society. Tomlinson (2019, p. 86) however notes that the cultural values mitigated change.

But the cultural values filtering down through all social classes still encouraged beliefs in the economic social and racial superiority of white Europeans. It was unlikely that attempts to absorb the children of the former colonies into an education system in denial and embedded in public hostility towards immigrants would be easy.

The Rampton Report (1981) on the West Indian Children in our Schools, and the final Swann Report (1985) on Education for All pointed to racism in schooling, and in society, as the root of the tree of academic failure of the West Indian child. Several recommendations were made for government, teachers, schools and other stakeholders. Since then, there have been several other studies and more recommendations to improve their performance.

5.2.2 THE EDUCATION EXPERIENCE

Given *The Education of Immigrants*, 1965 circular, this section will look at the experiences of the participants in the research. Accounts from progeny Hope and D'Oro indicate different educational experiences. Hope, now an educator in the UK, already had an experience of education in Jamaica before moving, growing up and going to a school in an area with similar immigrant persons. Her educational exposure was culturally diverse. D'Oro on the other hand grew up in, and attended a school in a predominantly white area in the UK.

Hope's account of Jamaican education is included to give perspective of her lived experience.

Researcher: If you had to compare the two systems, learning in Jamaica and learning in the UK, what would you say in terms of the two systems having experience them?

Hope: In Jamaica, again, there's a curriculum to be taught. And I had a friend that said to me once in his teaching, when I said the children weren't learning, and he said "*Bwoy, who ketch get it yuh nuh*" (Jamaican for if they get it, they get it)

But then in Jamaica, we are taught formulas, so you know how to work out on that. You have to know your periodic table. You need to know this. Here, you get all those formulas on the exam paper. The teacher... on your exam paper, it tells you how to work out your Pythagoras theorem. Everything is there for you. If you go in those exam and fail, you are stupid because it's clear everything. It says step by step by step. If they were to give those to children in Jamaica, oh, my goodness. We would be mathematician, scholars and everything without even trying.

When I went to school in Jamaica, we had many children in our classes. Here, it started out- used to be 20, when I came 20 in a class, we never had 20 in our class. We had less than that. And now it's 30. Now, in Jamaica, you had seventy children for one teacher. That is ridiculous and you expect the children to progress. It's not possible. Where in Jamaica you have one teacher to all these children, in this country, you get a TA, you get a teaching assistant. They've just started to use teaching assistance in Jamaica now, and it's not enough to go around all the children. In Jamaica special needs is just starting to be recognized. Back then, you would be called dunce, and that's it. Here they had dunces as well. You put on the dunce cap, but that went out before I came here.

Commenting on the ability for students to have culturally enhance experiences through school trips, Hope gave the example of foreign travel while being in school in London, unlike Jamaica where school trips in her case was a trip from the rural area to Kingston to a television broadcast, the pantomime or the zoo. (Generally, however, the population was not able to afford the opportunities to travel overseas for school trips – researcher' note).

And then the system here, there's more free flow for teachers. Teachers could take you on field trips. I mean, when I went to school, we went to France, we went to Edelweiss. We were able to go to places. In Jamaica, I remember going to see Ring Ding recording, pantomime after pantomime, Quiz after Quiz; we use to go to Hope Zoo. Yeah, so it's totally different. Both experience has been wonderful. It's not something I would fault, they've got their place. Yeah, I think they do.

Researcher : Take me back to the Education Office that you had to go for the placement. Did they offer any kind of counseling to help you to transition to a new environment?

Hope: No, no...The thing is, what they had as well, it was an inner London Education Authority, so they ran the schools in inner city London, and what they didn't understand was the children coming from the Caribbean or Africa at that time. So, they couldn't work out where we fit in. We couldn't work out where we fit in! We had to navigate our way through the system. So, what happened now? Those children that were born here, that went to nursery or playgroup, whatever it is. In Jamaica, I'm running up and down behind my grandmother. I didn't have the privilege to go to those things. I went to basic school in

Jamaica, but not the kind of structure they have here. When I went to my first school, my basic school in Jamaica, that was literally across the road from where we lived [...] She had like, I don't know, probably about four or probably three-year olds. So, we had this ABC book. I remember it still. Oh, my goodness, I'm old. And it was brown paper cover, and there was a mouse on the front, and it says ABC. So, we learned to recite ABC till we knew it backwards, forward and in between. Here it's more play base, so you go and you play play, play, play, play which I think is a better system to just play. But because of our colonial past, we need to show that we are better. We have to work that bit harder. Why should we work harder? Why am I not given the same opportunity like everybody else?

But she taught us well. I was able to read before I got to big school. Here the children come in, and now it's like they are playing catch up. So now children come in, they're starting to learn their phonics. Now you're going to read by phonics. In Jamaica, I was taught to read, spell and pronounce, spell and pronounce, spell and pronounce. And that's what I know. So, when they start, like - Aa Bb, I'm like, "please, just see the word", because if you know your sound...

For Hope, there was no assistance with transitioning into the new environment.

And there was no support, no support for my family, no transition. There was like parent evening meeting and stuff like that, which was a waste of time because they have no clue what they're doing. There was never any looking at the whole person.

In the UK, Hope lived in a predominantly Black community and attended school that did not practice dispersion or limitations on the percentage immigrant students. She made friends with similar background and experienced having Black teachers in school. Having come from a coeducational school in Jamaica, an All-girl school was a new concept for her.

We had two teachers that were Black [...] And, those two teachers, those two Black teachers had such an impact on me because I'm used to seeing Black teachers [in Jamaica]. And they... I think they were kind of looking out for all the Black children in the school because they knew how the system was set up [...]

So, when I came and I went... we had to go through a process of going to the education office, which was further away from the school, to get into a school. So, when I was told I was going to the school, it was again an All-Girls school. Again, that was weird.

And then there was a boy school down the road, so you were in the school environment. All the boys would come and hang out at the school. And then you realize that, again, they had a system already pre-destined for them because they were leaving school. They came to the 6th form and then what? Nothing. But then, school in itself was good. I enjoyed school. I had good teachers.

According to D'Oro the move from a predominantly Black area to a predominantly white area was significant.

There were three guys out of several hundreds, that were like me in school, so that changed things to me. So, I went from grammar stream to just regular [...] the racism that I had to deal with and didn't know how to deal with...

The encouragement in those days weren't that Black kids could achieve anything other than menial tasks. We weren't seen as potentially having the ability to do well. That's just the way it was in those days. Unless you're a footballer or a sportsman. Academia wasn't something that was suggested you could grow into and do well.

So you know there are people that did achieve within that area that we lived when I was a kid and we'll never know whether my circumstance would have changed and academia would have been more me at that age. Potentially it would have been, because it had been people like me around me but, they weren't.

Cobre explained that the area that she and her family lived at first, was predominantly Black and the children would have similar friends.

It was predominantly Black children because don't forget I told you the system - that they sold us houses that was in what you call it - deprived areas and we were all in a deprived situation. So, then the children had their own kind, which was a good thing for the children because they didn't really feel like how I felt when I came, because they had all their regular little friends.

Cobre on reflecting on the education of her children shared some changes that she saw over the years.

Facilities was there but they never have facilities as I see with my grandchildren now, how they modern things in their schools. It was just diminished things that was in the schools and the teachers, *yuh know seh* (i.e. do you know that) when I went to school in Jamaica, the teachers they would promote us and encourage us to reach stars and if you wanted to be a doctor that teacher would say yes. [...] In this country, in those days teachers did not promote children, if Black children says they want to be a scientist or a teacher, the teacher would say, 'Oh, you can't be a teacher'

I mean if it were Black teachers, Black teachers would be promoting the children and says yes reach for the stars.

[...] Because in those days, I mean, I don't know how long I've been here when England started to encourage Jamaican teachers to come to teach in the schools, but that was after me being here for many years, but in those days we never had Black teachers.

Saturday school and private lessons

Windrush parents sought additional educational opportunities (in keeping with the Coard recommendation) for their children by having them participate in supplementary classes. Cobre,

recognizing the need for this support shared the steps that she and her husband (referred to here as Daddy) took:

Well, Daddy and I, we would teach them as best we could and then as they got a bit older we had a lady to teach them more advanced things that Daddy and I could not help them with. And that is how they were able to promote themselves in education...

Yallahs shared on having private tutors and the children participating in Saturday school:

I used to have a private tutor come in to tutor my boys. The Blacks [had to do that]. And even now I've got a teacher friend, he does a supplementary school on a Saturday to help the Black kids. And then we had, oh gosh, I forget his name. He was a Methodist preacher, I think. And he had a, in the Methodist church where he used to officiate, he had a Saturday school there that was very, very, you know, that was it. He had, even all his books are still in locked up in the church. (Recalls name). And he was there every Saturday for years. The area they used, the hall they used was always full with Black children because the Black children, they were not getting it in the mainstream school.

They would have a bit of history. But not in depth, and Math, English, Geography, and those vital ones that they would need, you know, to pass, to get somewhere, you know. But it's still happening, but not as before. Not like in the 70s and 80s. Even in 90s, there was always somewhere doing Saturday school. For the Black kids. It's still happening, but not as, as before.

Hope on the other hand explained how useful Saturday school was to her:

[...] And then when I went to school, as I said, Mr. X my teacher, he didn't know much, but he was prepared to listen. And when... I can't remember what we were doing and something came up about the Benin, and I was saying, "but Sir...", I don't know where I got it, because I was fortunate to go to a Saturday school, and the Saturday school was Pan-African, and so they taught us various things about our culture, and wearing the dashiki and all that kind of stuff. And I wanted to know about Benin. And I said to him, "Could you tell me some more about the Benin?" "What is that?" (he asked) That was the end of that conversation because I thought, I can't talk to you. So, until I went back the next Saturday, to my Saturday school and we could explore it more.

D'Oro explained that once they moved to new surroundings it became difficult to access Saturday school.

No, no. We were out of the city. We weren't able to get to Saturday classes to get any Black education or, you know, about who we were, where we were coming from. You know, that was never something that I was able to do.

Yallahs related how she had to stand up to school authorities to get her children the attention that they needed. Her two sons were part of a group of six that were the first set of Black students to enter an all-white school. Yallahs explained that one son in particular would ask questions and the teachers would interpret it as being naughty.

And then they realized, the teachers realized, because J was always asking questions. If the teacher says so and so, he would ask the questions. He wants to know the whole body of this question. They couldn't deal with it. And they call it misbehaving.

You know, so they were either suspended for a while or whatever. So, the last time we went up to the school, I said, you are supposed to be doing pastoral care with these children that come into the school when the term starts. You can't just take them and put them in this class group when majority is white.

So, when they were integrating the Black children in the school, it's only a handful they were taking at a time. So my sons and others were the very first Black children in that expensive private school. You know, so they could not deal, because they ask, they give them the work, they ask a question. Shut up, you know.

Shutting them up and not explaining to them. So, when I went and I said to the head and the teacher that was in pastoral care for these children, "I want to know why every day I have to be coming up into this school because you are calling me to say they're misbehaving", my friend's son, and two others. And I said, "you all have to find a way of coping and dealing with these children". I said, "they know what they want. And if they ask a question and you don't respond to what, they're saying, you would have problems".

So they ended up forming this group and once a day in the afternoon, maybe an hour, they would all have to say how they feel, what wasn't happy with and things like that. And that's how they were able to cope. Because otherwise they would have them like they aren't worth any teaching. I had to stand up.

The stories of school, underscores the dispersion that took place for those students who were entering all-white institutions for the first time. Parents had to be strong and knowledgeable to stand up to school authorities to prevent their children from being labelled as disruptive and mistreated. Students like D'Oro had to manage the everyday racism and lack of encouragement from the teachers. According to Coard, 2021 racism in schooling and society was the downfall of the West Indian child. Based on Coard's findings, teacher expectations of poor outcomes from the Black children created the Golem effect – wherein low expectations from teachers begets poor performance from students. The origin of these low expectations was racism. Children therefore

did not experience school as a safe haven, but rather as racist institution of society. There experience was that racism was normal.

5.2.3 SCHOOL LEAVING AND QUALIFICATIONS

Prior to the 1944 Education Act, school leaving culminated in a School Certificate at age 16 years. and thereafter, a Higher School Certificate at age 18 years. Students leaving before age 16 years, did not attain a School Certificate. With the 1944 Act, the school leaving age was set at age 15 years, with the intention to raise this to 16 years sometime after. The GCE O-level exams were introduced in 1951 with students reading for qualification in separate subjects. In 1965 the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) was offered as an alternate examination. It was generally perceived to be less vigorous and the mark schemes for both exams was different. The Windrush progeny would have been exposed to both exams (depending on whether they attended grammar school or regular) until the introduction of the combined exam (GCSE) in 1986 which was first administered in 1988.

For some, the thought of school leaving qualifications would never materialize. Based on progeny Hope's reflection, the Windrush generation children experience of formal education was limited due to a narrative that Black people could not or were not suited to achieve academically.

Now, since the Windrush, first generation British, as they like to call themselves, they felt the pressure, the boys more than the girls, in terms of how they were profiling. And they started that back in the 70s, early 70s, before I came. And what they did, they created these schools called subnormal schools, and you find that there's a lot of young Black boys in these schools and basically you're going there - not just boys, but it was majority boys, they tell you "you cannot do", and that becomes their mantra. So, you can't do this, you can't do that, to the point that you believe it until you are denied access to all the qualification. You can't do exams, you can't go to school. The school, you go there and it's just like a mad house, basically, it's an asylum. So, they created those and so when you get to 16, when you've chosen your options, there are no options for them, so they end up on the street. And this was happening before, I came.

Stories of survivors of the ESN profiling and outcomes have been reported by many in the news media, including the Guardian, Times, and The Independent and aired through such programmes as the BBC 2021 many newspapers documentary 'Subnormal: A British by film maker Lyttana

Shannon. According to the Guardian Newspaper (Weale, 2023), ESN designates were “told they were “backward” or “slow” or “a dunce”, and placed in schools with no curriculum, no exams and no qualifications. The consequences have lasted a lifetime, blighting their confidence, self-esteem and life chances”. Survivors such as Maisie Barrett and Noel Gordon, Rene Stevens who were later in life to be diagnosed with dyslexia are being represented by solicitors at Leigh Day in the campaign for “the Government to make amends for the lifelong consequences of the educational misclassification in childhood”(“Black generation wrongly labelled educationally subnormal launch legal campaign," 2023).

Hope and O’Oro experienced mainstream education and completed high school. Hope regarded her school experience as a good one, however when it was time to do exams in 1979, she was told that she had to do the CSE and not GCE because she was from the Caribbean.

However, when it came to choosing your exams, that's when you feel segregated. [...] But they wanted you to go into office jobs. They had this thing, and it's only now us children of that generation realize what they were doing. They would want you to become typist, secretary, administrative officer. [...] they cannot and they would not put the majority of Black people in to do this GCE [...]

Year five, they give you options of what you want to do, and [...] Oh, this is what they said that because I came from the Caribbean, I couldn't do GCSE, I had to do CSEs. They wouldn't give you the GCSE they tell you it's equivalent. Horrible people. Horrible, horrible people. Not the teachers, the system.

Hope explained more about the examination system at the time:

So if you were able to do CSEs ... if you were able to get the level one, it's equivalent to a GCSE level one, right? But they cannot and they would not put the majority of Black people in to do this GCSE because they wanted them to go into, like, grammar school or whatever they wanted them to do. And if you get a CSE and you get a grade two, they would think that's all right. Very few people got to see it, got the grade one, because the teaching wasn't preparing you for that. You have to have had some knowledge, some prior knowledge. And I don't know if it's because of my formative years that gave me that piece of knowledge. So, you know, basically, you're know how to construct a sentence.

And if you can construct a sentence, which a lot of them didn't know, but it's because the way the system was set up, it wasn't for teaching, if that makes sense. It's just to get you ready for work. Go and join the line, or go to the unemployment dole office, which a lot of people did. A lot of girls I went to... well some of them “Oh, I’ll just go on the dole when I finish school” and they went on the dole, and some of them are still on the dole!

And then, once you get that (CSE), ... they'll just say it's equivalent, because of their racist system to just say, yes, you've gotten O level.

According to D'oro, who moved to a regular school, his academic achievement was average.

So I left school with regular grades or average grades and then just got into an industry - engineering, and I got through it with no real high ambitions other than just getting through it and just seeing what come out of it. There's no real plan.

The Education Reformed Act 1988, the new curriculum and the combined GCSE exam encouraged scrutiny of the children's performance. The performance of the Black Caribbean child (as the West Indian immigrant child was later to be called) was cause for debate, and continued to be lamented by politicians (N. B. Roberts, Paul, 2020). The Black Caribbean student underperformance became a source of debate in the upper chamber see (Hansard, 2014).

5.2.4 SCHOOL BULLYING, EXCLUSIONS, WHITE CURRICULUM

The Black Caribbean child experience of school and life in the UK included bullying, exclusion and exposure to a predominantly white curriculum and other abuse. By 2002, London mayor Kevin Livingstone lamented the silent catastrophe of exclusion and low attainment and the inequality awaiting children because of this ("School system failing black children," 2002). Accounts of racist bullying, systematic and institutional racism in The Guardian expose (McIntyre, 2021) suggest that the Black Caribbean child faced and continue to face challenges that were alien to other children. At the same time, the suspension exclusion rates for the group have been shown to be three times as high for other ethnic groups and six times as high as white peers (McIntyre, 2021). According to the Department for Education and Employment white paper (*White paper: Excellence in Schools* 1997),

Schools need the ultimate sanction of excluding pupils; but the present number of exclusions is too high. We are concerned in particular about the unjustified variation in exclusion rates between schools and the disproportionate exclusion of pupils from certain ethnic minorities and children looked after by local authorities.

Since that time, Graham, White et al (2019) were to report in 2019 that school exclusion was driven by multiple factors linked to society (p.16-26) and that school was a microcosm of society. Children pre-disposed to social, emotional and mental problems were likely to face school exclusion and vice versa (p. 31) and racism featured in the exclusion of Black Caribbean students

(p. 18). Black Caribbean students continue to face exclusion with Stewart-Hall et al reporting that “the permanent exclusion rate for boys in 2021 was higher than girls, but statistics from DfE (2021) show exclusions of girls is rising in England”(Stewart-Hall, Langham, & Miller, 2023).

Zara Bain (2018) noted that Black students and teachers throughout the education system experienced threats, and or name calling or assault and other disadvantages (Bain, 2018, p. 6) and that there is a white curriculum in school movement, borne from the “pervasive whiteness of university [students’ academic] experience” (p. 19). Based on the concept of the master script, this is to be expected. As previously cited “a master script exists for every discipline and includes classroom practices, pedagogy, instructional materials and theoretical paradigms which are grounded in Eurocentric and White supremacist ideologies” (Swartz, 1992, pp. 341-342).

The aggression in words and deeds meted out to Black Caribbean students is another everyday experience for them. School exclusion is an institutional power play that avoids the appearance of, but is an aggressive action by the institution. The overrepresentation of Black people as excluded from the school society is similar to the overrepresentation of Black people in the penal system, i.e. also a way of excluding them from society.

5.2.5 ENGAGEMENT WITH INSTITUTIONS – POLICING

The challenges of West Indians/Black Caribbeans went beyond school and were to be reflected in the national discourse of nationality and belonging. Encounters of Black people with school and other authorities have sometimes led to abuse and death of the minority people which is antithesis of social integration. These encounters have sometimes resulted in protests and marches and negative interactions between the police and the group. The deathly encounters have been ongoing from the Black people from the early 1900 to present fuelled by the narrative of Black people being involved in drugs and crimes.

According to Martha, as much as there has been some positives such as getting an education and qualifications, there were negatives that should be considered.

[W]e mustn't get away from the fact that we endured a lot of prejudices, and especially with our Black boys and young men in England. They've been through a tough time - stop and search. Some of them have been killed for no reason, and that is something that we cannot forget about.

Hope tells of the story Child Q who was strip searched by the police after a teacher called the police without notifying the parents on the suspicion that the child might have drugs. Of Child Q Hope spoke about the adultification of Black girls and possibility for escalation.

We also had a case that recently came out about Child Q. ...the police, the white society, they try to make Black girls women. They don't see them as girls [...]they are still vulnerable children. So they decide to strip search this girl and it was awful. All the graphic images that's coming out now, it's just awful. They told the parents, they put a lid on it because they didn't want to well, they didn't want another Tottenham, they didn't want another Birmingham, they didn't want another Broadwater farm. They didn't want another Brixton. So they wait for it to sort of calm down. Then they told us. But then a lot of things come out. Now they're writing another policy of how to treat Black children. Why do we need a policy to treat Black children? What's the difference between Black children and white children?

Several news media outlets reported on the scandal with marches held in protest of the actions of the school and the police (Nagesh, 2022) (Warren, 2020). The report from the City of London & Hackney Safeguarding Children Partnership (CHSCP) found “that racism (whether deliberate or not) was likely to have been an influencing factor in the decision to undertake a strip search” as it considered the evidence and confronted the statement that “Child Q was racially profiled due to her being Black and her extreme large head of locks”. Recommendations by the CHSCP included training for the police and schools in “the broad concepts of racism, intersectionality and adultification bias, helping practitioners understand notions of vulnerability and childhood and how these are applied to some children more than others” (Gamble & McCallum, 2022, pp. 32-35).

To further make the point of the treatment of Black people, in this case Black men by the police, Hope recalled an incident wherein a Black bank manager was arrested by the police because he “fit the description”.

There was a case recently, this guy had two cars, two high end cars parked on his drive in a neighborhood. They booked certain places that they allowed token Black to live. And he worked as a bank manager for one of the high street banks. He's driving along, the police pulled him over, gave him a hard time, took him down to the station. He said, "Whose car is this?" My car. We are living in technological age now that all you have to do is to run a number plate for somebody. All you need to say, Sorry, I stopped you. You run his number plate. He told you his name and address, but you still want to take him to the police station because he fits a description. He's Black. That's a description. They took him there and they questioned him, and he said, Listen, I've got my two cars, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. They released him on bail, pending investigation. They investigate, investigate, investigate he couldn't go back to work. He got sacked because of how the police portrayed him as being a drug dealer, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, all of that. In the end, he said, Right, I'm not going to take this sitting down. So he's now suing the police department. He's now saying to his employers, you need to compensate me. So he's taking it to the top. He might end up in the Privy Court wherever he goes, but he was wrongfully accused.

The case of Dale Semper was reported across the media outlets in 2017 is still not resolved. The Metropolitan police undertook several investigations, of Semper, his mother and partner and have found no evidence to build a case against him for any charges. They investigated for two years, when they found no evidence of arms dealing they investigated for money laundering, He was reinstated to a lesser position at his place of work. In 2023, six years later, there is a pending suit against the Met police and various outlets still report of the case (Grierson, 2020; Jackie, 2023).

According to Khoury (2009) racial profiling as an act of racism "is a unique regime of social control specifically due to its reinvention of Blackness as a signifier to criminality". Through racial profiling Black people are reminded of their 'place' as the fear of the power of the white state allows that state to continue in its exercise of white supremacy. The manifestation of white supremacy as omnipresent suggest that Black people are always under surveillance. The violence (or possible violence) proves David Gillborn, (2005) as it is not only "the overt, aggressive, violent actions of some whites towards non-whites that is often seen in the media". The several stories of the deleterious outcome of Black people's encounter with police is subsumed in investigation of the Stephen Lawrence murder. The subsequent MacPherson Report was to cite the police investigation as being influenced by institutional racism. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) preliminary findings found that racism in the UK to be structural, institutional and systemic and dangerous for the people of African descent in the

country as they continue to encounter racial discrimination and erosion of their fundamental rights (Nations, 2023).

Over-representation in the criminal justice system

The House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee - Second Report, 2007, cited several factors which led to the overrepresentation of Black people in the criminal justice system. These included social exclusion through socio-economic disadvantage; educational underachievement and school exclusion as well as family and parenting factors (Affairs, 2007). The Home Office response to the effort to identify and determine possible solutions indicated in the following passage from the Select Committee report.

The causes of the overrepresentation of young Black people in the criminal justice system are multiple, complex and interrelated. Nevertheless, we were disappointed by the reluctance of both the Home Office and the Youth Justice Board to ascribe a clear model of causation for overrepresentation, or to attach relative weight to the various possible causes. The Home Office told us:

"Due to the complexity of the relationship between race, ethnicity and crime and the lack of reliable data, we are unable to say with confidence whether people are being treated differently by the system because of their ethnic group or why disproportionality occurs.

The Home Office's inability or unwillingness to identify the causation for over-representation in the criminal justice system is a way of shifting responsibility and changing the dialogue. This not taking responsibility, is indicative of the white ignorance that the Home Office wants to maintain. As white ignorance allows for whitewashing white atrocities and engenders white misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion, and self-deception on matters related to race to sustain the myth of white supremacy through conquest, colonization and enslavement (Mills, 1997, p. 19).

5.2.6 ENGAGEMENT WITH INSTITUTIONS – HOUSING

Accounts from participants indicate the Windrush generation challenges in housing themselves and their families. For the Windrush immigrants, settlement was “directed by economic disadvantage, racism and exclusion as landlords, lenders, and national and local authorities limited access to housing” (Rex and Moore 1967; Smith 1989 in (Rhodes & Brown, 2019)). This was a pattern that was to continue for the minoritized people in subsequent years. According to Phillips

and Harrison (2010) “poverty, lack of knowledge of housing and blatant racist discrimination meant that newly arriving immigrants usually had little choice but to rent or buy substandard accommodation at the bottom end of the private market” (p. 222). As such the stories of the participants are pertinent to explaining the present condition faced by the Windrush generation and progeny. Present day census data and report from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) shows Black Caribbean people are likely to live in social housing and that “[h]ouseholds where all members identified as “Black, Black British, Black Welsh, Caribbean or African” had the highest level of overcrowding (16.1% in England, 11.9% in Wales) compared with all households (4.4% in England and 2.2% in Wales) (“Overcrowding and under-occupancy by household characteristics, England and Wales: Census 2021,” 2023). Social housing refers to housing units owned by not-for-profit organizations or the local government that are rented to low-income persons.

As it relates to housing, Martha reported that there were discriminatory practices by home owners in renting units to the Windrush and other immigrants -

Because when my mom first went to England, and even when I went up there, there were signs - no Blacks. Because when they first went up – a majority of them you- had to rent a room and most of the signs that was, you would see signs put up outside houses - No Blacks, no Irish.

So, Jamaicans were the first to start buying properties and then rent to their own Blacks, their own people who came from Jamaica, like my mother, when she was preparing to send for us and my stepfather, they bought a house. And so, when we went up, we were living in the basement. And then they had tenants, and those tenants were all Jamaicans upstairs to give them an opportunity to save, and then they could go on and buy their own property. That's how it started.[...]

They could get jobs. Pay was menial, but they could get jobs. What they couldn't get was property to live in. So they all let us scrimp together, started throwing *partner*. You know the word?

Researcher: Yes.

Martha: Start throwing partner to get their draw and to get a mortgage, to get a property. That's how West Indians started, by owning their own properties because of the prejudices and the difficulties they had renting a place, because, of course, the majority of the houses were owned by white people.

(Note: Partner – a collaborative savings method outside the banking system, used in Jamaica to pool funds from savers with each saver entitled to a fixed month draw (hand) of all the pooled funds)

Cobre, the oldest and the first to immigrate to the UK shared her housing experience thus:

So, you just rent a room for where you could get a room to rent. So having been here now it was about ten years of being here, living in rented accommodation that we could buy a house.

Progeny Hope spoke about the limitations of housing and how the generation was able to afford a place to live.

I didn't realize how pigeonhole it was until later when you start to go other places and you realize it's not like your estate, it's different because the white people don't live in the estate, they live in the housing...

So the Windrush people or the Windrush generation, they came here, they work for their £5 a week, £5 a month, whatever time it was. When they realized that they could save- they still do the *partner*. Yes. So, my grandfather said when he came it was a Jewman, that's what we call Jews that gave him the opportunity. They were able to put together and they lived in one room and they went to work, there was lots of work. My dad will tell you that they could go from job to job. So, in that time when they were able to work, they put their *partner*; when they get their *partner* (draw) they either send it to get their children back home or they start to put it towards buying a property of their own.

The Windrush generation did that so they own their own home very quickly. Houses back then probably was 2000, which is a lot of money today but they did their *partner* ever so often they go, and somebody get something to go and get a little house. The banks would not give you that opportunity.

According to Hope, Black Caribbean people are pigeonholed by the system. Using the example of the postcode or where someone lives, Hope explained how the postcode gives access to certain education.

When we first moved to this area, everybody around was white. So maybe that's why I was fortunate enough to go on into education. And XXX is not really a name that is Black like that. So I don't know. They pigeonholed you. They use your postcode and if you don't come from the right postcode, you're not going to get into that college. They use your postcode to do a lot.

They've got something called the postcode lottery now...And they pick a postcode that they want to, and you don't get postcode lottery winners in Black areas – it don't happen.

The challenge of housing for Black people now in the UK was delineated in the Heriott Watt University 2021 research *Meeting the housing needs of BAME households in England: the role of the planning system* and their 2022 *Report on Homelessness Amongst Black and Minoritised Ethnic Communities in the UK*. The research and report look at the evidence that Black people and those from minority ethnic backgrounds experience the highest levels of homelessness (Brislow, 2021) and (Bramley & McIntyre, 2022). “The disproportionate risks of experiencing homelessness faced by Black and Mixed Ethnicity people in particular are substantially heightened in London” (Bramley & McIntyre, 2022, p. 6). The census data from the ONS continues to be scrutinised with Guardian reporters Mohdin and Aguillar Garcia (2023) highlighting the issue of social housing for ethnic minorities with 27% of people of mixed-race backgrounds and 44% of Black Britons, including Africans and Caribbeans living in social housing.

5.2.7 ENGAGEMENT WITH INSTITUTIONS – EMPLOYMENT

According to the Richard Berthoud (2000), the likelihood is greater for ethnic minorities to be unemployed than white people; and if they are employed, it is likely for them to have “less good jobs” and to receive lower pay than their white equivalents (p. 3890. In addition to that, the Trade Union Congress (TUC), 2005 holds that “white people born abroad have higher employment rates than BMEs born in the United Kingdom and white people who are not UK nationals have higher employment rates than Black and minority ethnic people who are” (“Black workers, jobs and poverty,” 2005). Moreover, the TUC was to report in 2016 that Black workers with degrees earn 23.1% less than white workers with degrees (“Black workers with degrees earn a quarter less than white counterparts,” 2016).

According to D’Oro, employment opportunities were sometimes not extended to him because of racism.

So yeah, so my career in relation to what my job as a welder was, as it was pretty much as when I was at school, there was a lot of racist (expletives), who didn't want you in those jobs. Primarily because they paid well, you know, in respect to the money. It was a racist environment, so the managers weren't necessarily blatantly racist, but there was that systemic stuff that they had in the background, so they'd tell you that you couldn't qualify for the job, or they didn't want anybody because you're Black. But they didn't tell you that, but that's obviously why I didn't get the jobs, you know. There was guys I knew that were

getting the jobs, and I wasn't getting the jobs, and I was as good as them, so you've got to lead it to one particular place. But eventually I got in, and proved myself.

Generally speaking, I think for me, my personality is the one that's carried me through, because I'm a really nice bloke, and everybody likes me, pretty much. So, I think that, and I was a bit of a joker, and a bit quick-witted, so I won people over quite easily. And so, I did well, you know, in work. There's some jobs I didn't get because I was Black, and there's other jobs I got because I've got friends who were influential, and they got me in, irrespective of me being Black.

According to the TUC 2020 report, Black and minority ethnic (BME) women are likely to be under-employed or employed in low paying insecure jobs ("Black workers, jobs and poverty," 2005; Middleton, 2023). In fact, "women are around twice as likely as white workers to be employed in insecure jobs[...] [A]round 1 in 8 (12.1%) BME women working in the UK are employed in insecure jobs compared to 1 in 16 (6.4%) white women and 1 in 17 (5.5%) white men in roles that are vital front-line services like health and social care" ("BME women and work," 2020). They face "intersecting systems of oppression across their multiple identities that compound one another" which may be manifested in unfair treatment, discrimination or racism ("BME women and work," 2020; Middleton, 2023).

Martha recalled that nursing was not viewed a favoured profession for white people based on the demands, intricacies of the job and the pay.

Nursing school...it was more predominantly Blacks, Malaysian, Filipinos, the Irish. Those were mainly the four nations that was in nursing because a lot of white people did not want to do nursing. They didn't want to clean, basically... *dem nah clean no shit*. But yeah, it's only as time evolved, the pay was poor as well, so they're not going to be wanting to be working in those sorts of settings.

Cabarita spoke about a patient refusing her care while on the ward.

While I was in training, I was on the surgical ward, and I went to look after a patient, and he told me to take my Black hands off him.

And I left him and I was crying, and I went back to the office. At those times, doctors were doctors, you could talk to them. And when I started crying, the doctor said to me, what's the matter Cabarita? And I said, oh, Mr. XX told me to take my Black hands off him. And he went there and said to him, you've got a very good nurse and you're going to tell her to take her Black hands off you? Who is going to do you? Who is going to wash you? If [she]

has to take her hands off you, you can go home. Those days, a doctor could speak up for the nurses. Now, they can't.

Similarly, Yallahs recalled an incident while on the ward with an English nurse who reported her for not cleaning up a patient assigned to the English nurse.

So, I was in XYZ working as the auxiliary and that's when the racism came up [...] And it's like they want you to do the worst of the job. You know, the nasty bits. And I remember I had a confrontation with this English nurse and she said, you know, go on. I was seeing to a patient. It was in a male ward. And she left because the patient, on the other side, where she was, who was soiled and she came up and said to me for me to leave what I'm doing and come and clean up the mess. I said, no, I'm not doing it. I said, I was allocated to work on this side of the ward. And I'm doing what I'm supposed to do on this side of the ward. She didn't like it. She got very angry and said, *oh, you people*.

Well, *you people* had my head there. And that is the first time I realize I could get so angry. And it's the moment she said, *you people*, I just went like this. You know, I just went like this.

Few Black people are empowered to rile against racism and therefore accept it as yet another part of their working life. The normalcy of racism which elevates white people over Black is indicative of their privilege afforded by their whiteness. Accordingly, job opportunities, better pay and working conditions are the accrue to their whiteness over Black people (*Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education*, 2021, p. 18) and (McIntosh, 1988, p. 188).

5.2.8 AFFECTIVE INTEGRATION

Affective integration in the context of this research refers to the feeling of belonging to a place, people and/or a country. The interpersonal relationships of and with people within this particular space influences this feeling of belonging. According to Wood and Waite (2011) “[b]elonging is a dynamic emotional attachment that relates individuals to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience. It is about feeling 'at home' and 'secure', but it is equally about being recognised and understood” (Ignatieff 1994 in Wood and Waite (2011, p. 1). Moreover, where the feeling of belonging exists it can reduce conflicts, conversely, lack of belonging, can form the basis for “intergroup tensions and exclusionary or discriminatory behaviour”(p.1).

In responding to the question if they felt at home in the country, only the participant who was born and raised in England expressed positive feelings and belonging to the country. The other

responses indicate that the feeling of belonging was not developed. Cobre, born 1939, migrated 1957, now a retired Health Care worker:

I still feel Jamaican even though I live in England, but you know in Jamaica we say, circumstances alter cases... So, circumstances alter cases, I am primarily here because my children were here and we stayed for the children's sake.

Cabarita, born 1947, migrated 1965, now a retired Nurse:

“I don't fit in the British society. British people wouldn't accept me as British cause I'm Black[...]They just say [things] for people to think that they, oh, they are trying to be equal, they're not putting us equal with them... All of society want to exclude all Blacks. They will never accept us.

Martha, born 1954, migrated 1965, now a retired Nurse:

England is a melting pot, but not always a comfortable one for some people. And I still wouldn't feel comfortable living in England in my retirement years. I just still feel that my home is Jamaica.

Yallahs, born 1951, migrated 1968, now a retired Nurse

Before, like, when I used to go home, my mom was alive and I'd go home. You know, I'd go home. But then now with children and grandchildren, yes, it is my home. [...] I'm at home. Even though they don't like us, but I'm at home.

D'Oro, born 1960 in the UK, now a retired Welder. While he has visited Jamaica, England is home. He describes himself as a “Proper Englishman”.

5.3 SUMMARY

This chapter presented the findings for the research questions and in so doing presented evidence that counter the popular belief that the Windrush generation was invited by the UK government to be a part of the reconstruction effort after World War II. This I believe is fundamental to the approach to and treatment of the generation and progeny as well as their education. Further, this impacted the social integration through the engagement with institutions and people. The participants experienced some kind of racism throughout their life in the UK and ultimately, the feeling of belonging was not common amongst the participants. The next chapter will discuss the findings through the framework of Critical Race Theory and The Racial Contract.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the findings highlighted in the previous chapters. It explores the approach to including imperial history, in the core curriculum and the effect of this approach on the integration of a specific population from the global South, as they made lives in a new environment in the global North.

To recap, the research looked at two questions with the aim of determining

- What does a review of historical sources reveal about UK government's approach to the inclusion of the Windrush education?
- What impact does this approach have on the social integration i.e. engagement with education, institutions and belongingness of the Windrush generation and their progeny in subsequent years.

The discussion is framed through critical race theory which is a method of analysis that interrogates the role of race and racism in society and social structures. The research looked at the historical sources and the experiences of the participants and found that racism was pivotal to the inclusion of certain history in the core curriculum, as well as to the integration of the Windrush generation and progeny. The findings will be discussed in light of the CRT and the racial contract. My analysis of the findings aligns with several of the tenets of CRT. Moreover, the proof provided by the stories of the lived experiences of the participants and the recorded words and contemporary documents shows that there is white supremacy and white ignorance present in the actions of the government and white citizens towards the Black colonial subjects and their offspring. Ignorance, which sits at the far end of the knowledge spectrum (Moore & Tumin, 1949, p. 794) supports and preserves the underappreciation and othering of some members of society such as the Windrush generation and progeny.

6.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 1. GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH

The fact that the Black colonials were never wanted or invited to aid in the reconstruction effort is the starting point to understanding the official treatment of the Black people, and consequent approach to including the imperial history in the compulsory curriculum. According to (Ali, 2021) lack of knowledge of empire in the compulsory curriculum sustains racism in that country. The government's response to The Teach Britain's Colonial Past as Part of the UK's Compulsory Curriculum petition is also an indication of their approach the imperial history inclusion. According to Gillborn (2005), education policy is an act of white supremacy based on the tacit intentionality by white policy makers and powerholders. Keeping some content as mandatory and some as optional signals the tacit intentionality about the teaching of imperial history from the margins. Putting the topics as optional curricula choices seemingly empowers teacher to choose the topics that they want to teach and absolves the government from any responsibility to structure a system that produces informed students and citizenry. Teachers work with a curriculum on which the students will be tested and are hard pressed to include optional items during contact hours. Teachers themselves might not be familiar with the content – having never engaged with it, thus the optional item remains unchosen and ignorance persist. The government's response is covert attempt at maintain the master script.

In reviewing the findings of research question 1. about the government's approach to the generation and progeny it is shown that racism is natural in the experience of minority Black population who live in a predominantly white country. They face automatic, pre-conscious or unconscious microaggressions or put-downs on an ongoing basis (Pierce, 1974 in Solorzano, 1998, p.121). The Windrush generation experienced everyday racism from the time they landed in Tilbury. Greeted with housing signs of "No Blacks" and with the stereotypical tropes advanced by the state to frame public opinion (Paul, 1997, pp. 111-130); Black immigrants, were constantly aware that they were not wanted.

This research has shown how Black colonial immigrants were penalized and restrictions placed on them, over the white EVW perpetrators of racial attacks in the government living quarters. Racism was further manifested in the intense police scrutiny and discrimination in blaming Blacks over whites. Being called a golliwog, asked if you had a tail, being cursed and call names, and being excluded from restaurants and generally being ignored or being made invisible were not experiences isolated to participants in the research. While the slights might be different now, Black people still navigate them on a daily basis – racism as normal.

Black minority workers came to realize that they were given the worst of the worst jobs that white workers did not want to do, and their children were considered as academically inferior to same-age whites and were considered educationally subnormal. These experiences firstly, form part of the outcome of the social construct of race, which is itself, a result of the invented biological race profiles which always cast Black people as of less worth than all other ascribed races. And, secondly, as an outcome of a government whose view on race did not allow them to engage with non-white colonials. The racist outlook identified Black people as problems. Every legislative effort was to be made to deny citizenship to Black people and to stop the flow of Black people from the colonies, then commonwealth, to that country. Accordingly, “it is clear from Cabinet papers that have been released over the decades that the motivation to curb immigration comes from the government’s efforts to keep the British cultural identity primarily white”(Kane, 2022, p. 8)

White supremacy as defined in Chapter 2 is seen in the words and actions of the British government in regards to the Windrush arrival. The assumptions and practices that regard people of European descent as superior to people not of European descent is embodied in the socio-political system of domination, and the idea of intellectual and cultural superiority and purity. This is believed to substantiate the white exercise of dominance over other races to their benefit. The deliberate attempt to recruit Europeans for the reconstruction versus the recruitment of British subjects from the colonies was an attempt to maintain the racial homogeneity of the UK.

The Hansard records and other correspondence highlighted the rejection of the Windrush generation by the government. The regret which was extended with the information that Jamaican men were on their way to London, and the stress to Cabinet members that the migration was not organized by the government, the language used to describe the arrival by government members i.e. influx along with the description in the newspapers reinforces the lack of welcome based on colour. The descriptors of Polish people as gallant and Jamaicans as problems and the efforts made to help the white Europeans transition and be accepted by the white British people versus the stereotyping of the Windrush immigrants became a part of the narrative that dichotomize skin colour – white equals gallant therefore good; Black equals problems therefore bad.

Further the threefold concerns of Lord Elton in 1956 summarises the areas of most concern to the white government – labour, housing and the threat to the purity of the white bloodline, i.e. miscegenation. The idea that the “sanctity of white British womanhood” was threatened through the relationships of Black men and white women was of great concern to parliamentarians. (Carter et al., 1987, pp. 337-342). As a priority of white supremacist to maintain the genetic purity, white womanhood had to be protected. McNevin (2020) however refutes the purity of any genetics in White supremacists believe in genetic ‘purity’. Science shows no such thing exists and offers evidence that genetic interbreeding was happening from before the formation of countries as we know them.

My analysis is aligned to Ross and Mauney, 1997, in that “[w]hite supremacy holds that the interests of people of European descent are superior to those of people who believe, act, or look differently than "normal" (Ross & Mauney, 1997, p. 552). From the research, white supremacy is manifested in the legislative actions to eliminate Black immigration to that country. The Coloured Alien Seamen Order (CASO) 1925, and with subsequent legislative treatment of immigration from Black populated countries, in the commonwealth, confirms the view that the Black immigrants were never wanted or invited to be in the space of whiteness. All efforts therefore needed to be utilised to rid the society of them. This demonstration of the state’s efforts to maintain racial homogeneity through successive legislations show the preservation of race discrimination and

white supremacy. The contemporary hostile environment may be seen as the fulfilment of previous legislative actions.

With that understanding that the government's approach to the generation, progeny and inclusion of their story as a compulsory component, the focus will now be turned to research question 2 – what impact has this had on their integration into society.

6.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 2 – WINDRUSH AND PROGENY INTEGRATION

The Windrush and progeny engaged with society through different institutions. These included education, housing, employment and policing. Their inclination to feel that they belong or have been accepted in the UK society seems to be borne from their own experience and those of fellow immigrants, family and friends. This is not a feeling that most have.

Participants engagement with education is framed against the backdrop of the Bernard Coard findings about the British school system. White supremacy is identified in the assumptions made about Black immigrant children as being dull and therefore educationally sub-normal, as to the white supremacist, intelligence exist only with the white race. There was no participant who was labelled educationally subnormal, however the Coard suggestion of supplemental schooling for Black children was taken in one form or the other, i.e. employing private tutors to assist or attending Black supplemental schools on Saturdays. This was a way to counter the “soft bigotry of low expectations”, as Black students were generally expected to achieve less and therefore not encouraged to reach their full potential. This in itself is an example of the racist environment within which the Black child was schooled. The low expectations of white teachers in the educational system were compared to the high expectations and encouragement given to students in Jamaica by Black teachers. The supplemental classes defied the concept of a master script Wartz, (1992) Ladson-Billings, (!998) by giving credence to Black produced knowledge and teachers. Thus Black teachers were role models outside of the official school system, and Black ideas, and culture helped to thwart the “official school curriculum as a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 18)

There is plain evidence of white ignorance in the education system as through Charles Mills theory of white ignorance, we are able to identify racial erasure, whitewashing white atrocities and eliminating non-white contribution in the school curriculum. Research participants reported being only taught about “kings and queens” in history classes, limited Black teachers in the education and white teachers with limited knowledge of what they are teaching. The government’s strategy is one of blame shifting, as they can identify the imperial history as a part of the optional offerings and suggest that to it’s up to the teachers to teach it. In this way, successive governments can divorce themselves from the responsibility to develop a fully educated population.

Mills conception of white ignorance is that of a past and present phenomenon of racism that is “widespread, systematic and pernicious” in its reproduction of ignorance (Bain, 2018, p. 6) in which exist “false beliefs and the absence of true belief about people of color, supporting a delusion of white racial superiority that can afflict white and non-white people alike”(Mills, 2007, p. 3). The memory of the individual and society are influenced by white ignorance by “erasing both the achievements of people of colour and the atrocities of white people”(Mills, 2007). This collective amnesia goes back to the debate cited in Chapter 1 about what history should be taught and has been on display in recent times, white ignorance manifest itself in “hostility to the testimony and credibility of non-white people”.

Education structures that do not protect teachers and students from racist bullying in school; that result in Black Caribbean students being three times more likely to be excluded from education or structures. Thus, white authority and white ignorance remains normal.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the year of research done on the topic *The Windrush Scandal: A Case for Teaching the British Imperial history from the margins in the UK Compulsory Curriculum*. It has found that the UK government’s underlying modus operandi towards the Windrush generation has

been non-engagement until it is necessary. Starting with the lack of invitation to assist in the reconstruction efforts, the labelling of the Black child through the school system, the marginalization of the Black Caribbean people through housing, employment, policing and other spheres of life, the conclusion to be drawn is that such engagement are influenced by racism and are systematic and institutional.

Racism and imperialism then undergird the educational, social and affective integration in society for the Windrush generation and progeny and are at the root of including different aspects of history in the UK compulsory curriculum. In some ways, racism and imperialism are seen as part of the UK past inasmuch as they perceive themselves as a multi-cultural society. As such, the lack of knowledge of history from the margins can lead to othering and other forms of exclusion and prejudice.

By looking from the margins through the lens of critical race theory, the research has allowed Windrush and progeny participants to tell their story. Through CRT we have seen where race is a constant companion of the racialized other and it is only when the interest of the white majority people is affected that action will be taken that will benefit both the white majority and the Black minority. In this case, the interest of the majority white people does not intersect with the needs of the Black population. Additionally, the privilege that whiteness allows the white people is steeped in the government and institutions which are therefore at liberty to decide that learning about the contribution to nation building of the three percent minority people that can be fit somewhere is the curriculum at the discretion of a teacher and made available as an optional component.

The teaching of the British Imperial history as a part of the compulsory curriculum would serve the purpose as espoused by HT. In so doing, more persons will be aware and appreciate the minority input in nation building.

Finally, ignorance, which sits at the far end of the knowledge spectrum (Moore & Tumin, 1949, p. 794) supports and preserves the underappreciation and othering of some members of society such as the Windrush generation and progeny.

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