COMMON SENSE, RACISM AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF RACE RELATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns itself with what could be referred to loosely as the 'sociology of race relations'. The arguments presented here are not arguments that have been arrived at as a result of an individualised pursuit of knowledge or academic excellence but have rather emerged out of the collective process of group discussion of Racism and Race. Neither are the arguments, in terms of their political and theoretical trajectory, particularly new. For example, way back in 1971 Robin Jenkins was criticising Rose and Deakin's Colour and Citizenship for being 'not scientific but ideological'. The knowledge contained in it, he had argued

made the power elite more powerful and the powerless more impotent. He warned blacks not to submit themselves to the scrutiny of white researchers who, in effect, acted as spies for the government. They should be said, be told to 'fuck off'.

Jenny Bourne who describes the circumstances in which Jenkins' paper was produced, points out that his critique 'opened up a major debate as to the whole direction of race relations research and provided a catalyst in the struggle to transform the Institute (of Race Relations) itself.' A struggle which was but a reflection of the struggles of black people outside, against racism. She informs us further, that by 1972 when the dispute in the IRR finally came to a head, the debate had shifted far beyond Jenkins' initial critique.

where the fundamental problem lay was now the issue. It was not black people who should be examined, but white society; it was not a question of educating blacks and whites for integration, but of fighting institutional racism; it was not race relations that was the field for study, but racism.

Bourne's article goes beyond the local struggle within the IRR to look into the historical development of race relations research. Her criticism was not so much that researchers were focusing upon the cultures and organisations of black people rather than white racism, but that such research sought to influence the policies of governments (both Labour and Conservative) who were already inclined to view racism as a consequence of the number of black people in England. The 1968 and 1971 immigration Acts, the one enshrining the racist paternal/non-paternal distinction in Law; the other bringing all primary immigration to an end and converting black Commonwealth citizens to 'rightless gastarbeiter'; marked not just the end of capital's need for black settler labour, but also the point at which the policy-makers - caught up in a situation where popular racist solutions to Britain's economic and social ills were being advocated - became 'a part of the problem'. This last point requires further elaboration.
Race and the Crisis

The notion that the question of race is essentially an 'external' problem, 'foisted on English society from outside', was as Stuart Hall argued an ideological response to the 'End of Empire'. It entailed an erasure of England's imperial past and, consequently, a refusal to make the connections between that past and the black immigration of the 50s and 60s. It is here that he locates the 'moment' of a new form of indigenous racism.

paradoxically, the native, home-grown variety of racism begins with this attempt to wipe out and efface every trace of the colonial and imperial past from official and popular recall.

The space provided by this 'collective amnesia' for the growth of a new racism, became apparent during the 1964 General Election when Peter Griffiths conducted his campaign in Smethwick around the slogan: 'If you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour.' This was also the period during which the 'you've never had it so good' years, gave way to the slump. The uneasy political truce that had existed between classes and which had been cemented by the ideology of affluence, cracked apart; revealing the real inequalities between classes; the still existing poverty in Britain's urban centres and the gathering economic crisis.

When Enoch Powell made his now infamous speeches (68, 69) about the radical and alien 'enemy within' threatening the very fabric of society, he touched the raw nerve of popular and official feeling about the deepening crisis. However, the crisis he perceived was not a crisis of race relations, nor yet a crisis in the economy, but a crisis of social authority.

It is not possible here to go into the particular reasons for the structural crisis of British Capitalism or to enter into a discussion about why successive governments have been unable to overcome it, but it is worth noting that the present crisis takes shape during the 'energy crisis' of 73/74 and the confrontation between Heath's government and the miners in the same period. These events (and the subsequent 'Balance of payments crisis' 75/76) threw into sharp relief what had really been clear since Wilson had propounded his plans for a 'New Britain' to be born out of and 'forged in the white heat of the technological revolution'.

.....that the resolution of the economic problems in Britain hinged on a more fundamental restructuring of capitalist production at both a national and international level.

The failure to resolve the structural problems necessitated that the state also manage the effects of the crisis at the level of social relations. As Lord Hailsham put it.....

Gentlemen, we live in grave times. 'The symptoms of our malaise may be economic, may show themselves in price rises, shortages and industrial disputes. But underlying the symptoms is a disease which has destroyed democracies in the past, and the causes of that disease are not economic. They are moral
and political and constitutional, and in order
to cure it we must recognise then as such. The means of 'crisis management' have been in part institutional and partly ideological. At the institutional level the important trend has been towards a strengthening and centralisation of the mechanisms of control and the means of state violence and the undermining of the representative institutions of political democracy. The Trilateral Commission's report on The Crisis of Democracy anxiously notes this trend.

Everywhere one discovers a complete dissociation between the decision-making system, dominated by traditional and often quite rhetorical political debate, and the implementation system, which is the presence of administrative systems quite often centralised and strong. This dissociation is the main cause of political alienation amongst citizens. It continually nourishes utopian dreams and radical postures and reinforces opposition to the state.

The shift towards more and more unmediated forms of control is underpinned in one of its crucial dimensions by a growth in state racism - particularly at the legislative and juridical levels, but also within the 'caring' institutions. At the ideological level the convergence of key themes from the '60s (violence, moral terpitude, youth) with the theme of Race - particularly noticeable in the construction of 'The Mugger' - cements these developments. It is not that Race, is the 'problem' but rather that race comes to signify the crisis. Hall states the articulation of race and crisis succinctly.

In one of its principal dimensions, this crisis is thematised through race. Race is the prism, through which the British people are called upon to 'live through' to understand, and then deal with crisis conditions. Hall's argument here is not simply that race expresses the crisis but that racism, within the present context, constitutes a vital set of economic, political and ideological practices which structure the ways in which the crisis is experienced. In this connection the development of racist ideologies which intersect and re-organise the common sense racism of the white working class, around the themes of 'The Nation', 'The People', and 'British Culture', has been of fundamental importance. For this popular racism has succeeded not only in displacing the existing ideologies of class - of economic demands and of class struggle,... thereby strengthening the mechanism whereby the working class is reproduced as a racially structured-and divided working class; it also combines with the institutionalised racist practices of the state in such a way as to place 'induced repatriation' on the political agenda. As Paul Gilroy remarks Repatriation is the British solution to the 'race-relations' problem, an alien problem.
being essentially external to Britain, will vanish with the blacks. It is also the means by which consent for political power may be preserved or won anew in the face of crisis.\textsuperscript{16}

The developments briefly outlined above form the background context in my assessment of 'race-relations' sociology. The argument proceeds in three stages. Firstly the contention of this thesis is that the very terrain upon which racist ideologies work, that is the terrain of 'common-sense', forms the corner stone of much of this 'race-relations' sociology. Indeed in many ways it is precisely these common-sense images which are being theorised so as to produce a pathological picture of black family life and black culture. For this reason I have felt it necessary to make a theoretical detour in order to explain how my understanding of common-sense differs from popular usage. Following on from this I give a brief description of some of the common-sense images through which blacks are seen and then try to show how these have been taken up and articulated within racist ideologies. In the last section I deal with race-relations research proper and attempt to demonstrate the similarities between common-sense racism, racist ideologies and race-relations research.

Part I \textit{Common-Sense}

The term 'common-sense' is generally used to denote a down-to-earth 'good-sense'. It is thought to represent the distilled truths of centuries of practical experience; so much so that to say of an idea or practice that it is only common-sense, is to appeal over the logic and argumentation of intellectuals, to what all reasonable people know in their 'heart of hearts' to be right and proper. Such an appeal can act at one and the same time to foreclose any discussion about certain ideas and practices and to legitimate them.

Common-sense has not always occupied such a pre-eminent position, neither has it always been so easily equated with good-sense. In his \textit{Prison Notebooks}, Gramsci traced its development as a concept from a term particularly favoured by the 17th and 18th century empiricist philosophers battling against theology, to its subsequent usage as a confirmation of accepted opinion rather than its subversion.\textsuperscript{15} He characterised common-sense thinking as 'eclectic and unsystematic' in the way in which it accumulated contradictory knowledges within itself. Common-sense he argued:

\begin{quote}
......is strangely composite; it contains elements from the Stone Age and principles of a more advanced science; prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of the human race united the world over.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

The contradictory nature of common-sense means that it should not be thought of as constituting a unified body of knowledge. It does not have a theory underlying or 'hidden beneath' it,\textsuperscript{17} but is perhaps best seen as a 'storehouse of knowledges' which has been gathered together, historically, through struggle.\textsuperscript{18}
As a way of thinking and in its immediacy, common-sense is appropriate to 'the practical struggle of everyday life of the popular masses'. It is one of the contradictory outcomes of the divisions between mental and manual labour under Capitalism. Yet, while common-sense embodies the practical experience and solutions to the everyday problems encountered by the 'popular masses' throughout their history, 'it is also shot through with elements and belief's derived from earlier or other more developed ideologies which have sedimented into it.'

The practical struggle of everyday life refers not simply to that 'perennial struggle against nature' but to class struggle. The struggle for the poor to decide - in the present conjuncture for example - where the social costs of economic recession are to be borne. The new restrictions on organised labour; the deliberate creation of unemployment and the other attempts by the present government to re-organise the production process, are not politics that can be pursued willy-nilly. Consent for them has to be continually won. It is within this process of winning consent and in the decomposition and re-composition of alliances between the ruling bloc and 'sub-altern classes' by the granting of economic concessions to those classes, (which do not however touch the essential interests of the ruling bloc,) that the subordination of the 'popular masses' is ideologically and practically secured. The securing of 'Hegemony' by the ruling block through, is not a once and for all victory. The situation is rather, a 'negotiated truce' between the hegemonic cultures of the ruling bloc and the 'corporate' cultures of the subordinated classes. While the general ideas of the society are defined within the hegemonic cultures and form the horizon of thought about the world, this does not mean that the thought of the subordinate classes is wholly given over to ideas derived from elsewhere. Common-sense also contains 'more contextualised or situated judgements' which are the product of their daily lives. The sometimes oppositional and always contradictory nature of this thought is captured quite neatly by Stuart Hall et al. when they point out that......

...it seems perfectly 'logical' for some workers to agree that 'the nation is paying itself too much' (general) but be only too willing to go on strike for higher wages (situated)...

This subordination as has been mentioned already, is not merely a mental subordination, the ideas of the hegemonic culture are also embodied within the dominant institutional order since this is controlled by the ruling block. The subordinated classes will, then, be 'disciplined' in practice. Their actual experience will reflect their subordination, and it is the massive presence of these ideas as they are enshrined within the social relations of everyday life, that gives common-sense its 'taken for granted' nature.
The fact that common-sense is the product of historical struggles is, to a large extent, obscured by the pre-eminent position within it of an essentialist and static view of 'human nature'. The notion that human beings possess unchanging 'instincts' which profoundly shape human motivations and actions, works on our daily experience of life in such a way as to erase or gloss over the historical class and other struggles which have led to the present configuration of social forces. It also operated to 'effectively discount the possibility of change and to "naturalise" the social order'. Through the mechanism of this 'naturalisation process' the social construction of, for example, gender roles is collapsed into the biological differences between the sexes. In common-sense thinking, historically and culturally specific images of femininity and masculinity are rendered as the 'natural' attributes of females and males.

Familial Common-sense

We will come later to the way in which this particular notion of human nature is mobilised as a sanction for racism but for the moment I intend to look at the common-sense image of the family, since it is seen as the crucial site for the reproduction of those correct social mores, attitudes and behaviours that are thought to be essential to maintaining a 'civilised' society. As such the 'family' is one of those images through which blacks are viewed and by which blacks are compared and contrasted with that society. It is in the domain of the family that children first learn 'right from wrong'; the basic do's and don'ts that will inform their future behaviour. It is here also where girls first learn the duties and functions associated with womanhood and motherhood and where boys learn the responsibilities and privileges accruing to the 'man of the house'. The family then is seen as the site in which self-discipline and self-control are learned and in which relations of authority and power are first internalised. It is important to recognize that the common-sense image of the kind of family which is to fulfill these tasks is that of the nuclear family, where Father 'works' while Mother attends to her household 'chores' and looks after the children. This view of the family's natural structure and role, has particular consequences for the assessment of the conduct of both individuals and groups of people. Where the 'normal' family will generate the correct 'moral social compulsions' and 'inner controls', immoral/sinful behaviour will be seen as the outcome of an abnormal family life or an inadequate upbringing. Criminality or permissiveness, for example, would be traceable in this scheme of things back to the family. Of course it is just this kind of common-sense thinking that informs the present government's suggestions of 'taking punishment fit the parent'. The idea being that to make parents liable to pay any fines their children might incur will 'encourage them to exert their responsibility and to provide the guidance and care needed to help keep their children out of trouble.'
Within this notion of the family we can detect the contradictory, inconsistent and ahistorical characteristics that we noted earlier to be the principal features of common-sense thinking. The family here is seen as the 'natural' outcome of the biological differences between the sexes, men and women were quite literally 'made for each other'. Monogamous marriage, as encapsulated in the favourite movie image of primeval man and his mate, is similarly seen as arising out of these natural differences as indeed are the familial roles of mothering and fathering. However, as Michelle Barrett has recently pointed out, this particular arrangement is the specific historical achievement of the bourgeoisie. The fact that this view of family life is popularly accepted as the 'natural form of household organization', simply attests to the bourgeoisie's success of securing at an ideological level,

... a hegemonic definition of family life: as 'naturally' based on close kinship, as properly organized through a male breadwinner with financially dependent wife and children, and as a haven of privacy beyond the public realm of commerce and industry. 25

While the sedimentation of this piece of ideology into common-sense has as Barrett argues had obvious benefits for capital through providing a "motivation for male wage labour and the male 'family wage' demand", it is also evident that few working class households are organized in this way. 26 As we have already argued though it makes sense within common-sense thinking for working class women to subscribe to this image of the family and yet still acknowledge that they also work outside of the home and that their 'family' extends outside of the nuclear family's orbit.
would be wrong to conclude that racism was, therefore, absent from English society before these imperial adventures. Winthrop D. Jordan in "White over Black", argues that the literary evidence from a period before any contact with Africa, shows a clearly delineated 'colour symbolism'.

Black was an emotionally partisan color, the handmaiden and symbol of baseness and evil, a sign of danger and repulsion.  

The opposition between Black (evil) and White (good) was not merely a poetic device but, suggests Jordan, was actually an integral part of their view of themselves, though it is not clear in his account how far this was a common theme outside of those involved in the production and reproduction of the literate culture.  Again from the journals that have been left by those literate people involved in the first excursions to the west coast of Africa, it was the fact of blackness that was the salient feature of Africans and even though further contact revealed differences in complexion between Africans, it was the idea of black Africa that filtered back to and became established in England. Jordan argues, though, that it was not simply that the white English had met their 'negation' in the black African that led to a particular racist conception of Africans. The linkages that were made between evil blackness, 'disobedience' (to god) as a reason for the 'curse' of blackness; and 'carnal copulation' as evidence of a fall from grace, represented a projection onto the African of their own anxieties about their role as entrepreneurs in the burgeoning capitalist developments that threatened to disrupt their social order.

It was the case with English confrontation with Negroes then, that a society in search of a military advantage immediately set both policy and military strategy in the direction that would ensure the blacks' subjection. Jordan suggests that that was the dawning of the American 'race' problem.
that the new bourgeoisies begin to gather. The importance of this for our purposes is that the argument depends on a view of capitalism as not so much breaking the fetters of feudalism, as being an extension of certain feudal social relations; that is to say they are preserved and transformed under capitalism.³² Such an analysis may go some way towards explaining the persistence of patriarchy under capitalism and also gives a clue about the reasons for the particularistic and 'national' character of the sixteenth century bourgeoisies. The fact that the various bourgeoisies were bounded by and worked within the political economies of specific states, had a profound influence on the way in which they conceptualised the world and their position in it. As Robinson argues, 'the bourgeoisie perceived what later analysis argues in retrospect is the beginnings of a world system as something quite different: an international system. The bourgeoisies of early modern capitalism were attempting to destroy or dominate each other.'³³ (my emphasis).

It is important to realise here, that the political economies by which the bourgeoisies were bounded, were not the economies of nations as such. The bourgeoisies were not drawn from the same ethnic and cultural groups as the peasantry; the emerging proletariat were drawn as much from other lands as from the rural parts of the particular state; the standing armies (mercenaries) were also recruited from abroad or else from 'backward areas'; while the slave labour force was brought from 'entirely different worlds'.³⁴ Indeed, Robinson reminds us that

In the Middle Ages and later the nobility, as a rule, considered themselves of better blood than the common people, whom they utterly despised. The peasants were supposed to be descended from Ham, who, for lack of skill, entered into servitude.
cultures. Gathered around it are a cluster of other images and ideas, some held more strongly than others by different people at different times which, even though they are cross-cut by other ideas such as the essential equality of all people, nevertheless tend to pull public opinion about blacks towards racist interpretations and rationalisations of particular events and circumstances. One important image here, is the image of black cultures as essentially primitive when compared to the sophistication, complexity and civilised nature of England. This does not mean that the different cultures are viewed as being the same. Asian culture is at least permitted a degree of development and cohesiveness as opposed to Africans who are thought not really to have had a culture as such, that is until the English came along and 'civilised' them.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the common-sense view is to say that within this body of knowledges, Africans were still in a state of 'childhood' while Asians might at best be credited with emerging into a state of 'adolescence'. This relative primitiveness of black cultures is not viewed as the outcome of a certain stage of development of the respective societies, a development which has been suspended and retarded by imperialism and colonialism, but rather is seen to be the natural expression of an inferior intellect. The naturalisation of the differences between these cultures and English culture helps to 'explain' why Asians adhere to 'backward' religions and 'barbaric' customs and the 'superstitious' and atavistic beliefs of Africans: in common-sense terms they are simply not capable of any thing else. These congenital disabilities, however, are also felt to be evident in the different characteristics of black peoples. While Asians may possess a certain native cunning, their basic deceitfulness and dishonesty makes them
of slave-trading and colonialism, though it remains as a popular image up to the present day. Even the supposedly impartial cameras of the B.B.C. unerringly find their way to the quaint and exotic ceremonials where they can get their close-up of the naked bosoms of African women. Of course this view of Africans has reached its fullest and most vicious expression in the U.S.A., where the sexual potency of African males - potent because bestial - coupled with their supposed predilection for the most brutal forms of repression. At the same time the rape by slave-owners of their female slaves has prompted the elaboration of the myth of the African woman as always ready and willing to satisfy the carnal longings of men, especially if they're white men. This view has not necessarily reached the same heights of elaboration in England, though the idea of the wanton West-Indian woman and the promiscuous West-Indian male is nevertheless a common one; serving not only to fuel a preoccupation with the size of the male's penis and the rythmical quality of the woman's love-making, but also acting as a means of 'explaining' the incidence of single mothers amongst the West-Indian population. Alternative explanations such as the high level of unemployment and the difficulty of finding suitable accommodation are in this scheme of things almost automatically ruled out of court.

The common-sense view of Asian sexuality does not question their humanity as it does with Africans and would appear at first sight to contain more obvious contradictions. The association that is made, for example, with the 'exotic' sexual practices contained in such works as the "Kama Sutra" would seem to cut across the deeply held view of the passive Asian woman walking three
As we have said, Asian humanity is not questioned in the same way as is the humanity of Africans and by association West Indians. Yet of the black communities settled in England it is Asians who are seen as the most alien. Of course there is a sense in which West Indians are viewed as having been 'given' the culture of the English even though their congenital deficiencies are thought to have undermined and debased that culture. Indeed it is perhaps this partial and hazy memory of British Imperialism that allows common-sense thinking to recognize certain similarities. (It is well known, for example, that even the well-educated sociologists, politicians etc. of an earlier period entertained the idea that West Indians were 'essentially' British). This together with the image of West Indians as "happy-go-lucky" has promoted the idea of West Indians as "willing to mix" as opposed to Asians who are seen as being hidden behind cultural barriers. The full weight of Asian alien-ness comes out in ideas about food, not just the way in which food is prepared and cooked but also what is (thought to be) eaten. The stories from white neighbours about the 'constant smell of curry' emanating from next door are well known, as is the peculiarly British distaste for the smell of garlic. But it is the association in the popular mind between the Indian (and Chinese) restaurant and the disappearance of the neighbourhood cats that prompts particular feelings of horror.

Language, however, is the key element in lending coherence to the various other images. While it has taken the English a long time to recognize that West Indians do speak a language of their own and not merely a form of 'bad English', no such tardiness was possible with regard to the Asian communities. The important point here though, is not that Asians speak languages that are dissimilar and were brought from India, but the evidence of
of British Imperialism and colonial domination, their knowledge of this aspect of their history has been distorted where it has not been erased. The notion of the 'white man's burden' effectively dilutes Britain's imperial past and allows resistance to be portrayed as 'terrorism' and black people generally as being ungrateful for the good services of the British in bringing them out of darkness and into the white light of civilisation. There is, further, no knowledge of Britain's continuing economic domination of the former colonies, which lends credibility to the myth that blacks chose to come here. Listen to the Sun:

Many of the black people who have chosen to build their future in Britain accept bad housing, poor education, unemployment and insults. They regard it as the price they pay for coming here. Some of them are even grateful. But young blacks are not. They did not choose to be born in Britain.

Once here however, the black family is measured against the white family and found wanting. To begin with, there is the fact that black families tend to be larger than the average white family. This of course is only natural given the Afro-Caribbean's bestial and spontaneous sexuality and the power that Asian men wield over Asian women. Further neither group bothers to use contraception, either because they don't understand or because religious strictures and taboos forbid such practices. The fact that Asian women have been making their own contraceptives for centuries is conveniently ignored here. Thus the real problem of poor and inadequate housing - a product of racist practices - is seen as self-induced and is summed up in that popular slogan 'they breed like rabbits'. For the Asian community, this is thought to be further compounded by their extended family/kinship system. Here overcrowding is seen as a direct product of their predilection
permissive regime of British schools, they 'run wild'. Their rebellion against the racist practices and pedagogy of their educators is portrayed as the result of something else. However, the fact of a small percentage of unmarried mothers in the West Indian community which might be thought to contradict the image of traditionally strict parents is dealt with by reference to the West Indian woman's sexuality. Their parents are not worried because

traditionally a West Indian girl proved her womanhood in this way.\(^{41}\)

The common-sense image of the Asian mother views her as having and posing particular problems. She is portrayed as isolated from the beneficial effects of English culture, because her movements are circumscribed by custom and she therefore invariably fails to learn English. She is viewed as particularly prone to superstitious beliefs and, being more traditional than the other members of her family, is also more 'neurotic' in her new urban setting. This is shown clearly in a description of 'an imaginary family of Bradford Pakistanis' carried a few years ago by Bradford's 'Telegraph and Argus'. The author characterises her as

never (having) walked more than 20 yards in Bradford after dark... and fears that all sorts of terrible things can happen at night.\(^{42}\)

As was pointed out by Pratibha Parmar at the time she was of course 'quite right not to walk alone after dark because 'terrible things' do happen at night'; the spate of beatings up and murders perpetrated by racist thugs on the black community are brutal testimony to that. The journalist responsible for this series a certain John Salmon, can only see the fascist organisations as the lunatic fringe of British politics. In this he is locatable firmly within common-sense
Indian community in the public mind. Asian crime is seen as being much more internal to the community, either in the form of violence in the family—a product of the male’s tyrannical power—or else in the harbouring of 'illegal immigrants' within the extended family/kinship network. All Asians are therefore 'suspect', a view which sanctions 'fishing raids' into their communities and places of work.

Common-sense racism then, articulated through the ventriloquism of the popular media, provides fertile ground both for the legitimization of repressive measures directed toward the black communities and for the growth of racist ideologies. It is to the connections between the latter and common-sense racism that we now turn.

Part 2 The New Racism

They (the wets) don't seem to realise that the barbarians are at the gates... and that if the Tory Party don't do the job and legitimize the instincts of the people, within ten years it'll be a choice between the National Front and the extreme Left. (my emphasis)

This section will not deal with the racist ideologies of the organised Fascist movements. This is not because I regard them as a 'lunatic fringe' with little support in the country and no connections with the 'powerful'. On the contrary, their ideas on 'race' do have popular appeal and their connections with sections of the command structure of the armed forces and with the Tory Party, for example,
...the labouring classes of the satellites and the labouring classes of the metropolis have long been indelibly intertwined. The very definition of 'what it is to be British' - the centrepiece of that culture now to be preserved from racial dilution - has been articulated around this absent/present centre, if their blood has not mingled extensively with yours, their labour-power has long since entered your economic bloodstream. It is in the sugar you stir: it is in the sinews of the infamous British 'sweet tooth': it is the tea-leaves at the bottom of the 'British cuppa'.

At another level the impetus for the elaboration of a new racism can be found at the point where the Butler/Gaitskell consensus cracks to reveal not 'One Nation' working together so as to expand the 'economic resource-pie', with everyone getting a larger share; but an increasing chasm between rich and poor. Martin Barker explains:

The Tory Party has had to sell its ideology of limitless human wants and the need for economic growth. But when the crucial prop of that one Nation stance was kicked away by recession, the liberal Tory ideology went into crisis.

The form of Conservatism that emerged out of this crisis contains a particular view of 'race' as one leading component. Why 'race' should occupy such a leading role, apart from its obvious ability to mobilise the 'people' involves a long and complex argument which I cannot go into here. Instead, I will content myself with a look at the content of the new racism; since even though this will not explain why 'race' becomes important in the 70's, it may go some way towards explaining why this racist ideology is popular.
A little later he tells us that 'immigration was bound to import problems' (my emphasis). Sherman is one of the more hard-nosed of the ideologues and his evident disdain for black people is likely to show through from time to time, but the important point here is the suggestion that the blacks brought the 'problems' with them. His argument is not that they came into the most run-down areas and worst paid jobs, but that because of their cultures they are not able to surmount these initial 'difficulties'. Indeed their cultural practices actually generate more problems.

We can understand this shift in emphasis better if we go back to one of Powell's early speeches. As far as he was concerned, the problem was not the alleged 'harassment' of whites by their black neighbours - of which he gave vivid examples; neither was it their high birth-rate. These things were merely symptomatic. The real problem was the growth within English society of alien communities with alien cultures.

...to suppose that the habits of the mass of immigrants, living in their own communities, speaking their own languages and maintaining their native customs, will change appreciably in the next two or three decades is a supposition so grotesque that only those could make it who are determined not to admit what they know to be or not to see what they fear.

According to Powell, the 'rivers of blood' will flow not because the immigrants are black; not because British society is racist; but because however 'tolerant' the British might be, they can only 'digest' so much alienness. This rather carnivalesque view of assimilation is utterly unconvincing.
common-sense racism can be relied upon to provided the missing inflexions. At the more 'abstract' level, however, the ideology is not at all secure at this point. It needs other ingredients. Ivor Stanbrook M.P. gives us a clue:

Let there be no beating about the bush. The average coloured immigrant has a different culture, a different religion and a different language. This is what creates the problem. It is not just because of race.\(^57\)

(\textit{my emphasis})

Most of this is familiar by now, but while it may not be 'just because of race' it seems clear that 'race' does have something to do with it. A little later Stanbrook lets the cat out of the bag:

I believe that a preference for one's own race is as natural as a preference for one's own family.\(^58\) (\textit{my emphasis})

'It's only natural'

In the section on 'common-sense' I argued that the idea of 'human nature' held an important place in common-sense thinking generally and, in particular, I pointed to the bourgeoisie's success in securing, ideologically, the notion of the nuclear family as the only 'natural' unit of household organisation. I also suggested that these ideas and ideas about 'race' were linked only tendentially within common-sense, since this mode of thinking is inherently eclectic, unsystematic and contradictory. (One can see for example, in the aphorism that 'variety is the spice of life'; a point at which the idea that different household organisations are 'natural', could begin to be elaborated.
19.
He goes on to point out how these ideas have been harnessed to underpin the present governments monetarist solutions.

Thatcher herself blamed the decline in just about all standards one could name on "our having stripped the family, the fundamental unit of society, of so many of its rights and duties." It is possible here to see connections between this view and the current redefinitions of sexuality in particular (e.g. in the anti-abortion movement) and morality in general (e.g. Mary Whitehouse's 'moral crusade'). It is also possible, needless to say, to see the connections between these developments and the elaboration of the new racism.

The family is seen to transmit traditions and generate loyalties (amongst other things) at least within the immediate family and it is the family's role in reproducing a certain sort of culture, a certain 'way of life' that makes it 'the fundamental unit of society'. Not only is the 'family' structure of the black communities seen to be different; it also, as Powell and others tell us, reproduces different cultures. Blacks are different and recognised as such not just (or even) because they have different features and/or complexes, but primarily because they have different cultures; different 'ways of life'. R. Page tells us what this means:

It is from a recognition of racial differences that a desire develops in most groups to be among their own kind; and this leads to distrust and hostility when newcomers come in.

Groups then, develop a racial consciousness based upon their racial similarity (defined as shared 'way of life' which is akin to a 'herd instinct'. What is more, like the family or rather through the family, this racial consciousness generates loyalty to the herd and distrust of and hostility towards other 'herds'. The important point to note here is that this 'herd instinct' is presented, as we saw in Ivor Stanbrook's speech earlier, as a 'natural' evolutionary development. Thus far we have been furnished with reasons for initial antagonisms between groups, but we may even at this late stage want to argue that surely its only a matter of time before familiarity leads to 'understanding' of each others cultures and the peaceful co-existence of the different cultures in a 'multi-cultural society. Looking through the various writings and speeches of the ideologues, though, it does seem that they have seen this argument coming. What gives this ideology its particularly nasty twist is the yoking of the cart of biological culturalism to the rogue horse of the 'nation' and 'Nationhood'.

The 'Alien Wedge'
The links that have been made between 'human nature'; The family; Culture and the Nation have not been forged without much 'ideological work'. As Barker puts it
'that requires some re-writing of history', it also requires that class and gender division are obscured. Thus Norman St. John-Stevas argues for a thousand year continuous and uninterrupted development of the 'dominant culture'; a notion which erases the history of myriad peoples who have invaded or migrated to Britain at the same time as it ignores class exploitation and the subordination of women. Powell appears to be equally ignorant.

The Commonwealth immigrant (he argues) came to Britain as a full citizen, to a country which knew no discrimination between one citizen and another (my emphasis)

The importance of the ideological construction of an 'homogenous' nation and national culture, is made clear by Sherman who, given current events, not even Powell can match for sheer audacity.

The United Kingdom is the national home of the English, Scots, Welsh, Ulstermen (and those of the Southern Irish who retained British Identity after their fellow-Irish eventually rejected it).

Here, England's domination and suppression of neighbouring peoples is transformed into something that approximates a family quarrel. Whatever one may think of the methods of struggle adopted variously by the Scottish Nationalist, Plaid Cymru the IRA (or earlier, the 'Southern Irish') it does not appear convincing to describe these struggles for a measure of independence as exercises in retaining or rejecting 'British identity'. Nevertheless it does give us a clue to the particular form of Nationalism being propounded by these ideologues. Sherman says it best. He argues that 'nationhood ...remains together with family and religion man's main focus of identity, his roots.' At this point the 'herd instinct' of the
and it is this umbilical cord that makes Britain not just a "geographical expression" that can be wished away, but "the national home and birthright of its indigenous peoples". 70 The territory of Britain is as much a part of the British as their culture; indeed their culture appears as a kind of dialectical relationship between the 'herd' and its territory; their defence of this space is in this scheme of things only 'natural'. It is in this context that we can begin to understand the metaphors of warfare that riddle much of the writings of the ideologues. Powell for example; argues that the black communities are not merely 'numbers' of people but,

detachments of communities in the West Indies, or India and Pakistan encamped in certain areas of England. 71

These military metaphors, as with the metaphors of consumption we looked at earlier, suggest their own solution - repatriation; but the ideologues do not stop here. They go on to give reasons as to why this is the only tenable solution. On the one hand, if the British have this peculiar relationship to their territory then it follows that the blacks must have a similar relationship with their 'natural environment'. 72 It would then be in their interests to send them back. On the other hand their presence is experienced as an attack upon the very person of the British; an attack upon their 'national identity'. That is why they have 'genuine fears' 73 about their culture; their 'British character (which) has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world;' 74 being 'smashed' by people with alien cultures. Should these 'genuine fears' not be assuaged, then the 'Dunkirk spirit' of the 'herd' will reassert itself with disastrous consequences.

National consciousness like any other major human drive - all of which are bound up with the instinct for self-perpetuation - is a major constructive force provided legitimate channels; thwarted and frustrated, it becomes explosive. 75

This gives the 'peculiarities of the English' a distinctly new and gruesome twist. More to the point repatriation is the 'natural' solution to a 'natural' problem.

The 'self-destructive urge'

I have tried throughout this section to indicate specific points at which the new racism intersects with common-sense. I have also stressed its connections with other aspects of a new conservative philosophy. I would like to conclude this section by pointing to one final 'site' where the new racism intersects with common-sense and where its implications are broader than its immediate threat to the black communities.

The specific 'site' I am referring to here is the relationship of dominance and subordination mentioned earlier. The 'anti-intellectualism' within working class common-sense which, Hall et al argue, is a recognition of that relationship, is
represented in the new racism as

... the conflict between the instincts of the people and the intellectual fashions of the establishment where British Nationality is concerned.76

The ideologues do not seek to shatter the relationship of dominance and subordination for all their appeal to the 'people' and their common-sense. Rather they aim to harness that common-sense and win popular support for their particular political project. Sherman, for example, wants to single out those intellectuals who have 'studied the pseudosciences of sociology and economics, mainly stemming from America' rather than 'classical and European history and languages'.77 This needs to be set next to Powell's earlier prognostications. He was concerned more with the location of the 'problem' intellectuals, than with their intellectual origins. They were he said:

... a tiny minority, with almost a monopoly hold upon the channels of communication, who seem determined not to know the facts and not to face the realities and who will resort to any device or extremity to blind both themselves and others.78

The ground has shifted considerably since Powell's remarks. It is now necessary to be a little less woolly about who this tiny minority are and why they appear to be so 'willfully blind'. Again it is Sherman who provides the crucial motivation behind the actions of the 'immigrationists' as he calls them.

I can see no other answer than the self-destructive urge identified so scathingly by Orwell, three decades back, when he lumped together Russophilia, "transposed colour feeling" inverted snobbery, a craving for the primitive, and anti-patriotism on the part of the intellectuals.
alien element' to be introduced into Britain. By 1975, Sherman is talking of 'Britain's urge to self-destruction', the implications of which are far more sinister.

The imposition of mass immigration from backward alien cultures is just one symptom of this self-destructive urge reflected in the assault on patriotism, the family - both as conjugal and economic unit - the Christian religion in public life and schools, traditional morality, in matters of sex, honesty, public thrift, hard work and other values denigrated as "middle class", in short, all that is English and wholesome. 32

By 1979 he is talking of 'jet-age migrants' for whom Britain is 'simply a haven of convenience where they acquire rights without national obligations', and where they are 'encouraged to see immigration restrictions as something to be circumvented'.

In Sherman's hands immigration becomes a deliberate invasion. The 'barbarians' are no longer 'at the gates', they are within the city itself. The 'tiny minority' of pseudoscientists are to blame for this. It is no longer enough to blame a few 'blind' politicians. The 'genuine fears' of the people have been raised but the 'tiny minority' refuses to listen. Indeed they will not listen because they have an 'evil intent'; they are subversive. Barker indicates the consequences of this line of argument.

.....the logical outcome of this failure of the nation to protect itself is that the minority who press for these self-destructive actions must be purged. If they do not see the error of their ways, they put the pack at risk. How exactly they
Part 3: Race-Relations Sociology

One aspect of the earlier discussion was the way in which the question of black cultures was dealt with in common-sense thinking and how this shaped a certain view of black people. An attempt was also made to demonstrate how these notions have been taken up and given more systematic treatment within the new racism. In the light of what has been said already and bearing in mind the policy orientation of much 'race-relations' research, it will be instructive to see how far the sociologists have been able to get behind common-sense racism.

The sociologists I concern myself with here have all made recent contributions to the field of 'race-relations' and can roughly speaking be divided into three categories. Firstly, there is the 'Ethnicity Studies' school, who adopt a 'cultural pluralist' framework for their researches. The people whose work I look at closely are Varity Khan, Catherine Ballard and Peter Weinreich, all contributors to the volume Minority Families in Britain: Support and Stress, although I also cite the work of others within this school of thought. Secondly there is the work of John Rex and Sally Tomlinson which approaches 'race-relations' from a 'left weberian' perspective. Lastly there are the more eclectic and idiosyncratic works of Ken Pryce (a strictly 'sociological' ethnography); Ernest Cashmore (a phenomenological approach) and Lon Garrison, whose theoretical framework it is difficult to pin down.

Black Cultures

A useful place to begin this discussion is with a look at how black 'culture' is viewed, if for no other reason than because there is such an extraordinary degree of consensus amongst the authors on this point; despite the fact that they are working within different problematics. The starting point for them, the place where they would all agree, can be encapsulated in the twin concepts of a 'strong' Asian culture and a 'weak' West Indian culture and in this they do not differ from the common-sense images we have been discussing. They are, as we would expect, more sophisticated and advance a theoretical justification for this view, which pivots around a certain, truncated historical knowledge of the two peoples. The key term here is 'acculturation' which refers to the 'culture stripping' or 'cultural castration' of Africans during slavery and the fact that they were subsequently forced into accepting British culture along with their servitude. (Rex, Pryce). Asians, however, did not undergo this traumatic process of acculturation, at least not to any significant degree. Their languages, religious institutions and family-kinship systems remained intact. Indeed there is a sense in which their cultures and traditions, steeped as they are in the history of the Asian sub-continent, are thought actually to have ameliorated the worst effects of colonial subordination and neo-colonial dependence; though this has
to be inferred from the work of the ethnicity studies school since they make only fleeting reference to Britain's imperial past.

Village life in the Indian sub-continent is neither isolated nor static. The gradual adaptation in past decades indicates the strength of traditional institutions rather than the absence of outside influence. 88

These twin conceptualisations have important consequences for their view of the organisation of black households, particularly with respect to the role they see the family-kinship system playing in the socialisation of children. The traditional Asian household, circumscribed by religion and custom provides the structured and cohesive atmosphere wherein all members of the household are made aware of their roles, rights and obligations not only to other members of the household but also towards members of the wider kinship group. This arrangement promotes a certain stability and psychological health in all individuals. 89

The view of the Afro-Caribbean household presents a stark contrast to that of the Asian family-kinship system. Pryce argues that the family in Jamaica with its' proliferation of common-law unions and high rates of illegitimacy among the 'lower class folk', is an inherently unstable institution; and locates the 'peculiarities of family life in the West Indies' as stemming 'directly from the institution of slavery, which was responsible for the total destruction of conventional family life among slaves. 90

We will come back to what he means by conventional in a moment but for the time being it is worth noting that according to Pryce, these 'peculiarities' are only part of a 'complex of causes responsible for his (sic) inability to establish a firm, rooted sense of identity'. These 'other causes' include an 'excessive individualism' which though a part of the Afro-Caribbean's European heritage, is exacerbated by their economic position. Thus the kinship system has to remain fluid in order to permit individuals to abandon family obligations and migrate at short notice to take advantage of economic opportunities overseas. 91 If this were not enough, the Afro-Caribbean is also seen as being dogged by a 'negative self-image' which is induced by them having internalised a European culture which is fundamentally at odds with their blackness, which downgrades black people. The weakness of the family and culture generally, can do nothing to overcome this 'self-doubt', but more particularly the family fails to instil a sense of fatherly responsibility in the Afro-Caribbean male and fails also to control its members. It is from this perspective that Ernest Cashmore is able to argue that the involvement of Afro-Caribbean youth with the British police and the 'emergence (among them) of subterranean values as dominant motivating vectors of social action', has to do with 'the lack of social control exerted by the West Indian family, due historically to the fragmentation of family structure in slavery'. 92
Thus far the Asian household appears to have fared quite well in comparison to that of the Afro-caribbean community, but this is not actually the case. The very strength of Asian culture is seen to be a source of both actual and potential weaknesses. It is not clear how much this has to do with the failure of students of ethnicity to erase their own ethnocentrism and how much it has to do with their pluralist perspective which tends to obscure relationships of power and to treat the topic as a question of a meeting of cultures on equal terms. In any case Khan argues that the hierarchical structure of Asian households promotes 'stress-ridden relationships' particularly between sisters-in-law. Furthermore, while the family/kinship system promotes a healthy psyche, it does not 'prepare the members for change beyond that of the natural development cycle of the family'. The strength of 'traditional relationships' is thought to determine 'the skills and handicap the migrant brings to his (sic) new situation in Britain', one of these no doubt being the way in which the 'severe reprimand or control' of deviant members of the community is exercised in the maintenance of group izzat.

Given our scholars' propensity to discover and tackle any 'problem', it would seem, except the burning problem of racism, it should not come as any surprise to find that the 'emigration process is a major source of stress in itself', though what the stress is and who suffers it is subject to a degree of variation. For Pryce, who is seeking to establish a basis for the 'teenybopper' problem which he wants to deal with later, it is the children left behind in the Caribbean who experience the 'stress'. Since family obligations are 'devoid of any formal or binding significance', the child is open to neglect or else finds it 'easy to evade the discipline of guardians'. Furthermore,

The absence of a viable supportive culture that is independent and capable of tightening family relations to help the West Indian poor carry the burden of their deprivation and impoverishment... is because of the psychic and cultural confusion that the youngsters experience once united with their parents. At the same time, the 'mutilating colonial heritage' and 'inferior educational upbringing and colonial origin' mean that the Afro-Caribbean child is unable to cope with the 'demands made on him (sic) by the British school system'. Khan on the other hand sees the greatest source of 'stress' as being on the male Mirpuri 'migrant'. Here the familiar notion that Afro-Caribbeanisms came to England because England was the 'Mother country' is transformed into the Mirpuri Villager's supposed perception of England as 'a land of promise and a way to solve one's problems'. The stresses here turn on the movement from a 'backward' rural to an advanced industrial urban setting and his separation from and obligation to his family back in the village.
Of these two accounts, it is difficult to assess which is the most damaging. Pryce absolves the racist structures of the English education system by defining the Afro-Caribbean child's struggle against it as 'maladjusted behaviour'. He then locates this maladjustment in the Caribbean family structure which he sees as pathologically reproducing 'failure'. Khan, on the other hand, and after the sociological preliminaries, highlights the 'many migrants' who obtain false documentation; characterises Asian women as wives who, circumscribed by traditional customs, remain tied to the house unable to make 'contact' with her white neighbours because she doesn't speak English. Then she argues that the arranged marriage causes greater stress where it is the 'newly married men joining their wives'; since the wives' greater familiarity with England will conflict 'with the established pattern of public male authority and knowledge of the outside world...'  

These comments would appear to concede ground to the new racism, but they are not the only hostages Khan gives to fortune. In her commitment to 'alternative perspectives' on stress, she suggests that any 'problems' Mirpuris might experience in Britain miraculously disappear once they visit urban Pakistan on one of their (frequent she would have us believe) return trips home. Here they will realise that the urban middle class in Pakistan are facing many of the same stresses. Whereas

> In Britain they tend to interpret the problems and stresses experienced as a direct result of life in Britain, and not as an inevitable feature of an urban society under rapid social change.  

Once again her failure to recognize the systematic workings of racism and the way in which it locates black people in a subordinate position at all levels of the social formation, has led her up a cultural cul-de-sac.

Where Khan has led, others have not been slow to follow. As Jenny Bourne has noted, Khan's propensity to treat relationships of power as 'cultural relations' enables her to suggest that the 'cultural preferences and patterns of behaviour' of the various ethnic minorities, may actually interact with 'external determinants' Brooks and Singh use this idea to argue that while 'racism placed blacks in specific occupations to begin with, 'their own distinctive traditions and their ethnic identities...in turn influenced their occupational and industrial distribution'. Wallman goes one step further...
to which Bourne adds wryly, 'now we know why black teachers became bus drivers and skilled black workers prefer to do unskilled jobs'.

What are we to make though of John Rex's contribution to this area? Although he would claim to be antipathetical to an approach which seeks to understand the position of black people in Britain through their ethnicity, he nevertheless seeks to relate the kinds of work they do here with their previous experience of work in their countries of origin.

For many immigrants, manufacturing employment is a new experience and they have, on the whole, gone into jobs requiring the lower grades of skill.

He follows this up with the argument that whites hold a higher class position because 14% (of his sample) had fathers who had been in manufacturing employment and that this entailed a 'larger family experience' of this type of work. Now while there is evidence to suggest that fathers are often able to recruit their sons into the same line of work and that such practices can serve to keep blacks out, unless he is arguing that the ability to do such work is hereditary, there is no reason to suppose that the fact that one's father did a particular job, gives the son any innate capacity to pursue that line of work. Further, given the extent of massification and de-skilling that has taken place in manufacturing industries, it is not clear that the level of skill required is that great.

This and his other notion that Asians are 'committed permanently to being a migrant', while nearly all West Indians want to return to the Caribbean, suggest that Rex is closer to the cultural pluralism of the ethnicity school than he would care to admit.

Alternative perspectives: Afro-Caribbean Culture

I would agree with the general proposition that the experiences of Asians and Afro-Caribbeans under colonialism were not the same, and that slavery in particular did operate so as to 'rupture and transform' the cultural practices of Africans in the diaspora. Nevertheless, some points need to be made about the way in which their histories and struggles have been appropriated by the researchers in question. Obviously slavery was a brutal and brutalising experience, but we need not accept that a recognition of this requires the construction of a theory that discovers the traumatic effects of this still existent today. Further, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the attempt to eradicate the African slaves' cultural heritage was not entirely successful. If we still find echoes of Africa in their religious institutions and modes of worship, in their language but above all in their music. What marks out the blues, ragtime, jazz, be-bop, soul, funk and gospel music as distinctive is precisely the fact that the theme of Africa is constantly played out within it. This is an important point, for where most commentators would agree that this music is an expression of the Afro-American's experience of and opposition to racialisation and rei
the fact that the music is based in African themes and rhythms, remembered, is all too often forgotten. Needless to say, the inspiration provided by current African and Asian music is rarely even acknowledged. 106

It is important to remember then that what we are talking about is degrees of acculturation not a total acculturation. Certainly it would be difficult to maintain that the 'Afro-Brazilians' have lost their culture, given the high degree to which they have not only preserved many of their cultural forms, but in religion, music and dance have also established a cultural supremacy. 107 As far as the Caribbean is concerned, Stuart Hall has already argued the case

...the culture and institutions of the slave population are rigidly differentiated from that of the 'master' class; and African 'traces' enter into the structure of these institutions.

The preservation of 'Africanisms' and the development of Afro-Caribbean cultural forms took place, it is true, within the context of slave society and was locked into a subordinate position vis-a-vis the European culture of the dominant 'master' class; both forming 'differentiated parts of a single socio-economic system'. 108

Having said this however, it is crucial that we realise that the African slaves and their Afro-Caribbean descendants were by no means the inactive victims of slavery and passive recipients of European culture, that is often the implicit assumption of the way in which the notion of acculturation is used. Caribbean peoples have a long and distinguished history of struggle and rebellion against European domination, both in colonial and neo-colonial times and it is evident that the successful revolutions in Haiti, Cuba and recently in Grenada will not easily be forgotten. Of interest here is the role of the peoples' cultures as the repository of an alternative and oppositional ideology.

A claim that is often made to support the argument that Afro-Caribbeans have a form of European culture is that the slaves from similar 'ethnic groups' were deliberately separated from each other. This is thought to have facilitated the acculturation process, though it is by no means clear that the different 'cultures' were so radically dissimilar. Indeed as C.L.R. James pointed out many years ago it was Voodoo - not a 'pure' African religion to be sure but a creaking together of different African elements nonetheless - which served as the ideology of the Haitian revolution. 110 Moreover, Deren argues that not only can the various Voodoo Gods be traced back to still existing religions in Africa, but that the religious ideas of the remaining Caribbean 'Indians' was also incorporated under the hegemony of the African forms. Obviously then in the struggle against oppression cultural difference is not necessarily a barrier. 111 Lastly it is worth pointing out as Sivanandan has already done that Afro-Caribbeans did not simply copy their language from their European masters. Theirs was an active appropriation and
subversion of that language. They literally 'blackened' it. That this is so needs no real demonstration, we merely need to remember those white teachers who found it impossible to understand the 'patois' of their 'British born' black pupils! We may want to argue about degrees of acculturation, not about just how 'African' Afro-Caribbean culture is, but one thing is clear and that is that it is not a European culture.

The Afro-Caribbean Household

I have argued that Afro-Caribbean cultures cannot be described simply as derivatives of European cultures but on the contrary have been actively constructed by Caribbean peoples. Using memories, knowledge and the 'symbol' of Africa together with their historical experiences, they have managed to subvert and in a sense overturn European cultural dominance. (As Robinson puts it 'the first attack is an attack on culture'). At this point it is possible to turn to the view of the family/kinship system as so weak that it reproduces pathological personalities. I noted earlier that Pryce measured the Afro-Caribbean family as it is now, against 'conventional family life' and saw it as having certain 'peculiarities' which blocked its proper functioning. What he means by conventional here, is obviously the common-sense image of the English family with father, mother and 2.2 children, where father is the breadwinner and mother nurtures the children. As we have already seen, this is not the 'natural' form of household organisation, but rather the specific achievement of the European bourgeoisies. Further, its universal applicability is more a 'fact' of a certain 'familial ideology' than a fact of life.
Gayle Rubin in her illuminating discussion about sex/gender systems and their corresponding empirically observable manifestations in differing kinship systems provides useful guidance here. She defines a sex/gender system as

... a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner, no matter how bizarre some of the conventions may be. and argues that the social construction of sexuality and gender informs both the type of kinship system and the position of women, often though not necessarily, subordinate, within that system. Important here, also, is her awareness that sex/gender systems are culturally and historically specific. To use a model drawn from one sex/gender system to talk about or measure another, will produce an ideologically distorted picture but hardly aids understanding.

A second point I would make here derives in part from my first. I agree with the race-relations sociologists that Afro-Caribbean societies' sex/gender systems are different but I cannot agree that this difference is pathological. We need to remember here that their view of the family is not simply the ideological view of the white bourgeoisie, it is also a view forged historically within a white patriarchal society. It is only from this position that race-relations sociologists have been able to launch their attacks upon what they see as either a 'black matriarchy' or the black 'matrifocal' family.

Asian Cultures

If we turn now to a consideration of what Khan and others have had to say about the cultures of the Asian sub-continent, the most striking feature is their failure to comment upon the impact of European Colonialism in that part of the world. What is implied though if this is not taken into account is that, culturally at least, the Asian sub-continent enjoyed uninterrupted development. Such an omission is to say the least misleading and can only serve to fuel the commonly held belief that the poverty, and hardships of these 'underdeveloped' nations, is the result of their 'backward' and 'rigid' cultural forms and institutions. The truth is, however, that colonialism has had as profound an effect - economically, socially, politically - on this part of the world as it has had elsewhere. Although the difference in technological development between Asia, Africa and Europe was not originally as great as is often assumed, Europe did enjoy a superiority in some spheres (particularly shipping). Indian cloth, for example, was much preferred to the English variety such that in the early centuries of trade, Europeans relied heavily on Indian cloth for resale in Africa, and they also purchased cloth on several parts of the West African coast for resale elsewhere. However, Europe's control of the sea trade routes together with the capacity of their cloth industry to 'copy fashionable Indian and African patterns' in large numbers, enabled them to swamp these countries with their own (European) cloth and therefore to retard
and eventually destroy the emerging Asian and African cloth industries.

As Walter Rodney acerbically puts it:

"India is the classic example where the British used every means at their disposal to kill the cloth industry, so that British cloth could be marketed everywhere, including inside India itself." 117

The full impact of British colonialism was more far-reaching than this. The 'legal and institutional changes in land and revenue systems' that were introduced by the British had the effect of transferring land from the rural magnates (tulqdras) and small landholders to urban trading and money-lending castes; thus dispossessing the peasantry in such a way as they had already 'displaced' the weaver. Indeed this was the root cause of the 1857 rebellion which seriously threatened 'the continuation of British rule in India'. Iftikhar Ahmed notes that this rebellion evoked a change in British policies towards India....

"The intensive penetration of traditional society was replaced by cautious preservation of the pre-existing social order. It seemed more sensible to take Indian society as it was, to concentrate on administration and control, and to shore up the landed aristocrats, who came to be viewed as the 'natural leaders' best suited to the 'oriental mind'," 118

Verity Khan notes that "the political instability of Azad Kasurkar has also affected its economic development and future prospects", 119 but says nothing about the causes of that political instability. Since the development of the Asian sub-continent's political institutions was determined by the interests of British capital, it seems likely that this instability is another feature of Britain's 'under-development' of Indian, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Further we should not forget in this connection that these states are still locked into a world economic system in a position of dependence. 120 To the extent then that cultures develop together with the mode of production, we should expect these Asian cultures to have been affected in some way, though the changes that have taken place remain to be specified and linked to other changes.

We do know that in the pre-colonial mode of production weaving was largely the preserve of women. There is also evidence to suggest that women held land in their own right, which would of course have given them a certain degree of power and autonomy from men. The changes noted earlier however - the destruction of India's cloth industry and the changes in land and revenue systems - hit women particularly hard, displacing them as weavers and weakening generally their bargaining position. Further, this and the introduction of work (designated as men's work) in the urban centres, served to strengthen the position of men and certain aspects of the traditional patriarchal structures of the Indian social formation. Gail Cunvedt notes that where in 1901 '30% of all workers were women, ... only 20% are women today', 121
While the very fact that women in India do go out of the home to work serves to undermine the image of the 'passive Asian woman', the kinds of work they do betrays the fact that like women elsewhere they occupy a subordinate position in the economy. Nevertheless their very awareness of the sexual division of labour through which they are exploited at work and the sexism that oppresses them in the home, has propelled them to the forefront of their people's struggles.

'Women were the most militant! they said. It was not only these particular leaders of the local Lal Hissan (Red Flag) party who said it, but other organizers also ...! Women are the most ready to fight, the first to break through police lines, the last to go home' 122

It would be wrong to make a too easy correspondence between the Indian women who Gail Omvedt speaks to and Verity Khan's Mirpuri women, but it does seem necessary to reiterate the point that these women are not given quantities. Khan comes to the rather dubious conclusion, that Asian women don't identify 'freedom with self-assertion' 123. Yet, given the 'self-assertion' of Asian women in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in their various liberation and revolutionary struggles and the 'self-assertion' of Asian women under our very noses at Grunwick and Chad; it is not at all clear why Mirpuri women should not be equally capable of organisation and 'self-assertion'.

Between Two Cultures

The dangers of the race/ethnic relations approach, is well illustrated in their theorisation of the experiences of black youth. Thompson's The Second Generation ....Punjabi or English? and Taylor's The Half Way Generation, pointed to the fact that Asian youths' attenuated connection with their parents' culture was proving to be a source of family conflict. This theme was seized upon by the C.R.E. who popularised it in their publication Between Two Cultures, which begins

The children of Asian parents born or brought up in Britain are a generation caught between two cultures. They live in the culture of their parents at home, and are taught a different one in school, the neighbourhood and at work...parents cannot fully understand their children, children rarely fully understand their parents.124

The children's exposure to British values, norms and attitudes, was thought to undermine their parents traditional authority and caused the youth to question certain aspects of their parents' culture. For the girls in particular this revolved around the issue of arranged marriage, while Asian youths' militancy in response to the racist murder of Gurdip Singh Chagger was seen to further widen the generation gap.
For West Indian youth who had always been noted for their aggressive behaviour the problem was to explain their failure at school and their increasing penchant for taking on the 'boys in blue'. John Brown's Shades of Grey, replete with the common-sense rationalisations of the Handsworth police and his own colonial memories, located the problem much as Pryce was later to do in the family life and inadequate schooling in the Caribbean. This 'bad start' he saw as merely having been exacerbated by the higher standards of English schools, which led to a subsequent failure to find a job and the inevitable drift into crime.

Deprived and disadvantaged, they see themselves as victim of white racist society, and attracted by values and lifestyle of alienated dreadlock groups, drift into lives of idleness and crime, justifying themselves with half-digested gobbets of Rastafarian philosophy. 125

Brown's formulations which purported to show a split between the law-abiding West Indian community and the religious rastas on the one hand and the 'criminalised dreadlock sub-culture' on the other, managed to set the parameters of future race-relations research even though some of the academic contributors protested that he had given all rastas a bad name. It is not clear whether it is their sympathy for rasta which prompted these protests or their need to keep the West Indian community 'open' as an object of study. 126 In any case their theorisation do not derive so directly from the mouths of the police.

Len Garrison argues that because the majority of West Indian parents come from a rural background characterised by low living standards; lack of education, limited employment prospects and therefore low expectations of the future, they were prepared to make sacrifices in order to establish themselves in Britain. Their children however either born or largely reared in Britain, in an urban and secular environment, exhibited a 'new defiant attitude' in their rejection of both racism and their parents religious 'humility'. The generational conflict then revolves around the differences between parent/rural culture and youth/secular culture. 127 Cashmore on the other hand in his attempt to approach an understanding of Rastafari through a mobilisation of some of the concepts borrowed from the 'sociology of religion', suggests that the conflict really has to do with differing religious perspectives, where the parents because of their 'limited cultural resources', had attempted to transcend the harsh realities of life in Britain by a headlong flight into Pentecostalism thereby 'opting out of the race for conventional rewards'; their sons and daughters having been educated along with whites saw themselves as equals and insisted upon equal treatment. 128 The expectation that the children, through the medium of education would be able to enter into and participate in the mainstream of British society, and the apprehension that these expectations were not going to be met, adds
further to family tensions as the parents begin to blame the children for failure. If this were not enough, the shattering of certain illusions about British 'fair-mindedness' and associations of whiteness with 'wealth and prestige', only adds fuel to the fire and plunges West Indian youth into an 'identity crisis'.

Garrison links this to the way in which the child's experience of school undermines a confidence which is already low, since they are members of a minority that has a 'less well defined culture' their parents' negative self-image adds to this, representing 'part of the complex problem the black child will have to overcome in order to arrive at his (sic) own essential personality'. (my emphasis) West Indian youth are, in his view, suffering from 'personality dislocation', while for Cashmore these conditions precipitate the need for 'discrepancy reduction' and for Pryce they represent a 'psychic disorientation'. John Rex and Sally Tomlinson present their own particular variation on this theme, for they seek to locate the reasons for the supposed differences in performance between the two communities in their respective personalities.

If the West Indian is plagued by self-doubt induced by white education, and seeks a culture which will give him (sic) a sense of identity, the Asians have religions and cultures and languages of which they are proud and which may prove surprisingly adaptive and suited to the demands of a modern industrial society.

It is no doubt the Jewish future they see for Asians and the Irish route they see West Indian taking that fuels a recognition of Asian cultural and political traditions while at the same time denying those same traditions of West Indians, though they are not averse to suggesting that Asian youth are caught 'between two cultures' and that they suffer - along with West Indian youth - 'considerable uncertainty about ethnic identification'.

The interesting thing here is that while the ethnicity school initially took up these themes, they have both in their unfortunately titled Between Two Cultures and their latest Minority Families In Britain, tried to challenge the ways in which their earlier work was taken up. Catherine Ballard, in her recent contribution argues that the talk about 'culture conflict' merely serves to reinforce the commonsense perceptions of practitioners and 'sets young Asians apart as a 'problem' category'.

More seriously, it assumes that cultural values are fixed and static and that there is no possibility of adaptation, flexibility or accommodation between one set of values and another.
Having thus argued, however, she then persists in trying to explain 'the strange half-British half-Asian behaviour of the children', illustrating 'the kinds of inter-generational conflicts which may occur', and assessing the 'usefulness of the popular concept of culture conflict' which she has just argued is a damaging and erroneous concept'. (my emphasis) She tramples across the core creasy terrain of the inevitable 'gulf' between generations which 'sharpens' as the children get older; and dredges up the idea that they have never experienced, their culture 'in the totality of its original context', in support of what is basically a between two cultures argument. This can, perhaps, be explained by her 'professional' interest. But, in the pursuance of that interest, she first of all falls back upon the fact of the parents 'linguistic handicaps' and then begins to explicate the 'extreme case'. This is odd since she had only just criticized the 'sensationalist media' for the same thing. Even here in one of the 'extreme' cases she cites she erases the possibly obstructive role of the practitioners involved, who 'could not understand what her parents' position might be', by arguing that the girl is to blame.

Finally it became clear that their involvement was worsening the situation by making it possible for the girl to sustain and exaggerate her problems, and particularly the Asian aspects of those problems, while continually passing the responsibility for solving them to outsiders.

Unable to find any conclusive evidence to suggest that conflict within the Asian family is any more likely than in any other family Ballard proposes the notion of 'reactive ethnicity', whereby Asian youth's response to racism is to close ethnic ranks and maintain 'contact with the sub-continent and familiarity with Asian social and cultural norms'. This is to be their 'ultimate security'. Somehow I do not feel that the Asian youth who have organised so as to make sure that racist attacks upon their community do not go uncontested, would agree with her designation of their activities as an exercise in 'reactive ethnicity'.

Her colleague Peter Weinreich's concern is to replace "the loose and ambiguous term 'identity conflict' with the concept of 'conflict in identification with another'!" The latter term he feels can be made more concrete since it refers us to "specific 'identification conflicts' with particular others", which can be measured empirically through the modified application of 'Kelly's theory of personal constructs'.

The assumption of his paper is that the process of identity development is something which is common to all adolescents and in this connection any 'individual conflict in identification with others' are regarded as 'an important psychological impetus for personal change'. This allows him to argue that such conflicts are more often than not a resource rather than a liability, an argument which undercuts the
view held by the other theorists we have been looking at and is supported by his results which 'demonstrate that ethnic identity conflicts do not generally imply self-hatred.'

The study itself, though, is not as unproblematic as Weinreich implies. Quite apart from the considerable violence he does to his respondents' 'specific value connotations', his assumption that their 'contra-value systems' can be read off simply from their 'positive-value systems' is in itself misleading. The reader will remember that in the earlier arguments about common-sense thinking, it was argued that even though the dominant ideology formed the parameters for common-sense, it did not necessarily involve 'conflict' for people to hold contradictory ideas (general vis-a-vis situated judgements). Weinreich's 'bipolar constructs' though do not enable him to recognize this. For him 'believes in law and order' must necessarily contrast with 'each man for himself', though it is by no means clear why the individual should not mobilize 'law and order' in furtherance of an individualistic objective. This points to a fundamental weakness in Weinreich's concepts. They can deal only with individuals who as he says have already been 'socialised', but they cannot grasp the social context within which the individual's 'identifications' — conflicted or otherwise — have been formed; thus stripping those 'identifications' of their pertinence and effectiveness. This comes out quite clearly in his uncritical acceptance of the conclusions of Parker and Kleiner, that equivocation in identification patterns is 'realistic and adaptive for the Negro'; and that 'it is the polarisation of racial identification or reference group behaviour that is psychopathogenic' (my emphasis). It is as well to remember here that when Parker and Kleiner were making their study Afro-Americans were engaged in yet another struggle against the racist structures and oppressions which have been grinding them down for centuries. In this context Weinreich's eulogising of those males who seeing themselves as 'Black British' will be realistic about colour prejudice and 'their female counterparts (who) are likely to proceed towards potent conceptions of themselves as Black British', is slightly suspect. Especially so when those with a 'consciously defined ethnic conception' who identify with Africa or the Caribbean must by inference be associated with their 'psychopathogenic' sisters and brothers in America.

This goes together with the rather dubious notion that it will be the retention, by Asian youth, of their 'ethnic distinctiveness' which will cause them to 'remain apart from native whites and, in this sense, not assimilate to them'. Both formulations could be seen as betraying Weinreich's concern that blacks should not go too far in their struggles to transform the capitalist racist structures of British Society. His view of a 'multi-ethnic' society, is one in which the 'self-concepts' of blacks are 'interactive with the values of the broader community' rather than one in which the structures and practices that subordinate blacks have been overturned.
The 'Identity Crisis' and Criminality

What I want to do now is to draw out the connections, via the work of some of our other theorists, between the idea that Negroes who show no ambivalence in identification patterns are 'psychopathogenic' and Brown's claim to have discovered a 'criminalised Dreadlock sub-culture' in Handsworth. Cashmore, for example, tells us that during the 60's young blacks at odds with an English culture that degrades their blackness, drifted into a 'rude boy' gang structure where;

Flitting between the white squares of (their) parents background and the black of his gang enterprise they derived 'gratification from non-instrumental violence'. This formation of gangs was in the first place facilitated by 'familial fragmentation', the peer-group becoming the major socialising agent and it is here that the 'subterranean values' we heard tell of before lead him and her into an involvement with the police. Garrison agrees:

Failure in the education system, poor employment prospects, homelessness, bring many youths into contact with the police.

and so does Pryce:

How divorced from the security and protection of the parental home, the would-be teenybopper, finds it difficult to go straight and remain law abiding. After the loss of his first one or two jobs, the drift into a life of petty crime and homelessness becomes steadier and steadier as his unemployability militates against a conventional life style.

Cashmore goes on to argue that these gang structures were 'inherited' by younger blacks (in the seventies) where they acted as 'breeding grounds of Rastafarian themes'. Thus, even Rastafari, which is seen variously as providing a 'new and independent channel of expression' (Garrison) or 'new conceptual maps' (Cashmore) or giving West Indian youth 'a culture which could unify them in their daily struggle with white society'; cannot escape the taint of youthful criminality. For Garrison it is a vehicle which is being;

...exploited by some black youngsters who use it as a fashionable outlet for their frustration and aggression.

And Cashmore who criticises Brown's spurious formulation of 'true Rastafarians' and the 'criminalised Dreadlock subculture' cannot help but fall into that self same dichotomy. Rastafarian beliefs, symbols etc. are he feels being used as a 'sanction for criminal behaviour, or alternatively Rastafari is a 'Pandora's Box' of symbols and (no doubt) dangerous ideas.
Rex and Tomlinson, in their commitment to objectivity, actually go to check the police side of the story after hearing the horror stories of the West Indian youth who graced their sample. This, as Paul Gilroy recently observed, is

... a picture so chilling in its absurdity that it is only matched by their verification of the number of unemployed West Indian youths by a visit to the local Careers Office.151

They suggest that 'the police take Rastafarian symbols as signs of truculence and are more likely to stop and question a youth dressed in this way and argue that West Indian youths' involvement in crime is 'natural' given the level of unemployment. Gilroy remarks;

This is not one of Rex and Tomlinson's more rigorous formulations. It is remarkable for two reasons. First it accepts police assumptions as legitimate and fails to associate them with 'the problem', which is instead defined in terms of black youth and secondly, it views these racial problems as the natural consequence of non-racial phenomena: youth unemployment and absence of a 'feeling' of legitimacy of police authority.152

The above accounts tend to absolve the racist structures and practices of British society and locate the 'problem' in the black family and black consciousness. The popular association of Rastafarians - replete with wolly hats - and crime is not subjected to any scrutiny; indeed the tendency is to actually strengthen that association by locating the appeal of Rastafari in the 'identity problems' of Afro-Caribbean youth. Such theorisations reproduce 'common-sense' at a theoretical level, and succeed at the same time in erasing the history of Afro-Caribbean struggle. Horace Campbell is good on this point. He argues that the 'Ethiopianist' thrust contained in Rastafari occupies an historic place in Afro-Caribbean cultures.

Rastafari culture remains an indelible link between the resistance of the maroons, the pan-africanist appeal of Marcus Garvey, the materialist and historical analysis of Walter Rodney and the defiance of Reggae.153

Young Afro-Caribbeans in Britain have been formed in circumstances that differ considerably from those in the Caribbean. They have in fact been subject to conditions similar to those that have given rise to the post war white working class youth subcultures, but they have experienced those conditions through the mechanism of racism. To them British Capitalism works in a racist way.

The class relations which inscribe the black fractions of the working class function as race relations. The two are inseparable. Race is the modality in which class is lived. It is also the medium in which class relations are experienced. 154
The emergence of a British variant of Rastafari must be seen then as a part of the process of class struggle that black people have been engaged in since the 50's. Afro-Caribbean youth did not take up Rastafarian themes in order to solve their supposed 'identity crisis'. Rastafarianism organised resistances and oppositional values, that were already in existence, in a new way. The mass of Afro-Caribbean youth have taken up its themes and reorganised them in the light of their specific concerns and circumstances.

The mass appeal of Rastafari in the Afro-Caribbean community has not been the starting point for any of the researchers we have looked at. Instead, as Gilroy argues, there has been a

... tendency to define the movement in a crude empirical manner by offering a number of dogmatic tenets to which 'cultists' are subsequently found to subscribe ... (but) the symbols of 'dread', by which the researchers have so far identified 'cult affiliates' are found at one end of a broad continuum of belief which traverses both age and gender difference. 155

This brings us abruptly to the fact that Rastafari has been viewed generally as a youth sub-culture and the analyses of it have been correspondingly masculinist in focus. 156 None of our researchers, except Cashmore, has been able to perceive that there are female Rastafaris; let alone discuss their relationship to the movement. Even Cashmore can only see Rasta patriarchy as a revolt against Afro-Caribbean patriarchy, a view which effectively blocks any discussion of the ideology of 'The Queen' in rasta discourse. Thus he implicitly denies the existence of a space from which rasta women are even now engaged in their distinct form of feminist struggle. 157 These all too brief remarks should go some way towards suggesting that the designation of Rastafari as a 'millennial cult' with psychopathogenic adherents, addicted to crime and violence, is not the best vantage point from which to understand the movement.
CONCLUSION

One criticism that may be levelled against this thesis is that I have not dealt with the specific paradigms within which each researcher writes. Such a criticism would be valid but it would also be to miss the point. This has not been that kind of critique. I have attempted to demonstrate that common-race racist ideology, the more 'theoretical' racist ideologies and race-relations research, share common assumptions about black culture. This in the case of race-relations sociology has resulted in a theorization of black family life as pathological. In a sense, I have been arguing that Britain now has its own version - diverse and scattered as it may be, of the American familiar report.\textsuperscript{158}

But this is not all. As we have noticed, the tendency within race relations research has been to study black people rather than white racism. This raises specific problems both in terms of the information the researchers can expect to glean from their respondents, and for the interpretation of the data once gathered. While some of the researchers do actually recognize this problem, their acknowledgement of it is at 1660: subsequently suppressed. Cashmore's work is a good case in point.

At the beginning of his book, Rastaman, he tells us that his initial attempts to engage rastas in conversation about, what he calls, their 'raw perception of reality', floundered on their refusal to be his guinea pigs. It was only after going away and familiarizing himself with the context and content of Rastafarianism and then approaching the more conciliatory members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, that he was able to effect an entry into the rasta community in Handsworth.\textsuperscript{159} His initial difficulties were no doubt compounded by what he describes as the 'cultivation' by rastas of an 'idiosyncratic code of thought', and a 'brand of patois' designed to stoke up a 'social gulf between themselves and the rest of society'.\textsuperscript{160} An already problematic situation must have been further complicated by the rastas' insistence that their ways were not simply a 'version of reality as he constantly sought to imply'.\textsuperscript{161} Cashmore does indeed warn us that his account is unavoidably 'coloured by (his) own perception', and that many of the categories and formulations by which he describes Rastafari would be unrecognizable to them.\textsuperscript{162} Yet throughout the remainder of his book the problematic nature of his encounter with rastas is given no theoretical weight and is reduced in importance to a mere methodological note.

Again Catherine Ballard acknowledges that 'the outsider who attempts to help with an intergenerational crisis in an Asian family is faced with serious difficulties'. They may well find themselves 'handicapped by a lack of understanding of the cultural factors involved' and might therefore end up doing more harm than good.\textsuperscript{163}
Yet she fails to make explicit her own 'handicap' in this regard, suggesting instead that her five or six years working on and researching in this community somehow makes her relationship to it less problematic.

Similar queries could be raised about the relationship of other researchers to the researched. The argument here is not so much that white bourgeois sociologists should not study black proletarian people, though the results of such 'interaction' may incline one towards such a view. The more important question is how much, or whether, these researchers take into account the extent to which their relationship to their respondents may be structured by racism. Generally, they fail to acknowledge the extent to which the replies they get may actually be determined by their positions as white 'authority figures', in a situation where power relations are reproduced in and through racism. The implications of this for their research is far reaching and has to do with their position in a social formation that is structured through and by relations of 'dominance and subordination'. This is not simply a black and white issue. Feminists have also long recognised the culpability of sociology in reinforcing the subordinate position of women by the way in which it ignores or marginalises them. Dorothy Smith, for example, has argued that 'women appear only as they are relevant to a world governed by male principles and interests'. She goes on to warn that:

To the extent that women sociologists accept that perspective, they are alienated from their own personal experience. They speak a language, use theories, and select methods in which they are excluded or ignored.

There are obvious parallels here with the black experience of sociology, for sociology has traditionally operated within a white patriarchal paradigm. It focuses upon white masculine concerns. That happens when black researchers accept such a paradigm is well illustrated by Pryce's work. Black women appear in his book as excessively religious wives and mothers ('saints') or as prostitutes. It is worth noting here that the fleeting glimpse of relationships between black women and white men in his book is of the prostitute/customer variety, while white women/black men appear as prostitute and pimp. One wonders what this vision does for 'race-relations'. To reduce their lives and experiences to these common-sense notions is, as Colin Prescod argued at the time, 'to be unable really to distinguish between bad race relations and rampant racism'. Pryce's work was hailed as a 'milestone' in race relations research. Prescod felt that it was more likely to prove a 'milestone' around the necks of the black communities. It highlighted the sort of research we could expect from future black academics:
... primed to produce 'outstanding works of empirical sociology' ... a euphemism for work that is low on critical knowledge and wisdom but high on information. Information which cannot be gathered as easily by white researchers. Information organised in categories which reinforce stereotypes.163

This brings us full circle back to Jenkins' criticisms, since it appears unlikely that the research we have been considering will actually benefit the 'powerless'. To be sure, the designation, for example, of Asian and Afro-Caribbean youth as suffering an 'identity crisis' as a result of their being 'Between two Cultures', is the consequence of a partial recognition that blacks are capable of resisting racism. The overwhelming tendency, however, has been to confine this resistance to a few hot-headed male youth. In part we can trace this back to the closure that has been effected around the history of black struggles in Asia and the Caribbean and a seeming ignorance about the struggles the 'first generation' of black people in Britain. This has prompted a recognition of the current struggles of black youth as being 'radically different' from that of their parents. The radical difference is theorised in terms of 'changes' in attitudes which culminate in 'ethnic redefinitions', and is rarely recognised as the response to 'radically different' structural forces.167

The nature of the present crisis and the way in which the 'management' of it has borne down upon black people, has demanded a response by all sections of the black communities. If the response of certain sections of black youth has been particularly militant, then this is because they have, up till now, been the ones who have been affected most intensely. To represent these responses in terms of the 'cultural/identity' problems of black people themselves is to actively obscure the issue. As Gilroy puts it:

'It is not simply that the 'theories' of pathological black family life, identity crises, acculturation, generational conflict and incriminogenic multiple deprivation fail to break free of the shackles of common-sense racist thinking. It is important to understand that these same ideas and images, albeit in their 'untheorised' form, are to be found at the base of new popular politics tailored by crisis conditions.'168

It is clear that under these conditions, race relations sociology has assumed a new relevance for the state. Wherever one looks within the various state apparatuses, one can find the same images and assumptions underpinning their practices. The police, for example, are increasingly aware that the situation they are being asked to 'police' has its origins in 'social conditions' which they cannot change.169 They are aware also that,

The paramount need is that (they) should retain public support during a period of what may be intensifying social crisis.170
under these conditions and facing an increasingly militant black community use militancy they are required to contain, the police have not been slow to utilise sociological theories which 'blame the victim'. The sub-divisional constable of Handsworth has recently argued thus:

The need to persuade West Indian parents to relax their strict discipline code (sic) which leads to strife within the family group and the consequent break up of homes is an important factor in creating future stability. Stabilising the home surrounds and drying up the flow of youngsters moving towards squats and Rastafarianism is of paramount social importance. 171

would perhaps expect such a convergence here but the recent revelations obtained in the Brent Community Health Council's Black People and the Health Service shows that even the softer 'caring' agencies are imbued with cultural explanations for the ill-health of their black patients. 172 In schools these theories have precipitated the search for ways of giving black children a positive image of themselves. In practice this has meant the crumbs of a black studies' course and having more books with black faces in them. 173 The Youth Service, 174 Social Services, 175 and the C.R.E. 176 also base their policies and practices towards black people, upon similar assumptions and find theoretical justification in the work of race-relations sociologists.

Is not to say that these sociologists have been reduced to simple state functionaries, though some of their connections may cause one some concern. 177 Rather is it to deny that anyone's work can be used in ways one did not intend. Rather, I am not arguing that individual practitioners in the various state agencies necessarily harbour an evil intent. What is being argued is that the state agencies are operating racist programmes and that the 'theories' of race-relations sociology lend themselves, by the way they are used, to incorporation into the ideologies of these agencies. In this sense, the race-relations sociologists have also become a part of the problem.
FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This thesis forms the basis for one chapter of a book, currently titled *The Empire Strikes Back*, by the Race and Politics Group, C.C.C.S., Birmingham University, Hutchinson


5. S.Hall: *Race and Moral Panics in Post War Britain* (B.S.A. Public Lecture May 2, 78) p.2


10. See for example Brent Community Health Council's Black People and the Health Service (London 1981)

11. S. Hall, op.cit. pp 5/6

12. Ibid, p.9

13. See A. Sivanandan *From Immigration Control to Induced Repatriation, Race*


17. C. F. M. Berkner *Racism - The New Inheritors* p.3 Where he argues that, "If it were not for the presence of a theory behind the racist 'common-sense', the obvious lacunae and untested assumptions of it's approach would not so easily escape scrutiny."

I would argue that it is precisely racism is elaborated 'Common-sense' assumptions, which are already 'taken for granted', that it gains popular support and acceptance.
Jordan refers to the fact that whiteness "...carried a special significance for Elizabethan Englishmen; it was particularly when complemented by red, the colour of perfect human beauty, especially female beauty." and also remarks upon the practice of whitening the skin still further at the 'cosmetic table', p. 8. However, his examples are drawn from middle English and Elizabethan literature and since we know that the rate of illiteracy was high at that time it makes it difficult to know how much these were merely the ideas of the ruling bloc and how much they were the general ideas of English people. Even the argument (taken up also by James Walvin) that Shakespeare 'was writing about his countrymen's feelings concerning physical distinctions between kinds of people'... and that 'his audience could not have been totally indifferent to the sexual union of "black" men and "white" women'. (p. 37/3) does not necessarily help us unless we know more about the social composition of the audience.

Ibid. p. 43.

Cedric Robinson: "The emergence and limitations of European radicalism" (Race & Class, Vol. XXI No. 2, Aug. 1979) p. 156. Robinson argues that the idea of 'evolution' suggested by the phrase 'the rise of the middle class' is in fact an illusory image unsupported by historical evidence; which suggests that the focus of trade shifts from the Mediterranean and Scania to the Atlantic.
"The city, the point of departure for the earlier bourgeoisies and their networks of long-distance travel and productive organization proved incapable of sustaining the economic recovery of those bourgeoisies.... The absolutist state, under the hegemony of Western European aristocracies, brought forth a new bourgeoisie." p.157

32 Robinson notes that the practice of drawing army volunteers 'from the least "national", most nondescript types, the dregs of the poorest classes', was not something peculiar to the military. This is merely the 'best documented form of a more generalised pattern of structural formation and social integration', which extended to domestics service, handicrafts, industrial labour, the ship and dock workers of merchant capitalism, and the field labourers of agrarian capitalism'. (p.160). He suggests that the fact that the significance of migrant immigrant labour has not been better understood is largely to do with an uncritical use of the 'nation' as a unit of analysis - a tendency promulgated by the 'language of error' of evolutionary theories. Further, "The tendency of European civilisation through capitalism was thus not to homogenise but to differentiate - to exaggerate regional, subcultural, dialectical differences into 'racial' ones." (p.162)

The development and character of capitalism is, therefore, determined by the social relations and ideological 'compositions' of a civilisation that assumed its fundamental perspective during feudalism'. p.162

33 Robinson, Ibid. p.158
34. Ibid, p.162
35 Ibid, p.158
37 See earlier discussion, p.3.
38. The Sun, November 11, 1980
39 Ibid
40 This role as the girls' saviour is not uncommon in schools; though there are cases where the girls have made a collective decision to wear trousers, even where the parents themselves are ambivalent.
41 The Sun op.cit
42. Telegraph and Argus, July 12, 1978'
43 P. Paraar Tackling Salmon in Bradford Black (July 1978)
44. Telegraph and Argus, July 15, 1978
45 See Hall et al, op. cit.
46 Quoted in M. Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, p.14 (Chapter 4 of forthcoming book). I owe much of the information for this section to Martin Barker's two chapters.

48 As argued in A. Swamadon From Immigration control to induced Repatriation, op.cit.

49 Hall, op. cit. p.2

50 See M. Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, op. cit. for useful discussion of the ideology of 'Butskellism', p.p.4/6

51 Barker, Ibid. p.6

52 This question is given sustained attention in the Race & Politics Group's book (forthcoming); but see also Policing the Crisis; Hall et al, op.cit. Chapters 8-10

53 A. Sherman Britain's urge to self-destruction Daily Telegraph September 9, 1976

54 Ibid.

55 E. Powell Freedom and Reality (Surrey 1969) p.307

56 G. Bronk-Shepherd Where the blame for Brixton lies. Sunday Telegraph 19.4.81

57 I. Stanbrook Hansard P.1409 Quoted in M. Barker: Racism - The New Inheritors, op.cit. p.4

58 Ibid., p.4

59 In this connection it is worth remembering Marx's remarks about the nature of bourgeoisie ideology.

"In this society of free competition the individual appears free from the bonds of nature, etc., which in former epochs of history made him part of a definite, limited human conglomeration. To the prophets of the eighteenth century this individual, constituting the joint product of the dissolution of the feudal form of society of the new forces of production . . . . appears as an ideal whose existence belongs to the past; not as a result of history, but as its starting point. Since that individual appeared to be in conformity with nature and correspond to their conception of human nature, he was regarded not as developing historically, but as posited by nature." p.346

60 Barker The Rebirth of Conservative Ideology, op.cit. p.13

61 Ibid. p.13

62 Ibid. p.13/14


64 N. St John-Stevas, BBC 1. 2 March 1978. (Barker Ibid. p.5) As Barker observes:

This idea of a 1,000-year continuous development is either sheer fiction, or it is so all-embracing that there is no reason why it shouldn't continue developing happily even if blacks became 75% of the population overnight.
Of course Barker is right but it's worth recalling here the work of Walvin and Jordan on the early presence of blacks in Britain.

Powell op.cit. p.285. Powell is indeed ignorant of British History. He argues, for example, that Guyana was a 'fragment of the large and miscellaneous spoils of the Napoleonic wars ...' (p.246) acquired almost by accident and nothing to do with Britain's Imperialist expansion. But see Tom Nairn, 'The Break-up of Britain, NLB, on this point.

Sherman, Britain is not Asia's fiancée Daily Telegraph, Nov. 9, 1979

Sherman, Why Britain can't be washed away Daily Telegraph, Sept. 8, 1976

Sherman 9.11.79 op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Powell, op.cit. p.311

See Barker, Racism - The New Inheritors p.5

Ibid. Barker argues that the evocation of 'genuine fears' is an important mechanism here.


Sherman, 9.9.76 op.cit.

Sherman, 9.11.79 op.cit.

Ibid. Obviously no-one has told him of the European origins of these 'pseudo-sciences'!

Powell, op.cit. p.300

Sherman, 9.9.76, op.cit.


Sherman, 9.9.76, op.cit.

Ibid.

Sherman 9.11.79, op.cit.

Barker Racism - The New Inheritors p.6. He argues that there is a 'conceptual connection' between the new racism, its 'theory'(i.e. socio-biology) and the 'idea of a strong state and a nation founded on organic blood-relationships' (Fascism). His section on 'The New Philosophy of Racism' pp 8/17, dealing with socio-biology, makes these connections more explicit. See also Barbara Chesin 'Sociobiology: A sexist synthesis' (May-June '77); Freda Salzman 'Are sex roles Biologically Determined?' (July-Aug '77) and Richard Lewontin 'Biological Determinism as an Ideological Weapon' (Nov-Dec '77). All in editions of Science for the People Ann Arbor & Boston U.S.A., for how socio-biology has been taken up in U.S.A.
See, for example, R. Jenkins' speech Hansard 5 July 1976 pp 973-74 (Quoted in Barker, op.cit.) and R. Hattorsly's opinion quoted in Colour and Citizenship that 'without integration limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible'.


J. Rex and S. Tomlinson Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis. (London 1979) p.251. See also K. Pryce 'Endless Pressure' (Penguin Books 1979) p.3 where he argues that the African slaves had no option but to learn their 'master's language and to ape his values and his institutions'.


Ibid. p.44

Ibid. p.108/9

E. Cashmore Routman, Allen & Unwin (London 1979) p.139

V. Khan op.cit. pp.42/45.

Ibid. p.46

Ibid. p.112

Ibid. p.120

V. Khan op.cit. p.46

Ibid. pp. 49/51

Ibid. p.48


J. Bourne Ibid. 1.344

Rex and Tomlinson op.cit. p.80

Ibid. p.80


107 'Supremacy' is probably not the right word here. What I am trying to point to is the extent to which 'African survivals' suffuse Brazilian culture; as revealed in Jeremy Mare’s documentary about Brazilian Music in The World About Us, Feb. 1981.


109 Ibid. p.162

110 See C.L.R. James The Black Jacobins

111 M. Deren The Voodoo Gods Paladin (Herta 1975)

112 A. Sivenandan Race, Class and The State op.cit.

113 Cashmore op.cit. p.70


115 This may also throw light on Rex and Tomlinson's View that the African slaves were 'culturally castrated'.

116 W. Rodney New Europe Underdeveloped Africa Bogle-L'ouverture (London 1972) p.113

117 Ibid. p.113


119 V. Khan Migration and Social Stress op.cit. p.44

120 Sue Rodney op.cit. Also R. Brenner The Origins of Capitalist Development, New Left Review No.104 July/August 1977

121 G. Omvedt We Will Smash This Prison: Indian women in struggle, Zed Press (London 1980) p.11

122 Ibid. p.2


125 J. Brown Shades of Grey: Police/West Indian Relations in Handsworth Cranfield Police Studies (1977) p.8

126 For example, Cashmore records the renewed suspicions about his work after the publication of Shades of Grey.


128 Cashmore op.cit. pp.39/42
134 C. Ballard, Conflict, Continuity and Change: Second-generation South Asians, Minority Families in Britain op. cit. p.109

135 The media, she says, 'sensationalise only the casualties among them; those who run away from home, who have attempted suicide' etc.; Ibid. p.108

136 But see p.119 where, after talking about one father who had been 'verbally abusing his family' and resorting to 'sporadic outbreaks of great violence', she remarks that 'such cases are rare ...'

137 Ibid. p.121

138 P. Weinreich, Ethnicity and Adolescent Identity Conflicts, Minority Families in Britain op. cit. pp.80/83

139 Ibid. p.89

140 Ibid. pp.93/4. Weinreich tells us that,

"Their constructs were elicited during semi-structured probing interviews which ranged across various areas of life experience ... Notes were made of all significant others mentioned."

But it is by no means clear, just who thinks the 'others' are significant.

It appears as though the constructs are made up of 'others' who Weinreich feels are (or should be) significant.

"Their constructs were elicited during semi-structured probing interviews which ranged across various areas of life experience ... Notes were made of all significant others mentioned."

141 Ibid. pp.98/9

142 Ibid. p.104

143 Ibid. p.101

144 Ibid. p.105

145 Cashmore op. cit. p.88

146 Garrison op. cit. p.13

147 Pryce op. cit. p.133

148 Cashmore op. cit. p.56

149 Garrison op. cit. in section on 'image building'.

150 Cashmore op. cit. p.143

151 P. Gilroy, Managing the 'Underclass', op. cit. p.53

152 Ibid. p.55

153 H. Campbell, Rastafari: culture of resistance Race & Class Vol XX11 No.1 op. cit. p.2

154 Hall et al. op. cit. p.394
In essence the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male ... Obviously not every instance of social pathology afflicting the Negro community can be traced to weaknesses of family structure ... (but) once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or anti-social behaviour that did not establish, but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation."

Quoted in M. Wallace Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman, John Calder (publishers) ltd., (London 1979) p.109. Wallace argues that the policies derived from this report had the effect of increasing the prospects and opportunities for some black men at the expense of black women. Those black families with a female head of household were neglected, and indeed became poorer. The already low income of black women, 'increased only slightly' during this period, (1965-1976). Further, "Jobs for black men did not translate into more financially secure black families with male heads ... The black males who were given access to employment and educational opportunities did not, for various reasons, automatically connect such opportunities with the imperative of family building." (see pp.109/16)
between 'belief systems' and 'structures' collapses, with the result that it is by no means clear how the structures can any longer be 'underlying'. See J. Rex Race Relations in Sociological Theory p.9 (I owe this insight to B. Wilson Race and Politics Group op.cit.)

V. Amos, P. Gilroy, E. Lawrence White Sociology, Black Struggle, Paper presented to the B.S.A. conference on Inequality. 8.4.81 p.27

In Policing the Crisis, Hall et.al. refer to 'a special report (never fully released to the public) on street crime in South London, prepared by Scotland Yard and passed to the Home Secretary'. (p.330) The report is said among other things to have argued that 'soaring street crime was not a 'policing problem'... 'it is caused by widespread alienation of West Indian youth from white society'. (p.331; the quote is taken from the Sunday Times 5.1.1975) See also Amos et.al. op.cit. p.31


Superintendent D. Webb Policing a Multi-Racial Community (forthcoming) p.11. For context of report see Amos et.al. op.cit. p.34

Brent Community Health Council op.cit.

See H. Carby Multicultural Fictions Occasional Paper No. 58 CCCS 1980. Also in Screen Education No. 34 (Spring 1980)

See for example critical articles by M. Cross and G. John in Black Kids, White Kids, What Hope Papers presented at two symposia organised by the Regional Training Consultative Unit at Brunel University M. Day and D. Marsland (Eds.) National Youth Bureau (December 1978)


For recent CRT pronouncement see: Youth in a Multi-Racial Society: The Urgent Need for New Policies: "The Fire Next Time".

Note, for example, the connections between the Home Office and the SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations. Home Research Unit director explains:

"While the Home Office is interested in policy-oriented research, it is of course far from being the principal executor or initiator of such research. The largest single body of recent published academic research on ethnic relations which bears on issues of social policy is that undertaken by the SSRC ethnic relations unit, the directorship of which has just passed from Professor Michael Benton at Bristol to Professor John Rex."
A few pages on Rex added that the Unit's work 'will also form an essential and complementary background to the work carried on for immediate policy and political purposes by the Home Office'. Home Office Research Bulletin No.8 (1979), quoted in Gilroy, Managing the 'Underclass' ... op.cit. p.58. It is also worth noting that some of the 'Ethnicity Studies' researchers, were members of the Unit when Professor Ranton held the directorship.

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