RACIAL EQUALITY EDUCATION AND PUNJABIS IN BRITAIN

Sujinder Singh Sangha

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By the same author (1997)

Vlayton Vekhi Dunia

[A view of the World from Britain-a Punjabi publication]

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SUJINDER SINGH SANGHA

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RACIAL EQUALITY EDUCATION AND PUNJABIS IN BRITAIN

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SUJINDER SINGH SANGHA

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To my wife's and my parents

Sardar Jasmer Singh and Mohinder Kaur Rai

(Late) Jathedar Jaswant Singh and Pritam Kaur Sangha

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CONTENTS

— Acknowledgments 11
— Foreword 13
— Terminology, Glossary and Abbrivations 15
— Introduction 18

SECTION I

MAKING SENSE OF RACE, RACISM AND RACIAL INEQUALITY IN BRITAIN

1. Ideology of Race, Racism and Racial Inequality 29
2. Some Research Methods on Racial Inequality 34
3. The 'Local State' and Racial Inequality 42
4. Racism Awareness Training The ILT Experience 49
5. The Role of Industrial Language Training Service in Equal Opportunity Policy 56
6. Race Equality Training : Some Practical Issues 65
7. Migration of Black and Asian People into Britain 86
8. On the 'Cultural Baggage' of Ethnic Minorities 92

SECTION II

PROMOTING RACIAL EQUALITY IN BRITAIN : POLICIES AND ACTION

9. The Role of Black and White Pressure Groups in Educational Practices and Policies 103
10. The Role of Indian Workers Associations in Promoting Racial Equality 121
11. Trade Union Participation among British Punjabi Workers 127

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12. Punjabi Women and Trade Unions 132
13. Preparing Handsworth, Birmingham for the 21st century 138

SECTION III
FROM 'EDUCATION FOR ALL' TO 'LIFELONG LEARNING STRATEGIES'

14. The Swann Report, Black Minorities and Educational Change 145
15. An Alternative Perspective on 16-19 Year Education : An Open Letter to Sir Ron Dearing 158
16. National Review of Industrial Language Training Service : An Alternative Perspective 166
17. Promoting Equal Opportunities in Further Education 174
18. Work Schemes for the Disadvantaged and the Role of Inner-city Firms 176
19. Some Reflections on Changes in Education and Training in Britain 180

SECTION IV
ENTERING THE NEW MILLENNIUM : ISSUES AND CONCERNS OF PUNJABIS IN BRITAIN

20. The Sikh Community of Birmingham 191
21. Reflections on Sikh Nationalism in Modern India 200
22. India Beyond 2000 : Politics of Regionalism and Centralization 220
23. The Punjab Crisis : A Survey and Some Lessons for the Future 228
24. The Punjab Crisis : Neo-Marxian Understanding 261
25. World Sikh University Project : A Vision for the Millennium 272

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SECTION V
SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

26. Cultural Diversity is the Source of Strength 291

27. A Vision of a New Millennium Society 295

— Notes on Chapters 299

— References 309

— Index 317

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a collection of reflective essays and some articles written over the last decade. As is well said, ideas do not appear suddenly. I have learned much from my colleagues, friends, and from my own work experience spanning factory labour to being the Deputy-Principal of a major inner-city college. This is then the right place to acknowledge my debt to many colleagues, who in their various ways, have prompted me to enquire, write or discuss some of the issues appearing in this book.

My first thoughts go to my family, especially for the loving care of my wife, Surrinder. My daughters, Sukhdeep, Satpreet, Oprinder and Darvesh have been crucial part of this exercise. I remember, Sukhdeep as a toddler, who used to disturb my writing, unintentionally providing a much-needed break. Now with an excellent degree in English literature, she has gently reprimanded me to modify the introduction, besides making other valuable suggestions, not all of which were implemented in view of the time constraint. Satpreet prompted me for the title as well arguing with the meaning of the millennium for Asians and Blacks in the British context. Her arguments that the millennium is becoming rather a commercial ploy and someone ought to analyze challenges for the coming generations.

Amongst my colleagues at City College, Birmingham, my sincere thanks go to Christopher Webb, who read a draft of the World Sikh University and made some valuable suggestions. Tony Henry was equally helpful, whose passion for promoting information technology renewed my interest in computing. Among other colleagues I owe thanks to Judith Rose and Morgen Dalphinis who read through some chapters. I am also

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greatful to R.S. Rana, Jit Singh Jit, H.S. Bolina and A.S. Kular for their help.

Numerous friends and activists from the community have provided much material and arguments for this book's issues. Among them I must thank, S. K. Abrol, Gurdial S. Atwal, Jenny Bartley, Chanan Singh Chan, Parmjit Singh Sagoo, A. S. Sahota and Bert Carless.

I am also grateful to Gursagar Singh at Singh Brothers for bringing out the book at their own expenses. Parvinder Singh who wordprocessed several versions of manuscript deserves my special thanks. Darshan Singh Tatla has overseen several chapters including a draft of World Sikh University. Inderjit Singh and Hardip Kaur deserve many thanks for kite-marking this book through the Punjabi Guardian and Multilingual Publishers with their company's ISBN and also for supplying photographs from their press. This book could not have seen print without the dedicated skill and perseverence of my colleague Clandia Jolly.

Finally, the last two essays appear with the courtesy of Cllr. Albert Bore, leader of Birmingham City Council, and Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The latter is the text of Prime Minister's speech when he joined the Sikh community 300th anniversary celebrations of the Khalsa Panth in Birmingham.

SUJINDER SINGH SANGHA

Birmingham

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FOREWORD

It was in 1997 that I had read the book entitled *Vlayton Vekhi Dunia—View Points from Britain* by Sujinder Singh Sangha. He made a vivid and candid description of the life and culture of the Punjabis in British society. He also gave an account of the problems faced by the Indian people in settling in Britain. It was after 1997 that I met Sujinder Singh a couple of times, with a view to developing links between Guru Nanak Dev University and City College, Birmingham; and also to work on an international accreditation for a BA Business Administration degree programme with Punjabi and Cultural Studies.

I have now got his new book which covers issues relating to equality, diversity and pluralism in a modern and complex society. It essentially creates an awareness about the issues of discrimination and exclusion in the fields of employment, education and other services. These issues with small variations are important for contemplation and appropriate action in different cultures and societies of the world at large.

I was privileged to be in Birmingham to contribute at the Tercentenary celebrations of the formation of the Khalsa at the International Convention Centre on 2nd May, 1999, and listened to the speech made by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who addressed similar issues in a global context. He spoke about the contributions that minority communities have made to the British society, for which they should be given credited further empowerment. The conference emphasized that the new millennium is about living and working together to make collective progress, irrespective of one's race, religion or cultural heritage.

The author conducted that conference for the Council of

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Sikh Gurdwaras in Birmingham by pulling together a rich diversity of views and people. He has pulled together relevant materials from his past writings and brought them together in the form of a book. It is a timely publication and reminder of issues in Britain and India and it fits the millennium agenda. I believe, the origins of various educational ideas and concepts that the author brings to his professional work, are bound to be of utility for the people of our two countries, India and Britian.

I strongly recommend that people concerned with education, employment and other vital issues should read this book.

HARBHAJAN SINGH SOCH (Dr.)
Vice-Chanceller
Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar

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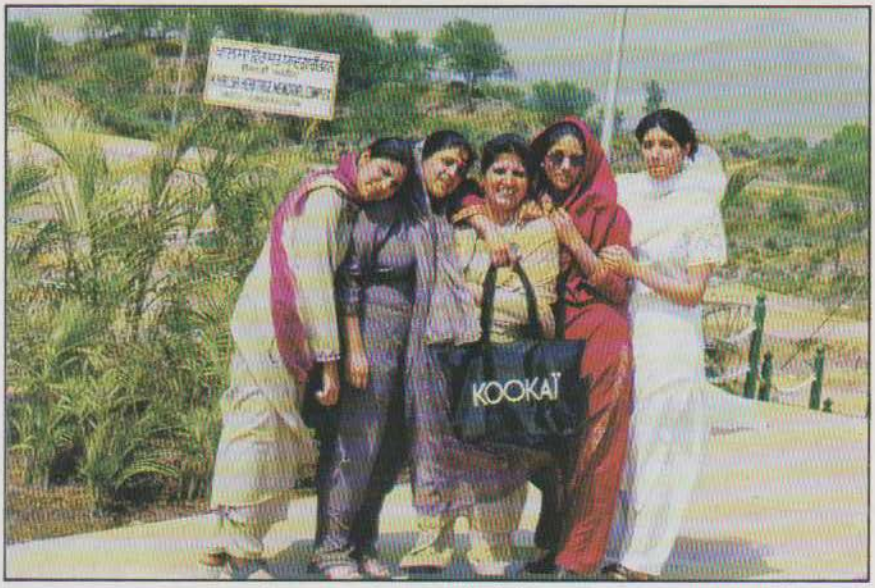
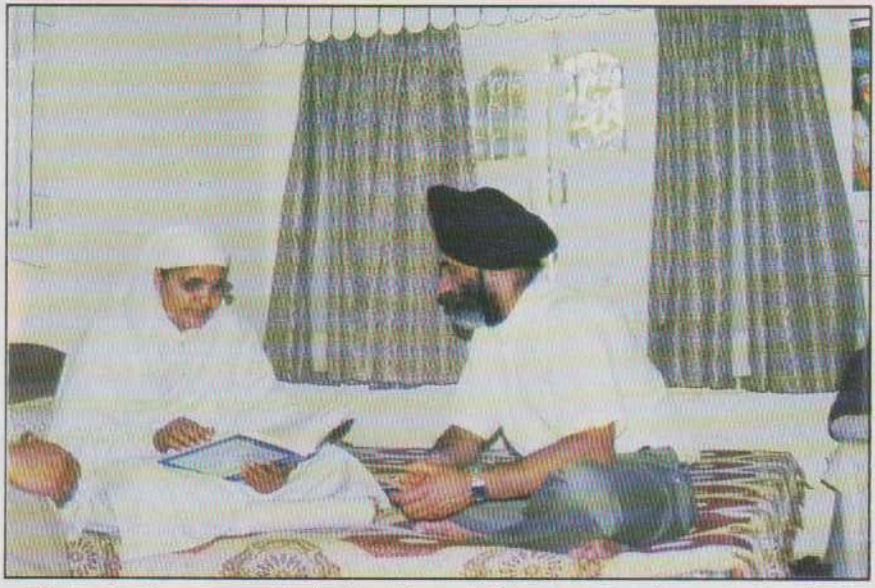


The author's family pictured in the foothills of the Himalayas at the development land set aside for the Khalsa Heritage Memorial complex in Anandpur Sahib, India.



Bibi Jagir Kaur currently the President of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar in conversation with the author.

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Birmingham's Civic and Community Leaders Launching "Viewpoints from Britain", the author's last compilation published in 1997.

Birmingham and Sandwell's Civic and Community Leaders in a meeting.

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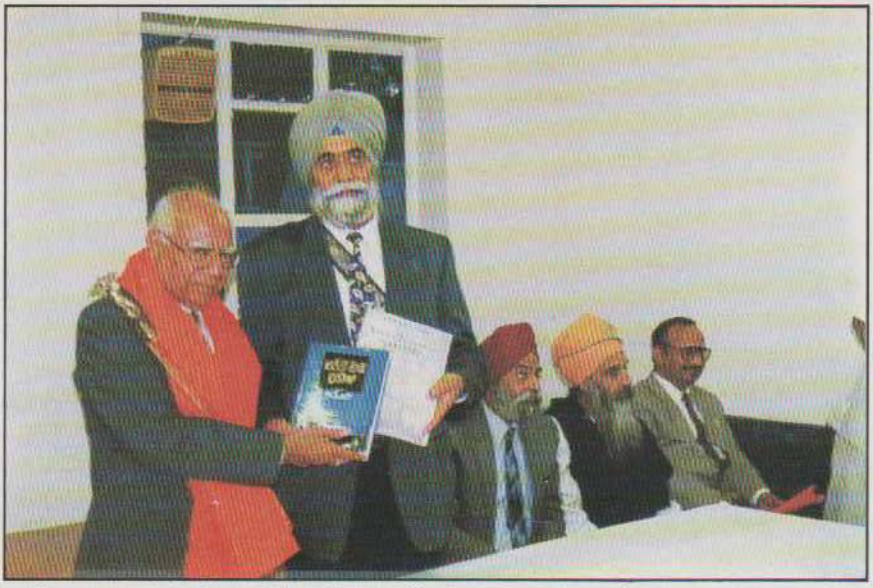

Guests from India—India's Union Minister Ram Jethmelani receiving a copy of the "Viewpoints from Britain" from Giani Resham Singh, the Vice Chair of the Non Resident Indians Council.

At a reception in Birmingham, Mr. Sukhbir Singh Chatha, the Principal of Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar.

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Addressing an inaugural conference organised by Mr. J.S. Rai and Associates. Those present include S. Parkash Singh Badal, The Chief Minister of the Punjab; the Punjab Government Minister A.S. Kahor and the Head Priest of Damdma Sahib Giani Kewal Singh and others.

The Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Councillor Cybil Spence and the Chair of City College, Birmingham, Councillor Bert Carless receiving a copy of the Vision 2000 for Soho, Handsworth.

Principal Sarwan Singh, A.S.S. Memorial College Makandpur, Jalandhar and Dr. Amarjit Singh receiving a copy of the "Viewpoints from Britain".

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TERMINOLOGY, GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

(A) NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Terminology and language use is constantly evolving. In this paper the word Black is used to define people who suffer racism because of their skin colour. In the context of British society, we also refer to people of African-Caribbean and Asian origin when talking broadly of cultures that experience cultural racism. This paper also refers more specifically to Sikhs, Rastafarians where it is appropriate.

(B) GLOSSARY

Akal Takhat	—	Sacred shrine in the Golden Temple complex, revered as temporal authority of Sikhism
Akali	—	Member of Shiromani Akali Dal
Akhand Path	—	Continuous reading of Guru Granth Sahib
Anandpur Sahib	—	An historic shrine in the Punjab
Arya Samaj	—	Reformist movement among Punjab's Hindu in the late 19th century
Bhai	—	Literally, a brother, applied to a person of spiritual authority and piety
Bhangra	—	Popular Punjabi dance
Dal Khalsa	—	A small group of Sikhs inspired by 18th century Sikh leader who formed Dal Khalsa
Dharam Yudh Morcha	—	Launched in 1981 by Akali Dal to Sikh more automony for Punjab

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Golden Temple	—	Most sacred shrine of the Sikhs in Amritsar, also known as Harimandir Sahib
Gurdwara	—	Sikh place of worship
Gurmukhi	—	Language of Sikh scriptures
Guru Granth Sahib	—	Sacred book at the centre of worship in a gurdwara
Harimandir Sahib	—	The most sacred shrine of the Sikhs in Amritsar, also known as the Golden Temple
Khalsa	—	Collective name for Sikh community also called Khalsa Panth or Guru Panth
Khalistan	—	Land of the pure; name for imagined independent Sikh state
Kirtan	—	Devotional singing of hymns from Sikh scriptures
Sant	—	Spiritual person (Saint)
Shiromani Akali Dal	—	A major political party of the Sikhs
Singh Sabha	—	Reformist movement among Punjab's Sikh's in the late 19th century
Vaisakhi	—	A popular festival of Punjab

(C) ABBREVIATIONS

'A' Level	—	Advanced Level Examination
ART	—	Anti-Racist Training
AUEW	—	Associated Union of Engineering Workers
BJP	—	Bhartiya Janta Party
COSG	—	Counicl of Sikh Gurdwaras in Birmingham
CPI	—	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	—	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI (ML)	—	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
CRE	—	Commission for Racial Equality

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DES	—	Department of Education and Science
DFEE	—	Department of Further Education
ESN	—	Education for Sub-Normal
ESOL	—	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FEU	—	Further Education Unit
GCSE	—	General Course in Secondary Education
GNVQ	—	General National Vocational Qualifications
HMI	—	Her Majesty's Inspectors
ILT	—	Industrial Language Training
IWA	—	Indian Workers' Association
LA	—	Local Authority
LEA	—	Local Education Authority
MSC	—	Manpower Service Commission
NCILT	—	National Centre of Industrial Language Training
NVQ	—	National Vocational Qualification
NUT	—	National Union of Teachers
'O' Level	—	Ordinary Level Examination, replaced by GCSE
PSI	—	Policy Studies Institute
RAT	—	Racial Awarness Training
SCCR	—	Sandwell Council for Community Relations
TEC	—	Technical Education Council
TGWU	—	Transport and General Workers Union
YTS	—	Youth Training Service

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INTRODUCTION

During the last century of the second millennium, the world has progressed more rapidly than ever before. It seems plausible that the next quarter of the 21st century will see such progress further excelled. This will be made possible by the new age of digital information, rapid communications, new technologies of space, medical and bio-sciences. I have personally benefitted and enriched myself from such changes through interaction with people around me in Britain, India and many other places where I had the opportunity to go. I feel I have a lot to pay back. In whatever time might be available to me–and my aspirations stretch into the year 2050, I have endeavoured to meet the challenges of the new millennium. This book reflects some of the issues for the future which we share.

This volume, follows from a book which I published in Punjabi in 1997, containing a number of essays stretching to some 800 pages. A number of my readers and friends suggested that I translate some essays into English and combine them with new ones-some of which appear in this book. I undertook this ambitious task and had planned to finish it by December 1999, but unfortunately, time was not on my side. Due to illness and the sad departure of my father, along with an increasing volume of college work involving a major initiative of community programmes and the merger of Handsworth College into a new larger City College, Birmingham, I had to redefine my priorities. Thus, I decided to publish this slimmer volume of new essays. The articles were written over several years, prompted by a particular event, or in some cases, a task was presented as part of my professional work. Thus, this book is essentially an evolving and unfinished task.

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In issuing this volume, I feel, however, There are so many exciting new, and different kinds of challenges on the horizon. Some of these essays suggest a fresh agenda for the coming millennium. These essays span a wide array of subjects, ranging from race, education and inequality, covering at least two countries—namely Britain and India. Essays have been divided into five major sections, encompassing issues in education, racial attitudes and the role of local state in improving facilities for the general public. Being part of the British Sikh community, I have also taken much interest in its affairs and essays in this section reflect such concerns, touching on many events in the Punjab and India.

In education, I was profoundly affected by the appearance of MacPherson Report. Issued as an aftermath of Steven Lawrence tragedy—a racially motivated murder of a promising Black youth in London, this incident was a serious reminder of a prolonged history of racial violence in Britain. It was, in effect, a public admission by the British Government, the police, and other agencies including much of the media, that the country still has a long way to go towards developing a fair, equitable and tolerant society. This event also confirmed that personal prejudice and institutional racism remain major issues in contemporary Britain requiring vigilance and public action at several levels. The outcome of this tragic event had some positive aspects also, in initiating public discussion which led to some action by diverse organisations including universities, colleges, schools, industrial corporations, local councils and public agencies. Some of these institutions commenced an examination of their policies, practices and procedures for addressing racial discrimination. It is a credit to the Lawrence family and other campaigners, that a useful outcome resulted from this tragic event. Lest we become complacent, it should be admitted that many other cases of racism and discrimination go unreported. The Swann Report of the 1980s–'Education for All' and fifteen years on the MacPherson Report, highlighted almost similar issues in 1999 ! However, the hope is in such statements and subsequent action as "we should confront as a nation honestly the racism that still exists within our society. We should find within

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ourselves the will to overcome it," said the Prime Minister Tony Blair. (*The Times*, London, 25th February 1999).

Still, Britain is well placed in the contemporary world, with much to contribute to the global society in sharing its cultural, intellectual and historical heritage. Its new citizens from the black population, enjoy historical roots and heritage across the globe. This linkage across the globe should be treated as a national asset offering a new social experience for the mainstream British society. Imagine translating this new human wealth into social, economic and cultural resources for the new millennium. The wealth of skills and experiences, of both Blacks and Whites, could herald a vigorous renewal and regeneration of the whole fabric of British society. Such valuable human resources should be skilfully utilised in the new millennium.

In the international arena, controversial as it may sound, I have never felt so much in line with the policy and objectives of the western alliance as I did with NATO's intervention in Kosovo and ethnic Albanians' crisis in former Yugoslavia. Although, the loss of so many innocent lives in this combat was a tragedy, but the intervention was necessans and responsible act in the circumstances. This development is probably a significant step forward, which hopefully, will shape the new world order in the next millennium.

The present century had witnessed the emergence of global conflict between the two major powers—a conflict underlined by ideologies of capitalism and communism, leading to the formulation of cold war strategies and race for piling up conventional and nuclear arms. With the convergence of these two ideologies, old uncertainties should be replaced by setting a new agenda across the world. The new moral world should be concerned with universal issues. The global powers and other significant international alliances should garantee the protection and safeguards for minority communities. Especially those communities, who could not claim or have the protection of a state. They should seek a check on majority communities' hegemonic dominance and acts of violence towards minorities. The new global order should also aim at deploying economic resources for developing

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localities, regions and continents across the world. Available reserves and surpluses of the world should be mobilised to support a new order of equality aimed at eradicating poverty, deprivation and disadvantages. With emerging new technologies, power and resources could be used to plan a strategy based on this moral agenda. Undoubtedly, this new agenda for world order would be seen as a threat by some states. Thus, for example, China, with a different approach towards ethnic nationalism such as its shabby treatment of the Tibetan people over the Himalayas. Other third world states like India, Pakistan and many others may also be fearful of this new process, because of potential internal tensions in areas such as Kashmir, the Punjab, Assam and so on. Similar consideration apply to other states, from Spain, Canada, Sri Lanka to many other parts of the world. The NATO intervention in Yugoslavia is a clear illustration of this new political agenda in the coming millennium. Obviously, a better solution must be, rather than dismembering existing states, aim should be to evolve them into multi-national entities with truly federal and democratic republics—allowing cultural pluralism, multiplicity of ethnic ties and considerable degree of autonomy.

In Britain, developments in Scotland and Wales point towards greater political recognition of regional identities—this can be taken as a measure of new thinking in the West. The key question, however, would be how the underdeveloped, deprived and disadvantaged communities in the third world would benefit in real terms from similar trends in the new millennium. The essays in this book, stress vitality of such questions, requiring perhaps a new thought process. It was this spirit that stimulated me to write these essays, some of which have already appeared in my last book. I offer further essays in this volume with the same hope of initiating discussion on the new moral order for the world in the new millennium.

The real issues will be social and economic development, regional autonomy and cultural identities of people across the world.

A major issue on the world agenda is the utilisation of new technology especially of the media, computers and television. The new culture of information distorts the past and

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poses threats for the future in projecting wrong images of various peoples and their cultures. Thus post-colonial societies have structural adjustments to make. Often their leaders continue to cover their weaknesses by blaming the past. India, for example, has developed, by leap-frogging into the new age of technology, computer software industry that will produce an export trade worth many billions dollars in the new millennium. It has become a significant exporter and supporter of new technological developments in many developing countries. A growing number of students from the developing world are coming to India for education and training. This shows the tremendous potential through trade, cultural partnership and collaboration, rapid progress that can be made by the use of new technology. The West will, it is assumed, continue to lead in research and development, but not necessarily in mass production of goods.

Some of these essays reflect my personal ambitions. My school years experience and socialisation coincided with India's conflicts with China and Pakistan. This led many of us towards thinking of a career in the defence forces. I was rather keen in joining the Indian Air Forces, but that was all changed when I arrived in England during the late 1960s. Few people believe now that my extended family has a legacy of five generations in Britain. My experience of British life has shaped much of my thinking about India and the world. Thus in 1968, when Martin Luther King, the civil rights campaigner in the USA, was shot dead many of us were profoundly influenced. In the autumn of the same year, Enoch Powell, delivered a speech in my second home city of Birmingham. His views on settlement of Black and Asians scared some of us when he asserted this could cause 'rivers of blood'. Fortunately, so far this prediction has not come true, indeed, I hope that history will continue to prove him wrong. Moreover, the MacPherson report gives new hope for the new millennium, that the British society will remain a tolerant and caring society, nurturing a genuine diversity, equality, mutual understanding and recognition of all people, their humanity and contributions, generating social and economic justice, equity and participation at all levels. Though there is much ignorance around. Thus,

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when I say that my extended family network has created more direct jobs in Britain, than they actually occupy many people look askance.

In the late sixties the world witnessed the conflict in Vietnam. There were many marches and meetings against the war and for the liberation of Vietnam. Then came the 1971 conflict involving India and Pakistan which led to the creation of Bangladesh. We also witnessed the rise of Islamic revolution in Iran and the fall of Shah. It was fascinating to see the concerted efforts of Yasar Arafat for the liberation of Palestine. We witnessed the struggle for liberation of Rhodesia [now Zimbabwe] and of South Africa—in the latter, a long struggle led by a unique and historic figure of Nelson Mandela who emerged as a world leader and the first president of South Africa free from apartheid. I never thought the USSR regime could continue long, I wrote sceptically when many Indian writers were keen to present the USSR as a model of multinational federal state. I never thought that countries like India which are culturally and historically so diverse should import the communist ideology from eastern Europe, the USSR or that matter from China. India could never fully embrace capitalism or secularism either, though it still has a task to liberate itself from many practices of colonial past. I do not believe that the great European project involving the single currency across the continent, harmonisation of taxation, administrative, political and social practices, will fully succeed either. It did not work in planned communism, it will not work in free capitalism either. Perhaps the European project needs to be reinvigorated in terms of its linguistic, cultural and political diversity, within a free economic and trading framework—a Europe where goods, labour and good practices could exchange and travel freely without regulation and bureaucratic restrictions. That kind of model could also be used for some developing countries. Thus Africa, Asia, and South America could benefit from such alliances shape and utilise more effectively new technology.

The year 1998 provided me with an opportunity to visit India and Pakistan on an educational mission. This proved to be a lifetime experience. While I was brought up in Indian

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Punjab, this visit was a grand occasion to look at the historical Punjab—travelling from New Delhi to Islamabad by road over two weeks. We crossed the five rivers and travelled across the whole of the Punjab. The day we crossed the border by land from Amritsar into Lahore showed how artificially peoples and continents could be divided. During our visit to Jalandhar, my old college, Lyallpur Khalsa College, was celebrating its golden jubilee. Our delegation was joined by the then Prime Minister of India Mr. I. K. Gujral who had connection on both sides of the border. Then the following week we were visiting the town of Lyallpur in West Punjab, Pakistan—the original sire of our college till the partition of India in 1947. The town is now called Faislabad. My travel across the historic Punjab in Pakistan reinforced a sense of shared language, culture, religious heritage and highlighted many potentials and possibilities for cooperation. At further end Karachi, in a meeting with the Pakistan Bureau for International Trade, it became apparent how industrialists and business people were eager to seize new opportunity for trade with India. Likewise, when we visited the regional headquarters of the Confederation of Indian Industries in Chandigarh, there was a reciprocal message. It was refreshing to see, on the eve of the third millennium, that Indian Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee and the Chief Minister of Punjab, S. Parkash Singh Badal opening the border through a bus service between Delhi and Lahore. May this a small beginning of a new age of cooperation between India and Pakistan, lead to less tensions and conflicts in the sub-continent. Just as we feel the kind of relationships that we have developed within the Indian and Pakistani community in Britain, the new local and global connection holds so much potential for the devloping countries like Inaid and Pakistan. It is best to live in hope than fear.

New and exciting things are happening in the communities and in the wider society. There are so many encouraging examples. There are of course, such visionaries in all countries and all communities who could develop a global, trans-national community based vision. In my own community, for the first time, in the history of the world religions, a woman has been appointed to the highest authority to lead Sikhism

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into the new millennium. This is a remarkable example for the world's other religious communities in terms of gender equality. It was refreshing to meet Bibi Jagir Kaur, the new President and to hear about her aspirations for the Sikh faith. Likewise, it was stimulating to hear the chief minister of Punjab—S. Parkash Singh Badal, whose vision of Punjab as a rich and prosperous state based on agrarian development to be supplemented by industry, commerce and new technology. Overseas Punjabis have both material and human resources across the world. As scientists, computer experts, engineers, doctors, business people, all of whom have the potential to make a vital contribution. Britain's Punjabi community has been at the forefront in supporting projects involving schools, hospitals and religious centres in many parts of India. Thus development of Amardeep Singh Shergill College, Makandpur, Jalandhar is such a project oriented towards developing skills that people will need in the future. Dr. Sardara Singh Johal's vision of transforming this college into a rural university was applauded us all.

What is most exciting is that countries like India can leapfrog into the 21st century. This can be done without having to go through the historical stages of industrial, scientific and technological revolution of early eras when the industrialised countries had to transform their infrastructures through several stages. The input from the colonies was an asset to help this process. Now the globalization of economy can benefit developing countries. Though fast tracking is possible, if the political decision makers value such concious development in which education and training has a major role in this process.

The Punjabi community settled in Britain and in many other parts of the world can play a major part in enriching the Punjab. Many trans-national community projects involving social, charitable and religious institutions have shown the way. Birmingham's Sikh community has already played a major role in the restoration, gilding, and renovation of the Golden Temple in Amritsar and Anandpur Sahib under the able leadership of Bhai Mohinder Singh, the chairman of Guru Nanak Nishkam Sewak Jatha. Many other leaders have also set inspiring examples in their request. Some articles in their

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book relates to such issues of the Sikh community in Britain. In these essays, factors which have affected the community are explored. Thus, the Sikh community in Britain went through a particular turbulent phase during the 1980s. I believe that in other ethnic minority communities, similar factors have played a part. In 1999, the Sikh community celebrated around the world, its 300th anniversary. It was my privilege and honour to welcome the British Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Tony Blair, at the International Convention Centre, Birmingham on 2nd May 1999. There, the Prime Minister spoke about the contribution of the Sikh philosophy, history, and way of life, for the recognition of the human race as one. Essential unity for the Sikh Gurus' message of tolerance and mutual respect was so timely, the Prime Minister refer to it and in the context of the Baltic crisis. His assurances for the protection of minorities were comforting for all across the world. This aim should become the leading global influence for the new millennium. The Sikh community is also receiving some acknowledge-ment in British public life. The appointment of Councillor Tarsem Singh King—the Leader of Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council, as a life peer to the House of Lords; the election of Neena Gill to the European Parliament, and the recognition of the work of a Handsworth school teacher, Avtar Singh Mangat, with an award of MBE by the Queen, are such millennium examples. Another significant achievement was the Voluntary Aided status for a Sikh school in London.

I hope this book will underline some of the issues that we have experienced in our recent history in Britain. In sum, this collection of articles is a record of my thoughts, such sentiments are never static. And, it may very well be that many views, which are presented here and argued in these essays, retain a reflection of times past. I hope these essays will inspire some readers into thinking of a better future and more peaceful millennium.

SUJINDER SINGH SANGHA

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SECTION I

MAKING SENSE OF RACE, RACISM AND RACIAL INEQUALITY IN BRITAIN

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1
IDEOLOGY OF RACE, RACISM AND RACIAL INEQUALITY

In this essay I propose to focus on the concepts of racism and racial equality. I will establish the significance of these two terms in the British social and political framework, and identify nature of relationship between racism and racial inequality. First let us look at the ideological framework in which racism and racial inequality can be understood, then we can define these two concepts and look at some examples illustrating them. Finally, we will address the key point of the nature of the relationship between racism and racial inequality.

The ideology of 'race' in Britain, assists us to construct historical and current social realities in relation to the social conditions of black population in this society. It is very much an operational ideology which refers to a combination of assorted facts and explanations about race relations in contemporary Britain. The ideology is not necessarily consistent or logical in structure, but it is articulated by people who are members of social class or groups; they interpret and act upon the social situations. It shows how ideas have been passed within and across different social groups and historical periods, which have led to the creation of racism and racial inequality.

The ideological approach helps in making sense of, and assessing the social situation in relation to racism and racial inequality. In the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries, a range of negative imagery and themes about black people seeped into British history and culture. The resulting ideology had major themes such as : the world population is naturally divided into biologically distinct 'races'; each race has its own

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specific and biological cultural attributes, and world races can be hierarchically ordered.

It was in this ideological basic framework, for example, that suppressive violence in Jamaica and India in the mid-19th century was justified, in order to legitimize the political and economic domination of territories populated by 'supposedly' inferior races. In fact, it is a central characteristic of racist ideology that it maintains a deterministic relationship between biological characteristics and cultural attributes. In the 19th century arguments were used to support British imperialism and expansion, claiming that the inferior 'races' lacked the capacities of adults, and were child-like.

This ideological framework cannot be viewed as a static collection of ideas. It has been evolving, changing and transforming, and it will continue to do so. This on going 'reproduction' of race ideas, shapes and influences social structures, including political, economic as well as cultural. As such, our attention will be focussed more upon the application of 'race' ideas, because they produce tangible social conditions.[1]

According to Salman Rushdie's observations on racism and racial inequalities in Britain, 'the dominant' approach towards black people is the same as it has been during the colonial rule. The racist ideological framework is very much operational, as social realities of black people in Britain are 'comparable' to those during the Empire; when a 'super' form of racism perpetuated and reinforced racial inequalities in the colonies. In Britain, that old power relationship between black and white people has taken a subtle form, but it prevails and essentially results in unequal social relationship, maintained and reinforced by the dominant structure and its culture.

In Britain, the equating of 'blackness' with 'undesirable immigrants' and/or 'ethnic minorities' dominated the immigration debates of the 1960s and 1970s, and strongly influenced policy formulation and the implementation of official procedures and practices. This has had catastrophic effects.

The process has been 'illegitimising' the presence of black people in Britain. Black people in Britain have been treated as unequal subjects, and this phenomenon has its origin in the

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imperial history i.e. development of attitudes and behaviour of white imperialists towards black subjects. The development and reinforcement of racial inequalities in Britain cannot be fully understood without making references to the ideological and actual past. A proper understanding of ideology of race and its implications can assist race equality and anti-racists, academics, researchers, policy makers, workers, activists and black people in particular, to develop and pursue an informed policy and practice.

Racist attitudes and behaviour are so deeply rooted that it does not seem possible to erradicate racism, without making sense of the relationship between racism and racial inequalities. Racism remains the product of the dominant culture and structure, though it has also enjoyed the support of many sections of white working class peoples, who have come to interpret their present social world, structure and political activities, in a racist fashion. There is ample evidence of the involvement of the working class people in the formation, and subsequent activities of anti-immigration association in England (Foot 1975). The labour party's designate Foreign Secretary, Patrick Gordon Walker, was defeated in Smethwick in the 1964 General Election, as a direct consequence of the racist campaign by the Conservative Candidate (Foot 1965). There was increasing working-class support for Enoch Powell in the period immediately after his 'major' speech in support of stronger controls over immigration and repatriation, in 1968 (Schoen 1977).

The significance of this evidence follows from the fact that the agitation against immigration as such, was against the immigration from the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent of people who had 'black' and 'brown' skins. In the same period there was little or no agitation to control immigration from the Irish Republic, Canada, Australia, then Rhodesia, and South Africa. The agitation and 'politics of immigration' lead to racist immigration acts covering both immigration, as well as nationality provisions. What is important is that with only some exceptions, almost the entire society—the ruling class as well as working classes—collaborated to produce and implement racist laws in this field, which in the eyes of society

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in general 'illegitimized' not only the 'first generation' of black people in Britain, but also their children have been perceived as immigrants who have no other home but Britain.

The key social question is that if the settlement of black people in Britain is not openly welcomed, the process of racial inequality in the areas of employment, training, education, housing, social services, law and so on, cannot secure full attention. The relationship between racism and racial inequality is such, that one perpetuates the other. Racism causes racial inequality, and it is maintained and reinforced by the same—'...Few white people in position, of power were conscious of the implications of their actions and assumptions; it is their quiet preference for white over coloured, expressed in a multitude of situations, which perpetuates and reinforces the fundamental racialism of British society.'[3]

The source of racial inequality remains, because predominantly—'.....White people in positions of power and influence, treat black people less favourably than they treat or would treat another white person.'[4] The discrimination against black people is a reflection of widespread hostility or racism towards them. Therefore, racism and racial inequality go hand in hand. Racial inequality will remain so long as racism remains. To promote racial equality, it is crucial to combat racism in all its manifestations.

The 1966 PEP study revealed that racial inequality existed on a substantial scale....the 1974 survey demonstrated unfair treatment of black people in Britain, the presence of discrimination, intentional as well as unintentional, the policies and practices of employers and other organisations were found often to be working against the interests of black people.[5] Black people are more likely than white people to be unemployed, and those who are in employment tend to have jobs with lower pay and lower status than those of white workers. The factors which perpetuate the pattern of disadvantage, also strengthened it.

While stereotyping and imagery of black people, however subtle in form, continues to influence many politicians, bureaucrats, staff; equal access to jobs and services on the part of black people will remain impossible. The policies, procedures,

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practices, structures and attitudes are subject to racism, which has a specific impetus generated in the nature of working class experiences of material decline. The industrial and social decline of many areas occurred simultaneously with the settlement in those areas, of black labour. This situation further reinforces racism, while little has been done about improving the social situation. Therefore, the nature of the relationship between racism and racial inequality is such that one exists because of the other.

The dominant structure may have vested interests in the status quo situation in the economics of society, and white working classes (who are 'supposed' to be vanguard of movement for equality), remain still deeply prejudiced; the colonial spirit was only too evident during the Falkland 'crisis'. 'As we systematically compare jobs, income, unemployment rates, private housing, local authority housing, local environments and other aspects of the lives of people with different origins, a single argument of racism emerges in respect of the way the circumstances of black people came to be, and continue to be worse than those of white people.'[7]

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SOME RESEARCH METHODS ON RACIAL INEQUALITY

This question requires us to focus on some of the available evidence which supposedly reflect the extent to which black racial minority groups in Britain, are at a disadvantage as compared with the white population. This paper will examine and evaluate evidence for racial discrimination in three areas: employment, housing and education. Even by confining the discussion to these three areas, the scope is still very wide. To make the task more manageable it will be necessary to define terms such as disadvantage, and black racial minorities, and also to be selective in assembling the evidence. Many of the statistics that are used for this kind of analysis are mainly available and are scattered almost randomly through a variety of publications prepared by numerous institutions. This makes it difficult to draw satisfactory conclusions.

In this paper, the term black will be used to include people of Asian, African and Afro-Caribbean descent, who experience discrimination in Britain based on skin colour. This use of the term black is hotly debated at times.[1] But empirical and experiential evidence shows that skin colour is a crucial factor when determining an individual or social group's access to employment and service delivery opportunities. Skin colour is equated with Race and is a social fact in the sense that the sociologist Durkheim used the concept. White people dominate British institutions and are a powerful social group; despite the development of Equal Opportunities policies by many employers, since 1980. We will now move on to the evidence

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which shows how black people are disadvantaged in comparison to the population.

The use of the terms 'disadvantage' and 'comparison' need to be clarified. This paper will be looking at disadvantages that black people experience compared with the rest of the population, when comparisons are made on the basis of age, gender and socio-economic position. It is also necessary to look at the way the degree of disadvantage can vary from one region to another and from one administrative area to another, depending on social, economic and political conditions. When drawing comparisons between black and White communities and individuals in Britain, it is necessary to remember that neither group is homogeneous. Both groups display tremendous diversity. White people in the UK have very wide socio-economic, regional, class, gender, ancestral and national variations. Black people in the UK also have significant diversities based on their respective nationalities, religions, languages, cultures and values which shape their social dynamic, and also their expectations and aspirations in society. It is important to keep these points in mind.

To date, it is difficult to find data on racial inequality in Britain that is primary, comprehensive, valid, reliable, well researched and which can have national significance in terms of good practical policy development. Most social scientists who are interested in this field, have resorted to national census data, general household surveys, government statistical publications, specialist surveys sponsored by the Commission for Racial Equality and experiential data and statistics compiled by individual researchers. The original purpose of most of these surveys was not to gather data on racial inequalities. Any statistics referring to black people have been inferred and interpreted, and for this reason are not always satisfactory or useful. There are some exceptions where the surveys were conducted to acquire specific information. One example is some work that was carried out in 1978/79 by Aston University's Research Unit on Ethnic Relations (now based at Warwick University). The aim of this survey was to collect information about employment, housing, education and other

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social conditions in the inner city areas of the West Midlands. The results of this survey cannot help explain the situation in other parts of the country, where political, social, economic and industrial circumstances are different. No doubt some useful generalisation can be made. Let us move on to some of the evidence that is available.

Since the mid 1960's, surveys on racial discrimination in Britain have been carried out by the Policy and Economic Planning (PEP), which later became the Policy Studies Institute. These surveys were published in 1966, 1974 and 1984. In 1966, PEP used a sample of 40 firms and directed a set of applicants—an Englishman, an Hungarian and a West Indian with identical qualifications to apply for the same vacancy. The Englishman was offered the job or kept in mind in 30 cases; the Hungarian in 17; and the West Indian in 3. That is 90% of the 30 companies discriminated against the black applicant. The 1974, the PEP survey showed that racial discrimination was still around 10 years later. For example, only 8% West Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were in white collar jobs, compared with 40% Whites. 36% of Indian workers were in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, compared with 18% white workers.[2]

This data is usful in so far as it shows that a relatively large proportion of black workers are employed in dead end manual jobs, and only a small percentage manage to get to white-collar jobs. Do these statistics then reflect that there was significant discrimination against black workers right up to the mid 1970's ? Between 1952 and 1965 British industry needed a mobile workforce to fill low level, low status jobs in certain industries. Although there were a few rare exceptions, most highly qualified and skilled black workers had to take low status jobs. Most of the data in the 1960's and 1970's failed to reflect this, and nor did it show that a number of individuals progressed from shop floor manual jobs to white collar jobs through their own personal efforts, and in spite of the prevalent atmosphere of racial discrimination.

Experiential evidence shows that black immigrant workers who arrived in Britain between 1950 and 1965, did not perceive

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racial discrimination in the way they were allocated work. They came to work hard in jobs that they found with relative ease at a time of reatively high employment, and did not perceive that recruitment was discriminatory. Once in post, black workers experienced considerable discrimination in terms of racial harassment from white managers, supervisors and shop floor workers. There was no scope for training and promotion. All of this simply reinforced British colonial perceptions of inferiority and superiority. Statistical data cannot truly reflect this situation, which means it is of limited value—however it might be interpreted.

Between approximately 1973 and 1983 there was a decline in industries such as metal manufacturing, production of metal goods, textiles, chemicals, clothing and footwear which lost 25%, 20%, 28%, 100%, and 20%, of jobs respectively.[3] This lead to an increase in unemployment to an average of 12% of the working population. Black workers experienced a much higher rate of unemployment—this was 27% (where does bracket end ? this disparity between black and White workers' unemployment rates continued throughout the decade and into the 1990's.[4] When unemployment rates rise sharply like this, it is normally attributed to the government's industrial and economic policies or international recession. However, many Asian workers who lost jobs in metal manufacturing industries attributed their situation partly to racism on the part of white owners who, in collaboration with the Conservative government of the day, wanted to break the growing power of Asian Trade Unionism in parts of the industry.[5] In-depth interviews with these workers could give some valuable insights into the black perspective on this era of unemployment. This perspective is all too often missing from 99% of research surveys conducted in Britain.

All of the PEP and PSI surveys since the mid 60's have shown black workers to be at a greater disadvantage in terms of employment, than their white counterparts. This data is used by sociologists to support their arguments about racial disadvantage. The validity of the data cannot be denied, but it does not explain the situation in some areas, where black

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people have done well socially and economically at an individual and collective level. In spite of their achievements they have had to struggle against racist obstacles, but this is never documented.

At least 100 local administrative areas in Britain have significant numbers of black people living there. In the early 80's very few local authorities employed black workers in any significant numbers. The total number of black workers employed by Wolverhampton Council in 1984, for example, was 4% in a town where black communities formed 15% (approx.) of the total population, and had been living there for at least two and a half decades. Local authority employers frequently said that not many individuals from the first generation of black workers were qualified to do skilled or administrative jobs. This was stated as a 'disadvantage' but does not explain why Sandwell Council employed only 8 black workers out of a total of 2,000 in its Public Works Department, where there were a very large number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. In the Council Borough of Hackney, the picture at this time was different. The Council advertised in the black press often using different languages. It also trained officers to recruit appropriately and not to reject applicants simply on the grounds of their linguistic skills or cultural background. They were trained to look for positive skills and experiences offered by candidates that were related to the job. It is true to say that many local authorities have by now increased their representation of black workers. This was often due to the pressure black groups put on national and local institutions to persuade them to make their Equal Opportunities policies a reality.[6]

Housing is an area where a lot of research has shown that black people experience considerable disadvantage. Sometimes the very concentration of black people in particular areas of a town or city was cited as evidence of disadvantage. Inner city dwellers often face deprivation and other poor conditions, and black people generally feel the impact of these disproportionately. There was massive discrimination against black people in the private and public rented sector, which

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meant that they could only find rented accommodation in areas where other black people lived and might have property to rent.[7] From a black perspective there was another reason for this concentration, in that it provided psychological security.

Many black people did not understand how a local council operated its housing allocation scheme. Councils did not go out of their way to inform people of their systems, as shown by the CRE's investigation (1978-1982) into Hackney's Housing Department.

In the private housing sector building societies and estate agents combined to steer potential black purchasers away from better residential areas, by operating some very dubious criteria in the way they gave mortgages and determined which houses were available. Public housing did not break this pattern. The PEP survey in 1974 showed that in the six areas it had investigated 26% of the white residents rented council property, compared with 1% of black residents. The 1984 PSI survey[8] showed that there had been an absolute improvement in the housing standards of black people in line with that shared by white people over ten years. However, racially discriminatory practices from previous decades still left their legacy in that the overall quality of housing for black people was worse than the general quality in the country.

The data available on racial discrimination in housing is relatively reliable. There have been very thorough investigations into the activities of council housing departments by the CRE, which have shown the full complexity of the situation. The data is generally easy to collect, process and test which means it is valid and reliable. Having said this, there is no empirical data which shows that Asian people actually prefer to be owner occupiers, even if it means raising funds privately to assist with the purchase of property. 88% of Asian unskilled manual workers own their own homes, compared with 20% of White people from similar socio-economic backgrounds[9]. In contrast, data on racial discrimination in education is sparse and the empirical evidence available is often crude and unreliable. The available evidence carries very little weight because it does not take into account the perception of black

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people. The premise on which most research data is based follows the usual pattern which explains the lack of resources for inner city education, which needs more resources to meet the 'special needs of these black children'. The following are not usually measured by sociological data : the effects of negative stereotyping of black cultures and history in the education curriculum, racial bullying from white peers, unsympathetic white teaching staff. Often the school environment is not multi-racial and the system does not encourage pride and self-esteem in black pupils and students. How can these factors be measured ?

Most educational research tends to concentrate on the under performance of black children. Even here there is no comprehensive data. Most surveys are confined to specific localities and carried out by white researchers. A lot of information is lost in a cross-cultural interviews[10] and there is plenty of scope for misunderstanding. No language is neutral in terms of its imagery of colour or culture. In 1966, special educational provision was made under Section 11 of the Local Government Act for 'Members of the New Commonwealth'. Here the Department of Education and Science failed to identify any specific needs, desirable levels of provision, or even overall objectives. There was no national education policy on meeting the needs of black pupils and students. This state of affairs was an indictment of the sociological research evidence on racial disadvantage in education.

It is not easy to design, organise and carry out comprehensive social surveys. Racial discrimination is a very complex area. Too much of the research has been done on a socio-economic class sampling method basis, which simply cannot take a black perspective into account. This often gives a false impression. The terminology used such as 'immigrants', 'New Commonwealth Citizens', 'natives', 'socio-economic groupings'.....is confusing, arbitrary, and varies in meaning. This all means that it is very difficult to demonstrate that the position of black people in terms of employment and service delivery is not simply a consequence of poor qualifications, unfamiliarity with the system and linguistic difficulties. There

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are also problems of tautology and difficulties involved in falsifying one set of social statistics against another. However, it is possible to learn something from the general patterns that emerge.

Most research is done by White people and does not touch on the perception of black people. Racism involves having the power to carry out discriminatory practices through major institutions in society. In Britain, this practice takes a very subtle form. Evidence about racism has to be reliable, comprehensive, conclusive and valid.

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3
THE 'LOCAL STATE' AND RACIAL INEQUALITY

The 'local state' in relation to racial inequality has played a major role in Britain over the last twenty-five years. How has the 'local state' responded to it? This question has many dimensions, such as the significance of the 'local state', its capacity to address racial inequalities, the initiatives that the local state can take. How can the work of the 'local state' be measured in relation to the needs, expectations and aspirations of minority ethnic communities?

THE 'LOCAL STATE'

The concept of the 'local state', refers to the network of local metropolitan and county councils in Britain. It entails a notion of power. Within its territory the 'local state' is the most powerful organisation. The pluralists see the local state as an arena which provides individuals and social interest groups and political parties with a platform to compete for power, resources, and to work for shaping the social conditions of the local population. Marxists have seen the 'local state' as a structural element, systematically pushing the balance of power towards the general interest of the ruling class. Or they have seen it as maintaining or creating conditions for the system to run more profitably, for those who already have advantages in it.[1]

MINORITY RACIAL COMMUNITIES

However, Pluralist and Marxist views of the 'local state' suggest that racial minorities in Britain are at a disadvantage

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to start with. A Black or Asian individual will face many racial barriers in the process of his/her endeavour to compete for power or resources. Black or Asian social/pressure groups have not been seen as 'legitimate' competitors for power and resources. Since Black and Asian communities are settled in small minorities in 'local states', they have been subjected to manipulation, patronage and tokenism, because they will not be able to facilitate a bid for power and resources at equal levels. Therefore, minorities have to find allies, i.e. participation in Labour, Liberal or Tory groups. But even the Labour party has not 'allowed' the development of Black section to operate as 'legitimate' entities. Black and Asian people are thin in Conservative and Liberal groups, anyhow.

Therefore, to gain influence and equality in the local social arena, they will depend upon the commitment, conviction and campaign of anti-racist white people, for their support is crucial if the black voice is to be 'heard' in the 'local state', councils, or any decision making forums. According to the Marxist view, 'the local state' in the main, serves the interests of the social class already at an advantage in relation to general social and economic condition. Racial minorities issues are not likely to gain a priority on the political agenda. No doubt, public pronouncements on the part of the local ruling group will always be very favourable, especially if its power base 'partly' depends upon the Black and Asian minority votes. However, the ruling group will not undertake significant issues of racial inequalities, to 'avoid' a racist white backlash. Therefore, the local power structure and the way power is exercised is not conducive to general racial equality. The dominant social and political framework tends to marginalise the issue of racial inequality. While the dominant groups in the 'local state' would like to be seen addressing the issue of racial inequality, it is more concerned about upsetting its white constituents. This means that very little happens in real terms. Therefore local politics help maintain racial inequalities.

THE CAPACITY OF THE 'LOCAL STATE'

It is held that for sake of a 'free society', political competition must be allowed. It must not, however, be allowed

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to take a violent course in the resolving of conflicts. If we see Black and Asian minorities in pluralist local states as competing for power and resources, then their efforts have not led to many rewards. It was perhaps this frustration which erupted in violence in inner city areas. Ironically, it was the disturbances and subsequent report by Lord Scarman which 'moved' the nation—state and many 'local states' to address the issue of racial inequalities.

The 'local state' as a large organisation employs a very large number of people with a great variety of skills and expertise. It controls the raising and distribution of local resources. It sets the agenda for the local population in terms of local politics and social situation, and also an economic and cultural framework. It has the power to take initiatives and make moves for social change within the sphere of its power and influence. The 'local state' is the 'largest' organised consumer of capital and consumer goods. It has the power to communicate with its local subjects. As such, the 'local state' is the most influential and powerful local institution. The 'local state' has the capacity to redress the raising and distribution of resources and services and it has the capacity to provide jobs to a very large number of people. Thus its role can be significant in reinforcing or reducing racial inequalities.

RACIAL INEQUALITIES

The following are some of the more significant examples of racial inequalities which can be attributed to the 'local state':

a) Little or no 'direct participation' of racial minorities in the decision making process.
b) Little or no scope of racial minorities influencing the social policy making and implementing process.
c) The existing policies, procedures, departmental practices, behaviour and attitudes of members, officers and staff may not be sensitive to the social needs of racial minorities.
d) Lack of opportunities in jobs, training and promotion in the institutions of the 'local state'.
e) Little or no access to resources and services controlled, developed and delivered by the 'local state'.

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f) Lack of will and strength on the part of the 'local state' to influence its suppliers of capital and consumer goods to implement policies and practices promoting racial equality in jobs and training at their place of work.

g) Services ranging from education to housing hardly reflect the needs and aspirations of racial minorities.

h) Lack of effort on the part of the 'local state' to construct the local socio-cultural framework to be more or equally welcoming to racial minorities.

i) Lack of attempts to minimize or eliminate hostilities towards black people through a positive programme of promoting the socio-cultural values and heritage of black people.

These are only some of the more general features of racial inequalitiy.

INITIATIVES BY THE 'LOCAL STATE'

One example, of such initiatives taken by the Local State is after the 'race riots' of 1981 and with the publication of the report by Lord Scarman. Some 'local states' wished to be seen as taking initiatives to tackle racial in-equalities, albeit to gain some credibility for their position in the changing social arena. Black and Asian minorities became more assertive than ever before. In particular, the second generation was not prepared to accept the social conditions and status that the first generation had put up with.

The 1983 report of the Joint government/Local Authority Association Working Group, specifically stressed that :

> 'Local government has a particular responsibility to tackle the problems of racial disadvantage. There are now a large number of local authorities with significant ethnic minority communities experiencing proportionately the greatest disadvantage within the community as a whole. Since local authorities provide many of their services on the basis of need, there may well be a disproportionate number of ethnic minority group members among these clients... Identify those matters to which local authorities must at least

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address, if they were to make a realistic attempt to tackle racial disadvantages... publish examples of action already taken by particular authorities, and consider what arrangements could be made to ensure a more efficient exchange of ideas and good practices on a continuing basis...'

The report further added :

'....integrate (?) ethnic minorities into our existing society or develop a multi-racial society with an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect based upon equality of opportunity.'

The report also goes into analysing equal opportunities, racial inequality, racial disadvantage and so on. It recognises the role and significance of the 'local state' in the field of racial discrimination, and makes significant recommendations to all 'local states' that racial inequalities must be tackled at organisational, structural and systems levels. The following quote sums up the significance which the 'local state' can have if it is to reduce racial inequality :

'If a commitment to racial equality is to be converted into positive action, race relations and equal opportunity policies and initiatives must be fully integrated into authority's general practices, procedures and system. They should not exist as a peripheral development which can be ignored.'[2]

This is only possible if there is a commitment, conviction and necessary dynamic at political, decision making, management, officer and staff levels. The process requires an organisational change, without which equal opportunities can remain a myth. The 'local state' is relatively powerful and has resources to address racial inequalities at a very significant level. Otherwise, even those resources and funds which are provided by central government specially ear marked for disadvantaged groups (e.g. Section 11 and funding and Urban Aid Programmes) will continue to be used to 'top up mainstream budgets', which further undermines the position of racial minorities. That is why racial minority input to

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decision making is crucial, so as to maintain the necessary pressure to ensure that policy programmes are implemented. Ultimately these measures must become part of mainstream provision.

The 'local state' can take greater note of minority religions, cultural, social, educational and political groups, by being more sensitive to their activities, roles and views. Their participation in decision making would counteract the attitudes in the 'local state' that 'these groups are divided trouble makers'. Local government has the capacity to develop, implement, evaluate and assess Equal Opportunities programmes. Only tangible results can show the measure of success a 'local state' is having in reducing racial inequalities. For example it can tackle :

- —the proportion of Black and Asian staff at all levels in the 'local state;
- —the proportion of black staff at all levels in the organisation whose operations 'depend' upon the local state;
- —how to reflect the needs and aspirations of racial minorities in the delivery of educational, social, housing, environmental, advisory and other services...

The significance of the 'local state' in relation to racial disadvantage is explicit in the policy statements of many local states; the following is an example from the Wolverhampton 'local state' :

> To ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less favourable treatment on the grounds of ....race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins, or is disadvantaged by condition or requirements which cannot be shown to be justifiable. Selection criteria and procedures will be frequently reviewed to ensure that individuals are selected, promoted and treated on the basis of their relevant merit and abilities. All employees will be given equal opportunity and, where appropriate, special training to progress within the organisation. The local authority is committed to a programme of action to make this policy fully effective.[3]

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All 'local states' at least require such a policy statement and a positive programme of action, tackling racial disadvantages in employment and services. At the last analysis, the key question is will a 'local state' follow its policy (ies) and action plans to their logical ends ?

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4
RACISM AWARENESS TRAINING: THE ILT EXPERIENCE

The Industrial Language Training Scheme (ILT) committed a significant amount of its time and resources to Racism Awareness Training (RAT) and Anti-Racist Training (ART). The basis for ILT Racism Awareness and Anti-Racist Training programmes was a simple idea. Equal opportunities in employment and in service delivery would not become fully operational while personal and institutional racism existed throughout the society. Britain's racial minority communities found and continue to find racism a major barrier to jobs and access to services.

ILT's approach to Racism Awareness Training was based on in-depth discussions of experiences of racial inequality in Britain. The main input to this programme came from the black ILT staff, most of whom worked as volunteers at grass-root level in their own communities or in black organisations. The black staff of ILT saw themselves more as part of black community social action groups than as part of a formal institutional framework.

White ILT staff who conducted Racism Awareness Training programmes undertook intense Anti-Racism Training. Their approach to ILT's work was clearly anti-racist. They knew that their conviction had to be absolutely genuine if they were to operate effectively in this field. The main aim of the training was to promote a vigorous anti-racist stance in every facet of service provision and employment.

British people have generally accepted that Britain is a racist society. Yet two thirds of those who concede this reality still manage to deny that they are racist themselves.[1] The

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purpose of Racism Awareness Training was to mobilise people in positions of power and influence into anti-racist action. An ILT internal seminar on racism reached the following conclusion on the conceptual framework of racism : Racism has ideological and structural components. Indeed, it is virtually impossible to talk about racism solely as an ideology without seeing the connection between ideas and structures. Conversely, it is impossible to talk about racism as a set of practices and structures, without referring to racism as a body of ideas. In summary, it can be said that racism manifests itself both in personal and individual forms (ideas, beliefs, attitudes, individual practices) and in structural or institutional forms. It is structural and institutional practices which determine the life chances, opportunities, and ultimately, the position of individuals and groups of black people in Britain.

ILT seminars described the historical background of racism as the development of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism and the metropolitan state. The manifestation of racism is in how the state and private institutions act in relation to black communities. The situation in employment, education, housing are examples of structural racism, other manifestations are : nationality, immigration control, race relations, mental health, law and order acts and 'racial crimes'. Therefore, a focus on racism must cover these and other related areas.

Ahmed Gurnah in his critique of Racism Awareness Training (RAT) observed :

> 'RAT has negative consequences, because, it is based on a non-reflective framework, but more serious than that, it provides white officials with the acceptable language of anti-racism, with which to disarm black criticism.....There is nothing more disarming to a black person than a powerful official humbly declaring his or her institutional and personal racism up front, especially, when she/he promises to do something. In the last analysis, the only local measure of anti-racist success is a concrete transformation of black people's condition in Britain.'

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He further added :

> 'The most sustained and the most effective initiatives against racism are already taking place in the black community. Most black communities have set up advice centres, work associations and social clubs.'[2]

It appears that Ahmed Gurnah is criticising only selected RAT model(s). He is assuming that there will be no check on the use of anti-racist language and subsequent non-action of white officials. According to his analysis, if black community's initiatives and actions are developing, and black are becoming influential through their pressure groups, then in actual fact, it will be a step forward. Where 'both sides' use the same language and there can be an effective communication and understanding about issues of racism, then 'action' will be more probable not less. The problem with a Marxist approach (which Ahmed Gurnah seems to be taking) is that it speculates about what should happen and what will happen. Marxists always fail to suggest to what should be done right now or even in the short term. The world will not stop until ideal Marxist conditions are achieved. That is why pressure group politics, black group's actions, institutional equal opportunity policy development, anti-racist education and training must go side by side. Racism Awareness Training provides education and training about the role of ethnic actions and black pressure groups. The legitimacy of their role is important otherwise their activities are 'perceived' as extra constitutional and 'trouble making'. Direct action and exposure of decision makers and officers to black communities is to be positively encouraged, recommended and acted upon.

An article entitled 'The Politics of Racism Awareness Training' in *Searchlight*[3] suggests that 'Racism Awareness Training isolates racism from any other aspect of lives and relationship. It does not, for example, have a relationship to class, it does not have a conception within it of the state. It gives no history of racism via slavery, colonialism etc., nor does it explain the white western continued dominance of the Third World.'

It goes on to ask 'How dose Racism Awareness Training

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define institutional racism ? It is a matter of personal prejudice plus power. Racism Awareness Training is really interested in individuals wielding bureaucratic power in say housing allocation or employment procedures. What Racism Awareness Training cannot deal with are massive areas of racism which are not part of officialdom. For example, it has nothing to say about racism in the mass media, in law and judiciary or about racial violence.' All that can be said at this stage is that a Racism Awareness model, which does not cover, or leaves out these items cannot be a fully developed Racism Awareness Training model.

A Racism Awareness Training model must be based on a clearly understood theoretical framework backed up by a clear cut philosophy and it must be seen to be developing the following objectives : A Racism Awareness Training model should help its trainees to identify scope and forms of racial inequality in their workplace and identify the scope and forms of racial inequality in the community that they themselves are part of. It should provide a clearer understanding and insight into the significance of politics, policies and ideologies which shape racist social conditions. Training should help participants to work towards identifying specific problems with regard to race and to work out strategies and a framework to tackle these problems.

The training programmes should lead trainees to produce realistic strategies to move policies forward by introducing appropriate procedures and practices. Trainees should be able to identify with these developments and should show commitment to supporting race equality initiatives. The results of these initiatives must be monitored professionally and publicly examined so that further appropriate steps are taken. Such a comprehensive model requires greater commitment in terms of time resources and a higher degree of professional skills on the part of the trainers. The training programme must be related to social realities as they exist in local communities and in society in general. Racism Awareness Training cannot be isolated from the development of local and Asian Black communities. The emphasis has to be on the state, which at the last analysis should be meeting the needs of a multi-racial public.

The Race Relations Act of 1976 has important implications

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for employment policies, procedures and practices. The Act applies to all aspects of employment including selection, advertising, training, transfer and promotion. The Race Relations Code of Practice has guidelines on the implementation of a comprehensive equal opportunity policy. Constant political pressure is crucial to keeping racial inequality in focus, and to developing positive policies for bringing about necessary organisational changes. The role of social forces is also important. Racism Awareness Training only complements what takes place in the communities in relation to racial inequalities.

The Department of Environment issued a report by the Joint government and Local Authority working group which stated its commitment to 'race relations' training. This training, it insisted, is required by 'elected members', local authority managers and staff. Training should be made available to black staff '.....to enable them to progress within the authority.'[4] All Equal Opportunity employers must have an Equal Opportunities policy with a detailed action programme. It should be issued to officers, staff, trade unions and to the career services and the media. The policy needs to have an effective system of recording reviewing and reporting on progress. A statistical monitoring system is essential to ascertain whether or not equal opportunities are being achieved. Deliberate discrimination needs to be a disciplinary offence in an organisation and should be part of grievance and disciplinary procedures. All employees should be informed of their rights and responsibilities under an Equal Opportunities Policy. Introducing a Equal Opportunities Policy brings about organisational change. Training and Education can only play a crucial role in inducing change provided outside pressures are an integral part of the change process.

The ILT Service provided Racism Awareness Training, Anti-racist Training and Equal Opportunities Training in this framework. Without an organisation having a policy and concept of racism, Racism Awareness Training can be operationally irrelevant. Racism Awareness Training can have a significant impact on an organisation if it has 'political' commitment to bring about necessary changes in order to 'eliminate' racism without which racial equality is not possible.

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Organisations do not operate in a social vacuum. Therefore, it is equally crucial that the social framework also develops accordingly in terms of black and other racist groups playing their role. A whole range of activities need to go side by side in a co-ordinated way as far as is reasonably practicable. Both thought as well as action are important to bring about change in relation to racial inequality.

Here are some of the comments made by a cross section of Racism Awareness Training course members. They were senior decision makers and executive officers in a local authority :

'Most senior staff should treat as axiomatic the fact that cultural and racial diversity inhibits communication, and they should be ready to go beyond this to deal with prospects for positive action.'

'Stunning session, probably the most worthwhile.'

'I found the course to be provocative, but, from the positive point of view.'

'The course has been of interest and if applied throughout the authority must achieve its aims.'

'I hope other councillors and officers within the authority will be given the opportunity to participate in similar courses in future, so that issues are thoroughly examined and appropriate steps are taken.'

'Obviously many people found a lot of this difficult to accept, but, I think it was valuable.....but....some positive comments.'

'The course has been very helpful in providing opportunities and a proper context to examine racial inequalities and to discuss and to work out ways to combating racism.'

'Racism must concern all areas of policy making and implementation of decisions. It should not only be a matter for Race Relations and Equal Opportunity Committee we must listen to black groups and act....'

Many course members openly expressed that they never looked at these issues in this fashion before :

'Racism is about treating others as inferior on racial grounds.... racism is irrational behaviour....reliance on general stereotypes and racial assumption cause racism to go on....'

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'Racism is inbuilt in our social structure...system and social institutions are responsible for racism 'change' is crucial to eliminate racism...the media perpetuate racism...social... action...'

Here are action points proposed by a typical group of trainees who had worked out the following strategies to combat racism in employment. These were initiatives that they were prepared to undertake :

1. Advertise 'all' posts in ethnic press to attract applications and to inform ethnic press to attract application and to inform ethnic groups about the Equal Opportunity Policy of this authority.
2. Recruit trainable staff as a matter of positive strategy and provide adequate training programme.
3. Hold regular seminars and discussions on Equal Opportunities.
4. Introduce closer scrutiny of job descriptions, assessment criteria and interviewing methods.
5. Review the format of application form.
6. Take into account overseas/community based informal/ formal experiences/qualifications and so on.
7. Adopt good/positive practices in finding 'best' person for the job, take positive action when relevant.
8. Be more aware about unconscious racial attitudes and check negatively discriminatory action.
9. Bear in mind facts about difficulties faced by minority groups.
10. Introduce new selection criteria taking into account the social reality of a multi-racial community.
11. Avoid tokenistic approached to racism.

No doubt the above initiatives (if put into practice) can only make a limited contribution to redressing racial inequality. This does not mean that these efforts are wasted. What operational value has any educational/training activity ? This kind of approach can lead to useful outcome if it is followed to its logical conclusion.

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5
THE ROLE OF INDUSTRIAL LANGUAGE TRAINING SERVICE IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY

BACKGROUND

The post-war industrial development and rapid expansion of public services in Britain exhausted the indigenous supply of labour. A large number of Irish workers came over to work in immediate post-war Britain. East European refugees were also encouraged to take up jobs. The Ministry of Labour in conjunction with many large companies recruited employees from Italy. The economy continued to expand during 1950s and the economic trends remained strong almost until the end of 1960s.

The expanding economy created a significant demand for labour at the lower end of the job market, because the economic conditions enabled white workers to make a rapid upward movement in the system. The demand for labour in the basic industries could not be satisfied from within the white British workforce. This situation left Britain's foundries, steel mills, engineering firms, brick works, chemical and textile industries facing a severe shortage of labour. Even the National Health Service and passenger transport services had to look abroad to fill vacancies.

The main additional supply of labour was sought from black Commonwealth countries. The Commonwealth Citizens then had free fight of entry to Britain. In some parts of the Indian sub-continent and parts of the West Indies the tradition of emigration in search of work was already strong. There were

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colonial links, many people had their friends, relations or acquaintances already working in the United Kingdom. Britain was not perceived as a strange country to come to. Between 1948 and 1961 nearly 250,000 vacancies were filled by Asian and West Indian workers, especially in the labour intensive industries. However there were still hundreds of vacancies unfilled in the economy.

The migrant workforce made a valuable and timely injection of 'human capital' into the British economy. Workers arrived at the gates of the factories at their own expense with the motivation to do well for themselves and their families. Their contribution in the process of British post-war economic development is significant. It is interesting to note that there was no local or national policy at that time to offer suitable accommodation, advice, counselling, induction or other type of service to facilitate the settlement of newly arrived workers. Instead, many racist individuals and groups had already begun to show their intolerance towards black people overtly. The major political forces took an easy option and indulged in the politics of managing racism rather than counteracting it.

The Immigration Control Act of 1962 was a manifestation of managing racism by way of appeasing the racialists. Otherwise, its effect was ironic. It undermined the mechanism for the supply and demand of labour that had 'regulated' the migration process until 1962. For the best part of the 1960's, the Act changed the pattern of immigration, but, its net result was opposite to that intended by the legislation. The politics of racism in the form of the immigration 'number game', and the effectiveness of the controlling mechanism, developed its own dynamic in the arena of British politics. Thus, psychologically, this process denied black people a rightful status in Britain, and contributed towards 'illegitimizing' their presence. Further Acts were passed to control immigration such as the British Nationality Act.

This shows that the politics of 'managing' racism rather than counteracting it, diverted people away from the actual issues, policies and decisions, facing a multi-racial Britain. However, some cosmetic surgery began towards the end of the

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1960s and a process of addressing race relations issues began. From the early 1970s the economy started to decline and social problems also began to take an uglier shape. The black population became sandwiched into industrial decline and urban decay. Britain now has nearly 2.5 million black people. 1.5 million are their British born descendants, but the black communities still have little or no direct participation and influence in the decision making process.

At their place of work, due to racial barriers and communication difficulties, most black workers had not been able to achieve equality of opportunity in promotion and training. This is still the case in the 1990s. The industrial recession of 1979-83 affected them disproportionately. The third Policy Studies Institute (PSI) survey showed that people of Asian and West Indian origin in Britain are more likely than White people to be unemployed, and those who are in work tend to have jobs with lower pay and lower status than those of White workers. The survey report (Smith, PSI, 1984:293) party holds the following factors responsible :

1. Different educational background of workers from different ethnic groups;
2. Lack of fluency in English among Asian workers;
3. Different residential location of the majority of white and black workers;
4. Emergence of ethnic minority labour market which seems in some respects quite different from that of White workers;
5. Racial discrimination both direct and indirect.

Though none of these factors can be treated in isolation from others. Asian and West Indian men and women had a larger proportion of semi-skilled manual workers among them than white men and women. 'A poor command of English among Asians is very strongly related to job level and is clearly an impediment to individual job mobility.' (Smith, PS1:215).

The report also showed the percentage of Asian adults speaking English 'slightly' or 'not at all'.

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Age Group	Percentage
16-25	19%
25-34	26%
35-44	36%
45-54	42%
55-64	53%
65+	59%

(Source: Smith, PSI, 1984:66)

ILT's ROLE

The Industrial Language Training (ILT) was established as a national service in 1974 when government funds were made available to Local Authorities under the Urban Aid Programme, and Section 11 of the Local government Act 1966. Its aim was to establish units which should provid language training at employers establishment appropriate to the needs of the workplace. During the period 1974-1978 the Industrial Language Training was funded mainly through Section 11. In addition, the Department of Employment undertook the financing of a National Centre for Industrial Language Training (NCILT) London to support local units and to provide staff training.

The general background, to establish ILT was the concern expressed by the Home Affairs Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, and other bodies in the 1970s. During its ten years period ILT, till it was wound up in 1990, its scope were much change reflecting many discussions and policy decisions in the context of racial disadvantage in Britain. This was explicitly stated by John Grant in 1978 when the central government took over full funding of the service as, 'these decisions reflect the importance the government attached to the improvement of the Industrial Language Training service and its recognition of the contribution the service makes to racial equality policies.....'. The fifth report of the Home Affairs Select Committee Session 1980-81, also located language issues within a whole context of racial disadvantage.

ILT units were first established in 1975, these received until some grants from the Home Office and also from the Department of Environment. Local Authorities made up the

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difference in their expenses some of which was recovered from charging employers. The Manpower Service Commission (MSC) took over the service in 1978 arguing that it was a more appropriate body to provide in-company training and that payment from a single source would offer greater stability and scope for development.

According to the NCILT, there were over 200,000 industrial workers who needed work related language training. Between 1975 and 1985 ILT claimed to have provided training services to 25,000 people.

ILT's PROVISION

While the original aim of ILT was to provide in-company language training for speakers of other languages, the broader issues of improved communications and relationships in multi-racial workplaces figured increasingly in later years. The service had always been 'flexible and responsive'. In the ten years following its inception, it has tried to respond 'creatively' to changes in the social and economic climate, to academic developments in the field of linguistics, and not least to changes in the analysis of race relations issues.

Some of these concerns were reflected in the detailed comments made by Home Affairs Select Committee in 1980-81. Thus, the Manpower Service Commission (MSC) described the service's remit as :

a) improving the language and communication skills in English of workers from overseas in ways relevant to their work and workplace.
b) providing supervisors, trade unionists and others with skills and information relevant to effective communication across barriers of language and culture.

This perception that successful communication is a two-way process which involves factors of language and culture was an important recognition of the holistic approach. It was also central to the approach taken by ILT staff. The staff became increasing aware of the complexity of relationship between language and disadvantage. Thus, Tom Jupp (1981) offered his thoughts as director of NCILT :

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'Language is central to human interaction and plays a unique role in the transmission and formation of the values, identity and culture which make up an individual's and a group's social reality. Because language has this role, it cannot in reality be separated from other matters affecting ethnic minority people who speak English as a second language such as racial discrimination, cultural differences, sheer lack of information and understanding about many aspects of life in Britain.'

During its ten years of existence, the ILT did not stand still. As its staffs' understanding of the complexity of issues around language, communication, and disadvantage increased, so its provision change to meet new needs. Its' training provision remained relevant to the industrial sector and it was equally adaptable and appropriate for local government, health services, education and the civil service.

Communication training for workers speaking other languages included basic training in English for job search and retention in the manufacturing sector. It also led to a fuller participation in the culture of the work place, and towards the fuller realisation of individual and group skills. The training also covered advanced communication training for bilinguals. For example, in the transport industry training comonent included some inputs on customer-relations. Similary, there was a training module for would be shop stewards; as also the training provided to bilinguals in the Civil Service ensured their chances of promotion.

Cross-cultural communication training for white trainees included examining cross-cultural issues and their expression in communication. A great deal of work had been done on recruitment and selection interviewing, and this awareness should have informed the practices both of selectors, and of applicants for posts. Work was also being done on team development in cross-cultural, multi-racial contexts, both in industry and in service agencies in the public sector. While the involvement and commitment of appropriate trade unions was always sought when providing the training. During the recession of 1980s, ILT ran its courses at Skill Centres established by Manpower Service Commission (MSC) to retrain workers who had lost their jobs due to industrial closures.

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However, ILT service could not operate in isolation from the social context of its catchment areas. Equal Opportunities in employment, education and training, and equal access to resources and to the whole range of public and private provisions was a central issue for its work. This issue had significant training implications for Industrial Language Training (ILT) in relation to meeting the needs, aspirations and expectations of black people. Many Industrial Language Training (ILT) staff knew that communication training could only be made effective if it was provided in the broader context of the needs of the clients. Equal Opportunities for black people can be far from reality so long as racial barriers exist in society, in institutions and at an individual level. No training package could be fully effective if it was not based on the proper understanding and analysis of black communities concerns, equal opportunity policies, institutional behaviour and practices. The Commission for Racial Equality Code of Practice, which was approved by Parliament and became operational in April 1984, provided a framework to measure organizational change in terms of progress being made to developing equal opportunities for racial minority employees and potential employees.

The CRE code recommends to employers and trade unions to take positive measures to provide encouragement and training where there is under-representation of particular racial groups in particular areas of work. Even if discrimination was stopped overnight, this would not be sufficient to enable racial minority groups to compete for jobs from a basis of genuine equality, for they would still suffer from the effects of past discrimination and disadvantages. Black people are heavily under represented in many areas of employment, particularly in supervisory, managerial and senior positions in the whole range of private and public sector organisations. Lord Scarman argued that '...racial minorities have not been able to secure a voice in our institutions, therefore, the position is that it is very difficult for the minorities to get into institutions and then be heard, and be able to exercise power, the legal position is that there is nothing to prevent it happening.....appropriate training facilities have got to be

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provided for the disadvantaged groups in our society between leaving schools and finding jobs.....the most fundamental motivation (for inner city disturbances) of course is frustration in the sense of injustice and hopelessness engendered by unemployment and social condition.'

In response to this, from 1984 onwards ILT began to provide not only language and communication training, but also anti-racist and general equal opportunities training. There was a tremendous demand for this training from public sector bodies and some private sector firms. This still continues to be the case in the 1990s. By the mid 1980s ILT had become a thriving network of 30 multi-racial training teams with the ability to oraganise and provide a very impressive range of training events to promote racial equality. Black staff often had very strong links with their local communities and were able to bring this perspective to ILT's work. They felt that no training package could be fully effective if it was not based on a proper understanding and analysis of the black communities' concerns, equal opportunities policies and institutional practices.

By 1983 around 50% of ILT's staff were black and formed a black Group which had a special role in the organisation. The Group represented the feelings, aspiration and needs of the communities that they came from. The Black Group became a rich professional source for the ILT Service in relation to its role in combating racism in all its manifestation. It was felt that the ILT should work in the black communities to raise their confidence and assertiveness and develop their autonomy through education and training. This would enable black people to participate more effectively in the social and economic affairs of the wider society. These links began to be a source of information and education for White Staff. For the black staff the links started to give a sense of purposeful intervention in organisations and communities.

From 1986 onwards there were several reviews of the work of the ILT service by the Manpower Services Commission. At the same time the role of the Manpower Service Commission (MSC) was also being reviewed. It later became the Training Agency and has now been replaced altogether by local Training

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and Enterprise Councils. Between 1988 and 1990 the ILT service was wound down. Its staff were absorbed into Further Education Establishments, Local Authority Departments, Governments Departments and some became independent consultants on a whole range of equality issues.

This brief history of the life of the ILT service provides an interesting case study of an organisation that was able to make a small contribution to promoting racial equality and anti-racist practice. Its demise was regretted somewhat because it disappeared at a time in its development where it was ready to become a more effective training organisation than it had been from 1974-1980. However, many of the 500 or so staff that it trained during its short life have moved on to use their skills and experiences in a wide variety of ways.

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6
RACE EQUALITY TRAINING : SOME PRACTICAL ISSUES

At the time of this survey Racism Awareness Training (RAT) was receiving a lot adverse publicity. There were reports in the press and even question raised in the House of Commons. This was the backdrop to this survey.

The survey was not published due to time and resources but it provides a very useful and interesting analysis of what was happening in the name of RAT in the West Midlands in the mid 1980s. It provides useful definition of Anti-Racist Training (ART) and RAT. The report also explains the history of this training and its underlying assumption.

INTRODUCTION

According to Chambers and Pettman (1986:50), 'Racism is an anathema. It is a denial of basic humanity, of fundamental human rights. It damages the victims, the perpetrators, and the bystanders. The poison, the anxiety and hostility generated affects us all. It subverts our society and sours our social relations. Australia (or indeed, any other society) is a lesser, poorer, more troubled and more dangerous place because of it. If we, and our children, are to live in a more fair and less tense society, one where values and relationships can be open, generous and creative, we must oppose racism in all its forms.'

Most people would agree with much, if not all, of the above statement : Racism is clearly an anathema. The disagreement however, arises as to what are the best strategies for combating it. Racism Awareness Training was one such strategy. It is a subject which has latterly generated a great deal

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of interest and mixed feelings across a whole selection of individuals and groups concerned with the question of combating racism within British society. Indeed, in some public sector workplaces, it has almost become part of common parlance. But, in spite of its relatively high profile status and repeated calls for research evaluating its effectiveness, little has been done to actually look at the different approaches which sail under the flag of RAT. This paper will report the findings of a short piece of research which attempted to do exactly that in the West Midlands area of England.

The material which forms the basis of this report is the result of a number of interviews carried out with training staff from various ILT units[1] based in the West Midlands area, of which there were six and staff of other public sector service organisations within the West Midlands, which have had experience of running Racism Awareness Training and who were contacted by us, namely, West Midlands Probation and Aftercare Service[2] and Birmingham Multicultural Support Service.[3]

The exact shape of the paper is as follows. The first section will briefly comment upon the nature of RAT and present a critical evaluation of its rationale. The second section will briefly look at the nature of the ILTU organisation and its involvement in RAT and will then present the material collected during the course of our interviews in the form of a number of key issues surrounding the various strategies of training encountered.

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

One of the burning questions in the theory and practice of Racism Awareness Training, henceforth referred to as RAT, if not the burning question, is at what level this training should take place. Some practitioners maintain, it should be pitched at the level of effect that is the emotions or feelings of individuals, others that it should be at the level of cognition or thinking, i.e. facts and information surrounding racism and should not be personalised. Yet others feel it should be a combination of both and argue over the exact shape or format

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this marriage of approaches should take. There are those who maintain that the training should begin looking at the person and the affective aspect and then look at the cognitive/ structural features of racism i.e. institutional practices. The other school of thought argues that it should proceed from the level of cognition and a factual basis and then, and only then, should it begin to address the part the individual plays in the complex mosaic of racism and the question of feelings and emotions. Exponents of the techniques which concentrate on the affective or emotional aspect of training feel that the experiential side is the most important ingredient in a recipe for change. Some adopt a confrontational style of training while others prefer to refer to their approach as one of 'black assertion'. However, what most, if not all, seem to agree on is the important, if not the essential, value of guilt as a motivator for change and wittingly or un-wittingly follow the 'white awareness' line of Judy Katz. This particular approach because it has been extremely influential both in the States and in Britain, merits further critical evaluation and the next session of this paper will address itself to this task.

RACISM AWARENESS TRAINING

The history of the white awareness programme of training pioneered by Judy Katz is reasonably well documented (Katz and Ilvey, 1977); Katz (1978) as is its development in the British context (Gurnah, 1984); Sivanandan (1985). The most common definition of racism used in RAT is 'Racism = Prejudice plus Power'. Unfortunately, this definition has been distorted from the original, coined by Patricia Bidol, which was that 'Racism=Prejudice + Institutional Power'. The original definition, while simplistic perhaps, does focus attention on both individual and institutional contributions to racism; the distorted former definition appears to be applied only to prejudiced individuals who are powerful because they are white. To concentrate solely on individuals tends to ignore the structural components of racism. As Sivanandan says (1985:27) :

> Thus racism is not, as RAT believes, a white problem, but a problem of an exploitative white power structure;

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power is not something white people are born into, but that which they derive from their position in a complex race/sex/class hierarchy.

What then are the underlying assumptions of Katz's approach to the question of Racism Awareness Training ?

The first and most important assumption of the Katz training programme is that Racism is a predominately white problem. In her own words 'being white in America implies being racist' and 'white people are responsible for the perpetuation of white racism in a white racist system,' (Katz 1978:23).

The second assumption states that all Americans have feelings and thoughts on the issue of racism. Basically, she argues that 'everybody in the course of growing up in America is likely to be exposed to and develop some prejudiced attitudes about another person or group,' p. 23. Racism we are told, prevents whites from escaping from their own ethnocentrism and the resultant fear of human beings who differ from them 'affects their relationships with others, as well as their own mental health.'

The third assumption underlying the Katz training programme is that white people can learn about racism with other white people. Racist attitudes are often developed without any personal exposure to Third World people, she writes, and as a consequence of this the appropriate starting point for learning about racism is in all white context. This also has the double advantage of avoiding the exploitation of Third World people for White people's learning.

The next assumption states that whites need to be reeducated. Having been socialised into a system riddled with racism ideologies and attitudes, whites need to be placed into a trusting climate in which they can peel off their old ideologies and perceptions and open their eyes to the realities of racism on a cognitive and emotional level.

The penultimate assumption stresses that it is physically, socially and psychologically advantageous for whites to learn about racism for their own survival. In a world in which most of the natural resources lie outside the advanced industrial

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nations, as does most of its population, for their own survival further development and mental well-being, white people must change their racism system and attitudes.

The final assumption in the white awareness training programme is a reminder that it is only a step in a process and not an end in itself. If whites are in a setting in which they can develop their consciousness, (Katz 1978:24) concludes, 'they can then move toward developing relationships with other whites and Third World people that are more aware and humanistic.'

Let us now unpack some of these assumptions. Perhaps the most dubious and dangerous of the assumptions underlying this approach is the putative link between racism and mental health, that racism is a form of mental illness. In her book having cited a number of authors who offer explanations of racism in a pathological framework, she asserts (referring to the cited works), 'all these analyses clearly indicate that racism is a critical and pervasive form of mental illness,' and eventually concludes that 'it is crucial to explore how the disease is manifested in observable traits and ideologies,' It seems impossibly reductionistic (not to mention deterministic) to argue as she does that by implication being white in America means being racist which in turn means being mentally disturbed.

This type of reductionistic reasoning draws attention to another of the dangerous assumptions made in this approach that racism is a 'white problem,' that it is as Sivanandan (1985) has pointed out 'an 'essence' that history has deposited in the white psyche,' and as such is inescapable. It is not without justification that Sivanandan claims that 'in spite of statements to the contrary this type of reasoning which is inherent in Katz's training programme is designed to produce guilt.' (Katz 1978:20, 24)

The biological determinism put forward by Katz (1978) that whites are by definition racist, and even after 'consciousness-raising' can be only anti-racist racists, is a fundamental contradiction to the goals of RAT, which purport to change people's racist attitudes and behaviour. It is a wonder that RAT even got off the ground, or attracted the

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funding that it did, with such a gloomy human view-point. It implies no hope, no change, no deviation from the norm if you are born white. Further, the assumption that whites are by definition racist is linked with one that only whites can be racist because they have control over institutions and benefit from racism. It was inevitable then that participants in many RAT programs were asked to confess and own their guilt, through 'painful but healing catharsis'. Ironically, these assumptions are racist in themselves and ignore the heterogeneity of whites—personally, socio-economically, culturally and historically. No wonder that the feedback from various training sessions suggested 'a feeling of paralysis—powerlessness—negativity and rejection' (Haq, 1985:7). Various writers (Gurnah, 1984; Sivanandan, 1985; CARF, 1985) have deplored this emphasis on white guilt as dysfunctional to the purported aims of RAT and unethical. Experience in Australia indicates that 'guilt is an unhealthy motivation for change and if induced, can often backlash onto minority groups. Participants need to know that racism is socially constructed and reinforced' (Chambers and Pettman, 1986:88). As Sivanandan (1985:28) so cogently puts it, whites who are racially prejudiced have 'no intrinsic power over non-whites. The power is derived from racial laws, constitutional conventions, judicial precedents, institutional practices—all of which have the imprimatur of the state.' Exactly the same power was applied in the non-white states of Uganda, when Asian were expelled, and in Japan, where Koreans are refused citizenship.

Another concern expressed about RAT is that black criticism of institutional policy and practice can be deflected or disarmed by white officials who have learned to use antiracist language (Gurnah, 1984). Thus RAT may have a social control function, used to manage blacks.

And yet, one could also counter-charge some critics of RAT with vested interests. For example, Nazir Ul Haq (1985:13) says :

> 'Sivanandan, critic of RAT/ART does not concede the anti-racist struggle outside its socialist perspective. He

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> therefore denies black autonomy. This stems from his classical Marxist analysis of the race issue, which forces him to subsume the race, gender contradictions with class and hence marginalises (sic) the autonomous anti-racist organisation/struggle....(The) race issue is not simply reducible to class. Like women, black people are primarily discriminated against as being black, at all levels, regardless of their class position.'

There is a danger too that social activists, who wish to bring about a society freed from racism and inequality, unwittingly conspire with the far right in opposing RAT, albeit from different motives.

As much as it is simplistic to ignore the structural aspects of racism, writers like Sivanandan may be in danger of reifying society. Structures do not exist in isolation, separately from people. They are not self-perpetuating or self-regulating. People do occupy positions of power within these institutions and they are more often whites than blacks, who are able to actualise their racial prejudices and discriminate against non-whites. They are also in a position to change organisational structures and rules and policies. Therefore people must be educated to act in an anti-racist or non-racist manner in order for structures to change.

ILT CENTRES AND THE RAT

From a small beginning in the early 1970s as the National Centre for Industrial Language Training at Southall, the ILT service became a national scheme in 1974, funded by central government through Local Authorities. From the outset, ILT unit have provided in-company language training for ESL speakers and culture and language communication training for supervisors and trade unionists. This continues to be its primary function, but over the last few years the previously narrow definition of language has broadened to 'issues of improved communications and relationship in multi-racial working contexts, of wider social consequences and concerns...it has tried to respond 'creatively' to change in the social and economic climate...and not least to changes in the analysis of

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race relations issues.' (Bilston Community College ILT unit: 1986:1-2). ILT has extended its brief to include not only the industrial sector, but local government, health services, education and the Civil Service. As Peppard states (1980:102), many of the techniques of RAT have their origin in management training and group work, so ILT Centres were ideally equipped to respond to the demand for RAT.

As far as the West Midlands is concerned, a staff member at the Language and Literacy Centre, Dudley College of Technology, suggests that RAT emerged from two developments: the first was that it was easier to organise training for management than for factory workers, so the emphasis shifted to discussing ethnic minorities with white providers; the second was a focus on equal opportunity and an attempt to recruit more ethnic minority staff. More ethnic minority staff could be employed for their experience relevant to RAT than their expertise in language training per se. Teaching had not traditionally been a career path for blacks, but RAT provided teaching positions where experience of/ with racism was a credential. The staff member doesn't believe that RAT emerged from any ideology, but from pragmatic circumstances and from an equal opportunity concern to get more black staff within ILT. Nevertheless, black staff now involved with RAT do have an ideological commitment, as well as a pragmatic concern to improve black participation at all levels of public and private sector employment. 'An Equal Opportunity Policy cannot operate in the presence of personal and institutional racism. Therefore the basic task for ILT was to combat racism through its training and advisory services.' (Bilston Community College, 1986:4-5).

The ILT units' training work was supported by the general framework of the Race Relation Act of 1976 and various codes of practice for equal opportunity at the national and local level. It did not have automatic access to organisations. It was thus dependent on developing close working relationships with organisations in order to bring about change in the workplace. 'This work required an organisational change model, not merely an individual change model, if real equality of opportunity is to be achieved.' (Bilston Community

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College ILT:1986:5). The methodology employed by the service is to design courses uniquely for the particular work context involved. This involved an analysis of communication systems with the organisation, techniques of observation, interviews with staff, followed by a report on the findings and the type of training recommended. Courses were supposed to be evaluated 'against criteria agreed both by the organisation concerned, and by their house participants.' (Bilston Community College ILT:1986:2).

Finally, ILT in the West Midlands was concerned with pursuing equality of opportunity. Support for this task had been explicitly stated by John Grant in 1978, when full funding of the service was taken over by central government. Such work involved communications training for ESL workers; development of personal and group skills in the workplace; advanced communications training for bilinguals; cross-cultural communications for white trainees, including RAT; team-development in multi-racial contexts; and equal opportunity training, which examined structural racism and communication barriers.

TRAINING REVIEWED

The three organisations involved in this report were approached for several important reasons, chief amongst which was a documented knowledge of their involvement in training associated with RAT. Because of the time constraints placed upon the research we also felt that wherever possible it was essential to be able to 'plug in' to organisations as quickly as possible. From this point of view the ILT organisation, with its network of local units spread over the various metropolitan boroughs of the West Midlands, proved to be particularly useful and informative.

It should be noted, however, that this report is not exhaustive nor an extensive study of RAT in the West Midlands. Such a brief would require considerably more time and resources than were available to us. Instead it should be seen as a preliminary attempt to document some of ways in which this type of training has evolved in the context of a

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number of public sector service organisations. Clearly there are other public sector service oraganisations which we have not approached and which have also made available this type of training to their staff. A more comprehensive study would of course hope to cover these organisations and additionally examine the type of training likely to be made available to the private sector.

The Nature of the Interviews

It became obvious after the first few interviews were carried out, that the most productive and rewarding strategy for interviewing (both from the point of view of interviewer and interviewee) was one which was loosely structured and involved two interviewers. This allowed the interviewee(s) to have the full attention of one interveiwer while the other took notes. It also meant that the course of the interviews developed more naturally and a pace which suited the interviews. Interviews generally lasted 1-2 hours, during which questions were asked about the nature, style and content of the training carried out at that organisation. Special interst was paid to the methods of evaluation which were adopted by trainers. Wherever possible, training outlines were sought, as were in-house discussion papers and/or critiques of training techniques.

THE ART OF RAT

During interviews, it was apparent that while most ILT staff claimed a shift from RAT to Anti-Racism Training, henceforth called ART, there was some confusion about just what this meant, theoretically and practically. For some, it was simply a change in title and a strategy for avoiding criticisms of RAT. For others, RAT was an 'advance organiser' for ART. The confusion was compounded by the absence of course outlines—at least, none were forthcoming upon request. We were told that as each course was tailor-made for each client group, there was no standard course outline. Interviews, therefore, tended to centre on techniques and methodology rather than content.

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ILT staff from Dudley and Coventry saw RAT as an advance organiser for ART because people had to be aware of their own racism first, before confronting structural racism and developing anti-racism action strategies. Staff here were pursuing racial attitude—change and believed that behavioral change was impossible without it. At Dudley ILT, confrontation was used, by asserting a black perspective, but it was admitted that this technique needed careful handling. 'It was painful but pain is productive.' The course is about making people aware of racism, including their own, and its effects. The course is tailor- made for each client group and techniques may vary depending on the experiences and needs of participants. Experiential exercise and group work are used a great deal, but Katz's programme is not used. Coventry ILT staff emphasised cooperative decision-making on institutional racism. A safe, supportive environment is preferred and engendered, but facilitators will not collude with negative attitudes expressed by participants. White guilt about racism is not deliberately engendered, but facilitators do allow people to go through the phase of 'checking-out' and confessing their racism, if it is necessary. Facilitators stress the affective rather than the cognitive aspects of racism; they do not 'intellectualise'. Developing awareness about racism includes redefining violence—for example, 'boardroom violence'—and getting acceptance of racism here, in Britain, not just in South Africa.

The most eloquent description of ART, as compared with RAT, was made by staff at the West Midlands Probation Service. ART was undertaken by this organisation because RAT was received as an end in itself, rather than an ongoing process of anti-racism. Art was about anti-racist policy and the drawing-up of a total package for individual and organisational change. The aim is to change practice at the individual and institutional level. ART was a method of achieving equal opportunity and anti-discrimination. It is about whites and blacks, not just whites, and establishing positive frameworks for blacks, improving recruitment and service delivery. The main weakness of RAT was perceived to be not content but implementation : RAT over-emphasised the individual using guilt as a motivation for attitude-change; RAT presumed

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attitude-change meant behavioural change, and so forth. RAT failed to recognise the weakness of training as a way of changing bureaucratic structures. So ART is not just about training, in this case about one tenth of the anti-racist process, it is also policy development and organisational change. It is more holistic and less piece-meal than RAT. Thus blacks and whites co-operate, at all levels, to determine anti-racist policy and action within the specific work context. Rat is often done in isolation, because it focusses on (racist) individuals, and bears little or no relevance to the job context of participants. Hence the frustration of many participants in RAT who want advice/experience of relevant action strategies. RAT tends to use outside consultants, who may know little or nothing about the work-environment of participants. ART tends to use working- parties within the organisation and, in the case of the Probation Service, is seeking to re-establish links with the client community and form networks within the wider community. Separate courses are run initially for blacks and whites and after 6 sets of training each the groups are reintegrated to work on equal opportunity within the organisation. It is felt that black and white people have different needs regarding an anti-racism course and first need to locate themselves within the organisation, explore potential relationships and be clear about working relationships. The final and most crucial distinction between RAT and ART is policy : with ART there is an organisational framework and support so that employees can practice the outcomes of their courses. It is for everyone, not just for lower and middle management. For example, there are black managers development courses and a course for senior and middle management on Managing an Anti-Riacist Organisation'. The facilitators used in the program are all black at this stage, partly because of the power relationship and blacks being seen as the 'underdog' (thus redressing the balance) and partly because white people didn't appear to have practical experience—they had a theoretical background of anti-racism training, but not enough insight. Finally, unlike many RAT courses, confidential evaluations are done at the end of each training day, as well as follow-up evaluation in the workplace.

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Approaches are being made to an academic institution to see if staff there are interested in helping to design a longitudinal evaluation of ART.

Sandwell ILT staff interviewed at Warley College of Technology didn't do RAT either. It was not perceived as the best strategy for combating racism. What they do is equal opportunities training, although some racism awareness training comes into it. As one of the staff said : 'we don't like RAT and don't think it works. We are not in the business of making 'better' individuals. We are in the business of getting an organisation to look at its practices in terms of discrimination and getting them to change those practices and behaviour to anti-discrimination at work. We are not concerned with their at-home approach to RAT.' It was felt that the link between attitude and behaviour is not direct. Therefore it is preferable to concentrate on public behaviour rather than attitude-change. Their courses focus on structural racism and provide opportunities for participants to practice anti-racism action strategies in the training room, in order for anti-racism to be practiced in the workplace. Role-play and simulation exercises are used and the practicing of skills that people say they need. Staff considered that the general pattern in ILT was a move away from RAT toward either anti-racism or equal opportunities training.

Whenever the Warley College Unit is called in, they tailor a course to fit the perceived needs of participants in that particular work-place. They run specific equal opportunity courses (usually 3 days) for organisations that may have a policy statement, but haven't yet implemented it. As for strategy, trainers go in with the presumption that everyone is in favour of equal opportunity, whereas in RAT they had always assumed the reverse. Trainers give clients the tools they need : knowledge of relevant law, what discrimination is, examination of policy statements, and making action point before the course commences. Because trainers presume that people are in favour of equal opportunity, it is possible to be quite factual, whereas with RAT information is kept at a minimum and everyone focussed on feelings. Facts were not seen to be influential in changing racist attitudes and

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behaviour. As one staff member put it : 'We're gone back to sound teaching principles. If you encourage people and view them positively, you get more out of them.' The trainers always follow-up participants in the work-place. All groups have a list of action points and procedures, they are going to practice. So people are asked how their action plan has been implemented. The visit also acts as a stimulus if people have been sidetracked and there are opportunities to talk about problems and alternative action strategies. Of the three staff in the unit, there is 1 white female, 1 black female and 1 white male. It was desirable to have a black and a white trainer, but not always possible. Staff felt that it was important that courses go on and that it was dangerous to say that only blacks can do it. Equal opportunity and anti-racism should be the concern of all. Furthermore, it was perceived that race-relations positions, funded by Section 11 of the Education Act, were predominately occupied by blacks. Such positions were outside mainstream funding and were often low down in an organisation. Such positions could be 'marginalised or tokenised.'

There were many similarities in the approaches taken by the Warley College Unit and the West Midlands Probation Service. Although the main issue is race for both groups, the equal opportunity emphasis at Warley means that issues such as classism, sexism and disability are also considered. It was felt that people on courses do not sectionalise when they consider prejudice and discrimination—it makes an artificial divisions not to consider related issues. Both groups focus on structural racism and anti-racism strategies in the context of the workplace; on the importance of facts and information as well as feelings; and emphasise an open, questioning partnership between trainer and trainees. After having been on a RAT course, one staff member commented that you can't criticise the methodology or approach, because they won't let you divorce the black trainers from their behaviour or teaching style : if you disagree you are racist. There was no debate, no dialectic. To give RAT to people who haven't volunteered is immoral !

At Walsall ILT, staff have rejected the approach, with its

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emphasis on the individual pathology of racism, as counter-productive. The approach now taken is a social psychological one, with emphasis on an analysis of historical and contemporary racism. Staff here co-operate strongly with Dudley and Coventry ILT Centres and felt that it didn't matter who did the training as long as there was a black perspective. As with Dudley and Coventry, Walsall ILT use RAT and ART interchangeably. Like those institutions, the Walsall unit emphasises that attitudes must be changed first and behavioural change second. It was believed that behaviour can be best changed by legislation. Courses at Walsall emphasise groupwork and group psychology. There is no fixed approach because courses are flexibly designed to meet the needs of the client group. The facilitator first visits the client to determine what the issues are. These are then formalised for discussion and skills and strategies developed. Training is at all level. The unit aims for top management first, to get their commitment. They aim to affect the gate-keepers. There is a strong commitment to a contract between facilitator and participant. A two or three day course is the norm and each course is evaluated in terms of course effectiveness. Three months later there is a follow-up session. However, the precise nature and intent of the evaluations was unclear except that they were concerned with attitude-change. Usually a course starts by focussing on the individual and then moves to the institutional and structural aspects of racism. Thus the courses appear to be an amalgam of RAT and ART.

Related issues like classism, sexism and so forth were seen to be red herrings and not discussed. The issue was racism. RAT was thought to have a future, involving an equal opportunity policy. Multicultural centres in all authorities were deemed to be 'old hat'. If you don't have equality, multiculturalism won't survive. Multiculturalism helps the status quo. It doesn't address issues like equality or systemic barriers and exclusions. Unless these barriers are removed nothing can be achieved. Anti-racism is a more honest approach.

At Birmingham ILT the approach adopted was very much structurally based and saw racism as an institutional

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practice. The view expressed here was that RAT, as it stood, reduced racism to prejudicial attitudes resulting in discriminatory behaviour; it saw institutions as homogenous and monolithic and unchangeable; it failed to link 'the personal' with the structural/institutional and, as a consequence, was involved in 'guilt tripping.' It was felt that racism should not be presonalised in this fashion. It was also felt that an alternative to the black group was required in the ILT organisation which presumably would adopt a structural approach to the question of racism. RAT lacks the factual side was what one trainer remarked.

The Wolverhampton training team with its multi-level approach to tackling the question of racism was one of the most sophisticated and systematic orientations which we encountered. They serviced both the private and public sector, and were prepared to deliver training at an equal opportunity, a racism awareness level, an anti-racism level or a cross cultural/racial communications level, in addition to other forms of training. Their team consisted of one Asian male, one white female and one Afro-Caribbean female. They emphasised that if this type of training was to be effective in the long run, it had to start at the top and work down—commitment was needed from the top. They stressed that participants who were on their courses were invited, as part of the course, to write up action points and produce checklists from their evaluations of the workshops and these would be used to change policy. A typical programme, we were told, looked at policy and the operational structure in relation to black minorities, ultimately pinpointing what were the key barriers stopping individuals from black minority communities from getting jobs. This particular team focussed on behavioural rather than attitudinal change.

At Birmingham Multicultural Support Unit we were introduced to one of the first movements in the city set up to tackle the question of racism awareness—BRATG (Birmingham Racism Awareness Training Group). During the early 1980s the member of staff we spoke to, informed us that he had been involved in this group along with three or four other committed individuals whose backgrounds ranged from education to youth and community work.

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This group saw its first task as being to involve black people in short courses. They brought in RAPU (The Racism Awareness Programme Unit), a London based group specially dealing in racism awareness training to run the courses. This strategy, however, had an unhappy outcome with many difficulties, chiefly due to the reluctance of the RAPU staff to introduce or even allow a training perspective. Such a course of action was seen as avoiding the question of racism. Control was then taken over by black members of BRATG. However, because of other commitments there was insufficient time to pursue the training initiative, even though an attempt was made to form an apprenticeship system. Unfortunately there were only three or four people who had the skills required to be involved in this sort of work and BRATG finally disbanded.

The member of staff we spoke to felt that there were a number of reasons which might explain the lack of support for this type of training. One such reason, he believed, could be attributable to the absence of confidence placed in the training by potential funding agencies. Over a period of time those involved in funding had seen it being discredited. Another possible reason, he felt, was the influence of the tabloid press generally discrediting the training. He cited the Anti-Antiracist approach of the Daily Mail as a case in point. A final reason which he felt might explain the absence of support was the reluctance of the present Labour City Council to support the previous conservative council's bi-partisan approach to multicultural training and RAT.

We were told by this member of staff that training had to take place on an in-service basis for the teaching profession and should be part of the overall training programme. We were further told that a training package had been devised at the support unit for racism awareness. It was felt that pre-reading was required for the course offered (you could not or should not go into this type of training 'cold') and though it raised strong feelings, there was plenty of positive feedback from participants. It was, however, pointed out to us that such training could be misused. Our attention was drawn to a recent

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case in point where school children had been exposed to RAT.[4] On the question of the contents of the training package, the view expressed to us was that RAT needed to be a compromise between cognition and affect -knowledge does not in itself change things. There needed to be an experiential element. We were told that the training programme used at the unit was not based on the 'white awareness' approach and that the Katz book was not normally used. At a work level our attention was also drawn to the polarisation between Anti-racism and Multiculturalism by this member of staff. He firmly believed that the Anti-racist struggle should be a vital part of the movement towards multiculturalism.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence from this paper can be summarised in terms of a number of salient or key points surrounding the types of training encountered during the course of our investigations. These are as follows :

1. A general shift away from Racism Awareness Training in favour of Anti-racism Training. There seemed to be a number of explanations which might explain this trend. For some practitioners it seemed like a suitable means of side stepping the criticisms levelled against RAT, for others it was a genuine progression in a continuing battle against racism in whichever form it manifested itself.
2. A general shift in emphasis from individual to institutional racism. This seemed in line with the trend towards Anti-racism Training and an increase in awareness of the underlying structural or institutional forms of racism and the part to be played by the individual in changing such structures or institutions.
3. A significant absence of rigorous short term and/or long term evaluation of training, even of an in-house variety. Apart from one or two in-house discussion papers and a potential invitation from one contributor to carry out a longitudinal evaluation of an in-house ART programme

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there was little in the way of systematic or sustained evaluation evident.

4. Some awareness that guilt was an unhealthy motivator of change—'Guilt Cripples'. Although some of those interviewed were prepared, if necessary, to allow people to undergo a process of 'checking-out' and, confessing their racism, others felt this strategy was unacceptable in moral terms, and ineffective from a training perspective in any case.
5. Little acknowledgment of related concepts such as gender or class. Not only does RAT seem to ignore the heterogeneity of whites on a personal, socio-economic and cultural level, it seems to give little or no thought as to how the concept of racism affects (and in turn is affected by concepts as sexism and classism.
6. The general area of Racism Awareness Training was divisive—between those who were ideologues and those who were pragmatists. The opinion expressed by some of those we spoke to seemed to point to a very different interpretation of the beginnings of RAT. While some felt it had emerged from a strong ideological commitment and continued to be sustained by it, at least one other individual we interviewed felt it had not emerged from any particular ideology but from a set of pragmatic circumstances, a strong commitment to equal opportunity, and an attempt to recruit more ethnic minority staff.
7. Absence of a strong theoretical perspective on RAT. At least one other author (Gurnah, 1984) has pointed to the weak theoretical foundations of RAT. Our investigations tended to support his view. In one particular case where we interviewed an individual they seemed to be quite unaware that some of the material used in their training procedures was Katzian in origin.
8. The history of RAT, particularly within the ILT has evolved in many different directions. One of the indirect objectives of this report has been to detail the history of training initiatives within the Industrial Language Training

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Organisation in the West Midlands. In so doing it has drawn attention to the variety of approaches adopted which have on occasion differed in terms of technique, tone and emphasis. Some have pursued a path which has strongly emphasised the experiential aspect within RAT; others have felt their work fell more suitably under the label of anti-racism training, and others still, have preferred to call their work equal opportunity training.

9. RAT seen as an industry and a location for black employment. During the course of our investigations several individuals to whom we spoke drew attention to the commercial nature of RAT and to what they thought were the unacceptable sums of money that passed hands under the name of this training. It was clear that for some black trainers RAT presented itself as an effective means of career enhancement. On a less commercial basis, however, and particularly within the ILT organisation, the view was also advanced that this type of training, and those involved in it, was the result of a genuine attempt to implement a policy of equal opportunity and recruit more ethnic minority staff into the process of training.

10. An unnecessary polarization between anti-racism and multiculturalism-the muddled objectives of multiculturalism may have contributed to this split. In several of our interviews individuals drew attention to a possible polarization between the objectives of multiculturalism and the aims of the anti-racist movement. One interviewee felt that multiculturalism, as it stood, was 'old hat' and lacked equality of opportunity; anti-racism was the way forward. However, perhaps the most constructive comment came from another individual who deplored this supposed polarization and argued that anti- racism should be an essential part of any multicultural policy. In concluding this investigation it is worth repeating what Milner (1984) has written on the subject of RAT. He argues that any approach must stress the individual as well as the institutional or structural

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features of racism. While the root causes of racism are not, he stresses, in themselves individual and psychological, the sustenance and the practice of racism often is. However, this is not to say that individuals should be seen as 'atomised particles' whose consciousness is irrelevant to and independent of the functioning of institutions, for :

> 'Somewhere in between that individual level of analysis and institutional level, decisions (influence) people within them and they (have) influence within institutions.'

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7
MIGRATION OF BLACK AND ASIAN PEOPLE INTO BRITAIN

THE 'PUSH/PULL' FACTORS MODEL

The post-Second World War migration of people to the UK for work is often discussed in terms of economic advantages and disadvantages for 'receiving societies' and 'sending societies.' These advantages and disadvantages have been categorised as 'push pull' factors which are outlined in the lists below.

Push Factors from the 'Sending Society' :

- No job prospect
- Economic depression
- High unemployment
- Unable to find work that matches skills/qualifications
- Sent by company
- Homelessness
- A stateless person
- Crop failure—starvation or famines

Pull Factors for the 'Receiving Society' :

- Higher salary paid for skills
- Recruited by employer in country of settlement
- Passage paid for by government in country of settlement
- Relative who had already migrated found a job for a family member
- Opportunity to train for a higher skill/better qualification than in own country
- Identification with 'mother country' or metropole.

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- Came to fight in war and stayed because job prospects were better than back home
- Came as a refugee
- Sponsored by organisation/individual in country of settlement

These lists lie at the two extremes of forced and free migration. There is in the middle a large grey area where it is not always possible to know clearly what are the reasons for individual or group migration. Nor is it easy to assess with the limitations of this study the advantages and disadvantages that are said to accrue for the 'sending societies', the 'receiving societies' or for individual people themselves. The rest of this paper will analyse the classic 'push pull' theory of migration and test it out in the light of other conditions which were operative in immediate post-war Britain, a time there was a very large migration of workers from Europe and 'the Colonies and New Commonwealth.'

AN ANALYSIS OF 'PUSH/PULL' THEORY

This section will first describe the phenomenon of migration of workers to the UK from the mid-1940's onwards. It will then look specifically at some of the groups of people involved and the societies they came from to see if the 'push pull' concept can be applied consistently.

Between 1946 and 1951 about 450,000 people from Eastern Europe entered Britain. This entry, according to traditional theory of international migration of people, is generally regarded as a process in which there is a balance between 'push' factors such as starvation, unemployment or lack of development, and 'pull' factors such as industrialisation and economic growth. The principles of the 'push pull' theory state that it is economic conditions and circumstances in the country of origin (sending society) of the potential migrants and good economic prospects in the proposed country of settlement (receiving society) which cause migration. This theory does not allow for the assessment an individual may make of the situation before leaving one country to go and work in another. Nor does it account for other qualitative factors.

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At the end of the Second World War, British manufacturing and service industries began to grow rapidly as the economy expanded. Despite the heavy recruitment of Irish labour during and after the war many industries suffered acute labour shortages e.g. textiles, brick making, iron and steel. This shortage also threatened secondary industries like building construction, clothing and engineering. A government white paper outlined this in 1947. This situation provided opportunities for potential migrant workers although the jobs available were at the lower end of the labour market.

By 1947 the British government had established a scheme called European Volunteer Workers to encourage refugees from the new communist regimes of East European countries to come and work in the UK. The economic 'pull' factor was Britain's labour shortage but there was no corresponding economic 'push' factor in terms of poverty and starvation. East European refugee workers were victims of political, social and military factors.

The next section of this paper looks at some specific instances of settlement in the UK by overseas workers. The number of people entering Britain from the 'Colonies and New Commonwealth' never reached the scale of immigration from Eastern Europe (450,000) and Ireland.[1] Between 1948 and 1961, 130,000 came from islands of the West Indies; 8,500 people came from India and Pakistan each year during the 1950's. There was a dramatic increase in the early 1960's mainly between January 1961 and June 1962 as it became clear that a restrictive 'Commonwealth Immigrants Bill' would be passed through the British parliament.[2]

The town of Bedford is an interesting case study. After the Second World War its industries suffered from a severe labour shortage which was partially filled by workers from Eastern Europe. In the early 50's workers from Southern Italy were also actively recruited to work there. A recruitment office was opened in Naples in 1951 after negotiation between the British and Italian Ministries of Labour. At this time southern Italy was suffering severe unemployment and people were prepared to emigrate to other parts of the world where there was a better economic future i.e. there were strong 'pull' factors. These pull

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factors did not operate until the active British recruitment campaign was underway, which was instigated by the Bedford Brick Company.

Most Italian workers who came to Bedford came from four villages around Busso. At first only a few male workers moved to Britain and it was not until they encouraged and sent for their close friends and relatives that the real movement of workers to Britain began. Although there was plenty of work on offer in Bedford (a big economic 'pull'), it needed direct personal encouragement to get people to move in any large numbers. This movement of workers from Busso to Bedford exemplifies the phenomenon of chain migration whereby family and friends follow the early migrants to their original destination, often over a period of some years.

Bedford also had a significant number of Sikh workers who originally came from the Punjab in India to work in the town in jobs created by the post-war boom. Traditionally Sikhs have always been highly mobile and adventurous. They have a long history of moving to and settling in North America, Australia, the Far East and Africa. Due to their long military tradition they formed a large portion of the British Indian Army and travelled to many parts of the world. After independence and partition the Punjab faced severe economic and human resource pressures but these did not act as 'push' factors for the Sikhs who came to Britain. It had long been the case with Sikhs that, whether they were artisans or landowners, they would seize any opportunity to go away to those parts of the world which were economically prosperous, earn money and come back to improve their farms, home and homes working conditions. They were always alert to and responded to economic 'pull' factors. Pioneer Sikhs only sent for friends and relatives as they felt economic conditions were really favourable to them.

Sikhs coming to the UK for work did not encourage their friends and relatives until the mid 1950's when they could see the scope for better economic prospects. 'Pull' factors also played a role in encouraging Sikhs to migrate and settle in Britain. It would be a misinterpretation of their cultural traditions to say that they were influenced by 'push' factors

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alone. It is important to point out that people in the Punjab who were generally poorer than the Sikhs did not emigrate from the Punjab in large numbers. The Sikhs had a very clear advantage over many others because many of them had experience of working with the British. It was not such a strange cultural transition for them to move to the UK. India was in the British Commonwealth and had free entry to Britain and in theory had access to equal rights.[3]

Between January 1961 and June 1982 a very large influx of Sikhs and other New Commonwealth Citizens to Britain took place. This influx had nothing to do with push or pull factors. It was due to the proposed Commonwealth Immigrants Bill which was eventually passed in 1962. The Bill was passed in an atmosphere of fear that the whole population of Britain's Colonial and New Commonwealth Citizens would crowd into Britain unless some legal restrictions were enforced. This assumption ignored the influence of the demand for labour on migration to Britain and confused the potential supply of labour with the actual supply. 'It is ironic that the large increase in the movement was due to the fear of immigration control while the government adduced the need for control from the same large increase.'[4] It is interesting to note that the Sikhs who came during the 18 months before the 1962 Act belonged to relatively better off families who normally would not have emigrated. The Punjab government may have used it as an opportunity to encourage relatively educated political 'activists' to go abroad.

To return to the case study of Bedford. There was also a growing Afro-Caribbean community there in the early 1950's when people came directly from a wide cross section of islands on the east side of the Caribbean. However, most of the community originally came from the island of Jamaica. People from the Caribbean also had a long tradition of travelling far and wide and settling in different parts of the world. A large majority of Bedford's Afro-Caribbean community had been encouraged to emigrate by friends and relatives already settled there sending back reports of good opportunities in Britain for young men with intelligence and ambition. They came with high hopes for a better future. Another stimulus came from

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press reports about labour shortages in Britain and also from labour recruitment efforts by London Transport and other organisations. Commonwealth Citizenship status gave them free entry to Britain.

It can be argued that 'pull' factors mainly regulated people's movement from the Caribbean to Britain for work during the 1950's. By contest, Lawrence conducted a survey of Jumaican workers in Britain and from this argued that 'the main factors bringing about Jamaican migration was the state of the Jamaican economy itself' i.e. 'push' factors were the main stimulant for migration. He also added that Britain was the only country they could readily come to. The reliability of this survey has been questioned because the size of the sample was very small and the interviews conducted in an unscientific way.

This analysis of workers coming from Eastern Europe, Italy, the Punjab in India and Jamacia has shown that the strongest stimulus to move came from the 'pull' brought about by the prevailing economic conditions in Britain from the mid 1940's the early 60's. These economic conditions on their own would not have 'pulled' had not British employers gone overseas to actively recruit workers. It also required the small number of pioneer workers to encourage others to come once they had been successful. Here modern communication systems played a strong role. There were also non-economic factors such as political conditions and long cultural traditions of people adventurously seeking work elsewhere in the world. As well as the previous push and pull of slavery which had imposed capitatisive and industrial psychology upon traditional societies whether they asked for it or not.

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8
ON THE 'CULTURAL BAGGAGE' OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

This paper challenges a popular view in British society that Afro-Caribbean and Asian people in the UK cling to their culture and refuse to adapt to 'The British Way of Life'. This view shows no understanding of the true concept of culture. The paper also examines the meaning of the term 'culture' in its broadest possible sense. However it concentrates far more on what it means to see culture as a dynamic response to circumstances in which people find themselves. The term 'dynamic response' can be used in different ways but here the central insight is that members of Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities react to the way they are treated by the white, powerful majority. It is not always possible to conduct an argument like this by giving objective facts and so this paper contains examples of personal views and experiences which are, in the main, anonymous.

The first section of this chapter looks at the basis of white popular perceptions of Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures in Britain and their socio-political significance. Next it goes on to review various definitions of culture and produces a suitable working definition which is relevant to the evolution of Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures in the British context. It then examines how these very diverse cultures have begun to assert their politico-cultural identities which have been shaped by their response to conditions in Britain.

The majority of white people in Britain have a very negative view of the cultures of its Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities. Typical stereotypes of Afro-Caribbean communities are : 'lazy, layabouts, criminals who live off the

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state, fun loving, drug addicts, don't dress in a civilised way, rough, rude, violent, create 'no-go' areas, don't fit into our society, don't have a family life.' Typical stereotypes of Asian communities are : 'smell of curry, have very large families, live in overcrowded houses, houses are dirty, poorly decorated and painted in bright colours, can't speak English, won't mix, live in their own world, they are a burden on the welfare state, have outdated customs and traditions, restrict their children, have forced arranged marriages, wear strange clothes, Sikhs are alright—fought in the army.'

Stereotypes like these have been well documented in many publications and television documentaries.[1] Many White people when they see a black person or group of black people start to conjure up negative stereotypical images in their mind. When a white person becomes familiar with an Afro-Caribbean or Asian person he/she will often make a statement like...'You are alright, you are like us, it is the others who.....' This is very insulting and goes to show that even personal contact does not necessarily counter the stereotypes. There is a long history to White British perceptions of Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures. There is evidence that some stereotypes date back to Roman Britain and they were certainly around in Elizabethan times as Shakespeare's plays bear witness.[2] The real impetus for stereotyping black cultures and people came when Britain began to expand as a colonial and imperial power from the 17th century onwards and needed to justify the notorious slave trade because of its enormous economic advantages. The present 20th century 'exploitative' international 'order' and economic structure still attempts to ensure that this status quo is maintained in the thought processes of white people. These negative stereotypes have been written into literary, historical, philosophical and political documents by the dominant white elite and their allies who have had vested social and economic interest in exploiting human relations. The 1810 edition of The Encyclopaedia Britannica writes the definition of a Negro as subhuman by using adjectives like 'intemperate, tinctured with the veins of darkness, pathogenic'.[3-4] Rudyard Kipling's poem The White

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Man's Burden' in 1899 captured the feelings of the time of the imperialists' concern for the 'new-caught sullen peoples, half devil and half-child.' These are illustrations of how white perceptions were formed and informed, often subconsciously. This generated and still, an attitude of generates a superior the against which black cultures which are judged as inferior.

In Britain, Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures are often seen as quite homogeneous. Statements like 'Asians have high culture and Afro-Caribbean don't, illustrate a very limited understanding of culture by the white majority. This view does not consider at all the way in which black minority ethnic cultures have shaped the 'significant behaviour' of Afro-Caribbean and Asian people in Britain to the hostile situations they have encountered during their lives here.

There is a view that culture is about 'people's way of life'; 'their behaviour, mannerisms, eating habits, religion, language.' Although these are part of a culture, it is a very limited and negative perception, often based on prejudice. Culture is not static nor is it a blanket that can be removed at will. Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures in Britain are tremendously diverse with a rich past and contempring history.[2] They are constantly evolving in response to fresh stimuli and have encouraged individuals and groups to assert their identity and proclaim their existence. Over the last 30 years Afro-Caribbean and Asian people's attitudes have been transformed in terms of their socio-political significance which is symbolised in their behaviour. An understanding of culture has to involve a thorough appreciation of the subtle process of behaviour and attitudinal transformation by Afro-Caribbean and Asian people in Britain which has led to them actively asserting pride in all aspects of their culture. Any worthwhile definition of culture has to take this dynamic into account.

Now to look at some definitions of culture. In a popular book published by the Open University, culture,

> 'refers to a whole spectrum of experiences, modes of thinking, feeling and behaving and the values, norms, customs and traditions of a social group which give it its separate identity. It is important too to see culture

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as the embodiment, the chronicle of a group history. Since the backgrounds of different sections of society differ in most important ways, their cultures are correspondingly different. Histories are also inextricably linked with material conditions of society, modes of production and cultural institutions.'

In 1971 Taylor defined culture generally as

'That complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by members of a social group.'

The conscious projection of such a social group of their shared self-image and sense of personal worth shapes a significant social reality. In 1952 Kroeber and Kluckhohn reviewed some 164 definitions of culture and concluded:

'Culture is a product; is historical; includes ideas and values; is selective; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behaviour and the product of behaviour.'

This last definition describes accurately what is happening within Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures in Britain. They are responding to conditions in Britain at conscious and subconscious levels. The feelings generated lead to organisation and social action. Here culture is a dynamic force and not 'some kind of baggage'.

Neither Afro-Caribbean or Asian people who have settled in Britain have homogeneous cultures. At any given time a social group will inherit cultural institutions and traditions but unlike a passive recipient, the group will select, modify and develop them within the context of its current economic position. An excellent example of this kind of cultural evolution is found in the Caribbean where black slaves, forcefully uprooted from Africa by white Europeans, adapted and developed a huge, rich variety of cultures. This continued when people left the Caribbean islands to come to work and settle in Britain.

Asian communities in the UK are also culturally diverse.

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Most of the people who settled in Britain after the World War II came from rural, agricultural background and generally had a similar social and economic history. Although this is a common factor attitudes and approaches to life vary a great deal. Asian minority groups in Britain are highly conscious of their own cultural identity. This was not crushed by colonial rule in the subcontinent where the relationship between ruler and ruled was a distant one for most people there. At this time people were culture conscious not colour conscious. However, young people born in Britain of Asian parents are becoming colour conscious too. Because anybody in Britain who is not white is considered black and subject to racial discrimination and harassment.[1]

Cultural resistance has been an important feature of South Asian people's history and produced numerous reformist movements. This is happening again in Britain. For example the British Sikh community campaigned for 25 years in Britain against discriminatory practices in public and private institutions. The House of Lords ruling in the early 1980's in relation to the 'Turban issue' concluded an historical era for Sikhs in Britain. Similarly Muslims, Hindus, and other cultural groups have also asserted their identities and mobilised social support to seek concessions from institutions. One example is education where issues such as: mother tongue teaching, religious values and the inappropriacy of the school curriculum, have been fiercely debated with teachers and education officers.

Ever since the 1950's when people from the Caribbean and South Asia began to arrive in Britain in substantial numbers to work, they heve been subjected to intake racism at personal and institutional levels. They constantly suffered racial discrimination and disadvantage in housing, employment, health and education. They faced violent racial attacks from 1948 onwards. The media sensationalised these issues and portrayed black people as problems. Politicians like Peter Griffiths, Tory MP for Smethwick in 1964, and the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, displayed their prejudices with great authority and referred to black people as 'immigrants'

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and 'aliens with an alien culture' and as a threat to 'white nationalism' in Britain. There was also hostility from white working class people and Trade Unionists. Various governments responded by passing a series of immigration laws which specifically restricted the freedom of people from the Caribbean and Southern Asia to enter Britain. Actions like these give only one message to black people in Britain and that is that they are unwanted now that they had fulfilled their function as immigrant labour.[5] In these circumstances there is no way out under such pressure but for black people to respond by asserting themselves in numerous ways to counteract all forms of racism. Cultural patterns determine what kind form this resistance has taken and continues to take.

The seeds of cultural resistance clearly blossmed in the late 1960's and 1970's. To gain emotional security Afro-Caribbean and Asian people began to link themselves with their past. Cultural symbols and community action helped them construct a familiar environment which gave psychological support. The white majority had re-created Afro-Caribbean and Asian colonies in Britain and regarded them as inferior. Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures were forced to assert themselves and demand that the white dominated social structure began to recognise Britain as a multi-racial country.

Afro-Caribbean cultural nationalism is growing. Through dress, beliefs, philosophy, music, poetry, attitudes, cultural consciousness is radicalising itself, especially amongst young people. As South Africa has become one of the model centres of resistance to white oppression so pride has been reinforced in African ancestry and culture. This represents a revolutionary transformation in attitudes and behaviour for Afro-Caribbean people, many of whom relate directly to their whole cultural history which dates back to the days when they were abducted from Africa and then centuries later were encouraged to come and work in 20th century Britain. There is also a strong identification with the American Civil Rights Movement and African Nationalism which in turn influence cultural behaviour. These days white people may ridicule a 'Rasta look' but

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Rastafarianism is a symbol of liberation and cultural resurgence in Britain. This resurgence may well have been reflected in the anger which featured in the uprisings of the early 1980's (Chris Mullard).

Asian people have also resorted to asserting their existence through the reinforcement of their cultural identities in Britain. They too made social and politically significant moves. The Indian Workers Associations are an example of asserting Asian workers' rights in industry. The IWA, supported by Sikh religious institutions, pressured the Trade Union Movement to change its behaviour (if not its attitudes) to Asian workers. It is interesting to note how the IWA linked their 'struggles' to India's freedom movement. Since the IWA was considerably influenced by Sikhs they linked its role to their traditional cultural resistance which goes way back to the founders of the Sikh religion who in their turn resisted the Mughal suppression of Indian cultures. This complex process demonstrates how Asian cultural groups in Britain link their present plight with historical events and draw strength and knowledge from their successes and failures in the past.

Asian people have also displayed cultural dynamism through self-help, community support, and family encouragement especially in business and professional life. These developments cannot be seen in isolation from their cultural traditions. Despite various pressures, Afro-Caribbean and Asian people in Britain have refused to accept lower status for themselves, though a real breakthrough is still to happen. Young people have an acute awareness of racism and its effects. Young people are forming cultural societies in Universities and Colleges; conferences are being organised by the Sikh Students Federation e.g. at Nottingham University. These show cultural pride and self-assertiveness.

If Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures in Britain are seen 'as some kind of baggage' it obscures a real understanding of the cultural development that have taken place in Britain over the last 30 years. No account is taken of the Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultural revival in the British context which is a response to conditions people face. The 'baggage view' of

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culture fails to explain and give meaning to the appearance of a Rastafarian. Nor does it help to demonstrate that the Asian family system is a powerful and influential socialising agency. The 'baggage view' cannot convey the significance of the relationship between the Sikh scriptures and shop floor workers during an 'industrial struggle'. The 'baggage view' of culture is prejudiced, short-sighted and shows no understanding of what culture is and how it evolves, changes and maintains people's identity in a supportive, constructive way.

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SECTION II

PROMOTING RACIAL EQUALITY IN BRITAIN : POLICIES AND ACTION

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9

THE ROLE OF BLACK AND WHITE PRESSURE GROUPS IN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES AND POLICIES

This essay focuses on the role of pressure groups in bringing about change in educational policies and practices. In particular it looks at some of the initiatives taken by Black and Asian pressure groups in the pursuit of fairness, justice and racial equality in education and the limitations on their participation in education policy making.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

In the 1950s and 1960s the education system worked on the assumption that Black and Asian students were likely to do just as well in society as their white peers. The goal of education has been to assimilate them into the culture of their white contemporaries. In the 1970s this assumption was challenged from within and without educational system. That gave way to a limited recognition of the background of Asian and black minorities, but it still fell short of equality for all in educational provision. The system has not changed sufficiently to meet the needs, expectations and aspirations of the Asian and black population in Britain.

In the 1980s evidence from a school leaver's survey, which was carried out in six LEAs with a large Asian and black minority school showed that Afro-Caribbean children by every measure were far less successful in examinations than their white peers. Asian children achieved almost the same level as their white contemporaries, with the exception of English examinations. It is not that Asian children find provision

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unsatisfactory, it is just that they respond differently to educational conditions. This does not mean that the educational system cannot enable them to realize their full potential.

The rest of this section is devoted to case studies which describe very different perspectives and opinions on Black and White participation in educational policy making and implementation.

The first case study is about an Asian ex-student, who is now a lawyer and attended a local College in Sandwell in the early 1970s. They found lecturers' and career officers' attitudes quite discouraging and demotivating. Their expectations were low about what he might achieve. 'I always wanted to be a lawyer, I expressed this to my tutors and the careers officer who advised and counselled me. They discouraged me from going in my chosen direction. Had it not been for my parents encouraging and urging me on, I would probably not have persisted in my chosen course. Some of my other friends felt exactly the same way. I was an activist in the Student's Union. We were influential but we did not feel confident enough to challenge those attitudes towards us. I did not think at that time that local Asian and black communities could have helped in any way. I now feel some sort of pressure from them could have been helpful and would have boosted our morale in the College. I still feel very strongly that Asian and black communities have little or no influence on the process of making education policies and practices. 'The key question is how far has the situation changed now after one and a half decades ? If some students from Asian and black communities are doing relatively well, it is because of their determination, hard work, will to do well, self-reliance and parental support.

Another case study is of a student who attended the same College in the early 1980s. He could be labelled an 'under-achiever'. He is now out of education, disillusioned and working for a community based project. He joined the same College which provided a second chance for education. He said, 'I did not feel particularly helped or inspired by the tutors. Some of them even used to pick on us, imposing unnecessary discipline while our white classmates got away with things. I was simply confused. 'Leaders' and organizations

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hardly knew what was happening in schools and colleges.'

The third case is from an interview with a Senior Community Relations Officer working in the area, who told me that local colleges were being re-organized. The changes were going to have implications for students and parents. White members of the community could feel relatively reassured that their interests would be automatically looked after by the council establishment and other parties interested in the re-organization of further education in Sandwell. There was no indication of how the interests of Asian and Black communities were being taken into account, and who was looking after them. He had not received any information about what was happening in Further Education locally. He said that his office was receiving a lot of complaints about employers behaviour towards Asian and black youngsters, in relation to Youth Training Schemes (YTS) placements.

He said there were other issues too. For example, Sandwell LEA has about one hundred staff on Section II funding. It was still being established where these staff were based and what services were being developed and provided. In Sandwell, he said there were no Asian and black career officers, no caretakers, and very few support staff, and no technicians or clerks. In 160 local schools, there were no Asian and black school meals staff. Moreover, there was little choice of meals for Asian and black pupils. Mother tongue teaching provision was inadequate and often non-existent. He said, 'We have a few long serving black teachers; they are working on almost the same grades as when they were appointed and hardly any have been promoted. Asian languages had not been given the status of modern languages, and nursery provision was still based on the white values. He went on to say that his organisation requested the authority to produce and distribute leaflets to inform Asian parents in relevant languages about their right to stand for school governing bodies. No-one came forward.'

Sandwell local authority adopted an equal opportunities policy in 1981, but the Education Officer was not sure how far local schools and colleges were practising it. However, a large proportion of White councillors were quite supportive of multi-racial education, and of implementing equal opportunities

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at all levels in the council. 'What is required is more pressure,' he said, 'on the local authority establishments for change. When community based organizations mobilize public pressure, things do move and some change does occur.' Pressure group politics can play a vital role in shifting an authority from a relatively status quo position.

PRESSURE GROUP POLITICS

The growth of pressure groups was a phenomenon of the 1960s in all areas of social policy. In education a smaller number of associations and a much larger number of local groups were formed. Pressure groups articulated demands that authorities in the political system should make allocations in their favour. Groups like these do not themselves seek to occupy a position of authority. (Kimber and Richardson 1974:2-3). The key characteristic of a pressure group is that it exists to make a demand on the political system. Literature on pressure groups often differentiates between sectional and promotional pressure groups. Sectional pressure groups aim to protect and advance the collective interests of their members. Thus in the context of this essay, we are interested in the role of pressure groups which operate to make demands on the educational system, to resolve the kind of problems and issues that were raised in the first part of this essay.

The function of pressure groups also extends to putting their views and arguments to professional and trade union bodies, and to officers of the local authority. In fact, an effective pressure group will try to influence all possible partners in the educational system. Many observers of educational policy making have seen pressure group politics as an essential part of the decision and policy making process, along with parliament, central and local government, teachers, administrators, centres of academic research work, student interest groups and the newer parent associations. (Kogan, 1975:74). In the main parents and community views have been represented through these special interest or pressure groups. They have rarely been militant, though there have been rows, for example over the 11 plus when there were demonstration

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in many localities. We can trace similar examples in the Asian and black communities. The most recent development has been in Bradford LEA, where the then headmaster Mr. Honeyford's attitude towards multi-racial education led to a community campaign concerning his behaviour. Asian and black parents mobilized significant pressure through public demonstrations and meetings.

On the whole, most pressure groups have been concerned primarily with pressing a particular point of view or some reform across the spectrum of educational policy-making. The common cause has been to represent parents' rights and that of the interested local community. Many educational pressure groups straddle the division between sectional and promotional activities because many teachers see themselves as parents, and vice versa. Most of the Teachers' Unions seek to protect and advance the interests of their members in respect of their salaries and conditions of service. They also work to secure the improvement of educational provision, the development of the educational system and the enlargement of educational opportunities. In Bradford LEA a large section of National Union of Teachers (NUT) members stood by Asian and black parents in their campaign for multi-racial education, and especially in their campaign for the removal of Mr. Honeyford.

Pressure groups became an essential feature of educational policy making, as the pace of change in education accelerated during the 1970s. The comprehensive education issue in particular, led to a proliferation of pressure groups, both for and against individual and LEA-wide comprehensive proposals (James 1980). These are examples of commonly based and professional pressure groups pursuing a single cause. In the case of the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (STOPP) the single aim espoused was the abolition of physical punishment in schools.

An assistant director of education from Sandwell LEA said in an interview that officers do feel the effect of pressure groups. He added that 'In the educational policy-making process, the pressure group phenomenon is very modern. In fact it did not exist in any significant form until the early 1960s. Until then chief officers used to have the last word on

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educational policies and practices. In fact politicians used to take their advice. Now the situation has changed radically. We have politicians telling chief officers what is to be done and the role of the chief officers is more or less to meet the wishes of the ruling local group.'

He added that in his experience 'white working class people left education with Labour councillors who, to an extent, took parents' campaigns, views and aspirations to the authority. This situation still remains'. He experienced white pressure groups operating from the 1960s onwards, demanding nursery and play group facilities along with other things. The key point here is that it has often been white working class liberal councillors, 'promoting' the interests of Asian and black parents in the educational system'. The officer further added that, 'while in the past, chief officers were important in education, now the committees are important.

Under the freedom of the Information Act, policies have to be discussed publicly. Information cannot be kept from the public. Ironically, Sandwell Council for Community Relations senior officer said he often did not have any information from the education department. For example, he heard nothing about the re-organization of the local colleges of further education. However, the officer interviewed acknowledged that black pressure groups in education are a recent phenomenon. 'Asian pressure groups have demanded mother-tongue teaching provision, the acknowledement of celebrations on festival days in schools, the provision of religious teaching and that library facilities should be extended to include Asian and black literature. We could be accused of being too slow in responding to these just demands. But local communities are fully justified and entitled to make demands as rate payers. We certainly feel the impact of local pressure groups.'

ASIAN AND BLACK PRESSURE GROUPS

In society today, each social group which provides pupils and students to schools and colleges strives to perpetuate its own concept of what it considers to be the most important values, meanings and knowledge not only as the contents of

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contemporary education, but also as the determinant of future decisions about education and leaning. Thus the contents of education, in both substance and criteria, not only form future substance, but also determine what is valued in society at large; even more importantly what cultural values will lead to economic well being and advancement. This can be used as a means of influence to gain access to power and resources in society. The question is how far are school and colleges taking full account of the values of Britain's black and Asian minorities. The contents and criteria of education by and large are based on middle class and to a significant extent racist values. Asian and black minority cultures and languages are devalued and undermined. The educational system prevents Asian and black students from developing mental resources, and from realizing their full potential. Their cultural dynamic is not tapped and positively channelled. This situation has implications for the social, economic and political needs of Asian and black minorities. Many black and Asian students feel insecure; they do not feel that the system helps them to become more assertive, confident and positive about their identity and background.

The policies of multi-cultural and multi-racial education have to be measured against the over-riding consideration of education in any society, which is to secure social cohesion. Clearly, society would fall apart if this were not the case. The education service is expected to prepare society to recognise that we are all alike, but that there is diversity based on gender, social class, religion, culture, educational achievement etc. Although there is infinite diversity, we are united in our humanity. There is an urgent and pressing need to agree on the philosophy, content, practice and implementation of multi-cultural and multi-racial education, which pre-supposes a pluralistic partnership with all groups. In a pluralist society, we demand to see pluralism in action, and the recognition of different levels of partnership within the education system. (Lynch 1984:12). A genuine pluralist educational policy would take full account of the needs, aspirations and expectations of black minorities. It would be based upon the effective contribution and participation of black and Asian groups, who

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would provide the criteria against which the development of multi-culturalism can be checked. Black minorities can only become partners in the educational system if they are listened to and enabled to work together with other partners, e.g. teachers, administrators, planners, policy makers, professional groups and other relevant bodies.

A significant development which emerged amongst Britain's black community, especially from the early 1970s onwards was the rise of a conscious anti-racism movement. It was manifested in education as an anti-racist and black assertive ideology. Many pressure groups formed by people with very diverse social backgrounds rose during the 1970s. In the early years of the 1970s, an organisation called Teachers Against Racism flourished briefly; it was followed by others such as All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism. In the 1980s, anti-racism made major political advances. It 'captured' LEA and other Labour controlled local authorities, and the rise of influential National Association of Multi-cultural Education encouraged it. (Jeffcoate 1984:143). Among black minorities cultural revivalism was on the increase, and minorities have used their cultural dynamic to assert themselves. Many groups had been helped by individual black professionals. Black groups are in the process of rediscovering their heritage, self-respect, values and their place in this society. Black minorities now tend to relate themselves to wider society and general political affairs by exerting pressure through their organizations which have risen from their respective ethnic identity. Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, young Rastas, church Rastas and the black Women's Movement, have developed alone with other groups with their origins in linguistic, historical or socio-cultural identity. These groups have become a new political force in education. To a degree, they are organised and they articulate demands on the educational system. These groups now also extend to East Asians, Africans and Arabs from the Middle East and have pressed for bilingual and multilingual education and curriculum adjustments. (Thomas 1983:216).

Afro-Caribbean parents resented their children being singled out for special attention on the basis of the assumption

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that they do not speak 'proper English'. Consultations with parents and community based pressure groups often resulted in new approaches being developed to address needs appropriately. But schools, colleges and other institutions were not geared to draw on the support and advice that parents and grassroot groups could give and, moreover, authorities did not actively seek proper participation in decision making from black minorities.

black parents and pressure groups began to complain from about the late sixties and early seventies that schools were not fair to their children. For example a group of Afro-Caribbean parents in Harringey in North London, protested and pressured the education authority to do away with a system of 'banding' which appeared to them to be placing black children in a second class position. Asian parents protested about the 'bussing' of their children to different parts of the borough, because they knew that their children who came from outside the area into these schools, were picked on and 'attacked' by White pupils. Afro-Caribbean people launched bitter protests about the larger number of black pupils who were being sent to Schools for the Educationally Subnormal (ESN). There is now a significant set of historical accounts about the activities of the black population on educational issues in Britain. They participated in education as outsiders, and black pressure groups were still not being seen as legitimate partners in education.

Lord Swann writes in a brief guide to the main issue of a report titled 'Education for All', 'The education of the Nation's children is a matter of profound importance, and the hopes and expectations of parents, children and minority communities are, or should be a crucial consideration in their own right.' There is not enough emphasis on involving black and Asian people at all levels to talk about their ideas and aspirations, and how they can influence policies. The argument used by black sections in the Labour Party can be applied generally, 'We believe that black people must be involved in the process of discussion and formulation of policies, so that we can advise, criticize and participate from the perspective of our disadvantage.' (*Guardian*, 18 January 1985). Policy

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implementation and practice will vary from place to place in response to local needs.

BLACK PRESSURE GROUPS AND MULTI-RACIAL EDUCATION

The concept of multi-cultural/racial education is a response to pressure from black and Asian communities and it has implications for policy making in the education system. Cultural pluralism implies that ethnic groups defined by a combination of religion, ethnicity or cultural values, strive to retain their distinctive cultural identity through some degree of institutional separatism. Barry (1980) stresses that the majority of individuals in all ethnic groups in the political state must value such a state of affairs before a society can be truly plural. The essence of pluralism is that the different ethnic and religious groups making up society have equal power, in terms of access to economic and political resources. Without such equality of power, ethnic and religious differentiation in society becomes a form of racialism, rather than pluralism. (Bagley, 1972).

That is why participation of black and Asian pressure groups must be on an equal footing with other actors in educational policy making. The fullest possible participation of minorities in political affairs should lead towards healthier social relations. This is the antithesis to assimilation. Pluralism is where integration maintains an individual's distinctive identity, and culture is linked to the general desire of society's members to maintain positive inter-cultural and social relationships. True integration and a pluralist education system have a crucial role in the process. It is when society's power brokers do not want to maintain positive relations with a group desiring a separate identity that separation occurs. When no separate identity is sought and the majority society is hostile to the minority group, then marginalisation is the result. In this context the role of minority pressure groups is crucial because it is through these groups that minorities can play a full and effective part in society where education is a key aspect.

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The major problem which remains is that community based black pressure groups do not enjoy the status of professional and trade union groups, which are normally an accepted part of the consultative mechanism. Non legitimized groups have a different role which is to challenge accepted authority and institutions, until policies are changed. Black pressure groups are further disadvantaged because of racial prejudice and structural barriers in society. These groups can operate to bring about a significant change in educational policies and practices.

Lord Swann said in his introduction to 'Education for All' observed,

> 'I believe that they (teachers) will get much encouragement and support from the minority communities....' Perhaps the real argument must be that black parents and their pressure groups or organizations are equal partners in education and they should be consulted and involved in all matters of educational policies and practices. He goes on to say, 'prejudice, it has been said, is the child of ignorance, and who are better than teachers to dispel such ignorance...'

However, ignorance exists in decision and policy making machinery too. Direct interaction between black groups and institutions can do a lot to eradicate it. A distant relationship only reinforces racial prejudices. Lord Swann adds, 'On one hand, society must not, through prejudice and discrimination, increase the social and economic deprivation of ethnic minority families. On the other hand, schools must respond with greater sensitivity, and without any trace of prejudice to the needs of ethnic minority children.'

The first requirement in the short term is a matter for the law, for government, housing authorities, employers, trade unions, CRE and may be others. The second requirement is specifically a matter for the education system. In this report there could have been greater emphasis on the role of black pressure groups which have been mobilizing public pressure for change in the educational system. It is likely that Lord

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Swann's committee work was a government response to those pressures.

DISADVANTAGES FACED BY ETHNIC PRESSURE GROUPS

The national steering committee of black sections in the Labour Party said : 'It is scandalous that there were no black and Asian MPs until recently for a party which derives one million votes, one eighth of its total support from black people. There is a similar situation in most local councils, where there are very few black and Asian Councillors and those who are there carry little or no influence in the system. Hardly any Asian or black Councillors are co-opted to influential council committees, with the exception of Race Relations and Equal Opportunities Committees. In the formal structure, Asians and black people have little or no representation. Informal or 'extra parliamentary' black groups are at best marginalized, and at worst ignored or cast as trouble makers. When black people try to influence the structure or assert their position, 'serious allegations' are made by people in meetings and the impression is created that black people are using unfair means to achieve their ends, and thereby doubts are cast on their political integrity.' (*Southall News*, 20 January 1986).

In Sandwell, for example, many leading members of the local black and Asian community organizations feel they hardly ever receive any information or get to know about what is happening in the educational system. Information regarding parental rights to stand for the elections as school governors is not readily available. Letters sent to homes were mainly in English and pupils/students translated them for relatives. A senior leader of the Sandwell Council for Community Relations (SCCR) said in an interview that he had no knowledge of the changes taking place in Education. He wondered how they (SCCR) could pass information to the community if they themselves are not informed. They have not seen any consultative document about changes in Education, and have not been invited to any meetings.

For many years Asian and black parents in Sandwell have

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been campaigning for mother-tongue teaching, religious education and acknowledgment of ethnic minority festivals in schools. Only recently has the broader question of anti-racist education started to be addressed. Anti-racist education can range from the introduction of a multi-racial curriculum in schools, to reviewing the overall approach to the teaching and participation of black people in decision-making at all levels in the LEA. The area of further education has been relatively untouched as far as the influence of black pressure groups is concerned. Parents and community groups focussed their attention in the main, on school education. An overwhelming proportion of Afro-Caribbean and Asian students born inside and outside the UK, use colleges of further education. Further education facilities are used by youths as well as adults to top up their school leaving credits. This they do to equip themselves with more skills to move onwards and upwards educationally. (James and Jaffcoate 1984:154). But the key questions are : how far do students feel inspired to realize their potential, and how far after Asian and black communities satisfied with the education provision ?

When the Department of Education and Science (DES) commissioned a survey of local authorities early in 1983 for Further Education Unit (FEU), none were able to send examples of colleges with policies covering issues of multi-racial education. Of the thirty-seven LEAs who then replied, fourteen had an authority policy with only three making any specific reference to Futher Education. By the end of 1984, over 20 college policies had been submitted and F.E. initiatives in at least 10 local authorities were also recorded. (FEU:1986). It was not known to Sandwell Council for Community Relations whether the local futher education colleges had developed their own E.O. policy and whether or not they were trying to implement it if they had one. Asian and black organizations affiliated to SCCR also formed pressure groups in the field of education. The reorganisation of further education is still to appear on the agenda. Black minorities attach great value to education as being a way forward in society.

One must be wary of expecting teachers and educationalists to put all social ills right, and we cannot

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discuss education in isolation from the overall socio-economic issues. Nevertheless, education is rightly seen in society as a key route to upward mobility and greater opportunities; academic qualifications are essential for success in the job market. Education is the basis of success in adult life. The education system has failed many black youngsters, partly because of the neglect and pervasive devaluation of the history and culture of Afro-Caribbean and Asian people. This has damaged the sense of identity and self-esteem of black children. Evidence shows that it is black children of Afro-Caribbean descent who suffer most from cultural devaluation, partly because their own parents were educated in colonial West Indian schools before Afro-Caribbean history and literature were widely introduced. Before the revolution in black consciousness in the United States, there was ambivalence about their African roots. The depth and time scale of that cultural repression to an extent-explains the strength and power of the Rastafarian movement among black youths, but their aspirations still have to be accommodated. There is a similar religious and cultural revivalism taking place in other communities including Sikhs and Muslims. These developments need to be introduced into the educational system.

INEQUALITIES, POLICIES AND BLACK MINORITIES

Organisations like local Community Relations Councils can play a crucial educational role in the black community by facilitating the transfer of information and strategies to black groups, so that they are more effective. Those who suffer from educational disadvantage some times need assistance in raising their voice. The social basis for educational reform is often narrowly comprised of professionals, committed parents and political activists. One of the reasons why egalitarian policies have achieved too little, too slowly, has been because there was little or no central direction and authority. Positive action has been for the most part abandoned to the goodwill of LEAs. The distribution of power in education is an essential

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condition of freedom in a democratic society, and the role of black pressure groups should be legitimised by staff, professionals and administrators developing direct consultative relationships with those groups. (Lodge and blackston 1982: 222/23). Somehow feelings, aspirations and expectations have to be filtered from 'grassroots'.

As Diane Abbott (*West Indian World*, 20 March 1985) observed:

> 'We have to see a second generation of black people, whom the education system has failed. It is frightening to think how many of our young black people cannot get any jobs at all, let alone a decent job. I believe that we can have these things, if we are prepared to fight. I have devoted my adult life to that struggle in one pressure group or another. I don't say it is easy, but I do believe that it is crucial. For too long, black people have been willing to hang around outside the political mainstream as clients reliant on White people to be nice to us and dole out and grants etc. Black people must penetrate into the system.'

THE POSITION OF PRESSURE GROUPS

In 'mainstream' politics pressure groups or special interest groups have long been a part of the educational scene. In many local authorities, local groups of parents e.g. the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education or the Parents Teachers Association may be asked for, or to present their views on issues. They are not always consulted regularly. Generally these groups are established to operate by joining in consultation exercises, presenting evidence, gathering and spreading information. The assumption here is that pressure groups are 'legitimate' and operate in an informed environment. This is not the case in so far as black groups are concerned. There are racial, cultural and linguistic barriers, and limits to the information available. Many Community Relation Councils have large numbers of black groups affiliated to them. They can provide a legitimate base for pressure groups to operate. Pressure groups pursue their campaigns and seek general

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publicity through national or local papers. They may write letters, present petitions or organise meetings with MPs, civil servants, councillors or education officers. There is more than sufficient evidence that issues of concern to black communities are at best ignored by the press, and at worst undermined, marginalized and trivialized. Not much work has been done towards informing black communities about the educational system, policies, framework, rights, rules and regulations.

A more common argument for black pressure groups' participation is that it is difficult for formal structures to get the right to issues of concern to black minorities. Formal systems do not allow grass-roots initiatives and innovation to flourish. The government needs to turn to organised groups for information and co-operation to carry out policies. Citizens need to articulate their own demands in more specific and effective ways. Political parties appeal to the majority of electors. Minorities are at a disadvantage because election manifestos contain menues. Pressure groups by contrast concentrate on specific issues. The activities of pressure groups and the dissemination of information about their role, can give psychological security to children and young adults especially. Students are often angry at the simplistic stereotypes that are described in text books, lessons or lectures. They want more attention given to land ownership, unfair trading patterns and the exploitation of labour in countries like India and the Caribbean. Images of mud huts and starvation give a false picture.

The participation of black communities in educational policy-making is only possible if either black political representatives operate at all levels in the political parties, and black pressure groups have a legitimate consultative role. One way might be that proposed by Poala Zion of the Labour Zionist Movement : special interest groups should be enabled to affiliate to political parties in the same way that the Co-operative and Socialists did when they were allocated one seat between them on the national executive of the Labour Party. They can affiliate at a local and regional level. May be this model could be adopted as an interim measure for black participation in politics. (*The Guardian*, 21 May 1985).

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At popular level, it is very important that black pressure groups have a proper, effective ideological role. As (Mullard 1980/81) argues that,

> 'racism is not only a permanent, structural, ideological and political feature of British society but is also a permanent feature of our educational system in general, and our schools—being primary agents of socialization in a culture of racism—have a crucial role in transmitting racist views and stereotypes to black and White alike.'

In this model, school is a demeaning experience for black and Asian children, and a confirming experience for white children.

CONCLUSIONS

The role of black pressure groups is vital in developing multi-racial education, but they cannot operate in a vacuum. They need maximum possible information from the LEAs and other relevant agencies. An effective communication network is essential to get over barriers of language, culture and race. The role of black pressure groups has to be seen as complementary and part of educational politics. Liaison between black and White pressure groups, trade unions, student unions and other relevant bodies is essential.

Pressure groups largely rely on voluntary efforts for survival and depend heavily on the enthusiasm and commitment of their members. It is important for them to be alert when the opportune moment arrives. Black pressure groups are disadvantaged because the media and political parties by and large ignore their positive work and trivialise their efforts. Then, their ultimate impact is little or nothing. Political parties marginalize these campaigns and the establishment makes only token gestures in response to their demands. Black pressure groups do not have the supportive social network that White groups have. Issues raised by White pressure groups are normally taken up by political parties as they cannot afford to ignore them. Black group activities are seen as odd and 'extra constitutional'.

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black pressure groups campaign on the basis of their subjective experience of racism. Asians and black people tend to be direct in their approach in making demands. Their arguments are dismissed as not being based on objective data or supported by 'facts'. Black pressure groups have fewer resources; they depend upon the support of 'legitimate' White pressure groups to have their points made. More often than not, they are not accepted in their own right. Nevertheless, black campaigns have been relatively successful in shifting LEAs from the status quo position.

Any long- term strategy designed to remove disadvantages for black people must undergo constant review, and black pressure groups will have an important role to play in this field. They can operate independently or in conjunction with Community Relation Councils. The process needs to be fortified against short-term failure by moral, political and social commitment if the goals of reducing inequality in education and implementing anti-racist education, are to be achieved. Black pressure groups can and have been taking a significant role in checking and balancing educational facilities for the Asian and black population. This process needs strengthening.

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10
THE ROLE OF INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATIONS IN PROMOTING RACIAL EQUALITY

In this essay I propose to evaluate the role of the Indian Workers Association as a 'national' movement/organization, which has been operating in the area of promoting racial equality in post-war Britain. I shall look at the rise of the Indian Workers Associations (IWA), as a mass movement of Indians consisting mainly of Sikhs, who arrived to work in Britain after the war and made their homes here. Secondly, I shall address the successes and failures of the IWA in promoting equality for Indians and by implication, for the whole black population in Britain. It would also focus on the decline of IWAs, its subsequent fragmentation and loss of credibility within the Indian community, especially within the Punjabi community

PUNJABI COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN

In Britain, the Punjabi community, which consist of mainly rural Sikhs, is about half a million strong. It appears to be the largest ethnic minority group in Britain, in terms of its area of origin, language, cultural and historical background. Most of the Punjabis arrived in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s. A vast majority took up jobs in hot, hard, heavy, dirty, smoky, and noisy sectors of Industry e.g. iron foundries, steel mills, rubber factories, motor car industry and so on. The jobs were labour intensive and mostly unskilled and semi-skilled, with no scope for further promotion, training or upward mobility. In the main, these were the jobs which indigenous white workers did not wish to take.[1]

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The Indian workers who came to Britain from the Punjab had been struggling to raise agricultural productivity. The same political dynamism among the Punjabis and particularly the Sikhs, continued to be concentrated in the Midlands' iron foundries.[2] The Punjabis have a healthy social history in terms of their struggles against colonialism and other forms of oppression in the Punjab and India. Most Punjabis were deeply inspired, encouraged and determined by the conscious and unconscious teachings of Sikhism on equality, freedom, liberty and justice at all levels of society.

In the British context, the immediate problem that they had to face was the rough and rude behaviour of their immediate bosses in industry—from the rank of supervisor to manager, and from shop steward to trade union officials. The attitude towards black workers was based on racial prejudice. Racism, overt as well as covert, blocked their progress in the workplace. Language and communication barriers further worsened their position in the industrial arena. The existence of racist practices on the part of management as well as trade unions, added to the frustration of the workers.[3]

These conditions made the Indian Workers the vanguard of the black struggle for better pay, conditions, and racial equality in the workplace. Indigenous workers did not accept that they shared a common class position and class interests with 'immigrant' workers. The basic fact of having the same relationship to the means of production is obscured by the local workers' marginal advantages with regards to material conditions and status. 'Immigrant' workers were not regarded as class comrades, but as alien intruders who posed an economic and social threat. It was feared that they would take any local labour and that they would be used by the employers to force down wages and break strikes.[4] This stereotyped racist image on the part of the white trade unionists and workers was not helpful to black workers in their struggle for equal opportunities. But it certainly lead more aware Indian workers to think about forming their own trade unions or black groups within the trade union movement.[5]

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THE RISE OF IWA

The earliest New Commonwealth immigrant political organisation was an Indian Workers Association founded in Coventry in 1938. Further associations with similar names were formed in other towns in the 1950s. In the 1960s the IWA became a national association by bringing together most of the town based branches of IWA associations. It became the major political association of Sikh-Punjabi Indians in Britain. It worked as a black consciousness movement in Britain. It helped Indians to preserve their sense of dignity and self-respect in an unsupportive environment in Britain.[6] While the IWA worked as a catalyst in the industrial arena to organise Punjabi workers into trade unions, it campaigned overtly against racist immigration and nationality laws. The IWA's anti-racist activities were only too well publicised, especially where racist bodies such as the National Front appeared to campaign against the black population of Britain.[7]

The most significant contribution of the IWA has been in the field of industry, where it campaigned in conjunction with the trade unions mainly TGWU for racial equality In the early 1960s, as the trade unions began to enter the 'new' iron foundries and to compete for membership, Indian workers began to join in growing numbers; a move which was previously discouraged by the 'establishment' of the trade unions. The IWA encouraged, supported, advised and guided Indian workers to join trade unions and maintained a liaison between the workers and the officers where necessary.

THE SUCCESSES

Contrary to the indigenous racist attitudes and stereotyped beliefs about Indian workers, the latter almost invariably showed solidarity with their indigenous colleagues, Who had 'broken' the racist barrier. Indian industrial actions centered on the issues of pay, conditions, discrimination and lack of opportunities during the latter half of the 1960s, culminating in the Commission on Industrial Relations Inquiry of 1969. The struggle against segregation and discriminatory practices which involved the displacement of the earlier 'middlemen',

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was fought out within the trade union context. More often than not, however, Indian industrial actions were unofficial, taking place without the knowledge and often against the wishes of their full time Union officers, but with the full knowledge and support of the IWA.[8]

Many of the early activities of the IWA and the Sikh Gurdwaras were connected with the eradication of corruption and the encouragement of Indian worker to take issues into their own hands and combat racism and racial prejudices through direct action, thereby eliminating the go betweens. This could be said to be the equivalent of the contemporary struggle for the recognition of black sections in the Labour Party. In both cases black workers are struggling to make their destiny.

In 1966, the IWA complained to the Race Relations Board over the alleged segregation of toilets and washing facilities in sections of the foundry industry. This was only one manifestation of its work which ranged from directly helping black workers to organise national campaigns against all manifestations of racism and racialism in Britain.

THE FAILURE OF IWA

The main failure of the IWA has been its failure to establish itself in the 'mainstream' of British politics. The IWA was so involved in the politics of India that this ultimately lead to its fragmentation and division, in line with politics there. Its leadership became too closely identified with the various factions of the Communist Party of India. It lost the support of most of the aware activists who associated with the IWA, as a mass body representing the common interests of all Indians (by implication of all black workers) in Britain, irrespective of their political, social, cultural, and other loyalties in relation to Indian politics.

Most of the more active 'leaders' of the IWA adopted a hard line with those who associated more with their revolutionary comrades in India and did not think there was any advantage in working with the local and national British establishment. As a result of this, representation of Indians

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within local and national British forums passed into the hands of individuals who had little or no grassroot connections. The masses did not identify with these self-appointed representatives of Indian people in Britain, because they could not thoroughly appreciate the needs and aspirations of the rank and file of the black population.

Therefore, the decline of the IWA as a functioning mass body left a political vacuum which is now being filled in by 'middle class' blacks who are adopting a 'sectional approach' to politics. However, since black issues concerning racism in all fields of social services and public policy making are there in more subtle forms, the IWA's role has been taken up by religious institutions or 'ethnic' based political organisations, youth bodies and so on. Individual activists of the IWA still operate in smaller groups under the same title but with little appeal and political significance. In the meanwhile, the political scene in India has further changed, and an ideological conflict between Marxist-Leninist IWA activists and the mass of the Sikh-Punjabi population has led in the downfall of the IWA as a movement. New bodies such as the International Sikh Youth Federation, Organisation of Sikh Gurdwaras, the Supreme Council of the Sikhs, have grown and strengthened rapidly. Gradually they will fill the political vacuum which exists at present in the campaign for racial equality at local and national levels. Most of the youths come from the second generation and operate independently. They have little sympathy for the IWA, unlike their parents.

CONCLUSION

The Indian Worker's Association's role was very significant in the 1960s and 1970s. It not only 'developed' racial equality in the industrial arena, but also put pressure on the management and trade unions to implement equal opportunities policies. It helped black workers of Indian origin to influence industrial decision making in relation to employment policies, redundancies, pay, conditions and health and safety provision. Above all it mobilised the black workers to take their destiny in the industrial arena into their own hands through collective

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action. The IWA's public campaigns against racist policies and legislation made a significant impact during the 1960s and 1970s.

The IWA failed to establish itself as a credible body in British politics because its activists identified with the Marxist-Leninist politics of India which did not have popular appeal or significance in Britain. The IWA lost its common appeal to the mass of Indian workers in Britain. Its reluctance to participate in establishment forums made way for less effective and non representative individuals from the black communities to fill the gap. This gap has to an extent also been filled by white liberals. Because the mass base of the IWA was the Punjabi Sikh community, its support came from religious institutions. Despite the fragmentation of the IWA those Sikh organisations have become stronger than before and are addressing the issues that black communities are concerned with, and a new political approach is developing. The new black organisations will be 'ethnic', thus for example instead of a blanket organization as the IWA, new groups are Sikh-Punjabi, Hindus, Pakistani-Muslims, Bangladeshi-Muslims. However, during its peak period, the IWA was able to implement what the CRE Code of Practice is proposing today. The relative decline of the IWA has proved a significant setback to black interests in Britain.

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11
TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION AMONG BRITISH PUNJABI WORKERS

For the mass of the Punjabi working population in Britain, work-based experience has been a relatively fruitful social experience. Despite the language barrier, the workplace has produced various types of opportunities for social and culture interaction. There was an ample scope, for instance, for participation in trade union activities, because either the industries in which Punjabis work already had a unionised labour force, or the working conditions warranted unionsation. Therefore, in the main, the Punjabi worker made inroads into their new social environment, egerly learnt norms and values of the workplace and trade unions.

In this article, I shall confine myself to discussing how the Punabis became involved in the movement how their participation has developed over the last twenty-five years, leading to greater participation on their part. At this stage it is important to mention that to study Punjabi workers and their role in the trade unions is difficult, because no reliable data is available and, to my knowledge, no empirical research has been undertaken for this particular community. My estimates in this article are based on available information, personal observations and experience.

PUNJABI COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN : BACKGROUND

In Britain, the Sikh or Punjabi community is about half a million strong and appears to be largest ethnic minority group in the UK. They originally belong to the Indian state of

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the Punjab, which is mainly a farming area. By and large, the Punjabis have an agricultural background, and hold strong family relationships, inheriting a healthy social history and cultural value. The overwhelming majority is deeply influenced by Sikh teachings and beliefs. Besides other things, the Sikh doctrine inspires strength, courage and determination to win and work for equality, freedom, liberty and justice at all levels in society. Standing on this sound social and cultural base, the Punjabis take great pride in hard work, and make the best of the economic opportunities available to them.

FIRST GENERATION SIKHS

Having arrived in Britain in order to earn as much money as possible, they accepted hot, hard, heavy, dusty, smoky and noisy jobs in that sector of industry which was labour intensive and offered unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Because the indigenous labour force was moving away from these traditional industries, there was a general shortage of labour in the post-war period. Sikhs are thus concentrated in such industries as foundries, rubber factories, steel mills, brick works, bakeries, textile factories etc. Some later moved into public transport, automobile factories, parts of chemical and construction industry. On the whole, the Punjabis found themselves with only one choice—to accept hazardous and laborious manual jobs. The occupational distribution of Punjabis, in my estimates, is about 38% unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers; 8% white-collar employees and professionals, and the rest being shopkeepers and small businessmen.

The Punjabis secured jobs in the industrial suburbs of London and inner-city areas of the country. My estimates about the distribution of Punjabi population across the country is : the Southeast 48%, West Midlands 25%, Northwest and East Midlands 8%, Yorkshire and Humberside 7%, Southwest 6%, Wales 3% and other areas 4%. The Punjabis who arrived in Britain throughout the 1950s early 1960s, lacked industrial skills and general education. This was only one reason why they occupied the bottom of the occupational scale. There were no facilities to provide them with relevant

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training and education either. The racial discrimination in the field of employment as we now know, was still to be acknowledged. The effect of immigration control was such that, from 1962 onward, the pattern of immigration changed. Since then, new arrivals had more education, skills, academic and professional qualifications

These Punjabis are relatively better adjusted and have faced the stresses and strains of their new industrial environment remarkably well, despite the depressing living conditions in the inner-city areas. The large majority had to face rough, rude and disrespectful behaviour from their foremen and supervisors on the shop floor. They had little or no English and were unable to sort out their day to day problems with employers. Thus, they fell into the hands of Punjabi middle men, who knew some English and acted as links between a foreman and factory workers. Many of them collaborated with foremen to take bribes for allocation of work, overtime, promotion, and for other facilities. The existence of such practices on the shop floors of different factories, caused a great deal of annoyance among many rank and file Punjabis. Many soon realised that the only way to stamp out these 'evils' was to join the trade unions and fight against such injustice, discrimination, and, the insults they faced in their work situations. Stories of a similar nature can still be collected from the first generation of Punjabis who worked in the fifties and sixties; with their varied experience from rubber factories in London, foundaries of West Midlands, and textile industries in North England.

PARTICIPATION IN TRADE UNIONS

In much of the industry, the trade unions were already operating and Punjabis made a positive choice by joining them, and raised their problems through the formal union machinery. The Indian Worker's Association, which was virtually an association of Punjabi workers, became active in the 1960s. Its officers belonged to the rank and file and knew what was going on in the industry, with regard to the conditions of Punjabi workers. The IWA's activities were

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committed to the cause of the working classes and some leaders were also influenced by the philosophy of Karl Marx. They persuaded Punjabi workers to organise themselves and form unions where no unions existed before. They gave their fullest support in varying situations and circumstances. At the Sikh gurdwaras, pubs, clubs and social gatherings, Punjabis heard from their friends and relatives about the advantges of organised trade union membership.

In this way, Punjabis not only became unionised, but introduced unions to many factories. The struggle in the 1960s at the Woolf Rubber Factory in Southall and at Birmid Qualcast in Smethwick, set the pace of the Punjabi trade union participation. Wherever they established a union, it has survived and added to their solidarity and group loyalty. There were many such instances where they swore by the Guru Granth — the Sikh sacred book, to fight together and to maintain full confidentiality until they achieved their goal through a strike. In the West Midlands —at Smethwick Sikh Temple—many *Akhand Paths* were performed marking as thanks, following particular achievement in an industrial struggle. This reaffirmed their faith in organised and united struggles.

NEW GENERATION PUNJABIS

Now, with the younger generation of Punjabis entering the labour market, out of the estimed 3,00,000 economically active Punjabis, my study points that about 1,90,000 Punjabis are members of trade unions. The Transport and General Workers Union and AUEW have recruited most Punjabi workers. This estimate of Punjabi workers' union membership is higher than the figure of 61% given by the Policy Studies Institute for ethnic minority membership. This is due to the fact that Punjabis happened to be working in an industry with a high degree of unionised labour, and where this was not the case, they themselves took the intiative and formed union. Early aim of Punjabi trade unionism was rather limited; to use unions to fight the aforesaid 'evil' –bribery at work and exploitation –by the middle men. With the availability of more information and the active part of younger trade unionists,

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they worked for an improvement in wages and conditions, to negotiate better deals on all aspects of employment with the employers and to obtain overall secutiry of jobs. In the services, cleaner environment, health and safety at work has also become their prime concern. However, union's struggle for equal opportunities and against all forms of discriminations remains a prime aim as it was in the beginning. The Punjabis are very proud of being part of the British trade union, many now fully realise that this institution has a vital role in the decision making process of British society. However, there are widespread feelings that trade unions do not always protect the interests of Punjabi workers as they do those of white workers.

PUNJABI SHOP STEWARDS

It has been a normal practice for many Punjabi trade unionists to encourage and support other groups of ethnic minority workers to join the movement. They have also been generous in their cash support to many groups of striking indigenous workers. Many Punjabi shop stewards have developed remarkable qualities in representing their members on all matters concering industrial relations. Their role matches the expectations of trade union leaders. Punjabis as members of trade unions are quite enthusiatic in terms of their faith, loyalty and support for the union when warranted. They aslo prefer to acquire the knowledge of decision making process. This depends upon adequate communications and their being no language problem. Where they are in a minority on the shop floor and do not have such representation or adequare links with leaders, they feel aliented and show apathy. Therefore, it rests upon shop floor leadership to involve the Punjabi workers in union affairs. Once they are involved in a situation, their courage and support to strike and win justice in an industrial dispute arena is outstanding. In many situations they have drawn upon their religious heritage resistence and the teachings of their gurus to bolster the spirit of ordinary members and to maintain the momentum of struggle.

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12
PUNJABI WOMEN AND TRADE UNIONS

This eassy is study of trade union participation by Punjabi Women. It examined the general background and implications of an industrial dispute among Punjabi workers. It discusses a particuler case of industrial action by Punjabi women which alarmed hundreds of Asian employers and alerted thousands of their employees throughout Britain. It could be said that it had a long-term social and political impact because it posed a potential division within the Asian community. For the first time, it brought about a split between what are now two significant social classes among British Asians.

PUNJABI WOMEN WORKERS: BACKGROUND

During the 1950's there were hardly any Punjabi women in Britain. As successive British governments tightened immigration regulations, the migration of dependants from the Indian subcontinent increased in anticipation of more restrictions. Until the early 1970's, the women who arrived in Britain came to join their husband's or fiancees. Their main priority was to set up their 'new' homes, establish their domestic life in a new environment, and bring up their young families. At first the women did not feel any economic pressure. Their husband's had jobs thus ensuring a regular family income. The husband's savings saw the original settlement through, but as the children grew up, demands increased and gradually expectations about standards of living rose. From the mid 1960's, the post-war economic boom began to slow down and the mid 1970's oil crisis drove western economies into recession. In Britain, the recession cycle hit the

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kind of industries where Asians were employed, very hard. Wage packets began to slim down, redundancies and unemployment rose, with little prospect of future jobs.

Domestic economic pressures forced Punjabi women out of their 'new' homes, to seek employment. It was then that they faced the harsh realities of discrimination based on race, sex, culture and language. Only a tiny proportion of Punjabi women succeeded in finding jobs in the lower end of the British job market. Punjabis with an enterprising spirit started a new trend. Many began to set up their own small manufacturing and retail units. Most of them started with their own private family resources and worked their way up. As the scope of their products and services grew, they began to expand by supplying the lower end of the consumer market. A significant number of redundant Punjabi workers also did this in the late 1970's. These developments created a new job market. The social connections amongst Punjabis created an independent system taking care of the supply and demand of labour. A large number of Punjabi women took up jobs in these new 'Asian' businesses. Punjabi women did not think they would be able to find jobs in the white British controlled job market, and Asian employers did not think they could afford the kind of conditions employees would seek. This situation also created opportunities for women to have work delivered to their homes where they could do it in their own time, while bringing up their young families. Of course, for the employers it was the cheapest possible way to have the work done. These developments would be to everyone's mutual advantage.

CONDITIONS OF PUNJABI WORKING WOMEN

Undoubtedly, Punjabi women were willing workers, and their families' economic situation forced them to supplement their income. They took on any job which was going in this 'unconventional' and 'new' job market. Therefore, there developed a network of Punjabi home workers who accepted work at very low rates. Most Punjabi women, irrespective of where they work, were hardly aware of their rights at work.

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To survive, Asian employers required cheap labour, not only to get their enterprises off the ground, but also to undercut their competitors in the market place. In most cases, employees and employers were personally acquainted and they had social ties. In the early stages of the development of this industry, there was no question of conflict at the place of work because of mutual economic interests. A common cultural background maintained harmony. To an extent, industrial relations were based on traditions and neither side questioned the other stance. In the late 1970's, a new socio-economic trend emerged mainly due to the economic depression. Asian male workers suffered a relatively severe economic set back and further loss in family income. Economic austerity measures in Britain and the international recession, combined to cause a reduction in the income of a large number of Asian families as a result of unemployment and short-time work.

The relative affluence of the Asian business community was now becoming obvious, while the decline in the family income of 'working class' Asians intensified. This process affected the traditional relations between these two significant economic groups. Punjabi women began to question whether or not they were receiving a fair reward for their work, which often involved very long working hours, few holidays and poor facilities. On the other hand, the recession had increased the borrowing requirements of many Asian employers and eroded their profit margins. By now, most had moved from family financing to the conventional money market where interest rates were high. In this situation they felt less able to bring wages and conditions up to an acceptable level if they were not to further lower the financial returns from their businesses. The fact remained that the majority of Asian employees in these businesses still earned far below the national minimum wage rates.

RECENT CHANGES

Punjabi women privately began to become more aware of their exploitation at the hands of their employers. They gained information on issues such as pay, working conditions

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and industrial relations, from their husbands. It was the first time ever in Britain, that many Punjabi husbands had sufficient leisure time (though enforced) to discuss these issues with their families. In many cases the husbands pointed out to their working wives how their own wages and conditions had been negotiated collectively at their place of work, by the Unions. Certainly many Punjabi women saw the relevance of Trade Unions to their own work situation. Due to particular social relationships with their employer, Punjabi women remained hesitant about collective bargaining in the workplace. Trade Unions generally failed to promote their existence and functions to Punjabi women, for linguistic and cultural reasons. In the case of the men it had been they who had gone to the Trade Unions, rather than the Trade Union Movement which had come to them.

Trade union membership declined rapidly overall in the late 1970's and early 80's. The Union began to see Asian employees as a potential expansion area. There was a communication barrier between the two sides. The formal Trade Union structure had an inadequate mechanism to promote and organise Union membership amongst black and Asian workers.

PUNJABI WOMEN WORKERS : A CASE STUDY

In 1982, an industrial dispute aross between two sister Asian clothing firms and their Asian employees, who were mainly women. The Asians farms were P. S. Raindi and Supreme Quilting, who were the largest Asian employers in the West Midlands, providing employment to about 300 people. The dispute erupted when three employees were sacked while another 200 decided to join the Transport and General Workers Union. It was the longest dispute in Britain where mainly Asians were involved on both sides. There were three sticking points in the strike :

- the reinstatement of those who were sacked;
- the recognition of the Union;
- the review of working conditions.

The Indian Workers' Association (IWA) had introduced

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Trade Union membership into these firms. Sometime before this, the IWA had been organising and promoting trade unionism among Indian workers. Most workers and union shop stewards in both companies spoke little or no English. So IWA officers, who were fluent in English, provided a vital link between the new members and the TGWU officers. It was a new experience both for employers and the employees. The Punjabi women worker drew upon third parties for support, advice and guidance in their dispute. The situation created many misconceptions on both sides during the ten week period. At times it took on political overtones which resulted in prolonging the strike.

The dispute received much publicity and rang bells at the highest levels of trade unions offices. The British media, radio and television covered the strike regularly and reported on the initial attitudes of both sides. The firms were picketed all day, and attracted many distinguished visitors, including Michael Foot, the Labour party leader. The strikers held regular meetings addressed by a variety of people; councillors, TGWU officers and local Asian activists. In particular, the IWA mobilised much support and raised funds through liaison with district organisers of the TGWU. Many Asian employers felt threatened by this new development. In response, they organised the Asian Traders Association which claimed to have about 300 members in the West Midlands.

While the IWA provided a link between Punjabi women and the TGWU, during the P.S. Raindi and Supreme Quilting dispute. Earlier, the IWA had been hesitant to introduce trade unions to asian firms. This was so for prudent reasons, in many cases, the IWA depended on Asian business community for its funding campagns. Also, many shrewd IWA officers had already established themselves in business. Many of the second generation did not see things in the same way at the time of the 1982 dispute. Here they positively promoted trade unionism and provided the formal union structure with a jumping off point. However, the Trade Unions were still not able to use the situation, since they not developed their own mechanism to cater for special situations, particulary those where a large number of black and Asian workers were

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involved. Despite a large Union membership amongst Asians in the West Midlands, there was hardly a black or Asian face among the ranks of the full-time officers.[1]

CONCLUSION

The dispute in question strained social relations in the Asian community. During the dispute, employees and their supporters thought that if the Union should fail to get recognition in the two companies in question, it would not be an easy task to organise elsewhere in future. The employers also took the view that union recognition would have serious economic and industrial relation implications for them, given that wages and conditions were below the minimum standards. Many employers encouraged the above two companies to hold out against the Unions, and this prolonged the dispute. A reasonable settlement was possible without incurring huge economic damage unbearable in the current economic climate, for both the employers and the employees. Most Asian employers took the dispute as a threat to their own businesses. Many interpreted it in terms of Indian politics and gave this dispute a political overtone. This was because the IWAs were traditionally the supporters of the Indian Communist Parties. A settlement was reached after a bitter conflict, lasting ten weeks. The employers recognised the Union and agreed in principle to review wages and conditions. The argument over dismissals was taken to an industrial tribunal for resolution.

These developments had already led many Asian employers to 'increase' the wages of their employees and to modify their attitudes. If all parties had taken the dispute as a pure trade dispute, it would probably have been settled in its initial stages. For the first time, the dispute created a potential division in the Asian community on economic grounds. Many Asian businessmen were already beginning to wonder who they should vote for in the next general elections, including those who has traditionally supported the Labour Party. The dispute also raised interesting questions about the role of Punjabi women in the Trade Union Movement.

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13
PREPARING HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Handsworth is an exciting and lively place for those who live, work or spend time in the locality. For many visitors it is the ultimate inner city multicultural tourist and shopping destination. However, the town is also regarded by some as little more than a rundown and economically deprived area; one where unemployment stands at 43% among black people, and up to 70% amongst some Asian groups. For some, the notoriety of the area arises from the racial diversity of its populace which, although being a positive feature, is often associate with negative stereotypes. The town is therefore often deemed to be an unsafe place, with a high incidence of crime. Such a view grossly understates the value of Handsworth and its inhabitants who have ensured the town's survival during the hardship of the post-war period.

Indeed, many are quick to accept the negative portrayal which is often endorsed by the media, through their recurrent reports on such incidents as the Handsworth disturbances of the 1980's. Not many reports point out that Handsworth attracts over fifty thousand people to a local Vaisakhi festival of Punjabi community and a carnival organised by its Afro-Caribbean people. Local socio-economic statistics though will show that comparatively, Handsworth has hardly been neglected over recent years in terms of public sector investment. It's resident have played a vital role in managing to keep their town alive.

It was afterall, local residents' commitment to Handsworth that mattered, whilst others ventured out into new opportunities elsewhere and abroad. The town was neither deprived of its

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inhabitants, nor its own source of vibrancy and life. To meet the labour shortages of the 1950s and 1960s, new migration brought the settlement of workers from abroad, particularly from such countries as India, Pakistan, Jamaica and parts of Africa, who set up their homes in Handsworth. They established local cultural, community and religious networks. This led to regeneration of the area, as the new residents spent their earnings locally and invested in housing and other facilities. Handsworth gained a new national prominence as a multicultural town from the 1970s.

The rapid decline of the metal industry in the 1970s, also resulted in a massive loss of employment for the people of Handsworth. It would have led to the rapid decline of the town, had it not been for the positive attitude that its inhabitants adopted. Far from becoming state dependent, many used family savings and redundancy payments to establish their own small businesses, ranging from the retail outlets to manufacturing, warehousing and catering units. Thus Handsworth is now an area literally filled with such establishments, though these are struggling under pressure. When outsiders poke fun at Handsworth because of this, joking about typical black or Asian businesses, they often forget the central role such businesses and their owners have played in maintaining the vibrancy of this inner-city Birmingham area. The quality of their services and supplies could continue to improve only if, for example, public sector corporate customers make their purchases locally. This could improve job prospects in the area and also encourage more investment in the infrastructure by businessmen.

Despite a positive approach from residents, the local view is that the public agencies have failed to ensure Handsworth's future. Indeed, it was not until the disturbances of the mid 1980s that public attention was attracted to the area. Once again it was left to the residents' own commitments to ensure that local investment was continued, through their savings or through bank loans. The recession of 1990s was particularly damaging to the area. It hit hard those businesses suffering from a loss of trade due to the growth of out-of-town superstores, and also due to Sunday trading.

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That many local businesses have survived despite constant hardships, Handsworth should be seen in a far more positive light. Far from being troubled area people often describe, it should instead be looked upon as a town which has suffered economically more than the most, but one which always survived through sheer hard work and dedication of its people. Indeed, Handsworth possesses many features which are quite unique, and is an example of peace, harmony and co-operation among various races.

A GLOBAL VILLAGE ?

Essentially, Handsworth has become a kind of global multiculrural village. Within one mile radius of Soho Road, it contains religious centres of many denominations; Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and many other faiths intermingle. Such a unique aspect should be celebrated. It would be excellent for Birmingham, if Handsworth, the country's first global village publicised as tourist attraction.

Moreover, the town' diversity makes it a popular area due to family connections. Visitors from abroad arrive all year round. Handsworth is most probably one of the few towns known all around the world -from the Far East, South Asia, Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America. It is undeniable that the people who visit their relatives from abroad also help Britain's balance of trade, as well as add to the local economy. Handsworth now needs to prepare itself for the challenges of the next century.

Given the obvious dedication and commitment of its local people, shown over the years, it is fair to say that with some government help, the area could be fully regenerated and converted into a town that the whole country can feel proud of. We owe this vision to younger people, whose future depends on it. If one enquires amongst the locals for their views about Handsworth's future in the 21st Century, some valuable ideas can be found. For example, many are of the opinion that vacant pieces of land and derelict buildings should more wisely be developed and converted for community and business purposes, and to house higher education students and other groups at low cost. Indeed, Soho Road is

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a major centre for local communities and businesses. A purpose built centre with modern learning facilities designed to teach life, work and business skills, multi-cultural values. A museum of cultural diversity and local projects with appropriate resources, could enhance its profile.

Of course, the existence of a high profile building in Soho Road would add to its attraction. The area requires a 'face-lift' to make Soho Road into a gateway to Handsworth. The place could become attractive to international visitors, with the help of the public sector investment. Handsworth has the potential to be one of the major multi-cultural inner city learning towns of the 21st Century. The inhabitants have shown their commitment to the area. Now it is time for the government agencies and others, to make their contribution. The policy and decision makers in public, private and voluntary sector organisations owe this to the present and future generations of Handsworth. It is their job to ensure that all the past hardwork results in a successful future for such a promising town.

The following data provides a profile of Handsworth area:

Total population : 52,887 (1991 Census)

ETHNICI BREAKDOWN OF ITS POPULATION

All	100%
White	31.9%
Black-Caribbean	17.3%
Black-African	0.8%
Black-Other	2%
Indian	25.7%
Pakistani	12.9%
Bangladeshi	4.6%
Chinese	0.8%
Other-Asian	2.1%
Other-Other	1.7%

UNEMPLOYMENT BY WARDS

Soho	24.4%
Handsworth	30.7%
Birmingham	14.5%

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AGE PROFILE OF ITS POPULATION

0-15	33%
16-29	22%
30-60	16%
60+	27%

MAJOR ISSUES AND RESPONSE

—high unemployment and lack of opportunities
—low education attainment levels and parental dissatisfaction with school education
—loss in the competitiveness of Soho Road businesses
—lack of safe car parking and general insecurity
—lack of small business development
—poor image
—rising youth unemployment
—fear of crime and violence
—serious lack of investment
—insufficient nursery facilities

Handsworth College is supporting a local framework for economic development, by networking the efforts of various agencies and initiatives of local organistions. This should create a shared vision for Handsworth and capture the imagination and aspirations of its people. Indeed, Councillor Bert Carless OBE, the Chairman of the Corporation, has given a lead in this matter by opening up discussions with representatives of the Birmingham City Council. The follow-up exploratory talks of the College Principal, Chris Webb and other colleagues with various agencies have created the scope for a leap forward. A. S. Sahota, Chair of the Birmingham Asian Business Association and his executive directors have supported this process. At various college meetings of trade and community organisations, we have identified major issues and the visualisation of excellent projects, to underpin Handsworth Economic Development Initiative 2000 –a major plan for regenration.

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SECTION III

FROM 'EDUCATION FOR ALL' TO 'LIFELONG LEARNING STRATEGIES'

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14
THE SWANN REPORT, BLACK MINORITIES AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

This essay examies the Swann Report, also titled 'Education for All', its origin, contents and various criticisms levelled against it. The usefulness of the Report will be examined in terms of educational concerns of black minorities in Britain. The essay will also look how black minorities have responded to this report. Initiatives are obviously required to bring about appropriate educational change in terms of the recommendations made by the report. This will form a key point for this essay. Such analysis cannot be conducted without taking into account the social and political developments affecting educational policies and practices. The education needs, aspirations and demands of black minorities, and their effective participation in the process will be seen in terms of actual implimentation of the report's recommendations.

The Swann Report is a comperhensive documents on multi-racial education in Britain and raises some complex and wide-ranging issues. The Swann Report is a lengthy document of over 800 pages. Many critical comments on this report that have appeared in various publications by many individuals and organizations working in related fields, have been used. My own personal insight and experience in respect of these issues, which I gained by working at various levels in community, voluntary and statutory organizations are also used in this essay. I have tried to use first hand information which I have been able to collect for this essay from discussion forums, seminars, black professionals and community activists.

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In this framework, the Swann Report is being examined, in terms of its significance for educational policies and practices.

ORIGINS OF THE SWANN REPORT

The origins of the report can be traced back to the concerns expressed by the Afro-Caribbean community during the late 1960s and early 1970s, about the academic performance of their children. Pressure also came from Asian parents, teachers and community organisations throughout this period and into the 1980s. They expressed their frustrations over the absence of provision of their languages, cultures, religions and history in schools. During the 1970s, many statutory and voluntary bodies articulated the concerns of black minorities. Initially, there was resistance to policies and innovations in multi-cultural education, either because they were perceived as posing a 'political threat' to the education system's role in transmitting 'British culture', or because they were held to involve dangerous incursions into a sensitive terrain.[1]

Gradually, concerns of black children were recognised by a House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration who published a report on the Afro-Caribbean community, in 1977. The Committee recommended, as a matter of urgency, that the government should institute a high level independent inquiry into the causes of underachievement of children of West Indian origin in maintained schools. It also recommended remedial action should be taken. The government responded by setting up a committee of inquiry in 1979.

This was a significant step forward when compared with the initiatives of the 1960s. In 1963, local authorities received their first guidelines from central government in a pamphlet entitled 'English for Immigrants'.[2] A broader political view also began to emerge from the mid 1960s, which was based on the concept of a plural society. This was expressed in 1966 by Roy Jenkins, the then Home Secretary as: '...equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.'[3] The Local Government Act of 1966 made financial

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provision through its Section II clause, providing 75% of the salaries of extra staff appointed to meet special needs, particularly in the area of the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. These arrangements proved inadequate and insufficient in as far as the educational needs of black children were concerned. It is now known that Section II provisions were abused by Local Authorities because they were used to top up their educational budgets.

The Swann Report into the education of children from ethnic minority groups was published in March 1985. The report is a major response to the educational needs of black minorities. The Report, in the historical context, is the only document which gives a comprehensive reflection of the state of education of black children. In the present political climate and context, it is a significant piece of work for all participants in the educational system to work on. By participants I mean parents, parent-teachers associations, community organisations, pressure groups, teachers, trade unions, administrators, academics and decision makers at local and national levels. But first let us briefly look at what the report entails.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Swann Report is based on a great mass of evidence, both oral and written by individuals and draws on published research and experiences of its Committee members. According to Lord Swann, the Report embodies the views and aspirations of a group of diverse but concerned people. To gather evidence and opinions the Swann Committee held a national conference met LEAs, visited schools and other educational institutions, including the several Councils for Community Relations.[4] The report contains a wide ranging discussion of the relationship between the educational system and the nature of contemporary British society. It goes on to talk about the ways in which multi-racial society could evolve, and puts forward views of the role which the Committee believes education can and must play in laying the foundation for a society based on genuinely pluralist principles.

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The report discusses prominently racism and its influence on both schools and the wider society. It examines racial prejudice, personal and institutional racism, its impact on the underachievement of pupils from ethnic minority origins. In general, the Report's conclusions suggest that society must not, through prejudice and discrimination, increase the social and economic deprivation of ethnic minorities. On the other hand, schools must respond with greater sensitivity to the needs of ethnic minority children. It proposes that in the short run, it is a matter for the law, local and national governments, employers, trade unions and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). It argues that education is society's best hope for changing the attitudes of future generations of the white population. The fundamental need is to recognise problems in educating children of ethnic minorities as also how to provide better education for all children.

It is evident from this inquiry that the struggle of young people has many dimensions. It is closely bound with many social, educational and institutional factors which impose numerous disadvantages. The Report shows that underachievement may have its origins in the very beginning of schooling; whether in nursery school or infants school, where preconceived notions of children's ability can give black children a negative picture of themselves and their place in the wider world. Black parents have by and large found themselves on the lowest socio-economic scale in society. But this has had a positive effect too, in the sense that these pressures have led to great encouragement from families and communities for success in the second generation. In order to overcome racial discrimination and other adverse factors, many young people have shown determination and motivation and have done well in school. In general, black and White people in Britain see educational success as the means for upward mobility in society. This perception is central to success in adult life. The Report in no way exposes all of the positions held on these matters, but we can only look at some aspects within the scope of this essay. It Report has been criticized from many angles.

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SWANN REPORT: SOME CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Overall, the report does not offer a dynamic solution to disadvantages faced by Britain's black minorities.[6] It does, however, provide evidence and elaborates what is also established by many other studies; for example, the Policy Studies Institute and CRE surveys, reports and research projects carried out in some LEAs, and the experiences of black minorities which concurrently manifest themselves in the public arena. Black minorities are suffering from multiple disadvantage in social, economic and educational fields. Before they can enjoy the same chance of success in terms of educational achievement, other obstacles need to be overcome through a dynamic social policy, backed with resources, and participation of black people in the process of decision-making at all levels. The Report makes a series of recommendations, though it does not seem to provide any effective proposals for significant shifts in educational policies and practices. These, coupled with appropriate social and economic policies are the only way to bring about necessary changes.

However, Report is more specific on micro issues such as teacher training to bring appropriate changes in the school curriculum. It places a lot of faith in attitudinal changes in the educational system, which it suggests is critical to combating racism. While it is important to recognise the role of teachers and professionals in education, it requires a more thorough examination and recognition of the fact that schools do not operate in a social vacuum, and micro changes can only be significant if they are accompanied by macro level solutions. The Report discussed the gulf in trust and understanding between schools and parents, and it alleged that schools have failed to appreciate the pressures faced by parents, and that schools must 'reach out' to parents. But if black parents believe that schools can't deliver much without a significant shift from the present policies and practices, can parents be expected to place that trust in schools ? and How can parents understand pressures on teachers, who are to deliver panentae needs and expectations ?

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We cannot discuss many other intersting questions thorwn up by the Report. But let us look what it says about the issue of religious education. The Report concludes, 'We are in favour of a non-denominational and undogmatic approach to religious education...' The word 'non-denominational' has lost significance with the passage of 1944 Act, when it was proved to be possible for Christian Churches of all denominations to accept an agreed syllabus, incorporating main tenets of Christianity.[7] Why not then prepare a multi-faith religious syllabus, bringing together the main tenets of all religious traditions practiced in contomporary Britain ? The use of the term 'non-denominational' seems to be based on subconscious assumptions that separate identities of minority religions are a threat, and that they must be stripped of their religious heritage so as to become more acceptable in the curriculum. Similarly, the Report's use of the term 'undogmatic' religious curriculum must also be objected. Because, it is impossible, to undertake any religious education without giving either a fair or unfair account of any faith's body of agreed beliefs -which is actually the correct theological meaning of the word 'dogma'.

The Report hopes that religious education will direct attention to the central values which this society seeks to uphold and transmit. Meanwhile, however, the present and previous governments have failed to provide an adequate supply of trained teachers, and have also failed to rethink in a vigorous and radical way the underlying assumptions of the 1944 Act. Section II's provision for black minorities had not been used to develop the teaching of religious education.[8] Similarly, one can pick up other aspects for analysis and criticism. The Report clearly shows the complexity of the issues involved in the education of all children in our society. After its publication, some felt that the issue of racism had been underplayed. Others felt bitterly disappointed at the lukewarm reception which the Report received from the Secretary of State for Education.

The data failed to draw any distinction between black minority people born in Britain and those born elsewhere. Furthermore, the survey did not distinguish black minority

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communities beyond the categories of 'West Indians', 'Asians' 'All others'. Some minority community representatives objected to the fact that the Committee did not have anyone representing their feelings and views on the issue. One leading Sikh educationalist, for example, protested strongly in an interview with me that despite the Sikh minority being the largest community amongst Asians in Britain, there was no Sikh on the Swann Committee. Two Anglo-Sikh sounding names were those of the assessors and HMIs from the DES, who cannot be held as representatives of the educational needs and aspirations of the community. According to Mullard (1980), the Report does not go far enough to examine the education system which essentially transmits racist culture. Racism is a permanent feature of our educational system and the role of the Swann Report's 'liberal multi-cultural' approach cannot counteract racism. It must also not be forgotten that the report is only a partial view of the educational system because it does not cover further or higher education. Nevertheless, the Swann Report is the most comprehensive document on multi-cultural education providing us with a basis for further progress.

Despite its weaknesses, the Report remains a major review of educational needs of children from black minorities in Britain. It takes into account necessary factors outside the formal education system relevant to school performance, including influences in early childhood and prospects for school leavers. Evidence offered in the Report may be inconclusive, and the explaination may be provisional, but it is a credible and comprehensive public document which can be an asset for all participants actively involved in the educational system. It confirms that much still remains to be done and offers a legitimate basis for an ideological framework in which political arguments and pressures can be exercised. The future well being of our multi-racial society depends ultimately on the majority white attitudes, and the concept of 'Education for All' is a commendable endeavour to involve all people in the process. It will remain a valuable reference document for politicians, professional academics, teachers, pressure groups, trade unions and for students of educational policy making. But any future progress will depend upon how

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far the report is taken up and positively used to pursue the case for developing a genuine multi-racial education provision for all. If there is appropriate political pressure, it will not be so easy for the government and society to ignore this report, as has been the case with many such reports.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The Swann Report has been in the public discussion since its publication. The press, radio and T.V. have carried out critiques, reviews and commentaries. Many seminars, meetings and conferences have been organised to discuss it. Various Councils for Community Relations have organized presentations on it. Athough many educational institutes have defended themselves by raising the issue of complexity of its recommendations. The question naturally arrised, why the Report has found relatively low acceptance among black minorities ? I asked some leading black leaders in two LEAs in the West Midlands and the answer they gave, was : 'We spent a lot of time on Lord Scarman's earlier report and tried to work out a way forward. But look at the plight of these reports. Same goes for their implementation and recommendations. While Swann Report is a hefty document covering a major subject of education, many people are not prepared to trust the Report's recommendations in terms of its value for their children. Let us explore some of the reasons for the lack of trust by black people in the Swann Report.

I conducted a small sample survey to assess the take up of the Swann Report by black organisations. My particular interest was to estimate the extent to which these organizations and their representatives have used the evidence presented in the Report. I also wanted to establish if these bodies which claim to represent and promote the interests of black people, especially in relation to education, can identify with the Report, even if they have reservations or disagreements with some aspects of it. Lastly, it was my intention to collect their views on what they thought should happen after the Swann Report, or as a result of it. I do not claim that this was a scientific exercise. In fact, as I said at the beginning, the scope

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of this essay does not allow for it. But this project was helpful in the context of this essay. It has enabled me to check my own observations and the experience of black communities with regards to the Report. If the Report is going to be of any significance to bring educational change, it would require the active participation of black minorities, their organizations and representatives. Of course, the Swann Report would not have existed if black minorities had not mobilized pressures to highlight their concerns about the educational under-achievement of their children. I am not suggesting even by implication here that the contribution of other participants in this arena have been less valuable.

All of my respondents belonged to Sikh community organizations and they have been active in the education arena for a considerable period. They have worked, lived and participated in public affairs in the borough councils of Wolverhampton, Sandwell, Walsall and Dudley. I interviewed a total of eighteen people. The reason for selecting this sample was that like the Afro-Caribbean community in London and the Muslim community in Bradford, the Sikhs have been in the forefront along with others and have campaigned against racism in education system in the West Midlands. They have been demanding fairness, justice and equality in relation to their linguistic, cultural and religious aspirations. The information package which developed as a result of this survey confirmed my observations with other black communities too. Responses have been typical and despite variations, I believe I can make the following generalizations. Those members of the black communities who are aware of the Swann Report work either in educational institutions, or take an active part in the work of their Councils for Community Relations. Nobody seemed to have received any written information about the Report from anywhere. None of my respondents had actually seen a copy of the Report. Only one had read the brief summary prepared by Lord Swann and one had read a review article in a CRE publication. Others only knew about it from the presentations or meetings which they had attended. More than half of the respondents raised

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questions that why did not the national or local education authorities publish any information about the report ? They did not know of any meetings or seminars where the main conclusions or recommendations of the report had been discussed. All respondents were of the view that such government documents are normally used to justify the institution's position, rather than to promote community interests. The images of these reports are very formal -as if they have been produced by the elite, and for the elite in society. They all feared that the Report would probably face the same plight as many other inquiries, including Lord Scarman's inquiry. By the time any information reaches black community organizations, institutions have already prepared their defence on the basis of the questions likely to be raised. Nobody recalled reading anything about the Report in Punjabi newspapers or journals. Almost all asked this question : Why don't the relevant authorities at least disseminate information about these Reports through the black press ? More than half the respondents suggested that the government should have translated Lord Swann's brief introduction to the Report into community languages, so that its main conclusions could reach the people.

SWANN REPORT AND SIKH RESPONDENTS' CONCERNS

Most of the respondents raised almost the same issues as those highlighted in the Swann Report. There may be variation in emphasis, priorities and solutions to the educational 'problems'. But the following concerns are discussed and action points do emerge from them. Without action no change is possible. Let us now examine more commonly expressed concerns by the local black minorities. Most of my respondents actually said that 'these are not only our views, this is how our organisations and our people at home feel.'

My respondents did not feel that educational issues could be resolved without tackling the wider social and economic deprivation which black minorities disproportionately suffer

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from. When I referred to the Report and pointed out that it does say that unemployment is much higher among young 'West Indians' and calls upon those concerned to bring about equality of opportunity for all school leavers, it was forcefully said that they had heard similar things when Lord scarman's inquiry was published. At least half of the respondents were quite clear in their views about whether educational change is linked to economic and social change in inner city areas. They argued that without pressure from black minorities and their allies, and without change in the political climate, such reports are going to be of any significant help. It was put to them that there is ample evidence and argument in the Swann Report on these issues and they come from a government source, so why not use the resources ?

The reply was that this information never reaches the communities. Who don't have resources to disseminate it. This line of argument prevailed throughout open ended discussions.

One third of the respondents said that teachers don't expect their children to achieve much. Their motivation is undermined, and deep down it may be that then can't relate to much that goes on in schools. Unlike the first generation parents in one community, the second generation parents are not so pushy with their children, they are leaving them in the hands of the teachers, and children do not get proper attention and care in schools without racial prejudice makes it all the worse for them. They are stereotyped and treated as such. The change at school level can only be more effective if there is a change in the political, social and economic climate, and that change can be conducive to the changes that we all want in relation to a multi-racial (some said anti-racist) approach to teaching and developing the curriculum. Whatever the recommendations of the Swann Report are, no progress is possible without the educational system being properly and adequately resourced.

All respondents were unanimous in their emphasis on the teaching of Punjabi in schools, and stressed that language is the principal bearer of Sikh cultural identity and it is a key medium for their cultural propagation. Culture can give our

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children a rich mental resource to fall back on in the course of their lives, but the schools deprive them of this vital heritage. Instead, what our children draw from their family, and religious environment is either trivialized or ignored in schools. They develop an inferiority complex about their heritage and become alienated from black as well as White communities. In comparison to this, the Swann Report goes as far as the concept of 'language maintenance' can go. A child's language should not be merely maintained, but developed. One respondent produced a press cutting from the *Guardian* and read the following extract to me, 'It is a national scandal that there is not a proper appreciation of the existence of bi-lingualism in our schools and no leadership is coming from the centre on what use we should make of it. Seventy per cent of the world's population is bi-lingual, and so far supporters of multi' cultural education in this country have failed to appreciate its linguistic perspectives.[9]

All respondents referred to the education system as at worst promoting a negative perception of black people's cultural identity, religions, food, dress and language; and at best doing nothing about it, except for some limited initiatives backed by Section II funds. There are no specific procedures to tackle racial harassment and teachers, administrators and decision makers are failing to display their commitment to eradicating racism from the educational system. One respondent referred to Birmingham LEA and to a recent report, 'A Different Reality' published by the West Midlands County Council, and said that instead of tackling these issues, the Birmingham LEA has identified education for a multi-cultural society as its theme. It is concentrating on developing a centre (the multi-cultural development unit) which concentrates on single sex secondary schools, parental involvement and mother tongue teaching. No mention is being made of racism in schools and underachievement. It was quoted in the Report that one school in Handsworth had never produced a black child with five '0' levels.[10] A majority of respondents implied that they are not surprised that the Muslim community in Brent, for example, is going for a separate Islamic School. The question is, will other communities follow ?

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CONCLUSION

The Swann Report does have several weaknesses. Having gone through the report, I am convinced that it is an historical document in its own right. Never after the Education Act of 1944 has such an inquiry has taken place. It provides us with ample evidence, views and recommendations which can be further scrutinized, modified, developed and implemented. It is a rich resource for all participants in the Educational system to use in various ways.

It must be the responsibility of the LEAs and the DES to ensure that the Swann Report's key aspects reach black minorities. Black pressure group politics, well informed and resourced can be an asset, in contrast to having riots in the streets. Positive actions must be worked out by responsible statutory and semi statutory bodies, to include black people at all levels in the decision-making process; that is from school governing bodies to education authorities, and to significant national bodies. Positive actions shall have to be adopted to incorporate rich resources from black minorities into the mainstream institutes. Barriers which exist in various shapes and forms must be removed for effective communication between black minorities and formal educational structures. Public pressure should be accompained by political will, resources and legal framework to facilitate changes. Even the best efforts will be incomplete without the fullest possible participation of black people. The origins of the Swann Report lie in the pressures by black communities during last three decades. But at the end of the day, it is the recipients of the educational service, who will determine whether or not their needs and aspirations are being satisfied. Why not involve them in the process ?

'The rejection of Swann's proposal for revision of the 1944 Education Act by Sir Keith Joseph, former Education Secretary– was unfortunate as the Act was designed essentially for an all-white, all-Christian Britain, provides an immediate task for black pressure groups.[12]

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15
AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON 16-19 YEAR EDUCATION : AN OPEN LETTER TO SIR RON DEARING

Dear Sir Ron,

Subject : Review of National Curriculum for Post 16-19 Provision : Laying Foundation for Education and training for the 21st Century.

I welcome your open invitation for contribution towards the review of provision and qualifications framework for 16-19 year olds. I am particularly pleased with this, because I tend not to offer my opinion or advice unless it is asked for, since experience shows that even if one does produce a submission, and if it happens to be from someone whose name appears very different, it tends to be ignored. Moreover, if the recipient knows one might also look different, it may be politely dismissed. Of course one understands that we are still developing an appreciation, even in education and training, for the contributions of people who come from other excellent, proud and humble identities, cultures or backgrounds, and have black, brown or other skin colours and appearances.

The opening paragraph might prevent some from reading beyond this point, but let me say that I offered these comments because I like to believe that our post compulsory education also needs some fundamental dimensions adding to its core skills provision, in terms of understanding, valuing, enriching and working with our multi-racial strengths in Britain. These strengths are not only about celebrating our rich cultural diversity; they reinforce Britain's place in the changing global economy. This could

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be a remarkable aspect of our modern society after the process of decolonisation. Britain is still shy in openly acknowledging the social, political, economic and cultural contributions that its diversity of people have made over the years, and the potentials that they hold. I like to think that this dimension has a role in constructing and creating a cohesive socio-economic base for the 21st century.

I am anxious to retain the interest of those readers who may have by now started thinking that I work on some added community education initiative, which aims to meet the needs of some black or Asian communities, and that I might have an agenda to pursue these, particularly in view of developments in Bradford involving British youth of Asian heritage. Therefore I come to the point of my contribution to this dynamic national debate; the emerging trend seems to be in favour of a single comprehensive qualification for post national curriculum provision. The new framework should be aimed at creating successes, as opposed to a high proportion of 'drop-outs' or 'failures'. This should now be possible by rigorously building on the positive aspects of GNVQs and NVQs, and by making A levels modularised. A unified bank of qualifications under a national credit accumulation and transfer system, bringing together examination led attainments, assessed coursework based achievements, work experience and prior knowledge based accredited competences, could offer a way forward. Accreditation of work experience or knowledge whether gained in the voluntary, public or private sector in place of some optional modules should enhance the status and value of young people's efforts, which are so very crucial to the life and soul of inner city Britain. A single qualification combining compulsory core skills modules with appropriate academic and vocational programmes, accredited work experience or knowledge, should formulate an exciting package. Therefore, my first point is that a national credit accumulation and transfer system should enable learners to achieve, in continuity or in parts, on a full or part time basis. The students should be able to gain the new single qualifications in full in two or three years, or gain part of it and come back to it as, and when is necessary, or when circumstances allow. It should facilitate learners to achieve as little or as much as is desired or needed.

For example, when I arrived in Britain at the age of seventeen, during the academic year 1967/68—incidentally there are no hang ups about confidentiality of age in my culture—I tried to seek advice,

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guidance and counselling from the then local public agencies. They did not succeed in understanding and assessing my needs, or my grade one matriculation qualification from the Panjab University, covering all core and other key subjects. I was not counselled onto A levels, or any other relevant programmes. If I had followed their professional advice, I would have been on some English for immigrants programme in the late 60s, on an English as a second Languages course in the 70s, on an English for Speakers of Other Language provision in the 80s, and probably as a redundant industrial worker on some bi-lingual restart or a language support system in the 90s. I say this because I was directed to work in a local foundry as a trainee moulder, and to attend an English for immigrants course in the evening. I must stress that this was not a unique case. It is quite probable that thousands of people in very similar circumstances were failed by institutions at the crucial 16-19 age, and even 27 years on, common examples arise in communities where young people are not expected to achieve higher qualifications, and where they do not feel inspired by their minders, who are often employed by institutions more pre-occupied with their own struggle for survival, than shaping the future of their students.

We have excellent, experienced, deeply committed and hard working teachers, lecturers, and career advisors, who inadvertently guide students onto training programmes which fall below their personal and parental aspirations and expectations. There is still a belief in institutions that if one' s English is not 'up to standard', if you do not speak with a certain accent or style, or if your body language does not quite fit the pattern, you are on the wrong course; heritage languages and bi-lingual or multi-lingual skills of students often go unrecognised. Therefore, my second point is that institutions need adequate appropriate resourcing, and that admission tutors, counselling and career service staff need regular common core staff development. Information packs in schools, further education colleges, sixth form centres and higher education institutions will need regular up-dating. Expertise, information assessment and accreditation systems rapidly go out of date, even in top of the league universities. In FE colleges, post incorporation turbulence still continues to occupy the minds of managers, and so the curriculum issues and destinations of many of our school-leavers continue to show old trends.

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In this let us also not forget the role of those managers responsible for education and training in industry and business. A cultural change is needed there too if we are to seriously achieve national education and training targets, and prepare Britain to compete in the global market of the 21st century. I say this because I vividly remember right up until the late 1970s during my industrial career, that foremen managers and trade union officials whom I encountered did not believe that someone like me, and hundreds of thousands of others, not only black and Asian, but white working class youth, could significantly improve their qualifications and competences in the workplace. Institutions, whether private or public, tend to have their heads in the sand on such issues, and other than producing flowery spoken and written rhetoric, they will do little work of any practical value. Of course one can always think of some exceptions. The culture though, has been that a developed work force would create discomfort, and that developed people will want to move on. I recorded the dates, times, and 'advice' of people in industry and education who constantly told me that I was wasting my time bothering with GCSEs, A Levels and following that with the Open University, with Birmingham Polytechnic, and with the University of Birmingham. So called professional advice had been that these studies did not relate directly to my day to day work. I could see very clearly, how my superiors were failing to see the improvements; perhaps they did not want to acknowledge them for reasons which one could clearly imagine.

My anxiety is that by now, my readers might have developed the view that I have an axe to grind, but that is not my agenda. It is simply to highlight points that might contribute to a review, which I like to think is not only intending to achieve a comprehensive education for 16-19 year olds, but also to lay the foundation for long term growth, economic social stability, and positive race and industrial relations, in order to meet the challenges of the global market of the 21st century. The change depends upon a fundamental shift in the attitudes and behaviour of society. Therefore, my third point is that we need a simple and flexible framework of 16-19 provision, allowing for on-going improvement; and that employers will need positive support and encouragement to undertake regular skills audit and training. To be fair to them, they could do with having fewer different education and training funding agencies to

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deal with. They will understand better if we have a simple and single equitable system of qualifications which equally values work experience, vocational and academic training.

Those interested in value for money, know that there are a number of different routes which can be followed when acquiring post compulsory education and training through individual initiatives, without necessarily attending a sixth form centre, college, or another institution on a full time basis. Further Education Colleges, Open University, National Extension College and other institutions involved in flexible open and distance learning, along with work based learning methods, could be very profitable for society. Not only are people able to support themselves and learn, they also pay taxes at the same time. One likes to think that society has a purpose in employing everyone and facilitating their education and training, and of course, families and communities. Therefore my fourth reinforcing point is that qualifications, experiences, and competences gained through non-traditional learning routes should carry equal value with employers and institutions of higher education. The funding agencies should be flexible and adaptable in order to support the institutions in these developments. All 16-19 provision needs to be driven coherently, through a single comprehensive funding system, to minimize the scope of duplicative and prescriptive bureaucratic mechanisms and controls.

Over recent years we have seen the emergence of the GNVQ and NVQ framework, whilst A Levels still continue to dominate the scene. Only a single national qualification carrying the same status, currency and recognition with employers and institutions of higher education can help young people to succeed and save them from the stigma of working for a second best qualification, should they choose not to do academic A Levels which place more emphasis on memory and rhetoric, with less on understanding and application of knowledge.

This contribution is also based upon the fact that I am a parent of two children who are of this age group, with one following the academic route through A Levels to higher education, and the other planning a vocational route through GNVQs, hopefully to higher education or work. Many other youngsters of this age band will of course be working to improve their competences, to get appropriate NVQs, and may wish to progress onto higher level studies or

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training and so. One is naturally concerned that all young people achieve qualifications worthy of national currency and parity of esteem. We do need academic high fliers to maintain and develop our intellectual wealth, and we do need their analysis, interpretation, rationale and creativity to take us forward. We also need professionals in occupations to apply their knowledge to engineer systems towards solutions, and we need the competence's of practical people who can be highly focused and task orientated to help take organisations out of problems. Younger people following three different routes to work or higher education must feel that their achievement has the same recognition, status and currency.

There is no reason why 16-19 provision could not be a flexible credit based one, offering credit accumulation facilities and enabling learners to achieve in two years or more. The new qualification should offer scope for others or catch up with some of the work they could not cover in School. There may be many who suffered in school due to low expectations, or may be some students were not fortunate enough to have full support from home; indeed it may very well be that their peer group at school was not conducive to learning. Of course, there are those who for very good family or personal reasons wanted to find work, gain experience and get some income at the same time as studying for some credits. Why shouldn't they be allowed to complete the same qualification over a longer period of time ? My fifth point is that non-traditional routes to work and higher education should be given equal and paper respect, and of course, state support. Often, people achieving this way have the initiative, practical skills and ability to work in teams.

My emphasis is that we should design a single new qualification aimed at helping younger people to succeed and not fail. In this the institution of higher education, employers, media, other agencies and society will need to dispose of their prejudices and develop the perception that the 16-19 provision, through whatever route achieved, leads to a single qualification comprising academic, vocational or experiential elements. Why should there not be the scope within this qualification for providers to develop some elements encouraging, supporting and leading young people to do voluntary work or casual paid work, and convert that work into learning projects which are properly accredited. This is almost essential if we are to have our inner-cities in Britain in full life during the next

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century. Any new qualifications, whilst rightly preparing younger people for the national and global market, must have the scope and flexibility to take into account regional variations, and those of inner-city areas.

The new 16-19 year old qualification should recognise and acknowledge younger people's cultural and linguistic diversities and therefore, should offer the option of studying other languages or cultural varieties. A confident and improved individual with positive ethnic values learnt at this stage in life can be productive and constructive throughout their life-span. We are quite right in emphasising elements of core skills in the 16-19 provision. What is also needed is personal, family, community and social studies elements. The long term stability and development of our society depends upon the value and attitudes that we instill in our young people, as only then we can expect better value for money. It is much better to make social investment in this direction than to respond to a social crisis in expensive ways.

My last point is that this review also holds the potential to transform the national further and higher education systems. A combined 'pic and mix' single qualification can help the higher education admissions system too. Instead of universities making conditional offers to young entrants, the credit accumulation and transfer system should enable the students to make realistic choices, and the universities should be in a position to make offer on the basis of enhanced information. There is no reason why a reformed provision could not underpin the higher education system more comprehensively. A more radical proposal could give up to six levels of a modularised national system providing a lifelong learning framework, although at this stage three levels could suffice to meet the objectives of this review. Perhaps futher the Education sector could develop a level four in conjunction with universities, offering a foundation programme or Certificate of HE, as more and more students wish to study locally or regionally, due to economic pressures.

The 16-19 provision should also root young people back into the family, the community and society, where they should also be aided to grasp positive social and human values. Much of the future employment is likely to be portfolio based. Therefore it is only timely that this review constructs a framework which enables young people

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to 'pick and mix' modules according to their particular needs, whilst a study of core skills modules should be compulsory for all young people, whether gaining the new qualification through an academic, GNVQ or NVQ route. According to a recent survey by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, employers' dissatisfaction with young people is often due to the fact that they lack initiative, basic skills and the ability to work in groups. Students doing A Levels move towards subject specialism too early and they are consequently deprived of being rounded individuals. Here we have a great opportunity to address such points through the review.]

Yours Sincerely,

Surjinder Singh Sangha

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16
NATIONAL REVIEW OF INDUSTRIAL LANGUAGE TRAINING SERVICE: AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE

From 1986 onwards the Industrial Language Training (ILT) service was under review as part of the government's reappraisal of the function of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). External consultants conducted surveys and reported on various aspects of the ILT service. This paper was written as a contribution to the review, from the perspective of staff who worked in ILT and actually delivered the service. The paper investigated some of the more important aspects of the social and political context which internal staff felt were crucial to the Review of the Industrial Language Training Service. The paper explained why many staff felt that this wider context should be taken into account during the consultation process.

THE NATIONAL VIEW

In April 1986 the Adult Training Division of the Manpower Services Commission published a document entitled 'The Future of the Industrial Language Training Service'. The MSC was in the process of making a policy decision about the future directions, management and funding of the ILT units. The document had been widely circulated to public, statutory and voluntary organisations with an interest in the Service. The Commission invited comments on its proposal before a decision was reached, and recommendations made to ministers.

Although the document drew on research conducted by the Commission's own research staff and outside consultants,

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it also reported on extensive discussions with representatives of bodies directly involved with ILT and included advice from the Commission's ILT Advisory Committee. However it seemed to be a rather narrow, task oriented review and lacked the broader social context in which the ILTS had developed between 1976-1986. It was important to point out to MSC that its proposals should be examined in the light of the current social and economic context. The final policy decision needed to be based on this much broader analysis.

Furthermore, any future policy decision needed be based on a clearer understanding of past confusions, contradictions and conflicts in relation to the ILT Scheme's remit, its management and funding. The scheme needed a clear remit so that its resources and energy could be directed to developing and delivering a relevant and useful education and training service to its clients. The purpose of this paper was to focus on some of the more important and relevant aspects of the wider social context of the ILT service. In the last analysis it would be for the decision makers to decide whether to take it into account when making their recommendations.

ILT: ITS CHANGING ROLE

The Industrial Language Training Service was first established as a national service in 1974.[1] The ILT Units were established in 1975, and up to 1977 they were part funded by grants from the Home Office and in some cases from the Department of Environment. Local Authorities made up the difference, some of which was recovered by charging employers. The Manpower Services Commission took over funding of the Service in 1978, on the grounds that employment related workplace training was a function more appropriate to it, rather than other parts of central government. In addition, the payments from a single source would offer greater stability and scope for development. Ten years later, this argument was just as valid.

MSC's emphasis still deemed to be that ILTS should work towards improving communications in the multi-racial workplace. Unemployment amongst racial minorities had disproportionately increased in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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Racism in employment and implementation of equal opportunities policies and practices were very much on the agenda. The White Paper which preceded the Race Relations Act of 1976 outlined the needs for positive action in terms of providing special training facilities for members of racial minority groups in order to encourage them to take advantage of opportunities at their workplace. These initiatives had only limited success in the absence of fairness, justice and equality in organisations. Discussions at the parliamentary policy-making level had always taken place within a broad context : the context of racial disadvantage in Britain, and the means by which it might be combated. This was explicitly stated, for example, by John Grant in 1978, when central government took over the full funding of the ILTS :

> 'These decisions reflect the importance of a government attached to the improvement of the Industrial Language Training Service and its recognition of the contribution the Service makes to racial equality policies...'[2]

Ten years later when the ILT Scheme's service were evaluated, the indices used were :

—the number of people trained,
—how far employers felt satisfied by the service provided,
—how the users of the service felt about the training they received,
—value for money.[3]

It would have given a more accurate picture had the assessors and researchers used indices to measure the extent to which racial equality had been achieved in the workplace, through ILT's education, training, advisory and consultancy service.

The MSC's consultative document did state that its survey showed that 'Units were less successful in providing racism awareness or equal opportunities advice... opinions among ethnic minority representatives differed on whether Units had the skills to do it effectively... Units have much better links with the Asian than the Afro-Caribbean community.'[4]

It appeared that there had been some inconsistency in relation to ILTS, in terms of the context in which it was set up,

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and in the remit that it had been given. There was confusion about what the service was doing, and what it should have been doing. There were different perceptions from MSC, the ILT units doing the work, the National Centre (NCILT) and Local Education Authorities. There was general inconsistency in recruitment, selection and employment practices which could vary widely, depending on which authority or authorities were involved. If the ILTS's focus had always been on equal opportunities development for racial minority employees and potential employees, and on anti-racist training, the nature and pattern of work would have been different. The staffing structure could have been fairly multi-racial from the beginning of the Scheme. In its early years, ILT was staffed almost exclusively by white middle class people and was run from their perspective. It was after 1982-83 that anti-racist training and the promotion of equality came to the forefront. This was when ILT units began to become relatively multi-racial in terms of their staffing structure. Black and White staff appointed after 1982 saw the ILT Service's priorities quite differently.

From 1983-1986 many ILT units, particularly in the West Midlands, had developed work with many large employers in the field of equal opportunities and anti-racism. This development had not been fully analysed by the consultants that MSC had asked to help with the review of the service. There was a huge demand for anti-racist and equal opportunities training and consultancy work. Units doing this work became financially viable for the first time since their existence. Despite these new developments, the research work had concentrated on the traditional ILT model :

> 'The ILT Service aims to improve communications at all levels in multi-racial organisations. We help companies to take a fresh look at their internal communication system and the way people operate there....are systems at fault and can they be changed ? Figures over the period of ILT training on communication skills related to job process, showed productivity went up by 2.5% and waste down by 50%, a table was presented to a conference of industrialists.'[5]

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This ten year review of the service provided an opportunity for consultees and decision makers to state clearly that in future, ILT's main work should be not only language and communications training, but also equal opportunities training in relation to employment. Colleges administering ILT units could have ensured, through their equal opportunities policies, that all ILT units had multi-racial training teams, in terms of White and black (Asian and Afro-Caribbean) lecturers and support staff working together. In some ILT regions this was already the case, and it put them ahead of other units in terms of their work and links with Asian as well Afro-Caribbean communities. In fact, there was no other nationwide provider with local and regional dimension of the ILT service. It was unique in so many ways.

The 1986 review needed to give a clear cut remit for the service which would undoubtedly have had implications for staff development, the role of the NCILT, and the structure of the new national advisory body. ILT's area of work was growing. A revised remit which encouraged new training developments would have enabled ILT units to achieve its original purpose, which had to do with developing racial equality at work. Language and communications training alone would not help to achieve racial equality. An integrated multi-discipline, multi-level training and consultancy approach is a much more effective way of achieving racial equality in the workplace.

ILTS : EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

The Swann Report entitled 'Education for All', states that racism is an insidious evil which, for the sake of the future unity and stability of our society, must be countered. It, needs to be tackled in the interest of our communities. The policies recommended in the Report, if put into practice, can cause a significant change in the educational system.[6]

Educational provision can play a crucial role in developing healthier perceptions of black people, and positive role models. Education can help bring about changes which make for fairer organisations and a fairer society. ILT units can have

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an important part to play by making a contribution to in-service education and training programmes for staff in educational establishments. Changes in educational provision are as important as changes in employment practices. The CRE's conclusion on the Swann Report is that its notions of pluralism, equality of opportunities and challenging racism, are central to making progress in future. These issues must be a priority for all those who are professionally involved in education and training. The logic of the Report demands that eliminating racism and developing pluralism can no longer be seen as marginal to education and training.[7]

Educational and training provision must take into account the existence of racial discrimination in employment. It has been known and commented on since the 1950s, and has been fully documented in the 1970s with a series of studies funded by the Department of Employment, the Home Office and MSC. We have had other private and public studies available in this field, ranging from Smith (1977), *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*, to the PSI survey (1984) *Black and White Britain*. The future direction of the ILTS can only be best decided upon in the light of this historical and contemporary social economic context. The ILT's role can be more effective if it operates 'autonomously' but is still part of mainstream educational and training provision. If ILT units do not operate as part of the overall educational and training provision, its role is likely to be marginal and insignificant. If provision is not made by funding and administrative agencies to enable Units to operate 'autonomously', ILT will not be able to work for change, for bureaucratic and for institutional reasons.

The administrative and funding arrangements which were being examined and reformed, can provide an effective framework for ILTS to work as a part of the local education authorities' provision. The funding from central government channelled through the Adult Training Section of the Manpower Services Commission, in accordance with the criteria, can be set up jointly by all interested parties. At local levels Council policies are now more conductive for a service like ILT to operate more effectively. Many Metropolitan Borough Councils are declaring themselves to be equal opportunity employers.

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Some authorities are also considering the introduction of Contract Compliance policies to encourage all private and public employers dealing with the authority to develop their equal opportunity policies and practices. Often, local authorities are the largest local employers and they set an example for other local employers. Some local authorities have policies and procedures to ensure that all employees receive appropriate equal opportunities training. There are also positive action training programmes for black and other racial minority employees, which are designed to make the equal opportunity policy fully effective.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

It is vital if ILTS is to be more successful in the future that any policy decisions should remove any confusion about its remit. For this, the social and economic context will have to be taken into account. ILTS will have to be seen to act positively as a public educational and training service, working towards developing equal opportunities and the elimination of racism. The ILTS needs to provide a sound model for other private and public sector organisations, if it is to be more effective in its work. For this, MSC and LEAs will have to help ILT units to develop into highly organised and professional multi-racial training teams with a proper career structure. Unnecessary conflicts between LEAs and MSC can be avoided by accepting the basic principle that ILTS is administered by LEAs, and is funded by central government through the Adult Training Division of the MSC. The roles of the different bodies could be :

—LEAs for administration,
—MSC to oversee proper delivery of service for the financial resources that it provides,
—ILT for developing and delivering the Service in line with the new agreed remit.

Regular liaison between representatives of LEAs, MSC, NCILT, ILT units and other interested parties should iron out confusions, contradictions and conflicts.

It is paramount that the needs of racial minorities are

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always recognised in future. The special role of black staff of the ILT service will have to be given more positive recognition by any new national body which will be responsible for professional standards of the service. Indeed the aims and objectives of the black group of the ILTS, further reinforce the context—which has been described by various national surveys and reports produced by statutory and voluntary bodies. The black group represents the feelings, aspirations, needs and expectations of the communities that its members come from. The group is a rich professional resource for the ILTS.

It is important to work with black communities to raise their confidence, assertiveness and autonomy through education and training, so that they can participate in society's social and economic affairs, and work with statutory and voluntary bodies in a more effective way. A supportive and active black group can protect and promote the interests of black Staff, and reinforce a positive self image. It will also enable black staff take an active role in decision making and the professional development of the Service by :

—encouraging an appreciation of, and giving expression to their culture;
—exerting an effective influence on all training and promotion initiatives of the ILTS;
—investigating and developing new areas of work;
—influencing recruitment practices and procedures, staff development programmes, terms and conditions of employment,
—creating an anti-racist ethos in the Service,
—by liaising with relevant and interested voluntary and statutory organisations at local, regional, national and international levels.

If the local education authorities and the MSC facilitate the black group's contribution to the Service, in view of the broader context, the service can be a resourceful and effective training organisation with local, regional and national dimensions.

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17
PROMOTING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN FURTHER EDUCATION

The newly established network for Black Managers in Further Education held its first conference in Birmingham on 17 November 1998. One of the key questions discussed was how far the network of Black Managers in Further Education should review their own role and current policies in further education sector. This meant that they should review the following subect's relating to further education :

- Curriculum
- Learning
- Staffing
- Management
- Leadership
- Consultations and
- Decision making

In some parts of England, after the incorporation of further education colleges, many black, Asian and other ethnic minority staff and community workers made a significant and historic contribution in widening participation. They developed new learning pathways, for students from disadvantaged and under-represented communities. That was a model development, and it happened even before the Kennedy Committees' excellent report materialised.

Those strenuous efforts brought thousands of new students to this sector and helped many colleges to become financially viable. Whilst it caused some destabilisation, this was mainly due to the lack of venture funds and appreciation for the work, and a weak infrastructure to support the quality

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of growth. There was also some reluctance in taking adequate and sufficient advantage of the growth opportunities in some parts of the sector, which is why some colleges developed out of the region work, and dispersed the model.

Despite the substantial increases in student numbers in recent years in urban England from black, Asian and other ethnic minority communities in FE, the proportion of governors, managers and staff in colleges has not increased significantly. The representation on the regional and national consultative and decision making forums, has either not improved, or has remained virtually non existent. The drive for curriculum innovation and development may also have suffered, due to the lack of strategic support. Thus many staff and community workers in FE may have begun to feel that their initiatives have been either stereotyped, stifled or sidelined.

The core issue for the new network must be to ask itself how far in the medium to long term, it will be prepared to develop itself into a professional group, and take up the challenge of holding up a mirror to the further education sector. There is no limit to the role that the network can develop for itself within the framework of the lifelong learning agenda. The success will depend more on positive, constructive, and professional engagement across the sector, and less on separate development.

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18
WORK SCHEMES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE ROLE OF INNER-CITY FIRMS

BACKGROUND

After the war, during the 1950s and 60s, most of the black and Asian people migrated to work in the foundry, engineering, motor vehicle, chemical, transport industry and health services. This was mainly due to the post war expansion of public services and the welfare system, which left substantial demands for labour in such sectors of the economy. During these years, there was little or no education and training provision suitable for the incoming workers. The only exception, of course, was that some colleges began to offer so called English for immigrants towards the end of the 1960s.

During the 1970s, industry and services began to experience a change in supply and demand, and therefore needed a greater flexibility. Some companies began to contact colleges to ascertain whether they could offer some basic work related English and communication courses. Towards the middle of the 1970s, the Industrial Language Training (ILT) service was established to provide tailor made in-company courses for workers who spoke other languages. The scheme had limited success in the early years because there was little or no knowledge or direct experience of the needs, on the part of the providers. Moreover, black, Asian and ethnic minority workers experienced discriminatory practices at workplaces, which prevented them from gaining new and different skills for promotion. Whilst trade unions were happy to take their support for their campaigns, they proved less effective in

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pursuing employers and colleges to take on board their training requirements. The language and cultural diversities and their links with learning, were neither sufficiently understood nor appreciated.

REVIEW OF VARIOUS SCHEMES

Towards the early 1980s, equal opportunities issues began to dominate the local authorities' agenda and policies. Some colleges created specialist posts using the Section 11 funds to promote 'multi-cultural education', and some good practices arose from it. Similarly, adult and continuing education provision in some LEA areas began to offer ESOL provision for adults. Because of the lack of appreciation of home and heritage languages, the providers could not utilise the cultural strengths as a dynamic for learning, for progress into academic and vocational areas. The success, therefore, was limited. There was little representation of black and Asian professional staff, and those who were in the profession often operated in isolation, without much pro-active institutional support or resources.

Towards the end of the 1980s the legislation brought in local management of colleges, which linked budgets and resources to student numbers. This made at least some colleges more pro-active and responsive to the community. The trend was strengthened by the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992, which led to the incorporation of colleges, and the FEFC linked funding of the colleges to the student recruitment, retention and achievement. The then governments introduced growth and efficiency targets, to widen participation in Further Education. The colleges not only had to open their doors to a much wider community, but some went out of their way in search of students much more vigorously because their survival then became dependent upon having students to teach and to help them achieve.

ROLE OF HANDSWORTH COLLEGE

Given that Handsworth college had the lowest average level of funding in the new further education sector, it would

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hardly have met its financial commitments without radical and rapid growth and efficiency. The College was demographically well placed, and had the unique strength of having some key staff and managers, who were well connected across the country with community and voluntary education initiatives. Through a range of educational partnership arrangements, they transformed community based learning initiatives into Further Education partnerships. This was an innovative and exemplary development for the sector and many other colleges endeavoured to emulate it. In due course, the FEFC auditors and inspectorate worked closely with this innovation and transformed the audit and control mechanisms and procedures into guidelines to support this valuable and significant provision, servicing the most disadvantaged sections of the community, including people with disability.

This development in further education did more to widen the participation of disadvantaged people, than any other initiative over the last two to three decades. This development was underpinned by the institution's abilities to generate growth, to generate funding, to maximise the advantage of the new funding methodology, and to become more cost effective. Handsworth College's approach has been unique and different. It widened partnership using community languages, ESOL, teacher education, community heritage and cultural studies courses. The College also sponsored such vocational skills programmes as people related to, and made use of in the localities. This initiative was used as a bridging programme for students' progression into FE programmes.

Many Colleges in the sector, however, used franchising to expand provision through collaboration with big industrial and commercial companies. No doubt, it is in the companies as well as that of the employee's interest to make some contribution and investment to their learning, in order to keep up their skills levels, to meet the changing needs of the economy. However, small businesses, firms or partnerships run by owner managers or owner directors, employing let us say up to twenty people or so, are in a very different league. They often operate in inner-city disadvantaged environments, providing vital jobs to communities with high levels of

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unemployment. They operate on the margins; they will often have little or no funds available for investment in the development of staff and their company. They benefit least from government schemes, as very often the funds dry up by the time they reach them and their employees, who are often on low wages or salaries. The fact is, that the majority of the population is employed, and is likely to be employed by smaller organisations in the future. The role and contribution of community and voluntary sector organisations and that of small firms, is vital to widen participation, and to raise the skills and qualifications level of the population. The colleges' off-campus innovative collaborative development, is very significant in this context. This new development needs to be safeguarded and resourced and has already proved to be cost effective in providing education and training. It is also very good value for taxpayers money.

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19
SOME REFLECTIONS ON CHANGES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN BRITAIN

I believe that education for us is as important as the well being of our physical and mental health. Indeed, I feel that they are interdependent and connected. Having been associated with further, adult, community and higher education for 32 years, I passionately believe that no-one is ever too late for learning. Moreover, learning is the key to our individual, family, community, civic, social and economic life. Not only does our earning depenoent upon our learning, but also, our spiritual and cultural development is inseparable from it. Therefore, nothing can be more important than good health and learning opportunities for all, especially in inner-city areas of urban Britain. People living in inner-city multi-racial areas have to be twice as smart and qualified to compete in the job market for business opportunities and for their general well being. The qualification level in our inner-city areas is well below the national average. Therefore, lifelong learning and the objectives of the government's recently published White Paper 'Learning to Succeed', are valuable for future progress and development. I was fortunate to be able to make submissions to the various reviews of Post-16 Education and Training, which were carried out in recent years. I have included examples of those submissions in this part of the book. It was pleasing to see so many of those ideas and objectives appearing in the White Paper in June 1999.
—Author

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TRANSFORMATION OF POST-16 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

NATIONAL LEARNING SERVICES

The 20th century's big idea was the National Health Service. Let a National Learning Service be the big idea for the 21st century. Lifelong learning is becoming as important as lifelong health, and both are significant for humanity's welfare, development and success. All of our citizens are entitled to a general medical practitioner's service, who provides initial health care and makes appropriate referrals to experts, or agencies.

Likewise, all of our citizens, especially those who are least likely to participate in education, should be entitled to a free personal advisory service from a professional education counsellor in the neighbourhood. The education counsellor should develop, maintain and conduct the individual's record of achievement. Through a programme of local surgeries which may be held at schools, community centres or at companies training centres, the counsellors should identify the learning needs, and make appropriated referrals to providers of the National Learning Service, e.g., colleges and other integrated post-16 education and training agencies. This could also lay the foundation of the National Learning Bank and Learning Accounts.

A direct education counselling service in the locality should be a most cost-effective way of encouraging and supporting participation in learning. The post-16 institutions invest millions of pounds on 'marketing', and on producing 'reports' on reports, which are rarely ever read. Re-engineering of the agencies, for a creative re-investment of existing resources in the system, and some pump-priming support from windfall tax and lottery funds, could kick start the NLS.

UNIVERSITY FOR INDUSTRY

The University for Industry should provide a national framework for networking all off campus post-16 academic

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education, vocational and professional training, in conjunction with sponsoring further education colleges. The proposed new university should be licensed to accredit colleges and award a two year associate degree, modelled on the American Community Colleges system.

Out of over £10 billion pounds spending on education and training services, about 45 per cent is spent on goods, services and purchases. Several thousand companies benefit commercially. These companies should be encouraged and supported to become strategic and pro-active partners in lifelong learning, to promote and provide off-campus University for Industry kite-marked work experience and training placements for college students.

All post-16 education and training sponsored by Colleges and TECs, but delivered in partnerships with companies, communities, or through open, distance and flexible learning centres, should be University for Industry kite-marked to ensure standards and consistency. This should further enhance the value of competencies and qualifications with employers. All access to further, and higher education courses accredited by specialist, local or regional bodies, could be kite-marked by the University under licence from the DFEE. This could underpin and lay the foundation for a national credit accumulation and transfer system.

University for Industry should have a dedicated set of national, regional and local terrestrial or digital broadcasting channels to facilitate learning at home, in the community or at work. Education guidance, student counselling, advisory and practical support services, assessment and examinations, should be placed with colleges.

All 'welfare to work' and 'new deal' initiatives could be strategically linked to local area regeneration and learning programmes. All off-campus learning arising from the new policy should be kite-marked by the University for industry, for esteem and public image. The learning programmes could be spearheaded by FE colleges, in partnership with employment services, local Councils, TECs, career and business partnerships.

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MOBILISE LEADERS.

An increasing number of professional leaders in education and training are becoming disproportionately involved in bureaucratic, structural, formal checking and counter checking business. Their energies, vision, creativity and innovativeness need to be liberated and mobilised towards constructing a learning system to serve learners of the 21st century, and to place emphasis back upon services for learners.

STRUCTURE AND FUNDING

Often, learners, communities, employers and organisations become puzzled by multiple suppliers, offering similar courses but backed up by varying levels of public funds and resources. Within almost the same baseline cost structures, the funding levels of education and training provisions vary up to 200%, even within a radius of 3 to 5 miles. Those who need the most help in deprived areas, benefit the least from a fragmented system chasing quick returns, to maximise funding.

QUALIFICATIONS

The Qualifications system for 16 plus learners need to be simplified and systematised, using a national credit accumulation and transfer system, within the framework of university for Industry. A Learner should be able to enter and exit the system subject to individual skills, qualification needs, or sponsor's requirements. Levels of qualifications and standards need to be consistent and unified and made easy to understand for employers.

A learner should be enabled to build a portfolio of skills and competencies, leading to a qualification over a period of time. This also means that a learner should be able to cash and obtain accreditation for previous experience, skills, competencies, and add more learning units to gain a qualification.

TRANSFORMATION OF INSTITUTIONS

Institutions could be re-engineered by reinvesting existing

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resources and by avoiding duplicative commitment of resources to non-core activities, artificial marketing, non-productive and over bureaucratised activities, by investing in the curriculum and quality of provisions, raising standards and satisfying student and client organisations. Resources should be used to improve desirable and strategic courses vital for local economies, and to support regeneration.

TRANSFERABLE SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE

Add citizenship studies to key skills to strengthen social, civic, ethical and moral standards. In urban and inner-city settings the University for Industry could create a framework for recognising and delivering vocational and occupational qualifications for people who are working, or have the potential to get work with organisations or businesses, which communicate multi-lingually. In inner-city areas learners should be enabled to access NVQs in Punjabi, Urdu, Creole or Vietnamese; whilst ensuring of course, that the provision is available for learners to gain key skills to an appropriate level, including English language skills.

ACCESS TO LEARNING

Public resources investment should be redirected from the non-essential and non-core prestigious and high profile projects, which are devised by area and regional agencies. Desirable though they may be, people who are self-employed, or seeking to be self-employed, those who are running their own business, small firms, voluntary and community sector organisations in inner-city disadvantaged settings, do not seem to benefit. This is due to the fact that the resources approved by parliament to support learning often dry up before reaching their targets.

STEERING AND GUIDANCE

The new post-16 open and flexible learning system for the 21st century, needs to be guided by the national priorities within a global market, and should have regional aims and

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objectives, with area strategies which are rooted in local initiatives. Formal public education institutions should be encouraged to open their doors and make the facilities and resources for learning available to companies, communities and individuals outside the formal institutional hours and, of course, within-when surplus capacity is available. This could expand and strengthen the market base and widen participation because the users are more likely to be attracted to formal learning programmes.

GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

To protect and improve cross-sectional representation on the governing bodies of post-16 education institutions, whilst removing the democratic deficit and introducing greater public accountability. All members of the governing board should be given equal status and equal value in decision-making.

LEARNING AND WORK

In addition to general access to FE and HE provision, most of the qualifications and awards should be linked to capacity building, or work in industrial, commercial, voluntary, community or public setting, to enhance or provide vocational or professional work experience. This experience should be validated by the University for Industry, and should form a part of the course. Alternatively, a similar previous experience should be accredited.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO THE SUBMISSIONS

Dear Mr. Sangha

Proposed White Paper on Lifelong Learning

Thank you for your letter to David Blunkett regarding the forthcoming White Paper on Lifelong learning. As you know, the government shall be publishing a White Paper, which will set out its plans and policies on all post-16 lifelong learning issues. The recently formed National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning, under the chairmanship of Professor Bob Fryer of the Northern College, has been charged with the task of making proposals in preparation of the White Paper.

I welcome your contributions and I shall ensure they are forwarded to the Advisory Group for inclusion in its deliberations.

Ken Ogle
Advisory Group Secretariat
18 July 1997
DFEE

Dear Mr. Sangha

Thank you for your letter of 27 July to Baroness blackstone, enclosing a paper of the transformation of post-16 education and training. We are grateful for you contribution. Copies of your paper have been circulated to colleagues concerned with the preparation of the White Paper on Lifelong Learning.

G W Staines
Further and Higher Education Directorate
4 August 1997
Further Education Division
DFEE

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Dear Sujinder Singh Sangha

Thank you for your letter.

I appreciate you taking the time to write to me with your submission to the DFEE on lifelong learning. I read your comments with interest and noted your views.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Hodge MP
House of Commons
22 December 1997
DFEE

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SECTION IV

ENTERING THE NEW MILLENNIUM : ISSUES AND CONCERNS OF PUNJABIS IN BRITAIN

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20
THE SIKH COMMUNITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The migration, history and development of the Sikh community in Birmingham and the Midlands owes as much to the British Empire in India, during which a distinct affinity grew between the Sikh and the British administrators of Punjab, as it does to the economic needs of the Sikhs. Relationships between the Sikh and the United Kingdom were further strengthened during the two World Wars when thousands of Sikh soldiers fought alongside British soldiers in the European and outlying colonies. After the Second World War, labour shortages in this country, caused in part by the need for more labour to reconstruct the infrastructure and the development of post-war Britain, the emergence of National Health Service and rapid industrial growth led to active recruitment for labour from overseas colonies. During this period a small minority of ex-soldiers and other Sikhs came to settle in the UK. Further Sikh migration and settlement followed the increased demand for labour. Early Sikh settlers in the Midlands came to fill the manual jobs available in the heavy metal industries.

However, as there was no coherent strategy for supporting the new arrivals, many Sikhs faced severe problems. Despite the obvious contribution of migrant labourers, there was a great deal of open hostility and incidents of racial discrimination and harassment. It could be argued that some public authorities, were at their worst hostile, or rather indifferent and ambiguous in their policies and practices towards the new settlers. There were cases of discrimination against Sikhs by both public and private employers.

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Sikh workers tried to organise in industry through unions and also established networks of mutual support. These self-help schemes led in turn to the emergence of broader community institutions. During the late 1960s, families also began to join their male relatives or husbands. Although there was a great deal of anxiety on the part of Sikhs about calling for their families, they felt that stringent immigration laws left them with no alternative.

As the families arrived, the Sikhs in Birmingham formed a number of social organisations and established the early Gurdwaras in Handsworth, Sparkbrook and Smethwick. The Gurdwaras set up supplementary schools for the teaching of Punjabi language and Sikh culture. This reflected the parents' worries regarding their culture and religious traditions. Despite discrimination in the housing market and the financial services, Sikh families were also keen to buy their own homes, often welcoming their newly arrived relatives and friends into them. Economic security was the prime concern of Sikh families till the 1980s.

During the last three decades, Sikh organisations have given support to other black organisations. Some Sikhs joined Indian or Asian Organisations and in recent years have become members of Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Tory Party. Various community organisations within the Sikh community have met the diverse needs of the Sikhs and provided support to other groups. On occasions they have led the fight against racism. The Indian Workers Association, an organisation drawing largely upon Sikh membership, campaigned against racial harassment and provided support in the workplace for ordinary working Sikhs, because the traditional unions were largely hostile to the new workers in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1980's, industrial decline led to massive unemployment. Many Sikhs saw small family enterprises as the only real way of achieving economic security. Sikhs began to formalise the management of the Gurdwaras and set up new community organisations which had more focused remits. However, support for community activities from local and national government was still targeted at the 'Asian' community, rather than recognising and

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addressing the needs of the actual communities which made up this vast group. Sikh organisations began to take a more professional approach to issues affecting the community. Some specialised Sikh organisations were established to address the needs of the Sikh youth, elderly etc. Sikh organisations continued the demands for greater awareness of their needs and to fight discriminatory practices, such as restrictions on the wearing of turbans. The campaign to win the right for Sikh motorcyclists to wear turbans, and for a Sikh school boys to attend school wearing a turban, was initiated and supported by Birmingham Sikhs. In 1984, unfortunate events in the Punjab led to a greater awareness within the Sikh community. This growing intervention in Punjab politics is marked by a widening of the constituents from which the Sikh activists in Britain are drawn, and the establishment of several new Sikh political and religious organisations.

Disturbances in inner city areas and subsequent reports have highlighted continued institutionalised racial disadvantage in the services and job markets. The effects of such disadvantage are also shared by the Sikhs; more-over, their influence is almost insignificant in so far as policy making is concerned. During more recent years, increased participation by Sikhs in local politics, the establishment of the Council of Sikh Gurdwaras, Sikh business organisations in Birmingham, the election of black and Asian MPs in Parliament, have been some of the positive developments. Birmingham has also seen the celebration of Sikh festivals and cultural events (COSG 1994).

A STATISTICAL PROFILE

It is difficult to obtain accurate data on the population and distribution of Sikhs in Birmingham. The 1991 Census gives data about minority ethnic communities based on their country of origin, however Sikhs are not distinguished as they are enumerated under the category 'Indians.' Since they form a distinct community within the groups from India, their relative strength in numbers is quite high. Unless monitoring is more targeted, many Sikhs feel that they will once again out on the provision of appropriate service, as

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they did during earlier times when the Sikhs were sub-sumed under Asians.

The profile of the Sikh community presented here is drawn from a very crude analysis of the 1991 Census (Tatla 1997). The analysis is based on a number of assumptions about the size of the Sikh community within the larger Indian population of Birmingham. The only certainty is that Sikhs make up a majority of the population of Indian origin. Estimates of Birmingham range from 60% to 75% of the Indians. However, there is no substitute for accurate monitoring and, moreover, numbers alone will be of little value unless they are underpinned by culturally sensitive approaches by the City.

Local Authority officers and planners can devise schemes to satisfy the needs of the Sikh community. The demands of the Sikh community are no more different than others. What is required is a sensitive and accommodating approaches to provide a fair share of the existing resources for the social, cultural and economic development of the Sikh community.

A

Sikh Population of Birmingham		
	Population	%
Total City Population	960,000	100%
Whites	755,000	78%
Ethnic Minorities	200,000	21%
....of which Indians	51,000	5%
....of which Sikhs	36,000	4%
Sikhs as % of City's Ethnic Minorities		17%

B

Sikhs in Birmingham: Country of Birth		
	Population	%
Total Sikh Population	36,000	100%
Birmingham/Britain	18,000	50%
Punjab/India	13,500	38%
East/Africa/Far East	4,000	12%

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C

Age profile of Sikh Residents			
Age Group	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage*
0-4	1,500	1,500	10
5-15	4,500	3,500	22
16-24	3,000	3,250	18
25-64	8,000	8,000	45
65 and over	750	1,000	5

D

Economic Profile of the Sikh Community			
	Male	*Female*	*Percentage*
Economically inactive	2,850	5,800	36
Economically active	9,150	6,400	64
Economically Active			
Employee—full time	5,500	3,500	58
Employee—part time	250	1,050	8
Self-employed— —with employees	850	265	7
Self-employed— —without employees	800	350	7
Unemployed and others	1,750	1,235	20
Total as self-employed Sikhs	1,650	615	14.6
Total as self-employed— rest of the population of Brimingham	26,000	6,550	7.7

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A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF EVENTS: 1940s-2000

19th/20th Century

- History of Anglo-Sikh Punjab-Britain connections

1940s

- World War II, contributions of Sikhs and other nations.
- Reconstruction of infrastructure in post-war Britain.
- Welfare State/National Health Service launched.
- Shortage of labour in industry and migration rules relaxed.
- Sikhs arrive in Birmingham from Doaba region of Punjab.
- Sikhs finds manual jobs in car industry and foundaries.

1950s

- Labour shortages intensify in construction, textile, engineering sector.
- Asian and Afro-Caribbian labours arrive in large numbers.
- Some politicians surrender to racialist discourse on immigration and housing issues.
- Birmingham GPO and firms discriminate against practicing Sikhs.
- Development of some Sikh self help organisations.
- First Sikh Gurdwara established.
- Migrants workers start organising within industry.

1960s

- Birmingham Immigration Control Association encouraged racism.
- Families of Sikh workers begin to join them.
- Sikhs establish centres in Handworth, Sparkbrook and Smethwick.
- Tory government tightens immigration controls.
- Indian Workers Association established.
- 1964 Labour in power; by an large Sikhs support the Labour Party.
- A gurdwara in Smethwick established for religious and social ceremonies.

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- 1965 Gordon Walker defeated in Smethwick over racialism.
- 1965 Immigration Control Act—Labour's Tory policy.
- Smethwick Gurdwara becomes a centre for Birmingham's Sikhs.
- Sikhs campaign against racial discrimination as bus drivers.
- First Punjabi language classes for Sikh children.
- 1965 Race Relation Act; unlawful to discriminate.
- 1965 Minister of Education circular No. 7. No school should have more than 30-40% of its enrolment as 'immigrant children' : bussing of children opposed.
- 1966 Race Relation Board : positive policy of integration.
- Local Government Act of 1966, extra funding from the Home Office; Sikhs did not see any significant benefits of extra funding from the Home Office.
- Teaching English to 'immigrant' children proves to be controversial.
- 1967 National Front bringing together Mosley's British Union of Fascists, Leese's Imperial Fascist League, Empire Loyalists, and British National Party.
- Sikhs rally against racial discrimination.
- 1968 Enoch Powell's speech of 'river's of blood'.
- 1968 Immigration Act, 1968 Race Relations Act.
- 1968 Harold Wilson's announces Urban Programme.
- Development of Sikh organisations.
- Sikhs housing issues; discrimination in the financial sector.
- *Punjabi Patrika* –first Sikh weekly newspaper launched in Birmingham.

1970s

- Development of Sikh community infrastructure and participation in trade union campaigns.
- Joint Council for Welfare of Immigrants established.
- National Association for Multi-Racial Education campaign for equality in education.
- TUC/CBI Race Equality statement.
- Community Relations Council established in Birmingham.
- Cultural and social events reinforce Sikh identity.
- Urban programme 'self help projects'; question regarding Sikh Community's share.

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- 1971 Immigration Act; patrials/non-patrials debate.
- 1971 Treaty of Accession between UK and ECC.
- 1972 Asians expelled from Uganda.
- Race Relations Act of 1976 to prevent discrimination.
- 1976 Act replaces Race Relations Board by Commission for Racial Equality.
- 1977Anti-Nazi League launched.
- 1978 Industrial Language training service.
- 1978 Conservative's high profile on immigration control.
- Participation of Sikhs and other black people in city politics.
- Business activities amongst Sikhs.
- Sikhs formalise Gurdwara management and set up new organisations.

1980s

- Professional approach to issues in Sikh community.
- Equal Opportunities and Race Relations Units established.
- Gurdwaras represent Sikh community issues.
- Ethnic monitoring on service delivery and employment.
- Disturbance in inner city areas.
- 1981 Nationality Act.
- Indian Workers Association and other organisations protest.
- Punjabi writers' visit to Birmingham.
- Sikh demonstrations in London against the turban issue
- Sikh campaign in support of Dharm Yudh Morcha in Punjab.
- 1985 Swann Report recommendations on multi-cultural education.
- Education Reform Act 1998.
- Sikh educational pressure groups established.
- New Sikh organisations formed to support Punjab issues.
- Rise of black and Asian professionals and politicians.
- *The Punjabi Guardian,* -a Punjabi fortnightly newspaper established.
- Several Punjabi weekly and monthly newpapers and journerls start and cease publication due to lack of LA support.

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1990s

- Further and Higher Education Act 1990/91.
- Punjabi language and Sikh studies initiatives in higher education.
- The rise of Sikh business organisations.
- Asian and Black MPs in Parliament.
- Council of Sikh Gurdwaras in Birmingham organises several festivals and cultural events.
- The rise in Asian business organisations with growing Sikh participation.
- Unemployment among Sikh workers.
- Birmingham International Race Equality Conference.
- Tercentenary celebration of the Khalsa Panth, Birmingham City Council provides support.
- Prime Minister Rt. Hon. Tony Blair addresses Khalsa Tercentenary festival at International Convention Centre, Birmingham.

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21
REFLECTIONS ON SIKH NATIONALISM IN MODERN INDIA

The Punjab, which borders on Pakistan, occupies an important strategic position in the Indian union. Its human resources and agricultural output are vital to India's security and economic development. The Punjab state is also the spiritual homeland and political centre of the Sikhs who are now a transnational religious community with significant numbers settled in Britain, U.S.A., Canada and many other countries of the world. The 1980s began with an upsurge of Sikh nationalism and secessionism. It brought about a furious reaction from political party, the ruling Congress Party, revolutionary and democratic communists and the right wing Hindu nationalists. This paper endeavours to trace the basis of Sikh nationalism in modern India since the 1980s.

This essay is divided into two parts. First, the paper provides a survey of the historical, economic and political background to the current situation of Sikh mationalism in modern India. Second, it provides an analyses of Sikh nationalism in the light of theories of nationalism, especially those of the West.

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PART ONE: HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO THE PUNJAB CRISIS

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the last five hundred years, Sikhs have establised themselves as a distinct community. Their social and cultural framework, together with their military background, has provided sufficient strength and confidence to maintain an independent identity. During the medival period, the foundation of Sikhism was an endeavour to create a union of all those who loved God and were prepared to serve humanity. The founders provided a simple but progressive theological base and saw their role as protecting society from internal dissension and strife and in guiding its destinty in such a way as to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number of people. The Sikh Gurus and their followers rejected the decadent, superstitious, ritualistic, obscurant and exploitative values of Indian society. They opposed Hindu practies as strongly as they opposed and struggled against the medieval Moghul suppression. Sikhs displayed a practical way of life modelled on their gurus and early Sikh followers. Many of them were not only spiritual leaders, they were also martyrs and heroes, their beliefs having brought them into direct conflict with the overlords.

By the late 17th century, Sikhism had firmly acquired the status of an independent religion having established :

—centres of its faith,
—a tradition of a common community kitchen,
—a book of scriptures -the Guru Granth,
—appointed spiritual leaders,
—a regular flow of contributions from its followers,
—an annual gathering,
—an army,
—a set of five outward symbols denoting the separate identity from Hindus and Muslims.

Sikhs have a very strong identity as a people. The

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historical process from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh has led to permanent and significant political consequences. In the ensuing period, Sikhs gradually grew into a nation. Between 1780-1839 under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, they built Punjab into a powerful kingdom and attached to it the provinces of Multan, Kashmir and Pashawar. The founders, in their own time, reinforced the importance of agriculture, industry, trade and commerce along with the need for high individual and collective ethical and spiritual standards. Sikhs had to be creative and productive members of a dynamic society. Material prosperity must be based on a sound moral and social conscience.

The period from 1708 to 1799 marked the heroic age of Sikh history, during which, the Sikhs struggledoften at great odds against the forces of Mughal imperialism from Delhi, and the rulers of Afghanistan who mounted repeated invasions. The Sikhs were to triumph, and their war-cry of 'Raj Karega Khalsa (the Khalsa shall rule) was to be fulfilled. Foreign invasions had destroyed other local claimants to power and the Afghans were unable to establish their own authority in the Punjab. In this power vacuum, a number of Sikh chieftains carved out principalities for themselves. Victory in the civil war was finally gained by Sardar Ranjit Singh. His army captured Lahore in 1799, and he became a Maharajah of the Punjab until his death in 1839. In the Punjab, the Khalsa—in whose name Ranjit Singh ruled—was supreme. Its forces rapidly conquered the Afghan territories to the west, and Kashmir to the north, eventually reaching as far as Lhasa in Tibet. A powerful army was organised and a stable administration created, in order to maintain the independence of the state and its people.[2]

Eventually the Sikhs emerged supreme, and established their own powerful sovereign, independent state in the Punjab. This in turn was conquered from the east by the British, who ruled the area from 1849 till 1947. After this, the Sikhs were forced to reappraise their institutional identity, both as subjects of the colonial power, and as a minority community surrounded by the larger non-Sikh communities.[2]

Having enjoyed the taste of sovereign nationhood for

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nearly half a century, the Sikhs had to redefine their collective identity in response to the challenges they faced as a minority in the 19th century British India. The Imperial government exploited the military tradition to the full, Sikhs made up some 20% of the army during World War I.[3]

The development of a Sikh reformist movement towards the end of the 19th century was parallel to similar development among the Hindus. Early this century, the Sikhs began to assert their collective powers to demand direct control of all major institutions of Sikhism. During the troubled years of the 18th century, members of the Khalsa were so frequently the targets of official repression. The control of many of the major gurdwaras had passed to priestly custodians who did not observe the Khalsa discipline, and were often closer in outlook to the Hindus, and served the colonial administration.

The end of the first World War saw a rapid transformation in the 'tone' of Indian political life. The independence movement became an institution with mass support. The authority of the British was severely shaken by the massacre of unarmed civilians at a political rally in the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar, in 1919. After this, the leadership of the Sikhs passed on to more radical activists. A Sikh organisation, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) was set up in 1920, to manage Sikh historic shrines. In conscious imitation of the heroic days of the 18th century, action squads called jathas were formed. Sikh volunteers grouped into a semi-military organisation known as the Akali Dal, or 'Army of Immortals.' The colonial government which had sided with the loyalist mahants, was forced to accede to the Akali demands and control of the main shrines and their revenues was formally vested in the SGPC, under the terms of the Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925. Since that time, the SGPC under the control of the Shiromani Akali Dal has continued to play a central role in Sikh affairs. The Shiromani Akali Dal adopted an anti-colonial political role and asserted itself as a representative of the Panth and Sikh nationalism. There was a parallel political development of Hindu nationalism in the Indian National Congress (INC) and its popularity at the time, made it symbolic of Indian nationalism.

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The partition of the continent in 1947 into India and Pakistan cut through the heart of the Punjab, the traditional homeland of the Sikhs. For millions of Sikhs, it was a disaster. Savage communal riots took place. The exodus of major sections of the Sikh community from West Punjab threatened its very survival. A community's entire assets in Pakistan had to be abandoned. Sikh farmers had to move from wet to dry farming. This development not only resulted in the expropriation of lands and properties, but also in the abandonment of sacred shrines, spiritual centres and ancestral homes. India was now free and the political attitude of the INC began to change. The Constitution Act of 1950 was passed without the promised approval of the Shiromani Akali Dal. Thus, the pre-independence undertakings of the Congress leadership proved to be a historical betrayal, and many laws were passed isolating the Sikh religious orders. The Akali rejection of the constitution was politically insignificant to the INC, as the Sikh eletoral power had been offset through an appeal to the sentiments of the non-Sikh voters in the Punjab. Free India's Home Minister, Patel, attempted through secret circulars to brand the Sikhs as trouble-makers.

The political reorganisation of India after 1947 was carried out on the basis of regional languages. The union government, however, refused to form a Punjabi-speaking state and claimed that the question of an autonomous Sikh state within the Indian union, was now out of the question. Moreover, it was labelled as treacherous, despite the fact that it was recognised to be a respectable Sikh aim. Despite this, the Sikh agitations of the 1960s forced the government to concede the new Punjabi state. This settlement excluded many Punjabi-speaking areas. Furthermore, the new state was deprived of the administrative control of the newly built capital city of Chandigrah, as well as many important projects hydro-electric power stations. The Sikhs have always alleged that the establishment is hostile towards them, has neglected their just grievances and diplomatic institutions, and has never regarded Sikh interests as belonging to India.

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ECONOMIC FACTORS

After partition, economic resources were already insufficient in Indian Punjab. The gradual reduction in size of land-holdings due to partition, together with growing population pressure meant increasingly un-economic farming. The demobilisation of several categories of personnel from the forces and the reduction of Sikhs into the defence forces added another difficulty to the economic position of the Sikh community. Sikh peasent who migrated to fresh pastures, in other Indian provinces found them quite hostile. Those who found agriculture unattractive moved into industrial ventures and transport. In the last three decades more than a million Sikhs have migrated to many parts of the world and to the Middle East for temporary work.

The Sikh community is about 18 million strong and as many as 30% have settled outside the Punjab. It is estimated that, with the many Sikhs who migrated abroad during the British Raj, about 14% have now made their homes overseas. The largest settlements are in the UK, the U.S.A., Canada, parts of East Africa, Singapore and Australia. The overseas Sikh community has boosted the Indian economy by sending billions of Dollars and Pound Sterling back home during the last three decades.

The agricultural growth rate in the Punjab and the other parts of India where Sikhs were cultivators, doubled compared with the whole of India. It is three times higher than that of Pakistani Punjab. The output of wheat, rice, maize, potatoes, and the production of oil seed, went up between two and a half to four times in the predominantly Sikh farming areas. No doubt high yield seeds, fertilisers and the mechanisation of production helped but the fact remains that Sikh farmers have not only awakened the administration in relation to the benefits of agricultural development, but have also stimulated the rural population in many other states to make advances in farming. In 1947, the Punjab had a 35000 tonne food deficit, but now Punjab state saves the union government a foreign exchange equivalent to $500 million per annum. If all those parts of India which are technically capable of creating their

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own 'green revolution' were to match the Punjab's productivity, India would produce 350 million tonnes of foodgrain per year, leaving her with an export surplus larger than that of the United States.

For the farmers, as well as for the dependent classes, the balance sheet of the 'green revolution' is not so rosy as it might first appear. The cultivators in the panjab have accrued liabilities amounting to over $600 million for acquiring productive capital supplies, which has to be paid out of surplus. Small cultivators especially, depend upon loans from the state and other agencies and to take advantage of advanced agricultural production methods. Rising oil prices have led to cost inflation while farm prices have fallen. The government wheat and rice mountains also act against the farmers' interests, as they are utilised to offset occasional shortfalls and to maintain stability in prices. Shifting the economic burden to the cultivators, however, who have no control over the price of their products, only serves to raise the political temperature and Sikh hostility.

Since the early 1970s, the terms of trading between farmers and the rest of economy have become adverse. Agricultural growth has not resulted in a corresponding growth in industry in the Punjab towns. While the Punjab's dependence on industry has sharply increased, the cultivators have to pay higher prices than those dictated by the world market to purchase the necessary machinery and materials. Moreover, they often have no choice but to buy from the black market. In the meantime, they must sell their products at the relatively cheaper rates, enforced by the government bureaucracy. Corrupt and inefficient bureaucratic practices have dampened the possibilities of industrial investment from abroad.

The administrative bottle-necks, monopolistic behaviour of private and public sectors, lack of essential capital goods, restrictions on various kinds of foreign trade and restricted power supply have all helped to discourage foreign investment. The union government has opposed the setting-up of new power stations and has adopted a negative attitude towards the distribution of river water resources. They have also been

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reluctant to connect the Punjab directly to the international air transport system, despite the fact that almost 50% of all Indian air passengers travel to and from the Punjab. Furthermore, out of India's development investment of $160 billion, the Punjab has received only about $3.5 billion. This is despite the fact that 78% of bank savings are taken away from the Punjab through the financial system. This adverse economic situation has resulted in draining skilled labour and resources out of the Punjab. It has intensified political and economic frustration among the Sikhs since they claim a special relationship with this state, seeing it as their spiritual, cultural, and political homeland.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The nature of contemporary Indian society is a consequence of the social conditions which prevailed on the continent for centuries, and which were subsequently influenced by British imperialism and its cultural traditions. The British Raj had a vested interest in dividing the dominant Indian social strata. Both groups were unable to collaborate to press ahead for modernisation. That is why there was no political development in India parallel to that of Japanese or German fascism. The fragmentation of Indian peasantry on caste, religious, geographical or cultural grounds, and the imposition of a British legal framework safeguarding the interests of the rural gentry and the urban commercial groups, diminished the possibility of a communist revolution of a Russian or a Chinese kind. Although the revolutionary groups registered their isolated presence, they failed to make any significant political impact.

All parties concerned with Indian independence including the British government, were aware that any final solution must rest on the general agreement of the three important socio-religious forces. The INC and the Muslim League both attempted to appease the Sikhs. The colonial government signalled its preparedness to grant full national status to the Sikhs. The Sikh leadership, however, accepted the solemn assurance of accredited Congress leaders, including Mahatma

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Gandhi, Pundit Nehru and the policy resolutions of the INC Committee. This meant that after Indian independence, no constitution could be framed by the majority community without its acceptance by the Sikh community. In July 1946 at Calcutta, Pundit Nehru spelt out that 'the brave Sikhs of the Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a setup in the North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.'

Indian polity entered the 1980's surviving as a democracy bearing up under tremendous stress. Many questions surface from time to time about its future in the light of the slow pace of modernisation and various internal conflicts; also there is the massive inequality and disadvantages among the masses, the gap between urban and rural development and the general question of deprivation and unemployment. Nevertheless, India is now the ninth industrial and sixth nuclear power in the world. She has an advanced industrial setup ranging from heavy industry to micro-electronics. India virtually imports no consumer goods and is relatively self-sufficient in foodgrains. The Punjab and its people—at home and abroad—have played an outstanding role in the well-being and security of the state, but many Sikhs have begun to question seriously the community's future role and its political destiny. This is especially the case in relation to the question of Sikhs being a mere 1.9% of the Indian population, and that of the increasing economic deficit between the Punjab and the rest of India.

The Sikhs have a tradition of resisting oppression which goes back for five centuries. This includes the Mogul era, the British Raj and even the present day in their resolute opposition to the authoritarian regime of 1975-77. Sikhs have always remained in a dilemma about their own destiny and the ultimate purpose of Sikhism in the contemporary political arena. It has been a major source of internal dissension in Sikh history. The Akali Party was regarded as a powerful stabilising force in the politics of the Punjab, but the State experienced unprecedented violence in the early 80's, resulting in scores of deaths and the hijacking of an India airliner. This was allegedly due to the inconsistent policies of the Congress administration

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and its deliberate communal provocation for political gain. Although no direct communal conflict took place at first, tensions under the surface remained high in the Punjab. Many police atrocities were reported which fuelled the political conflict and provoked further discontent. The situation gradually worsened after the Akali Dal government in the Punjab was dismissed by Congress. This partly explains the political tension between the Sikhs represented in the main Shiromni Akali Dal Party, and the Congress Party in particular. It also explains the confrontation between the Punjab State and the union government in general, and accounts for the resurrection of Sikh nationalism, which reached its peak in the 1980s.

In 1984, the Congress government used armed forces which resulted in a large scale massacre of civilians including women and children, desecration of the holiest of holy Sikh shrines and destruction of the Sikh cultural heritage. Many Sikh soldiers, angered by the invasion of the Golden Temple, the killing of the Sikh religio-political leader Sant Jarmail Singh Bhindrawala and his hard core supporters, deserted the army. Later on 31st October 1984 the Sikh guards of Mrs. Indira Gandhi assassinated her. On the night that Mrs. Gandhi's death was announced, Congress Party workers, (They were also alleged to have included two or three MPs...as well as a member of Central Cabinet) organised and mobilised communal violent attacks on the Sikhs, resulting in large scale killings and destruction of property.[4] These developments have further reinforced the question of the security and well being of the Sikhs in India. The situation has undermined the position of theAkali Dal and has generated a demand for Khalistan.

In conclusion, it must be said that the recent upsurge in Sikh nationalism is not a foreign-inspired phenomenon. It is an essential feature of Sikh political history, in relation to Indian politics. The post-independence process, involving the centralisation of political and economic power, the lack of internal democracy in the major political institutions and the inclination of the majority community to colour the Indian state with Hindu values, has encouraged nationalism and

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secessionism. Such developments threaten not only the federal, pluralist and democratic character of Indian polity, but also destabilises the very fabric of the state of India which stands on a multi-national historic base. Hierarchical developments in the ruling congress party and massive participation of incompetent politicians, have increased the bureaucratic domination which stimulates the sense of alienation in regions such as the Punjab. The Sikhs also feel politically betrayed by the INC in relation to their pre-independence understanding with its leaders. The union government's attitude towards the Punjabi language and culture has further intensified this feeling. They also have a sense of insecurity as an independent entity, lacking proper constitutional arrangements and being a mere 1.9% of the Indian population. They have a strong sense of identity as a people. They feel confident not only in defending this identity, but also in promoting it in the modern world. Such values can co-exist with modernisation. The ultimate dynamic force of Sikh nationalism is directly related to the political attitude of the union government, towards the Sikhs in particular.

PART TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIKH NATIONALISM

Historically, theories of nationalism are predominately diffusionist. They treat nationalism as an ideology with specific roots in post-medieval Europe, and trace its development from small beginnings to its present position as one of the dominant forces in the world. The precise date of the genesis of nationalism is a matter of dispute. Kohn tends to favour 1642, Act -the 1772 partition of Poland, Kedourie -1806, the date of Fichet's famous address to the German nation in Berlin. Most, however, opt for 1889 with the proviso that the revolution served merely to bring together the elements of nationalist ideas, which were brewing up throughout the previous two centuries.[5]

The development of nationalist ideas in a similar and perhaps clearer form, can be traced in the history of the sub continent of India. The Sikh political ideology was founded

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between 1469 to 1708. On the whole, Sikhism was led by a succession of ten living gurus, who established its central doctrines and institutions. It was initially inspired by peaceful ideals, but the prevailing historical circumstances forced the Sikhs into military confrontation with the then all-powerful Mughal Empire. The militarisation of the Sikhs was formally established by the last living guru. Supreme spiritual authority was vested in the Sikh scriptures after his death.

The Sikh identity was institutionalised in 1699. Whatever the precise details of the regulations actually introduced at that time, the fact remains that the Baisakhi ceremony at Anandpur Sahib in 1699, marked the development of a new Sikh consciousness which became the turning point in the evolution of the Sikh community. The concept of Khalsa Panth was institutionalised, but the collective community spirit of the Khalsa Panth faced severe tests and repressions. The Sikhs emerged as warriors fighting against great odds for the freedom of their faith, and the cause of their national independence from the foreign foe.

Ellie Kedorie's version of nationalism held it as a doctrine invented in Europe in the beginning of the 18th century. Briefly, his doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations. These are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and the only legitimate type of government is self government.[6] The establishment of the Khalsa nation-state in the Punjab—in the early 19th century—illustrates and reinforces this perspective in a similar way that Islam was transformed into a political ideology and used to mobilise Muslims to establish the nation-state of Pakistan, in 1947. The modern Indian nation-state appears to be losing its 'multi-national' and federal character, and is becoming a Hindu-national state.

The doctrine of Hindu-nationalism developed from the revival and reform movement of the 18th and early 20th centuries. The Hindu revivalism lead by Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha movements were closely linked to the growth of Indian nationalism. Because of the demographic situation, secular minded Hindus played a leading role in the Congress party, but it was in the main a Hindu dominated

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political party. Hindu nationalism became synonymous with Indian nationalism, but it increased its legitimacy by making provision for the participation of non Hindus. The congress party gave people a platform to struggle against colonial rule. Many political theorists such as Minogue and the neo-Marxists, have seen nationalism as a national response to foreign oppression, and they trace the dynamic of nationalism to the anti-colonial movement. This explains the development of Indian nationalism.

In the process of the development of Indian nationalism the majority community, the Hindus, seemed to have gained their inspiration from their religious imagery. For example, in Maharashtra, the festivals of the God Ganapati were used for nationalist propaganda. A view of the Bhagvad Gita became a stimulus to later nationalist leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi. In Bengal, Hindu religious concepts were enlisted in materials used for nationalist propaganda. The devotional songs were written in simple Sanskrit 'Vande Matram' (I serve the Mother). The mother referred to the stern demon destroying Kali and is a personification of India.[7] This song was soon to be taken up by the more extreme nationalists, who made much use of 'Vande Matram' and called on their Hindu coreligionists to strive for the freedom of India, in a spirit of devotion. The majority followed the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, whose insistence on Hindu values, however, discouraged many Muslims from joining his movement. As a consequence, the Muslims developed a doctrine of Islamic nationalism which resulted in establishing of the nation-state of Pakistan. Realising the political significance of the Sikhs, who were the rulers of Punjab before its annexation by the British Crown, the British government granted them legislative weight. Sikhs were 1% of the Indian population and 13% in the undivided Punjab, but the British government then allotted them 18% seats in Punjab Legislative Assembly and 25% seats in the Centre government. Sikhs were considered as one of the three parties in India, the other two being Hindu and Muslim who would assume power after the British in 1947.

The basis for bringing Sikh nationalism into mainstream Indian nationalism, was the recognition of the political rights

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of the Sikhs. The INC, at its Lahore session in 1929, incorporated the Sikh National colour (*Kesri*) into the Indian National Flag and adopted a formal resolution which stated :

> 'The Congress assure the Sikhs...that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be accepted to the Congress that does not give them (Sikhs) full satisfaction.'[8]

Mahatma Gandhi, who was generally regarded as the conscience of the Hindus, was reported to declare (Young India, 16th March, 1931 while speaking at Gurdwara Sisganj in Delhi) that.....

> 'Sikh friends have reasons to fear that the Congress Party will betray them. For, the movement it does so, the Congress would not only thereby seal its own doom, but that of the country too. Moreover, the Sikhs are brave people. They know how to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms, if it should ever come to that.'

Speaking at the Congress Committee at Calcutta in July 1844, when the British Cabinet was debating the issues of giving the Sikhs their dues in the forthcoming settlement, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that :

> 'The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set up in the North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.'

In another resolution adopted by the congress Committee on January 5th 1947, it was declared that :

> 'By the British Cabinet Scheme of 16th May 1946, the rights of the Sikhs should not be jeopardised.'

As far back as 1920, at the Nagpur Congress Session, it was decided to form linguistic states. As Nehru says on Page 22 of his book, 'Glimpse of World History' :

> 'It is better to have linguistic states, as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally similar customs, into one provincial area.'

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This was made into official Congress policy and confirmed in every Congress session held in 1921, 1928, 1937, 1938, and 1945-46.

In Sikh ideology, these historical developments were taken to mean that the Sikhs would enjoy 'the Sikh nationhood' within the 'multi national' framework of the Federal Republic of India. It was after receiving such firm and solemn understandings in clear and unambiguous terms from the INC, that the Sikhs decided to throw in their lot with India and did not press the British government for an independent Sikh state at the time of partition, when Muslims gained the nation-state of Pakistan. The extent of the Sikh contribution to the anti-colonial nationalist movement to establish an independent nation-state, can be seen from the following brief examples :

Out of a total of 121 hanged in nationalist struggle, 93 were Sikhs; out of 2646 sentenced to life imprisonment, no less than 2147 were Sikhs. In considering these figures, it is interesting to note that in pre-partitoned India Sikhs formed a little over 1% of the population.

After the end of colonial rule, when free India's Constitution was framed, the Sikhs were represented by two of its members. But Sikhs were declared as Hindus along with Buddhists and Jains, vide Article 25 of the Indian Constitution 1950. Both the Sikh members refused to sign the constitution and walked out as a protest at the betrayal of the Sikhs in going back on all promises made to them before independence. Gradually, all the personal laws of Sikhs were abolished and Hindu laws were enforced on them such as : 'Hindu Marriage Act 1955', 'Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956.'

Ever since independence, these developments have been perceived as the institutionalisation of Hindu nationalism in India. It was felt that it undermined the spirit of Indian nationalism and Sikh 'national' aspirations and expectations, and established domination over minority 'nationalities'. Instead of acting on the pre-independence decisions, the INC flouted the federal concept of the constitution by illegally avoiding the financial and statutory autonomy of the states. For example, they did this through the extra constitutional means of the Planning Commission, Water and

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Power Commission, and the University Grants Commission etc.

Although the situation, on the surface, seemed calm during the 60's and 70's, the military repression in the Punjab in the 1980's further strengthened Sikh nationalism, especially in the aftermath of the army operation in the Golden Temple in Amritsar and mass killings of the Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of India. *The Guardian* (18 February 1985) observed :

> '...the Anandpur Sahib resolution (which was) passed many years ago demanding religious and political autonomy for the Sikhs and a federal status for Punjab, has been the focal point of the three year crisis in the state. In Amritsar, Sikh Youths have again started wearing saffron turbans, associated with Bhindrawale (the late Sikh nationalist leader) and his followers. Their appearance is a sign of fading military authority. Bhindrawale was killed with over a thousand of his followers in the army invasion of the Golden Temple in June 1984. The prospect for a negotiated peace remain as remote as they were when the troops first moved into the troubled state...'

The Anandpur Sahib resolution was adopted on 28-29th October 1978, at a major Akali conference at Ludhiana. The resolution was drafted on the recommendations of a sub-committee consisting of Sikh intellectuals and political leaders set up on 11 December 1972 at Anandpur Sahib. The sub-committee prepared a draft of a 'policy-programme' for Shiromani Akali Dal. In the policy programme as outlined in the Anandpur Sahib resolution, the Shiromani Akali Dal asserts that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of religious and linguistic minorities, to satisfy the demands of democratic traditions, and to pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional infrastructure should be given a real federal shape by redefining central and state relations and rights on the lines of the aforesaid principles and objectives. The political demands included : the decentralisation

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of power and more autonomy to the Punjab state. Central interference should be restricted to defence, foreign relations, currency and general communication; all other departments should be under the jurisdiction of the Punjab state. The Indian Constitution should be changed to reflect real federal principles, with equal representation at the centre from all states.

Other demands were geographical. The city of Chandigrah originally raised as a Capital for Punjab and all Punjabi speaking areas, should be conceded to the Punjab and the issues covering the control of head works, distribution of river waters should be resolved. The economic demands included the establishment of a proper dignity of labour, the development of an economic structure to provide for the uplift of the poor and depressed sections of society, and the reversal of the concentration of economic power which rests in the hands of a few capitalists. Furthermore, the government of India should install a broadcasting sub station at the Golden Temple Amritsar, for the relay of *Kirtan* for spiritual benefit of overseas Sikhs. Other issues covered foreign policy, industrial policy, educational, cultural and personal laws including the demand that Sikhs should be recognised as a separate community.

The Akali Dal launched its Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1981 by presenting a memorandum of demands to the central governement. During this agitation which saw mobilisation of Sikh peasants, a new voice of Sikh nationalism emerged. This was Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale. He reflected his position in relation to the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*.

> 'May all religions prosper, but we cannot tolerate the moral attack on Sikh faith. We are in favour of the national integrity of the country, but not as 'slaves.' If, we learn to die, only then we can get rid of this slavery. The Indian government is now determined to dishonour and humiliate the Sikhs, but this is a dream that will never materialise. I do not fear physical death but death of the conscience is a sure death. Even though my body be cut to pieces, I will continue to fight injustices. The entry of the police or army into the Golden Temple will lay the foundation stone of Khalistan.'

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In the conference of 1978 where the Anandpur Sahib resolution was adopted, Sant Bhindrawale said :

> '...Sikh in his daily prayers appeals to God for the good of everyone... we have made countless sacrifices for the protection of the Hindu religion. When the Hindus were under siege we helped them at the cost of our lives....and now the same 'Hindus' are oppressing us... neither do we coerce anyone, nor do we tolerate any coercion...'

On 29 May 1983, he further warned Akali and Indian leaders :

> 'There can be no peace in Punjab without the government agreeing to Anandpur Sahib resolution.... it is historical truth that the Sikhs are a separate nation...for sacrifices the Hindus need Sikhs, but when it comes to the rewards, the Sikhs are then condemned as second class...we will not live in humiliation...'

The view of Lajos Kossuth (who developed social and political philosophy), as expressed in 1848, can be said to describe the position of Sikhs in India : What do you understand by 'nation' ? 'A race which possesses its own language, customs and culture' was the reply from Kostic. Kossuth objected...'and enough self-consciousness to preserve them. A nation has its own government.' 'We do not go so far,' Kostic explained; 'One nation can live under several different governments and again several nations can form a single state.'[9] This is how the Sikh situation appears to be today.

Kohn (1965) defines nationalism as a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state. A deep attachment to one's native soil, to local traditions and established territorial authority has existed in varying strength throughout history. The nation-state is the ideal form of political organisation and nationality and is the source of all creative and cultural energy and economic well being. The Sikhs have been seeking and struggling to further the cause of their power, security and well being in India. Only a sensitive, politically rational and religio-culturally significant response would make them feel part of the Indian State.

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Deutsch (1975) in his alienation of leading elite group thesis observes that, in the political and social struggles of the modern age, nationality means the alignment of large numbers of individuals from the middle and lower classes, linked to regional centres and to leading social groups by channels of social communication and economic intercourse— both indirectly and directly. A 'leading social group' in this sense may be—but need not be—the established 'upper class' of the moment. The upper class a leading group if it promotes nationalism or accepts the leadership thrust upon it by a national regional movement.

Smith (1971) mass movement thesis claims that a nationalist mass movement consists of the available unattached intellectuals, marginal members of the middle (11) class, students, the unemployed, isolated industrial workers and farm workers who are ready to join such movement to change the prevailing constitutional order.

Geliner (1983:13) stresses in his 'crisis of intelligentsia' thesis, the overriding importance of the intelligentsia in nationalist movements. He says that in reality, nationalism's primary function is the resolution of the crisis of the intelligentsia. For Geliner, 'intelligentsia' is a historically specific term. He defines it as 'a class which is alienated from its own society by the very fact of its education.'[10]

It is also argued that nationalism is the drive of a relatively thin stratum of intellectuals who have absorbed the skills and values of advanced countries. Thus, they move towards rapid modernisation in opposition to any traditional barriers. This is because they are now under employed and culturally displaced in their own traditional society. This means that nationalism in developing countries, is the product of quite different forces from those which produced nationalism. In the case of the Punjab, the barrier to modernisation is not the local aristocracy (which in fact does not exist). It is perceived to be the central government, whose policies and practices have been extracting agricultural surpluses from the Punjab. Economically aware elites of the Punjab had sought and pressed for the reinvestment of the surpluses in the Punjab. The reinvestment should be used for industrial

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advancement and for developing a social and economic infrastructure. This has been a key issue in the policy programme of the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

The 'transitional man' thesis also contributes to the modernist stance on nationalism. This thesis observes nationalism as the product of a new type of education, which first affects a small disaffected minority within the traditional intelligentsia of that society. It then spreads to other groups, using the mass media and literature to reach masses. For Communication Theorists also, modernisation generates a process whereby the mass media brings new knowledge of the world, increasing expectations and in turn ideas of how to satisfy them. It creates new statutes which provide an arena for a social dynamic to develop. The theories briefly outlined here only explain some of the aspects of the Sikh Crisis in Punjab. The recent crisis no doubt developed between 1982-1985, since the *Dharam Yudh Morcha* began; but,' its roots lie in the pre and independent nationalist politics of India.

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22
INDIA BEYOND 2000 : POLITICS OF REGIONALISM AND CENTRALISATION

INTRODUCTION

This essay focuses on the Indian politics of the centralisation of political power and the development of regional 'nationalism'. This brief study is carried out in the light of Hirschman's *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (1970) and its modification by others. But, it is important first to outline the premise of this analysis.

Constitutionally, India is a federal republic, and it has no official religion. However, in historical, cultural, linguistics, regional and religious contexts; India is a multi-national state-nation. India's diversity is deep rooted, and it wields a significant political power. Its unity depends upon the politics of recognizing the nature and pattern of this diversity, and in maintaining a sensitive balance between the Hindu majority and all other minorities. It is also important, in the interest of political stability, that there is an acceptable political balance of power between central government and the States. The relationship between the centre and the states has been a significant feature of Indian politics since independence.

It is clearly understood that Hirschman's model and its revision by Barry and Birch, helps to explain individual and organizational behaviour from the 'rational choice' point of view, covering more specific situations. Since, in the context of this essay, we are looking at the Indian Federal Republic as an organisation, it seems important to outline the broader context, for more informed analysis and application of the

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proposed theory. This issue cannot be thoroughly examined in such a short essay. However, we shall narrow our focus to look at centre-regional political relations, which in my view cannot be separated from majority-minority relations. The main issues as highlighted by the press are :

> 'In a less violent way than the Punjabi, the vote in Andhra Pradesh demonstrates the need for Mr. Ghandhi to tackle a major problem dodged by his mother, and establish a new balance of devolved power and authority between Delhi and the states.'
>
> *(Financial Times, 31 December 1984)*

> 'Beyond the economy, Mr. Ghandhi has to deal with regionalism..., a problem which his mother occasionally exploited, never fully comprehended, and which ultimately destroyed her.'
>
> *(The Economist, 5 January, 1985)*

> 'As a priority, he (Mr. Ghandhi) has to resolve the Punjabi question, where minor wounds festered and then burst, where local difficulty became a tragic failure of political mismanagement.'
>
> *(The Times, 28 December 1984)*

Plato -the founder of political theory -suggested that people will only listen to the rulers if they do what is best for the people. If the State tries to swallow them as individuals and their communities, they, will resist and 'choose' to do what is best for them. In Aristotles theoretical republic, people are a community of citizens who treat each other fairly and as equals and live together in harmony and friendship. If this organization declines, people will react, and reactions for reform, change or revolution, are rational actions. Such political behaviour as this is a crude form of Hirschman's theory. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* expressed in political terms, can be said to be an updated version of early theories. People will take steps in the forms of voice or Exit, and the fundamental point is that people do act on the perceived decline of state.

'A popular' theoretical perception of India is that it is a democratic, pluralist, 'socialist', 'multi-national' secular and federal state system, with an organization bringing together

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diverse people, 'sharing' political power. This is a power which always hangs in 'balance'. The balance easily shakes when people feel that in order to live to the full, life or to realize the capacity to live a good life, there are further possibilities of improvement. They raise voice or take extra parliamentary action—the Exit option. Political actions are generated by awareness that if this massive organization does not work for them, they would then prefer to operate at their own level.

THE THEORY AND ITS CRITIQUES

Hirschman developed a theory for analysing certain economic processes; this theory also promises to illuminate a wide range of social and political phenomenon. The concepts developed by him, can be translated into the language of politics. But first let us look at the basic assumption of his theory; that is, that 'the performance of...an organization is subject to deterioration for unspecified random causes.' (Hirschaman, 1970:4). The practical scientists are only too well aware of the problems of politics in terms of strife, corruption and unstability in states. 'When technical progress in society increases, the surplus above subsistence also introduces a mechanism of utmost complexity and delicacy.' (Hirschman, 1970:18)

Hirschman suggests that like economic organization, deficiencies in a political system can be rationalized in a very similar manner. Of course, political scientists have been much concerned with rescuing political organizations/states from decay, but they have paid little attention to repairable lapses of political organizations. His theory demonstrates the usefulness of economic concepts to the political scientist and vice versa. The crux of Hirschman's theory is that the very process of an organization activates certain forces, forces which counteract decline and help with the recovery. He further suggests that each recovery mechanism itself is also subject to decay.

In this essay, Hirschman suggests that each state learns to live with a certain amount of mis-behaviour/deterioration, but lest the mis-behaviour feed on itself and lead to general

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decay, society must be able to marshal itself from within forces, which will make as many of the faltering actors as possible and revert to the behaviour required for its proper functioning. No matter how well political institutions are organized, the failure of some actors to live up to the behaviour which is expected of them is bound to occur, if only for all kinds of accidental reasons. (Hirschman, 1970:12)

HIRSCHMAN'S THEORY AND INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The perceived decline of the Indian federal system of government led to the demand for constitutional reform. This demand was pursued inside and outside the parliamentary framework. But the continuation of centralization of the power of the ruling party resulted in extra parliamentary campaigns at national and regional levels. Many M.P.s within the ruling party voiced for reform, while some others either left the party, or were sacked in the mid-1970s for not following leadership.

During that period, opposition parties organized a united front to challenge the growing monopoly of political power of the centre government. The campaign against the government's practices was launched inside and outside the parliamentary political arena. The campaign aimed at halting the further deterioration of the political structure under the one party rule. There was consensus that a united opposition could help to bring about some improvements in the operation of politics in the state. There was also growing awareness in the regions to campaign for more autonomy.

The congress government used state power to suppress the politicians who took the initiative either to reform the system from within, or from outside. But after the emergency rule of 1975-77, it lost power to the Janta Party. The Janta coalition itself collapsed after two years through lack of collective dynamic, internal conflicts and exits from the party. The regions and minorities viewed the decline of the system under both parties, the growing centralization of power, and increasing central bureaucracy. In the light of no other alternative, nationally, many regional political forces began to

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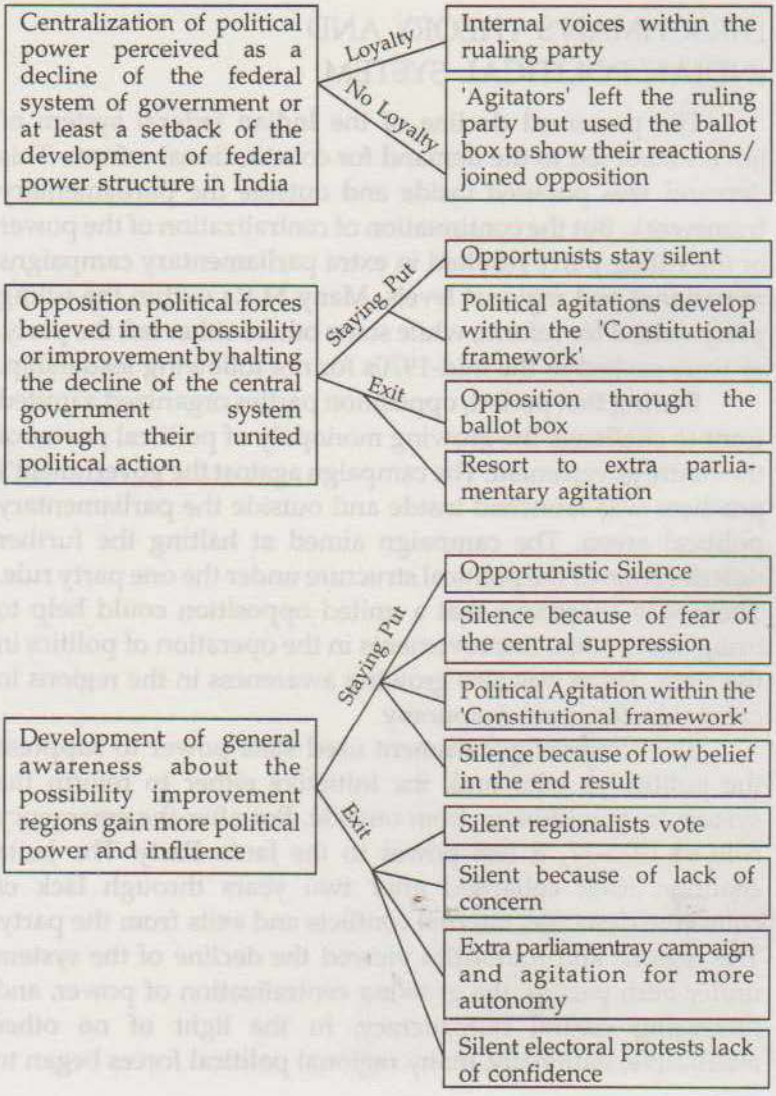
demand more political power and greater regional autonomy. I have reproduced Hirschman's model and it revision by Barry and Birch. It highlight's the pattern of political behaviour of various political forces under different circumstances.

The following is a general model highlighting the Indian politics of centralization and regionalism in the light of Hirschman (1970)



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INDIA: CENTRALISATION OF POWER AND ITS IMPACT

In Indian politics, the centralisation of political, economic and socio-cultural power has also been perceived as the majority (Hindu) domination of India. 'In British governed India, the leaders of the Muslim League were obsessed with the fear that the establishment of self government on a democratic pattern, would render them powerless on account of the Hindu majority in the country. To ward off this danger they demanded and fought bitterly for various safeguards like separate electorate and weight-age for the Muslims, and finally the partition of India.' (Dixit, p. 216). The same thinking and pattern of politics prevailed after independence. The communal politics are essentially linked with the question of the distribution of power. Communalism as a political doctrine, has become an operative force in Indian politics. The minorities perceive the majority communalism as a threat to them, and the ruling congress politicians including the late Mrs. Indira Ghandhi did not reach political settlement with various minorities.

> 'In the recent general election campaign Mr. Gandhi successfully traded on the Sikh problem in the after months of his mother's assassination.'
>
> *(Financial Times, 31 December 1984)*

From the mid-1970s, significant political development began to take place. Economic disparities exacerbated the country's religious and ethnic divisions, between 460 million Hindus, 65 million Muslims and 17 million Sikhs. The exercise of power on the part of the central government, which appeared to be undermining the minorities and appeasing the majority, became illegitimate in the eyes of the minorities. 'Even Marx referred to common activities (of the State) arising from the nature of all communities.' (Leftwich, p. 27). This process activated a realignment of forces in Indian politics.

During the period of the seventh Parliament, Mrs. Ghandhi's government intensified the process of toppling state governments, in order to further centralise power and to

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maintain Delhi hegemony on the states. For example, 'In 1983 an attempt to buy over legislators in the opposition rules South Indian state of Karnatka failed after one of them produced tape recorded evidence of congressmen offering a heavy bribe' (*The Guardian*, 18 January 1985). Undeterred Congress then engineered a series of defections, first in Sikkim, then in the crucial border state of Kashmir and finally Andhra pradesh, when the centrally appointed governor flouted all rules and traditions to swear in a government of defectors supported by congress. The most spectacular case is that of the Punjab, where the centre either destablised or toppled all the elected governments of the regional Akali party. The regional opposition government, especially were single doubt for destablisation. This allerted regional political parties to the fact that at the last analysis, the only answer to centralisation is regional nationalism.

In India, the regional entities have rapidly helped parties to build up their power base. For example the uninterrupted growth of communist power—electoral and otherwise—in the state legislature through three elections has helped CPI(M) to replace the ruling Congress party. People have shown remarkable consistency in their regional loyalty, despite an upsurge in Hindu nationalism in the 8th general election. Despite the development of national capitalism, the size of regionalism has spread. While nationally, however, India's communism has become irrelevant in any struggle for political power. The political weapons have been stolen by other contenders for power, who are to the right or left of centre.

Indian communism only had regional bases. Two or three variants of 'Chinese model' of communist revolution were tried out in Telengana, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal. In the regions, people still more or less think in terms of local agricultural capitalism with potentials for change. In agriculturally developed areas the peasantry perceive national capitalism as a threat and exploitation of their produce, and this explains to a significant extent the recent upsurge of peasant lead Sikh nationalism in the Punjab state.

Despite the massive Indira Congress landslide in the general elections the fact remains that the regional political

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identity is strong and people have maintained loyalty with the regional political forces. The position of the National Conference in Kashmir, CPI(M) in Bengal, Akalis in the Punjab are examples of regional nationalism. In Tamil Nadu, an alliance had to be forged with the regional ADMK 'The task of leading the opposition in Parliament has fallen to the South Indian regional party—Telgu Desam, the party which scored a spectacular victory.

There is a great deal of competition between Indian cultural nationalities, and this competition is a major source of conflict. No doubt, it is not easy to distangle any particular function of competition adequately, as many other variables play a significant part in it. But regional nationalities tend to switch off from the central government and start to build up their own regional power base.

In the interest of decentralization of political power, and to 'rebuild' India as a federal republic, the role of the regional political force has become significant especially in the absence of a national opposition. The role of the minority nationalities is also significant in maintaining the pluralistic and diverse character of India, and to check the domination of the majority community in check. The regional voice and exit provide valuable mechanism of recuperation of the federal system.

Studying the political behaviour of different variables is valuable in order to determine the overall performance of an organization. But, given the unpredictable situation with regards to Indian politics and its complexities, it is difficult to determine what mix of exit, voice and loyalty, can maintain a workable balance between regions and the federal government.

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THE PUNJAB CRISIS : A SURVEY AND SOME LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

The Punjab presents special attraction to those interested in aanlysing the dynamics of regional nationalism in South Asia. Many theroies abouns about the causes and effects of ethnic conflict as also between the forces of political fusion and fission operating in Indian politics.[1] While fusion suggest a smooth path for Indian nationalism, the fissonary tendencies suggests a process towards regional autonomy and perhaps disintegration of India into several independent states within or outside India.

The main impetus to nationalist movements in India has found a varying mix of linguistic, cultural, religious, territorial, socio-economic or political factors. In the case of Punjab, most scholars agree that it is a complex phenomenon to investigate. The regional nationalist movements in India have manifested themselves in various forms ranging from popular agitation, conflict with the union government, confrontation with the armed forces, communal conflicts and violence.

The key questions are : how far the state may be responsible for provoking nationalist movements by failing to accommodate the popular regional uprisings, and what other factors are responsible for triggering these conflicts in the contemporary politics of India. The Punjab crisis provides an obvious example for the study of the dynamics of nationalism in India.[2]

During both the Congress and the short lived Janata regimes of the 1970's, polarizarion between the Centre and the

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States had been emerging. During the Janata Party rule, the tensions between the Centre and the States—until they were suppressed by the Congress—rapidly rose to the surface. The ordinary people in the peripheral states had been, and proved ready to give support to any political movement which was prepared for a political confrontation with the Centre. The popular support enjoyed by the Dravida Munneytra Kazhagam (DMK) and its offshoot All India Adi Munneytra Kazhagam (AIDMK) movement in Tamil Nadu, the Telgu Desam movement in Assam, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, the Gorkha liberation movement in Bengal, the Konkoni linguistic struggle in Goa, Shiromani Akali Dal's Dharm Yudh Morcha movement in the Punjab, the crisis in Gujarat, or even by the Janta Party in Karnatka, confirmed the disapproval of the policies and practices of the successive union governments on regional and minority nationality issues.[3]

The aim of this discussion, however, is to investigate the causes of the contemporary crisis in the Punjab and what factors are responsible for triggering and sustaining the political conflict. The objective is to explore relevant aspects of the crisis identified in recent scholarly perspectives, and to assess their implications. They distinguish factors at very different levels of analysis, in a complex interaction.

The Punjab's contemporary crisis originated from the political movement which began as a mass agitation lead by Shiromani Akali Dal for more political autonomy for the state, and for various other geographical, religio-cultural and economic demands. The prolonged instability and lack of political solution produced tensions, increased violence, and the army invasion of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It resulted in some mutinies in the Indian army, the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi—the then Prime Minister—and anti-Sikh riots, leading to further alienation of the Sikhs and subsequently produced a political form of overt Sikh nationalism. This process further added to the crisis and introduced a different dimension, because many Sikhs began to perceive the Centralised Indian state as a threat to their security and well being as a people. The central government appeared to have

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taken the view that the rise of the Sikh nationalist movement was a threat to the unity and to the integrity of India.

In recent literature concerned with the dynamics of the contemporary Punjab crisis, social scientists have emphasised divers factors; for example; conflict within India's ruling classes i.e. between industrial bourgeoisie and rural cultivators (Sathyamurthy 1985)[4], role of modernisation and the Punjabi culture (Jeffery 1986)[5], the rise of communalism (Akbar 1985)[6], new Ethno-nationalism among the Sikhs and its political implications (Kapur 1986)[7], policy of Indian state (Pettgrew, 1978)[8], foreign inspirations (Dharam 1984)[9], and alienation of the Sikhs from the mainstream Indian polity (Tully 1985)[10].

Post-independent India has seen the development of several 'nationalist' movements. The response of the union government towards these movements has significantly influenced the intensity and nature of such movements. However, the Punjab crisis has signifance for social scientists as its consequences have proved to be of historical, involving mass mobilization, intervention of armed forces, deaths of politically leaders and thousands of civilian population. The crisis resulted in the political destabilization of the Punjab, and this was mainly duty the failure of implementation of the Political Accord reached between the Indian government and Akali leaders in 1985. The crisis also led to factionalism within Sikh politics and tensions between religious communities of the Punjab, and a general discord between the union government the Punjab. The question naturally arises what factors triggered this conflict and have sustained it. Many scholars of Punjab affairs agree that the crisis cannot be analysed without taking account Sikhs' historical and ideological heritage.

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Kapur (1986:xii) holds that the contemporary Sikh separatistis demand is not as sudden as it may seem; it has deep social and historical roots linked to the development of a distinct Sikh identity and community organisation. The Sikh religio-political order and socio-cultural identity was

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institutionalized in 1699. Whatever the precise details of the regulations actually introduced at the time, the fact remains that the Baisakhi ceremony of 1699 at Anandpur Sahib, marked the development of a new consciousness which became the turning point in the evolution of the Sikh community. The concept of Khalsa Panth was institutionalized, though the collective community spirit of the Khalsa Panth faced severe tests and repression.[11] The Sikhs, however, emerged as warriors and fought at great odds for the freedom and integrity of their faith, and for independence from their internal and foreign foe.

The development of nationalist ideas in some form and shape, can be traced back in the 17th and 18th century history of the sub continent of India. In the case of the Sikhs, their collective religio-political ideology was founded between 1469 to 1708, when Sikhism was led by a succession of ten gurus, who established its central doctrines and institutions. The Sikh ideological framework was initially inspired by peaceful ideals, but the prevailing historical circumstances forced Sikhs into military confrontation with the forces of the then all-powered Mughal Empire. The militarization of the Sikhs was formally established by the last living Guru, after whose death supreme temporal and spiritual authority was vested on the Khalsa Panth and the Sikh Scriptures. The Sikhs enjoyed the taste of sovereignty under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh for almost the first half of the century, which they then lost to British colonial power. After that, one Sikhs were in the process of redefining their collective identity in response to the new challenges which they faced as a minority religio-political and socio-cultural group in the second half of the 19th century, under British rule. The imperial government exploited the Sikh military traditions in the colonial interest. Khalsa discipline was maintained through a strict military policy and one insistence that all Sikh troops keep the full outward symbols of a baptized member of the Khalsa Panth. The Sikhs made up some 20% of the army by the time of World War I.

On the other side, developments such as the rise of the Sikh reformist movement towards the end of the 19th century, were contemporary to the development of a mainly Hindu

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lead Indian National Congress. By the beginning of this century, the Sikhs began to assert their collective power by demanding direct control of all major institutions of Sikhism.

During the struggle for India's independence, as Kapur (1986:207-8) asserts, the prospects of a Hindu dominated India with no special safeguards for the Sikhs, raised Akali apprehensions that the Sikhs as a separate, entity would in time disappear. A resolution passed by the executive committee of the Akali Dal stated :

> 'Whereas Sikhs being attached to the Punjab by intimate bonds of holy shrines, property, language, traditions, and history claim it as their homeland and holy land, and which the British took as a trust from the last Sikh ruler, the entity of the Sikhs is being threatened on account of the persistent demand for Pakistan by the Muslims on the one hand, and danger of absorption by the Hindus on the other. The Executive Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal demands the preservation and protection of the religious, cultural and economic rights of the Sikh nation by the creation of a Sikh state.'

As the struggle for independence gained intensity, the role of the Sikh minority also become politically significant. The Akali Dal increasingly took up the political cause of the Sikhs, the latest of which was for a separate Sikh state in East Punjab.[12] But, the Sikhs also wanted to be equally free from possible Muslim domination.[13]

The governor of the Punjab reported that 'the Sikh community were very seriously perturbed by the potentially fissiparous nature of the war cabinet's proposal.' Sikhs were afraid that if the Punjab refused to accede to an all-India confederacy, that wealthy Muslim majority province once ruled by Sikh Maharajas, would be enveloped by 'the outer darkness of Pakistan'. They regarded themselves as being in danger of everlasting subjection to an unsympathetic Raj. The roots of this Sikh fear happened to be historical and go back to the seventeenth century Mughal Imperial rule. 'We are doing what we can to deal with this situation,' Governor

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Glancy assured the Viceroy. It was a most important warning passed on to Whitehall, since Sikhs numbered second only to Muslims in the British-Indian Army. (Wolpert 1984:205).

This brief historical resume gives us some indication of the ideological context in which Sikhs as a people, appear to have been operating. It shows that one of the key concerns of the Sikhs. was the security and development of their ethnic identity. Their politics reflected that there was a consciousness of the fact that it would not be possible to ensure the security of their ethnic values without the necessary political power , in some shape or form. In the Indian political context, the politics of ethnic identity have played a significant part of the history of pre and post-independent India. Therefore, it is worth examining the development of ethnic nationalism or communalism—a term which Indian scholars more frequently use—in India. Let us first investigate how far scholars view the Punjab crisis as the creation of a communal or ethnic conflict.

III. EHTNO-NATIONALISM VERSUS COMMUNALISM

Many scholars of Punjab claim that communalism is a main factor behind the crisis. It is the most common and frequently used term in Indian political discourse to explain conflicts, but has meant different things to different people depending on their political persuasion. It has been used without specific meaning by political observers of the left, as well as of the right. It carries emotional political connotations for India's majority as well as for minority communities. Beyond Punjabi affairs, most political conflicts in India are also attributed to communalism. Political conflicts between regional states and the union government, and conflicts within regions have been seen to be triggered by communalism, but how far does this account for the Punjab crisis ?[14] Let us first explore communalism as a political phenomenon.

Akbar (1985) describes communalism as an ideological force which assumed that different communities in India could not co-exist to their mutual benefit, because minorities would become victims of majority subjugation, and neither history

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nor culture would allow co-operation. India has political parties representing the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religions.[15] According to this perspective, well before Indian Independence, the Muslim League held democracy as a political liability for Muslims in India. The party asserted that minorities could never enter the ruling class since the overwhelming Hindu majority would dominate politics and successfully keep Muslims and other minorities out. The British granted the Muslim League's demand for separate electorates in the beginning of this century, which made provisions for Muslims to vote for Muslims, and Hindus to vote for Hindus. This served the colonial policy of keeping Hindus and Muslims politically apart, and away from the then administration. Mohammed Ali Jinnah; the leader of the Muslim League further expressed his fears at the first round-table conference in November 1930, and said that minorities were fearful of the majority Hindu domination and oppression.[16]

However, Indian nationalists saw communalism as a British machination of divide and rule, whilst the proponents of Pakistan did not see communalism was an issue, since they based their actions on the concept of 'two nations' theory, Hindu and Islamic, both were struggling to establish themselves as political entities. The conflict between the nationalists and the communalists over-shadowed the politics of India in the run up to independence. One could argue that there was some political satisfaction for both camps, though the cost in human suffering was very high. The Muslims, who were fearful of Hindu domination, gained Pakistan and Hindus gained the rest of the country. Hence, Hindu-Muslim communalism resulted in establishing two independent and separate states. Akbar (1985) argues that the politics of communalism and nationalism in India, are not over. He holds the current Punjab crisis as a manifestation of the same politics. The conflict between religion-based nationalism and Indian nationalism has produced and sustained the current Punjab crisis.

During the struggle for the independence of India, the Sikhs also equally displayed their own religious based national consciousness, by asserting themselves as a separate people. The Shiromani Akali Dal, the political party representing their

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interests, urged Sikhs—during the 1930s—to join the struggle for the independence of India, but under their own flag.[17] Therefore, as Akbar (1985) argues, the Punjab crisis has its roots in the history of the religion based nationalist movements of pre-independent India.

It is evident from the above accounts that Sikhs were as pro-active ethnic nationalists as Muslims and Hindus, generating a political conflict for which the Indian term is 'Communalism'. But the Sikh leaders did not go as far as the Muslim League's leaders, they placed Indian nationalism before Sikh nationalism. The phenomena of 'communalism' in India can be best described as ongoing ethnic conflicts arising from the desire to establish political entities on the part of minorities, and majority backlash to this process. The Punjab crisis, according to Akbar (1985) is thus a manifestation of the same process which split India into two states. While the formation of Pakistan showed the failure of political accommodation between Muslims and Hindus, the ongoing crisis in the Punjab—the demand for Khalistan and its consequences—could be described as the historical failure of the Indian state to institutionalize this additional conflict, through political accommodation and constitutional change.

Akbar (1985) defines the political relations between India's significant religious communities in terms of communal relationship. In their extreme forms, they logically lead to communal tension, polarisation, communalism and to an ultimate breakage. But, Muslims, before the independence of India, and Sikhs after the independence of India, appear to have been concerned with the power, security and well being of their communities. The identities of these communities have been based on their respective religious and cultural frame work. In the context of the contemporary Punjab, there are further dimensions of language, geography and economy. These dimensions raise standard issues of ethnic nationalism.[18] The ideologies of Hindu, Muslim or Sikh nationalism, as articulated by their respective leaders, have their firm roots in the history of beliefs and practices of these religions. Their leaders or groups articulating or supporting these ideologies, have specific political goals in mind i.e. to establish political

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entities of their communities.[19] This phenomenon raises the question of the development of nationalism within multi-national states, and how it takes the form of ethnic nationalism.

Akbar's perspective shows the nature of a political relationship between 'politically significant' religious minorities and the religious majority in India. To further explore this relationship in the context of the development of ethnic nationalism in India, we should briefly analyse the behaviour of the majority religious community, in terms of how it developed, shared and exercised its political power in relation to minorities' nationalist aspirations. It would also help to examine what political communalism is, and what ethnic nationalism is. These dimensions appear central to investigating the dynamics of the Punjab crisis.

Early this century, the Muslims of India campaigned for a separate electoral system to safeguard their political power, which ultimately led to Muslim nationalism and the establishment of the new state of Pakistan. Akbar's analysis suggests a similar political process in relation to Sikhs.

The key question, however, is to what extent Hindu majority politics was responsible for provoking Muslim and Sikh ethnic nationalism. Was it a phenomenon which emerged from the feeling of insecurity, and fear of majority domination, or a convenient vehicle for the political power of minorities in India ? A political factor which has been dominant is that with the exception of a liberal section of the Hindu majority politicians, it has been politically convenienct on their part to talk of Indian nationalism, democracy and secularism, as the process naturally consolidates majority power and influence through the state institution and its functioning.

The Hindu Mahasabha must have been conscious of these factors when it raised the slogan of *Akhand Bharat;* which literally means unbroken India. According to Sathymurthy (1985:23), the Hindu Mahasabha viewed the entire subcontinent as a Hindu nation with a long history, broken only by the Muslims, British and Sikh Raj. Although the liberal Hindu Congress leaders wanted to establish a single nation-state consisting of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other communities -it could have had a federal or, if necessary, a confederal

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constitution providing scope for each nationality to have, an unrestricted framework of development, according to their own ethnic and nationalist asprirations. Since this did not happen, it could be concluded that it was not possible, and the question then arises as to why this was the case, and why the Indian government remained so unsuccessful in working out and implementing a suitable Punjab settlement ? The Punjab State has faced one crisis after another since 1947. Contemporary with Muslim and Sikh religio-political revivalism, was Hindu revivalism in the form of such movements as the Arya Smaj and the Hindu Mahasabha. These movement became popular amongst the Hindu majority in India and were contemporaries to the Indian nationalist movement. The doctrine of Hindu nationalism amongst the supporters of these movements appeared to be synonymous with Indian nationalism. Though Nationalist leaders such as Pundit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi placed their ideological emphasis on secularism and democracy, it served two purposes : it attracted support from non Hindu communities, as well as from liberal sections of the Hindu majority community.

However, the Hindu orthodox lobby within and outside the Congress Party, remained politically significant. By virtue of their electoral majority, the Hindu community naturally dominated the state institutions, political infrastructure and media. Both the Hindu nationalist lobby proved strong, as also adopted insensitive attituded towards nationalistic aspirations of the minorities. Despite the secular ideology of the Congress Party, institutions became permeated by Hindu values which they claimed and implemented as Indian values. In the minority communities' point of view, this practice was extremely oppressive.

In India, before and after independence, ethnic politics defined by religious, cultural and linguistic values, has been closely linked to the distribution and exercise of political power. Ethnic politics became an operative force. It triggered minority ethnic nationalism as well as covert or overt majority oppression. The post-independent history of Indian politics, in relation to the Punjab and the Sikh minority in particular, further reinforces the observation that the Hindu communal

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lobby in the Indian polity—which was feared by Muslims as well as by the Sikh minorities during the struggle for independence of India—is still significantly operative as a political force. For example, the Indian National Congress took an opposing position to its own policy commitment, concerning the re-organisation of India along linguistic lines.[20] Furthermore, the Congress Party reluctant, and adopted a Hindu ethno-centric approach by denying the Sikhs the constitutional position which was conceded to them in return for their adopting the option of remaining within India.[21] The political approach of the Congress Party became more evident when, under the influence of the Hindu ethno-centric lobby, the Congress showed insensitivity towards the political aspirations which prevailed in the Punjab, and appointed the first two chief ministers from the Hindu community.[22] Subsequently in 1951, the Punjabi Hindus repudiated their association with their mother tongue Punjabi, affirming their Hindu identity and their association with the Hindi belt of Northern India.

After the partition, the display of Hindu ethno-centricity shocked the Sikh intelligentsia, and the Sikh community in the Punjab. They struggled alone to secure a Punjabi speaking state, while all the other states had already been demarcated on a linguistic basis. (Pettigrew, 1984:107). Sathymurthy goes even further to argue that 'tensions have risen in the Punjab as a direct consequence of Hindu chauvinism. Having rejected Punjabi as their mother tongue, the chauvinist Hindu elements in the Punjab, with the support of Bhartiya Janata Party and Congress, stirred up anti-Sikh communalism...' (p. 186).[23]

The history of majority communal politics in India shows a pattern of oppression of minority communities. This oppression intensified and took the form of the ethnic nationalism of Muslims before independence, and that of the Sikhs after it. Shiromani Akali Dal, representing the interests of the Sikhs, always kept the stand that a political problem affecting the Punjab was not a Hindu-Sikh problem, but a centre-state problem. This stand though, has always been distorted and misrepresented. The Akali Dal continued to stress that its interests were not necessarily those of Sikh community alone but were the legitimate concerns of all those

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who lived in the territory of Indian Punjab. Sathyamurthy (1984:8) also argues that before the independence of India, Hindu communsalism was directed mainly towards Muslims. Since the partition of India, the Sikhs have been the victims of it.

IV. CULTURAL FACTORS

It was obvious that in so far as the cultural orientation of the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab is concerned, there has been significant divergence. The Hindus perceived themselves as indistinguishable partners of the mainstream Indian politics. Most have been sympathetic to the Hindu communalist strand of politics. The roots of this connection are in the Arya Samaj Movement of Hindu revivalism under Dayananda Saraswati, which made considerable impact in the Punjab earlier in the 20th century. A rational discussion of post-1947 developments in the Punjab would need to be based on the qualitative difference between Hindu chauvinism on the one hand, and Sikh attachment to their cultural identity on the other.

The issue is not to object to the Hindu attachment to their values but to raise a fundamental point that as a majority, Hindus have been able to realise their ethnic aspirations through institutional influence, whereas non-Hindu minorities had to take extra constitutional steps to highlight their ethnic concerns. Minority concerns have been labelled as separatist and communalist, whereas Hindu interests have been taken as mainstream concerns. The state did not see much wrong with the Punjab's Hindus rejecting their own mother tongue. However, the roots of Sikh politics and of separate identity lies in history rather than in the Indian communalism or ethnic conflicts of this century. The Sikhs have been involved in securing and preserving their identity. For India's independence, security and integrity, they claim that they have made disproportionate sacrifices, butdo not feel that their satisfaction has increased in line with their contribution to establishing an independent India. In fact, evidence shows that the Sikhs feel less secure now than before. Pettigrew (1984:108) quotes a letter signed by two high ranking Sikh officers, a former

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director in Health Services and two university professors, to the effect that Sikhs feel that their faith is threatened by Hindu chauvinism, and by their repeated assertions that Sikhs are part of Hindus'.

The Sikhs appear to be sandwiched between two majority force which strongly identify with their respective nation-states, while the Sikh minority is fearing for its security and well being. The majority communalism, and insensitive approach of the Indian government to the Punjab problem, has provoked Sikh militancy towards a campaign for Sikh independence. None has articulated this 'Sikh feeling' more clearly than Bhindrawale[24], who laid down his life when the Indian army stormed the spiritual and temporal centre of the Sikh world : the Golden Temple, Amritsar.

At the Akali Conference of 1978 at Ludhiana, where the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was adopted, Sant Bhindrawale declaried:

> '...a Sikh, in his daily prayers appeals to God for the good of everyone...we have made countless sacrifices for the protection of India and the Hindu religion. When the Hindus were under siege we helped them at the cost of our lives...and now 'Hindus' are oppressing us... neither do we coerce anyone, nor do we tolerate any coercion....[25]

The politics of the ruling Congress party has been to play a communalist card in response to the Sikh minority demands. In this, it has been trying to pull the rug from under the feet of Bhartiya Janata Party by attracting Hindu votes. The general election of 1984, municipal election in Delhi in 1983, and Assembly election in Jammu and Kashmir reflected this in terms of electoral gains. Even the most militant of all Sikh leaders, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale, continued to stress that :

> 'Sikhs are campaigning for all Punjabis. Tell me how many Hindus have courted arrests ? Not even 400 out of the 660 million. We are merely 20 million. 40,000 Sikhs courted arrests during the dictatorial emergency rule during 1975-77. The Hindus were in the seat of

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power and they imposed emergency and oppressed other Hindus. No Sikhs were arrested or imprisoned. Actually we are liberal, and we are being assimilated, we talk too much of Hindu-Sikh unity. We always think of the good of all, in the name of God, in line with the teachings of Guru Nanak'.[26]

V. ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SEPARATISM

Kapur (1986:ii) perceives the Punjab crisis as a question of Sikh ethnicity. The Sikhs are trying to assert their separate identity in India and that the struggle has generated a political crisis in the Punjab. The struggle, which the Sikhs carried out to establish a Punjabi speaking state, underlines the fact that Punjabi is the language of their religion, history and heritage. The Sikhs claim a heritage entirely different from the Hindus with whom they have no antagonism, and Muslims with whom they have a history of powerful antagonism.

After the 'Operation Blue Star' of June 1984, anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and other cities after the assassination of Indira Gandhi in November 1984, there developed a feeling amongst Sikhs that the dominant communalist Hindu elements in the Congress Party were behind the mass killings. This same lobby ensured that various reports into the riots were not made public. The Operation Blue Star would have the gravest consequences for the unity of India. As Tully (1985:ix) put it, 'Most Sikhs do not perceive that 'Operation Blue Star' was against Sant Bhindranwale and his followers, but see it as an attack on the main institution of Sikhism, and hold it as a parallel to that of Mughal ruler, Ahmed Shah Abdali who invaded the Golden Temple some 270 years ago. It has been taken as an attack on the body of Sikhism, including the Holy Guru Granth Sahib.' Pettigrew (1984:102) observes :

> 'The Guru Granth, not the secular state is sovereign for Sikhs, it is the doctrine of Miri Piri or the invisibility of religious and political power, the spiritual and the temporal, that Sikhs see to be central to their existence as a sovereign people...'

The Sikh leadership has maintained throughout the

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political history of the community, that they have been a sovereign people. But they compromised their political sovereignty with Indian nationalism, on the grounds of political assurances which they received from the Congress leadership. The leaders of the Muslim League, as well as that of the Congress Party, offered Sikhs political deals to join their support for India and Pakistan. Nehru and Gandhi, however, were successful in swaying Sikh leaders like Tara Singh and Baldev Singh.[25,26]

After the independence of India, when the Indian constitutional framework was developed and implemented, the Sikh point of view had been disregarded by the Congress Party. As discussed earlier on, the Punjab was not even recognised as a Punjabi speaking state. The Congress Party decided in 1920, at its Nagpur session, that it is better to have linguistic states as they bring one kind of people speaking one language and generally having similar customs, into one provincial area. This was made into official Congress policy and confirmed in every Congress session held in 1921, 1927, 1937, 1938, and 1945-46. But in post-independent India, the Congress Party negated this policy and its implementation in relation to the Punjab. For the Punjabis in general, and Sikhs in particular, this was a denial of their linguistic and cultural identity. The Sikhs saw it as the Congress Party's historical failure under the influence of the Hindu nationalist lobby; it could be called 'institutional communalism'.[27]

They found themselves surrounded by two majority communities and powerful states representing the majority political aspirations : 'Muslim Pakistan' in the south-west and 'Hindu India' on the other side. Within the Punjab, a psychological gulf between the two major communities also increased as a result of these developments.

When the Sikhs campaigned to defend and promote their religious, linguistic and secular interests, they became the victims of propaganda which labelled them as communalist.[28] In defence, the Shiromani Akali Dal began to assert Sikh aspirations until 1956. The Constitution of the Party included a clause stating that the party stands for' ...the creation of an environment in which the Sikh national expression finds its

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full satisfaction'. (Kapur 1986:129). This objective is clear in the Punjabi version and the use of terms 'Desh and Kal', meaning 'country and era'. This clause has been varyingly used by many Sikh politicians and rank and file for raising the demand of a state in which they can feel secure, linguistically and religiously.[29]

The roots of Punjab crisis are in history, and Sikhs are fighting assimilationist pressures as in the past.[30] The history of Sikh struggle in the Punjab for political power is to ensure their security and well being. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution which became the basis of a mass movement of the early 1980s in the Punjab, demanding autonomy for the state within the Indian constitutional framework, reflected these political aspirations. From 1982, these developments in the Punjab state were transformed into what seemed to be a Sikh freedom movement.

Sikh leaders in early 1980s drew on the historical, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical and economic issues and articulated them through their popular speeches. The political situation continued to become intense as 'martyred' Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's militant speeches of 1983/84 began to dominate the scene and took prominence over the pronouncements of Sant Hancharan Singh Longowal, president of the Shiromani Akali Dal.[31] Between 1981 and 1984, the Sikh political leaders led series of campaigns against the Indian government for the fulfilment of a set of demands enshrined in the Anandpur Resolution. The agitation was prolonged, this led to polarization and violence ensued.

In June 1984, the Indian Army launched a massive army operation on the pretext of clearing 'terrorists' from the Golden Temple in Amritsar including thirty-seven other shrines in the Punjab, combined with combing operations in the countryside. This operation resulted in heavy loss of civilian lives including women and children. Many Sikh leaders died in the operation which caused much destruction of cultural heritage of the Sikhs. The Operation was viewed it as an act of desecration and compared with Mughal oppression and much worse than the Jalianwala Bagh massacre of April 1919, when British officers ordered fire on a gathering. These developments

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complicated the political issues of Punjab and resulted in Indira Gandhi's assassination.

After 1984, militant Sikh groups held that 'there can be no discussion with a Prime Minister, whose mother, the late Mrs. Gandhi, ordered the worst kind of military operation against the Sikhs at the Golden Temple and in the countryside of the Punjab, in the history of free India, and showed a total insensitivity towards the feelings of the Sikh masses; and had allowed 5000 Sikhs to be massacred in the wake of his mother's assassination.'[32] Militant groups started claiming such violence was justified in the wake of state oppression, as all other means had failed to secure a political settlement with the central government.[33] Despite military and police actions, and in spite of the Punjab Accord and election of a Sikh government in the Punjab, many groups began a campaign for independent Sikh state.[34] Such militant leaders often quoted Bhindranwale's reminder :

> 'The day the government of India ordered troops into enter the Golden Temple, the foundation stone for Khalistan will be laid.'

The culture of martyrdom has led this campaign despite the toughest government measures to arrest, kill and eliminate Sikh separatists.[35]

This analysis reflects how the role of Sikh ethnicity has constituted an important plank and component of the movement. After independence, the majority Hindus perceived legitimate Sikh demands as a threat to India's unity. The state institutions were used to contain, control and suppress Sikh minority demands. Although Sikh ethnicity has remained proactive throughout history, it has reacted strongly against state's oppression and began to claim a nationality status. It was this state oppression and Hindu domination which was feared by Muslims and Sikhs alike during the struggle for India's Independence. In the Indian context, it seems, then the term communalism is more appropriate term for majority ethnic oppression of minorities through the use of institutional power and authority. Communalism provokes minority ethnic nationalism[36] As minorities fear in India, Hinduism is becoming

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synonymous with India and Indianism, where minority behaviour is frequently condemned as separatism.

VI. MODERNIZATION AND THE PUNJAB CRISIS

Jeffrey (1986) has argued that the modernization process and its social outcome have played a significant role in triggering the Punjab crisis. He defines modernization as economic development, increased government activity, the spread of education, and ideas about competition, and the expansion of communication. This process reinforced ethnic identities and provoked the conflict between ethnic groups.[37] The Punjab in this context can be seen as a glaring example of rapid modernization, generating change, creating conditions for open competition and resulting in an ethnic crisis of historical proportion. Indeed modernization played a large part in shaping the Sikh unrest. This was represented in its extreme form, in the demand for a sovereign state of Khalistan, after the storming of the Golden Temple.

The origins of this crisis lie in demands based on religion, language and regional autonomy. The crisis deepened through the lack of negotiated political settlement and became more intense witg armed forces' oppression.[38] Take one aspect of modernization, such as the spread of mass communication. It raised people like Bhindranwale, assisted by latest technology which spread his message and views rapidly not only in the Punjab, but across the world. With the expanding use of a vernacular press and transport network, he became a celebrity over a short period of time. Within five years, he had become a very well known figure, not only in India, but also international. He was able to articulate the grievances of the Sikhs and reinforce their religious values. His speeches assisted Shiromani Akali Dal in mobilising rural masses in support of Akali demands.

The expansion of mass communication and education sharpened people's perception of their history and culture, and gave them a passion for their identity, heritage, land, language and values. In particular, the existing ethnic ideological framework and the contents of the Anandpur Sahib

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Resolution—which was adopted by the Akali Dal on 23-28 October 1978 at an All Indian Conference in Ludhiana, based on the recommendations of a sub-committee of top Sikh intellectuals and thinkers which was set up on 11th December 1972, at Anandpur Sahib—became a part of popular thinking in the Punjab. The economic growth in the Punjab also created significant changes. Rural producers wanted the maximum possible return on their produce and relative economic security, which they could not see as forthcoming unless decisions, relating to the political economy, were transferred from Delhi to Chandigarh.

The contents of Sant Bhindranwale and Sant Longowal's speeches often contained these messages for the masses throughout the campaign. Modern state societies however should use such changes positively without creating social upheaval, instability, violence and physical ethnic conflicts. Jeffery (1986) concludes. That if the central government in India had followed the federal democratic frameworks to the letter—and even that of the present constitution—the expansion of such nationalist movements, as with the Punjab, should only offer possibilities of improvement for a large number of people, through their own efforts of self organization, autonomy and self help. Such development could transform the Indian state.

However, 'rapid...modernisation requires a flexible political framework, one capable of engineering initiatives and coping with unforeseen change and conflicts. This requirement is in turn best served by an ideology which symbolically identifies the individual with the state' (Smith 1983:45). But people, as individuals and as communities, will only identify with the state, if, they feel they have a stake in it, and that their own sense of identity, economic and other interests—as articulated by their leaders—are safe in the hands of the respective state. If people feel that the state machinery is blocking or undermining their progress, they are more likely to agitate, and the Punjab crisis is a manifestation of this.

Pettigrew (1984:110) argues that land in the Punjab can no longer sustain the growing population. There are few outlets in either the army or industry for the unemployed

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young population. Hence, when the official opposition party of the Punjab campaigned on issues such as local control of irrigation, resources, power, energy and industrial development i.e. more modernization, it had the backing of the entire community. Sathyamurthy (1985) adds that the major economic grievance of the Sikhs arose out of a feeling that they had not reaped the just reward for their contribution to the national economy. In other words modernization and the green revolution in the Punjab benefitted the central state more than the people.

The crisis in the Punjab deepened with the rising expectations of rich farmers and commercial sections of the population on one side, and the growing economic deprivation of landless peasants and workers on the other. The central control on surplus resources of the Punjab, made any changes in the redistribution of wealth even more difficult. The Dharam Yudh Morcha proved successful in using these grievances for political purposes, and mobilising Sikhs of all economic classes against the central domination of the Punjab. No doubt this process alienated the Hindu community; however, their interests were catered for by the strong Hindu lobby at the Centre. Urban capitalist Hindus of Punjab have a strong structural link with the Indian national capitalism. Sikhs, in the main, happen to be rural cultivators who don't quite see themselves as part of the Indian capitalist infrastructure, despite the fact that they have a secure Indian market for their produce.

Ironically, in the Punjab tradition and modernization go hand in hand, as Eric Silver wrote in the *Guardian* of 11th December 1986 :

> 'Sober Sikh industrialists in well-cut tweed invoke the martyr tradition as rapidly as they quote share prices. 'It is a great honour' they say 'to die defending Sikh glory..., they are successful farmers and manufactures, educated, articulate, pillars of the rotary club.'

This class of people equally participated in the agitation as did the Sikh peasants, though for different reasons. The mainstream of Sikh politics was firmly convinced that further

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progress of the Punjab state would also entail prosperity for India which the union government should create a suitable constitutional framework, for and let the Punjab have more autonomy as well as the other states of the union. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution argued for a progressive decentralization of political, economic and financial powers in the interest of greater regional organisation initiatives. (India: 1984, White Paper:64-65, 72). But as talks with the central government which were all initiated by the Akali Dal repeatedly failed, and the political campaign took a violent turn.

VII. POLICY OF INDIAN STATE

Some scholars have specifically traced the origins of the Punjab crisis in the history of Indian state's discriminatory policies. Such policies are responsible for triggering minority opposition, resistance and campaigns.[39] Pettigrew (1984:157) found that the roots of the contemporary Punjab crisis can be traced to the prolonged struggle to establish the Punjabi speaking state denied by the union government. The development of a Punjabi language was perceived as vital for the modernization of the Punjab and as a safeguard for Sikhs' cultural identity. Thus in the Punjab, modernization and ethnic nationalism developed side by side.

The Sikhs' other grievances rose directly from the central governmental policies. For instance, many big farmers lost land under the land reform programme. They claimed that farming with small pieces of land had become un-economical. The reduce intake of Sikhs into the armed forces, and regulations regarding the wearing of Sikh religious symbols were also resented and perceived as an assimilationist policy of the central government dominated by Hindu ethno-centric lobby. (*The Spokesman*, 4 February 1953).

Secularism was portrayed as pillar of the political creed after the independence of India, promoted by Congress leaders including Nehru and Gandhi. In practice, secularism in India from the minority nationalities' viewpoint, meant that their religious, linguistic and cultural identities are under threat.

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They were labelled as communalists, separatists and divisive by the dominant community whose own values of Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan' were thoroughly enshrined in the policies, practices and structures of the Indian state. Some scholars of India's ethnic nationalities hold that 'the majority community', never had to raise political demands to seek safeguards or protection of resources for the development of their language, culture, and religious institutions. Independent observers also hold that assimilationist pressures are being experienced not only by Sikhs in India, but other minorities too.[40]

To a significant extent then, the Punjab crisis arose due to Sikhs' contesting of state policies against centralising and assimilationist policies which undermine their regional and ethnic identity as also threaten linguistic and territorial integrity of the Punjab.[41] Moreover, Sikhs both as individuals and as a community are not accustomed to accepting a subservient position. Historically, they have challenged oppressive regimes and value freedom and equality as deeply rooted values in Sikhism. They also understand that such values cannot be held without political power. In the words of the last guru: 'all the battles against tyranny I have fought with the devoted backing of common people. Through their help in battle, I have slain my enemies. What would I have been without their kind and ready help. There are millions of insignificant people like me.' The historical conflict between Sikhs and central regimes has thus been manifested in recent Punjab struggles.

When a Punjabi-speaking state had been formed, the central government unconstitutionally encroached on state legislative powers -according to Article 14, powers of control of the multi-purpose projects and headworks of the three rivers in Punjab were taken by the Centre. This being so, the Akali Dal requested the adjudication of the Supreme Court, but the central government forced the withdrawal of Punjab's case. The canals water being inadequate, Punjab farmers have to sink expensive tube-wells energised by electricity or diesel. This they have done at increasing cost, as the water-table has been falling due to over use. This has led to a greater polarisation between peasant farmers and central government

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decision-makers who are perceived as responsible for making unfavourable decisions and ignoring Punjab farmer's interests.

VIII. CONFLICT WITHIN THE RULING CLASS

The preceding analysis can only be of limited value if political relations within India's economically dominant classes are not examined. These are pertinent to the understanding of centre-provincial state relationships. Sathyamurthi (1985 p. 181) has analysed the Punjab crisis as a manifestation of the polarization between the Centre and Punjab in terms of a growing conflict between nationalist industrial and commercial bourgeoisie on one hand and rural agriculturists, farmers and land owners, on the others.

In this context, it is interesting to examine the Marxian explantion of the Punjab crisis. This is usually seen in terms of control of the means of production and distribution. In India polity, religious, linguistic, territorial, cultural and ethno-nationalist movements have arisening due to power relationship which reflect economic contraductions inherent in the captilist path towards development. The Indian scene is further complicated by caste and religious issues which generate enormous moblisation among the masses. Both regional and national political parties have used such moblisations for their political advancement. If we assume that the Punjab crisis was partly a 'conflict within the ruling class' as Sathyamurthy's (1985) has suggested, then one immediate conclusion, is that the Punjab's ruling class has been in conflict with India's national ruling class. There is some evidence to support this hypothesis, but there was a wider involvement in the process, which suggests additional factors. In fact, the Dharam Yudh Morcha was sustained by mass involvement of the rural population, mostly small farmers and peasants.

More than 100,000 rural people, mainly Sikhs, courted arrests, and on several occasions road, rail and communication networks were paralysed. After the intervention of armed forces, the crisis deepened further. Many Sikh groups openly defied the authority of the central government and conducted violent campaigns for a separate Sikh State with the vocal,

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financial and moral support of many Sikhs, including those settled in Britain, North America and some other countries. Therefore, the Punjab conflict seen in a wider context, rather than in terms of the contradictions between two major segments of the Indian ruling class. Almost the entire Sikh community has been involved in the movement, either directly or indirectly, including rural as well as urban Sikhs.

However, it can be argued that the Punjab crisis reflects the failure of the central government in its function to resolve the conflicting interests of different segments of the ruling classes. The government itself failed to concede the legitimate demands of Punjab's peasantry by making minimum concessions. The economic interests of the rural population are closely linked to their buying power. The underlying economic difficulties of ordinary peasants and small cultivators, coupled with discontent over the exploitation of the Punjab's agricultural and saving surplus and the lack of industrial investment in the Punjab, added to other pressures of unemployment. This was a common regional issue and interest with which landowners, small farmers, urban and rural socio-economic classes identified. Though with the notable absence of Hindus from the Morcha, the struggle effectily was turned into a Sikh campaign.

The Marxian perspective of contradictions within the ruling classes, however, is significant in explaining the intensity of the crisis, but its specific form was quite different. This class contradiction, in fact, surfaced more openly when the Indian government led by Indra Gandhi imposed the emergency rule in 1975. Her main aim, it was alleged by the leftist parties, to accelerate the development of an industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. But the popular perception in the Punjab was, that this was being done would be done at the expense of the rural classes.

Since the late 1960s, India's communists have been divided into three groups : the Communist Party of India(R), Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist). Their ideological divisions have split them into several factions. This process reflects and uneven and fragmented organisation of workers and peasants in India.

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There is a significant lack of common identity among left wing leaders, leading to polarization and self-destruction within 'revolutionary' and 'parliamentary' groups of communists. Thus Marxist party in India have lost their potential to pose serious political challenge to the Congress regime at the national level (Sathyamurthy, 1986:42). The main opposition to emergency rule, came from a variety of regionally based political parties, though they can hardly be categorised as part of India's national ruling class. In Punjab, Shiromani Akali Dal registered an open opposition to Emergency rule and mobilised large sections of peasants, farmers, large and small businesses. The Akali party also enjoyed the support of middle class Sikhs who had their own grievances against the central government. Akalis were alert to the rural situation and articulated the economic injustices, as an example in banking sector, where only one third of the total deposits invested in Punjab banks were invested within the State.

It is interesting to note that Shiromani Akali Dal, the main political party took up economic issues of the Punjab, while it has been very much on the periphery of the Indian ruling class. However, Akali Dal's conflict with the Indian ruling class cannot be underestimated in terms of its political significance. It has campaigned vigorously against Emergency rule when its activists and supporters courted more arrests than any other national parties. The Shiromani Akali Dal was able to mobilise rural and urban masses behind it, mainly on economic grounds, whereas Punjabi communists repeatedly failed to produce a strategy attractive to Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab.

Further, according to Gurharpal Singh (1986) in his paper, observed, 'communism in the Punjab has oscillated between an instrumentalist view of the Punjab's nationality and classist opposition to it. Before independence the Muslim, Sikh and Hindu conceptions of nationalities in the province were championed for their 'anti-imperialist' value. After independence the CPI shifted to a classist perspective, nominally supporting the demand for a linguistic Punjabi Suba but subordinating it to the requirements of the class struggle. This emphasis on the primacy of class over community

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and regional issues was seen as a means of circumventing the dilemma created by the particularist version of the Punjabi Suba demanded by the Akali Dal and opposed by the majority Hindu population..... this strategy failed to bear any fruit..... the CPI in the Punjab followed different tactics—e.g. economic confrontationalist and accommodationist. None were particularly successful in encouraging an enduring inter-communal following.'

In the 1985 Punjab state elections, despite political contradictions within and between Sikh and Hindu communities, Akalis carried support of all socio-economic section of the Sikh community. The Akali Dal also gained a significant number of votes from liberal sections of the Punjabi community.

The economic demands and programme enshrined in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which became the ideological hub of the 'Dharam Yudh Morcha', contains a policy for establishing a social structure to provide for the uplifting of the poor, depressed sections of society. It set out unabated opposition to the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Further details of the resolution and demands contained setting up six sugar and four textile mills in the Punjab. The objective of the Akali Dal, according to the Resolution was to provide employment, food and clothing for all, a house to live in, suitable transport and above all, the ways and means to fulfil all the necessities for a civilized life. It demanded modernization of farming, cheaper loans for peasants, powers to fix the price of local produce, nationalization of the food trade and the setting up of agencies to handle the foodgrain trade. More comprehensive irrigation and energy facilities were demanded (India:White Paper:1984). It appeared to be a programme of socio-economic nationalism with which all Punjabis could safely identify. Thus Akalis took economic initiatives away from all sections of the national. They also challenged the national policy towards the Punjab.

'In the 19th century Marx believed that industrialization and the creation of an Urban working class would erode and eventually destroy allegiances based on religion, language or

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race.' (Jeffrey 1986:2). But in India today some Marxists are surprised and dismayed that this has not happened. In the Punjab, social and economic factor have mixed with the unique tradition of Sikhs and produced a political explosion which justifies a serious investigation.

IX. THE ALIENATION OF THE SIKHS

Mark Tully of the BBC, who has observed the Punjab situation very closely since the contemporary campagin began. His perspective on the 'alienation of the Sikhs' is also shared by other scholars. This alienation became more intense as the Punjab crisis reached its peak after the military assault on the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Tully (1986:ix) suggests that '....some Sikhs were convinced that she had deliberately and unjustifiably waged a war on their most sacred shrine'..... It was a battle in which infantry and armed artillery were used against a small group of Sikhs who had fortified in the Golden Temple complex and used it as a base from which to defy the authority of the Indian government.' As Kapur (1986:xii) observed, for many Sikhs, this government action was an insult to their religion and could not easily be forgiven. The assassination of the then Indian Prime Minister and the outbreak of brutal communal violence against Sikhs, contributed further to the alienation process of Sikhs from the mainstream political life of India. The military assault on the Golden Temple, according to Sathyamurthy (1985?:198), perpetrated a minor holocaust against Sikhs. The communal blood letting of November 1984, was degrading treatment meted out to a 'nationality' with few parallels in the rest of India since independence. These eruptions overshadowed the economic, political, cultural, territorial, religious and linguistic issues on which the Akali Dal had originally launched its 'Dharam Yudh Morcha'.[42]

These developments caused alienation of Sikhs from the mainstream of Indian life. While the community displayed its anger at home and abroad through demonstrations, mass rallies and electoral verdict against the ruling party. Many political groups in India and abroad took the campaign further

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and openly raised the demand for a separate Sikh state of Khalistan.[43,44]

Many Sikhs took the view that the central government had been taking a line of appeasement towards the majority community at the expense of the Sikh minority. During the Morcha, according to Pettigrew (1985:112), 'the killing went into the heart of the Jat Sikh countryside to touch the lives of all who lived there.' These actions by security forces were regarded as acts of insult and injury. After June 1984's military operation the campaign for autonomy became a campaign for an independent state. These developments underlined the alienation among Sikhs, who as a community then asserted a direct control of all major insitutions of Sikhism, and later this changed into a demand for a Sikh state.

In post-independent India, Sikhs' desired for freedom has always been hidden at the edges of various Akali demands. Both culturally and by religious identity, Sikhs always perceived themselves as a sovereign people. When 'Dharam Yudh Morcha' took a violent turn, it was due to police excesses and provocation and the unbending attitude of the central government. Over a long period of negotiation,[45] Sikhs felt that they were being driven into seperatism in a cynical manner by the Congress Party. Moreover, Sikhs did not feel that there was any law which could safeguard their interests and protect them. Nobody articulated such feelings more clearly than Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale,[46] became the main target of the Indian government's anger. Paradoxically, it was the same administration and leadership which had elevated Sant Bhindranwale, to counteract the growing Akali influence in the Punjab. The Sant drew on the popular ideology of the Sikhs, articulated their grievances in a framework of Sikh ethno-nationalist framework. It provoked reaction from the Hindu community. Tully and Jacob hold that Hindu hatred further reinforced Sikh fundamentalism.'...Sikh fundamentalism was nurtured by the hatred of Hindus, but fundamentalism does not exist in a vacuum. No Shah, No Khomeini; no Indira and no Bhindranwale.'[47]

In July 1985, Rajiv Gandhi, the new Indian Prime Minister, reached an agreement with Akali Dal leaders as a

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solution to the Punjab's political crisis, despite the reservations of many leading Akali politicians and the opposition of younger and more militant political groups. The Punjab election of September 1985, was seen as a test of public approval or disapproval of the Punjab Accord. The Akali Dal won a landslide victory despite a boycott call from the militant sections of Sikhs. This was taken as a general ratification of the Accord between Rajiv Gandhi and the Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, who was assassinated allegedly by extremist Sikhs opposed to the Accord. They opposed this compromise with the Prime Minister whose party they held responsible for the mass killing of the Sikhs in Delhi and other cities in November 1984.

The Punjab Accord was due to be implemented on 26 January 1986 and the first step was the transfer of the city of Chandigarh to the Punjab State. The Indian government, however, failed to honour the terms of the Accord and slipped the timetable it had agreed for implementation. It is remarkable, as most political observers pointed out, to note that between September 1985 and January 1986, there was little or no violence in the Punjab and there was relative political calm. Amicable resolution of the issues concerning Sikh army deserters and the trial of those responsible for anti-Sikh violence was anticipated.

Violence and political instability resurfaced as soon as the Accord was abandoned by the central government. Immediately, Punjab government's resolve began to weaken and the rancour within the ruling Akali Party increased. Public confidence also began to decline in the light of rising violence and the inability to influence the Centre government for the implementation of the Accord. With another entry of para-military force into the Golden Temple complex in April 1986, the Punjab government appeared to many Sikhs, to be collaborating with the central government to suppress opposition. Militants grew in strength and took inspriration from the words of Bhindrawale who had frequently stated that :

> 'But now when our very faith itself is on fire, matters cannot be worse....As for Muslims there is nothing

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beyond Mecca, similarly for us there in nothing beyond Sri Harimandir Sahib (the Golden Temple). We won't attack anyone's house or loot anyone's shop. But if any man—drunk with power—attacks us, we'll retaliate. Guru Gobind Singh who lost four sons created a Sikh to stand up against 125,000 enemies. We shall be dead (he said with reference to the government's possible plan of sending troops to assault the Golden Temple) and we therefore cannot say who shall carry out dead bodies, the police or the Sangat. But I'd like to say to those Sikhs in the police force, if there is any shame or pride left in you, if you believe in Sikhism, if you have got any right to be called the sons of Guru, then never come towards the Harimandir (to attack it)... The day the army enters the Golden temple, the foundation stone of Khalistan will be laid.'[48]

His sacrifice for the Panth was repeatedly remainded through utterances :

'My purpose in life is not to gain the seat of power. I was neither interested in power in the past, nor shall I be interested in the future. I am only interested in one thing you young people should become proper Sikhs. Give up all kinds of drugs and alcoholic drinks, improve your moral values and raise your characters. Come under the saffron flag of Guru Gobind Singh.'[49]

From 1986, incidents of violence and assassinations rose sharply. Most political observers view that the approach of the Indian government to the Punjab crisis avoided tackling the key political issues. Instead, its approach was to treat Punjab issue as that of terrorism and anti-Indian foreign influence. The Punjab government, on the general instructions of the central government conducted police and paramilitary operations to contain militant Sikhs. The political issues at best, were insensitively tackled, and at worst set aside.

The anger, frustration and resentment which underlined the violence in the Punjab became worse as the state relied more on the use of force, rather than political means. Defiance of authority and violent reactions to state oppression have become part of life in Punjab.

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> 'The anger which swept through the Sikh community after 'Operation Blue Star' (and which still prevails and has further strengthened and taken an ugly turn) was the creation of those who had taken responsibility for leading the Sikhs, and those who had taken the responsibility of governing India.'[50]

India's Sikh President blamed foreign powers for the Punjab crisis.'...Certain foreign powers did not want India to become powerful in the sub-continent and were all out to exploit even our slightest short-comings.'[51] But the Punjab crisis equally reflects a major political shortcoming in terms of the Indian State failing to accommodate and institutionalize political conflict, not only between the Centre and states, but also between majority and minorities. The Anandpur Resolution demands :

> 'The Centre should retain foreign affairs, defence, currency and communication including means of transport, while the remaining portfolios should be with the states, the Sikhs should enjoy special rights a as nation.'[52] *(India:White Paper:1984:64)*

Informed observers blame the lack of policy commitment and political willingness on the part of central government for regional, political and constitutional issues. It was advised 'the need for Mr. Gandhi to tackle a major problem dodged by his mother, and establish a new balance of developed power and authority between Delhi and the states.' (*Financial Times*, 31 December 1984). Instead, in May 1987 Rajiv Gandhi repeated the political history of central government by sacking the state government for political convenience e.g. the dismissal of the elected state government of Surjit Singh Barnala in the Punjab -according to press reports -to appease electorates of the neighbouring state, where elections were due to be held in June 1987.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to survey some scholarly perspectives which account for the contemporary Punjab crisis. The objective was to establish how far these perspectives

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highlight the nature and form of political conflict in the Punjab. Each perspective highlighted some major dimensions of the Punjab crisis, but no single perspective appears to explain the development in its entirety. Scholars seem to have a consensus on the complexity of the Punjab situation. India has a very diverse cultural history, its many people claim different historical heritage. It has significant linguistic, cultural and religious variations. People have very different ideological and social value systems, while its regional economies and socio-economic interests also vary. This is not unusual for a country of India's geographical and demographic size.

Both Sathyamurthy (1985) and Pettigrew (1978) found Indian state policy and approach to its regional minorities being main factors behind the polarization of the Punjab and the central government. In particular, the role of central government and its response to political demands of various ethnic, social and economic interest groups are highly unsatisfactory. The Punjab crisis from 1981 illusrates this process quite well.

To identify communalism as a key dimension in the Punjab crisis, falls short due to the nature of political relationship between Sikhs as a minority and Hindus as a majority community. It also fails to explore how the majority community has been unable to exercise its power and influence in India's state institutions, and its implications for the minority communities; in this case for the Sikhs.

Sikhs' concern for a separate Sikh identity are certainly explanatory factors in the Punjab crsis. In the course of history, Sikhs; commitment to maintain a distinctive identity is well illustrated. Sathyamurthy (1985) raised issues concerning how the Punjab's Hindus reacted to Sikhs demands for regional autonomy, language and cultural issues. Pettigrew (1984) emphasised popular perception of the Sikhs about national policy as being discriminatory towards them. Jeffrey (1986) discussed the development of a modern infrastructure in the Punjab and its interaction with the Punjabi culture; especially the use of modern communication by Sikh leaders to educate the masses. Though the Punjab has a strong social history of mass gatherings and agitation, modernization was not

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necessarily a significant factor in raising Sikh ethnic consciousness in earlier period.

Tully (1985) explained how the Sikhs became further alienated in the light of the treatment they received from the central government and State agencies. The Sikhs further felt that their security and well being was threatened as a result of military action at the Golden Temple in particular, and in the Punjab in general. Lack of judicial action on the part of the state against the economic contradictions between regional agrarian capitalism and the national bourgeoisie, played a crucial role—together with the social structures—in sharpening the Punjab crisis.

The whole over-riding reality is historical. Sikhs perception of themselves as a sovereign people and having as a distinctive identity as a people appears to be a crucial issue. How the national state treats this will determine the future course of the political process. That is not to say that other issues such as linguistic, territorial-economic and majority-minority relations are less important. The Punjab crisis is a complex development and will therefore require a complex solution, as it raises all the standard nationality concerns.

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24
THE PUNJAB CRISIS : NEO-MARXIAN UNDERSTANDING

This eassy assumes that new theoretical framework proposed by neo-Marxists is a significant contribution towards understanding the nature and pattern of political developments ranging from a locality to world level. This framework situations the social, economic and technological changes as major factors in social conflicts. However, the theory also suffers from some serious deficiencies, as we shall see later in applying it to the Punjab case.

I propose to test Neo-Marxian theory by using the example of Punjab's contemporary politics. The essay will partly focus on the crisis in its Indian context. We shall attempt to see how far the theory in question is 'uniquely' powerful and progressive in explaining the political process.

What is the dynamic of conflict in the Punjab...., is it inter-class ? Is it class conflict ? Is the present Punjabi crisis a manifestation of a popular movement backed by peasants and farmers, professional groups, servicemen and many sections of urban population ? The sustained popular agitation has been drawing support from a diverse range of social and economic sections of the community. The contemporary conflict in the Punjab, in its Indian context, is essentially a conflict between the peasants and the farmers on one side, and the Indian government on the other.

The subtitle 'neo' is superfluous, except in so far as it addressess itself critically to the theoretical writings of several European and other theorists, whose approaches and insights owe much to the original writings of Marx and Engles. The mainstream philosophical groundwork of Marxism revolves

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around the argument that human society develops by a series of contradictions, e.g. capitalist society produces its anti-thesis in the proletariat that must finally be overcome by it. The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes formulates the dynamic of politics and social change.

In the neo-Marxist approach, however, the theoretical framework is not rigid or immutable. The concept of class has undergone many changes during the last hundred years or so, partly in response to changes that have taken place in the structure of industrial society. There is no reason why it should not be changed further, if this enables it to account for a whole range of social experiences.[1]

The main social categories of classes in Marxism immediately draw our attention towards the socio-economic and political behaviour of the Punjab's peasants and farmers. The peasants and farmers in the Punjab, range between small and medium scale agricultural producers; who are part of the larger society and culture. The integration into a larger society is often considered as the criterion for defining a peasantry, although some writers have stressed other features such as self-sufficient agriculture and small scale production.

No doubt in many peasant societies ultimate control of the means of production is usually not in the hands of the primary producers. Goods and services rather than being exchanged are supplied to a centre where they are re-distributed. But the Punjab's agriculture has developed almost into a capitalist mode of production, where produce is marketed for cash, goods and services. However, the pricing mechanism and supply of essentials are either controlled by the Indian state or by industrial capitalists. The agricultural surpluses are transferred to the state and non- farming classes. Therefore, the relationship between Punjab's peasants and farmers, and the state and industrialist classes is potentially a critical one, and one of conflict. It is this relationship of conflict which Marxism identifies. But in the Punjab's political context, this relationship also has historical, linguistic, cultural and religious dimensions to it.

In the Punjab, agricultural economy, the technology and the divisions of labour are comparatively advanced.

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Nevertheless, the unit of production is still significant; the family, or household with a strong sense of religious and linguistic community. The economic system is governed to a great extent by prices and profits. A piece of land however is not merely a factor of production but an object of symbolic value as well. The cultural values play a strong role and have a significant political, economic and social dynamic. The Punjab's peasants and farmers' political behaviour is also determined by non- economic factors too, to a very notable degree. Marxists are not 'capable' of appreciating these other characteristics.

However, Marxists attach primary significance to the nature of the relationship between the 'important' socio-economic classes. Though, for the majority of Marxists, these relations are not properly speaking, objects of investigation; they are relations of conflict. The way in which they are defined, is determined generally by particular conception of the contradiction between techniques and relations of production and distribution. From the Marxist point of view, in the case of Punjab's producers, the conflict would be between captialist farmers and industrial capitalists, non-farming classes and those who control technology, capital goods, services and so on. But the Punjab's farmers and peasants have been showing this particular antagonism towards the central authority, rather than towards any particular social class. Therefore, a regional conflict is essentially, between regional based peasants and farmers and centralized state nationalism. The regional nationalism is based significantly upon the Sikh-Punjabi ethnic nationalism, with a strong sense of identity and history.

In my view, the Marxist approach has been used in Punjab's case mechanically and without imagination. The model has become an obstacle to a proper understanding of the operational facts on the ground. The general class categories and the concept of class conflict is not sociologically specific enough to assess, evaluate and to take into account, the multiple conditions which initiate or bring about social change. Marxism also concentrates upon forces of political coercion along with class structures and conflict. The political

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domination of regions by centralised states are 'subtle' forms of continuing imperialism. The neo-Marxists concentrate on aggressive actions of economically dominant interest, and 'class reactions' against the dominant class. The Punjab's political crisis is a manifestation of the historic development of peasants and farmers' nationalism. The conflict is with the federal power rather than with another social class which is not visible to the peasants and farmers. If there is such a class, then it is represented by the central authorities.

The social categories used by the neo-Marxists to analyse the politics of agricultural societies, are those which are also used by the Indian government in the censuses. Such categories as landlords, owner cultivators, tenant-cultivators and agricultural labourers have some operational significance. Otherwise, apart from the emotive content of some of these categories, their use is associated with a certain formulation of the laws of change. 'But these so called laws of agrarian transformation are of doubtful sociological value. Their formulation in most cases leaves very little scope for empirical testing.' (Beteille 1974).

It is doubtful whether the social categories most appropriate for the Punjab's analysis will be provided by reference to a capitalist society, or by the demands of socialist ideology. Therefore, it is important to look into Indian society in general and the Punjab's society in particular, in order to identify the social categories most appropriate for a description of class structure. For example, such categories as used by the Punjabi neo-Marxists e.g. 'feudal farmers', 'exploited labourers' and 'aristocracy', are irrelevant. The Punjabi Marxists have made little progress in understanding the political significance of the Punjab's peasants and farmers who identify with the regional nationalist movement led by Shiromani Akali Dal party.

The Punjab has probably the largest concentration of farmers who use the best available inputs, in the form of fertilizers and high yielding seeds. Many usually own tractors and sometimes other types of power equipment too. The most striking feature of these farmers is that they are organized in a manner which resembles business enterprise rather than a

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feudal estate. The land holdings are comparatively small. The owner cultivators and tenant cultivators take investment decisions, use an 'accounting system', and organize cultivation by engaging waged labour. By leasing out their own land, farmers and peasants in the Punjab, usually enlarge their operational holdings. No doubt, in some districts land holdings are large, they are comparatively smaller than those in the other states of India.[3]

Such categories as capitalist farmers, small capitalist 'peasants', agricultural workers, Urban proletarians, industrial/commercial capitalists, professional/commercial classes, are relatively valuable. But then, of course, from the neo-Marxist point of view, the main question would be : is there any significant socio-political conflict between these classes.

A further complexity is that the Indian state manifests itself over almost all social classes; the bourgeoisie, the peasants, the farmers, the workers, and so on. It would be difficult to locate the state in one class, as it appears that state policies are principally directed towards the augmentation of its own power, and not the power of any particular social class. It illustrates that '(the state) is a form of public power separate from both the ruler and rules, and constitutes the supreme political authority within a certain defined boundary.'[4] The neutrality of the state can only be activated when its autonomy is no longer compromised by capitalism. Punjabi peasants and farmers feel that the Indian federal authorities as biased in favour of dominant industrial and commercial capitalist classes.

Marxists do not admit exceptions to their general description of the state as an instrument of class domination. But this approach is problematic where classes are not fully developed. Where class system is weak, Marx thought that the state could play an independent role.[5] The Indian governments of the post-independent era have projected themselves as champions of lower classes against the bourgeoisie, but thet wanted lower classes to remain within the existing economic and property relationship. The state promises to alleviate the effects of their class position, but not its root causes or material basis. Thus, when masses in a province, such as the Punjab

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make a popular demand, they face suppression. Thus, 'the modern representative state is a 'special' repressive force for the regulation of society in the interest of the dominant class'.[6] Furthermore, the Indian state has also served the international imperialist ventures by suppressing the popular uprise in the Punjab. Because of the economic linkage between India's capitalist class and international capitalism and 'social imperialism', the West has indirectly 'approved' the repression in Punjab. The reason being the agricultural surpluses exploited from the Punjab enable the Indian state to purchase industrial and military hardware from the dominant economic powers. Marx and Engles wrote how in some countries of Asia, the apparatus of the state could acquire 'complete independence' from the control of social classes. The state attains its superior position over social classes under certain favourable circumstances.[7] In the case of India, the state has developed more rapidly than Indian society. While dynamics for social and political changes comes from socio-cultural and religious organisations, a major example being the Punjab's Akali Dal. Punjab's Marxists have failed to recognize this force. They are more inclined to stick to classical Marxism and dogmatic analysis. Neo-Marxists analysis in the Punjab is too remote, mainly because of the Soviet influence on literature and politics to the extent that the tendency is to stay tuned in with classical analysis. It is not fully appreciated by the 'Marxists' that the theoretical study of political and social change cannot be conducted and analysed in isolation. The new Marxist studies emphasise that analysis must take into account every known mode of production, every historical phase and this in terms of both structural and conjunctural aspects (e.g. conquests, domination, characteristics of a conqueror and their army).[8] Therefore, in the case of the Punjab, a Marxist theorist should focus specifically on operational structures and the social dynamic. A model of theory applicable elsewhere will not necessarily explain the Punjab crisis. That is the main reason why the Punjab's own neo-Marxists will have to abandon their redundant social categories and study the dynamic which is producing social change/politics.

The Punjab's peasants and farmers have remained in the

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forefront of all political struggles; before and after the independence of India. The vast majority identify and work with the Punjab's regional political forces. During the colonial days, peasants were (in theory) represented by the Kisan Sabha (peasants association). This was initially associated with the Congress Party which had under its wings political groups of diverse kinds and leaders professing various ideologies. By the time of independence, however, the West Bengal Krishak Sabha (as indeed All India Krishak Sabha) had become clearly and visibly associated with the Communist Party.

In 1964, The Communist Party split into two and then into three and further into various splinter groups. The Kisan Sabha survived this split for only four years. At the 19th session of the AIKS in 1968, it became clear that they were two : one attached to the pro Moscow Communist Party of India and the other to the Independent Communist Party—Marxist, while the splinter group indulged in 'Marxist-style' activities, which eventually lost dynamic under pressure from the state and lack of support from the peasantry. These relationships raised the important question of the relative strength of the links of the Kisan Sabhas with agrarian social structures, and its link with the political parties, e.g. how far the Kisan Sabhas are authentic peasants organisations and how far they are mere instruments of political parties, managed by party members and guided in one direction or another by a logic of events and a set of priorities which are determined by factors external to the agrarian system.[9]

In the Punjab, peasants' participation in popular political movements is far greater than any other state of India, they draw their inspiration from Sikhism and its egalitarian principles. At popular level, despite the massive promotion of neo Marxist-Leninist literature and soviet sponsored translation of Communist literature in the Punjab, peasants and farmers in the main, seek ideological direction from Sikh culture. Sikhism has remained a dominant source of inspiration, and therefore a socially relevant force. But the neo-Marxists as well as neo-liberal analysts do not appreciate these factors fully. Instead, they condem such political developments as fundamentalist revivalism. It appears that leftist academics

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and political observers have not yet quite developed adequate concepts or a theoretical framework to assess and analyse the ethnocentric peasants-based nationalist political developments.

Alavi argues that the states of Pakistan, Bangladesh and to an extent India have remained autonomous, because no single class has succeeded in establishing its rule over the developed state. The social classes in most post-colonial third world societies have failed to establish their hegemony over the state, because the state was stronger than the social classes long before these societies were colonized.[10] But in the Punjab, since the middle ages, it has not been possible for any regime to dominate its people. At best, various regimes had to appease the people; at worse the Moguls, the British, and now the Indian state faces repeated political uprises. The contemporary political situation only shows too clearly that is not possible to rule the Punjab without the consent of peasants and farmers. The main economic issues which formed the basis of the contemporary political agitation remain significant. These included economic conditions of the 'backward' classes, and weaker sections of society, issues concerning wages, conditions of agricultural and industrial workers, demands for higher standard of living for government employees, provision of employment, old age pensions and extension of free education.

Other suitable measures would have helped the Punjab economy. These measures include; establishment of agro-industry in rural areas, equitable sharing of structures of taxation, stabilization of price and more investment in heavy industries. The historic Anandpur Sahib Resolution laid particular stress on the need to break the monopolistic hold of the capitalists foisted on the Indian economy. This capitalist class has enabled the central government to assume all powers in its hands more in the manner of Mughal imperialism. The Akali's resolution stressed an opposition to the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the capitalists. The dynamics of Akalis' political struggle came from their cultural and religious convictions. It was, in a sense, inspired by Nanak's words, 'he alone realizes the true path who labours honestly and stress the fruits of that labour.' The Punjab's peasants and farmers were thus inspired from their historical

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and cultural heritage. Even if we work out identifiable social categories and the source of social conflict, as Marxists do this perspective will still not explain the underlying dynamics of the Punjab crisis as Marxism will fall to recognize the religious passion sustaining the campaign.

Engles pointed out that the apathy of the peasants was the foundation of Russian despotism as well as the corruption of parliamentary practices in some countries. Lenin and Marx said the same thing respectively, about French and Russian peasants. But 'to have hopes of success, a development programme must begin by more adequately mobilizing and aiding peasants and others to confront.....merchants and political military authorities that exploit them. This involves 'participation popular' not so much in the productive as in the economic and political process.....but this change itself can only be affected through increased peasant popular participation and power' ...participation is important because peasants do not have any other weapon, social change in the long run, by significantly increasing peasants bargaining power in the labour market, in the product market and through institution setting.'[11]

'Economic and ethnic factors have combined in many cases to engender a sense that some regions or people were not getting a fair share of resources. In some cases religion and its people became important in a situation where they were contributing to the central revenues of a larger state, from which other regions received the most benefit. They began to feel that it would be better going it alone.'[12] Thus, in the case of the Punjab, peasants and farmers feel that they are providing huge surpluses to the federal state. The Punjabi community from overseas contribute enormously to foreign currency reserves, but in return the Punjab is not receiving adequate level of investment and the Punjab state's modernization is being held back.

Therefore the Punjab's political crisis is a nationalist crisis. The backbone of the Punjab's peasantry and farmers movement is the Sikh community, with a strong sense of identity. They are a people with history and distinctive values and, therefore, their its own ideological framework. They feel

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at popular level, that their social and economic potential is being blocked by the central authorities. The Sikhs have been more inclined to use modern technology for production and distribution :... 'Because they are seen as a more effective means to achieving traditional ends. Thus (Sikh) peasantry and farmers are motivated to adopt modern practices in the belief that they will increase their income. In the case of the Punjab, therefore, tradition and modernity mutually reinforce each other rather than conflict. Institutions of family, kinship, community, religion, language and history, provide dynamic for socio-economic and political change. These institutions contribute to the division of labour supply of skills, training and accumulation of capital.'[13] Faith plays a significant role in worldly affairs, e.g. success through economic adventurism. The Sikh ideology seems to be enabling people not only to survive against the odds but also to go and prosper. Neo-Marxism as a theory, needs to be developed to appreciate all the operational categories and socio-political dynamics, which are not essentially class based.

Some of Punjabi neo-Marxists have revised their formulations in terms of the gains that have 'accrued to the relatively large farmers, while smaller peasants and farmers are turning into landless labourers. Many had predicted class conflict and a revolution which never occurred. In fact, small peasents have to a significant extent joined ranks to seek concessions from the central authorities. But if this is the situation, the cause can be traced unambiguously to the Indian government's belief shared by the Marxists, that the ways towards the declared objectives of helping the poor is extensive interference in the price system. Beside the industrial working class benefitting from low food prices, no benefits have reached the rural poor and the Marxists must face up to being torn by divided loyalties between rural and the urban proletarians.'[14] While the peasants and farmers see their situation clearly in terms of who is exploiting them and their resources, and they make political moves on the basis of regional nationalism against the state maintaining this situation; Marxist analysts are looking for a conflict to develop within the Punjab, between poor peasants and rich farmers. This has

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not developed for the reasons discussed above. Instead farmers have joined together to seek economic and political autonomy for the Punjab state. No doubt a discussion of the Indian case from a neo-Marxist perspective, offers special advantages. First of all India, as a large and heterogeneous country—a veritable sub-continent, represents a wide range of social systems as well as responses to economic change. Secondly, on account of this diversity, it provides scope for a number of fruitful comparisons within itself. Thirdly, the materials available for India are generally richer and more disposed towards both social structure and economic change.

'India has so far been the recipient of neither a classic bourgeois transformation on the European model—with commercialization of agricultural and the reduction of rural population as the accompaniment to industrialization—nor has its revolution been based on the urban proletariat and its potential allies in the countryside.'[15] Neo-Marxism may be a uniquely powerful and progressive body of theory, in putting together generalized political perspectives on the developments in India, but it has yet to offer detailed analysis of dynamics of social change and conflicts. Perhaps theories developed by Indian Marxists remain too mechanical to cover the complexities of India's society. Nor does it have a conceptual framework to take account of cultural, religious, linguistic, geographical, and other conflicts which dominate the Indian political scene.

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25
WORLD SIKH UNIVERSITY PROJECT : A VISION FOR THE MILLENNIUM

I. VISION

To establish a state-of-the-art 21st century Sikh University in the holy land of Sri Anandpur Sahib, at the foothills of Himalayas, as part of the 300th anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Sikh Panth.

1.1. Mission

To initiate, develop and provide excellent facilities for education, research, training, learning resources and publication services, and to facilitate Sikh studies to the highest possible qualification levels, carrying world-wide recognition.

To establish, promote, and strengthen the wolrd-wide network of Sikh education, training, research, learning resources and publication facilities, within a cohesive context of the World Sikh University.

1.2. Purpose

To regenerate, sustain and develop the moral, spiritual and physical well being of the individual, family, and the World-wide Sikh Panth, and to contribute to the social, cultural, political, economic, scientific and technological development of the community and the Punjab.

II. ETHOS AND FRAMEWORK

The World Sikh University will develop and operate within the overall framework of the resolutions passed by

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World Sikh Sammelan, September 1995 at Amritsar, under the auspices of Sri Akal Takht, and in collaboration with the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

To realise the objectives of the World Sikh Council arising from the historic resolutions of the World Sikh Sammelan of September 1995, through the provisions of the World Sikh University. The university will develop a multi-University accreditation system, to ensure the international recognition of its qualifications.

2.1. Ethics

The University is a place for contemplation, dedicated research and its ethos owes much to individuals who are willing to devote their time for fundamental research. To create such an atmosphere of mutual support for the staff, and to undertake initiatives in research and technology requires far-sighted individuals and administrators. The University management would appoint such devoted staff and encourage an atmosphere of academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas among the academic community.

2.2. Architecture

Further issues relating to the design and architecture of the new campus, the establishment of various faculty buildings, financial implications, relative priorities of various projects are some of the subjects which need to be addressed by appropriate bodies established to look into details of each such issue. It is stressed that the university campus will be planned reflecting the abiding influence of Sikh traditional architecture.

2.3. Affiliation and Size

While the first three Colleges (see details below), should be started immediately, the expansion and establishment of other colleges should be phased into and carefully planned. There are several other issues which need to be looked at by committees. The present colleges of the Punjab and other provinces, which are run by the community e.g. Khalsa institutions as high and secondary schools, will have a formal

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or informal relationship with the University, and how overseas Sikh and other educational institutions will form an alliance.

The scope of the University could vary from a campus based institution to a large organisation on the model of the British Open University. The World Sikh University will liaise, co-operate, collaborate and work appropriately with suitable individuals, private, public and voluntary organisations.

III. RATIONALE

In a world which is becoming a 'global village', the Sikh community of the Punjab, like many other minorities, is facing multi-faceted issues. The major issues facing a minority community are its ability to control and develop its cultural, economic, linguistic and educational resources. In educational terms, to summarise, these issues relate to the dilemma of how to reproduce what is valuable in a tradition, and how to transmit a heritage and religious values across generations. The Sikhs are in no different position in this regard. In the education field, although they have been able to establish some premier educational institutions in the last century—when modern education was introduced in the Punjab by British authorities—the post-1947 experience has eroded the power of the community, both educationally and in other public spheres.

Be that as it may, in the 1990s, community leaders have become acutely aware of the need for an educational institution, in the form of a university. The idea of a University with an International focus also comes at a time when there is general interest in the international community, regarding the Sikh community's political, religious and cultural institutions. Indeed the proposed name of the university as an international or World Sikh University has arisen due to the growing realisation of the significance of the Sikh Diaspora, their connection with the Punjab and their educational, religious and cultural needs. In Western countries, the large presence of the Sikh Diaspora has already given rise to substantial research as well as the establishment of three chairs in Sikh studies at premier universities in Canada and the United States. Similar

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developments are likely in the United Kingdom in the near future.

The establishment of an independent university, which is a new concept in South Asian countries where the state has held sway over all the higher educational institutions, is a well established practice in the democratic framework of Western society. Indeed, the British in India were supportive of such ventures, and the role of Benaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University have been remarkable in terms of their contribution to the regeneration of the respective community's cultural heritage. In the 1990s, when the Indian government had changed its stance to a more open economy, it also relaxed its stern grip on higher education, allowing the establishment of independent universities run by communities or other interest groups.

It is a significant coincidence that the Sikh Panth has celebrated its third centenary in the year 1999. What could be more appropriate in that year, than the establishment of a major centre for higher learning, where eminent scholars will have resources and facilities to devote themselves with dedication to reflect on the concerns and issues facing the community of the 21st century ? The World Sikh Conference held in September 1995, took preliminary steps towards the establishment of an International Sikh University. The World Sikh Council, a committee formed for this purpose, has begun the process of formulating a plan for this international university. Such an institution will thus enable the community to set its own agenda and participate constructively and rationally in the debate from the community's perspective.

IV. AIMS

1. To establish significant control over the dissemination of the Sikh cultural heritage through courses in the arts and humanities, at higher education level.
2. To create a centre of excellence for Sikh and other scholars to work in an atmosphere of respect and dignity.
3. To specialise in subjects which are crucial to the community's educational, cultural and religious needs.

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4. To create a major informational centre for Sikh studies, which will act as a databank for communication with the rest of the world.
5. To create a specific centre in disciplines such as the arts and social sciences, and especially in the fields of theology, philosophy, music, fine arts, history and folklore which have either been neglected by scholars, or have hardly been studied in other educational institutions—especially where the Sikh and Punjabi element in them has been either distorted or neglected.
6. To initiate and validate such new courses which may be relevant for particular institutions or a particular class of students.
7. To provide an active exchange with the educational institutions established by the Sikh Diaspora, validating and accrediting where the needs arise for Punjabi language, religious and culturally relevant courses, needed by such students in the Sikh Diaspora.
8. To develop a working relationship with, and provide support and expertise to existing Sikh educational institutions in the Punjab and neighbouring provinces, as well as in the Diaspora, thus aiding their educational developments.

V. STRUCTURE OF THE INSTITUTION

Given the resources, the proposed university will have the full functioning of a conventional university. Its primary strength will lie in the establishment of the following faculties and schools devoted to basic research and matters of policy issues. They will have a major focus on the Punjab and its society. The broad division of the University research and teaching will be carried out among various Faculties or Schools, as in a conventional university. However the university will establish new Colleges as part of its phased development. The following Colleges, in due course of time, will be established. The three or four Colleges listed below could be established initially, and the rest in a planned programme of expansion. The Colleges and some of the work carried out is

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detailed below :

1. College of Theology, Philosophy and Religious Studies.
2. College of Punjab Folklore, Music and Performing Arts.
3. College of Language, Literature and Media Studies.
4. College of History and Politics and International Studies.
5. College of Social Studies.
6. College of Law and Federal Studies.
7. College of Business and information Technology.
8. College of Education, Tourism and Environment.
9. College of Sciences, Technology and Industrial Studies.
10. College of Health Sciences, Nursing and Medicine.

In each college or school, emphasis will be on fundamental research, and the highest standards of training and educational opportunities for students. In each faculty, course developments will take into account the Punjab's indigenous traditions and pay special attention to the social relevance of research. In science subjects, especially in applied sciences, the technical needs of Punjab industry, agriculture and labour will be relevant criteria for the allocation of resources and staff deployment.

VI. MAJOR FACULTIES

Some brief details of the proposed colleges are as follows :

6.1. College of Theology, Philosophy and Religious Studies

Sikh theology is a neglected field. The aim of the department will be to take initiatives and undertake projects on various branches of Sikh theology. The College staff will develop a comparative approach, with scholars devoting time and energy in comparing various theological concepts with the neighbouring religious tradition of the Indian and South Asian religious milieu. Similarly, there is no substantial work on any aspect of Sikh philosophy, or how it compares with various

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Western and Eastern traditions. These issues will form a major aspect of research in this college.

6.2. College of Punjab Folklore, Music and Performing Arts

Until now, Punjabi arts are almost a subject without any expert or exponent. However, the Punjabi culture is rich in folk traditions. Its folklore and arts are a worthy subject. Indeed, much of the work on Punjab arts and folklore still owes its existence to enthusiasts during the British era. The College will work closely with the Centre for Performing Arts and set new standards of teaching and recording. The College will have a pool of students who would aspire to become artists, in both commercial and academic enterprises, and the College would encourage exchange with other such centres in the region.

This College will initiate both theoretical and practical projects for the resurgence of various schools of Punjabi music. While such native traditions as the Patiala Gharana, will have considerable resources devoted to build a historical picture, the most significant aspect of the School will be to train and innovate musicians in the many traditions of Punjabi music. The school will have a major section on Sikh devotional music, with the specific aim of reviving many old forms of Sikh scriptural music. It will impart training in classical music for the singing of Sikh scriptures, and render part of the sacred Sikh scriptures into classical music traditions. It is envisaged that many of its graduates will find employment as working *ragis, dhadis* and as other performing artists catering to the diverse musical tastes of the Punjabi people.

6.3. College of Language, Literature and Media Studies

The College will develop expertise in linguistics, literary and cultural studies. The department will have major focus on the study of the Punjabi language, while expertise will also be available for the study of Urdu, Persian and other Middle Eastern languages. It will initiate a major series of classical Punjabi studies, medieval and modern literature. It will have a major focus on Diaspora Punjabi literature. In conjunction with the Centre for Punjabi Learning, it will publish theoretical

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and teaching aids for the learning of the Punjabi language. The College will also house a special department of Journalism and Media Studies. Here, the issues of Punjabi journalism, its history, the impact of Indian media such as films, newspapers, and journals will be assessed as they affect Punjabi media and minds.

6.4. College of History, Politics and International Studies

The college will house the faculties of politics and history. The history of Punjab and its various communities remains under-researched. We have almost no knowledge of the medieval and ancient Punjab, other than the discoveries of the Indus Civilisation. Similarly, Sikh institutions such as the Sikh monarchy, their relationship with Marathas and other local powers, theory and institutions of the Sikh social order are subjects which need close examination. In economics, research is needed on the impact of the green revolution on the social and class structure of Punjab peasantry. Demographic transition in the Punjab, especially the migration process, needs urgent attention.

6.5. College of Social Studies

The College will have faculties of demography, economics, sociology and social anthropology. In all these disciplines, the emphasis will be on applied studies relating and relevant to Punjab social and economic issues. In demography, for example, the impact of urbanisation, rural-urban migration, the role of non-Punjabi labour in the province, the impact of the overseas Punjabi migration, will be some of the issues for research. In economics, issues such as the resource allocation policy of federal government, Punjab budget, agricultural and industrial issues, labour and wages, cultural changes associated with economic changes will be some of the research issues.

6.6. College of Law and Federal Studies

Punjab has played an important role in the political emergence of India and Pakistan. Its current standing within the Indian state and constitutional implications of power

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sharing need close scrutiny. The College will have a major focus on Punjab's constitutional and political relationship with India and its place in the region. Its staff will work on studies on federal relations in a comparative framework. Recent events and indeed several episodes of early Punjab history are worthy subjects of legal history. Issues concerning human rights have been neglected fields in the faculty of law. The College will develop expertise in the legal rights of minorities, and in various aspects of South Asian states' legal provisions and cases affecting the human rights.

6.7. College of Business and Information Technology

The College will have two major faculties of accounting, finance and business studies, and will act as a major centre for information technology. The staff working in the College will undertake studies relevant to the issues facing small, medium, and large businesses in the province. Its staff will devote time for the study of market factors, impact of governmental policies, incentives and financial markets. The staff will offer policy alternatives, advice and research through its publications. The department of information technology will stock well equipped rooms providing training facilities in computers and other information sciences.

6.8. College of Education, Tourism and Environment

The College staff will have to provide extensive modules of training, as well as carry out research. The College will prepare graduates and others for practical teaching skills at various levels. It will also offer many in-service training courses for teachers and allied professions. The College will also employ staff offering expertise on tourism. The College staff will have a major focus on research into various environmental issues and pollution control. It will bring out policy papers on such environmental issues arising due to the adoption of new technology, fertilisers, pesticides and other new products in agriculture and industry of the Punjab, and neighbouring provinces.

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6.9. College of Sciences, Technology and Industrial Studies

Besides offering research and teaching facilities for physical sciences, such as Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics and other pure sciences; the college will also have applied sciences. The latter will maintain an active alliance with industrial firms of the Punjab and provide expertise on all relevant matters, such as the adoption of new technology, new agricultural and industrial products.

6.10. College of Health Sciences, Nursing and Medicine

This College will eventually become a major teaching hospital, providing standard facilities for medical training for nurses, doctors and health professionals specilising in different fields.

VII. MAJOR CENTRES

The University will establish a number of specialist centres devoted to particular areas as below. The major focus of these centres will be to concentrate resources on co-ordinating the sources of information on Sikhs across the world, regarding their informational and educational needs. It will build an appropriate library which will act as the main centre of such information as discussed below :

7.1. Centre for Punjabi Language Resources for Distance Learning

Punjabi language is not only the language of Sikh scriptures, but the language of an historical Punjab. Several millions of its speakers are scattered across India, Pakistan and in many overseas countries. In a world dominated by written communication, Punjabi, like other minority languages, is facing the problem of standardisation, and new vocabulary for specialised terms in technical subjects. In addition, there is a great need for new learning materials suitable for a diverse number of learners. The Faculty will have a primary role in producing suitable texts for all levels of Punjabi learners. In liaison with the Sikh International Centre, the staff at this

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Centre will offer short and medium range courses for a particular class of learners. It will be able to develop a large stock of books and teaching materials for those wishing to learn the Punjabi language in the Diaspora. The teaching aids range will cater to many categories of learners, especially those who may wish to concentrate on just one or two skills such as speaking, reading ,or writing. The Centre will provide staff exchange facilities with other institutions who might express an interest in such an arrangement.

7.2. Centre for Performing Arts

The University will house a major centre for performing arts of the Punjab. In conjunction with its College of Music and Performing arts, the Centre will act as a major training venue for various artists. By providing modern facilities for the performance and recording of such artistic ventures, the centre will encourage new and revive old Punjabi music traditions to become part of the common peoples' heritage. The College will also develop a film unit, and provide assistance to Punjab artists in producing non-commercial artistic and experimental films.

7.3. Sikh National Library

The University will build a central library. Its distinguished feature will be to act as a National Library of the Punjab. It will have the following facilities :

a) Act as a databank for information relating to Punjab in its broadest terms. It will initiate a major program of cataloguing and indexing publications relating to Punjab, and provide a retrospective index through various publications.
b) Acquire extensive materials on Punjab with statutory rights for getting a copy of any book published by a Punjab publisher irrespective of the subject.
c) It will also have the statuary provision in acquiring a book published from Indian and Pakistani publishers on any aspect of Punjab.

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d) It will also try as far as possible to acquire any foreign publications on Punjab defined in its broadest terms and subjects.

7.4. Sikh International Centre

The Punjabi diaspora is almost two million strong and settled across the globe. In countries where the settlement is more concentrated, the Punjabis have been a subject of numerous studies relating their cultural, social and economic life and the settlement process in the new countries. The School will develop research on the overseas Punjabi population, taking due account of their political, social and cultural orientations. It will keep an active interest and liaison with international universities and scholars who have such interests in the Punjabi diaspora.

a) A major feature of the Centre will be to provide training facilities for overseas students. It will maintain close relations with various developments in the Sikh diaspora, their educational needs and training requirements. The Centre will provide facilities, and welcome overseas visitors by providing adequate training and other facilities.
b) To provide guidance on overseas courses, advice on accreditation and validation procedures for courses run in the diaspora.
c) To create an active partnership with some overseas educational institutions by providing them support and guidance.
d) To provide a distance learning support for Punjabi learners and provide facilities for teaching and learning of the musical traditions of the Punjab.
e) To maintain a directory of Sikh Studies, Punjab and Punjabi language related courses around the world.

7.5. University Press

The University will have a major program of publications and for this purpose, it will run its own press. Beside publishing books from its own departments and publicity, it will have major functions :

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a) It will publish scholarly journals established by different faculties within the colleges.
b) It will publish scholarly monographs and books by the university staff as well as from other authors.
c) It will undertake publications on Punjabi learning materials and act as a major distributor of such learning materials aimed at various markets.

VIII. ESTABLISHING THE UNIVERSITY: TASKS AND MANAGEMENT

8.1. Tasks

There are four major tasks in establishing the university : (a) Policy; (b) Planning Strategy; (c) Constitution; (d) Finance.

8.2. Management Teams

(a) *Governing Council*—To consist of 31 members selected or nominated by Members of the Executive Committee of the World Sikh Council, special interest members of the World Sikh Council, and nominated distinguished persons.
(b) *University Senate*—To consist of 250 members. It will draw some members of the World Sikh Council plus nominated distinguished persons.
(c) *Congregation of Fellows*—To consist of 1100 persons of academic or financial standing world-wide.
(d) *World Sikh University Congress*—To consist of 5000 persons world-wide, who would be friends of the University by way of donation to its funds.
(e) *Associate Members*—To consist of 11,000 persons who would donate some funds to the University world-wide.

All the above categories of persons associated with the World Sikh University will be honourable and committed members of the Sikh Panth, dedicated to the cause of the University.

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IX. FUNDING

A world-wide World Sikh University Development Fund should be opened, with a target to raise Rs. 51 crores/£ 10m/ $ 15m over next five to ten years, at a rate of at least Rs. 5 crore/ £ 1m/$ 1.5m per annum.

FUND-RAISING SCHEMES

Various fund-raising schemes can be devised. There is considerable potential to appeal to Sikh bussinessmen and others in overseas countries for contribution to this worthly cause. Similarly, an appeal to richer section of Punjabi and Indian Sikhs could yield considerable funds.

Sponsorship Scheme

These should be aimed at industry or business, Gurdwara committee, community groups, or individuals who may wish to contribute towards the building of a college, or establish a chair or a Research Fellowship or Scholarship as below. Names of particular buildings or chairs would be named after such individuals or institutions.

Build a College Department Rs. 25 to 50 Lakhs/£ 50,000/ $ 75,000.
Establish a Chair Rs. 10 Lakhs/£ 20,000/$ 30,000.
Establish a Senior Research Fellowship Rs. 5 Lakhs/ £ 10,000/$ 15,000.
Establish a Research Fellowship Rs. 2.5 Lakhs/£ 5,000/ $ 7,500.
Other sponsorships may be accepted as appropriate.

X. TIME-TABLE

A five year programme for the tasks involved is given below :

First Year

The World Sikh Council establishes :

(a) The Governing Council of the World Sikh University.
(b) The University Senate.

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The Governing Council and the University Senate to finalise policy, constitution, development strategy, and to set up a University Operations Office.

Second Year

The Governing Council in consultation with Members of the University Senate :

(a) Establish a Congregation of Fellows.
(b) The Governing Council and the University Senate to review and ensure the achievement of targets for 1996.
(c) Commission and complete the planning and feasibility study, and set up an appropriate administrative system to support the development and fund raising operations.

Third Year

The Governing Council, in consultation with the Senate and Congregation of Fellows :

(a) Establishing the World Sikh University Congress.
(b) The Governing Council and the Senate to complete the land acquisition and to embark on the building programme for phase one, involving the management, secretariat, resources, information and communication block. Appoint Vice-chancellor and three pro-vice chancellors of the University.

Fourth Year

Inauguration of the World Sikh University at Anandpur Sahib. Where the World Sikh Council and the Governing Council, and other distinguished persons gather for the occasion.

(a) Hold the first Congregation of the Fellows and formally launch the World Sikh University Development Programme.
(b) Launch Associate Membership Scheme.
(c) Teaching and Building Programme : Admissions,

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Registry, Publishing House, Library, Sikh International Centre, Centre for Punjabi Learning Resources and the opening of the College of Theology, Philosophy and Religious Studies.

(d) Appoint Vice-Chancellor, Principal, Heads of Faculty, Professors, Lecturers, Researches and other required staff.

(e) Publish the college prospectus and accept students for various disciplines.

Fifth Year

The Governing Council and the University Senate,

(a) Publishes a phased ten year development programme. Each year's development programme will involve expanding the World Sikh University by at least one College, together with full building, physical resources, staffing, learning and research facilities.

(b) Publishes a directory of a world-wide network of Sikh education and training provision.

(c) Publishes a directory of all categories of the members associated with the World Sikh University.

XI. THE UNIVERSITY STAFF AND ADMINISTRATION

University Senior Staff

The senior administrators of the university will consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor supported by other administrative staff.

The Chancellor of the University will be Jathedar, Sri Akal Takhat, Amritsar. The President of the University Senate will be the President of SGPC, Amritsar.

The University senior staff will be responsible for the following portfolios;

Academic, research and development, learning programmes, publications, library operations, qualifications and student achievements etc.

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Marketing, planning, internal and external relations, publicity, admission, student services, sports, recreation etc.

Corporate services, personal, human resources, management information system, quality system and procedures.

Finance, accounts and audit, estate, physical resources, environmental and technical services, fund-raising, scholarships, investment, efficiency and effectiveness of the University.

College Staff

A college will have the following structural model subject to the size of the college operation : Principal, Vice-Principal, Faculty Heads, Professors, Associate Professors and Assistant Professors, Senior Research Fellows, Research Fellows, Administrative Staff.

College : General Financial Policy and Annual Targets

Each college management will be responsible for full academic and business planning and operations, based on zero budgeting, i.e., all costs to be recovered from the revenue for services, sales, overseas links, sponsorships, and fund raising activities.

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SECTION V

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

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26
CULTURAL DIVERSITY IS THE SOURCE OF STRENGTH

I have a passion for inner-city socio-economic and cultural regeneration. Education and training has a significant role to play in this, so has private and public investment, both material and intellectual. Inner-city cultural diversity should be seen as a source of strength and dynamic. Councillor Bert Carless OBE, chair of City College, Birmingham Corporation gave me an article written by the new Leader of Birmingham which is the thrust of this book. Councillor Albert Bore kindly gave his permission to add his article to this book. —Author

Leadership is at the heart of modern local government. The impact of globalisation and the drive of individual consumerism means that the days are long gone when good government meant a stable organisation delivering services. During the 1980s, when local government was perceived to be under constant attack, a bunker mentality developed. Members and officers avoided risk taking, and initiatives that might leave councils open to criticism and penalties. That environment has changed, and local government—if it is to meet the aspirations of both the new government and their own residents (and future residents), needs to respond to those changes. To do so, it needs clear leadership.

This is particularly important in Birmingham. Once known as 'The City of a Thousand Trades'. It is a city of many communities : religious, economic, ethnic, geographic and social. Indeed, its citizens are not confined to one community. They socialise in one, live in another and work in a third; a veritable matrix of communities. Many of these communities have different, if not conflicting traditions, and this is seen by outsiders as a potential problem, or even a burden, for the local

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authority. It is not so perceived in Birmingham. The city has always been a haven for incomers. In the distant past it was the non-conformists, the Irish in the early years of the 20th Century and most recently the New Commonwealth nations. The cultural diversity is a source of strength that makes Birmingham one of the great powerhouses for change in the economy and a passive local authority would certainly be unable to capitalise on these assets.

Progress can only be made through a modern Council, in touch with how people live their lives today, more suited to building partnerships with local communities, businesses and other agencies, and more capable of joined-up working across organisational boundaries. In essence developing a Can Do council.

Local authorities have not been the sole government agency in their area for some time, but the fear of risk taking engendered in the 1980s has prevented the development of true and open partnership that is needed if we are to move forward. Birmingham has, perhaps, been fortunate with its long track record of both municipal enterprise, (the ghost of Joseph Chamberlain I'm sure, still stalks the corridors of the Council House), and with the National Exhibition Centre, the ICC and NIA being the successful prodigies of a union with the Chamber of Commerce. This has been a successful catalyst for change and, through successful direct links with the European Union, substantial resources have been channelled into the regeneration of the City Centre. This approach has resulted in the transformation of the west side of the City into a modern European urban environment, which saw the hosting of G8, the Eurovision Song Contest and the International Lions Convention within the space of a few months. The partnership approach is being extended to the development of the east side of the centre, with the formation of the Birmingham Alliance. This is a joint venture (including the formation of three single site delivery companies) involving three commercial developers who have come together to co-ordinate a phased programme of developments in close liaison with the City Council and other public sector agencies, including the RDA. Approximately £800m is to be expended

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by the main developers, in transforming east side of the City. When completed, it will include a Millennium Landmark Project, the Millennium Point, featuring a University of the First Age which will provide learning experiences outside the normal school.

With traditions of partnership and municipal enterprise, Birmingham was well placed to establish its own unique form of City Pride. City Pride does not itself assume the task of delivering the vision. Responsibility for that challenge rests with the City Council, other public agencies, business and voluntary organisations. Thus, there is an independent assessment of the progress these agencies, either acting alone or in partnership, are making in achieving the ultimate goal.

The City Council consults widely on its short and long term objectives. The bottom line is, of course, about building a better Birmingham, which I am sure will resonate in the town halls, municipal buildings and council houses throughout the country. There is, however, a difference. Birmingham is one of the seven core cities that play a unique role in the life of their regions, providing employment, business services, transport interchanges and leisure opportunities for millions of people beyond their city boundaries. They are the capitals of, and engines of growth for their regions. This unique role of core cities is already well recognised in Europe, where strong regional capitals play a major part in the strategies of national renewal getting it right in Birmingham is therefore of significance well beyond the city's boundaries.

Creating the right environment for success and competitive advantage in the global economy is a goal that can only be achieved if we create a more inclusive city, and by challenging those inequalities that limit our potential. A city of 'have and have nots' is not a successful city. Any success must increase the opportunities for our most deprived communities, the inner-city and outer estates. The task of the Council is not only to help people seize such opportunities, as in case of New Deal for Communities, but also to ensure that local people are able to benefit them. The creation of the right environment for people who wish to remain in their local community is part of that process. Consequently the Council has committed itself

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to a number of initiatives designed to build safe and stable neighourhoods via education, safer environments, better transport and improved leisure facilities.

In order to play its part in building a better Birmingham, the Council has recognised that it must change itself and modernise. The decision-making process is to be made clearer, more open and more accountable. A centralised committee system that has served us for over one hundred years is no longer relevant to the needs of our citizens as we enter the 21st Century. In Birmingham we intend to build a new form of governance and build it bottom up. Our Local Involvement, Local Action programme is designed not only to create a new partnership between the City Council and its citizens, but to engage them in the identification of local needs and the best ways to meet them. The focal point of the programme is at ward level, where multi-functional sub-committees will, by the millennium, assume responsibility for determing, shaping and monitoring over £20m of Council expenditure. This is only the first step in engaging local people on things that affect their lives. The Council is taking the lead and will look to other public agencies to follow in engaging with local people at this local level.

On this foundation, we have begun to introduce a set of proposals designed for the Better Governance of Birmingham. These have streamlined the committee system, provided new settings in which Members can develop policy and review services and introduced an executive board of 12 Councillors which will provide a focus on the strategic direction the Council, and 'keep it on course'. We are also consulting widely on the model of political image that Birmingham people would prefer, including the option of a directly elected Mayor for the city.

Effective leadership is about setting a vision and objectives, and about providing an environment in which others can contribute to meeting those objectives. However, it is only the hard work, imagination and commitment by the Council, its employees, partner agencies and the citizens themselves that will make that vision a reality.

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27
A VISION OF A NEW MILLENNIUM SOCIETY

It was a lifetime opportunity to introduce and invite the British Prime Minister Rt. Honourable Tony Blair MP to address a large audience at the International Convention Centre, Birmingham, on 2nd May 1999. This conference marked the 300th anniversary of the Khalsa and the Vaisakhi celebrations. In his historic speech in the middle of an international crisis in the Baltic, the Prime Minister outlined his vision of a new modern society. The speech was featured prominently in the world media and is a fitting piece for this book. —*Author*

I am honoured to have been asked to join you in celebrating the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Khalsa. This, I know is just one of many celebrations happening up and down the country throughout the year.

I am proud that Britain is home to the largest number of Sikhs outside the Punjab. Almost half a million live in communities from Southall to Cardiff, from Glasgow to Leeds, from Coventry to Gravesend. And of course, here in Birmingham.

The Sikh community is a vital part of British life. In every walk of life, in business, culture, the legal profession, you are adding to the strength of Britain.

I want to pay tribute to the council of Sikh Gurdwaras in Birmingham which has done so much to foster an appreciation of the Sikh way of life in the wider community. The events which have been organised through April and May have been superb and will greatly have enhanced the lives of those in the community.

From what I have read, the anniversary we celebrate today is of a great moment in the history of democracy. For

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the community born under Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru, was based on throwing off the caste system and doing away with all forms of hierarchy. It was a profoundly classless and egalitarian philosophy.

From then on all Sikhs took the name of Singh, all women became equal with men and took the name Kaur, or princess. Yours is an inspiring vision.

Indarjit Singh, whose wise words I often hear on the *Today* programme *Thought for the Day*, has written that: 'Sikhism is about achieving a balance between having independence and self-respect and living and sharing equally with others.'

The founding principles are equality, a just social order for all, tolerance of others and other religions, earning a living through honest labour, hospitality and sharing one's fortune with those less fortunate. These values are as powerful and relevant today as they were 300 years ago.

The idea of mutual tolerance and respect is at the heart of your beliefs.

Today, here in Britain and in the wider world, it is a timely message.

In Britain, it is our ambition to create a modern civil society for today's world, to renew the bounds of community that bind us together.

That society is based on shared values: rights and duties which go together; tolerance and respect for diversity. We work hard to provide opportunity for our young, whether it is in enhancing education or in giving hope to the unemployed. In return, we demand responsibility, proper conduct, law-abiding behaviour.

We stand up for our racial and cultural diversity; we fight against discrimination and violence; we value our differences and respect each other's background, ethnic and religious.

It is a vision for the 21st century, a society free from prejudice but not free from rules. We need order and stability in our society and we are prepared to fight for it. But it is an order based on decent values, a stability anchored in mutual respect and tolerance for differences.

And when one section of our community is under attack, we defend them in the name of all community.

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When bombs attack the black and Asian Community in Britain, they attack the whole of Britain.

When the gay community is attacked and innocent people are murdered, all the good people of Britain, whatever their race, their lifestyle, their class, unite in revulsion and determination to bring the evil people to justice. And I thank our police, in particular the Metropolitan Police under the leadership of Sir Paul Condon, for the way they have responded—with vigour and resolution.

In responding in this way, we are doing more than bringing killers to justice. We are defending what it means to be British.

In the past, patriotism, national identity was defined by some by reference to those excluded. Nationalism in this sense can be dangerous; you have to come from one colour, one religion, one ethnic background, as opposed to others.

Today, we take pride in an identity, limited by the geography of the country, but within that country, open to all—whatever their colour, religion or ethnic background. We celebrate our diversity, we recognise it brings us strength and teaches us a patriotism that enriches and unites our nation, rather than divides it.

And the true outcasts today, the true minorities, those truly excluded are not the different races and religions of Britain but the racists, the bombers, the violent criminals who hate that vision of Britain and try to destroy it.

But they shall not win.

The great decent majority of British people will not let them. We will defeat them and then we can build the tolerant, multi-racial Britain the vast majority of us want to see.

And, as we fight injustice and intolerance in Britain, so in Kosovo today we fight ethnic cleansing and racial genocide.

The values we are fighting for, are the same values : the right to live in freedom from fear, whatever your race or religion.

When defenseless people are butchered by Milosevic in Kosovo, young men murdered; women violated, it is an outrage against the very values of humanity which are the world's only salvation.

We must act to stop it, we must continue the action in the Balkans until those people driven from their homes are

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allowed to return in peace and security to their homeland. Then let any other dictator who tries to suppress a people on the grounds of their race or religion know that when Nato takes a stand, it will not yield until the battle is won.

Everyday, every night our armed forces are risking their lives in defence of our values. They have our full support.

And we know that, as with the bus hit yesterday, innocent people whom we have no wish to harm, are casualties in this conflict.

But when we report these incidents, where Nato has acted in error, let us never forget, unseen by TV cameras, often unreported, are the most appalling acts, far worse than anything we have done, and done deliberately by Milosevic and his forces—slaughtering innocent Kosovar Albanians in their thousands.

As the Sikh teaching tells us, we must 'never refrain from righteous acts whatever the cost'.

That is why I thank the Sikh community, just as I thank other communities in Britain, for supporting this war and uniting behind our values—British values, the values of the Sikh community.

It is that belief that is echoed by Guru Gobind Singh when he says : 'recognise the human race as one.'

We have a long way to go in Britain and elsewhere before this vision is realised. If nothing else, here in Britain, the case of Stephen Lawrence would teach us that.

But in describing the journey still to go, we can take hope from the distance already travelled. We have time and history and all the good forces of humanity on our side.

Today we celebrate the creation of a nation whose temples open up to all—rich and poor, male and female, old and young. We celebrate a religion that respects all other religions, and a people who seek to lead a life of compassion, humility, piety, justice. I am honoured to be part of those celebrations.

People want to see a society where there is opportunity for all, where the barriers of prejudice are dismantled. We have to work harder to make that happen. And the government I lead, will.

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3. *Sikh Messenger*, Autumn 1985.
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5. Smith 1971:28.
6. Smith 1971:9.
7. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, page 9.
8. *Sikh Messenger*, 'Betrayal of the Sikhs'.
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11. Minority Rights Group, *The Sikhs*, Report No. 65.
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2. The Punjab crisis in its present form bears the hallmark of a 'nationality' question. No different, say than that posed by contemporary Assam not to mention the various north-eastern states, or for that matter, Kashmir, or in the past by the linguistic nationalities of the south. (Sathyamurthy, 1985:2)

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3. Sathyamurthy, 1985:182
4. 'The state, constituting as it does the main power grid through which these segments of the bourgeoisie expect to realize their specific interests, would be caught in the middle as the contradiction between industrial bourgeoise and the rural rich unfold itself...' (Sathyamurthy 1985:178)
5. 'I found myself then trying to explain how modernisation—vastly improved communication, government activity, commercial agriculture, etc. -reacted with Punjabi culture...' (Jeffrey 1986: xiim)
6. 'What happened in 1947 was only a semi-colon in the evolution of the subcontinent, not full stop. Muslim communalism took the River Indus away from India and put it into Pakistan. Now, in the mid-eighties, Sikh communalists are determined to create Khalistan. But the emerging question is : will the communalism of a section of the Hindu elite now divide the Ganga and destroy India.' (Akbar 1985: 9-10)
7. Kapur 1986:ix.
8. Pettigrew (1986).
9. Dharam 1984:85.
10. Tully 1985:ix.
11. 'Khalsa Panth' means orthodox believers, term is alos used for the whole of Sikh community.
12. Theodor 1958:54.
13. Kapur 1986:206.
14. For Indian nationalists, communalism was mainly the product of British machinations, of 'divide and rule' policy. (Treichale 1971:206/7)
15. Akbar 1985:18-19, 207.
16. Akbar 1985:19.
17. Kapur 1986:201.
18. Sathyamurthy 1985
19. '...a number of variant forms of ethnic 'secession' movements, which are really extensions of the basic urge to set up one's own state co-extensive with the ethnic group.' (Smith 1986:4)
20. Sathyamurthy 1985:179.
21. Kapur 1986:20.
22. Sathyamurthy 1985:184.
23. Sathyamurthy 1985:47.
24. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale was the fourteenth descendant of a revered figures in Sikh history—Baba Deep Singh. Sant Jarnail Singh was associated with the Damdami Taksal known for preaching and missionary work.
25. Wolpert 1984:324-325. (Original Source : Mountbatten's Personal Report No. 5, May 1st 1947, Ibid 537-538). There was a chance the Sikhistan' might join up with Pakistan, and the Muslim League would offer them very generous terms. Jinnah had several secret

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meetings with Sikh leaders, including the Maharajah of Patiala and Baldev Singh, and tried to induce them to join Pakistan.

26. Mahatma Gandhi, regarded as the conscience of the Hindus, speaking at Gurdwara Sisganj at Delhi in 1931 as reported in *Young India*, dated 16th March 1931 declared that :

'Sikh friends have reasons to fear that the Congress Party will betray them. For the moment, it does so, the Congress would not only thereby seal its own doom but, that of the country too. Moreover the Sikhs are brave people. They know how to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms if it should ever come to that.'

Speaking at the Congress Committee at Calcutta in July 1944, when the British Cabinet was debating the issues of giving Sikhs their dues in the forthcoming political settlement, Nehru declared that;

'The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set up in the North, wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.'

In another resolution adopted by the Congress Committee on January 5th 1947, it was declared that;

'By the British Cabinet Scheme of 16th May 1946, the rights of the Sikhs should not be jeopardised.'

27. Institutional communalism is domination of minorities by a majority community through institutional power and authority.
28. Sathyamurthy 1984:6/7.
29. Kapur 1986:219-220.
30. Sathyamurthy 1985:19.
31. *'There can be no peace in Punjab without the Government agreeing to 'Anandpur Sahib Resolution,...it is historical truth that the Sikhs are a separate nation...* (An extract from the recorded speech of the Sant delivered on 29th May 1983, translation from Punajbi).
32. *The Sunday Times*, 7 December 1986, Tavleen Singh.
33. Violence was justified in the light of the words of Guru Gobind Singh, *'When all other means to fight evil have failed right is on Your side if you resist with force.'*
34. *Des Pardes* London, November 1986. Oaths signed by the leader of AISSF panel (All Indian Sikh Students Federation), Bhai Gurjeet Singh.*'I assure the organisation (AISSF) that I shall struggle for the Sikh State until the last breath in my body. I shall take my teaching from the Sikh Religious Body the Damdami Taksal, and will remain firm on the principles of Sikhism.'* (Translation from Punjabi)
35. Silver, Eric, *The Guardian*, 11 December, 1986. *'In the Punjab, Martyrdom has a life of its own.'*
36. 'Asian states contain more than two ethnic groupings—actually serve to reinforce the control of the state and so ensure its otherwise rather fragile unity.' (Smith1983:70).
37. Jeffrey 1986:2-3.
38. 'Punjab, according to many of the statistics, is the most striking

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example of modernisation. The most dangerous crisis Independent India has faced has occurred in the country's most prosperous state and involved some of its most travelled, alert, diligent people.' (Jeffrey 1986:2-3).

39. 'Minority states' refer to those states in India, where non-Hindi speaking or non-Hindu minorities are politically significant e.g. Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Tamilnadu, Goa, Assam.
40. Silver, Eric, *The Guardian*, 31 December 1986.
41. Pettigrew 1984:107/9.
42. Sathyamurthy 1985:198.
43. Silver, Eric, *The Guardian*, 11 December, 1986.
44. In Britain and many other countries, the Khalistan Council, and other Sikh organizations such as International Sikh Youth Federation, World Sikh Organization Dam Dami Taksal, Dal Khalsa and Babar Khalsa International became noticeable after 'Operation Blue Star' in June 1984. (Tatla 1999).
45. Pettigrew 1984:3.
46. *'You can only have justice if there is rule of law, someone to enforce it, and you have a right of appeal. Where will you go (for justice) when no one cares for the judge or for the law, and they (the Police) are all-powerful, with your own hands you will then have to solve your problems. They are perpetrating atrocities on us, exterminating our youth, burning our Holy books, and insulting our turbans. When this is so you do not need to file a writ or a suit. There is no need to get a license for arms. Neither Guru Hargobind took a license from Jehangir nor Gobind sought one from Aurangzeb...'* (Translation of an extract from the recorded speeches of Bhindranwale).
47. Tully 1984:218.
48. Translation of an extract from the recorded speeches of the Bhindrawale.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Tully 1986:215.
51. *The Hindustan Times*, 4 December 1986.
52. India: White Paper, 1984:64.

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2. *Ibid.* (1).
3. *Ibid.* (1).
4. McLannon et al 1984:233.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
7. Sen 1984:4.
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9. Beteille 1974:185.
10. Alvi (1982).
11. Frank 1996:251-54.
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INDEX

A

Abbott, Diane 117
Afghan 202
Afghanistan 202
Africa 89, 95, 139, 140
African 34, 110, 116
Afro-Caribbean 34, 80, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103, 110, 111, 115, 116, 138, 146, 153, 168, 170, 196
Ahmed Shah Abdali (A Mughal Emperor) 241
AIKS 267
Akali 204, 256, 268
Akali Dal 203, 209, 216, 232, 238, 246, 248, 249, 253, 254, 256
Akali Party 208, 226
Akalis 227, 253
Akbar, M.J. 230, 233, 234, 235, 236
Akhand Bharat 236
Akhand Paths 130
Alavi, H. 268
Aligarh Muslim University 275
All India Adi Munneytra Kazhagam 229
All India Krishak Sabha 267
Amritsar 203, 216, 229, 240, 243, 254, 273
Anandpur Sahib 211, 215, 217, 231, 246
Anandpur Sahib Resolution 215, 219, 240, 243, 245, 248, 253, 258, 268
Andhra Pradesh 221, 226
Anglo-Sikh 151, 196
Anna Dravida Munneytra Kazhagam 227
Anti-Nazi League 198
Anti-Racist Training 49
Arab 110
Aristotles 221
Arya Samaj 211, 237
Arya Samaj Movement 239
Asian 34, 39, 57, 58, 70, 80, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 103, 108, 109, 110, 114, 116, 134, 136, 139, 141, 151, 161, 170, 175, 176, 192, 193, 196, 297
Assam 229
Associated Union of Engineering Workers 130
Aston University 35
Australia 31, 89, 205

B

Bagley 112
Baisakhi 231
Bangladesh 36, 268
Bangladeshi 141
Bangladeshi-Muslims 126
Barnala, Surjit Singh (Ex. Chief Minister of India) 258
Barry 112
Barry and Birch 220, 224
Bedford 89, 90
Benaras Hindu University 275
Bengal 212, 227, 229
Berlin 210

SikhBookClub.com

Beteille 264
Bhagvad Gita 212
Bhartiya Janata Party 238, 240
Bhindranwale 215, 240, 244, 245, 255, 256
Bidol, Patricia 67
Bilston Community College 72, 73
Birmid Qualcast 130
Birmingham 79, 80, 140, 141, 142, 156, 161, 174, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 291, 294, 295
Black 103, 108, 109, 114, 141, 161, 193
Black-African 141
Black-Caribbean 141
Black Councillors 114
Blackness 30
Black people 32
Black Women's Movement 110
Bradford 107, 153
Brent 156
Britain 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 75, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 132, 140, 149, 158, 191, 194, 200, 251, 297, 298
British 29, 32, 36, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 96, 98, 122, 126, 131, 132, 146, 191, 197, 202, 212, 225, 233, 236, 268, 295, 298
British Empire 191
British Imperialism 30
British India 203
British Nationality Act 57
Buddhists 140
Busso 89

C

Calcutta 208
Canada 31, 200, 205
Caribbean 31, 90, 91, 95, 97, 118
Carnival 138
Chambers and Pettman 65, 70
Chandigarh 204, 216, 246, 256
Chambers and Pettman 65, 70
Chinese 141, 207, 226
Christian Britain 157
Christian Churches 150
Christianity 150
Christians 140
Colonies 87, 88
Commission for Racial Equality 39, 113, 126, 148, 149, 153, 171
Commonwealth 56, 90
Communalism 225
Communist Party of India 124, 252, 267
Communist Party of India (Marxist) 226, 227, 251, 267
Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) 251
Communist Party of India (R) 251
Congress 204, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 223, 226, 228, 229, 238, 248, 252
Congress Party 226, 237, 240, 241, 242, 255
Conservative 43, 198
COSG 193
Councillor Bert Carless 142
Council of Sikh Gurdwaras 193
Council of Sikh Gurdwaras in Birmingham 199
Councils for Community Relations 152
Coventry 75, 79, 123

D

Delhi 202, 213, 215, 226, 240, 241, 246, 256, 258
Department of Education and Science 151

SikhBookClub.com

Deutsch 218
Dhadis 278
Dharam 230
Dharam Yudh Morcha 198, 216, 219, 229, 247, 250, 253, 254, 255
Dixit 225
Doaba 196
Dravida Munneytra Kazhagam (DMK) 229
Dudley 75, 79, 153
Durkheim 34

E

East Africa 194, 205
Eastern Europe 87, 88, 91
East Midlands 128
England 175
Engles 261, 269
English 111
Englishman 36
Equal Opportunities 34
Equal Opportunities Policy 53
Ethno-centric 238, 248
Europe 87, 140
European 88

F

Falkland 33
Far East 89, 140, 194
Fichet 210
Foot 31

G

Ganapati 212
Gandhi 242, 248
Gandhi, Indira (Late Prime Minister of India) 209, 225, 241, 244, 251
Gandhi, Rajiv (Late Prime Minister of India) 255, 256, 258
Geliner 218
German 207, 210
Glancy, Governor 232
Goa 229
Golden Temple 209, 215, 229, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 254, 256, 257, 260
Gorkha 229
Grant, John 59, 73, 168
Griffith, Peter 96
Gujarat 229
Gurdwara 196, 197, 198
Gurdwaras 192
Gurdwara Sisganj 213
Gurnah, Ahmed 50, 51, 67, 70, 83
Guru 211, 231
Guru Gobind Singh (The Tenth Sikh Guru) 202, 257, 296, 298
Guru Granth 130, 201, 241
Guru Granth Sahib 241
Guru Nanak (The First Sikh Guru) 202

H

Hackney 38, 39
Handsworth 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 156, 177, 178, 192, 196
Handsworth College 177
Haq, Nazir Ul 70
Harringey 111
Her Majesty's Inspectors 151
Hindi 238
Hindu 96, 110, 126, 140, 201, 203, 209, 211, 212, 225, 231, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 247, 248, 251, 252, 255
Hindu Nationalism 211
Hindu Congress 236
Hindu India 242
Hinduism 244
Hindu Mahasabha 211, 236, 237
Hindu Marriage Act 214

SikhBookClub.com

Hindu Nation 236
Hindus 203, 211, 213, 217, 225, 235, 241, 244, 252, 255
Hirschman 220, 222, 223, 224
Hodge, Margaret 187
Honeyford, Mr. 107
House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations 146
Humberside 128
Hungarian 36

I

Ideology of Race 29
Imagery 32
India 30, 89, 90, 91, 98, 118, 122, 139, 191, 194, 200, 204, 206, 212, 220, 234, 239, 242, 244, 245, 248, 253, 266, 268, 279
India Airliner 208
Indian 31, 36, 121, 122, 127, 141, 193, 194, 205, 207, 208, 228, 233, 237, 257, 261, 262, 264
Indian Constitutional 215
Indian National Congress 203, 204, 207, 208, 210, 213, 214 232, 238
Indian National Flag 213
Indian Nationalism 203, 228
Indian Prime Minister 254
Indians 123
Indian Workers Association 98, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129 135, 136, 137, 192, 196, 198
Indira 255
Indira Congress 226
Industrial Language Training 49, 50, 53, 59, 166, 170, 176
Inner-city Areas 128
International Convention Centre, Birmingham 199
International Sikh Youth Federation 125
Irish Republic 31
Islamic School 156
Italian 89
Italy 91

J

Jallianwala Bagh (A memorial built in the name of Martyr's of 1919 massacre brutally conducted by General Dyer) 203, 243
Jamaica 30, 90, 91, 139
James 107
James and Jaffcoate 115
Jammu and Kashmir 240
Janata 228
Janata Party 223, 229
Japan 70, 207
Jeffcoate 110
Jeffrey 230, 245, 246, 254, 259
Jenkins, Roy 146
Jumaican 91

K

Kali 212
Kapur 230, 232, 241, 243, 254
Karnatka 226, 229
Kashmir 202, 226, 227, 229
Katz 68, 69, 75, 82
Katz, Judy 67
Kedorie, Ellie 211
Kedourie 210
Keith, Sir Joseph 157
Khalistan 209, 217, 235, 245, 255, 257
Khalsa 202, 203, 211, 231, 295
Khalsa Panth 199, 211, 231
Khalsa Tercentenary Festival 199
Khomeini 255
Kimberand Richardson 106
Kipling, Rudyard 93
Kisan Sabha 267

SikhBookClub.com

Kluckhohn 95
Kogan 106
Kohn 210, 217
Konkoni 229
Korean 70
Kossuth 217
Kossuth, Lajos 217
Kroeber 95

L

Labour 43, 192
Labour Party 43, 114, 124, 136
Labour Zionist Movement 118
Lahore 202
Leftwich 225
Liberal 43
Liberal Democrats 192
Local Authority Association Working 45
Local Education Authority 103, 105, 147, 149
Lodgeand Blackston 117
London 91, 110, 128, 129, 153, 198
Lord Scarman 44, 45, 152
Lord Swann 111, 113, 114, 153, 154
Ludhiana 215, 240, 246
Lynch 109

M

Maharaja Ranjit Singh 202, 231
Maharashtra 212
Mahatma Gandhi 208, 212, 213, 237
Manpower Service Commission 60
Marathas 279
Marx 225, 253, 261, 265
Marx, Karl 130
Marxism 261, 262, 269
Marxists 263
Mecca 257
Middle East 110, 140
Middle Eastern Languages 278
Midland 191
Milner 84
Minogue 212
Mogulera 208
Moguls 268
Mohammed Ali Jinnah 234
Mosley 197
Mr. Ghandhi 221
Mrs. Indira Gandhi 225, 229
Mughal 98, 201, 202, 211, 231, 232, 241, 243, 268
Mullard 119, 151
Mullard, Chris 98
Multan 202
Muslim 140, 153, 156, 201, 212, 232, 234, 236, 238, 239, 244, 252, 256
Muslim League 207, 225, 234, 242
Muslim Pakistan 242
Muslims 96, 110, 116, 211, 212, 214, 225, 233, 235, 236

N

Nagpur 213, 242
Nanak 268
Naples 88
National Centre for Industrial Language Training 59, 60
National Conference 227
National Front 197
National Library of the Punjab 282
National Union of Teachers 107
Nehru 213, 242, 248
New Commonwealth 40, 87, 88, 90
North America 89, 140, 251
North England 129
Northern India 238
North London 111
Northwest 128
Nottingham University 98

SikhBookClub.com

O

Ogle, Ken 186
Open University 94, 161, 162
Operation 243
Operation Blue Star 241, 258
Organisation of Sikh Gurdwaras 125

P

P.S. Raindi 135, 136
Pakistan 36, 139, 204, 211, 212, 214, 232, 234, 235, 236, 242, 268, 279
Pakistani 141
Pakistani Muslims 126
Pakistani Punjab 205
Panjab University 160
Panth 203
Parents Teachers Association 117
Partition 204
Pashawar 202
Patel 204
Patiala 278
Patrika, Punjabi 197
PEP 32, 37
Persian 278
Pettigrew, Joyce 230, 238, 239, 241, 246, 248, 255, 259
Plato 221
Poland 210
Policy and Economic Planning 36
Policy Studies Institute 37, 58, 59, 130
Powell, Enoch 197
Pundit Nehru (The first Prime Minister of Independent India) 208, 237
Punjab 89, 90, 91, 122, 128, 191, 193, 194, 196, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 215, 217, 218, 219, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 278, 279, 283
Punjab-Britain 196
Punjab Accord 256
Punjabi 121, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 138, 155, 192, 197, 198, 199, 204, 221, 238, 241, 242, 252, 259, 261, 278, 279, 281
Punjabi Speaking State 249
Punjabi Diaspora 283
Punjabi Hindus 238
Punjabis 122, 128, 131, 133, 253
Punjabi Sikh Community 126
Punjabi Women 132, 137

R

Race Relations Unit 198
Races 29
Racial Inequality 29, 32
Racism 29, 32
Racism Awareness Training 49, 50, 51, 65
Racist Attitudes 31
Ragis 278
Raj Karega Khalsa 202
Ranjit Singh 202
Rastafarian 99
Rhodesia 31
Roman Britain 93
Rt. Hon. Tony Blair 199
Rushdie, Salman 30
Russian 207

S

Sahota, A.S. 142
Sandwell 104, 105, 153
Sandwell Council 38, 114, 115

SikhBookClub.com

Sandwell Council for Community Relations 108
Sangha, Sujinder Singh 186, 187
Sanskrit 212
Sant 255
Sant Bhindrawale 217, 241
Sant Hancharan Singh Longowal 243
Sant Harchand Singh Longowal 256
Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale 209, 216, 240, 243, 255
Sathyamurthy, T.V. 230, 236, 238, 239, 247, 250, 252, 254, 259
Schoen 31
Searchlight 51
Shah 255
Shakespeare 93
Shiromani Akali Dal 203, 204, 215, 229, 234, 238, 242, 243, 245, 252, 264
Shiromani Akali Dal Party 209
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee 203, 273
Sikh 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, 116, 121, 122, 127, 128, 140, 151, 153, 155, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200, 202, 203, 205, 210, 214, 219, 230, 234, 236, 237, 241, 244, 247, 251, 252, 260, 269, 279, 281, 295, 298
Sikh-Punjabi 123, 125, 126
Sikh chieftains 202
Sikhism 122, 201, 203, 208, 231, 241, 249, 255, 257, 267
Sikh Maharajas 232
Sikh Nationalism 200
Sikh Panth 272, 284
Sikh Raj 236
Sikhs 110, 198, 201, 203, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 225, 231, 235, 236, 238, 240, 241, 242, 254, 270, 296
Sikh Students Federation 98
Sikh Studies 199, 272
Sikh Temple 130
Sikkim 226
Silver, Eric 247
Singapore 205
Singh, Baldev 242
Singh, Gurharpal 252
Singh, Indarjit 296
Singh, Tara 242
Sir Ron Dearing 158
Sivanandan, A. 67, 69, 70, 71
Smethwick 31, 96, 130, 192, 196, 197
Smith 58, 59, 171, 218, 246
Soho 141
Soho Road 140, 141
South Africa 31, 75, 97
Southall 130
South Asia 140, 228
South Asian 96, 280
Southeast 128
Southern Italy 88
South Indian 226
Southwest 128
Soviet 266
Spark Brook 192, 196
Sri Akal Takht 273
Sri Anandpur Sahib 272
Sri Harimandir Sahib 257
Staines, G W 186
Stereotyping 32
Supreme Council of the Sikhs 125
Supreme Court 249
Supreme Quilting 135, 136
Swann Report 145, 147, 153, 154, 156, 157, 170, 198

T

Tamilnadu 227, 229
Tatla, Darshan Singh 194

SikhBookClub.com

Taylor 95
Telengana 226
Telgu Desam 227
Thatcher, Mrs. 96
The Punjabi Guardian 198
Third World 68, 69
Thomas 110
Tibet 202
Tory 43, 96
Tory Party 192
Trade Union 135
Transport and General Workers Union 123, 135
Tully 230, 241, 254, 260
Tully and Jacob 255

U

Uganda 70, 198
UK 35, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 127, 191, 205
United Kingdom 57, 191
United States 116, 206
Uniton Ethnic Relations 35
University Grants Commission 215
Urban Aid Programme 46
Urdu 278
USA 200, 205

V

Vaisakhi 138
Vande Matram 212

W

Wales 128
Walker, Patrick Gordon 31
Walsall 78, 79, 153
Warley College 77, 78
Warwick University 35
West Bengal 226
West Bengal Krishak Sabha 267
WestIndian 36, 57, 58 116, 151
West Midland 65, 66, 72, 73, 75, 78, 128, 129, 130, 135, 137, 152, 153, 156
Whitehall 233
Wilson, Harold 197
Wolpert 233
Wolverhampton 80, 153
Woolf Rubber Factory 130
World Sikh Conference 275
World Sikh Council 275
World Sikh University 272

Y

Yorkshire 128
Young India 213

Z

Zion, Poala 118

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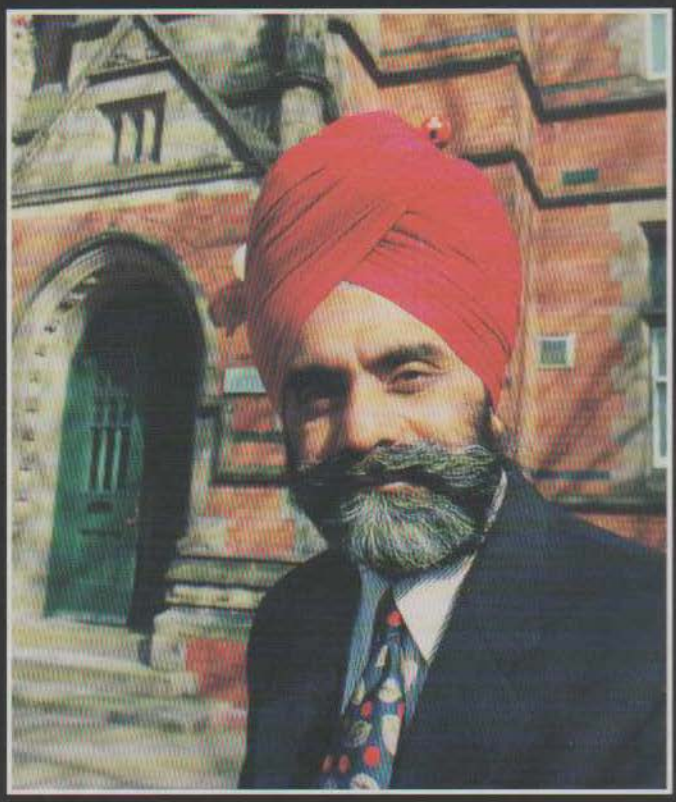

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