

ADVANCING RACE AND ETHNICITY IN EDUCATION

EDITED BY

RICHARD RACE
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Advancing Race and Ethnicity in Education

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Foreword

There is an overriding view that 'race' and related issues are currently off the political and policy agenda. Race has been subsumed into 'equalities' and 'social justice'; at its most prominent, race is referred to as 'diversity', although this has become a fairly meaningless term. Following this, the fight against racism has been diverted and undermined. The struggle against racism is a protracted one, and in any given historical moment can appear hopeless and as though nothing has changed for the better. Looking back 20 or more years we can see that this is not entirely the case; however, as we see in this volume, the reference to underachievement, dysconscious racism and the failure of initial teacher education to address and adequately prepare teachers to work in schools in a diverse, multi-ethnic 21st-century Britain, are just some of the dishearteningly ever-recurring themes. In this context, this book therefore makes an important contribution to foregrounding the importance of race and ethnicity. In doing so the collection of topics and themes demonstrates the complexity and diversity of race and ethnicity issues, particularly in relation to education.

As some of the authors have indicated, the socio-economic and political contexts impact on the development and manifestations of racism which in turn require on-going analyses and strategies. During the past 15 or so years, the nature of migration to Britain and Europe has changed, with an increase in skilled workers, asylum seekers, refugees, and Europeans particularly from Eastern and Central Europe, as well as Roma, predictably resulting in moral panics and the concomitant tightening of immigration laws and regulations. These are uncertain times, with many global societies facing social unrest and a challenge to the status quo. In Britain, as well as demographic shifts, we are facing the effects of a financial crisis and subsequent recession which have led to a significant reduction in social benefits; these are clearly exacerbating poverty and deprivation. Such austerity, contributing to pressure on housing and the rise in unemployment, has in turn given rise to right-wing extremists, such as the English Defence League and also the apparently more acceptable face of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), which erroneously seek to blame immigration and minority ethnic groups for these problems. Their White supremacist ideologies

exploit anxieties of uncertainty about the future and crises of place, of status and of identity.

A further but equally great challenge to addressing racism in education is the effect of the creeping impact of neo-liberal policies resulting in a fragmentation of the education system with the introduction of Free Schools and Academies and increasing privatisation of services. Although, in this volume, Free Schools are discussed as a positive good for some minority ethnic communities, I believe there is a wider and more problematic issue here that needs to be recognised. In particular we know that neo-liberal policies are predicated on individual self-interest which promotes individualistic competitiveness and undermines collective approaches and action for the common good. Moreover, with the changes to the organisation and management of schools there are less-obvious forms of accountability and opportunities for parents and communities to raise or direct their concerns.

In such contested and indeterminate times, sociological analysis needs to be particularly robust and coherent in order to inform a united struggle against racist organisations and practices. That is not to say that we will, or should, agree on everything, but race and education debates have tended to be polarised between various theoretical positions, notably: multicultural and anti-racist education; colour and cultural racism; and colour, social class and gender locations and identities. Such polarisations give rise to the notion of hierarchies of oppression, which is counterproductive. It is in this regard that the intersectionalities framework is relevant and useful. Kathy Davies (2008, p. 67) describes intersectionality as 'the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination'. Intersectionality is based on the conceptualisation/construction of the subject as fluid and becoming – and therefore, not fixed or essentialised – and embodying multiple identities, of which 'race'/ethnicity, gender and class are but three. However, at the same time, whilst essentialism has been used to oppress and discriminate against marginalised and disempowered people, there are times when we need to deploy strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988). The central issue here is the relationship between the individual with her/his multiple identities and positionalities (differences) and structuralism: the forces of domination that serve to fix the subaltern in certain ways.

One of the constant sources of disagreement in race and ethnicity/education studies is around culture and colour racism, with the argument that one or the other is the more significant or prevalent. The attributes of culture – such as language, religion, dress and ways of being – are all sources of discriminatory practice if these do not fit the

dominant culture. This is part of 'race', racialised practice and racist discrimination. However, all people of colour do not necessarily display cultural attributes different from those that are dominant in society. An outstanding question in this regard is whether White people whose 'culture' does not match the dominant culture, such as Chechen Muslims or Roma and Gypsies and Travellers, experience racism.

The concept of culture is nebulous and elusive. It can be, and often is, used in different ways as a mechanism of racial attack and discrimination. Clear examples of this include the rise of Islamophobia and targeting of Muslims in an essentialist homogenising and derogatory way, such as in terms of accusations of patriarchal attitudes towards women and alleged fanaticism. Culture has often been used as a diversion against challenging racism. It has been used as an excuse to lay blame on, for example, the young minority ethnic people themselves who are underachieving in school. As Sally Tomlinson (2008) pointed out, under New Labour, the reification of Indian and Chinese heritage children's academic successes as the 'model minority' was used as a stick to beat other Black and Minority Ethnic young people, implying a deficit in their very being. Or, a further example, Black and Minority Ethnic parents are accused of not attending parent-teacher meetings or are not involved in school activities because of 'cultural issues' – what I have termed 'the cultural interference model' (Crozier and Davies, 2007). In these ways 'Other cultures' are used as scapegoats to obfuscate responsibility by White society for discriminatory practices.

Furthermore, colour often gets transposed as 'culture'. Consider the largest growing demographic group: 'mixed race' young people. These young people are as likely as not to have been born and brought up in a family that displays dominant cultural traits and by the same token this applies to many second and subsequent generation Black and Minority Ethnic people. Nevertheless, they will still experience racism.

On the other hand, the focus on colour raises the issue of which groups can be defined in this sense. Recent migration from Central and Eastern Europe has led to people being castigated by the British press accusing them of, on the one hand, taking 'British' jobs or, on the other, of coming to Britain merely to claim welfare benefits. These people have been described by Sivanandan (2002) as the 'new Black'; they are people who have come to Britain in search of a better future but have subsequently faced poverty and discrimination and overwhelming prejudice. 'White supremacy' is a powerful concept; it is challenging, and it also implicitly and explicitly confronts the dangerous assimilationist policies which underpinned the Community Cohesion agenda. However,

Whiteness, or rather the privileging of Whiteness, is not equally distributed. There are shades of Whiteness; some are either too White or not White enough. Jean Charles de Menezes, the Brazilian young man shot dead by London Metropolitan police officers in July 2005, is a clear example of 'not being White enough', as is the case with the Eastern Europeans, both Roma and non-Roma, who are exploited in factories and fields and trafficked and herded like cattle in trucks and squalid living conditions. We need more work on Whiteness in order to problematise it, to explore the shades of Whiteness (Crozier, 2012). The issue of what Sivanandan (2002) has referred to as *xenoracism* is becoming, and will become, increasingly important with the changing patterns of migration we have experienced since European expansion. In addition Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people are much neglected by research and policy. Repeated Department of Education statistics identify the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children as the lowest achieving of any ethnic group on normative assessment measures.

As already indicated, social class issues are central to understanding race and combating racism in all of its complexity. 'Social class versus race' is, however, another example of divisiveness and polarisation in the struggle against oppression. This can be seen in the arguments around the construction of White working class boys as, in Gillborn's (2008) terms, 'the new race victims'. White boys from low socio-economic groups are underachieving academically; this is hardly a new revelation but their underachievement has been juxtaposed against the successes of the 'model minority'. We need to avoid an 'either-or' approach, playing off one against the other. There are different manifestations of racism: state, institutional, popular. Of course they are all interrelated and perpetrated through ideological devices. I believe we need to develop analytical tools and practice that can support a process of unity and solidarity against oppressive and discriminatory laws, policies and practice. We know from historical experience that polarisation of oppressed groups leads to 'divide and rule'. There are times when we need to foreground particular oppressions, but we should not confuse this with privileging one over the other. By the same token I am not suggesting that all forms of oppression have the same, equal impact. They all hurt, they are all undermining, but they may result differentially.

Social polarisations and neo-liberal competitiveness referred to above are counterproductive in achieving equitable educational opportunities. Fraser's (2007) analysis of the relationship between 'redistribution and recognition' is useful to explain the implications of this. Fraser highlights the problems of 'redistribution' counter-positioned with 'recognition'/'

identity politics, as well as the shift in sociological research in emphasising 'recognition' alone. She points out how the focus on 'recognition' can actually undermine the struggle for 'redistribution'. Hence, she argues for a 'two-dimensional analysis' which brings these together. At the same time this process involves, on the one hand, the need to develop understanding of the division of labour and the gendered, classed and racialised nature of this division and, on the other, the danger of decontextualizing identity, potentially leading to essentialist and stereotypical constructions.

Similar to Fraser, Iris Marion Young (1990) has also argued for the combination of a theory of distribution and relational factors attributed to social injustice. She argues that the concept of justice should refer to the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation. The distributional dimension – the principles by which material resources and power-related resources are distributed in society – is linked to the stratification of society; this in turn is based on social class, racial and gender differences and hierarchies. So, for example, if we look at an individual child and at why she or he is underachieving in school there will no doubt be a range of factors that could account for this; some or all of these factors may be to blame depending on the individual, on specific circumstances and the contexts, and on a combination of race, class, gender and other identities. These must, therefore, be addressed through a structural analysis.

In this foreword I have identified some of the issues facing the advancement of race and education. The contributions to this volume do a much broader job of analysing these and other concerns. They will also serve to generate the debate facing race, ethnicity and education on the policy front and in practice. Such debate is essential in order to galvanize a commitment to foreground policy failures and move towards more equitable opportunities and experiences.

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Introduction

Richard Race

The idea for this collection of research articles on race and ethnicity within education came out of our work as co-conveners of the British Education Research Association's (BERA) Race, Ethnicity and Education Special Interest Group (SIG). Our predecessors (Bhopal and Preston, 2012) also produced an edited collection, so we build on their good work and example by continuing to bring colleagues together who are researching and writing on educational issues concerning race and ethnicity. Between 2010 and 2013, the editors of the present book, through the support of BERA and other BERA SIGs, helped organise and create, and also participated in, a number of events that positively promoted and analysed issues of race and ethnicity within education. These included 'Enhancing teaching and learning: researching issues within race and ethnicity' (Roehampton University, September 2011); 'Children, schools and teachers: do race and ethnicity still matter?' (University of Chichester, October 2011); 'BME Conference 3, The future of education: new environments and new challenges for black and minority ethnic researchers and academics' (Birmingham University, June 2012); and, 'What are fundamental British values' (University of Chichester, October 2012).

The SIG events, including the annual BERA conferences, have provided us with opportunities to listen to colleagues who are researching and addressing ongoing issues that concern race and ethnicity in education. We feel these areas are buoyant in both domestic and international contexts – for example, the launch of the Centre for Research in Race and Education at Birmingham University in February 2013, and the launch of James Banks's (2012) *Encyclopaedia of Diversity in Education* at the Institute of Education in London University in March 2013. However, many areas still need our attention because issues surrounding race

and ethnicity are simply too important to pass over. Moreover, there are contemporary issues, some addressed in this collection, which relate to race inequality rather than to wider race equality or to significantly addressing the non-recognition of some specific ethnicities. The book's aim is to bring together an eclectic variety of current research from education and the wider social sciences, and its objective is to provide a theoretical, empirical and methodological informed discussion of a complex number of issues relating to, and advancing, race and ethnicity within education. The challenge for the reader of this edited collection is not only to increase understandings of race and ethnicity issues but to contribute to ongoing debates which the authors of the following chapters have set out (e.g., Wang, 2012; Vincent et al., 2012; Adjei and Gill, 2013).

Race in education

Walters (2012) gives a very good examination of how both race and ethnicity have been applied within education. She examines how the term 'race' was shown to be scientifically incorrect and to have no intellectual credibility. The term was created to highlight difference based on perceived ability and temperament. As Tomlinson (2008: 5) argues, within an education context, race 'concerns the inequitable way in which the children and grandchildren of migrants from former colonial countries, and then later migrants, have been incorporated into what was initially an education system biased by social class, but which also become racially biased, exacerbated by a post-1988 market orientation based on "choice" and competition' (Ball, 2003). The market orientation still has racial consequences for minority communities (Ball, 2013). Moreover, the term 'race' is still being used politically and socially (Ramji, 2009) as a construct and popular term. However, as Walters (2012: 8) argues, the term 'race' needs to be understood as, 'meanings that people attach to colour or physical characteristics as they go about their everyday lives'. These meanings are social and situational and will change over time and place. However, it is important to highlight, as Gillborn (2008: 3) underlines, that race is still a problematic term and, 'it is necessary to make this point very clearly because there are still powerful voices that repeat the falsehood of separate, fixed and deterministic human races'. Gillborn (2008: 22–23) advocates the use and application of Critical Race Theory (CRT). He argues that CRT 'uses stories and other unusual approaches' to challenge the notion that race is relatively fixed, but decisions made

politically about race are about *power*. Chapters in this book also apply CRT to education contexts, as it offers a persuasive explanation for persistent social and educational disadvantage concerning underachievement (Craig et al., 2012). Two further conceptual issues which are also applied to race and education within this book are *whiteness* and *intersectionality*. Leonardo (2009: 6–7) sees the need for a critical study of race caused by the central problem of whiteness, which he calls a *critical social theory of race and education*. He argues that, ‘race in education is a complex issue that requires a critical framework that testifies to this very complexity’. That criticality and complexity can theoretically be addressed by intersectionality. As Bhopal and Preston (2012) argue: ‘Intersectionality becomes a defining feature of “otherness”. ... Otherness is related to the notion that identity is fragmented, fragile even, yet constantly evolving through multiple engagements and relationships in society.’ Intersectionality refers to race and other social concepts such as class, gender and ethnicity, but it is a way of increasing understanding, not only of outsiders or ‘strangers’, but of how race is entwined with other social concepts and constructions. Understanding the falsehood of race and the potential of CRT, being critical of the practices in racial identification (Taylor, 2013), being critical of the power behind whiteness and also the application of addressing the complexity of intersectionality, are issues addressed in the chapters of this book and elsewhere (e.g. Chakrabarty et al., 2012; Anthias, 2013).

Ethnicity in education

Walters (2012: 9) underlines how ‘ethnicity has emerged as a way of talking about social groupings of people that are based on a notion of difference Ethnicity can incorporate notions of belonging to a particular group of people, a belief in a shared ancestry, a shared language or ways of dressing, or customs or religion’ (Ansell, 2013). Within school education research, one of the more topical issues within education research is achievement concerning different groups or ethnicities within school education. Several of the chapters in this collection focus directly and indirectly on this issue. A common theme is the limitations of statistical studies that examine the underachievement of ethnic minority groups. Walters (2012: 33–34) summarises the issues concerning these limitations under the following headings: poor sampling; a failure to consider socio-economic factors and class; a failure to consider gender; inconsistent data collection and analysis; and the categorisation

and homogenisation of ethnic groups. The issue of education underachievement concerning different ethnicities has been challenged with the question of achievement and how different ethnic groups in education have actually improved achievement statistics (Archer and Francis, 2007). The issue of ethnic and racial diversity and attainment, rather than underperformance, interestingly and importantly changes the focus of government and media analysis on these issues. As Gillborn and Rollock (2010: 140–141) persuasively argue: ‘First, it is important to note that *every* ethnic group is capable of the highest achievement. ... A second point to remember is that the definitions and assumptions that shape official statistics also influence the terms of debate and determine policy priorities.’ The authors also highlight that key information relating to intersectionality, that is, gender and social class, is not visible when looking at official statistics relating to education performance and attainment. The intersectionality of ethnicity with race in education also highlights the importance not only of the two concepts being examined in this book, but other educational and sociological ideas, for example, the notion of interculturalism (Cantle, 2012). Williams and Johnson (2010: 2) also demonstrate how difference and diversity are marked out as membership of one of the minority ethnicities is (or is significantly not) accommodated in welfare delivery. It is worth highlighting Walters’s (2012: 152–154) assertion that both race and ethnicity do make a difference to our experiences of education, and that race and ethnicity do make a difference to achievement in schools and in all sectors of education. It is perhaps how the reader defines not only race and ethnicity, but how the bigger picture or wider understanding that intersectionality offers will determine the sophistication of the analysis of the race and ethnicity issues being researched. The authors in this collection continue to question and challenge the assumptions of, amongst many issues, the (under)performance in education of certain minority ethnic groupings – assumptions made by earlier and current official statistics which can reinforce ethnic stereotypes. This continued questioning underlines the need to keep advancing empirical examples of the complex and multiple realities of education, but also the accuracy of statistics concerning performance and attainment of ethnic groups within education (e.g. Basit, 2012; Jawitt, 2012; Rhamie, 2012). Hence, the following chapters in this collection aim not only to advance issues concerning race and ethnicity in education, but to increase our understandings of intersectionality and how race and ethnicity research can also assist when examining wider educational issues (Bhopal and Preston, 2012).

Advancing race and ethnicity in education

Alice Bradbury underlines how Critical Race Theory (CRT) can be used as an essential theoretical framework to increase understandings of race and ethnicity issues. She asks us to reflect on how people are discriminated against within education and how these processes can be addressed and changed. Bradbury importantly highlights that CRT can help us examine debates surrounding institutional racism. She develops an applied method of storytelling, focusing on groups of pupils with low attainment as well as highlighting how moderation can control assessment results and thus impact on underachievement. A counter story can be created which underlines racist outcomes. Bradbury applies CRT work within the legal profession on discrimination in the workplace and a focus on 'identity performance' whereby students and teachers are making decisions through 'discursive agency'. Bradbury, through her own education research, focuses on one student, whose Black identity performance and its mis-reading is shown through the student's behaviour as a 'diva' rather than as a 'good learner'. CRT is a theoretical tool that can challenge the social construct of race and examine processes of racism within education.

Damian Breen uses life history interview methodology to highlight the experiences of a head teacher who moved two Muslim schools from independent to voluntary aided status. The author examines processes of change and the sacrifices schools make when accepting state funding, resulting in the partial disenfranchisement and displacement of, in this instance, Muslim communities. Breen applies a typology of institutional isomorphism which underlines how social pressures and expectations, changes to staff, and conditions at work can contextualise the narratives of both schools involved in the research. Carrying out interviews over a two-year period, the author argues for more research to be carried out *on* and *inside* (the author's italics) Muslim schools. Breen also underlines a fascinating case study concerning the head teacher, who was working within communities and schools rather than being a head teacher at one institution. The head teacher's skills at leading are prominent in the development of *School B*, but the author makes clear that the school could only survive with state funding. Increased parental interest without having to pay tuition fees is an important factor highlighted within *School A*, an application of mimetic isomorphism. Financial sustainability was the objective for both schools, but Breen underlines how complex the narratives actually are when focusing on these processes of change, and how important an experienced Muslim female head teacher was when instigating these changes.

Kate D'Arcy's focus is to examine how Travellers experience education and specifically schooling, and how their experiences remain outside the remit of education policy. Like Bradbury, D'Arcy applies CRT to examine issues of inequality, in her case related to Travellers' inequality. If, as the author suggests from evidence, there are approximately 250,000 Travellers in England and Wales (Willers, 2012), then this is an issue for both the state and Traveller communities. The issue of recognition is raised concerning which Traveller communities are recognised and which are not. D'Arcy applies CRT to Travellers' stories of education to create counter-stories against the dominant discourse which challenges the notion that Travellers are not interested in mainstream education. Significantly, the author suggests that this dominant discourse reveals the overt and covert racism which Traveller communities continue to experience.

Geneva Gay examines the complexity of race and ethnicity narratives within the United States. For Gay, these narratives revolve around the ethnic and racial demography of students and teachers and how ethnicity and race are both conceived and perceived. The former narrative highlights the problem, and the latter offers greater understanding and the road to potential solutions. With changing demographic patterns and regional distributions within the United States, Gay underlines evidence that minority populations are growing faster than the majority White population. The Latino student population is growing in all areas of the country. The author highlights that Asian Americans and European Americans are still outperforming African Americans in scholastic achievement tests. This term refers to SAT tests for high scholars to assess their preparedness for college. It is formally called the SAT Reasoning Test. Gay highlights the notion of 're-segregation', with disparities concerning value orientations, behavioural styles and referential frameworks that result from these differences have profound effects on the dynamics and outcomes of teaching and learning. Gay also highlights a small increase concerning the diversity of the teaching workforce in the United States, although the education profession still remains overwhelmingly European American. A worrying trend, as the author underlines, is the fall in the proportion of African American teachers from 12 per cent of the overall education workforce in 1980 to 7 per cent in 2011. The author argues that racism, prejudice, racial stereotyping and discrimination are visible in all aspects of American society, with some teachers simply ignoring issues of race and ethnicity. Gay highlights research evidence demonstrating teacher colour-blindness, with teachers bringing little cross-cultural knowledge into the classroom.

Moreover, Gay also highlights teaching and learning programmes which are addressing race and ethnicity issues, of which the author highlights five of these interventions. It is not, as Gay concludes, that the majority of students of colour are taught by White, European American teachers, rather it is the response (or lack of it) by these teachers to issues of race and ethnicity. Education curricula that focus on cultural diversity increase knowledge and confidence, which can help deal more coherently with race and ethnicity issues.

Julie Hall, Jo Peat and Sandra Craig examine positive factors and experiences raised by Black and minority ethnic (BME) students when studying in a post-1992 English University. Hall and colleagues use 'Appreciative Inquiry' as their methodology to focus on positive aspirations and outcomes in relation to teaching, learning and assessment processes. The project, managed by a successful Black, mature female undergraduate student, who has moved on to her doctorate, acknowledged the student as a co-producer of knowledge. Using focus groups, interviews and surveys as research tools, Hall and colleagues developed four overarching themes in their findings. Firstly, student care equates to visible and motivated staff, but care is also based around encouragement. Secondly, passion and conviction are important for students when considering teaching styles. The extras that staff were prepared to do for their students were also significant. Thirdly, information on how to improve is also crucial for students, as is the availability of staff to provide this help and encouragement. Fourthly, having the opportunity to be reflective and using personal experiences on the undergraduate courses as an evidence base was raised by the authors as a practical benefit for students to increase understanding of their own histories and backgrounds. Interestingly, some students wanted to construct and develop an identity within the university rather than around their course. Hall and colleagues conclude that it is important that universities keep reflecting upon how they interact and communicate with their students to make them feel more valued.

Vini Lander looks at where race-equality issues reside within initial teacher training. By examining the theoretical framework of *whiteness*, Lander highlights the reluctance of educators to understand their own positions as racialised beings, whereby the 'Other' is marginalised to maintain an unspoken White power structure. A development of racial literacy to counter racism is an early suggestion by Lander, and the classroom is the arena in which race equality needs to be developed for the benefit of all students. Lander provides a context for teacher education, examining past and present policy documents, to show how little has

actually changed from the multicultural education initiatives in England of the 1980s. She also shows a dual absence in, first, how the Stephen Lawrence murder precipitated a public and media response relating to race equality and social justice in the 2000s, but little more; a second absence is that of references to ethnic diversity in teacher training, despite the important work of Multiverse. In fact, the author talks about the assimilationist approach when discussing the 2012 Teachers' Standards, which seem to overlook the identity of ethnic minority students. The notion of whiteness as a central organising concept is then analysed. Through a 'hegemonic European-identified racialised Whiteness', a norm has been established, but whiteness allows a refocus from the 'Other' to those who exercise power through structural or institutional racism. The operations of privilege and domination have to be acknowledged, with colour-blind practice being acknowledged and addressed. From the American literature, practitioners deflecting these issues is perceived as a means of protecting whiteness. The author also highlights colour blindness through her own research of secondary trainee teachers, with the 'politically correct shield' being used as a metaphor highlighting the whiteness norm applied earlier in the chapter. Lander highlights the difficulties some course tutors had with ethnic diversity issues in professional practice. One way forward, she argues, is addressing these issues within teams, thereby having an increased focus on race equality.

Stephen May examines the 'paradigm wars' to see what implications 'singular' paradigm analysis has on race, ethnicity and education. Taking the anti-racism/multiculturalism paradigm wars of the 1980s as an evidence base, May underlines the bifurcation and marginalisation of both ideas. Highlighting the emergence of Critical Race Theory as the new education paradigm to contest racism, debates in the United States and Europe concern whether race or ethnicity studies are more beneficial as an analytical tool in research. May proposes Critical Multiculturalism as a possible alternative, which combines identity formation and the multiplicity of racisms. He underlines the key failure of all paradigms to examine the role of language in racism and discrimination. Debates concerning bilingual education for Latinos are examined in the United States and the wider English-only movement, which has its origins in the early 1980s. Care, caution and the complexity of passing constitutional amendments have kept this policy and movement at bay, although the interest to have US English as a national language continues. Thirty states (up until 2010) have adopted English as their state language, and this has implications for bilingualism and multicultural education in the United States. A 'discourse of disinformation' has been created