

Mind the Gap: Academically Successful African Caribbean
Heritage Students, Learning Identities and the Cultural
Assets Mediating Learning

by

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Abstract

This study identified the factors that support African Caribbean heritage children in achieving academically. Additionally, it explored and developed an understanding of the interaction between identity and learning and it is hoped contributed to a deeper understanding of the concept of 'blackness' through the narrative accounts of African Caribbean heritage individuals' interactions between their learning careers, identities and wider lives, including the cultural assets mediating learning.

Studies of the school experiences and educational performances of African Caribbean heritage children, (boys in particular) have on the whole tended to attribute the rationales for underachievement to cultural factors such as Black masculinity and peer group pressure (Sewell 1997); Black families' home environment (Driver 1982; Green 1985); structural constraints of school organisation; teacher racism and government policies (Gillborn 1997; Gillborn and Youdell 2000). This study points to the ways in which structural issues in the form of macro and micro-aggression impact African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment.

A specific contribution of the study has been to address the gap in literature surrounding the academic achievement/underachievement of African Caribbean heritage individuals. The participants' stories revealed that African Caribbean lives in Britain are not necessarily dysfunctional but are complex, challenging and rich, and should not be viewed simply as deficient but as having rich and useful cultural capital.

This study recognises the intersectionality of Black people's experiences as not only raced but also classed and gendered, both in oppressive structures and in their personification and enactment through the agency of personalities and actions. This complex interweaving of organisation and agency required a theoretical framework that was equally capable of examining the subtleties of these dynamics. As such, this study was enabled through an original hybridity of intersectionality, CRT and narrative analysis.

Abbreviations and Glossary

Words/Abbreviations	Meaning
FE	Further Education
GFE	General Further Education
ESN	Educationally Sub-normal
PRU	Pupil Referral Unit/Pupil Reintegration Unit
LEA	Local Education Authority
GCSE	General Certificate of Education
CRT	Critical Race Theory
FSM	Free School Meals
ECU	Equalities Challenge Unit
DFE	Department for Education
SA	School Action
SA+	School Action Plus
BESD	Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties
EMA	Educational Maintenance Allowance
AOC	Association of Colleges
BIS	Department for Business Innovation & Skills
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
DFES	Department of Education and Skills when it became DfE (prior to 2007)
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
SRN	State Registered Nurse (now RN)
SEN	State Enrolled Nurse (now EN)
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment (prior to 2001)
CoDE	Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity – Manchester University
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
FTSE	Financial Times Stock Exchange
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic

Abbreviations and Glossary cont.

Words/Abbreviations	Meaning
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality (Equality and Human Rights Commission)
ONS	Office of National Statistics
Pupil Premium	Additional funds allocated to publicly funded schools in England to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils
Patwah/Patwa/Jamaican Creole	Language spoken by the majority population in Jamaica
Mi naw go nowa	I am not going anywhere
Afro-Caribbean	African Caribbean to mean people with African and Caribbean ancestry
Uni	University
Russell Group	An association of 24 British universities. The term 'Russell Group' has connotations of academic excellence, selectivity in admissions, and social elitism.
The Windrush Generation	Caribbean migrants who arrived in the UK in 1948 aboard the Empire Windrush. The arrival of the ship SS Empire Windrush in June 1948 at Tilbury Dock, marked the beginning of post-war mass migration to Britain.
Beats	A popular brand of headphones favoured by young people.
Tiers	Two types of GCSE papers – Foundation graded G-C and Higher graded E-A*
Setting	Where pupils of similar abilities are grouped together for specific lessons.
Streaming	Where pupils are split into hierarchy groups for lessons

Abbreviations and Glossary cont

Words/Abbreviations	Meaning
Articles	The term used formerly to describe what is currently a training contract for anyone wishing to become a solicitor in the UK.
Black/White/Blackness/Whiteness	<p>Black and White are capitalised in this thesis (except where used in quotes) because they are used in the context of a proper noun.</p> <p>Blackness/Whiteness are used as descriptors of the state of being White or Black, hence the use of a small 'b'.</p>
Black and African Caribbean	These two terms are used interchangeable in this thesis, however Black (political term) is used when discussing the wider Black population and African Caribbean is used to denote people of African Caribbean ancestry.
Language	'The language we use to categorise each other racially is imperfect. The original creation of racial categories was in the service of oppression. Some may argue that to continue to use them is to continue that oppression. I respect that argument. Yet it is difficult to talk about what is essentially a flawed and problematic social construct without using language that is itself problematic. We have to be able to talk about it in order to change it. So this is the language I choose.' (Tatum 2003:17). Like Tatum, the language I chose is not perfect – the debate continues.

Chapter 1 – Journey to Becoming

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to identify the factors that support African Caribbean heritage children in achieving academically. Additionally, the study aims to explore and develop an understanding of the interaction between identity and learning and contribute to a deeper understanding of the concept of 'blackness' through the narrative accounts of African Caribbean heritage individuals' interactions of their learning careers, identities and wider lives, including the cultural assets mediating learning.

The importance of research such as that presented in this thesis for the educational futures of African Caribbean heritage individuals in Britain cannot be over-estimated. As an African Caribbean heritage individual I have experienced, first-hand, the British educational system as a pupil and student in further and higher education as well as a teacher in the further education sector. I understand the importance of investigating the experiences of this minority group in Britain because only in highlighting the academically successful might an alternative story of African Caribbean heritage individuals' learning identities be revealed. Equally I am anxious to see research, which highlights all aspects of African Caribbean individuals' lives; that focuses not only on the negative, but also reveals the positive, so that others might know an alternative story. Furthermore, I hope to provide an insight into the experiences of African Caribbean heritage individuals' wider lives in Britain in order to demonstrate the strategies they use to navigate British society and the cultural assets mediating learning. Finally, it is my hope that this study will be beneficial to the Black diaspora in Britain and elsewhere and encourage them to make greater efforts in improving the educational experiences of their children through not only the established educational institutions but also through the use of the wealth of community assets available in Black communities.

Chapter one outlines the origins of my interest in the research topic and a rationale for the study. It briefly discusses my personal interest in the research along with the context within which the study is located.

Commencement of the Journey

This thesis is developed from my reading of an article written in 2002 by John Muir and Annan Boodram regarding the dilemma of being African Caribbean in Britain's schools. The authors suggested that African Caribbean children, in particular boys were the lowest attainers of academic credentials on leaving compulsory schooling despite performing as well as White and Asian children on entering school at age five. They credited Diane Abbott, the Labour Member of Parliament for lighting the litmus paper on the 'touchy subject of black boys and underachievement in British schools.' They noted, "writing in the British media, Abbott said, there is a silent catastrophe happening in Britain's schools in the way they continue to fail black British school children' (2002:online). This however, was not the first time concerns have been raised about the education of African Caribbean heritage children in British schools. In 1971 Bernard Coard documented the ways in which African Caribbean heritage children were deemed educationally subnormal in the British education system. He indicated that by 1970 almost 34% of West Indian children were in schools for the educationally sub-normal (ESN) yet they only constituted 17% of the normal schools' population Coard (1971:27-28).

In writing his book Coard (1971) also noted,

There are five main points I want to bring to the attention of West Indian parents and other interested:

1. There are very large numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally subnormal – which is what ESN means.

2. These children have been wrongly placed there.
3. Once placed in these schools, the vast majority never get out and return to normal schools.
4. They suffer academically and in their job prospects for life because of being put in these schools.
5. The authorities are doing very little to stop this scandal.

Coard is what one would term a 'whistle-blower' as well as an expert on the subject, as he was a teacher in the said education system that was incorrectly labelling West Indian children as ESN. The practice of sending African Caribbean heritage children to special schools continues today. These schools are however, no longer labelled ESN but Pupil Referral Units (PRU). The PRU or Pupil Re-integration Unit as it is denoted in some Local Education Authority (LEA), is said to be provided in order to educate children who are excluded from mainstream schools or unable to attend mainstream or special maintained schools. (The Education Act 1996)

Muir and Boodram (2002) also discussed issues raised by prominent academic Dr Richard Majors who suggested that head teachers and teaching unions, rather than deal with 'weak teachers in the education system', preferred to exclude poor black pupils from schools; alluding to the notion that school processes, in particular the system of exclusion is to be held accountable for the academic failure of African Caribbean heritage children, in particular boys.

The article resonated with me as it caused me to recall my educational experiences and attainment in the British educational system. I recalled being placed in the middle set at school, as I was not good enough for the top sets. Neither was I judged educationally subnormal so I could not be placed in the bottom sets. I recalled getting grades As, Bs and Cs in tests, but I was still not good enough to move into the higher sets. According to today's criteria of 5 GCSEs grades A* - C, I was an academic failure. Yet, because of my love of learning I continued with my education and found a space in the further

education (FE) sector where I became academically successful. My college education enabled me, in turn to pursue a university education and consequently became a teacher in the further education sector. Nonetheless I questioned why after decades of African Caribbean heritage children's experiences of the British education system, they are still considered academic underachievers and why after more than forty years of research, reports and measures, the discourse is firmly centred on underachievement rather than success. I also considered the Black individuals who are labelled underachievers and whether further education is a space where they may become academically successful. These questions instigated a search for the counter stories of successful academic achievements amongst African Caribbean heritage students. Consequently, I began a quest to find the narratives of success and what factors influenced the successes.

At the commencement of the journey I consulted the literature and found copious studies with an emphasis on academic failure later to be restated as underachievement. These studies documented various rationales for the continued underachievement of African Caribbean heritage children in compulsory schooling. For example, Mac an Ghail (1988) documented the various forms of racism within school and the different responses to this from minority ethnic pupils. He suggested that teachers' racialised assumptions of 'aggressive and 'threatening' African Caribbean heritage male pupils, frequently set up a scenario of conflict, leading to these young men being hyper-visible and consequently over-disciplined; resulting in disaffection with school. Whilst his study confirmed the types of racialised processes impacting African Caribbean heritage males in schools, it more importantly draws attention to the different treatment of South Asian male students. Notably, the study found that South Asian adolescents engage in challenging and disruptive behaviours sometimes, but the behaviours are over looked by teachers thus rendering South Asian male expressions of masculinity invisible. Mac an Ghail (1988) argues that this is in keeping with the racialised perception that teachers have of South Asian males. They are seen as diligent, hardworking and eager to

please, the lens through which their behaviour is treated as non-threatening in contrast to African Caribbean heritage boys. The differing responses to school between minority ethnic groups according to Mac an Ghail (1988) were explained in terms of 'supportive Asian families' and dysfunctional Caribbean families'. Benson (1996) refers to this as the representations of these groups in terms of 'Asians have culture; Caribbean families have problems'. Mac an Ghail (1988) further notes the intersection of race and gender and how African Caribbean heritage and South Asian pupils respond to schooling. He found that the African Caribbean heritage girls tend not to overtly resist or confront the racialised perception of teachers, but rather adopt a subtler form of resistance through their lack of respect for teachers or the school whilst maintaining their commitment to academic attainment. I reflected on my experiences at school and considered how I was held back as a consequence of racism, a situation that I, as a child, had no power to protest and I recalled had it not been for my mother I would have left school without any valued qualifications.

In an attempt to find answers to the questions above, I also communicated with family members and friends because I was perplexed as to why there are so few empirical research studies into academically successful African Caribbean heritage children. I reflected on my experience as a student and an educator in the further education sector. I thought about students whom I know to have achieved academic success and speculated about their stories. What were their turning points? How did they move from academic failure to academic success? Who and what encouraged them? How do they counter negative learning identities? What strategies do they apply in navigating educational establishments and the wider British society? I also considered what the continued dialogue of underachievement and failure might mean for the African Caribbean population in Britain. Through further discussions with family and friends, it was suggested that I conducted research into the apparently unusual phenomenon of academically successful African Caribbean heritage students. Having considered the suggestion of conducting research I went to my local university where I discussed my ideas with the then head of the School of

Education and it was he who recommended the commencement of a doctorate and thus began my journey of becoming...

Throughout my quest for answers, I discovered that despite the copious amounts of research regarding African Caribbean heritage individuals' academic underachievement; there were very few studies documenting African Caribbean heritage individual academic successes (see chapter 2). Equally, I could not find any studies into the post 16 education sector other than universities. These suggested that there was a gap in the literature and so I decided to investigate those African Caribbean heritage individuals who attended a further education college and were academically successful.

In 2008-2010 I conducted a small-scale study whose result informed and guided the main study. The result of that study revealed various rationales as to why some African Caribbean heritage children are academically successful in the British educational system. I will briefly discuss the main insights from this preparatory study in order to lay the groundwork for the thesis.

Insights from the Preparatory Study

The findings reported in this thesis investigated the issue of African Caribbean heritage students' academic success further with a larger sample in order to make comparisons between the factors that contributed to high academic performance. Emerging from the pilot study, which warranted further investigation, were notions of invisibility/hyper-visibility; space and the interactions that occurs in spaces and how they impact African Caribbean students' academic achievement. Black community cultural assets were another notion that developed out of the pilot study – this too was pursued and reported in this study.

Following is a brief discussion of some of the findings from the pilot study.

Self-efficacy and Agency

The concept of self-efficacy stems from Bandura's (1995:2) *Social Cognitive Theory* and is defined as: "the belief in one's capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations". Bandura also considered self-efficacy a crucial device of agency. He delineated agency as a deliberate act, with performances derived from having the power to originate actions for given purposes.

Whatever other factors may operate as guides and motivators, they are rooted in the core belief that one has the power to produce effects by one's actions (Bandura, 2001:10).

According to Bandura (2001), agency is exercised through planning, forethought, self-reactive and self-reflective processes.

The participants in the pilot study demonstrated personal agencies in attainment of their academic achievements in various ways. In telling his story EE illuminated his determination to achieve the things he was told he was no good at by teachers and tried to do his best in the subjects where he had poor relationships with teachers in school. EE's illustration demonstrated his ability to counter the ascribed learner identity of being incapable of achieving through his agency of self-motivation despite his experience of school as a space of conflict and struggle, a battleground rather than a space for learning. One of his many goals in school was to prove his teachers wrong because he had high expectations of himself and he wanted to be successful whilst some of his teachers in school didn't expect him to 'amount to anything'.

Teachers think I had nowhere of going and they stereotype me; teachers didn't know I had plans; I got goals to reach (EE).

He recounted an incident where a teacher told him he would be bottom of the class. He had the self-belief that he could affect the outcomes of this and so exercised his power to change the result of this prophecy.

...in the situation where the teacher told me that I'd be bottom of the class, I remember coming home and revising hard, hard for that...'cause I just didn't want to be bottom of the class (EE).

It was not until college that he appears to connect with learning and the possible benefits associated with it. He knew what he wanted to accomplish in college. 'I didn't mind college... I knew that I was there to learn something...'

BH also demonstrated his agency to change the outcome of his schooling by reading books he felt he had missed out on; he investigated returning to further education and went on a self-learning journey. He also demonstrated his ability to appreciate the wealth that proxy agency could add to his education by associating with individuals he felt could advance his education.

I've always sort of tried to associate or socialise with em people who were aspiring...that would help me with my progressional [word used by participant] development.

DD's story suggested that self-efficacy and agency could impact academic attainment. He recognised the value of proxy agency in that he was confident enough to speak to teachers after classes in order to clarify points he did not understand. Consequently, his relationship with teachers proved very useful not just in his academic attainment but also in preserving his image as a 'good pupil'. He told of an incident where he had a disagreement with a teacher because she perceived him as challenging her authority. This could have resulted in him being sanctioned or excluded from school, except he had a good

reputation with other teachers. He was perceived as a 'good pupil' and therefore it was difficult for the school's authorities to sanction him purely on the basis of one teacher's assessment of him.

...the teachers listened to me...I wasn't a trouble causer...I think that played a part in them, the teachers not just say Mrs...has said this student's wrong and so we're going to have to punish him (DD).

Additionally, he revealed self-agency when preparing for his exams. DD recognised the importance of effective preparation in achieving a goal. He realised that in order to be at a place to achieve top grades in his GCSEs that he had to treat the mock exams as if they were the real thing. He prepared a timetable, gave up partying and focused on his revision. Subsequently he did very well in the mock exams and was able to attain A*, As and Bs in his actual GCSE Exams.

I had a whole timetable written out for the mock exam because you were gonna get a final grade on this and I was spending time revising and my friend was going out to parties... then the real exam came round and I just mimicked what I did for the mock exams... (DD)

He set a course of action by planning with forethought for the mock exams, executed those actions, reflected on them and repeated the actions for the real exams.

DD demonstrated an awareness of the agency bestowed by certain educational establishments. The college he went to had a 'good' reputation in the community, whereas the alternative had the nickname '*ghetto*' because a lot of Black people went there. The implication here is that Black students have to distance themselves from their peers to be academically successfully. This in

my opinion, is an example of how racialised terms can impact the choices a Black individual has to make. I suggest that DD was aware of the social stigma implied in the term 'ghetto' and therefore any academic credentials obtained from such a college might not be of equal value as one placed on a reputable college. He therefore, chose to attend the alternative college. Equally, his experiences at school might have informed his decision, for example in school he sat at the front of the class away from his Black peers – a strategy to minimise the risk of being labelled disruptive, yet maintained his friendship with Black peers outside of the classroom. This theory is further evidenced by the fact that he attended one of the elite Russell Group of universities, rather than a 'new' university. DD's choice of both college and university suggested that he was aware of racism, classism and the social order of British society and the inherent status placed on the credentials obtained from specific educational establishments.

Equally, it must be noted that a lack of self-efficacy and self-agency can impact academic attainment as shown in DD's narrative. He contrasted his academic outcome with that of his friend who chose to party rather than plan and prepare for his exams.

My friend was going out to parties and he said are you coming out to party and I said no... how have you got time to be going to a party? ...and then ma friend lo and behold, the results came back and he did rubbish. (DD)

MS too demonstrated how lack of foresight and motivation impacted her academic achievements in school. She felt ignored by teachers but lacked the motivation to do something about it. She was not able to motivate herself to work hard or have the self-agency to realise the benefits of approaching teachers as proxy agents so was unable to utilise them to address her academic needs (see chapter 7 for further details). In this regard MS failed to forward plan and therefore could not foresee the benefit of seeking help. Or perhaps

she was accepting of how things were in her school; as she pointed out '...been in the bottom set you're kind of invisible'. However, MS went on to achieve her qualifications at a further education college and studied fashion at University.

Teachers Expectations and Support

A number of studies support the notion that teachers' expectations, whether they are high or low, have a significant impact on children's achievement, including African Caribbean heritage children. See Hoge & Butcher (1984); Alvidrez & Weinstein (1999) and Rhamie (2007).

Good states that 'expectations can be defined as inferences that teachers make about future behaviour or academic performance of their students, based on what they know about their students' (Good, 1987:32). These inferences can be objective as in past attainment or subjective as in teachers' prejudices or stereotypes. These expectations may be explicit as in EE's comment '...a teacher in my high school told me that she would be surprised if I got enough qualifications to be a farmer when I left school and stuff like that' (EE). Alternatively, expectations may be implicit in the actions of teachers, '...when everyone was studying for the GCSEs... they had this session... where you would go like to the big Asda...and like the first set, the top set they would go there and they would have dinner and stuff there and then the bottom set they didn't get anything' (MS).

In this context, children were rewarded for being in the top set, signalling that teachers had great expectations of them, i.e. high achievements, whereas those in the bottom set went unrewarded, sending the message that teachers did not expect anything of these children and therefore their achievements have no significance.

There was further evidence from the pilot study of the impact of teachers' support and expectations on Black Children's academic attainments. For instance, MM cited an incident in school where a teacher's support was crucial in his academic success. JD mentioned she was fortunate with her teachers at school but at college and university her experiences of teachers were negative which impacted her academic achievement/underachievement. AA revealed that it was only when he decided to change his attitude towards education that he began to have a good relationship with his teachers. SK noted that if students showed interest in a subject the teachers would give them 'a lot of time and attention'. EE said the teachers in college were more supportive, 'they would tell me I can do better than I'm doing...'

Typical examples of participants' narratives concerning teachers' expectations included the following.

I enjoyed English literature; I enjoyed it a lot. Part of that was cause the teacher that I had at school em she helped me a lot in school a lot you know.... she helped me get through school; through English really. That's how I got my Cs in English.
(MM)

...if a student was interested in the subject they would give you a lot of their time and attention; most teachers were like that, they absolutely loved it when a student showed interest in a subject... (SK)

...no one really cares about you when you're like in a lower set... (MS)

...the teachers didn't expect a lot of me and... I would try proving teachers wrong... (EE).

These narratives suggested that students who considered teachers to be supportive can attain academic success, while those who perceived that teachers do not provide encouragement are placed at a disadvantage and are likely to become demotivated and disengaged, which in turn might lead to academic underachievement. I decided not to continue to pursue the notion of teachers' expectation and support in the main study because there were copious amounts of studies detailing this phenomenon. Other themes that emerged out of the pilot study but were not investigated as part of the main study include power(less) and control and rules of engagement.

The academic failure, later to be termed underachievement of African Caribbean heritage children in compulsory education has been the emphasis of much research attention over generations. Many research papers describe the depth and nature of the issue; that is many African Caribbean heritage children have been over-represented in exclusions figures, poor exam outcomes and labelled as having behavioural problems. Within the discourse of academic underachievement, African Caribbean boys have been highlighted as having the lowest academic attainment when comparing them to other minority pupils including African Caribbean heritage girls. Thus, after more than forty years of negative reporting about the condition of African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment, it was time to shift the focus and redress the imbalance in discourses by reporting the growing numbers of African Caribbean heritage individuals who, despite some of them been labelled underachievers in school; went on to achieve academic success in further and higher education.

The Research Questions

The research questions addressed in this thesis are:

1. What are the factors that influence the academic success of African Caribbean heritage individuals?
2. How do cultural assets mediate learning for this group?
3. How do negative Black identity(ies) translate into positive learning identity (ies)?

Outline of Chapters

This thesis is divided into 8 chapters. Chapter one has outlined the origins of my interest in the topic and a rationale for the study. I discussed briefly my personal interest in the research along with the context within which the research is located. Chapter 2 sketches the original research plan, gives a brief overview of the participants, offers a rationale for not having a literature review chapter and a broad overview of the further education sector. Chapter 3 presents the methodology and the philosophical approach and framework underpinning the study. It also outlines how and where the research was conducted. Chapter 4 is the commencement of the analysis chapters and it discusses the notions of identity, blackness and learning; covering aspects such as black identity development, black identity in learning spaces, fictive kinship and the burden of acting White. This chapter uses Toni Morrison's *Tar Baby* to aid in the revelation that despite the notion of a 'Black identity', there is no one Black identity but a plethora of identities. Chapter 5 - Space, Race, Gender and Intersectionality - describes the various ways in which Black individuals navigate bastions of whiteness and how they become space invaders or tokens in such spaces. It also highlights the ways in which these three dimensions (space, race and gender) intersect and impact the lives of Black individuals in the wider British society and how these space invaders strategize and navigate public and private spaces. Chapter 6 – Invisibility/Hyper-visibility of Blackness - highlights

the notions of invisibility/hyper-visibility utilising the lens of critical race theory (CRT). It adopts a counter narrative analysis, reading the data alongside Frank Ellison's *Invisible Man* and his narrator's experiences of White American society. Chapter 7 – Cultural Assets Mediating Learning - highlights those community assets utilised by African Caribbean individuals in their pursuits of academic success. It also discusses Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) theory of cultural capital in contrast to Tara J Yosso's (2005) theory of community cultural wealth and suggests that Yosso's (2005) concept might be extended to include human capital. Chapter 8 presents a brief introduction followed by issues arising from the research. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and close with some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2 – Broad Overview of the Research

This chapter sketches the original research plan and outlines problems encountered. It discusses briefly notions of success and questions the various gaps associated with academic attainment and whether the idea of closing the gap is possible. It further gives a broad overview of the Further Education (FE) system.

The intention at the outset of the research was to situate the study in one further education college in Manchester. This decision was taken because as it was a large general further education (GFE) college, it was thought that the intended participants were readily available and any issues of ethical concerns might be easily dealt with. This intention was however, changed because the two GFE colleges in Manchester merged and it was thought this might create an issue of confidentiality for the participants. Thus it was decided to incorporate individuals who attended 6th form colleges in Greater Manchester, making it less likely that the participants might be identified (see chapter three for further details). Equally, participants were referred to the study who attended colleges outside of Manchester. Similarly, the participants were to be of African Caribbean heritage, however whilst investigating the role of cultural capital in the lives of African Caribbean heritage parents and children, one individual (OL) whose ancestry is directly linked to Africa – that is he has no Caribbean ancestors, volunteered to participate in the study. I decided to use the data from this individual because I believe it helps not only to demonstrate the diverse range of Black identities but also the fact that Black parents regardless of heritage are highly concerned with the education of their children and use community resources to augment their children's learning in main stream education. Participants' availability also posed a risk to the study – some individuals who had volunteered to be subjects in the study could not participate due to personal issues or became unavailable. Furthermore, some individuals who participated recommended others for the study, one of these individuals

attended sixth form in school rather than a GFE college (see chapter three for further information on the participants).

The Notion of Success

As mentioned the objective of the study was to investigate academically successful African Caribbean heritage individuals. This however, was challenging, as the notion of 'success' is problematic. How does one measure or determine who is successful? For some individuals, success might be having the capability to enhance knowledge without demonstrating this capability through the attainment of credentials – is success a journey or an end? Is success a gain or a loss? Is success a measure of determination? Once success has been attained, where does one go from there? The notion of success in western society is rooted in the concepts of achievement, fame and triumph. The Oxford online Dictionary defines 'success' thus:

The accomplishment of an aim or purpose
The attainment of fame, wealth, or social status and
a person or thing that achieves desired aims or attains fame, wealth etc.

In this regard success is a measure of attainment and achievement, thus success could be measured as a gain. In the environment of academia, a successful student is one that achieves his/her goal of attaining a degree and in compulsory British education, a key measure of academic success is the percentage of children attaining five or more GCSEs grades A*-C including maths and English. Within the wider British society, success might be said to be a measure of achieving certain social class or status or simply being employed. Whichever way one might view success, it is evident that one cannot escape the idea of accomplishment and achievement. Thus, within the context of this thesis academic success is defined as the attainment of positive outcomes

whilst studying at a GFE or 6th form college, including obtaining the desired qualification.

The Original Research Aims

The original research aims were as follows:

1. Identify successful stories of African-Caribbean students' attainment in Further Education Colleges in Manchester and analyse the key factors contributing to those successes
2. Develop an understanding of the interaction between identity and learning for African Caribbean heritage students
3. Contribute to a deeper understanding of the concept of "Blackness" through African Caribbean heritage students' own narrative accounts of their learning careers, identities and wider lives

Following the outcomes of the pilot study, the aims were modified in order to pursue emerging themes as follows:

1. Theorise the concept of 'acting white' in relation to British Black students and academic success
2. Develop an understanding of the ways in which Caribbean heritage people's personal efficacy and agency impact academic success
3. Develop an understanding of the interaction of hybrid identity on learning for Caribbean heritage learners
4. Develop an understanding of the Black middle classes and how they use cultural capital to mediate their children's education
5. Investigate the notion of in-visibility and race
6. Explore the significance of space in the daily lives of Black individuals

The idea surrounding the aim of developing an understanding of the Black middleclass came out of the pilot study as many of the young people I

interviewed lived in what could be identified as middle class families. This however, proved challenging as a significant number of participants found it difficult to identify with the dominant view of middleclass, despite having professions construed as such. Some participants felt they could not be middleclass because to be middleclass is to be White. Equally 'race' foregrounds their individual and collective identities and therefore any notion of middleclassness was distinctively limited. In addition, when investigating parents who access Saturday school to augment their children's education, I discovered that some parents did not hold professional positions, so I thought it salient to concentrate on the cultural assets aspect of the aim rather than upon socio-economic differences of middleclass. Therefore, aim 4 was amended to investigating the cultural assets mediating learning (see chapter 7). This decision was taken as once again it can be demonstrated that there is no one Black identity and the notion of a homogeneous Black identity is a misleading concept. African Caribbean heritage families as in other cultures are diverse and distinctive and as such any research investigating Black lives should emphasise individuals rather than focus on one homogeneous Black identity.

The notion of space was not part of the original research plan but it emerged from the data as a result of investigating Beverley Daniel Tatum's (2003) question, "Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? This phenomenon was also observed in one GFE College in Greater Manchester. However, I decided to look beyond educational establishments to ascertain if this phenomenon also plays out in the wider lives of individuals. I discovered that space plays a significant role in the lives of African Caribbean individuals. For example, MM did not feel safe in a space (school) where he thought he should be safe; equally he could not be himself in the space of college, he stated that he had to '*sedate*' himself and that in the wider British society he had to be careful of the space(s) he inhabits, as he could be perceived as a threat. Thus spaces play particular roles in the lives of Black individuals in their day-to-day traversing of society (the analysis are discussed in chapters 4 and 5).

The aim to develop an understanding of the ways in which Caribbean heritage people's personal efficacy and agency impact academic success was not pursued in the main study in the way originally intended. It was more illuminating to follow lines of inquiry such as who or what assisted African Caribbean heritage individuals to academic success because many participants articulated numerous rationales for their academic success rather than personal abilities. That being said, notion of self-motivation and agency in the form of aspirational capital was identified in the data (see chapter 7). The aim to develop an understanding of the interaction of hybrid identity on learning for African Caribbean heritage learners were not pursued fully and it is suggested in chapter 4 that this is a possible avenue for further research.

Literature Review

This thesis does not contain a separate literature review chapter. Instead, the literature surrounding the subject of the study is illustrated by embedding it throughout the thesis. It is hoped that this has helped to support the research methodology, whilst presenting a coherent thesis that highlights salient authors and scholars on the subject of the research but also presents information in addressing the gap in the literature – that is the lack of research into academically successful African Caribbean heritage individuals in the UK and adding to the discourses surrounding Black lives in Britain.

Mind The Gap

Government publications, academic studies and the popular press discuss the attainment gap between various groups of school children and between students in post 16 education according to ethnicity, gender and socio-economic criteria. But what is this gap and how is it measured? In the UK the academic gap is measured by using the criterion of obtaining 5 or more GCSEs at grades A* -C by the age of 16 in the compulsory schooling sector. Any child who has not obtained this measure by age 16 is deemed to have underperformed and African Caribbean heritage children are said to be the lowest at attaining the said 5 or more GCSEs. For example, government figures show that in 2012-13, girls continued to outperform boys and suggest that the gap in GCSE attainment has widened from 9.5% in 2011-12 to 10.1% in 2012-13. The data indicated that Chinese children are the highest attaining ethnic group; achieving results that was 17.5% above the national average. Whilst the gap between Black pupils and the national average has narrowed by 1.7% from 2011-12 to 2012-13; they continue to be the lowest achievers of 5 or more GCSEs at grades A* to C. The gap in attainment according to socio-economic backgrounds, between those pupils receiving free school meals (FSM) and those not receiving FSM, remained similar to the 2011-12 figures at 26.3% and 26.7% 2012-13 (see appendix 1). In the FE sector the socio-economic gap is measured between pupils receiving FSM at 15 and those not receiving FSM, who have obtained a level 3 qualification by the age of 19 (see appendix 2). Appendix 2 shows the gap over a number of years 2004-05 to 2012-13 and indicates that the gap has only slightly narrowed between 2011-12 from 24.2% to 24.3%. Equally over the nine years illustrated in the data, the gap has remained constant between 26.4% and 24.3%. Within universities the ethnic gap is measured between the White indigenous population and BME indigenous population, achieving a first class or upper second-class honours degree. According to a report by the Equalities Challenge Unit (ECU, 2013), a higher proportion of White UK domiciled students received a first class or upper second-class degree compared to BME domiciled students. For instance, in

2011-12, the data show that in England 72.1% of White students compared to 53.6% BME students obtained a first or 2:1, a gap of 18.5%. There was a 10.5% gap in Wales, 9.1% in Scotland and 4.4% in Northern Ireland (see appendix 3). It must however, be clarified that there is a smaller proportion of BME students in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland compared to England.

The rationales given for the gaps are varied and complex. Research suggests that about 20% of variability in students' achievement is attributable to school quality and around 80% is attributable to student level factors, including family influence, socio-economic status and the neighbourhood location of an educational establishment (e.g. Rasbash et al. 2010). Cassen and Kingdom (2007) suggest that African Caribbean heritage children with similar economic backgrounds to White British children do no worse than these White indigenous children. Some have argued that high levels of socio-economic deprivation can account for the achievement gaps (e.g. DFES 2006). Strand (2013) however, argues that socio-economic deprivation alone could not account for the ethnic gap. Furthermore, he suggests that the ethnic gap at age 14 is more than three times the size of the gender gap and approximately one third of the social gap. Strand (2013) indicates that while socio-economic status can account for the African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi achievement gaps it cannot account for the African Caribbean gap, as these children are the only ethnic minority group to make less progress age 11-14, than indigenous White children. He indicated that African Caribbean heritage children are underrepresented in the higher tiers of the GCSE examination relative to White British children, even when accounting for the same prior (age 11) test scores. Neither, he implies, could the gap be explained by differences in family background, parental attitudes and students' risk/resilience or school location variables. Strand (2013) notes:

All other things being equal, for every three White British students entered for the higher tier only two 'similar' Black Caribbean students are entered. The evidence points to systematic under-representation of Black Caribbean students

in entry to the higher tier examination at age 14 (Strand, 2013:3)

It is well documented that African Caribbean heritage children are twice as likely to be excluded from school than their White counterparts (e.g. DfE 2012). They are at higher risk of being statemented – that is a formal document is issued to educational establishments by the local government detailing a child’s learning difficulties and the help that will be given to support his/her learning. Equally they are at a higher risk of being issued with School Action (SA) or School Action Plus (SA+) for Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties (BESD) compared to White indigenous children (Strand and Lindsay 2009). SA is where a school identifies that a child is not making progress and there is a need for action to be taken to address the learning difficulties or behaviours whilst SA+ is used where SA has not been able to assist the child make adequate progress. It is not evident why some teachers are less likely to enter African Caribbean heritage children to higher tiers for GCSE but research indicates that teachers’ assessment of students’ academic possibilities can be distorted by factors such as stereotyping or teachers’ perception of their behaviour. For example, Ferguson’s (2003:495) review of the literature on the Black-White attainment gap concluded that ‘teachers’ perceptions, expectations and behaviours probably do help to sustain, and perhaps even expand the Black-White test score gap.’ Hoff & Pandey (2006) noted that the proliferation of negative stereotypes is part of the wider pattern of persistent inequalities. Burgess and Greaves (2009) compared teachers’ assessments to external exam marks and concluded that there are significant differences in teachers’ assessments of pupils from different ethnic groups. They noted that Black Caribbean and Black African pupils were under assessed in comparison to other groups such as Chinese, Indian and White. This stereotyping or teachers’ perceptions might be a reason for the lack of entry to higher test tiers of African Caribbean heritage children.

Proposal for ways of addressing or bridging the gap include intervention at pupil level to counter socio-economic factors such as intensive catch-up programmes at the commencement of secondary school, funded through the pupil premium – additional funds allocated to publicly funded schools in England to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils (Clifton and Cook 2012). Those eligible for the pupil premium however, fall into a narrow band consisting of children looked after by the local authority, children receiving free school meals and children whose parents are in the armed forces. There was no mention of additional funds to support children experiencing other inequalities such as race discrimination. Strand (2013) suggests that schools need to consider the role of institutional arrangements that may contribute to African Caribbean achievement gap. He argues that schools should monitor and review ethnic patterns of disciplinary actions and the ethnic configuration of sets and tiers of entry to GCSE examinations. The questions underlying all of these proposed interventions are - how does one address teachers' perceptions and stereotyping? How do you educate future and current teachers to recognise their unintentional bias and its impact on minority groups?

Bridging the Gap

Discussions surrounding the achievement gap such as those outlined above, suggest that some groups are doing better than other groups and therefore a means of helping the group(s) that are underperforming must be found – a solution for the underachieving groups to catch up must be established. This is problematic however, because academic performance is fluid not static. It is assumed that children who are achieving at benchmark level or above are not standing or sitting waiting for the not so well performing group to catch up with them. The notion of bridging the gap rest on the premise that there is comparatively little progress made by the high achievers, whilst there is simultaneous growth or increased performance for the low achievers. Given the intense pressure to achieve and school league tables, it is unlikely that high performing students or schools could be expected to stand still and wait for

others to catch up. Even though the statistical evidence (discussed above) indicates that African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment is improving, and this is laudable, nonetheless where is the evidence to show causation?

There are debates on different types of gaps, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic and despite government initiatives, the gaps persist. How can a school and its children in a deprived area compete with a school in a wealthier neighbourhood? In 2010 Michael Gove famously informed a Commons education committee that rich, thick kids do better than poor, clever children, even before they start school. Gove was articulating the link that has been identified between poverty and academic outcomes (e.g. Kerr and West 2010). In an attempt to bridge the attainment gap there have been various initiatives including *Excellence in Cities*, *Aim Higher*, *Educational Maintenance Allowance* (EMA) aimed at FE students and *Extra Mile*, all of which are said to have had some success (e.g. Perry and Francis 2010). Still the gap between the educational attainment of poor children and their more affluent counterparts remains a difficult and apparently unbridgeable chasm. More recently, (2011) the coalition government introduced the pupil premium in England to raise the attainment of disadvantaged children. According to a 2014 Ofsted report *The Pupil Premium: an update*, there are encouraging signs that rigorous efforts of good leaders and teachers are aiding the increased outcomes for pupils eligible for the pupil premium. Ofsted however, cautiously suggests that it will take time to establish whether the increased focus will lead to a bridging of the attainment gap between those eligible for the pupil premium and other pupils. In addition, Clifton and Cook (2012) suggest that while there is a case for improving quality of schools on the grounds of overall achievement, as this has a role to play in narrowing the gap because there would be significant improvements in attainment for those schools in the most deprived postcodes. They however, indicate that even with school improvement, the achievement gap would remain because those at the top would also improve. These I suggest are indications that it is a challenging assumption that Britain can

achieve an equitable educational system by merely implementing different initiatives without addressing structural changes to the system. For example, school authorities could exchange assessment marking with a partner school to minimise the risk of children being assessed on behaviour rather than test scores. Equally the statistical evidence (see appendix 1) whilst there has been a narrowing of the gap shows that the change is insignificant as Caribbean heritage children are only achieving just above the 2008/9 national average, whilst Chinese heritage children are performing well above the 2012/13 national average. This should signal to central and local governments and school authorities that the strategies implemented to date have had little effect and therefore alternative measures to address the disparities should be found.

At HE level the data shows that White domicile students are more likely to obtain a first or 2:1 degree classification in comparison to ethnic minority groups despite Chinese heritage children out performing them at GCSE level. Further investigation needs to be conducted into this to ascertain a rationale for the differences.

The Further Education (FE) System – Context for the Study

General further education (GFE) and sixth form colleges, part of the learning and skill sector within UK educational structures and the context of this study play an important role in the UK's economy. The Labour government at the time viewed the sector as 'of strategic importance for the purpose of skills development to serve the UK economy and promote social inclusion' (Jameson, 2008:6). This view has not changed with the now coalition government (see discussion below). However, historically, there has been a clear demarcation between the academic and vocational routes through post 16 education. As a rule, vocational study is undertaken in GFE colleges whilst academic qualifications, namely 'A' levels may be taken in the sixth form in school, a specialist sixth form college or a GFE college. Thus the FE route is salient for both academic and vocational students alike.

The Further and Higher Education Act 1992 nevertheless, brought about a separation of colleges from local authority control and their incorporation as independent bodies with a remit to develop and deliver post 16 education and training. The Labour Government commissioned a report conducted by Sir Andrew Foster into the *Future Role of Further Education Colleges* (2005). The Foster Review (2005) as the report is commonly known, recommended a clear focus for the sector to concentrate on developing individuals' skills and employability whilst implementing the Government's 14-19 reforms of delivering the 14 specialised diplomas. The diplomas were available in a range of fourteen employment sectors including Health and social care, Travel and Tourism, Engineering, and Creative and Media. These diplomas were not designed as a means of direct entry to a profession but rather as an introduction to a specific industry sector from which an individual might progress, either through further study or training. The justification to focus on skills development was to enable young people to gain a strong foundation for employment, as well as to develop skills employers require. Consequently, GFE colleges were separated into two distinct segments 14-19 and adult (19+), with the adult sector further divided into FE and Higher Education (HE). Due to these changes, government funding concentrated on 14-19 whilst the adult segment faced cuts and a move towards self-funding. The agenda of skills development continues to be the focus of successive governments with the current coalition government suggesting that in order for the UK to be successful in the global economy, post 19 education must prioritise the skills that employers and businesses need and value; the skills individuals need and value in order to gain employment and function in society, and value for money for business and the state. With this in mind, the government at the time of writing, whilst increasing funding for apprenticeships, continues to under fund adult (19+) education. According to a 2014 Association of Colleges (AOC) Report, total government spending on the education and training of adults, other than apprenticeships has fallen by 22% from 2009-10 to 2012-14. Equally, the government, looking beyond achievement to outcomes based success measures, indicated that FE colleges and other post 16 providers

should offer information for potential learners and other interested parties, which will enable them to assess the impact of learning and qualification on their employment prospects, earnings potential and the likelihood of securing higher skills. Consequently, since 2010 the government has embarked on a programme of reform of the FE system (Department of innovation and skills BIS, 2014). The intention of these reforms it is said is to enable education providers to be flexible in their responsiveness to the economy and employers (Nick Boles Minister for Skills and Equalities 2014 BIS Report).

It is apparent that, since the incorporation of FE colleges in the 1990s and the election of 'New Labour' in 1997, with its declaration that education would be a top priority to the following coalition government, (at the time of writing) education policies have enabled a radical departure from the traditional notions of education as a public service and the means for social development towards the commodification of education and an economic factor. That is education appears to be a commodity that can be purchased by those who have the means to do so similar to the purchase of other goods and services. Equally people no longer access education for self-development but simply for the benefit of academic credentials. The commodification of education started mainly in HE but the FE sector has shifted towards this precept. GFE colleges now offer a wider selection of courses to HE learners and are free to set competitive fees for these courses. GFE colleges also have the autonomy to develop business models similar to large corporations with an aim to generate funds despite not having a profit making remit. Given that many returners to education are BME adults who may not have achieved in the compulsory system and who may view FE as a 'second chance', it can be assumed that these policies will affect BME individuals. For example, according to figures released by the Skills Funding Agency in November 2014, the total number of learners participating in government-funded further education in the North West of England in 2013-14 amounted to 160,750 with 11, 200 of these students from an African and or African Caribbean heritage backgrounds. This figure (11,200) is a decrease from the 2012-13 figure of 12,160. This is perhaps an indication of the impact

of government policy. Additionally, the *2011 National Learner Satisfaction Report* into FE learners (BIS, 2011) indicates that students across all age groups and ethnicity show a decline in the number of learners who are satisfied with their learning providers, with BME learners less likely than White learners to speak highly of their providers. The report also found that White learners were more positive about their experience than BME learners in FE. Perhaps this is a symptom of the commodification of education – that is students may demand a higher standard of support and teaching and learning as they are contributing directly towards the cost of their education.

African Caribbean Heritage People’s Academic Success(es)

The academic achievement as opposed to underachievement of African Caribbean heritage individuals in the UK is a well-kept secret as there are very few empirical studies documenting this phenomenon in compulsory schooling and even less in the further education sector. A review of works by Bagley et al. (1979); Tomlinson (1993); Channer (1995); Blair (2001); Rhamie and Hallam (2003); Tomlin and Olusola (2006); and Rhamie (2007) suggest factors that contribute to success. These include parental support and encouragement, support of the community (e.g. Pentecostal churches), high teachers’ expectations and an understanding of the experiences of African Caribbean heritage children by teachers.

Gillborn and Mirza (2000:10) note:

Black pupils are capable of high achievement. In one in ten authorities that monitor GCSE results by ethnicity, pupils in all recorded Black groups are more likely to attain the benchmark than their White peers.

It is quite evident that not all African Caribbean heritage children are underachieving academically, yet, the volume of literature investigating this

cohort of individuals, documents their academic underachievement. Given the importance of academic attainment and the wider implications of social and economic inequalities, the debates surrounding underachievement should be viewed within the context of other variables that can impact attainment. These include exclusion rate, (Equalities Review 2007); (DfE Report 2011) and methods of assessment, (Gamaron 1992); (Gillborn 2008). My review of the literature also shows that there is a lack of information within the further education (FE) sector, with little in higher education (HE), (Rhamie and Hallam 2002); (Chowdry et al. 2010) and (HEFCE 2010). Consequently, this study, it is hoped will contribute towards addressing the gap in knowledge regarding the academic successes of African Caribbean heritage individuals in FE and sixth form colleges as well as counter the negative discourses surrounding African Caribbean people's academic underachievement in the UK.

Chapter two presents a broad overview of the thesis by outlining the original research plan and briefly discusses amendments to this plan. It also shares issues encountered as a process of the study. (For instance some participants became unavailable during the interview stage). This chapter also discusses the notion of success and how success is measured in educational establishment. For example, the attainment of 5 GCSEs at grade A*-C including English and Mathematics is used in compulsory education to denote success. Chapter two equally debates the attainment gap and suggests that interventions by successive governments have not made major inroads into bridging the gap and speculated as to whether this is feasible as the notion of 'bridging the gap' assumes those at the top are making slow progress in comparison to those at the bottom and therefore would eventually catch up. The chapter then closes with a brief description of the further education system by outlining the challenges ahead for the sector and the threats some of these challenges may pose for African Caribbean returners to education.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to:

- Present a brief overview of the participants
- Discuss my research philosophy in relation to other philosophies
- Explain the research strategy employed including the research methodologies

The Participants

The participants except for one as mentioned above are of African Caribbean descent and have all attended a general further education or 6th form college in Greater Manchester. At the time of data collection, they ranged from the age of 16 to late 40s. Vis-a-vis ethical concerns, no one under the age of 18 was directly involved in the study, other than one occurrence of observation I conducted in order to ascertain if individuals in an educational setting congregate in groups according to cultural identity, where students' ages ranged from 16 upwards. All participants that were interviewed did not require parental consent. That being said, some participants in the younger age range were recommended and encouraged by their parent(s) to contribute to the study. Those participants who were not attending or intended attending university were mostly in professional occupations including social work, health profession, legal profession, teaching, business development, hospitality and the media. Two participants were not employed outside of the home. The younger cohort was attending university or was about to embark on studies at a university. One participant in the younger cohort at the time of the interview was employed as a youth worker but intended attending university the following year. A total of 30 individuals participated in the study, 18 in the main study and 12 in the pilot study. MM and others such as DD, EE, MS and BH originally

participated in the pilot study but as they provided such rich and complex data, I decided to use their narratives in the main study.

During the pilot study between 2008-2010, individual interviews took place with six individuals and one focus group interview was conducted. The individuals were three men and three women aged from 19 to late 40s and the focus group was made up of 3 men and 3 women in their mid to late 30s.

The table below represents a brief profile of the participants whose stories are illuminated in the main study. They include five from the pilot study and 13 from the main study. The information is kept to a minimum in order to preserve the participants' anonymity.

Participants' Profiles

Participants	Gender	Occupation	Younger Cohort Aged 19-25	Older Cohort Aged 26-40+
MM	Male	Youth Worker (Gap Year)		
EE	Male	University Student		
DD	Male	University Student		
MS	Female	University Student		
JJ	Female	Business Woman		
JD	Female	University Student		
BH	Male	Media Professional		
BD	Female	Healthcare Profession		
AA	Male	University Student		
YY	Female	Hospitality Industry		

OL	Male	School Teacher		
SK	Female	University Student		
PJ	Female	College Lecturer		
DF	Female	Healthcare Profession		
JS	Female	Legal Profession		
TC	Female	Stay at home parent		
HP	Male	College Lecturer		
KK	Female	Stay at home parent		

Methods and Methodology

It is pertinent to begin this articulation of methods and methodology by revisiting the research aims and questions discussed in chapter 2. Research aims [questions] whether formally expressed at the commencement of a research project or not, exist symbolically in relationship with the research process, framing and themselves being reframed by the uncertainties of the on-going process (Robson 2002). This notion is applicable in this context because it was in a critical engagement with the topic of the study, with the data, and the exploration of theoretical constructs of CRT, narratives and intersectionality that have allowed the construction and reconstruction of the research aims/questions and methodological approach. As such whilst the research aims/questions are intended to be clear and answerable, they seek to do so by framing an approach which recognises the intersectionality of race, gender and space, as they impact the academic and economic achievement of African Caribbean heritage individuals. That is a view of intersectionality where race, space, and gender collide and affect the academic attainment of African Caribbean heritage individuals. This view of intersectionality reveals that interrogation of the achievement of this group of people requires an emphasis on structural issues posed by a legacy of enslavement, colonialism, family and

community influences as well as school/college based processes as they relate to the construction of the learning identities of African Caribbean heritage individuals.

The reframed aims (see discussion in chapter two) are to:

1. Theorise the concept of 'acting white' in relation to British Black students and academic success
2. Develop an understanding of the concept of community cultural capital and how Black families use cultural capital to mediate their children's education
3. Investigate the notion of in-visibility and race
4. Explore the significance of space in the daily lives of Black individuals

Methods and Techniques

'There are numerous approaches to social science research and often a bewildering array of methods and techniques; each approach with its own set of advantages and rules.' So began Mason and Dale (2011:1) in their book *Understanding Social Research*. As a new researcher I would agree wholeheartedly with this statement. The plethora of available methods on one hand is useful in enabling choice but on the other hand they can also serve to confuse and bewilder the novice researcher, especially when one is uncertain as to one's philosophical stance. The question then is: how can one decide the 'right' method (s) for one's research? During my journey of becoming a researcher (still travelling) I was introduced to such methods as action research, grounded theory, phenomenology and quantitative methods such as descriptive statistics. Still I struggled to find the 'right' fit. Soon, however I came to realise that research methods may be understood in terms of the research philosophy ascribed to and the strategy employed in the quest of answering the research question(s).

The Philosophical Approach

Philosophy can be defined as the questioning of basic fundamental concepts and the need to embrace a meaningful understanding of a particular field. The discipline of philosophy can be used to allow research to be viewed in a certain way, by the use of particular accepted approaches such as positivism or interpretism (Burke 2007: 476).

When undertaking social science research, it is necessary to consider different research approaches and matters of ontology: that is, theory about how the world is made up, the nature of reality or being and the relationship between different aspects of society. The necessity to consider epistemology: the issue of knowledge, what is known to be true; knowledge of reality, who can be a 'knower', is also an important element to be considered. Harding (1987:3) argues that, 'women have been excluded as 'knowers' from 'masculine' sociology and therefore must establish a feminist standpoint in order to legitimise female epistemology'. Likewise, Black individuals are often rendered silent in their own stories, whether it is of identity, failure or success and therefore must create their own epistemology from a Black perspective. Developing a philosophical standpoint requires that the researcher make some fundamental assumptions concerning the nature of society and the nature of science because these beliefs can influence a study.

Bryman (2012:5) stated;

The theories that social scientists employ to help to understand the social world have an influence on what is researched and how the findings of research are interpreted.

It is salient therefore that ontology and epistemology are considered as they can influence the way in which the research is approached: from design through to analysis and conclusion. It is also vital for the researcher to have a modicum

of his/her own philosophical position as his/her beliefs about the nature of reality and knowledge will influence the research approach. Discussing these issues also enables the selection of methods that are in congruence with the nature and aims of the particular inquiry and to ensure that researcher biases are discussed and made visible.

Two major philosophical views about social science research have been posited; namely positivism or objectivism and constructivist or interpretivism. Positivism, that has its roots in the natural science, key tenet is that the social world is a reality but must be measured through objective instruments rather than being subjectively deduced through feelings, reflection or insight. Whereas constructivism's basic principle is that it is only through the subjective interpretation of a phenomenon that reality can be fully understood.

Positivism

Derived from the 'Enlightenment Era', positivism emerged out of a debate amongst European intellectuals such as Henri de Saint-Simon, Pierre-Simon Laplace and Auguste Comte to counter the dominant discourse that advocated the view that people made sense of the world through the power of God. The debate centred on the tension between 'scientific knowledge' and the 'natural order'. The basic principle was to develop a model of social inquiry embedded within the field of natural science. Emile Durkheim, as the founder, later advanced sociological positivism to social research.

Positivism asserts that the only authentic knowledge is that which:

- utilises measurable evidence (quantifiable)
- subscribes to 'scientific methods'
- the primary goal is about description, prediction and explanation
- is characterised by absolute or varying degree of generalisability

Bryman (2012:33) notes that objectivism, '... asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors.' In other words, this ontological position suggests that everyday meaning making from interactions, have a reality separate from the social performers. The positivist researcher views social science as an organised method for combining deductive reasoning with scientific observations. The intention being the identification and confirming a set of casual rules that can be used to predict general patterns of human behaviour. The researcher must not directly get involved in the behaviour being studied, as objectivity is the goal thus avoiding bias and the research should be capable of being replicated. Positivists believe that reality is stable and can be observed and described from an objective viewpoint (Levin 1988), i.e. without interfering with the phenomena being studied.

Constructivism

Constructivism emerged mainly as a consequence of the philosophy of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and Wilhelm Dilthey's and other philosophers' study of interpretive understanding termed hermeneutics. Constructivists' approach to research is the intention of understanding the world of human experience allowing that reality is socially constructed. According to Bryman (2012) Constructivism:

asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors; implying that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interactions but that they are in a constant state of revision.

Constructivism takes the stance that there is no one objective reality but rather multiple realities constructed through the experiences of individuals. In other words, this position emphasises the way individuals make sense of the world in particular through sharing experiences via the medium of language, which

theoretically speaking suggests a subjective perspective. According to Lythcott and Duschl (1990:458):

People impose order on the world perceived in an effort to construct meaning; meaning lies in cognition not in elements external to us; information impinging on our cognitive systems is screened, translated, altered, perhaps rejected by the knowledge that already exists in that system; the resulting knowledge is idiosyncratic and is purposefully constructed.

The constructivist researcher customarily relies on the 'participants' views of the situation being studied' (Creswell 2003:8) and recognises the impact on the research of their own cultural background and experiences. Constructivists do not normally commence with a theory, rather they 'generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings' (Creswell, 2003:9) throughout the research process. For the constructivist researcher, striving for objectivity is not the goal; it is pursuing authenticity of findings, ensuring the centrality of the participants' voices. Knowledge is not acquired through inert absorption but rather through the different experiences, cultural backgrounds, nurturing and characteristics; each individual perceives the world differently (Trunk Sirca and Shapiro, 2007). From the perspective of the constructivist theory, knowledge should not be judged in terms of whether it is true or false, but in terms of whether it works. It only matters whether the knowledge constructed functions satisfactorily in the context in which it arises (Bodner et al. 2001). These two opposing views involve very different epistemologies: from the positivist perspective, the object of study is independent of the researcher; knowledge is gained through a directly observable experience and facts are proven through examination of the phenomena. Alternatively, for the constructivist, knowledge is derived from the meanings ascribed to the phenomena being studied. The researcher engages with the subject(s) to acquire data, thus altering the states of both researcher and the researched.

It is evident that the epistemological difference between the positivist belief system and that of the constructivist, is that the former is fundamentally objectivist; there is the belief that it is possible for the researcher to remain detached and aloof from the researched, whilst the latter assumes that the researcher and the researched are interconnected and the researcher has direct impact on the researched. The constructivist, therefore, takes the view that the knower and the known are co-created during the study.

The research project I designed and the methodology I employed have been greatly influenced by the constructivist philosophical approach. Ontologically, I believe in the notion that individuals construct their own (realities) meaning and understanding of the world in which they live. My epistemological stance is that knowledge is not merely a process of observing, measuring and describing the external world but is generated through the various life experiences that individuals encounter and the meanings they ascribe to those encounters. This implies a subjective epistemology that conceptualises reality as socially constructed. This approach is apt as the intention was to gather in depth evidence into the phenomenon being studied.

Interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. ...there is no objective reality which can be discovered by researchers... (Walsham 1993:5)

In other words, the understanding of social actions must include the meaning social actors give to those actions.

Sayer, (2010:13) argues that it is a misconception to believe that:

Knowledge can be safely regarded as a thing or product, which can be evaluated independently of any consideration of its

production and use in social activity"; and that, "science can simply be assumed to be the highest form of knowledge and that other types are dispensable or displaceable by science.

In the gathering and telling of "stories", we are gathering 'knowledge from the past and not necessarily knowledge *about* the past' (Bochner 2007:203).

Methods

In the previous section, the underlying philosophical framework of this study has been presented. This section describes the methodology undertaken in relation to justifying the research paradigm, sampling process and data collection and analysis. Finally, issues of methods and ethical consideration relevant to this research are discussed.

The term 'method', in its popular form appears to denote a kind of strategy or approach that may be picked up or put down in preference for another as one chooses. According to Trochim (2006:online) methodology focuses on the practicalities of how we come to know. In 'coming to know' the pilot study utilised narrative and this study continues to embrace this methodology as the vehicle of inquiry. However, this narrative is firmly embedded within the framework of critical race theory (CRT), (CRT will be discussed later in the chapter). This framework is combined with narrative inquiry as it is founded on the premise that, as human beings, we come to understand and give meaning to our lives through stories (Andrews et al. 2008). Narrative, however, is more than storytelling, it is a means of knowing, of producing knowledge: (Cotterill and Letherby (1993); Skeggs (2002). Moreover, Schostak (2003:online) argues that unlike scientific experiment where each member of a given category is assumed to be identical, human beings are not identical and therefore their unit of analysis can no longer be the unchanging element that comprises the units for statistical analysis separated from its context but must have a narrative structure.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is 'first and foremost a way of thinking about experience' (Connelly and Clandinin 2006:477). It is an interpretive approach grounded mainly within the constructivist paradigm against the positivistic, realist perspective of rationality and universal truth, and the application of scientific, empirical methods to social issues. Constructivism attests that knowledge is value-driven and that reality is based on numerous standpoints, with truth embedded in everyday life through social dealings amongst individuals.

Narrative research differs significantly from its positivistic counterpart in its underlying assumptions that there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of text. The narrative approach advocates pluralism, relativism, and subjectivity (Lieblich et al. 1998:2).

Narrative research has grown extensively over a period of time (Polkinghorne 1988); (Bruner 1990); (McAdams 1993); (Riessman 1993); (Mishler 1995); (Denzin 1997); (Lieblich et al. 1998); (Connelly and Clandinin 1990, 2000); (Clough 2002) and (Hendry 2007). It has been used widely in many disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and business and management. Narrating, story(ing) is an intrinsic human activity having both ontological and epistemological implications in human experience and reality. Humans have a symbolic affiliation with stories in that they are both shaped by and informed by stories; that is humans make sense of themselves and their lives by the stories they tell (or do not tell). Thus we come to know others and ourselves through the narratives we construct to locate ourselves in place and time. Consequently, with narrative understanding at the centre of meaning making, narrative research has an important role to play in generating knowledge. According to Hopkinson and Hogarth-Scott (2001), narrative provides an opportunity for construction of self and narrative research generates knowledge about the social or individual construction of reality through storytelling. Narrative is an essential part of being human and if we are attentive to our narrative listening,

we may, through observation, discover much about human existence. Such narrative discoveries however, do not lead to one objective 'truth' about the human experience; rather, they can open multiple human truths that may be messy but are rich and informative in both their complexity and simplicity.

Recounting stories based on life experiences, in this context, educational experience can be a powerful instrument for identifying racialised and repressive themes. Personal narratives can be the basis for social research because they are symbolic of the teller's life, the 'truth' from his/her perspective. He or she recount his/her life through the narrating of stories retrospectively but analysing these stories bring them into the present where individuals can gain knowledge of and from them.

This research methodology was chosen because it allows the collection of rich data that might not be available using methods such as surveys, questionnaires or interviews. Narrative can also be used to explore specific phenomena such as educational experiences, personal identities and the cultural lives of narrators and it is an accepted form of generating knowledge. Narrative inquiry however, is not without its critics. Phillips (1994) expresses concerns that narratives are altered through current life experiences and are often re-examined on rationality and reasonableness rather than 'truth'. The question here is who determines 'truth' in narrative and whose 'truth' will be called into question, the researcher's, the participants' or both. Surely, only the participants can determine the truth of their experiences. Still, this researcher makes no claim to absolute infallible knowledge or truth. Another accusation levied at narrative, is that researchers often represent narratives as if they were 'authentic', (e.g. Sandelowski 2002).

Atkinson and Delamont (2006:166) noted:

Autobiographical accounts are no more 'authentic' than other modes of representation: a narrative of a personal experience is

not a clear route into 'the truth', either about the reported events, or of the teller's private experience (...) 'experience' is constructed through the various forms of narrative

Such a criticism would be justifiable, especially if narrative researchers believe that in order to represent truthfully others' stories, they have to simply reproduce the stories. Likewise, it is not possible to test the authenticity of personal narrative because narrators build stories that support their self-identity whilst eliminating experiences and events that destabilise it. Equally, the researcher may never know whether the story was told to another, especially someone outside the narrator's culture, if it would be the same or even if it would be told.

As Lieblich et al. (1998:2) argues:

Narrative research differs significantly from its positivistic counterpart in its underlying assumptions that there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of text. The narrative approach advocates pluralism, relativism, and subjectivity.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

I mentioned previously that the research methodology was firmly embedded within a CRT framework but before discussing CRT, it is important to reveal how I arrived at the decision to embrace CRT and intersectionality as integral to this study. Intersectionality will be discussed in chapter 5.

As an African Caribbean heritage individual conducting research within and about the African Caribbean community, I am considered an insider and therefore any analysis arrived at might be deemed biased or tainted by my racialised positioning as 'other' and my racial experiences in British society.

Insider research refers to when researchers investigate populations of which they are also members (Kanuha 2000). In investigating staff development research, Asselin (2003) suggests that it is better for the insider researcher to gather data with his or her "eyes open", but assuming that he/she knows nothing about the phenomenon being studied. She indicates that although the researcher might be insider to aspects of the culture being studied, he/she might not understand the subculture, suggesting a need for bracketing (Denzin 2001). That being said, Adler and Adler (1987) suggest that the complete membership role gives researchers a certain amount of legitimacy. Despite this I was still reluctant to embrace CRT as a framework for unpacking the data even though my supervisor and director of studies recommended it. The idea that my study might be dismissed as another biased account of African Caribbean lives concerned me greatly and so I tried to minimise centralising race within the study. I wanted to be seen as a researcher not a 'Black' researcher. During the preliminary findings and writing of the pilot study, however, I revisited the data and literature on several occasions and came to the conclusion that race was central to the research both in terms of the researcher, the research participants and the data itself. Consequently, I could no longer deny the role of race and racism in framing the study. The relevance of CRT also arose out of the data, which demonstrated that it is inconceivable to research issues of race without examining the intersectionality of gender and class alongside race. Emerging also, as a consequence of the data was the concept of space both in a physical and a metaphorical sense – the location in which interactions occurs between minority and dominant groups and between members of minority groups. For example, a virtual space as in social media becomes a metaphor of a physical space and how interactions occur in such space(s) became salient to the study. CRT allows the illumination of these occurrences within historical and contemporary contexts; accordingly, it provides a lens through which an account of how identities and spaces become racialised. Equally, the stories the participants related acknowledge the various ways in which being Black and viewed as 'other' impacted their daily existence in Britain. These compelled me to reflect on my own life and how race relations in Britain have shaped my

identity and political positioning and how these might impact the study. I recognise that within space and time I am raced along with the participants. Still I agonised over the decision. Nevertheless, I arrived at the understanding that CRT in combination with intersectionality is a lens that could be used to illuminate and unpack the various ways in which race and racism might affect the study. So, like Roberts (no date: online), 'I make no apologies for foregrounding race. I see how I have been framed and how such framing influences my movement through the world. I am free to see through my lens but not be limited.'

As discussed in this study (see chapter 6), Black individuals are simultaneously invisible and hyper-visible. Still, I would argue, they are denied the opportunities to shape their educational experiences, identity and social status in their own voices. The need to develop a counter-narrative as a performance of self-identification is therefore necessary. Thus privileging the voices of Black individuals in relation to their educational attainments and identity is crucial in enabling the participants to emerge from the shadows into the marvellous light of White privilege. The intention here, is not to dismantle existing theories of Black individuals' experiences in Britain, rather it is an endeavour to provide alternative perspectives in areas where Black voices have been mostly silent. Through a critical examination of Black individuals' educational experiences, identity development and social positioning, knowledge can be obtained to augment the dialogue surrounding African Caribbean heritage people's positioning in British society.

Previous research as I have argued in this study (chapters 3 and 4) utilises deficit models in articulating Black voices, so a researcher who is an insider, who understands how the processes of racialization have rendered black voices invisible; who desires African Caribbean heritage people to be narrators of their own experiences is a salient factor in enabling them to talk freely without recrimination. The inability of Black individuals to acquire a positive and visible self-image may be a factor in why they are marginalised and made hyper-visible

in British society. Studies about Black individuals should, I would suggest, be transformative as this is a means of confronting the dominant narratives that position them as subordinate to Whites. The powerlessness of most Black people to challenge, voice or transcend their 'othering' in Britain could be viewed as a way of maintaining the stereotypes of African Caribbean heritage individuals as academic underachievers along with other negative images such as being a danger to White British society. This misrepresentation and absence of a racialised narrative for Black people to be positively visible, emphasises a deficit and noteworthy gap within the current sociological knowledge base and ultimately, the recognition and comprehension of Black people in the wider British society. Privileging the voices of Black individuals would generate alternative narratives that have significance grounded within the everyday lived realities of these individuals in Britain. The complexity of Black people's lives in Britain should not therefore, only be articulated by deficit models of theorising therefore, but also through the vocalisation of authentic Black voices. It is the responsibility of Black people in Britain and the diaspora to confront the voices that make them invisible or hyper-visible. Therefore, the need to situate Black people's experiences and insights of their lived realities within a racialised and culturally relevant analytical framework is salient. The counter narrative developed within this thesis is intended to both privilege Black voices, whilst challenging some of the assumptions made by deficit theorising of Black lives. In addition, an African Caribbean approach to narrating stories in line with their values and ways of knowing provides a context in which we can learn from the past, make sense of the present and plan for the future.

In 1903 W.E.B. DuBois wrote, '...the problem of the 20th century would be the color line' and as the 20th century progressed the colour line appeared to be gradually erased. But as the millennium advanced there still persisted issues of race and racism. In the 1970s a group of lawyers, activists and legal scholars led by Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado developed a theoretical and analytical framework, critical race theory in challenge to critical legal studies and its inability in addressing social and racial inequalities in the legal system of

America. CRT has since been adopted and utilised by scholars such as David Gillborn and Nicola Rollock in the United Kingdom (UK) within an educational context.

As a movement CRT typically examines the historical processes in the development of American society, connecting it to the emergence of a racist system. This system is considered to be so deeply embedded into the fabric of society over the course of its history that it simmers beneath conscious awareness; invisible to the naked eye and becomes visible only in extreme cases of obvious racism. Whilst racism is certainly acknowledged by the wider (British) population to be malicious, these views are arguably founded on an understanding of racism as isolated and extreme incidents perpetrated by racial extremists and not due to the structuring of society, (Gillborn 2006). CRT however, asserts that it is the underlying structural, indirect forms of racism that are in essence more sinister and which pervade all aspects of social life, (Delgado and Stefancic 2001); (Gillborn 2005) and (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006). Preston (2008) illuminates how apparently harmless planning such as civil defence and disaster preparedness models in the US and UK, are racially permeated. He notes, 'despite the supposed neutrality and universalism of these pedagogies, they tacitly adopt a selective approach to survival in terms of the characteristics of individuals who are to benefit', Preston (2008:469). This assertion is evidenced in the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) response in 2005 to the catastrophe triggered by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in the USA. The debacle, he argued, was not a case of poor planning and management but rather an example of the pervasiveness of racism, manifested in structural system of disaster preparedness, particularly as it relates to the lives and property of the marginalised in a society, Preston (2008).

CRT challenges the stance of objectivity, neutrality and colour-blindness of the law and argues that these principles actually normalise and perpetuate racism by ignoring the structural inequalities that permeate social institutions. It starts with the premise that racism is normal; 'the usual way society does business,

the common, everyday experience of most people of color in America', (Delgado and Stefanic 2001). CRT, which is a form of social construction theory, holds that race is a social construct that does not equate to any biological or genetic reality; race is a by-product of social engineering designed to categorise and label individuals. People with common origins share certain visible traits such as skin tone, physical features and hair texture but these comprise only a small part of what make them distinctly human, traits such as consciousness, personality and the ability to reason. Nevertheless, society continues to imbue this notion with quasi characteristics thus continuing the myth of raced others as separate and different. Not only that, but society racialised different minority groups in different ways over time. For example, in one era Black individuals have been depicted as happy go lucky, simple minded and willing to serve their masters, in another they have been depicted in literature, images and movies as violent, menacing and out of control, requiring close monitoring and suppression. Asian individuals on the other hand (in particular females) have been portrayed as 'China dolls', (e.g. Praso 2006) exotic, compliant, industrious and eager to please; in recent times they have been depicted as the 'model minority', (e.g. Gillborn 2008) hard working, flawless and studious over achievers.

CRT does not view Black individuals as deficient, lacking or as a problem that needs to be fixed but rather recognises how race has shaped their everyday lived experiences. Another element of CRT is the notion of a 'unique voice' - this notion holds that Black individuals, because of their experiences of oppression and marginalisation have a distinctive voice and may be able to communicate to White individuals, issues that they are unlikely to know; i.e. Black individuals are in a unique position to speak about race and racism. CRT asserts that the real-life knowledge of Black people is legitimate and integral to analysing and understanding racial inequalities. It offers a model that explicitly recognises and encourages Black people to name, speak and theorise about their experiences as shaped by racism; it also enables the telling of counter stories. CRT recognises the voices and knowledge of those who have been

marginalised, victimised and silenced. In other words, it legitimises the knowledge of Black individuals who operates at the margins of a wider society.

CRT not only offers a different method with which to explain and explore the processes of institutional racism and its impact on Black lives but it also utilises narrations as the foundation of its analytical framework. This enables a unique opportunity for investigating the educational attainments, identity and social positioning of African Caribbean heritage people in Britain. According to Solorzano and Yosso (2002), CRT functions with two different storytelling paradigms 'majoritarian' stories as told by the privileged and the 'counter-stories' as told by the subordinates. These counter stories of the racialisation of African Caribbean heritage people's experiences and the impact on their lives in Britain, could challenge deficit accounts of African Caribbean heritage individuals' educational attainments, identity and social positioning. hooks (1989:204) notes, 'Often when the 'radical voice' speaks about domination, we are speaking to those who dominate.' This suggests that it may be necessary for Black people themselves to as (Hill-Collins 2000:29) articulated, 'remake their own realities' and to further contemplate how they can inspire and institutionalise 'outsider within' ways of knowing to overcome the struggles to transcend their 'subordinate position.'

CRT can play a pivotal role in illuminating the social inequalities that exist within the structure of British educational institutions and society as a whole. Unlike other theories that analyse systemic oppression, CRT aims to break the silence of people who have been systematically oppressed (DeCuir and Dixson 2004). Although many scholars like Nicola Rollock and David Gillborn have used CRT as an analytical framework, it is not without its critics. For instance, (Pyle 1999:789) argues that: 'CRT is an unprincipled, divisive and ultimately unhelpful attack on the liberal tradition in America.' He further contends that CRT advocates fail to 'offer replacements for liberalism's core values'; instead 'their postmodern rejection of all principles leaves them entirely critical, while their narrow, interested stance renders them mere advocates within the liberal legal

system, not theorists, who might offer better alternatives.’ Farber and Sherry (1997) argue that CRT, along with critical feminism and critical legal studies have anti-Semitic and anti-Asian implications as they work to undermine notions of democratic community and have impeded dialogue.

One might argue that these criticisms are due to the perspective that CRT holds on race and racism. Thinking about racism as an essential aspect of Eurocentric societal structure might be disturbing, especially when many people are trying to dismantle and work against such a system. Doing so, however, is an important step that society needs to take in order for it (society) to progress. By acknowledging racism, members of a Eurocentric society might recognise that some initiatives, such as the Race Relations Act (2000) in the UK, have improved the lives of Black and minority groups, but are also beneficial to the dominant group.

Critics also claim that CRT does not include social class and gender as part of its framework because of its emphasis on race. CRT and other scholars however, have addressed the intersectionality of race and other social identities within their analysis (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004) and (Patton et al. 2007). From literature and other scholarly articles, it is evident that one cannot merely think about race, class or gender independently of each another. Recognising how these various identities are interrelated further highlights the complexities of these social constructions, which, if ignored, leave questions unanswered. For example, what happens when thinking about social experiences? What occurs when various identities do not align with social norms? What are the results when these identities converge? Essentially, CRT places race at the centre of the paradigm; but this does not necessarily mean that other identities are ignored. Whilst race might be thought of in terms of individual bodies and racism as only regarding individual prejudices, CRT aids in the understanding of race and racism as interwoven parts of social history and the wider social and institutional structure. Even when individual prejudices abate, racial inequalities can still exist in the wider social systems of education, housing, employment

and health and social care. Moreover, this framework assists in demonstrating how racism operates in frequently taken-for-granted ways. CRT assists to reveal that race and racism have social sources and consequence and it critiques systems of racial dominance with the expectation of helping to create a more just and equitable society.

Without Borders: CRT in the UK

This section of the chapter takes a brief walk with some UK advocates of CRT. It concisely discusses the advocacies and applications of CRT by these academics.

Compared to the United States, CRT is in its infancy in the UK (Chakrabarty et al. 2012:1). The authors who are credited with being the instigators of the CRT discussion group in the UK suggest that CRT has challenges that are specific to its national context. For example, it has been 'negatively criticised by Marxists (e.g. Cole 2009), been confronted with 'white working class' identity projects (Collins 2004), and from critiques that suggest there is something particular and peculiar about racial oppression in the US (Kaufman 2005)' in Chakrabarty et al. (2012:1). Perhaps implying that the socio-historical context of the US is different to that of the UK, therefore CRT is not applicable in a UK context. Nonetheless, the authors argue that it is salient that CRT is established in the UK in order to develop an academic footprint and as a means of building and offering the qualifications of an international CRT.

Despite its critics, CRT nevertheless has begun to gain traction and credibility in the UK especially in the field of education but has also been used in sports and leisure. Hylton (2005) in his article '*Race, sport and leisure: lessons from critical race theory*' argues that CRT can be used as an ontological starting point for the study of sport and leisure against what he termed an 'elitist Eurocentric social science' perspective. He suggests that using a CRT standpoint is likely to lead towards 'a resistance to a passive reproduction of the established

practices, knowledge and resources', especially those that structure the social circumstances that marginalise 'race' as a central factor in the manner in which people manage and experience sport and leisure. Hylton (2005) contends that CRT has the potential to challenge sport and leisure theories through its transformative ideology as well as produce theoretical vocabulary for the practice of 'progressive racial politics in sport and leisure'. Additionally, he suggests that CRT can be utilised to reject the notion of 'neutral objective detachment' from issues in the study of race and racism in sport for a more personal political perspective. Hylton (2005:95) argues that CRT's political agenda of 'challenge, change and transformation contributes to the ability of sport and leisure communities to critically re-examine how 'race', and racialised processes and formation are incorporated in their theory and practice'.

Warmington (2012), writing in the field of education, utilised CRT to investigate the productions of 'black British intellectuals' in the hope of building a historical foundation for the development of CRT in the UK. Warmington (2012) notes that the crossing of CRT to the UK should be viewed in the broader context of Black British Intellectuals writings, especially those early writers such as CLR James, Claudia Jones, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy who focused on race conscious issues. Furthermore, he concluded that CRT has begun to be developed as an organising space for 'race conscious scholars' in the UK and as a public declaration of intent. In quoting Gillborn (2008), Warmington (2012) asserts that CRT 'places a genuine social action at the heart of its enterprise' with the caveat that 'analysis of racism alone is not enough contribution to the struggle for race equality'. He however, suggests that in order to use CRT to aid the struggle for equality in the present circumstances, people must turn to those Black intellectuals who have aided the strugglers inside and outside of educational establishments. Warmington's (2012) argument is that the current standing of CRT in the UK is uniquely different to that of the USA because in the UK CRT has no historical foundation. His intention in analysing the writings of Black intellectuals in the UK through a CRT lens is to enable the building of a firm foundation from which CRT scholars in the UK might launch their struggles

for race equity. He notes:

...we must turn to those black intellectuals who have endeavoured to work out where we are: those thinkers who have helped orientate strugglers inside and outside schools. This will produce a historically grounded form of CRT in the UK, one in which black people in education are imagined not merely as objects of policy scrutiny but as powerful actors and radical thinkers central to British social life. In doing so, we renew anti-racist praxis, Warmington (2012:19).

According to Chakrabarty et al. (2012:2), Gillborn, Rollock, Vincent and Ball (2012) demonstrate an intersectional approach to CRT through a large-scale study interrogating Black middleclass parents' experience of racism as it impacts on their children in UK schools. The article critiques the current focus of UK educational policy on the white working class with its implicit 'intersecting raced, classed and gendered inequalities that shape the experiences of too many parents and children'. Against the dominant discourse of White pupils in general and more specifically White working class boys as the demographic most at risk of academic failure at the time of publication, Vincent et al. (2012) utilised CRT to demonstrate the persistent patterns of race inequality that still exists in Britain's educational institutions. The authors suggest that race inequality has been made invisible in policy agendas because it is absent from debates despite the fact that White pupils outperform most minority pupils in educational outcomes. Vincent et al. (2012) argue that by placing 'poor White people' at the centre of the attainment debate, politicians and commentators seem to be concerned with issues of social justice but the negative discourse of low aspirations allows them to victimise the people they purport to support by suggesting that success and failure are a function of family and or community characteristics.

In utilising CRT and focusing on the experiences of a Black middleclass, the

authors indicated that this was a rejection of White people as the normative centre for analysis, therefore CRT enabled them to privilege the voices of people of colour. Vincent et al. (2012:125) note:

...we build on the CRT tenet that scholarship should accord a central place to experiential knowledge of people of colour as means of better understanding and combating race inequity in education (Delgado and Stefancic 2001) and (Gillborn (2008).

In addition, the authors contended that placing a Black middleclass at the heart of their study was important because an analysis of data suggests that:

...racism remains a potent force in education; social class advantage (including material wealth and possession of middle-class cultural and social capital that are valuable in interactions with schools) does not provide an automatic ticket to success; and, in particular, parental expectations cannot be assumed to be the predominant cause of underachievement in a system where the expectations of White teachers continue to exert enormous influence.

The section on CRT in the UK briefly explores ways in which some scholars are using CRT in the UK. Those mentioned demonstrated in their writings the various ways in which CRT can be used to focus on issues of race and racialization in the UK. Issues explored by the authors include 'race', sport and leisure, Black intellectuals and the role of race and the operation of race in debate around class and education. According to Chakrabarty et al. (2012), these new perspectives on CRT offer insights into the crucial area of race. CRT critics such as those discussed above, who took the view that CRT may not be apt in a UK context given that it was originally developed as a critique of the US legal system, I would argue are misguided in their assumptions. In my opinion, one of the greatest assets of CRT is its ability to transcend borders. Roberts

(no date:online) suggests that CRT is able to reach 'into and out of the academy to disrupt fixed categories to bring into relief that which may not be seen or missed.' CRT is borderless. It can transcend space and time because it has the ability similar to a microscope to focus in and magnify structures and issues of race, racism, inequality and power. It particularly focuses on structures that are based on White privilege that perpetuates the marginalization of ethnic minority groups. Similar to the US, the UK is a White dominant society based on inequitably structures and as in the US, CRT can be used in the UK to highlight inequity in institutional structures. CRT is a dynamic perspective that is able to "fit" into any genre being studied. For instance, it can be used to examine the relationship between race and the criminal justice system, race in sports or education, race and the media, and issues of race in mental health diagnosis. CRT can be used to confront issues of race and racism wherever they exist.

Sampling Methods

'Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g., people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen' (Trochim 2002:online). According to this definition it is evident that it is not essential to collect data from everyone in the population to get valid results. In qualitative research only a subset (small sample) of a population is ever chosen for a study, even single cases; what is important are the research aims, size and diversity of the research population as these determine which and how many individuals are chosen (e.g. Mack et al. 2005) and (Baker and Edwards no date:online).

In this section I briefly discuss two of the most common sampling methods and then outline the sampling method for this study.

Random Sampling

Random sampling is an example of probability sampling. Each member of the population has an equal chance of being chosen to participate in the research. It is clearly stated by Patton (2002:230) that the logic and power of random sampling is derived from statistical probability theory'. He argues that a random and statically representative sample allows 'confident' generalisation to the larger population. It also controls selectivity errors, ensuring a non-bias process. In this form of sampling method, the size of the sample is determined by the optimum number required to enable valid inferences to be made about the population, however the larger the sample size, the lesser the chance of sampling error. Nonetheless the optimum sample size depends on the limitations of the event being studied, for example the frequency of the event or the anticipated size of differences in outcomes between groups.

Purposeful or Purposive Sampling

Consistent with Bryman (2012:418), most sampling in qualitative research entails purposive sampling, that is, the sampling is carried out paying attention to the research question and aims, so that units of analysis can be selected in reference to given criteria, ensuring the research question is answered. Purposive sampling is a non-probability method unlike random sampling. The aim of this form of sampling is to select cases/participants in a strategic way, so that participants are relevant to the research question. Researchers will often choose a range of participants so that individuals differ from each other in terms of certain characteristics, e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, etc. In terms of generalisability, purposive sampling does not allow for this, as it is a non-probability sampling method. Sample size, which may be determined before data collection depends on the available resources e.g. time and the research aims.

The differences in these two forms of sampling methods lie in their foundations of being situated in two separate camps of research philosophy. Random sampling with its scientific background is evidently within the positivist tradition

whereas purposive sampling lies in the constructivist enclave. As with a positivist view, random sampling is traditionally used with quantitative methodology in order to better generalise about the population being studied. Purposive sampling uses qualitative research methods, as there is no such burden on it to generalise findings; its purpose is derived from in-depth understanding.

For this study a purposive sampling approach was used to select African Caribbean heritage individuals with attendance and qualifications from further education colleges. In developing the work from the pilot study eighteen individuals were interviewed – seven of whom were interviewed with a specific focus on their social positioning because the intention was to investigate how Black individuals situate themselves within the British class structure, however as mentioned previously, this was not pursued as the individuals were reluctant to locate themselves within the British class structure, therefore not all participants stories were utilised in the main study (see participants profiles). The participants were identified through various networks including personal access to African Caribbean Communities, my role as a teacher and what could be termed 'snowball referrals' (e.g. Atkinson and Flint 2001). Due to the snowballing effect one individual who offered to participate in the study did not fit the original criterion of being African Caribbean heritage in that his ancestral ties are directly linked to Africa. He became involved in the study as a process of investigating parents' access to community resources. As Denzin et al. (2005) notes, when sampling methods are employed in qualitative research, they produce dynamic moments when unique social knowledge of interactional quality can be fruitfully generated. The intention was to access participants from one GFE College in Manchester but as referrals were made, participants were drawn from two other GFE colleges and two 6th Form colleges in Greater Manchester. The same process and an additional criterion of holding an occupation considered 'middle class' was envisioned but some parents who were interviewed as a process of investigating the use of community social wealth did not hold occupations within the 'middle class' classification, therefore this

criterion was dropped from the main study.

Data Acquisition and Analysis

According to Bryman (2012: 5), 'the theories that social scientists employ to help to understand the social world have an influence on what is researched and how the findings of research are interpreted. Ritchie and Lewis (2005) acknowledged that there is no one definite mode of doing qualitative research. How researchers, however, carry it out depends on several factors including their ontological and epistemological positions, the purpose and goals of the research, the characteristics of the participants and the audience for the research. A qualitative approach was followed for the purpose of this study.

There is no one absolute definition of qualitative research but, Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 3) defined it as:

a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices...turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memo to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Other scholars support some of the key defining qualities highlighted by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), mainly that qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretive approach concerned with understanding the meaning that people attach to events within their social worlds. The intention of this study was to examine successful African Caribbean heritage individuals' learning identities and the

cultural assets mediating learning; thus it might be said that this study has adopted an appropriate methodology to capture these phenomena.

Models of Data Acquisition

In this section I discuss conventions about knowledge that can control diverse techniques for collecting data from individuals. In discussing these techniques, the intention is not to view them as all encompassing but rather to present a view of how data collection methods might reveal the epistemology and anthropological position of the researcher. Three types of data collection models as identified by Ryan (2006) are discussed below:

Information-extraction Model

In this model the researcher takes on the active role of questioner and the participant, the passive role. The objective of this technique is to collect comparable data from different participants in a manner so that it can be easily coded and quantified. According to the author 'most questionnaires and some kinds of interviews can be described as operating within an information-extraction mode/ (Ryan 2006:75). In using this model standardised questions are asked in a predetermined order, the interviewer does not get involved (aside from asking questions) as this might bias following responses; most importantly interviewers do not express their own views, even if they consider this would encourage the interviewee to say more.

The Shared-understanding Model

This model emerged as a result of criticisms labelled at the previous model. Like the information extraction model, the interview is seen as the most appropriate means of collecting data. However this model differs in that the interviewer is permitted to interact with the interviewee, that is, the researcher attempts to gain understanding of how the participants experience aspects of their lives, the world and other people through active participation. 'The interview is construed

as an interpersonal situation and it is recognised that the interviewer's characteristics, sensitivity and other qualities are likely to affect what is said' (Ryan 2006:77); although the researcher is expected to bracket off his/her perceptions. In conducting this type of research the interview should be semi-structured, to be used as a guide rather than having predetermined questions. The interviewer approaches the interview with an open mind and is allowed to pursue lines of questioning introduced by the participants.

The Discourse Model

This model views the gathering of data as a process of on-going interaction between individuals or group through the medium of language. The assumptions underlying this model are that the researcher and the researched have active roles: there is no assumption that the researcher should be detached (as in the information extraction model); or can bracket off his/her perceptions (as in the shared-understanding model); an inescapable subjectivity is assumed. Similarly, the researcher may significantly impact the dialogue by drawing on his/her experience, however not at the expense of overshadowing the participants. In addition the power dynamics established partly by social and or professional position and the research question, will affect how and what is said. Most significantly in this model, meaning and experience are thought to be formed, not merely articulated or reported through the discourse that takes place.

Conventions of this model are that the interviewer enters into conversation with the participants, even talking about his/her experience; exploration of new themes that emerged during the conversation is encouraged although a focus normally exists beforehand. Cross-connections may evolve, that is subsequent interviews may utilise knowledge gained from previous interviews; In terms of power relations, the researcher can re-arrange this between participants (focus groups) with the aim of establishing equality or collaborative relationship, as in memory work (Stephenson et al. 1996). The intention of this is to eliminate the

unequal relations between the researcher and participants. An active interviewer 'intentionally provokes responses by indicating – even suggesting – narrative positions, resources, orientations and precedents' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:123). The researcher or focus group leader subtly encourages participants to shift positions, in order to explore different perspectives, inconsistencies, and ambiguities. The idea of shifting positions demonstrates how an individual can have diverse ways of interpreting experience. This is evidently different from the assumption in the information-extraction model that one factual interpretation of experience exists within an individual.

In connection with this research, the method I have adopted for data acquisition is mostly aligned with the discourse model, although I would not claim a perfect fit, more of a straddling of the margins. This model clearly fits within the constructivist notion of social research, unlike the information-extraction model that sits within the positivists' camp and the shared understanding that appears to overlap the two. It allows the gathering of data through interviews or focus group with the interaction between researcher and participants informing the data attesting to a subjective position on data collection. The juncture where my model and that of the discourse model diverge, is the extent to which I believe the researcher should influence the participants i.e. encourage the participants to shift position although I can see the value in enabling this stance. Adopting the stance of the discourse model might enable the researcher to dissuade the participants from a particular point of view and or persuade them to provide data that fit with the research aims and or questions. However, I believe this would limit the gathering of rich and complex data whilst narrowing the possibilities of the study. Equally, this is not in keeping with narrative inquiry or CRT that centralises the participant's voice; they are the storyteller and the researcher a good listener.

Hollway and Jefferson (2000:31), state, '...the [narrative] researcher's responsibility is to be a good listener and the interviewee is a storyteller rather than a respondent'. This suggests that the researcher's purpose is to listen and

follow lines of emerging questions rather than to influence the participants in re-telling their stories, as is suggested in the discourse model. In addition, it is difficult to envisage a shift in the alleged power positions of the researcher and the participants unless the participants are encouraged to understand that they have the power; it is their stories that are being told and they are the experts in the telling. That being said, how the stories are interpreted is within the power and control of the researcher. Taking the stance of the discourse model might also lead to questions of bias and validity.

The pilot study utilised both interview and focus group for data acquisition. The focus group was used in an attempt to validate preliminary themes that emerged from the individual interviews and to gather a wider perspective on the subject being studied. The main study continues to use interview but the focus group method was discontinued.

Reliability

Lack of reliability is a criticism that has been directed towards qualitative research, but Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate a shift from scientific judgements to the notion of dependability and credibility. The notion of dependability stresses the need for the researcher to explain any changes to the study (see chapter 2) and how these may have impacted the research whilst validity relies on establishing that the results of the research are believable from the perspectives of the participants as only they can rightfully judge the credibility of the results.

Data Acquisition Techniques

According to Bryman (2012:13), 'the collection of data can entail different sorts of approaches in terms of how structured or open-ended the implementation of the methods are'. Mason and Dale (2011:18) acknowledged that: 'whether one is judging the ontological appropriateness of data produced in a research study or making decisions about the kinds of data to generate...the issues in how ontology, data and knowledge connect are of crucial importance'. They further indicate that how data is analysed, 'how they are taken to mean something significant' is also an essential consideration. In keeping with a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews and observational field notes were the techniques of choice for this study.

The term interview has been utilised to signify a range of different methods of data acquisition (Arskey and Knight 1999) and it has been argued (Kvale 1996) that they are all forms of social interaction in which knowledge develops through purposeful discourse. Bryman (2012:469) states that, 'the interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research'. The pilot study was conducted using semi-structured interviewing and observational fields notes as the purpose was to delve beyond superficial responses in order to obtain 'true' meanings that individuals give to events and often complex attitudes,

behaviours and experiences. Semi-structured interviewing was used as it enabled participants to tell their own stories in their own words whilst allowing the researcher opportunities to pursue lines of questioning that emerged during the interview. Semi-structured interviews can also produce rich, detailed data for analysis, as is the intention of qualitative research. Fielding and Thomas (2001) indicate that semi structured interviewing is suitable when the researcher has some knowledge of what is happening within the sample in relation to the research topic. They however, caution that the researcher should be mindful of loss of meaning as a consequence of imposing a standard way of asking questions.

Observation

Patton (2002) contends that ... observation of the phenomenon of interest might be the best research method to gain an insight into the complexities of many situations. In observational method (sometimes referred to as field observation) human behaviour is closely observed in a natural setting. Two types of observation have been identified:

Participant observation

This model refers to a form of sociological research methodology in which the researcher takes on a role in the social setting under observation. The researcher immerse him/herself in the situation under study, getting to understand the key performers either though covert (the researcher participate without giving the participants reasons for his/her presence) or overt (the researcher gives reasons for his/her presence) means. However the degree of involvement depends on the nature and situation of the study. The objective is to discover the nature of social reality by understanding the subjects' perceptions in order to give an authentic account of that social world.

Non-participant Observation

The researcher is merely an observer and no direct involvement occurs in the event being observed. It can either be disclosed or undisclosed as in the participant observation. The key advantage of this method is, subjects are not aware of being observed and thus will act more realistically. However, the researcher has no control, because how people act may not necessarily reflect how they feel and informed consent is difficult to obtain.

Given the particular aims of the research, a semi-structured qualitative interview was considered the natural choice, as a level of structure was important to ensure the principal requirements of the research aims were addressed; yet flexibility was needed to uncover the experiences of individual participants within the British Educational System and society as a whole. Observation was necessary in order to address the phenomenon of 'racial identity development' as described by Tatum (2003:online). I initially acted as a non-participant observer so that I could observe the event of Black students sitting together in the public spaces of a college. However, in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, it was necessary to interact with individuals who were happy to disclose their reasons for sitting together in the cafeteria and other public spaces. None participants observation was important in this context because it assisted in identifying the phenomena described by Tatum (2003) without the researcher influencing individual's decision to sit together. However, it was equally important for the researcher to interact with participants in order to obtain authentic reasons why they congregate together in racial groups in the public spaces of the college.

For the pilot study, data was collected as noted above through observational field notes and semi-structured interviews with the sessions tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The recordings were listened to twice, transcribed, listened to again whilst reading the transcript; any missing words or phrase were added to the transcription. In the main study, the recordings were listened to twice and notes made, rather than full transcription in order to ease the pressure and minimise the time it took to transcribe the interview data, as each

transcription could take up to two or three days to transcribe verbatim. During the observation process I was particularly interested in how Black students interacted with each other and with their White counterparts in an attempt to find out if they separate into distinct racial groups or if there were more inclusive interactions occurring. This I hoped would illuminate whether Black students need to create their own space in order to facilitate and explore positive identity.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of examining all the information and evaluating the relevant information that can be helpful in better decision-making (Sivia and Skilling, 2006). Patton (2002:452) states, 'qualitative analysis transforms data into findings; no formula exists for this transformation, only guidance...'. Data analysis can be achieved by using various tools and methods including, statistical test, descriptive method and interpretations of interviews and case studies; thus developing the results out of the gathered information.

During the pilot study, data analysis was developed utilising Denzin's (2001), interpretive interactionist model of bracketing, construction and contextualisation of data, in an attempt to identify commonalities and differences in the ways individuals experience learning and with the intention of preserving the richness and individuality of each participant's experience. However, Denzin's (2001) notion of bracketing suggests that the researcher must compartmentalise his/her prior knowledge in order not to influence analysis through his/her subjective reading of the data, thus producing objective analyses. This is a challenging prospect as in my opinion, without the use of prior knowledge, reading the data becomes problematic. Problematic in that without prior knowledge, the data has no meaning because it is through our understanding of social interactions and meaning making that we are able to make sense of data in order to turn it into meaningful information. What one knows can be combined with new data to develop new theories and knowledge, thus leading to alternative insights. Bracketing is also not congruent with the

tenet of CRT that suggests a subjective approach to data analysis and as the intention was to employ CRT as a lens, Denzin's (2001) notion was not operationalized in the main study. Instead CRT along with intersectionality was utilised as lenses through which the experiences of African Caribbean heritage individuals were examined in order to discover commonalities and differences in the stories they tell. Intersectionality was particularly beneficial in highlighting how one form of oppression was shaped by and shapes other forms of oppression in the lives of the participants. For example, it assisted in deconstructing the ways in which racism was gendered and how Black women's experiences were racialised in contrast to White women's experiences.

Chapter 4 - Identity, Blackness and Learning

This assumption that of all the hues of God whiteness alone is inherently and obviously better than brownness or tan leads to curious acts ...

But what on earth is whiteness that one should so desire it?" Then always, somehow, some way, silently but clearly, I am given to understand that whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen! Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (2005:online) [originally published 1920]

Introduction – Identity(ies)

Identity is frequently discussed in the social sciences and society in general and in educational institutions scholars have dedicated much time in exploring and writing about the notion of identity development, with some presenting Black individuals as having a collective identity (see for example Ogbu 2004).

Stereotypes about Black individuals and culture are often levied on Black people with the media and popular press playing a significant role in perpetrating these stereotypes. 'Black students are rarely exposed to academic work related to Black experiences and must construct their identities from the raw and flawed racial stereotypes portrayed in the media and popular culture (Adams 2005). In the classroom and British society on a whole, Black children have to grapple with negative stereotypes about Black culture and identity(ies) directly or indirectly and this can influence academic outcomes. Equally, educational establishments can overlook the dynamics of identity(ies) that entail the fluid characteristics of cultural and social identities.

The term 'identity' is used here within a social representation theory framework as presented in the works of Duveen (1993) based on the notion that people

have various conceivable identities which allow the positioning of themselves in different ways in relation to the symbolic field of culture. These personas adopted by individuals aid in the structuring of their social world; to situate themselves within this domain. Accordingly, social representations provide both the meanings attached to an object as well as the proximity concerning that object. Thus meanings and positions are the two components of social identities (Duveen and Lloyd, 1990). Within this context, social identities 'reflect individuals' efforts to locate themselves in their societies in relation to the social representations of their societies' (Duveen and Lloyd 1986: 220). That is to say, identities can be interpreted as positions in relation to social representations since individuals make sense of themselves and their experiences by challenging and reconstructing social representations (Duveen, 1993, 2001; Duveen and Lloyd, 1986).

Identity(ies) and Achievement/Underachievement

As I have argued, the identities of African Caribbean heritage children in learning environments have been formulated and reformulated as one of problem and failure. In particular boys are located as the 'problem demographic' – serving to render girls invisible in the discourses. In the past, research investigating the experiences of African Caribbean heritage children's learning in the British educational system has frequently utilised the term 'underachievement'. This term however, has been criticised by scholars such as (Wright 1987) who argues that the word has come to be understood as signalling pervasive failure amongst African Caribbean heritage children. Wright (1987) suggests that the concept of educational disadvantage or inequality, best describes the educational experiences of these learners. Gillborn (1990) also suggests that the term 'underachievement' is counter-productive as it locates the issue within individuals whilst ignoring the role of the education system. In a similar vein, Troyna (1984) argues that the use of the word 'underachievement' shifts the onus from the British educational system to students and their families, rather

than highlighting the system's inadequacy in supporting the needs of African Caribbean heritage children.

Consequently, many scholars now writing on issues of race and gender inequalities in education have turned to the concepts of inequality of achievement or the lack of opportunity in assessing African Caribbean children's educational experiences. The turn to inequalities indicates that rather than inherent deficit within African Caribbean heritage children and their families, it is a case of discrimination (Gillborn and Gipps (1996); Archer and Francis (2007)).

This is not a case of which terminology is appropriate, 'underachievement' or 'inequality', but rather more of an opportunity to refocus the debate in the possibility of bridging the gap. Archer and Francis (2007) point out that policy discourses are infused with notions of underachievement to the extent that there has been an inclination to either play down race and gender inequalities in achievement or to locate differential patterns in academic achievement within African Caribbean heritage children and their families. In this regard, it could be argued that educational policies and practices are linked to notions of domination both in the microenvironment – educational establishments and the macro environment – that is, British society. This point is in keeping with Bourdieu's (1990, 1997) debate on class and education and Yosso's (2005) discussion of cultural capital (see chapter 7).

The identity(ies) and academic under achievement of African Caribbean heritage young people in British schools have been one of the most contentious and I would argue, misinterpreted areas of inquiry in educational research for almost fifty years. On a theoretical level, some scholars researching in this area have repeatedly utilised deficit models to articulate the rationales for the continued underperformance; deficit models such as locating the problem within African Caribbean heritage children and the home environment (Goldman and Taylor 1966); (Rutter et al. 1974); (Driver 1982); and (Green 1985). Other classroom and school based studies (Mac an Ghail 1988), (Wright 1992) and (Gillborn and

Youdell 2000). These studies indicate that African Caribbean heritage children experienced disproportionately high amounts of control and criticism from White teachers. Assumptions generated by the deficit models may have also contributed to harsher sanctions, such as school exclusion (Gillborn and Gipps 1996); (Gillborn and Mirza 2000); (Wright et al. 2000) and Department of Education and Skills (2003). Hunte (2004) suggests the schooling experiences of African Caribbean heritage children are to be blamed for the underachievement.

Malde (2005), focusing on higher education investigated black male under representation and underachievement and noted that unlike previous researchers who mentioned one principal reason for Black academic under representation and underachievement, there were several factors of equal importance that contributed. In his paper he cited four separate but interrelated factors – curriculum and teaching problems, a lack of role models, cultural issues and racism. Malde (2005) indicates that these four factors have various levels of influence depending on an individual's situation.

Within an American (USA) context, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) cite oppositional identity, the 'burden of acting White', as one explanation for the continued educational gap between African American students and White students.

This notion is discussed in this chapter in connection with African Caribbean heritage children in the UK, in order to assess whether an oppositional identity might impact academic attainment for British children. This chapter also investigates identity at the micro level – that is self-identity, through the narration of the individual participants and contrasts it with discourses of Black identity at a macro level i.e. in spaces of learning. That is, the intention is to illuminate what it means to be Black for various individuals; whether their ideas of blackness coincide or contrast with theories and prevailing assumptions in the wider society, and the role these identities perform in enabling or disqualifying Black individuals from attaining academic success.

To Be or Not to Be? – Black (British) Identity

Being Black and living in a dominant White society means constructing different personal identities including cultural, spacial and national. Defining these identities is a concern for many Black people as these identities can determine personal trajectories, social standing and cultural group status. Since identities operate within history, our understanding of one's identity[ies] and the context is subject to construction and reconstruction (Hung, Lim and Jamaludin 2010). In this regard, identity is in a constant flux or changes based on the circumstances in which individuals are involved. Nevertheless, in many situations, the identities ascribed to Black individuals are not of self but attributed by the dominant population (this is discussed further in the chapter).

In a 21st Century Britain, popular conceptions of blackness are reconstructed as being synonymous with gun and knife crime (Palmer 2010) – articulated as being outside of the 'normal British experience'. This reconstruction presupposes an intentional self-destructive and violent culture where the discourse in the media is 'Black on Black' violence. Former Labour Party leader and Prime Minister, Tony Blair attributed the causes of knife and gun crime in London to a 'distinctive Black culture'. He noted:

When are we going to start saying this is a problem amongst a section of the Black community and not, for reasons of political correctness, pretend that this is nothing to do with it?... We need to stop thinking of this as a society that has gone wrong – it has not – but of specific groups that for specific reasons have gone outside of the proper lines of respect and good conduct towards others and need specific measures to be brought back into the fold [online].

According to the report, Mr Blair, when questioned later, acknowledged the role of economic factors but at the same time placed the responsibility for knife crimes in the homes of Black families. He is reported to have said,

Economic inequality is a factor and we should deal with that, but I don't think it's the thing that is producing the most violent expression of this social alienation ... I think that is to do with the fact that particular youngsters are being brought up in a setting that has no rules, no discipline, [and] no proper framework around them [online].

In this context, Black identity is depicted not only as self-destructive but also anarchistic and laissez-faire, attitudes that are both culturally and racially positioned. When prominent people, especially in the dominant culture speak in such a manner, others listen and may believe such pronouncements, not only of those who are spoken of but of all Black people in Britain. Comments such as the quotes above by Tony Blair are not helpful in addressing issues of inequalities and racism in society but serve to further endorse the notion of a homogeneous Black identity based on external features and a shared culture. Similarly, he invokes the stereotypical concept of Black children growing up in single parent families that are deficient in morals and lack the intelligence to instil discipline in these children. This Black identity articulated by Tony Blair depicts one that is outside the 'normative' White identity(ies) and is therefore, deviant, alien and undesirable. The integration of minority ethnic groups into 'mainstream British culture' is peddled in reactionary eruptions as the antidote to protect the integrity of Britain and British values (Palmer 2010). This suggests a notion of 'Britishness' that everyone in a society should buy into, including those who have been dehumanised and depicted as deficient, deviant and disgusting. Hesse in Hinet et al. 2009:292, suggests Black individuals are routinely expected to demonstrate national allegiances while living with unreliable citizenship rights and recognition, and [are] subject to the ever present risks of institutional racism.'

Consider also, the notion of Britishness – according to Owen (2013) the model of a nation state presupposes that its population conveys a nation, unified by a common language, common descent and various forms of shared culture. He further suggests that where the unity did not exist the state tries to create it through its national systems of compulsory education and national curriculum. Owen went on to cite a research study (Ethnos 2005), authorised by the then Commission for Racial Equality in debunking the idea of a national identity. He suggests that this concept is 'extremely nebulous'. That is the notion of Britishness is very fluid in that it can be associated with diverse meanings, which can sometimes be contradictory. Condor, Gibson and Abell (2006) note that the concept of Britishness has been used in political discourse, in celebratory justification of British 'unity in diversity', in which cultural diversity is presented as a post-Imperial phenomenon as well as an enduring aspect of 'our' way of life. They however, indicate that the concept of a homogeneous British identity is doubtful and that there are contested interpretations of identity varying from friends and family to an externally imposed category of empire, independent ethnic preference or citizenship duty.

Black Identity(ies): A Detour through Toni Morrison's Tar Baby

Hall (2000) notes that blackness as a political identity is complexly composed, always historically constructed and is never in the same place. In his (1993: 223) essay, he considered the nature of the 'black subject' who is represented in film and other visual media. Hall (2000) suggests that cultural identity should be thought of as a 'production' that is never complete and always in process rather than as an already accomplished fact. He reports that there are two different ways of viewing cultural identity: Firstly there is the traditional model that sees it as 'oneness', a type of collective 'one true self' involving a shared history and culture. The second identity he theorised acknowledges that as well as the various themes of similarities, there are also critical points of deep and

significant differences, which constitute what we really are; or because of the intervention of history, 'what we have become'.

We [Caribbean people] cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side – the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the Caribbean's uniqueness". From this perspective cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming as well as being' (Hall 1993: 225).

Hall's argument is that cultural identity is context based, historical as well as futuristic, is continually developing, always in process, and entailing a splitting of the human subject and a lack of completion. He argues that identities are constructed through and not outside differences and they emerge within specific formulations of power with the results being the making of difference and exclusion.

Morrison's (1981) *Tar Baby* similarly, offers insights into two models of Black identities - although the central theme of the novel is the conflict between traditionalist and modernist views of gender, the sub text focuses on the nature of diasporic identities. Morrison (1981) utilises the characters of Son in juxtaposition with Jadine. Son is a male traditionalist who represents the essentialist view of Black identity. For the traditionalist, Black identity is uniform authentic and everlasting. Jadine, by contrast, is an ultra-modern young woman who rejects the view of a uniform diaspora. She does not conform nor subscribe to any traditions. For Jadine, identity is fractured and fraught with conflict.

Morrison's (1981) *Tar Baby* investigates and depicts the complexities of issues such as power, the binary relationship of Black and White and the expectations of gender roles in a modern society. She illustrates how these factors intersect and problematise the notion of a Black identity. This novel is based on contentions and conflicts surrounding the traditional and modern concepts of

race, class and gender. It questions the notion of equal opportunities, which is a virtual truth in American and [British] society (Ravichand 2013). A virtual truth in that, in a society such as Britain where inequality is enshrined in its unwritten constitution, equal opportunity is little more than an image management tool – it is non-performative, merely window dressing. Equal opportunities policies are used to indicate that particular organisations do not have any issues with race and racism. The UK's constitution is frequently described as an 'unwritten constitution', but it is best described as 'partly written and wholly uncodified' (Budge et al. 2007:77). This is because the British constitution is derived from several sources rather than one single document. As a case in point, the constitution can originate from laws passed by the UK's Parliament; laws such as the 1707 Act of the Union that unified England, Scotland and Wales and conventions that the monarch sign Acts of Parliament despite the fact that Parliament has sovereign authority. Under parliamentary sovereignty, the government of the day can make, repeal or modify any law as one government is not bound by decisions of its predecessors nor can it bind its successors. Parliament has supreme authority despite Britain having a Supreme Court. The judges of the Supreme Court do not have power to overturn laws made in parliament, but rather it can interpret the law(s) as unfair or unconstitutional as in the case of a law to detain foreign terrorist suspects without trial. The Supreme Court ruled that this law broke human rights laws but the detainees had to remain in detention until the law was reviewed in Parliament (BBC 4 2012). As Britain's 'unwritten constitution' is historically founded on socio-economic White dominated class and patriarchal system of governance, that is a capitalist system, this system is deemed to be symbolic of inequalities such as race and gender.

Tar baby demonstrates the loss of African history, culture and traditions for both African Caribbean and African American people, thus a loss of authentic cultural identity; until all that remain is an identity marked as Black and the signifier of an African heritage. The context of the novel is an international scene of wealth and high society as represented by Valerian Street, an industrialist and his wife

Margaret; as well as the lowly positions of many of the Black characters i.e. characters such as Sydney and Ondine who are servants in the Street's household, and Son a character with no home of his own. Then there is Jadine, Sydney and Ondine's niece who lives in the Street's home and works for Margaret Street. The Streets paid for her education in America and the Sorbonne in Paris. In addition, she has a career in the exclusive world of the fashion industry and her picture has adorned the title page of Elle magazine. It could be said that Jadine has 'made it' in the White world, more than that she has overcome the White notion of beauty by gracing the title page of Elle magazine.

Morrison's (1981) protagonists also debated the idea of the individual versus the community she/he belongs to. In their first encounter the question of 'belonging' and 'place' came to the fore for Jadine and Son. Jadine refers to herself and the Streets as 'us,' to which Son responds, 'us? You call yourself us? ... But you're not a member of the family. I mean you don't belong to anybody here, do you?' To which Jadine replies, 'I belong to me. But I live here' (Morrison 1981: 118). She then discusses her work as a private secretary for Margaret Street and then talks about her remaining relatives, Sydney and Ondine. The order in which Jadine narrates her identities suggest that she sees herself as an individual firstly, 'I belong to me', secondly, she is a private secretary and thirdly, a family member, indicating that she prioritises individuality above being a family (community) member and thus the notion of 'one' Black identity does not fit with Jadine's description of herself.

By deconstructing the hierarchies of power and place, Morrison (1981) demonstrates that race as well as place matter when determining Black identity by showing the conflict between the African Caribbean and African American characters. She utilises two different genres of writing to depict the tension between mythical and realist models of diasporic identities, the mythical model upholding the figment of unity whilst the realist model depicts the true fracture that exists within diverse Black people. Morrison's (1981) depictions destabilise

the essentialist view of race as homogeneous; she shows how race is only one facet of the diamond that comprises Black identity. Furthermore, she demonstrates that there can be no certainty when discussing the notion of race and identity because everything that looks authentic and stable can just as easily be viewed as artifice and fractured.

Both Hall (1993) and Morrison (1981) demonstrate that the idea of an authentic Black identity is an uncertain concept because identity is complex and problematic. For them, cultural identity is not stable but is continually shifting and fractured. They note that there is no one authentic cultural identity but multiple identities centring on place, time and space. Hall (1993) suggests that identity is based on the colonial past as well as the global future, whilst Morrison (1981) notes that identity is about home and a sense of belonging despite the fact that she depicts Jadine as an African American woman who does not identify herself in connection with her African American origins, or by the place in which she was born. Jadine is depicted as a self-sufficient and self-confident young woman who lives according to her upbringing and her European education. On encountering Son, however, a homeless and jobless individual who longs for home and a place to belong, Jadine begins to question her identity i.e. this encounter brings about a fracture in her identity. She realises that there is no 'one' unified self – there is no ... 'just me' but numerous me(s), both public and private. For these authors, Black identity is about hardship, pain and conflict; it is also about making a choice to be an individual or to be part of a community.

The Oppositional Identity Thesis

From an historical perspective, analyses of Black racial identity development have acknowledged that identity and blackness can impact academic achievement. However, many of the studies are centred on African American research on academic performance (Rowley, et al. 1989); (Fordham and Ogbu 1986); (Phinney et al. 1997); (Sellers, Chavous and Cooke, 1998); (Phinney 1998) cited in Tatum (2004); (Sewell 1997) and (Battu, Mwale and Zenou 2007).

Within a British context Sewell (1997) alludes to the oppositional identity thesis in his study of 'Township School' (see discussion below). Youdell (2004) investigated the racialization of Black male pupils in London where she critically engages with the supposed conflict between black boys learner identities and their sub-cultural identities (see discussion below). Similarly, Battu et al. (2005) investigated the notion of oppositional identities and the labor market. In their study, '*Oppositional Identities and the Labor Market*,' they found that interacting with Whites is beneficial for non-whites because non-white workers may benefit from the 'high quality' of Whites' social networks since Whites do not experience discrimination. They also suggest that depending on peer group pressure some non-whites select to adopt 'oppositional' identities by rejecting White's culture even though they know that this choice will decrease their chance of being employed. These indicate that race still plays a significant role in determining BME people's socio-economic conditions in Britain.

The oppositional identity thesis explanation by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) for the persistent gap in racialised underachievement in school performance suggests that individuals (such as African Caribbean heritage and African American children) from historically marginalised groups signal their resistance to the dominant group through resisting schools' objectives as they view school as non-conducive to equal economic outcomes. That is, they reject schools as a space for positive learning because in the end, they (Black individuals) do not

enjoy equivalent occupational outcomes comparable to that of their White counterparts, and therefore disengage with learning, thus underperform on tests. In contrast, the dominant group and other "Invisible" minorities (see chapter 2) (such as Chinese children) remain optimistic regarding their chances for academic and occupational success; therefore, such groups engage with learning and thus succeed academically. Ogbu (1978:5) contend that there is a reciprocal relationship between the opportunities available to a minority group and the 'pattern of linguistic, cognitive, motivational and other school related skills they develop'. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) argue that African American students, in order to achieve academically, have to minimise their connection to their cultural backgrounds, thus increasing their chances of succeeding in academic institutions. That is to say, Black students have to become 'raceless' in order to be academically successful. The notion of racelessness stems from the suggestion that African American students, in order to be academically successful, must 'act White'. Racelessness according to Fordham (1988:57-58), is 'the desired and eventual outcome of developing a racelessness persona, and is either a conscious or unconscious effort on the part of ... students to disaffiliate themselves from the fictive-kinship system...' (The fictive kinship system will be discussed further in the chapter).

However, there are some questions that need to be asked. How does racelessness transform into 'acting White?' This suggests that White as raced is invisible and 'normal' whilst Black is abnormal and needs to be transformed before it can be accepted as 'normal' and successful. This idea also sends a broader message that implies that Black individuals, making the decision to 'go it alone' or give the appearance of going it alone run the risk of becoming "stateless", that is becoming isolated from the Black community and not belonging in the White community. Other debate surrounding this notion is whether racelessness as a concept could be a valid theory for reformulating Black identity. Is it possible to transcend the confines of race to a state of equal cohabitation? Is racelessness a means of deconstructing race without challenging racism? More importantly if raceless is a state of being, how does a

raceless individual deal with racism in his/her personal life?

The tenet of critical race theory (CRT) would suggest that 'racelessness' as a concept is an oxymoronic notion as 'race' is not a personal identifier but more about others' perceptions of Black individuals. CRT posits that racism is 'normal' and omnipresent to Black individuals as Whiteness is 'normal' to White individuals and therefore race is at the nucleus of any interaction between Black and White individuals. It suggests that racism is not a construct of individuals' minds but is embedded in social relationships, everyday practices and institutions, thus rendering the Black body hyper-visible. As Dumas (2013:114) states:

Differences such as social class, gender, ethnicity, and language are acknowledged, and understood as dimensions of intersectionality that impact how race shapes policy and everyday life; however, race is the primary object of analysis, and explanations of social phenomena are primarily offered through a racial lens.

That is, when utilising CRT as a lens, investigation is centred on understanding how race and racism are normalised in the formulation of social policy and how racist philosophies perform to establish and continually justify the political and moral 'rightness' of said policies. The notion of racelessness enables whiteness to remain 'normal', whilst obscuring the debates on racism. This, in effect feeds into the notion that racism is a thing of the past and that we now occupy a time of equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, gender or disabilities/abilities. It implies a 'buy-in' to the concept of race as an identifiable quantity, despite it being a social construct and not a biological truth. Grouping disparate people by pigmentation, I would suggest is as illogical as grouping them by the colour of their eyes. Nonetheless, because race is a social reality, many authors have treated it as a 'real' entity and therefore it (race) has left the realm of the mythical and entered the realness of British society. Racelessness as a concept

also implies that whiteness, as a racialised perception is a non-entity; an invisible phenomenon, since Fordham and Ogbu (1986) contend that, to be 'raceless' is to 'act White'. These ideas call into question the notions of blackness and whiteness; who can be racialised and who is doing the racialization. On the other hand, if minority individuals, like African Caribbean heritage persons commit to the notion of racelessness, what does it mean for those Black individuals in prominent positions in British society, the Black communities in Britain and the wider diaspora?

Black Identity in Learning Spaces - Why are all the Black Students Sitting Together in Educational Spaces?

Both Morrison (1981) and Hall (1993) suggest that place as well as race matter in the construction of a Black identity while Puwar (2004) indicates that space matters in the construction of a '*normal*' [emphasis added] identity. She indicated that whiteness is the normal attribute of bodies in many spaces, making blackness abnormal (see chapter 5 for further discussion).

Tatum (2003) asks; why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria, as this manifestation was observed in schools and colleges across America. She theorises that this was a coping strategy against racism that should be supported. Her argument is that, as adolescence is a time when teenagers are asking themselves 'who am I?' - especially Black children who ask who they are ethnically and what it means to be part of an ethnic group – this is a time they (Black children) embrace a phenomenon she called 'oppositional social identity'. This phenomenon manifests itself in the form of anger as these young people begin to experience racism; subsequently, they take on new personas. According to Tatum (2003: 60), an individual's persona might act as a barrier to 'protect one's identity from the psychological assault of racism and keeps (sic) the dominant group at a distance'. These young people adopt certain styles of dress, speech and music because they are intrinsically associated with blackness, whilst behaviours associated with Whiteness are viewed with disdain.

These individuals, whilst searching for a Black identity, congregate in the public spaces of educational establishments where they are observed with suspicion. Tatum (2003) claims this was a development strategy in response to racism in the environment. She contends that young Black people need their own racial group as they search for and discover their racial identity.

She also notes that this 'oppositional social culture' (see discussion above) has negative academic consequences for some of these young people because they view academic achievement as a White characteristic. Consequently, being smart becomes the opposite of being cool and these young people want to conform to their peers' notion of blackness. This micro-culture, Tatum (2003) argues, also cause conflict between the dominant group and the young Black people, because those in power cannot comprehend the need for the Black students to be together. Tatum (2003) wrote that some White people do not define themselves as 'White' when writing descriptive terms about themselves, while Black people normally use racial terms or ethnic identity descriptors. She argues that this is because White identity is the normalised mode of understanding, an axiomatic truth; whereas people who are defined as 'other', have no such taken for granted 'truths' about themselves. Attached to this normalisation of Whiteness is the notion of ... 'White Privilege', the unearned advantages of being White in a racially diverse society. Neville et al. (2001) identified this as an expression of institutional power that is unrecognised by most White individuals. Zetzer (2005) explains it as an institutional and individual manifestation of racism, however indirectly or unintentionally.

To access the phenomenon of the congregation of Black students in educational establishments, I observed the interactions of several groups of Black students in various settings in a college in Greater Manchester. What I observed concurs with Tatum's (2003) argument; there were Black students sitting together in the cafeterias, learning centres and classrooms. The follow narratives demonstrate this.

DD in a conversation regarding the composition of group dynamics in school and college suggested that although there was racial grouping, Black and White pupils tend to mix with each other, more than with Asian pupils who seemed to be more culturally orientated. He also revealed that his college was segregated to the extent that if you entered particular spaces you felt uncomfortable, as if you did not belong. He also narrated the same occurrence in the college that his friend attended. The following extracts illustrate his comments. I asked him if there was a difference in the cultural arrangements of students in college compared to school. He said that there were cultural groupings in school but not to the same extent as college.

Yes, in high school as well, em not to the extent of college though. In college there was like literally a whole section of the college where there was just Asian people, quad they called it, just Asian people. Sometimes you'd walk through there and just felt uncomfortable because it was as if you didn't belong there.

"Inside in the cafeteria you had the group where the Black people were, a big crowd of them would play cards or whatever and then everywhere else was kind of just White people"

"...in high school there was a big group of Black guys who walked round, big group of Black girls, then mixed group and there was White people; weren't too many Asian groups cause there weren't that many Asian people but er people kind a mixed and matched but in college, I was shocked."

DD also articulated his friends' experience at a different college.

... my friends told me about (name of college), in that they had literally, there was two floors of common rooms and they were like split so there was Africans on one side, Afro-Caribbean on another

side, upstairs you had the Asians on one side and the White people on the other side and that was just how it was. I think they actually remove the common rooms or something so everybody felt disorientated cause they didn't have their spot and that was, somebody said they went in there and it was like segregation...

I asked him why he thought college was so segregated and he said,

I'm not sure, em, but it might have to do with er, what we mentioned before, identity, (you becoming a (illegible) at that stage but it's more identifiable in college than it is in school.

This appears to be in keeping with Tatum's (2003) findings, that Black students gather together for purpose of racial identity maintenance and development. What is not clear, however, is whether it is a case of racial stressors or for convenience. To ascertain this, further studies into the phenomenon needs to be conducted. That being said, DD also suggests that in his friends' college the divide was so great that it was very noticeable, so the college authorities removed the common rooms – leaving people 'disoriented'. Perhaps students gathering together in common rooms, quads and cafeterias give them a sense of stability and ownership of particular spaces. This however, may lead to questions such as, if the purposes of schools and or colleges are to prepare individuals for citizenship and society, how do segregated spaces fit in with building citizenship? How does the segregation play out in the macro environment that is British society?

BH indicated that the dynamics of the workplace in which Black bodies are out of place serves to segregate Blacks and keep them apart from each other. His argument is that this is contrary to feeling connectedness from being human, as people tend to gravitate towards their own kind. This is not dissimilar to Tatum's (2003) notion discussed above. He also implied that Black bodies in an all White space have to go through a mind-altering process, be initiated into the cult of 'whiteness' before they can be accepted. If another Black body enters

the space, it disrupts the equilibrium; so the first Black body might try to avoid the second Black body because disrupting the space brings back memories of the mind-altering process. He remonstrated that being the only Black body in an all White environment meant you might challenge the everyday experiences of microaggression, (see chapter 5) but that it becomes wearing on the soul, so you would question if it was worth the constant battle. For BH, being in an all White environment is always a compromise, because Black people do not naturally 'fit in'. But to keep the peace, Black bodies almost have to become a '*Massa boy*' [emphasis added] to remain in employment. The following extract illustrates his assertions.

I think right you put em a number of people in a setting you will see that they will gravitate towards their own. Where there's less of that minority in there something else probably takes over and what happens, is it resonate on frequency because we all resonate on a frequency. When you meet someone you either get on or you don't or sometimes you'll say I like this person em or I dislike this person but I can't say why okay, but that is to do with something that we have no control over. (BH)

I've worked in an all White institution or environment whereby the Blacks are scattered but when you see then you look, but sometimes some of them are so conscious of what they went through - a kind of initiation process if you like, whereby they are accepted even though their colour don't seem to match, but when somebody else comes in similar colour to them, it recreates all that again and so they try and stay away [from the second Black body]. When I was the only Black person there, some people comment and say something stupid [incident of microaggression] and I have to put them straight and there's time when you think is it worth it? But then you become some kind of Massa boy, some kind of yes man and I'm not that at all, ... Sometimes you do want to fit

in but you know probably years ago I would try and sort of like keep the peace but now you're talking rubbish to me I'll deal with you; don't come to me with rubbish... That's the way it is. (BH)

BH's notion of '*Massa Boy*' is similar to the advice the narrator's Grandfather gave his son in Ralph Ellison's (1965) *Invisible Man* (see chapter 6). In Ellison's *Invisible Man* the narrator's Grandfather told his son the best way to succeed is to, 'overcome 'em with yesses, undermine em with grins, agree 'em to death and destruction, let 'em swoller you till they vomit or burst wide open' (1965: 17). Whilst this is a strategy for the Black body to survive racism, its impact on the Black body can be catastrophic because the Black body in essence must make him/herself invisible – in effect, become a 'raceless' persona to fit into an all White space. Not only that, it is up to the Black body to maintain a peaceful work environment or be labelled deviant and disruptive. BH's mind altering initiation process is akin to the assimilation ideology of the 1960s that first wave migrants and first generation Black children had to endure to survive school and the wider population as a whole. Assimilation (a pre cursor to 'raceless') is a process by which minority ethnic groups come to interact, free of the constraints of race, and/or culture, with the dominant group in a society. Complete assimilation, therefore means that no separate social structures based on racial or ethnic concepts remained as part of the assimilatee's identity. The assimilationists' ideology was centred on the misguided notion that Black culture is deficient or a threat to social order – which implies that if Black people gave up their deficient and inadequate cultures and assimilated into the 'monolithic' British culture, they would in all but colour become White and thereby acceptable (Brant 1986). The assimilation ideology was based on a liberal racism that implies that although Black people are not equal to Whites, if they assimilated and get absorbed in the fabric of British society, they may not continue to be problems but might even become equal to Whites. Colour, however proved to be an obstacle, even for those Black individuals who accepted the principle of 'assimilating whiteness'. During the 1960s Black people experienced widespread discrimination in terms of housing, employment

and social benefits. They experienced both physical and verbal racial attacks. Consequently, they had to develop resistance strategies to deal with the frequent, often violent racism in their everyday lives. To illustrate, the self-help movement, which provided a means of political activism was one of the most important trends within African Caribbean communities of the 1960s and early 1970s. African Caribbean communities across Britain had the aspiration to change the conditions of deprivation and discrimination in which most of them lived. Equally, central and local governments at that time, saw an opportunity to broaden their base of political support so attempts were made to address race relations.

Within African Caribbean communities however during the 1960s and 1970s some Black people distrusted the system of race relations and consequently, the self-help movement emerged as a source of support within these communities. As an illustration, the first African Caribbean Saturday school in London grew out of the self-help movement when African Caribbean families realised that their children were experiencing an inordinate amount of racism in mainstream schools. Equally, the partner system that still operates in many African Caribbean communities across Britain was implanted from the Caribbean in resistance to the lack of access to mainstream financial loans for Black individuals. The partner system operates on the basis of trust – it is an informal arrangement by a group of people (mainly women) who contribute a fixed amount each week to a savings and loan scheme. The banker distributes the total sum, known as ‘a hand’ – to each member of the scheme each week, in a prearranged order. The attractiveness of this scheme is that no interest is charged on the loan, so individuals pay back only the amount borrowed. This traditional means of borrowing is one way in which Black communities have sought to resist discrimination in British society and the credit market.

Black Identity in Learning Spaces - Fictive Kinship – A Safety Device or a Tool of Resistance?

The fictive-kinship system advocated by Fordham (1988, 1996) proposes that

there is a kinship like connection between and amongst a group of individuals within a society. These individuals are, however, not related by blood or marriage but have maintained reciprocal social, economic and political relationships. That is to say, these individuals have no blood or marital ties but have maintained a sense of a collective social identity or a sense of peoplehood as a consequence of their similar social, political and economic position. The term (kinship) is symbolic of a collective identity and conveys the notion of 'sisterhood' and 'brotherhood' of all African American, or of all Black people (Fordham 1996:56). Thus, to become raceless, is to deny this fictive, collective cultural identity and embrace the ideology of the dominant society as in the case of the USA where there is an ideology of individualism. Nonetheless, being Black (as in epidermis) does not necessarily grant automatic membership into the fictive kinship system; it is a choice an individual makes to become a member of the system. Fordham (1996:56) states:

One can be black in color, but choose not to seek membership in the fictive-kinship system. One can also be denied membership by the group because one's behaviour, attitudes, and activities are perceived as being at variance with those thought to be appropriate and group-specific, which are culturally patterned and serve to delineate 'us' from 'them'.

She describes this as 'the tendency for Black Americans to emphasize group loyalty in situations involving conflict or competition with Whites'. Thus, the wider Black community, depending on whether an individual adheres to the main elements of 'black culture', primarily decides membership in the fictive kinship system. Furthermore, Fordham (1996) implies that criteria for fictive kinship have a special significance for Black people, because they are regarded as the ideal by which members of the group are judged and that this judgement is also the medium through which Black Americans distinguish '*real*' from '*spurious*' [emphasis added] members of the community. Fordham (1996) however, was not explicit in her argument as to what the criteria are for

inclusion into this fictive kinship system, so it is challenging to ascertain what makes a 'real' and authentic kin as opposed to a 'spurious' or fake one. Furthermore, she claims that African American students are impaired by the fictive kinship system of the Black community because the collective ethos is contrary to the individualism of the dominant group. Fordham (1996) suggests that impairment, in the form of lack of academic success, occurs when Black students hold to their Black identity and community.

Other scholars, however, argue that academically successful African American students benefit from a strong racial identity (Phinney et al. 1997); (Sellers, et al. 1998) and (Chavous et al. 2003). Chavous et al. (2003), found that having a strong racial identity along with the knowledge of racial discrimination was related to positive academic outcomes among African American students. Within a British framework, Gillborn (1997) suggests that ethnicity was salient in determining African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment. He particularly notes that the interaction between forms of oppression such as sex/race stereotypes may make educational success especially difficult for young African Caribbean men. That is not to negate African Caribbean girls' experiences of such oppression but Black boys tend to be feared because of their race/gender stereotype of having behavioural problems and therefore are more likely to be excluded from schools (Strand 2012) and (Lindsay et al. 2006).

Evans-Winters (2005) in critiquing Fordham's model of fictive kinship argues that the concept is limited because its emphasis is on binary thinking – Black/White, community/individual, success/failure and rationality/irrationality. Additionally, she suggests that this is contrary to educational and social science research that views Black people as having a collective identity whereas Whites are assumed to be concerned with the individual. Black people's behaviour is seen as irrational because it only seems rational to 'perform' what it takes to succeed and success is always discussed in comparison to failure. Evans-Winters (2005) is arguing here that Fordham's (1996) notion is limited because it has omitted to investigate and include the wider issues of race, gender and

class and their combined effect on African American students' experiences in education and the wider society. Equally, it has negated the benefits that can be derived from quasi-kinship, i.e. the fact that quasi-kinship can act as a support mechanism. Additionally, African Caribbean families might be organised on a structure of family arrangements including the extended family and friends who are grafted into the main family structure. For example, the younger members in the family frequently refer to adults who are close family friends as aunts and uncles and their children are treated as siblings. Within the Black church community, members are also denoted brothers and sisters and even enter into foster family relationships. Other studies found that church members are important sources of informal assistance for African Americans (e.g. Taylor et al. 2004, 2005) and other individuals who do not have families or are estranged from family members (Chatters et al. 2002). Within the British context no evidence of empirical studies investigating the notion of fictive kinship could be found. During a literature search, an unpublished doctorate thesis by Lynda Ince (2009) was uncovered. She investigated African descent kinship caregivers and social workers and found that kinship care was a survival strategy. This finding is not dissimilar to my study where fictive kinship group is identified as a strategy for navigating society and surviving school, in contrast to Fordham (1996) whose findings suggest that the fictive kinship group posed a danger to African American students.

MM, a participant in the study, demonstrates the feasibility of the fictive kinship system. He recounted several instances in his educational experiences where the kinship like relationship provided a place of safety for Black children, whilst acting as a collective social identity. He recalled an incident that brought the police to the bus stop frequented by mainly Black children as opposed to the bus stop frequented by White children. This incident arose as a result of a disagreement between groups of children on the way home from school. From MM's narrative account it can be extrapolated that the disagreement was between Black and White children. MM described how Black children were standing at one bus stop and White children at the other, each group travelling

to a different destination in Liverpool; an illustration of a segregated community. He remembered arriving at the predominantly Black children's bus stop and seeing the police, in his own words '*enforcing the law*' on the Black children. He was angry that the police were sent to the Black children's bus stop by the school. He recalled expressing this to the Deputy head teacher.

I wouldn't be mad if you'd call the police at any bus stop on the way home.., you've called police to **our** bus stop and not that bus stop, so that automatically makes **us** think that you think **we're** the ones who's causing the trouble.

MM use of the pronouns "*our, us. and we*" demonstrates, perhaps on a subconscious level, a collective identity which is associated with the fictive kinship system. Despite not being related to the children involved in the dispute, he intervened on their behalf. This could be interpreted as the, 'them and us' scenario described by Fordham (1996) whereby Black individuals demonstrate group loyalty in situation of conflict with Whites. In this situation MM disregarded the possibility of getting arrested by the police and spoke up in defence of what he deems to be a violation of their human rights:

I left school at about 3.05, goes to the bus stop, seeing the police there, just remembered my mum was going on about stop search and know your rights and don't just let people just stop you because they feel like you look the part and that. So this police officer was just being obnoxious, I mean maybe fifty kids at the bus stop; so fifty kids at the bus stop; after school there's a bit of arguing; you can't stop that. So this guy (police officer) is enforcing the law on these school kids. So I said here, what's going on I mean we got told about this in assembly, we heard about it but how come you're at this bus stop? What's going on? Why is it only at this bus stop? Why aren't you over there?

The confrontation of the police could have led to the possibility of MM becoming a statistic of the criminal justice system, as it is well documented that Black individuals, in particular males pose a violent threat to British society (Okoronkwo (2008); (Cushion et al. 2011) – but in spite of the possible danger, he nonetheless challenged the police officer.

He further demonstrates kinship like attitudes amongst his friendship group. The kinship relationship, however, between MM and his friends was more than a collective Black identity; it was also a means of self-protection and a strategy for surviving school and the wider British society. He recounts feeling singled out by 'White people' and as a protective measure thought it important to join with a group of other Black children.

... it was important as such because, not to me but just to the fact that I felt singled out in a word by white people. So I thought to protect ourselves we'll just have to look out for each other as well..., because always, no matter what, in what situation them times, you were always outnumbered; you were always like 1:10 when you are a Black person, so we need to stick together; we made sure things were okay for ourselves really. (MM)

'Making sure things were okay for **ourselves**' [emphasis added] and the use of the collective pronoun **our** suggests that MM and his friends had a relationship not unlike family – joining together as a group was a protective measure against a society that consider them different and therefore not desirable as neighbours. Fictive kinship provided a bond between MM and his fellow students to enable them to be resilient and survive in a hostile environment.

MM also indicates that his friendship group, although acting as one collective voice, was also based on the values imparted by parent(s). Aside from the obvious pigmentation, friendship was based on shared values and on a subconscious level, in protection against racism in British society.

I was brought up with a strong sense of self identification by my mum; she told me about what it was to be Black. I think in the group I chilled with and the young people that I hung around with, we were told them same kind of values, so when, even the largest to the smallest thing, if it was seen to be anti-black, we'd all stand up and say that, that was anti-black and 'cause we all had the same type of values but I suppose as well, if I'm entirely honest, yeah, there were reasons, there was other, it weren't all because we were forced to chill, to be in this group. We were in this group because other things, other impact from society, I suppose really. I mean, in junior school there were white people that I chilled with and em although we, we didn't, we didn't see it that much. But it's since we got older, it's, as we got older really. So, it's like subconsciously I think it was like, maybe the way we was [were] living in society round us as well, but I just think knowledge, ...
(MM)

MM also suggests that fictive kinship was also a strategy of resistance. He recalls having a conversation with the head teacher after the incident at the bus stop; where he was asked to be a prefect but he declined the offer. MM did not view this accolade as a positive strategy for him because he would lose the respect of his peers. He saw it as a strategy beneficial only to the school rather than his fictive kin – he felt maintaining the respect of his peers was far more important than being a prefect for his school.

I remember times when the head teacher come to me and said, he wants me to be a prefect of the school. It was like, I don't know, I told him to shove it basically because I see it as if you want me to be a prefect of the school then, any respect that I've got from my peers and you want me to go and do your work for you, then I'm gonna lose that respect anyway and they won't listen

to me anymore, anyway. So instead it's better that I talk to you on a level and let you know things but not as a prefect because you (the head teacher) won't get what you want out of it basically.
(MM)

Some might read peer pressure effect as a reason why MM refused to be a prefect. For some children, school's primary benefit is the opportunity to be with friends and by the time they reach adolescence, their need to belong to a group with similar interests and values can appear to take precedent. Moreover, fear of being isolated from the group can be a powerful incentive to conform to its values, including those regarding academic achievement. However, as the teacher asked MM to be a prefect, it suggests that the teacher saw him as the leader of the group; indicating that MM could bring the other students in line with school norms and expectations. MM alludes to this in the phrase '...and you want me to go and do your work for you' (interpreted as surveillance of his peers). In declining to be a prefect he however, demonstrates an understanding of the rules for communicating - rather than antagonise the teacher, which might exacerbate the relationship between the Black pupils and the teachers, he suggests, '... It's better I talk to you on a level and let you know things ... but not as a prefect. Equally, it appears that the rules for communication and power operate on different levels; on one hand, there is the expectation of the head teacher who recognises MM's power to influence his peers, and on the other hand, his peers' expectations of group conformity. Undoubtedly these two conflicted and curtailed MM's actions. He excluded himself from the role of prefect, thus aligning himself with his peers, however, he left the line of communication opened - keeping favour with the head teacher. I would suggest that this attests to his awareness of the power structures and how they operate.

Delpit (1988: 283) wrote about 'rules of power for participating'.

There are codes or rules for participating in power, that is, there is a 'culture of power'. The codes and rules I'm speaking of relate

to linguistic forms, communicative strategies and presentation of self; that is ways of talking, ways of writing, ways of dressing and ways of interacting.

MM's identity as protector was tied up with his relationship with his peer group. It could be argued that he was in a situation termed 'identity trap' by Youdell (2003). He was in a trap in that on the one hand he could gain position and favour within the school and with teachers but on the other hand he could lose his identity as group leader with his peers. In effect, his identity as a prefect guaranteed him no authority with his peer group, whereas his status as leader of the group is assured, as long as he remained loyal to the group. Accepting the role of prefect might have in reality, placed him in an untenable position with his peers. Equally this move to becoming a prefect might not just have personal consequences but also social – MM travelled to and from school with his Black peers and his friends were in the community in which he lived. In contrast, the White teachers and students travelled in the opposite direction heading to their White neighbourhoods. The head teacher therefore did not appear to consider the social consequence of the macro environment in which MM lived, as his focus was on the microenvironment of the school. Similar to Youdell (2003), this analysis would suggest that the school and Black pupils might be engaged in a complex series of performative constructions of identities that indicate a 'double bind' for Black pupils. Specifically, if Black pupils want the protection of the fictive kinship, then the cost of this could be the formation of a problematic learner identity that might be censured and deployed by the school's authorities to dispense sanctions. MM in this context demonstrated an awareness of the benefits of cultural capital, negotiating strategically between his teacher and his peer group in order to curtail any sanction from either party.

When discussing her friendship group SK alluded to the notion of fictive kinship based on a shared culture and language. Her narrative indicates that fictive kinship was a means of communicating without having to explain the nuances of the communication.

I think it might be to do with just, what's the word? familiarity... we have certain things in common like the culture, which is just an easy basis to start talking about things and relating to each other in a familiar way. ...there were some White people that I was friends with and they were fine as well. (SK)

PJ's notion of fictive kinship was similar to that of SK. PJ's articulation is set in the context of a new arrival to Britain and being one of a small group of Black students in the college. As a matter of fact, she suggests that you could count the numbers on one hand.

Any friends would have done because I wasn't afraid to, to build relationship with people all sorts of people but I just felt that em with me just coming over from the Caribbean, you know somebody that could understand me more, for instance I spoke more patwah [Jamaican Creole] than I did English language, although everybody said oh, you just come from Jamaica and your English is that good; 'cause it was good but there were times when the patwah came into play and it made me feel more comfortable talking my own mother tongue to somebody who understood because if I spoke to a White friend and I'm sure, I had a few White friends who did come lunching with us in the afternoons but they didn't understand all of it but they did pick up some of the lingo 'cause they'd say oh what does that mean, what does mi naw go nowa [I am not going anywhere] mean and I used to have to explain to them what it meant. But obviously when you are with somebody who comes from the same place as this girl was, she understood...everything about my language so I didn't have to explain it to her at all. (PJ)

Both PJ and SK suggest that Jamaican Creole [patwah] was the language they used to communicate with their Black friends and because they had this common language and culture, they did not have to explain meanings. This indicates that language is an important aspect of one's identity and is not independent of cultural beliefs and understanding. SK said 'we have certain things in common like the culture which is just an easy basis to start talking about things and relating to each other in a familiar way,' while PJ said, 'it made me feel more comfortable talking my own mother tongue to somebody who understood.'

Mark Sheba (1995:online) in a keynote address *Ways with Words* Language conference suggests that the first generation of migrants from the Caribbean used their native Creole language as a symbol of identity, for the generations born in Britain, it is the use of Jamaican Creole in its British version that characterises them linguistically and identifies them as 'Black British.' Here, Sheba (1995) is suggesting that language is a signifier of blackness for British born African Caribbean heritage children – that is they are British by birth but Black by the language they speak.

He further states:

What seems to have happened throughout Britain is that British-born Caribbeans, irrespective of where their parents came from, have adopted Jamaican Creole – in a kind of British-grown variety – as a symbolic language.

This form of Creole, Mark suggests remain a symbol of their origins and a source of solidarity and often gives them a sense of pride – indicating that fictive kinship is a form of unity similar to MMs notion of protection.

Sheba's (1995) argument would suggest that African Caribbean heritage children in utilizing Jamaican Creole is constructing an identity within learning

spaces and the wider society based not only on their Englishness but also on their Caribbeanness. This aspect of their identity however, might be viewed in schools as aberrant or deviant. The teacher might read utilising Jamaican Creole, in the classroom as disrespectful or identify these children as having behavioural issue. Consequently, the child/children could be labelled a 'problem', which might in turn lead to disciplinary actions in the form of detention or exclusion – thus, ultimately impacting academic achievement.

In British schools, the policy and practice of enforcing appropriate school language (standard English) have historically created conflict between White teachers and pupils in school (Trudgill 1975). The conflict is largely linked to the struggles of language as a site of political/educational struggles for working class and minority ethnic groups within cultures based on Anglo-European linguistic superiority (Toohey 1986). Notions of Standard and Non- Standard English are used in educational theory and practice, reflecting the dominant Anglo-European perspectives and therefore perpetuate discourses of inferiority, deprivation, deficit, and disadvantage (Herrenstein and Murray 1994) in which the norm is the White middle class child, particular of Anglo descent (Walkerdine 1993). Like the previous assimilationist/integrationist era of the 1950s and 1960s, the contemporary period maintains the familiar obsessions of the past, especially the focus on the English language:

English literature and language [are] the central expression of English life and culture and ... the central subject in the education of every child". (Ministry of Education 1954 in Gillborn 2010)

It is a matter both of cohesion and of justice that we should set the use of English as a condition of citizenship. (Tony Blair 2006 in Gillborn 2010)

British citizenship is a privilege, not a right. The government expects that those wishing to become citizens should demonstrate

their commitment by learning the English language, as well as having an understanding of British history, culture and traditions. We are toughening up language requirements for naturalisation and settlement to ensure migrants are ready and able to integrate into British society. (Mark Harper Immigration Minister 2013)

Despite this argument stemming from an historical perspective, it still rings true for today's African Caribbean heritage children. The quotes above show the long-standing history of the unconditional certainty of the importance of the English language and how the debates have evolved from one of the right in education to one where one is not fully a citizen until one can demonstrate his/her commitment to England by learning English. Linguistic profiling is an aspect of African Caribbean heritage children's and other minority groups' schooling, that differentiates them from their White counterparts, whose whiteness affords the privilege of not being discriminated against because of the sound of their voice. In relation to African Caribbean heritage individuals, the notion of language as a site of inferiority has shifted to one of issues of Black sub-culture as deviant and a challenge to authority. Youdell (2003:24) notes that blackness is implicitly censured within and through the discursive practices of schools.

That is, at the level of the institution, discursive practices of Black youth/street culture are tacitly mediated through discourses which constitute these practices as inherently challenging to the school's (or individual teacher's authority and, by extension, the broader White hegemony.

Moreover, Youdell (2003:27) suggests that Black students know at least implicitly that their blackness makes them undesirable learners because having a high black learner identity is not congruent with a 'pro-school, positively oriented learner identity.' She implies that Black pupils did not choose the negative learner identity, but have had it thrust on them.

Possessing the ability to utilise Caribbean Creole is a useful skill in many Caribbean families. Some individuals from the Caribbean have maintained the practice of speaking Creole in the home and on visiting family in the Caribbean. This is a benefit because the younger generations are able to communicate with those family members who use Creole as their first language. Equally it enables the younger generations to maintain the connection with family 'back home' and preserve an aspect of their cultural heritage. This skill however, is not of value in schools and therefore might be seen as abhorrent and an issue of conflict. Bearing in mind that Sheba (1995) argues that being able to speak Jamaican Creole gives the possessors a sense of symbolic identity, one could argue that if the language of African Caribbean heritage children is not valued in schools, this might suggest to these children that they themselves are of no value to the school and their presence is unwanted.

The narratives of MM, SK and PJ coincide in that both male and female Black individuals utilise the kinship system albeit for different purposes. This suggests that it is a cultural phenomenon rather than an individualistic entity. The kinship system is akin to the partner system (see chapter 7 for further discussion) transplanted from the Caribbean and engrafted into the British Caribbean culture in the 1960s as a means of financial support for Caribbean families. These were dispersed families – not related by genetics or marriage.

Black Identity in learning Spaces - The Burden of 'Acting White'

The ideology of assimilation bears a remarkable similarity to the phenomenon of 'acting White' – that is they both suggest that Black individuals who desire to 'fit in' to a dominant White culture must lay aside the trappings of their cultural heritage and embrace White culture. Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) theory of "burden of acting White" has been one of the most frequently cited studies in explaining the differential educational achievement of African American students in comparison to their White counterparts. This concept is derived from an

American-centric perspective founded on the experience of segregation, the Civil Rights Movement and the ghettoisation of poor Blacks. Thus, it is uncertain whether the charge of 'acting White' should be imposed on African Caribbean heritage children in Britain, given that their socio-historical contexts differ. Despite the shared experiences of racism, African Caribbean heritage children in Britain have no experience of segregation similar to that of African American children. Notwithstanding incidents of civil unrest in Britain, many African Caribbean heritage children have not experienced such instability akin to the civil rights movement in America, nor do they live in enclaves labelled 'ghetto', as do many African American children.

Nonetheless, a form of 'acting White' manifested in the narrations of informants in the study, both within an educational context and business environment. Although not explicitly articulated, the participants' referenced 'acting White' as performances, rather than as a complete absorption of White culture to the detriment of Black culture. MS, for example, reported that she was called a Bounty in school – this is in relation to the chocolate bar of the same name, brown on the outside with white coconut on the inside. 'I was called a "Bounty" by the other Black girls because most of my friends were White. I only had one Black friend.' The term is used therefore to label Black individuals who are perceived by other Black individuals to be 'acting 'White''. The "Bounty" reference is similar to that of the coconut, brown on the outside white on the inside, suggesting that black individuals labelled by these terms predominantly associate with White individuals outside of their family members. Similarly, BH indicated that Black individuals who reach the higher echelon of their professions are often labelled 'sell outs'; namely, they are deemed to have disengaged from their cultural heritage. This is however, not as simplistic as it may appear. The individual(s) has to exhibit behaviours indicating that he/she has forgotten the struggles of being racialised in a White dominant society.

Let's just say anybody that's Black progress up to a certain level and, em people start calling him a sell-out em and they say he's

not helping his people. But what you've got to understand here, it becomes about self-preservation because once you get in that position, which has been created by the people who give it to you; they can just as easily take it away. (BH)

BH suggests that this label might be incorrect as the individual only exhibit particular behaviours commensurate with Whiteness out of fear of losing his/her employment. Thus, 'acting White' in this context is not regarded as being White but a survival strategy.

Sometimes you do want to fit in... because when you look at the images that's been projected, in order to get into that position, you have to behave in that particular way, right, so that's the only imagery that em, the whole industry is buying into, well in order for me to get up there I have to be like that so they start behaving like that. Let's look at the rules for operating; who's pulling the strings? (BH)

BH indicates that there are rules for operating, and because White individuals are in positions of power, they 'pull the strings'. In order for Black individuals to survive in a White dominated space, they have to conform to the expectations of Whites. BH articulated in this account that some White individuals are prejudiced by the stereotyped images they see of Black people and in order to 'fit' into a White dominated space, the Black individual has to minimise his/her blackness by performing whiteness. This assertion is akin to Dr Bledsoe, a character in Frank Ellison's (1965) *Invisible Man* (see chapter 6). Dr Bledsoe is president of the narrator's college and the narrator saw him as a role model until he found out that Dr Bledsoe was only acting to retain his position of power; he performed in the manner his White benefactors expected of him. Dr Bledsoe lectured that hard work and humility are essential to Black advancement; however, his intention was not altruistic because at one point in

the novel, he threatened that he would see every Blackman in the country lynched before he would give up his position of authority.

JJ suggests that acting White is about dressing and speaking in particular ways, whilst BD, similarly to BH, indicates that one has to 'act' like Whites in order to survive in a space where Black individuals are always in the minority, in effect tokens whose culture is viewed as deviant.

There were some girls, when we were in school, we recognised that they were middle class; they lived in (area). English girls, there was one Indian girl and they were dressed, because by the time you reached sixth form, you could wear your own clothes and they were dressed and speaking well. I did an awful lot of activities including elocution lessons.... So, we became aware that there was a difference in how we spoke to how expected speech was. You were expected to speak in a particular way... (JJ)

You almost have to be seen to be, you know, (for me not so much) acting ... like them [White people] (BD)

Black individuals who utilise these terms 'acting White', 'Bounty' or 'coconut' to label other Black individuals, demonstrate the insidious nature of racism. The implications of using the terms are self-deprecating, as it shows the internalisation of racism and it legitimises whiteness as normal whilst denigrating blackness as abnormal. Using these derogative terms suggests that being White is 'right' and therefore Black individuals have to 'act White' in order to be seen as 'right' and not deviant. The 'acting White' phenomenon also illustrates the enactment of colonial discourse in a so-called post-racial and liberal Britain. Equally 'dressing White' (whatever that may be) suggests that it is the right way to be and therefore dressing non-White is an incorrect way to be. JJ spoke about taking elocution lessons in order to speak White, indicating that the correct way of speaking is the White way. This notion alludes to the

idea that all Black people are of a lower class than White people and are therefore not able to speak 'proper' English. This notion also sends the message that Black people cannot hold high position jobs available to White people because of their diction.

A perception of White culture is the belief that white is normative. The characteristics of Whiteness, including culture, language, and appearance, are assumed to define humanity. 'Others' that may deviate from the normative (White) definition are therefore regarded to be less than human. Many scholars of Whiteness pay particular attention to the deeply ingrained doctrine of Whiteness as norm. (Garner, 2006 in Whiteness a Review of Literature: on line).

Language then, is salient in defining 'otherness'. One only has to peer through the lens of slavery and colonialism to see how Black people were at the bottom of the spectrum of racial hierarchy, thus using the term 'acting White' serves to reproduce and legitimise those racist views and discourses.

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) argue, as discussed above, that the visible symbols of school achievement are normally White, with negative consequences for the academic success of Black youths. They suggest that this produces an oppositional attitude towards academic education. They also note that for Black students to be successful, they must put aside the trappings of enslavement and 'act White'. They imply that Black children are subjected to powerful peer pressures, which make them anti-achievement. In this regard researchers have documented anti-achievement models for Black children. However, there has been little comparison made to those who are *pro-achievement*. Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) theory has had wide appeal, but perhaps this appeal lies in its ability to make Black students culpable for their own underachievement without consideration of the micro and macro social structures that create inequalities

in the education system. In addition, questions need to be asked as to why academic success is defined as a White manifestation.

In contrast to Fordham and Ogbu (1986) scholars such as Cook and Ludwig (1997) and Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998) demonstrate that Black students have more positive school related attitudes than White students. Cook and Ludwig (1997) in their study, analysing data collected for The National Educational Longitudinal Study (see below for the British context) found that the expectations of completing a four-year college course were the same for both Blacks and Whites (60%). They note, however, that when measuring absenteeism, White students on average were more likely than Blacks to be absent; 'once we account for socioeconomic background, whites are substantially more likely to have 10 or more days absence than blacks' (Cook and Ludwig 1997: 267). They also reported that Black students were likely to remain at least a half-year longer in school than Whites. This they argue was consistent with earlier studies.

...black students tend to persist longer in schools than whites ... thus, the expectations and dropout data provide no evidence in support of a deficit for blacks in either schooling expectations or actual persistence" (1997:266)

Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998), utilising similar National Educational Longitudinal Study as Cook and Ludwig (1997) found evidence to contradict the oppositional culture alluded to by Fordham and Ogbu (1986). They found that African American students were significantly more likely than their White counterparts to report good treatment by teachers; less likely to agree that it was acceptable to break rules and cheat in tests, and more likely to report a feeling of satisfaction from doing what they were supposed to do in class. The authors note 'African American students consistently report more pro-school attitudes than do white students' (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998: 542). In reference to the suggestion that African American students resist academic

success because of peer pressure, Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998: 545) note: 'we find a positive interaction between being African American and being viewed as a very good student'. They suggest this was an indication that African American students are especially popular when they are seen as very good students. Moreover, they contend that African American students report more pro-school values among peers than do white students. They said, '... African American maintain more pro-school (or pro-education) values and are more likely to esteem their high-achieving peers than are whites' (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998: 551) (see further information below about the British context)

Morrison (1981) also refers to the notion of 'acting White' in *Tar Baby*. Her context, however, differs from that of Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in that the emphasis is on the societal in the form of two types of identities, that of the collective and that of the individual. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in contrast, focus on a learning identity within an educational context. In *Tar Baby*, Jadine is depicted as the ultra-modern Anglo-American that is aspiring to be White or aspiring to have what Whites can have, whilst Son is the quintessential stereotype of a Black man, aggressive, uncivilised and uneducated. Through Jadine's eyes Son became the archetypal stereotype Black man.

On encountering Son in her room, Jadine uses the simile of a riverbed to describe his skin, 'his skin was as dark as a river bed' and liken his eyes to that of a thief, 'his eyes as steady and clear as a thief's'. She describes his hair as 'overpowering' a 'bundle of whips that could beat her', 'wild, aggressive, vicious hair, hair that needs to be put in jail, uncivilised, reform school hair, Mau Mau Attica, chain-gang hair' (Morrison 1981:113). Jadine thereby perpetrates the stereotype of the aggressive and dangerous Black man. These observations were later followed by the thought; 'I shouldn't make him angry' (1981:114). Morrison (1981) here invokes the assumptions that angry Black men can become violent. Later in the chapter, when provoked by Son's behaviour, Jadine calls him an 'ape'. 'Valerian will kill you ape' and accuses him of attempted rape.

'You rape me and they will feed you to the alligators'. He reacts to this with a question, 'why you little white girls always think somebody's trying to rape you?' - Undoubtedly positioning her as acting like a white woman. Jadine argues against this indictment, 'I'm not you know I'm not white' but he affirms his judgement: 'Then why don't you ... stop acting like it' ['acting White'] (Morrison 1981:121).

Morrison is suggesting that being Black or White are performances and that identity is the lens through which these performances occur. In addition, these performances can be recognised in time and space. Jadine, a Black character is accused of 'acting White' because she prefers to live or portray a particular lifestyle, that of the rich and famous above that of her Black lifestyle. She prioritises her identities as European educated and a model that has been featured on the cover of a popular magazine above her Black identity, as the niece of the Black house servants. She sees herself as self-reliant and independent, an individual rather than part of the wider Black community, hence the accusation of performing whiteness. Tatum (2003) also referred to the notion of 'acting White', as a performance, since being smart is to be White whilst being cool is to be Black. This suggests that Whiteness, Blackness and intelligence are performances and therefore race and intelligence must be performances, rather than biological.

Participants in the study also alluded to the notion of acting White as performances (see extracts above). Alexander (2004) suggests that whiteness has to be acknowledged as something that is performative – linked to access, the social construction of power, worth and value – that leads to the practice of privilege. This suggests that at the opposite end of the continuum, performing blackness is outside the construction of power, therefore, powerless, worthless and disadvantaged. The question then is: what happens to blackness/whiteness where they intersect along the continuum?

Alexander (2004) suggests that for the Black body accused of performing

whiteness – the challenge in white spaces is to negotiate the space of ‘otherness’ - what Cornel West (1991) termed ‘the dilemma of operating within the White power structure and cultural apparatus and the inner realities of the Black world.’ Furthermore, Alexander (2004: 662) speaking of himself, notes:

But even though the accusation of ‘acting White’ might be the perceptual truth for those who cast those stones, I am far from living Whiteness. There is a disconnect between the performative act and the embodied presence.

According to Alexander (2004) the critique of himself as ‘acting White’ is a perception of him not performing a perceived normative Black masculinity as well as a check of his ‘authentic’ blackness. This would suggest that there are ways of performing blackness contrary to whiteness. In the quote above Alexander (2004) suggests that the accusation of ‘acting White’ might be the ‘truth’ as perceived by the accuser. But as a Black man, he is however, far from living the life of a White person because race and racism prohibits such an occurrence. The experiences of being Black in a White dominated society make it an impossibility because his racialised experiences differ to that of White people. This is in keeping with the tenet of CRT that suggests that race foregrounds the everydayness of Black individuals therefore whilst a Black person might be deemed to be ‘acting [performing whiteness] White’, he or she cannot live White because he or she cannot embody whiteness. Whiteness is not an aspect of Black people’s identity because to be White is to be privileged and to have power.

Tatum (2003: 64-65) notes:

An oppositional identity that disclaims academic achievement has not always been a characteristic of Black adolescent peer groups. It seems to be a post desegregation phenomenon.

I would agree with this point, as I presume in the segregated schools, teachers were Black, high achieving students were Black and therefore the notion of 'acting White' was not a concept in those schools. Examining this assumption however, under the microscope of whiteness as property, an alternative conclusion might be drawn.

Harris (1995) posits that whiteness is property protected by US law under the notion that property is not only tangible objects but anything to which a person might attach value i.e. education. Thus value is attached to things tangible or intangible. Historically, whiteness in the (US), was made legal as property when permission was granted to pursue extermination and violent conquest of indigenous people, who had no access to legal recourse when faced with the theft of land or murder of family (Ladson Billings et al. 1995). Further, whiteness as property became firmly rooted when it defined the legal status of a person as free, whilst blackness defined captive/enslaved (Harris 1995). As Margaret Radin (in Harris 1995: 281) claims 'Whiteness became the quintessential property for personhood.' With this in mind, in education, whiteness as property therefore became the signifier of who sowed and reaped the benefits of education through the value of property. Thus it can be argued that in education, blackness had no property rights and therefore no claim to educational value. Consequently, and in opposition to Tatum's (2003) quoted above, since blackness had no agency, in order to claim legitimacy, one might conclude that Black teachers and students in an all Black school must therefore become White or perform whiteness. Donnor (2013) argues, that one of the greatest assets of whiteness as property was the capability to exclude others from the privileges of whiteness whilst upholding unequal distribution of resources.

The British Context – (Re) Acting White

From a British perspective, Sewell (1997) could be construed as alluding to the 'acting White' theory in his study of *Township School*. He argues that some

Afro-Caribbean boys reject schooling through a 'politics of resistance' because they observe teachers' racism. According to Sewell (1997) this leads them to subcultural music, clothing and hairstyles. Sewell (1997) in his research identifies a typology of four categories of African Caribbean boys and the strategies they use to navigate their schooling: the 'conformists', the 'rebels', the 'innovators' and the 'retreatists'. The conformists were the group that subscribed to the values and means of schooling. Sewell, however, contends that they could not embrace the values of school and those of their own peer group; suggesting that conformists subscribed to the idea of distancing themselves from their cultural group in favour of other peer groups. If as argued by Alexander (2004) (see discussion above) that 'acting White' is a matter of perception and performance, then Sewell's (1997) conformists could be perceived to be 'acting White'. Sewell (1997) notes that by far the largest category (41%) were the conformists, indicating that a majority of the participants in his study could be referred to as 'acting White'.

A similar phenomenon was identified in the current study. DD who might fit Sewell's (1997) conformists model, recognises that in order to be academically successful, he had to choose between his cultural peer group and doing well in school. He had a wide range of friends including some from his cultural group but when in class, he would sit at the front away from any potential problems. Simply put, he did not sit with the other African Caribbean heritage boys in his class because if there were any problems in class, the Black boys would be first in line to be sanctioned.

I've been friends with Columbian, Black, Mixed Raced; the White em friends that I had they were not as er unfocused or misguided as my other friends ... I found in the classroom it was better, my GCSEs years I tried to sit at the front of the class and that was kind of like unspoken in our friendship like; whichever one wanted to sit in the back or in the middle where you could chat or whisper and things but I found in my GCSEs

topics... I need to do well in them and I know sitting in front of the class I'm away from it all ... I can do the hardest work that I can while focusing in class..." (DD)

Separating from his cultural peer group, suggests that DD is aware of the threat of stereotyped views of homogeneous Black youth identities. He knew the possibility of suspension or exclusion posed a threat should he be stereotyped because of his race and took precaution to minimise this by sitting at the front of the class away from any potential problems. According to Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) thesis, this would be an indication of 'acting White'. However, there is no indication that DD has thrown off the shackles of race and picked up the mantle of 'whiteness', rather, isolating himself from his racial group in class was a strategy for surviving school and an attempt to maintain his identity as a 'good student'.

Sewell's (1997) next group, the innovators accepted the goals of schooling but rejected the means. They wanted to achieve, so would stay-on at school or go to college, but at the same time they tended to become embroiled in conflict with the school, especially in situations where they perceived racism or what they saw as poor teaching. EE, a participant in the study exhibited some characteristics of Sewell's innovators in that he recognised the value of school but had a tug-of-war relationship with some teachers. He narrated numerous incidents that demonstrated his relationship of conflict with teachers both in primary and secondary school along with his desire to prove to teachers that their perception of him was incorrect. The following extracts are examples.

I'm not sure, I don't know why for definite but personally I think that em some teachers think I had nowhere of going and was you know they stereotyped me (illegible word), I wasn't going to amount to anything... I always feel like going back to school and say look at me now, I know I haven't reached anywhere yet but I know I that em I got like, I got goals to reach and that I

don't believe any of the teachers knew or thought you know I had anywhere or I had any plans or anything for life, stuff like em in school I chose to do science as a GCSE and teachers were surprised... (EE)

I always try and prove teachers wrong but at the same time I think I was pretty guilty of playing myself down like em may be so I could surprise the teachers. I've never smoked or wag school but I always find myself in that kind of company and I always see how the teachers look at them and I thought em , I knew 'cause I was with those kind of people that they were looking at me like that and I kind of like that so I could come back and do well, you know, show them something. (EE)

... sometimes I'd get blamed for stuff in the playground and that and you know when I'd deny it people would tell me I was lying ... all throughout school if I'd get found out em you know for em, for something I'd done I would probably be owning up and taking responsibility for what I'd done but I think cause of the em, cause of the stuff I'd done all the way or the way that I'd acted I did find myself getting blame for a lot of the stuff that em, you know wasn't, wasn't me. (EE)

In high school there was, the headmaster, was one obviously had the most power in the school and he, I personally think that he had a problem with me and he use to take em you know, take stuff out on me ... to make life not great em, em" (EE)

EE does not exhibit the phenomenon of "acting White" as described by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) although he was academically successful. Despite not quite fully an innovator as described by Sewell (1997), he exhibited some features of this character. Notwithstanding his relationship of conflict with teachers, he

recognised the value of education. Although he associated with individuals who could be described as rebels (see below), he did not reject learning. He acknowledged but rejected the negative image that some teachers held of him. Rather than act like Sewell's (1997) rebels by rejecting school, he directed his energies into proving to teachers that their perception of him was wrong by adopting a conformist stance similar to those of Black girls who Mac an Ghail (1988) suggested do not overtly resist or confront teachers directly in order to achieve academic success. This points to self-agency and self-motivation in the form of aspirational capital (see chapter 7). This form of capital, as I will show was integral to EE's learning identity, indicates a gap in the literature concerning Caribbean heritage children's learning identities.

In addition, EE speculated that teachers were not aware that he had goals and plans, consequently were surprised when he opted to do science as a GCSE. This point is in agreement with the literature that suggests teachers' expectations can impact academic achievements Madon et al. (1997); Weinstein (2002); Landsman (2004); Jussim and Harber (2005). Studies such as those exemplified in chapter 2 attributed low teachers' expectations to both institutional and teachers' racism and despite government policy expectations (DfES 2005) that teachers should have high expectations for all children, some teachers continue to have low academic expectations of African Caribbean heritage children Archer and Francis (2007:42). Subsequently, they receive less support from teachers (Rhamie, 2007).

According to Sewell's (1997) category, the rebels are similar to the typical stereotype image of Black adolescent boys, aggressive, anti-school and argumentative. However, unlike their White counterparts, they did not skip school; they generally attend. Within, this cohort, Sewell (1997) identified two subgroups, the 'Black nationalists' and the 'hedonists', each resisting school in particular ways. Sewell (1997) suggested that these students had developed a strong connection to their African Caribbean young male subcultures, especially a group of year 10 boys who associated with a gang called the 'Posse'. He

argued that this gang influenced how most of the teachers, Black and White, viewed the African Caribbean boys in general. Sewell (1997) suggested that these boys were not judged according to their abilities but according to their behaviours and the stereotype roles assigned to them. This is borne out by EE's narrative 'I've never smoked or wag school but I always find myself in that kind of company and I always see how the teachers look at them and I thought em, I knew 'cause I was with those kind of people that they were looking at me like that'.

Youdell (2003:31) investigated the continued inequalities of school experiences and outcome experienced by African Caribbean pupils and concluded that it is through the discourses of school organisation, formulated as a process of observing the everyday seemingly trivial performances of African Caribbean pupils, that their 'identities as learners come to be constructed as undesirable and intolerable'. She notes that the Black body and its outwardly movements constitute pupils in specific ways and in the case of African Caribbean pupils, it appears that the school organisation deploys the black bodies in such a way as to be detrimental to African Caribbean pupils. To put it simply, school authorities observe the bodily movements (e.g. style of walk), which are contrary to school norms and use these movements to severely sanction these pupils – indicating that African Caribbean heritage children are assessed by behaviour rather than abilities. Such sanctions might result in exclusion, hence impacting academic achievements.

The notion of 'acting White' not only reinforces the view of 'anti-intelligence' in Black people but it ignores studious Black children who work hard to achieve academic success; the families who invest in their children through private education and the supplementary school system and family values of economic wellbeing through education. Carter (2003) noted that the 'acting White' phenomenon is more closely related to speech, dress, music and styles of interaction than it is to academic achievement. Participants like JJ similarly, suggested that acting White is about dress and language.

Within the literature 'acting White' has been posited as a reason for differential attainment but within the context of my study this was not the case. For example, DD, who was studious, had very good relationship with his teachers, and had friends from various cultures, but when in class, he separated himself from students of his racial group. Since 'acting White' suggests that success means separating oneself from one's racial group, he might be read as 'acting White'. However, DD maintained his racial identity through the construction of his friendship group, which included Black students, some of whom appear not to have been as studious as himself. He likewise put to doubt (in a British context) the assumption that Black children are subjected to powerful peer pressure in not obtaining academic qualifications. DD, in fact suggests that he did not experience any peer pressure because his friends recognised that he was not easily persuaded - as illustrated in the following extract:

No, everybody always knew me as, people kind of respected me ... they respected my opinion because they saw me as clever or wise or if they had problems they'd come to me so whenever I usually make a decision on something, especially if it's to do with work, the guys would just be rolling their eyes and think oh but it's just DD or it's you know, so we'll leave him to that 'cause they know if they try and tell me anything I'd just go off on a big explanation as to why they should care about their education and stuff like that. (DD)

DD's narrative certainly indicates a pro-school value in contrast to the popular notion that Black boys are anti-school.

MS indicated that she associated with White girls more than she did with Black Caribbean heritage girls. I argue in chapter five that this might be a consequence of her formative years spent in a society that is organised according to a hierarchy of culture, ranked on skin shading from fair, brown to

black, with fair being the highest rank. The closer one's skin is to White, the better one's socio-economic opportunities. By choosing to be with White students MS might be signalling her desire to be the same as White; or alternatively this was a protective measure from the onslaught of internalised racism. In this context however, she could also be read as aspiring to be successful – in that success within an educational setting is to 'act White'. Continuing this line of analysis one might also read into 'acting White' the suggestion that success and failure/underachievement are raced – hence MS's affiliation with White girls and her rejection of Black Caribbean girls, because to be Black is to be an academic failure/underachiever. By this I mean success is normalised as White in discourses of successful academic achievement. Equally, failure is normalised as Black in discourses of academic failure/underachievement. MS' peers however, read her as 'acting White' because in their eyes, she aspires to be White. This, I suppose would fit the individualist definition of identity similar to Morrison's (1981) character, Jadine who preferred to live the glamorous lifestyle of the wealthy Whites above acknowledging her identity as a Black woman.

MS chose to associate with White students rather than Caribbean heritage students. Thereby she was singled out because she did not conform to the notion of a Black identity; she was construed to be disloyal to the Black collective. Whilst not agreeing with the notion of a 'Bounty', because to do so would be to deny MS the right to self-identify, it is understandable why the Black girls might have selected her for disapproval. These black girls may have felt that as part of a marginalised group that struggles for equality in a dominant White society, it is salient to maintain the fictive kinship (discussed above) and therefore anyone who does not conform is penalised. This also demonstrates the complexities and flexibility of race as a public and private identity and the ways in which individuals inhabit or enact race roles in time and space.

The study also reveals that the 'acting White; hypothesis can be read in different aspects of Black individuals' lives. To illustrate, within the work place BH

suggested that successful Black individuals in predominantly White spaces are often labelled 'sell out' by individuals in his/her racialised group, but this notion of 'sell out' is a misinterpretation because Black individuals in these spaces have to survive. 'It becomes about self-preservation because once you get in that position, which has been created by the people who give it to you; can just as easily take it away.' In this context the notion of 'acting White' is a strategy for negotiating and surviving White dominated spaces.

The Case For or Against Acting White

Reading the 'acting White' phenomenon as a performance through the lens of assimilationists' ideology makes sense as a concept. Assimilationists' ideology suggests that in order for an individual or group to become fully integrated into the dominant culture, he/she/they must put aside all aspects of their racialised culture, which in effect, apart from pigmentation, make them White. Equally the case for 'acting White' suggests that success has separated Black individuals from their blackness – making them White aside from skin colour. This is critical because discourses about success almost invariably tie successful achievement into the assumption that Black individuals have assimilated, thus leaving behind all of their cultural baggage. This argument is however, problematic, because CRT foregrounds race into all interactions where Black individuals are part of the process. The evidence for the 'acting White' theory in a British context is not sustainable because it assumes that all academically successful Black individuals throw off the shackles of blackness and put on the mantle of whiteness. Similarly, the arguments for failure suggest that Black individuals, maintaining a Black identity are prone to inevitable failure. My study highlights findings in opposition to the 'acting White' phenomenon advocated by Fordham and Ogbu (1986). Not all successful African Caribbean heritage children embrace whiteness but rather many adopt a stance that enables them to succeed in school whilst maintaining their blackness. Furthermore, there is no evidence to indicate how Black individuals embracing a bi-racial, hybrid or Anglo-Caribbean culture – that is adopting aspects of both blackness and

whiteness - combine to aid success or failure. The patterns of such hybrid identification across groups merit further attention in sociological inquiries, although it is recognised that identity (ies) is/are not necessarily fixed or singular. Equally, such hybrid identities may not automatically be oppositional; they may complement and reinforce each other. That being said, colour, as a signifier of race will always matter, because in White dominated spaces, race trumps class or gender in Black experiences.

Black identify in Learning Spaces – The British Context

Gosai (2009) conducted a comparative study into the educational experiences of African Caribbean boys in three different educational settings, a secondary school, a supplementary school and a youth organisation. He recorded that the respondents in the study reported that negative stereotyping impacted their educational attainment. Gosai (2009) suggests that negative teachers' expectations in the secondary school were a consistent and contributing factor in that the boys exhibited a 'self fulfilling prophecy' by assimilating the teachers' negativity through behaving in a manner that adversely affected their educational outcomes. In other words Black boys misbehave in school because of teachers' negative stereotyping, which in turn negatively affected their academic outcomes. Gosai (2009) however, indicates that this was not the case across all three sites of the research venues. He notes that the boys learned strategies to respond to the negative images of Black masculinity in two settings, the supplementary school and the youth organisation. A particular tactic used by the Black professionals in the youth organisation, was guiding the boys away from negative stereotypes by providing them with emotional and educational support predicated on mutual respect.

Gosai (2009) also found that within the secondary school setting, teachers view Black parents as obstacles to their boys' education. This was demonstrated by teachers' articulating that Black parents did not attend open evenings regularly or participate in helping their boys with their schoolwork. These opinions were

supported through White teachers' beliefs that most Black parents did not have the required abilities to maximise their boys' success in education because they (Black parents) were from working class backgrounds. The perception of Black parents as working class led White teachers to believe that the Black boys would also enter working class occupations, consequently this discouraged them (White teachers) from encouraging Black boys to achieve academic success. Pursuant to this, the Black boys under performed at school. This implies that White teachers do not appear to credit Black boys or their parents with having socio-economic or academic aspirations. Equally this demonstrates a lack of understanding of the cultural assets many African Caribbean families have at their disposal to support their children through schools, e.g. the supplementary schools, some of which operate homework clubs.

In contrast to teachers' perceptions, Black parents blamed White pupils who they perceived as 'causing trouble' by accusing their boys of bad behaviour that results in Black boys exclusion from schools. They also accused White teachers of using the curriculum to negatively influence their boys' education in that they (White teachers) encouraged Black boys to pursue sports, art, and music rather than English, mathematics or science. According to Gosai (2009) Black parents suggested this was done to benefit the economy because employers want employees for both higher and lower skills jobs, therefore teachers prepare White and other minority groups for the higher professional jobs whilst preparing Black pupils for the lower non-professional jobs.

Graham (2011) conducted case study research in an Inner London school to investigate why African Caribbean boys continue to experience educational inequalities. She found that schools' structures and practices were a major contributor to their continued underachievement. She found also, that teachers' perceptions of Black boys sub-culture were contributing factors. Graham (2011) argues that there is a lack of understanding of African Caribbean boys' sub-culture, as this is perceived by teachers to be negative and threatening. In her argument, she indicates that there is little evidence to suggest that the sub-

culture the boys exhibit in school, despite being distinctive, hinders their learning. She notes, '... many boys were able to interchangeably transit between their sub-culture and the main school culture' (2011:238). Nevertheless, it appears that this strategy of transiting from one culture to the next is not visible to teachers but rather the sub-culture is amplified and attributed to Black boys academic underachievement, leaving the school and its systems free from recrimination.

In contrast to the academic underachievement of African Caribbean heritage children, Rhamie and Hallam (2002) investigated those who were academically successful and identified two models of success: a Home-School Model and a Home-Community Model. According to the authors the Home-School model, which represented a continuous, positive interaction between the home and school, fostered academic excellence and success. The Home-Community Model indicates that the family and community together promoted a 'sense of belonging' and acceptance, which in turn encouraged achievement and success. Rhamie and Hallam (2002) further suggest that the sense of belonging and acceptance compensated for low expectations and resources in the school. They imply that academic success for a large proportion of African Caribbean children will become a reality when schools, the home and the community work together to develop and nurture academic achievement within a climate of excellence and high expectations [for all children].

Gosai (2009) and Graham (2011) demonstrate that in any discussions of Black (learner) identity(ies) there can be no notion of a fixed nor one essentialist Black identity, but rather multiple identities located in place and contexts. Gosai (2009) demonstrates how in one setting, a secondary school, Black boys underachieved because of negative stereotyping, but in other settings they developed strategies to counter such negative stereotyping, thus developing a positive Black identity founded on mutual respect and a sense of belonging, leading to positive academic outcomes. Equally, Graham (2011) detects how Black boys switch between the dominant and acceptable school's culture to an

unacceptable sub-culture, however, due to negative stereotyping, in that the sub-culture, which is conceived of as counter to the dominant school's culture, is amplified, consequently rendering the positive learning identities of Black boys invisible. The emphasising of the sub-culture leads to a negative learner identity which is then said to contribute to Black boys under-performance in schools.

Both Graham (2011) and Goasi's (2009) studies reflect ambivalence by teachers in schools as to the complexities of Black children's identities, especially Black boys. Graham (2011) suggests that Black boys, navigate through two sources of identity – the dominant school's culture and that of young peoples' sub-culture. These identities are alluded to as contingent on situation and interactions; the sub-culture, however, is magnified at the expense of the preferred school's culture and used as a tool to justify Black academic underperformance. Instead of one collective and fixed Black identity, Graham's (2011) study points to dual identities – identities that are fragmentary, intersecting and contextually driven. The school in her study neglected to consider the complexities of Black boys identities, instead positioned the boys into a stereotypical racial identity category – that is to say Black boys are lazy and intellectually challenged; therefore are a menace within the school's setting.

Deviating from the discourses of academic failure, Rhamie and Hallam (2002) examined academically successful African Caribbean heritage young people and recognised that a complex mix of interactions led to successful academic outcomes for these individuals. The authors indicate that these learners experienced low expectations, isolation and poor resources in schools; nonetheless, they transcended the negative learner identity through the use of multifarious interactions i.e. home, community and school in order to achieve their academic aspirations. Instead of contributing to the stigmatised notion of Black people's academic engagement, the young people in the study challenged this notion, demonstrating a counter narrative of blackness and articulating a positive learner identity.

The studies mentioned above confront the preconceptions of identity as fixed and demonstrate how Black individuals negotiate prevailing representations of Black identity(ies) through a complex interweaving of relationships and interactions. Graham's (2002) study in particular, shows how individuals slip into and out of different identities depending on context; whilst Rhamie and Hallam's (2002) study illustrates how Black children managed fluid identities i.e. negotiate a Black identity to achieve academic success despite the contradictory and challenging encounters within the school's setting. Equally, the children in the study do not display identity(ies) as diametrically opposed to education as in Fordham and Ogbu's 1986 study; rather they demonstrate fluid identities; shifting between home, school and community and illustrate how these (home, school and community) can intersect to produce positive academic outcomes. These studies challenge the dominant notion of a collective and fixed Black identity predicated on a set of visible characteristics and behaviours. Instead, they illustrate the fragmented, complex and continuous process of identity development; with the identity that an individual portrays at any given time being contingent on the prevailing circumstance.

Chapter 5 - Space, Race, Gender and Intersectionality

Introduction

Space is the medium in which things maintain or, as the case may be, change their location; time is the medium in which they must conserve their identity lest they disappear qua 'things' and be reduced to momentary apparitions. (Von Glasersfeld 1984:1)

According to Von Glaserfeld (1984), space is understood to be where things are and time provides the stretch for them to be there when we look again. By saying 'things are' or 'are there' we convince ourselves that they exist and what 'exists', we intend, must do so, irrespective of our observing or experiencing it in any way. Von Glasersfeld (1984) demonstrated this observation by suggesting that Mount Etna stands above Sicily irrespective of the people, the Mona Lisa smiles even when no one observes it and the river Inn flows even when no one dangles a toe in its icy water. 'The mountain, the painted smile and... even the flowing river, are supposed to have their place and remain what they are'. They must retain their identity, be what they are or cease to exist. Yet our reality can change, things can cease to maintain their identity, for example should the Mona Lisa be repainted, does it remain the Mona Lisa? Or should the river Inn be altered to become a dam; is it still the river Inn? The notion of space being a place where things retain their identity (ies) may be more problematic than first envisaged.

This chapter describes the various ways in which Black individuals navigate bastions of Whiteness and how they become 'space invaders' and or tokens in these spaces of Whiteness. It demonstrates the transiency of identity (ies) and it also discusses the ways in which space, race and gender intersect and impact Black experiences in Britain. In addition, it identifies how Black individuals strategize and negotiate different spaces.

Space

Space as a concept when envisaged, invokes images of freedom and access, yet, it also connotes limitations and boundaries – boundaries that might be used to prevent trespass and curtail access. Owners or occupiers of spaces decide who may enter, with what identities or conversations and what is possible on entering those spaces. Therefore, it can be seen that power relations are employed in shaping the boundaries of spaces and thus limit and curtail access to arenas of possible achievements. Spaces can also become conflated with race and gender and accordingly, used as a mechanism to prevent or limit access to those who are seen as aberrant – thus creating zones of whiteness and blackness. Moreover, this barring or limiting can have socio-political, cultural, psychological and economic consequences. For example, what does it mean to be an outsider looking in and what happens to the individual on entering the zones of blackness or whiteness? And does entering the zones eliminate inequalities (in the micro context)? On entering the zones of whiteness or blackness, aberrant individuals might feel alienated, become isolated or as Puwar (2004) suggests, identified as '*space invaders*' [emphasis added].

Puwar (2004), in her book, *Space Invaders – Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place* notes that women and minorities are invading spaces where White male power is firmly entrenched. In her writing, she suggests that certain spaces are fortresses of 'whiteness' and 'maleness'. According to Puwar (2004) these spaces are not empty or neutral but are permeated with history and meaning. She discusses the proposal of erecting a statue of Nelson Mandela in Trafalgar Square in order to demonstrate how space can play a role in constructing the identity of an environment and how some bodies are connected to specific spaces. In this context, what would be the consequences of erecting a statue of a Black man in a space traditionally reserved for White unmarked bodies? Certainly, it might disrupt the notion of 'Britishness/Blackness or even calls into question 'British' history. The placement of a Black body in a space (Trafalgar

Square) reserved only for the privileged might also disturb the unmarked, White body and its taken for granted right to be in control of such iconic space.

In her book, she sets up a dualistic relationship between space and bodies, which demonstrates how masculinity and whiteness are positioned as 'normal' and consequently occupy privileged positions. That is, she asserts that 'whiteness' and masculinity are normalised and therefore invisible in those spaces, whilst making visible female and racialised bodies. She also reveals the processes that dissuade female and racialised bodies from entering spaces marked by masculinity and whiteness. On entering these White male dominated spaces, however, women and minorities, according to Puwar (2004) become 'space invaders', as they are bodies out of place. This observation leads to the question of how feminised and racialised bodies operate in spaces where they are 'strangers'. So, how do White females and Black males/females manage their femininity/masculinity and or blackness and how does being a body out of place impact the racialised and or feminised body? What does it mean when these spaces are invaded or disrupted?

Race

...the problem of the twentieth (Millennium) century is the problem of the colour line. (Du Bois 1903) (1994)

W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) notes that the problem of the 20th Century was one of "*the colour line*," that is an issue of race and racism in society. This statement still rings true in this millennium. Race, I have suggested in this thesis is a political construct used to classify people into ethnic groups based on socially significant and identifiable characteristics such as skin colour, facial features, body shape and a shared social history. These groupings have, in turn, functioned to structure societies and regulate social relations. Race is also a social construct of power, exploitation, exclusion and control for socio-economic gain, in that its roots are firmly embedded in slavery and colonisation. That is

race acquired its meanings and demonstrates its impact through social and economic interactions like slavery.

David Walker's plea (1829) that 'blacks be acknowledged as belonging to the human family, in Gilroy (2010:60) was combined with the view that their natural (human) rights had been wrongfully confiscated in the condition of slavery, which could as a result of their exclusion be justly overturned.' Walker's address to the slaves, vehemently condemned Whites for the institution of slavery whilst at the same time it encouraged blacks, free and enslaved to rebel against their enslavement on the grounds of reclaiming their humanity, which was wrongly taken away due to misinterpretation of Biblical texts. In his speech, Walker (1829) criticised the fundamental values of United States society by revealing the duplicity of encouraging slavery in a self-proclaimed republic and supposed 'Land of the Free.' This address also challenged the emerging views associated with 'Scientific Racism' – that is, racism on the grounds of a group of people being classified inferior and that biblical interpretations, justified such enslavement.

Hall (2000:233) states,

Conceptually, race is a political and social construct. It is the organising discursive category around which has been constructed a system of socio-economic power, exploitation and exclusion...hence racism.

Hall (2000) argues that race is a discursive construct that operates like a language and that differences between people are not biological but rather a social construct. He acknowledges that the physical differences between people remain, but that it is the meanings that people attached to the differences and how they are used in society that are important. Hall (2000) in his argument against science being used as a unit of measure for racial differences suggests

that meanings cannot be fixed permanently, as they change over time and space, which means racial differences cannot be interpreted as a fact.

As race is a socio-political construct – not a biological trait, it is challenging to comprehend its boundaries – especially as they (racial boundaries) change with context and over time as indicated by Hall (2000) and Hylton (2010).

The changing nature of attitudes to racialised behaviour, the social construction of racism and even the terminology of 'race' are constantly changing, contested and reconstituted...
(Hylton 2010:1-2)

Nonetheless, the effects of the historical construction of race still linger and impact racialised bodies in British society today.

Gender

The concept of gender has also come to be recognised as a problem of the 21st Century. Historically, there has been a notion of gender that suggests men and women are genetically different; consequently, this has resulted in patriarchal societies determining what one gender is capable of in contrast to the other. Feminists theorists like Connell (1987); Lipsitz Bem (1993); Lorber (1994), however, have discredited notions of gender that account for the differences between men and women on historical grounds. Butler (2006), however, suggests that the initial formulation of 'women' by first wave feminists was exclusionary in principle because the articulation excluded the racialised experiences of Black and other women of colour. She argues that the move has created both a theatrical and political problem because an array of women from various cultural positions have refused to recognise themselves as 'women' in the terms articulated by feminist theory with the result that these (racialised) women fall outside the category and are left to conclude that:

... either they are not women as they have perhaps previously assumed or the category reflects the restricted location of its theoreticians and hence, fails to recognise the intersection of gender with race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality and other currents which contribute to the formulation of cultural (non) identity (Butler 2006:325).

Crenshaw (1991) who is credited with the term intersectionality, describes how the intersectional positioning of Black female marginalises them from contemporary feminist and antiracist discourses. Crenshaw (1991:1241-2) states:

Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and anti-racist practices.. because of their intersectional identity as both women and of color, within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, women of color are marginalized in both.

Thus the inclusion of Black and other women of colour further complicated the articulation of what it means to be female. Although, it is understood that gender is socially constructed – a means of organising everyday life Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990) - inequalities still exist between the genders.

Despite the increase in studies into masculinity, Coltrane and Allan (1994); Gough (1998); Gasone (2007), studies on Black masculinity and intersectionality are hard to find, perhaps as a consequence of the history of 'intersectionality' itself. It came out of Black scholars' studies about Black women's lives and the omission of race and class, in particular race, in the discourses of the formulation of gender identity by White feminists. Mirza (1999:137) reports that the 'academic silence on the subject of Black masculinity is matched by a consuming daily presence.' This articulation suggests that Black masculinity is ever present in the media – a depiction of the hyper-visibility of Black masculinity in popular

culture, yet invisible in academic discourses aside from discourses of academic failure. Black masculinity has been further affected by the inclination to stereotype and homogenise 'Other' cultures (Glissant 1989 in Ferree et al. 2000). Alexander (2000) reasoned that this has caused the reproduction of popular discourses that deny Black agency and reproduce stereotypical constructions of deviant young Black male identities. Consequently, young Black men have been contradictorily positioned as both 'invisible' (in policy and theory) and 'hyper-visible' (in public discourses and racist stereotypes). That being said, Black men should be accounted for as complex gendered and racialised beings.

Using the concepts of space, race and gender, this chapter seeks to explore how each separately or in combination – that is combining race and gender into spaces - work to exclude or curtail access of racialised bodies to zones of whiteness or maleness including educational establishments.

Pursuant from this, intersectionality seems an apt framework to help provide clarity. Bhopal and Preston (2012) indicate that intersectionality has become a model with which to understand, analyse and engage with difference – in which difference itself becomes a defining feature of 'otherness'. Furthermore, they suggest that identity is complex and intersectionality helps people to engage with understanding outsiders and what it means to be a 'stranger' in modern society (Bauman 1990). Brah and Phoenix (2004) state that intersectionality provides a framework through which 'race', ethnicity, social class, socio-economic and social divisions can be posited as lived realities. In an environment where racism and sexism are not mutually exclusive and are lived experiences for Black individuals (men/women/boy/girl) and as a matter of fact often intersect in their lives, it seems salient to explore the intersection of race gender and space as lived realities for the participants in the study. Moreover, intersectionality is not only an attempt to conceptualise identity as multi-faceted and fractured, but also as a means of providing knowledge of the ways that Black men and women's positioning in British society differs from that of the

dominant group and from each other, and how race and gender can overlap to create social divisions in particular spaces.

Space (in Society) – The Final Frontier

Space in contemporary life has become an issue of political debates and sociological research (Puwar, 2004; Watson and Studdert, (2006); Hargittai 2007) as well as a site of contentions. For instance, there are debates as to whether the demand for suitable homes for the poor outweigh that of the need of communities for open spaces for recreational purposes and to maintain the habitats of wild life – that is whether it is appropriate to build houses on land designated green belt. There are studies into specific spaces as sites of interaction. Watson and Studdert (2006) investigated markets as sites of social interactions and spaces of diversity. Hargittai (2007) investigated the differences among users and non-users of social network sites by asking the question – whose space? Puwar (2004) researched the invasion of marked bodies into spaces of whiteness.

Space, as a concept has different meanings in different genres of linguistic articulation and may be constructed in different ways, for example through power struggles and strategies of inclusion and exclusion.

Different people, through power struggles and conflicts of interest, then, may construct spaces, in different ways. The idea that spaces are socially constructed, and that many spaces may co-exist within the same physical space is an important one. It suggests the need to analyse how discourses and strategies of inclusion and exclusion are connected with particular spaces. Flyvbjerg and Richardson, (1998), in Richardson and Jensen (2002:9-10).

Space also implies a process of locating, organising and re-organising – that is an occupying and counter-occupying. Thus, the meanings attached to spaces are not fixed, as they fluctuate with occupancy/un-occupancy, who the occupiers are and what interactions take place in these spaces. Puwar (2004) suggests that spaces have history and meanings. But spaces also have futures. What a space is today, it may not be in the future and who occupies a space today might not occupy the same space, in the same manner in the future. Thus the meanings and significance given to spaces in the present time may change in the future, suggesting that the meanings attached to spaces are not fixed but transient.

Spaces can also be gendered: a bathroom can either be male, female or unisex and/or racialised, and spaces can be designated accessible to particular races. Historically, particularly, in North America, spaces were raced; there were signs saying “Blacks only” or “Whites only”. Equally, migrants arriving from the Caribbean to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s were greeted with signs saying: “No Irish, No Blacks and No dogs” when they tried to secure accommodations. Similarly, they received a cold welcome from many British institutions like the churches – hence the development of the ‘Black led churches’; institutions that still exist today.

Discourses also frame and represent spaces and therefore articulate specific power-rationality configurations (Richardson and Jensen, 2002). In the sociological tradition of Max Weber, rationality is acknowledged as the essential structure of values and norms that control social actions. Rationality, however, is inseparable from power (Flyvbjerg 1998). Power is therefore seen as the foundation of social action as well as of control and oppression. Hence, different rationalities, with their values and norms that guide social actions, are implicitly acts of power in that they might control what types of social actions are to be conducted or not conducted in spaces, and more importantly, who carries out those actions. Thus it can be argued that power relations are employed in shaping the boundaries and articulation of spaces. This power, whether

symbolic or real can therefore be launched to limit and curtail access to arenas of possible achievements. For example, an individual working in the human resource department of a large organisation makes the decision as to who gets employed or not employed as the case may be. The individual him/herself however, is only an employee and therefore only possesses symbolic power in the guise of the real owners of the corporation. Nonetheless, the individual has power to hire or fire; thus power to include or exclude. People affect spaces and therefore spaces can affect people.

In a 2013 report by Bhopal and Jackson on the experience of Black and minority ethnic (BME) academics, a female professor alludes to the sense of isolation of being the only female in a male dominated space.

It's not about the combined effects of the different forms of oppression, I don't want to make it sound that simple. ... that I am always a Black woman, I am not sometimes just a woman, or sometimes just Black. I am always a Black woman. If you look around, when I go to the professorial meetings in this university, they are dominated by men. I am the only Black person there. ... I am also one of a very, very small number of women. So women are less likely to be represented and Black people even 'more' less likely (professor in Bhopal and Jackson 2013:16)

This professor refers to the complexities of being a female but not just a female; a Black female in a White male dominated space. This isolation is only one side of the coin of being a space invader. The other side of this coin is the notion of tokenism – being the only Black female in a male dominated space. Studies have been conducted into the challenges women face when they move into male dominated bastions of employment Kanter (1977); Kraiger and Ford (1985); West and Zimmerman (1987); Puwar (2004); Shonbeck (2009). These studies found that the 'token' woman encounters negative experiences in a male dominated work environment. The authors note that tokenism leads to systems

of bias and discrimination through the dominant group's (male) control of the group's culture, which in turn marginalizes and excludes the token woman. It is indicated that the token faces three processes that can have negative effect on the individual's career. Firstly, *high visibility* creates performance pressures. Secondly, *polarization* leads to separation and isolation. Thirdly, *assimilation*, this means that the token woman has to fit into a typical male persona associated with the group's norm i.e. 'iron lady', because she has to become tough and aggressive. Simpson (2000) in a similar manner suggests that gender imbalance heightens career barriers, limits career progress and might create a hostile working environment for the token woman. That being said, adding race into the equation can be a useful aspect in shining a light into the experience of Black women as tokens in a White male dominated work environment, as I will discuss further below.

Within the language of art, form and shape cannot exist without space (Jirousek 1995)– that is in order to produce a shape, there must be space to be occupied. This space can be positive or negative, depending on the dimensions of the shape or form that inhabits the space. Often the spaces that Black bodies occupy are viewed with negative connotations. For example, in America, Black people are said to live mostly in ghettos or the projects; equally in Britain, Black people are often thought of as mainly living in deprived areas. According to Jirousek (1995) some artists play with the reversal of positive and negative space to create complex illusions. She suggests that in a two dimensional composition, the object represents the positive form, while the background constitute, the negative space. For instance, she typified M. C. Fisher as an artist that often featured interlocking images that play with people's perception of what is foreground and what is background. Other artists she suggests take the illusions of positive and negative further by hiding images within images. Thus people are drawn into drawing conclusions about positive and negative spaces at first glance without looking beyond the illusion. Jirousek (1995: on line), notes:

Perception of form and shape are conditioned by our ingrained 'instinct' to impute meaning and order to visual data. ...there is a tendency to latch on to that conclusion about its meaning, and ignore other possible solutions... Training the eye to keep on looking beyond first impressions is a crucial step in developing true visual literacy.

The notion of illusion might be a truth (ism) in some bastions of whiteness and maleness. For instance, bastions like the British Parliament gives the illusion that women and minorities are part of the democratic process, yet only 25% of all MPs are female with ten of those from minority groups - an indication that the British Parliament does not reflect the population as a whole or the people it represents. There appears to be a proliferation of Black and minority individuals in employment in other organisations; there is however, one Black individual of African origins who is in charge of a Financial Times and Stock Exchange (FTSE) 100 corporation. In terms of gender the future appears brighter as there are only eleven out of the one hundred companies that do not have a female on its board, although ironically, ninety-nine of the one hundred companies still have a male as the chairperson.

According to a Department of Education Statistical First Release Report: *School Workforce in England November 2013*, 88% of teachers are White British; 3.5% from other White backgrounds, 1.7% White Irish, 1.6% Indian, 1.0% Black Caribbean backgrounds. Further analysis of the statistics in relation to gender and ethnicity, show that 93.4% of head teachers are white males in comparison to 0.4% Black Caribbean; in relation to ethnicity, 93.7% are White female in comparison to 0.8% Black Caribbean (see appendix 4 for further analysis). The figures also show that across every aspect of the school staff and positions, Whites are in far larger numbers than Blacks and other minority groups. The figures for staff student ratio 2013 were not available at the time of writing but the 2010 figures show that BME students made up 24% of all pupils yet only 11% of staff from a BME background, demonstrating an under-representation

of BME staff in comparison to BME students, irrespective of sector or teacher grade. What the 2010 data also reveals, but not present in the 2013 data is that, schools deemed to be high performing employ fewer teachers with non-white ethnic backgrounds than those mid-performing or below performance schools. The data for Higher Education (HE) is just as alarming. According to the *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Report 2013*, there are 7730 Black people working in UK academia, which constitutes only 2.1% of the total academic workforce. When figures for non-UK nationals were omitted from the calculation, Black people's presence amounted to 1.7%. As the 2011 UK census documented that the overall Black population amounted to 3.3%, the 1.7% represents a significant under-representation in the HE workforce. In contrast, White staff make up 84.3% of the HE working population and 86% of the wider UK population. With reference to presence and power – when it comes to seniority 92.4% (15905) of professors are White and 0.5% (85) are Black; of those 85 professors, 15 are females. These figures demonstrate the stark realities of being a Black academic in the UK.

One could argue that geographical location might be a rationale for higher performing schools not employing more BME teachers because BME individuals live and work in deprived areas relative to their White counter parts. The argument of geographical location however, might also indicate discrimination, as candidates might not be selected for employment because of fears around commuting or relocating. In the case of universities, it is unclear how they might respond to the underrepresentation of Black staff at all levels in their institutions. Mark Christian an associate professor of Black world studies and sociology at Miami University, who himself, left the UK for employment in North America, suggests that the UK's lack of multi-cultural curriculum has caused an exodus.

The British higher education system still has some way to go before it is considered a prime example of multi-cultural Britain in terms of its share of Black faculty at all levels. Sadly, if we are

honest with ourselves, there is a major problem within the culture of British academy that is stifling the creativity and potential of black academics (Christian 2005:online).

Christian (2005:online) further states:

The prognosis for improving this pandemic exclusion is rather bleak, as black British academics have felt it necessary to secure a worthwhile career in the US academy rather than continue their individual struggles in the UK. Arguably, apart from the intellectual disrespect and poor working conditions in the UK academy, it is the paucity of opportunities to develop British black studies perspectives that makes many of us leave for greener pastures.

The Network for Black and Asian Professionals (NBAP), reports that within the Further Education (FE) sector, the number of Black principals from Black and minority groups increased from two in 2002 to 13 in 2010. The NBAP, however, notes that a further 25 principals would need to be appointed to ensure that the profile of senior leaders in the sector more accurately reflects the UK population as a whole and a further 59 to reflect the student population.

For British universities, the figures are no more encouraging – a recent report from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) shows that there are no Black or Asian vice-chancellors in UK universities, although the report suggests that the ethnicity of ten were unknown and the author of the report believes there is at least one Asian vice-chancellor at the time of writing at Liverpool Hope University, who is South African. The author further reports that of the 525 deputy vice chancellors or pro-vice chancellors, ten are Asian, none is Black and five are listed as 'other' (including mixed race) – the ethnicity of 15 remains unknown. Figures for the student body of some universities are just as stark – according to the report, of the 412, 980 students attending the 24 Russell Group

of universities in 2012-13, 2.6% were Black and 9.7% were Asian; whilst Black students are over-represented in the newer universities.

The figures reveal that Black and Asian individuals are underrepresented at every level of management and participation across the British educational system – demonstrating historical inequalities and sending the message that Black and Asian people do not belong or have the capabilities to run and manage an educational establishment. It would seem that those Black and Asian individuals who have entered these bastions of whiteness and maleness are, at best, little more than an illusion, a token gesture that serve as distraction strategy for these establishments or at worst, subjected to institutional racism which maintains the status of whiteness, while denigrating blackness. This also sends subliminal messages to Black and minority pupils and students who enter these establishments that they should not aspire to become a leader in an educational or industrial establishment because the faces of these institutions are irrevocably White. It also signals that power and control lies in whiteness, perpetrating the myth that Black individuals are inferior and subordinate to Whites. These messages also have economic, social and political ramifications for Black and minority groups and women in Britain.

As Black and other minority groups occupy lower positions than their White counterparts in the workforce, it follows that they will be paid at a lower rate than their White counterparts. Additionally, women regardless of race are paid less than men. This lower rate of pay consequently leads to lower economic, social and political capitals, more importantly it leads to an imbalance in wealth. Wealth in any given society is salient in determining where a person lives, whether individuals have access to healthy food and recreation that is important for health. Wealth determines whether people are subject to environment and social problems such as crime and litter; wealth determines if an individual will be poor in old age and wealth gives individuals political leverage.

Bourdieu's (1977) theory of social reproduction (discussed further in chapter six) suggests that schools and other educational establishments are sites for the reproduction of social inequalities and exclusion. He suggests that rewarding students who possess the required cultural capital with valued credentials, whilst penalising those who do not, play out inequalities in cultural capital in schools through teachers' pedagogical actions of promoting the culture of the dominant class. Thus educational establishments become agents of social exclusion and reproduction. This process of reproduction also challenges liberal views that educational establishments are instruments of social reform and equality, as Black and ethnic minority groups in Britain not only suffer from the stigma of class but also that of race – that is they are doubly stigmatised.

Educational credentials are important because they are used as assets in securing employment. As discussed in chapter 2, government figures show that African Caribbean heritage pupils are the lowest achievers of the valued 5 GCSEs, grades A* to C and on entering university they are less likely than other groups to obtain a first class honours degree. The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFC) (2014) reports that 72% of White students who started university with A-levels of BBB received a first or 2:1, compared with 56% of Asians students and 53% of Black students entering with the same A-level grades. Although there are no figures for students entering university through the vocational routes, it can be surmised that those students are less likely to obtain a first or 2:1. And as Black individuals are more likely to follow a vocational route into university, it follows that they are less likely to receive a first or 2:1 honours degree. The report also suggests that, students from disadvantaged areas tend to do less well in higher education than those with the same prior educational attainment from more advantaged areas. The authors said, 'We found that... those from the most disadvantaged areas have consistently lower higher education degree outcomes than those with the same prior educational attainment from other areas'. As Black students are more likely than whites to live in disadvantaged areas (even if this is not true of all

Black students), it can be assumed that they are disproportionately represented in the disadvantaged group.

Those students obtaining a first or 2:1 are more likely to obtain 'top jobs' in comparison to those obtaining a 2:2 or third class degree. As Black students are less likely to obtain a first or 2:1, this suggests that their educational credentials are of a lesser value than those who attain a first or 2:1. The fact that most Black individuals' academic qualifications are acquired outside the elite Russell Group of universities, lends weight to the idea that Black individuals' academic credentials are less valuable than those of Whites, as there is status and intangible cultural capital associated with the elite Russell Group of universities. According to a 2014 Russell Group publication, in 2012-13, nine of the ten universities visited by the largest number of graduate employers were from the Russell Group. A graduate from the Group also suggests that studying at a Russell Group university aided her/his employment.

My specific degree was not a requirement for my job, but a numerical degree was asked for. It has proved VERY useful in my job and new course. The reputation of my uni contributed to me getting the job, I think.

In the global societies, universities are not only viewed as bricks and mortar and a space for learning but also as having brand value. This does not suggest that the knowledge gained at Russell Group universities is better than that from newer universities – what it indicates is that employers' perceptions matter.

The data discussed above reveal the level of inequalities faced by Black and minority groups in Britain. Despite legislation and the declaration of many companies that, 'we are an equal opportunity organisation', the evidence reveals a different story. Black and ethnic minority groups in Britain, it appears, can only occupy bastions of whiteness by the generosity of Whites, despite their academic credentials.

The sociology of space is connected with the social and material structure of spaces – it is concerned with understanding the social practices, institutional forces and material complexity of how people and spaces interact. Allen et al. (1998) suggests that spaces and places are not isolated and bounded entities, but material and symbolic constructions that work as meaningful and practical settings for social interaction. Nevertheless, in Britain some spaces are not, or are only accessible to Black individuals in limited numbers (see discussion above). The spectre of institutionalised racism, the never ceasing buzz in the background of White organisations, serves as a constant reminder to Black and BME people that they are 'strangers' in a place they call home.

Every interaction occurs somewhere, which means that all action is embedded in space(s) and these spaces obtain their significance through the meanings humans attach to them. Once people commence to use particular spaces boundaries are placed on them and meanings become articulated, and how individuals or groups use spaces can designate them either public or private spaces. For example, an individual's home might be considered his/her private space, whereas the work environment or the city streets might be designated public spaces. The space one occupies at any given moment, private or public, determines one's level of security and comfort; hence personal space defines boundaries of security or insecurity and of comfort or discomfort with others.

Voices from Outsiders Inside

Participants in the study narrated the different ways in which they are marked as 'space invaders' or excluded from access to various social settings in Britain. JS talked about not being recognised as a solicitor when she attended court, BD suggested that self-surveillance is part of her daily routine in the workplace and that teachers failed to recognise her as a professional. MM also indicated that self-surveillance was a process he utilised to survive drama classes as well as in public spaces – that is spaces available to every citizen and visitors to the country. He (MM) also discussed living in a segregated community and

attending school where the social divide was acted out. D talked about the segregated spaces in college and on entering a non-designated space how one was made uncomfortable. HB expressed his opinion about the lack of Black men in certain spaces. SK suggested that school was a space of restriction whilst college represented freedom and some participants narrated the struggles of aspiring to be in higher sets in schools. These accounts of the significance of space are discussed more fully below.

Marked Bodies in White Spaces

As discussed above, Puwar (2004) identifies the British Parliament as a bastion of maleness and whiteness where Black and female bodies are space invaders. There are however, other environments where maleness and whiteness have been normalised and therefore Black bodies in those spaces are marked as highly visible and not recognisable as belonging in particular context. There are also spaces where the Black body is excluded or welcomed as a token and there are spaces where racialised male bodies are sites of danger to White individuals.

JS narrates how she is often unrecognisable as a solicitor in the spaces of legal environments (courts). She further suggests that her identity as a solicitor pose a danger to other people's health – that is people are 'shocked' to find out she is a solicitor and not the social worker or family worker they assumed.

...when I go to court they'll say are you a social worker or are you a family worker or something like that. They assume that's what I am and when I say solicitor, they'll say oh! It's like they're taken back. (JS)

JS' narrative could be interpreted as a symptom of the wider society. In popular culture Black people are not necessarily represented as solicitors, doctors or judges, they are more likely to be represented as the criminal in soaps and legal dramas. Thus when Black individuals are in particular White spaces, they are

not recognised as belonging in certain roles. Many White individuals might recognise a White male as a solicitor but not a Black female, hence the disassociation.

JJ implies that her identity as middleclass (see narrative below) was obscured by her blackness; therefore, she became undesirable in particular spaces of commercial interactions. Similarly, in the 1980s and early 1990s, there were stores that seemingly catered to the middle and upper classes, so anyone viewed as working class was a body out of space in those stores. In addition, there is the signifier of her blackness (skin), an indication of how race and class can intersect and be used to include or exclude individuals from desirable resources.

The sub-text of both JS' and JJ's arguments is that of invisibility, reminiscent of Ralph Ellison's (1965) *Invisible Man*. Ellison, writing in the prologue states:

When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves or figments of their imagination – indeed, everything and anything except me (1965:3).

According to Ellison (1965), invisibility occurs because people deliberately refuse to see, because Black people are of no significance. This invisibility is a choice that people make, not a biological or accidental event – people will see the stereotypes all around them – but refuse to see the real person standing or sitting before them. (see chapter six for a discussion of invisibility).

MM's narratives also demonstrate that space and gender are important factors in his navigation of British life and that proximity is also imbued with meaning – it shows where a thing or person is in relation to another thing or person. In the city in which MM grew up, Black and White people lived separate lives, one race in one area and the other race in another area. They travel in buses going to and from school in opposite directions. It is almost as if it was a deliberate

act to prevent the two groups from interacting socially or to prevent Black people from occupying spaces marked as White. This separateness was also enacted in school, in that they played in different playgrounds – the White playground and the All Nations playground. To put it another way, the playgrounds were divided on racial lines, just as it was in the city in which he lived.

I think that goes back to, again been in Liverpool, 'cause, I mean, not that I mean the people that I know were directly racist but the city is; it's got a lot, there was a big barrier between Black and White; it's almost as big as the North and West gap (North-South divide); it's not spoken about. (MM)

The school was like in the middle of a plot of land and there was a playground on one side and a playground on the other side and the playground I used to play football in at school was called, it was nicknamed the All Nations Play Ground. That's what we called it and basically it had Bengali lads, Asian lads, Somalis, a couple of White people and we just all play football. But then the other yard was the White yard where only White kids play football. So that's what I mean; it was just different. (MM)

MM's narrative regarding the segregated state of the society in which he grew up, suggests silence, similar to invisibility '*it's not spoken about*', albeit an open silence. The 1985 Swann Report highlighted Liverpool as having one of the worst "*minority*" experiences in Britain even though a Black community has been in existence since at least the 19th Century. It implies that "*Liverpool Blacks*" although totally assimilated, remained a socially excluded group in terms of the White majority community's employment and social environment (Swann Report 1985 – chapter 15).

MM's observation is not a new one. What is remarkable is that more than a decade later, a young Black man arrives at the same conclusion as the authors of the Swann Report, who were addressing the aftermath of the 1981 civil uprising in Liverpool: Black people and White people remained largely as a segregated society. MM's story also demonstrates how particular spaces can be designated Black or White or as in MM's school the All Nations playground and the White playground. In both the context of the school and of Liverpool's society, White individuals were in positions of power, so perhaps it is not remarkable that within these two spaces, whiteness remained firmly entrenched. It is also not surprising that on arriving in Manchester, MM saw it, in his own words as, '*almost a culture shock*' because the interaction between Black and White students in the college he attended was starkly different to the school he attended and the society he grew up in.

Whose Space?

Headlines in the popular press like those below serve as fodder to feed the imaginations of the public and send the message that young Black men pose an eminent threat to White society.

Violent inner-city crime, the figures and a question of race

Girl 5 caught in teenage gang crossfire

Welfare dependency and lack of discipline are turning black boys into criminals

When spaces, (especially public spaces) are occupied by both the gendered and racialised bodies – for example a young Black man encountering an older White female, it might be traumatic or distressing for both parties.

MM recognises his identity as a young Black man, (mugger, violent etc.) in British society and suggests that self-surveillance was part of his daily routine when navigating public spaces. He explained his feelings of anger at (White) people assuming what he is, without allowing for self-identification. He, however, indicated that he had developed strategies for traversing public spaces in the pursuit of his daily life. BH, another male participant, articulated a similar story, which is not illustrated in this chapter.

I'd get angry yeah, because people would assume what you are and I'm the type of guy yeah, I'll smile before I frown with you. If I see an old woman walking down the road, to stop her from feeling uncomfortable, I'll cross the road and smile to show her, look I'm not a threat to you, You openly go out of your way to try and be like that yeah and people are throwing it back in your face. It makes you switch; it makes you think just forget it... (MM)

MM crosses the road to prevent the (fictitious) old lady from feeling scared, which might be a traumatic event for both parties. She might have, that very day, read a newspaper headline or seen a news report on young Black men and crime; recalling this on encountering a young Black man on an isolated street could be a traumatising event for her. Equally, for MM this encounter could prove just as traumatic, because he runs the risk of being misidentified which could involve police intervention and thus an encounter with the British criminal justice system, which for many (young) Black men seem to be a rite of passage. Interaction with the police might be a traumatising event for MM, because as a well-informed young Black male he is acquainted with the relationship between (young) Black men and the police. Crossing the road creates space between himself and his (fictitious) old lady – sending the message that he is in transit to somewhere else and he is not about to make her a victim of crime.

Brekhaus (1998) argues that certain bodies are marked (raced) in public spaces such that extra identifications and signifiers are attached to them, some of which are not necessarily associated with the marked bodies. For instance, in the discourses of criminality, young Black men are marked as performing acts of crime above that of young White men. Thus, when young Black men are seen in groups or alone in public spaces, they often invoke feelings of threat and insecurity in many White individuals. They might also become the centre of attention when people invoke images of drug dealing and other criminal activities like gun crime.

Proximity also has social meanings – it is a cliché that actions speak louder than words and MM crossing the road sends the message that he is not a danger to any individual. Crossing the road also creates space between the two individuals, signalling distance. Distance in this context refers to the space between people in a public place. Proximity and distance play a role in social interactions; proximity determines the types of interaction that takes place and distance between individuals and or groups indicates relationship. Thus people have a physical distance at which they interact comfortably; e.g. people who

have a close relationship may have minimal space between them during interactions; strangers however, are more likely to have greater distance between them. Throughout strangers' interactions, violation of the 'proper' distance might cause wariness, insecurity, distress or fright. MM's strategy might be unsophisticated in its presentation but it could have huge ramifications in its utility. For instance, both parties could pass by each other without fear or discomfort.

MM's narration is an example of how space, race and gender intersect to create both a public and private identity and consequently zones of inclusion and exclusion. From his perspective, stereotype depicts him as a dangerous individual (young black man, over six feet tall) with criminal intentions, thus his public identity. According to his personal identity, he sees himself as friendly, therefore he smiles to show that he is not intending on acting on his supposed 'criminal' impulses, he crosses the road – further giving space to the old lady to minimise any perceived threat. The strategy of smiling and crossing the road in this context might be MM's way of being included in a social environment where he is often recognised as a marked body.

Smiling and crossing the street might seem unsophisticated as a strategy in navigating public spaces, but both are imbued with meanings. For example, smiling contains social meanings - greetings are often coupled with smiling (Eibl-Eibesfeld 1989). Smiling is also a persuasive technique i.e. persuading someone to do something (Burgener et al. 1992); it is often used as a tool to solicit leniency (LaFrance et al. 2003) and a smile can protect against displeasure (Goldenthal et al. 1981).

Staples (1986) in *Black Men and Public Space* relates several similar encounters of how his mere presence as a young Black, on encountering White women in public spaces, causes them fear. The extract below demonstrates one example.

My first victim was a woman...white, well dressed, probably in her

early twenties. I came upon her late one evening on a deserted street in Hyde Park, a relatively affluent neighborhood in an otherwise mean, impoverished section of Chicago. As I swung onto the avenue behind her, there seemed to be a discreet, uninflamatory distance between us. Not so. She cast back a worried glance. To her, the youngish black man--- a broad six feet two inches with a beard and billowing hair, both hands shoved into the pockets of a bulky military jacket--- seemed menacingly close. After a few more quick glimpses, she picked up her pace and was soon running in earnest. Within seconds she disappeared into a cross street (Staples 1986:online).

His strategy for dealing with such encounters is to whistle melodies from Beethoven, Vivaldi and popular classical composers. Staples (1986) indicates that most of his potential victims soon recognise that a mugger would not be 'warbling bright, sunny selections from Vivaldi's Four Seasons'.

The use of a smile and the action of crossing the road highlights an aspect of MM's sense of identity that is omitted from his perceived identity as a menace to British society. Accordingly, MM's public identity as a social threat functions to obscure that part of him that operates in public spaces, that suggests he is friendly, approachable, considerate and caring. This dimension to the complexities of his identity is unrecognised. In addition, MM's story is an example of how assigned stereotypes shape Black men's experiences in contrast to Black women. For Black men, the issue of being stereotyped as a danger to society is a constant underlying feature of how they navigate public spaces. MM said he would smile and cross the road to show he is not a threat - being a threat is a specific racialised and gendered stereotype uniquely assigned to Black men. This stereotype can profoundly affect how Black men interact in White spaces and how they manage their day-to-day interactions in public spaces. Additionally, this is an example of how Black men and White men might experience public spaces differently – marked bodies do not have the same

taken for granted privileges that is associated with unmarked bodies – that is the taken for granted assumptions that their encounters in public space will be without incident(s). Black men must first, think about all the possible encounters they might have while navigating public spaces – as BH puts it ‘I have to think how they (interpreted as White people) view me’.

MM’s story also suggests that when speaking about Black experiences, race and gender matters. To clarify, one cannot discuss Black people’s experiences in spaces without the consideration or intersection of race and gender, because they (race and gender) are ever present in Black individuals’ experiences.

Token(s)

When women comprise less than 15% of a total category in an organisation, they can become tokens, argues (Kanter 1977), as they are symbolic and representative of their (race) gender. Puwar (2004) suggests that when racialised or female bodies enter spaces of maleness and whiteness there is always a burden of representation – the disadvantages associated with being a token includes: high visibility, performance pressures, isolation and misrepresentation in order to fit group norms. She suggests that the token becomes an experimental case. Kanter’s argument is associated with White women but can be extrapolated to include Black women and men. It is extremely likely therefore that Black women and Black men are hyper-visible in their organisations as tokens in comparison to White women or White men because of the added symbolisms of being Black. Whilst White women may have to cope with sexism, Black women have to deal with both racism and sexism. Black men, equally have to deal with racism and gender (ism) in the form of ‘Black masculinity’.

The notion of tokenism as discussed above is confirmed by BD’s narrative. She expresses her fears and concerns about being tokenistic whilst also being mindful that it might be the organisation’s means of fulfilling legal requirements. She also suggests that she is highly visible and is therefore mindful of being a

'lab rat' in an experiment – that is her performance would be judge as indicative of the 'Black race' and not only of her as an individual.

I see myself as somebody trying to fit in, trying to work with and make best use of the opportunities that I have and to almost use the status in who I am to achieve because I don't want to be seen to be tokenistic in anyway. But I think sometimes because I'm Black and female; that it goes on the stats (statistics). You're (the organisation) ticking that box; we've got a Black female here who's a manager. So while that might grate on the nerve, the situation is as it is, because I am who I am, and I'm the minority. (BD)

This narrative is in keeping with Bhopal and Jackson's (2013) research in which they found that Black and minority staff in academia did not wish to take on certain roles because of their ethnic identity. They use the following narratives to illustrate their findings:

I did get pictured in the university magazines and all that, to a point where I got quite resentful. And if somebody said 'you should go and do this', I had to ask them why? Is it because I am Black you want me in the picture, or because you think I can contribute?"

Professor

"I mean as I said when things come up we're wheeled out because of our background to show that the university is representative".

Senior Research Fellow (Bhopal and Jackson p. 7)

BD's narrative suggests that she is aware that her role might be the organisation's way of fulfilling legal obligations, still she is determined to use her status as a manager to achieve because she is also aware if she fails, she closes the door on other Black individuals getting to her level in the organisation – that is, she reveals the crack in the race ceiling.

BD further narrates her awareness of being hyper-visible and consequently the performance pressures that comes with it.

I am one of the few so because of that I've got to be on my Ps and Qs all the time, make sure that my name is not a common name

(The phrase 'common name' in this context means that BD wants to ensure that when her name is mentioned in the organisation it is for positive reasons and not negative or that she is not constantly talked about).

B is not a common name, I'm Black so it's like I stand out like a sore thumb. So, ... I have to make sure whatever I do, I do to a standard (do to a standard = high level) because my name will follow me, my history will follow me. People know my name even if they don't know me". (BD)

The type of performance pressure alluded to by BD was also noted by Williams in her (1989) study of African American female college administrators where some participants suggested that they had to work harder than their White or Black male counterparts. Moreover, Essed (1991) (in Davidson 1997), confirms that Black and ethnic minority women managers have to be better qualified and meet higher demands and performance levels than any other group. BD also mentioned that she was better qualified than some of her senior managers, yet she often feels as if she has to prove herself.

I worked hard for my qualifications and sometimes I'm more qualified than those people that are senior to myself; they don't have a second degree, so therefore I feel I have every right as you (senior managers) do.

“It is difficult, but because of my colour being seen as not able to deliver the work; I can still do what I need to do, but the challenges are because of the way this organisation is going. I wonder whether or not I’ll have a place in the new structure and get recognition for the work I’ve done over the years... (BD)

Both Kanter (1977) and Puwar (2004) in their findings suggest that high visibility was part of the identity of being a token in an organisation and thus the token must outperform others in the group in order to prove he/she is there on merit.

In this situation if BD’s outstanding performances were to be acknowledged in any way within the organisation this might lead to alienation from her colleagues, leading to further isolation because there is no other Black person in the organisation that might act as mentor or friend.

Puwar (2004) suggests that black bodies are under ‘super-surveillance’ and Golberg (1996 in Puwar 2004) called it, ‘super/vision’. This occurs when authorities like the police use ‘apparatus of micro discipline’ such as helicopters and flood lights in order to ensure the visibility of the racially marginalised population within their constructed confines. Puwar (2004) notes that ‘being under super-surveillance’ gives Black men and women a feeling of being in a constant headlight as they pose a potential risk. She stresses,

Existing under the pressures of a microscopic spotlight of racialised and gendered optics, the slightest mistake is likely to be noticed, even exaggerated and then taken as evidence of authority being misplaced. (Puwar 2004:61)

However, BD appears to have flipped the switch and turned the spotlight inwards towards herself and uses it as a strategy of self-presentation. In other words, she uses her ‘super/vision’ powers as a manager to observe the

behaviours and attitudes of others in the workplace in order to present herself under their spotlight, on her own terms. The following narratives illustrate this:

Some people [colleagues] they dress very casual and what have you but they're okay because they've made it.

This statement suggest that BD is aware that despite her place and position in a White dominated space, she cannot make any claims to have '*made it*', as it were and therefore cannot present herself like her colleagues because she is under continuous 'super/vision'. More importantly, her self-presentation is a means of expressing her own identity in contrast to that which is perceived by others.

What I've learned on the BME programmes is, how you present yourself is important, so you don't want to come in looking like them (White colleagues). It's almost like they perceive you as something else and I know through living in this society, hearing conversations and seeing on TV how they portray our people (Black people), if I came in (work place) (dressed) in little and nothing, and didn't look the part, (of a manager) they don't seem to have the same respect for you. (BD)

Lewis and Gunn (2007) report that BME respondents in their study appear to experience greater frequency of negative behaviours from colleagues of equal position in comparison to their White counterparts.

I make sure that when I come to work I present myself in a certain way, so that they don't think – because people have their stereotypes about BME people and I am not falling for that. That's why when I come to work I make sure I look good, I smell good and I talk how I need to talk and I fit in and I do what I know I need to do because I know and I'm very much aware and conscious that I'm different and I don't want them to see me as

anything lesser because I didn't get my qualifications in [name of retailer].

Here BD is divulging some of the strategies she adopts in order to maintain a professional persona as well as survive in the workplace. Her narratives suggest she is very aware of the constant 'super/vision' and how her race and gender make her 'other' therefore not an insider but an inside/outsider. Flipping the switch, however, enables her not only to self-present on her own terms, but also to minimise damage to her psyche from disrespect. She also indicates that aside from style (clothes), self-presentation is also about ways of speaking – so language might play an intrinsic role in the identity of racialised bodies in White dominated spaces.

Who is a Victim?

BDs narrative also problematizes the taken-for-granted assumption that Black individuals, when speaking about race and gender, often narrate through a dialogue of 'victimhood' (e.g. Jones-Johnson 1988; Carbado 1998). In other words, Black individuals who challenge issues of race and racism are often accused of playing the race card or act like victims because their ancestors suffered the atrocities of enslavement. Jones-Johnson (1988:312) researching Black female academics suggests that these individuals are in what she termed 'victim bind'. 'I realised that black female academics in particular, sociologists, are in a victim bind.' She explains how she arrived at the conclusion: 'They are in a bind because they are black and female, and they are victimized because of their perceived double-advantage'. This she suggests was a consequence of the political culture and institutional structures of academic departments that shape stereotypical images of Black female social scientists. Her argument is that Black female social scientists are stereotyped in academic circles as gaining privileges through the virtue of claiming 'victim-hood' of being Black and female. Bearing this in mind, I would conclude that this form of theorising is an example of the prejudicial perspective that Black sociologists might have endured in order

to bring race to the fore in discourses regarding Black men and women or other issues concerning Black experiences.

BH in his narrative explains how the labelling of Black people as 'playing the victim' can be highlighted in the guise of entertainment and thus become taken for granted facts.

If you watch the Fridays movies, ... one of the guys got robbed, Ice Cube got robbed ... and the police officer who's White said don't give me that victim, that victim em thing is well overplayed, do you understand? So what they're saying stop acting like a victim and get up and do something but when you try you get knock down. (BH)

Here, BH suggests that the stereotype of Black people as 'victim' gets played out in popular movies and then is enacted in society to counter Black people's claims of racism. This is similar to the argument made by Yosso et al. (2009) (see discussion below) regarding microaggression. BH also indicates that this stereotype is used to imply that Black people are lazy, 'get up and do something' yet, when they try, they get knocked down. Whilst Black people are victimised through racism on a daily basis, they do not all act as victims. DB's story narrates a counter tale to the argument of victimhood.

BD's narratives suggest that she is very aware of how race and gender is perceived and played out in society, but rather than being a 'victim' of the system as suggested by Jones-Johnson or depicted in popular movies, she spoke with the voice of resilience and victory. She resisted the presumed knowing of her identity as a Black female and presented herself in her own definition – as she said, 'people have their stereotypes about BME people and I am not falling for that.' She acknowledged the possibility of tokenism but resisted bemoaning being taken advantage of. 'We've got a Black female here who's a manager. So while that might grate on the nerve, the situation is as it

is...’ Despite her negative encounters, she doesn’t lament how her race and gender is impeding her progress; she simply says, ‘I can still do what I need to do.’ BD is mindful that although she has cracked the race/gender ceiling; she still has not made it – ‘...but they’re okay because they’ve made it;’ implying that there is no such taken for granted assumption of ‘making it’ in a White dominated space. For her, however this was not a negative connotation but an acknowledgement that she still has some way to travel in order to be accepted in the workplace, she worries however that she might not have the opportunity within the new structure. ‘I wonder whether or not I’ll have a place in the new structure and get recognition for the work I’ve done over the years...’. BDs dialogue also indicates there are ways of being a manager, which are different to being a Black manager: ‘if I came in (work place) (dressed) in little and nothing, and didn’t look the part, (of a manager) they don’t seem to have the same respect for you.’ The implication in this text is that White individuals in the workplace, despite how a White manager might dress, still have respect for him/her. If a Black manager however, was to dress in similar casual manner; then the White co-workers would lack respect for the Black manager. BD indicates that she has to ‘look the part’ to gain equal respect and thus dress plays a pivotal role in determining the level of respect afforded a Black manager in a White dominated space.

Race (less) in Society

Racial difference has been formed and continues to be re-formed in order to serve social and economic purposes. It is sustained through social, legal and political controls – through enslavement, the criminal justice system and through Acts of Parliament such as restrictive immigration policies, (Bhopal 1998; Gilroy 2000; Gillborn 2009; Hills et al. 2010). Racial difference is reinforced by prejudice and discrimination – through whiteness and White domination. Nonetheless, race is often articulated as a 'real' entity and therefore has negative implications for Black and other minority groups in Britain (see chapter 4 for further discussions on the impact of race in education). Researchers such as Gillborn (2010); Vincent et al. (2012) and Vincent et al. (2013) are interested in the notion of race because people think and behave as if it is a real and quantifiable phenomenon. That is, race is a fundamental aspect in discussions of education, crime, poverty, music, sports culture etc. Hence people rarely question its reality. The taken for granted assumptions of racial difference result in interactions between people who have been assigned to different racial groups based on skin pigmentation and facial features. Interactions and race relations between the different groups are reliant on the recognised societal norms and expectations about the characteristics of the different racial groups, which, in turn, result in the allocation of resources, power and privilege in a given society. For example, in Britain 'whiteness' is viewed as the norm and non-white is seen as an anomaly – that is something abnormal. This abnormality is often used to exclude or limit access to positions of power and prestige as well as access to quality education (Puwar 2004; Gillborn 2010).

Despite the declaration(s) that race has no scientific basis, I would surmise that this has had little effect on social policy and deep-seated social attitudes about race as a whole in Britain. In the past (1980s) there was a focus on race and culture, but despite the Race Relations Act (1976) (Amended 2000), and the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), race relations in

Britain were reinforced by the widely held assumption about the inherent inferiority of Black people's identity and culture (Mirza 1992, Chadderton 2010). The 1999 Macpherson Report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence declared the Metropolitan Police Force as being 'institutionally racist'. Since that report, it has come to be widely held that institutionalised racism permeates many of Britain's organisations – hence racism is cemented within its culture. This echoes Derek Bell's notion of racism as permanent to society. Bell (1992:5), speaking in an American context writes, 'it's time to 'get real' about the persistence of racism...'

In recent times both in America and the UK, there has been a shift from the dialogue of 'race' to one of colour-blindness, used as a strategy in overcoming racism (Ryan et al. 2007; Vargas 2014). Colour-blindness is the racial ideology that suggests one of the ways to end racial disparities, is by treating all people as equal, without paying attention to race, ethnicity or culture. Since the election of Barak Obama in 2008 as the President of the United States, the debate has further shifted to one of the post-racial condition, or as Crenshaw (2013) calls it, '*The age of Obama*' [emphasis added] - the notion that race no longer matters. Scholars such as Crenshaw (2013); Hill Collins (2008); Ladson Billings and Tate (1995) and Beverly Daniel Tatum (1992) suggest that the assertion of a post-racial position is a form of silencing. Crenshaw (2013) in a keynote address, speaking on race, law and social justice, suggests that the post-racial position is an attempt to shrink available spaces in which race talks can take place. Crenshaw claims that notions of diversity have been tamed and disciplined under the weight of colour-blind ideology in an attempt to insulate the status quo from any significant measure of racial change. She states,

Raceless ideology has played a vital role in shrinking the available real-estate around which people who care about racial injustice and racial inclusion can actually make forward movements (Crenshaw 2013:online).

Consequently, people believe that law stops doing its 'dirty work' once explicit racism is over with.

It must be said, however, that the recent shifts from discourses of inferiority to a racist dialogue concerning culture and ethnicity, racelessness and post-racial, do not negate the historical context of race and racism. The dialogue is no longer about race inferiority and racism but about aspects of people's culture and ethnicity; yet the impact of the historical context of race resonates in such liberal times (Cohen 1999; Lentin 2006).

Historically Black and White individuals have been conceived of as different races (Hall 1997; Omi and Winant 1994; Hall and Du Gay 2011; Martinez et al. 2012), with White denoted superior to Blacks. Consequently, both have had turbulent and often violent interactions, of which slavery is one such interaction. *In Question of Cultural Identity*, Hall and Du Guy (2011:4) suggest that:

Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular, but multiple, constructed across different often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They (identities) are subject to a racial historicization and are constantly in the process of change and transformation.... Identities are therefore constructed within, not outside representation...

When race relations and social interactions amongst racial groups are characterised mainly by conflict, negative preconceptions are factors in any such interactions. When these negative preconceptions and beliefs are acted upon, this results in discrimination and inequalities. The discrimination and inequalities occur primarily when a member of the dominant race (in a British context, Whites) declines to give opportunities to a qualified member of the subordinate race (Blacks) that he/she would ordinarily grant to a member of his/her own social race (institutional Racism). When such a distinctive power imbalance

exists in the relations between races, the impact of interactions is often the exclusion of the dominated from bastions of whiteness and the deprivation of life chances and opportunities for social mobility. That is, the barring of non-whites from esteemed White institutions such as the judiciary or from access to desirable resources such as a home in suburbia (see discussion above regarding the disparities in employment).

In the Face of Adversity - Resilience

BD recalls a time when race was used in an attempt to exclude her from access to her dream profession despite having all the relevant credentials.

I applied for the SRN (State Registered Nurse) training at (hospital) and I was confronted by a nurse who said I didn't have the qualification and I wasn't good enough to be a SRN at which point I was mortified because I thought I had done all that I needed to do to get the SRN training. I had put all my dreams and aspirations in front of me and I thought okay, I'll start with what was the SEN (State Enrolled Nurse) training, but then I thought no! that's not what I want to do so I applied to [hospital] and I got in straight away ... (BD)

In one instance she was told her qualifications were not adequate for the SRN training, despite them being valid, but not only that, she was informed that she was 'not good enough' – an assessment based on the observation of skin pigmentation. This assessment is an indication of how explicit racism can impact and impede Black individuals' progress in British society. Her initial reaction to the rejection of her academic qualifications and self was to consider an alternative route to her career choice. However, on analysing the erroneous assumptions made about her, she decided not to pursue this alternative route but to persist with her current career path. BD did not allow this individual's valuation to determine her destiny. She was able to overcome her

disappointment; she used her personal values and ambition of achieving to motivate her, to surmount this barrier and pursue her career through a different hospital. As she said, 'I had a vision of what I wanted to do, which was to be a SRN, to become a midwife....'

This articulation is also an indication of the possession of aspirational capital as described by Yosso (2005:77-78), resources not often associated with Black individuals. Yosso (2005) describes aspirational capital as resiliency – the ability to maintain hope in the face of adversity. To dream of the possibilities beyond one's present circumstances, even without the objective means to attain those goals (see chapter 7).

DB's determination and motivation stem from the fact that she had a vision of what she wanted to become; as she said, 'I had put all my dreams and aspirations in front of me ... because I wanted to be a midwife.' Aspirational capital was not her only asset; she had the relevant cultural capital in the form of academic credentials that is prized by the dominant group. In the situation where she was rejected, given that she had the relevant credentials - one would need to ask what else was at play that day? BD was clearly marked as 'other', so one would have to come to the conclusion that race was at play. As suggested in the introduction, the intention of the chapter was to identify how race, space and gender, singularly or in combination, are used to curtail or limit access to spaces. In this context, I would argue that this is an example when race was used as a weapon of exclusion.

If BD had internalised this individual's assessment of her abilities, she might have devoted a year doing unnecessary qualifications, which would have not in themselves guaranteed her a place on the SRN training, as apparently she was 'not good enough'. Equally, a less determined individual might have given up her ambition to become a midwife, which in turn may have resulted in her becoming a recipient of social benefit. Therefore, when Black individuals are excluded or dissuaded from pursuing a chosen occupation, there may be social

costs to the individual as well as society in general. BD, however, found a different hospital that deemed her credentials and race acceptable and was granted a place on the SRN training.

JJ also gives an account of how racism can be used by others to restrict and dictate what a person can and cannot do.

The only person who can hold you back is yourself – sometimes the people around you who are telling you what’s inside their heads to restrict you and the thing is; to get control over your brain and over your mind and confidence and what is possible.

JJ in her story of racial encounters indicates that she is aware of and acknowledges the effects of continuous normalised racism (see below for further discussion), but refused to let it define her personhood. Her story points to the complexities of defining the identities of Black individuals, in contrast to the essentialists’ views of a homogeneous Black identity. Similarly, it complicates the notion of Black people chiefly as victims of racism. This is by no means a denial that Black individuals are victims of racial inequalities, as the evidence speaks for itself – but rather, as a means of articulating an alternative identity of blackness. JJ demonstrates the notion of resilience and survival, themes that are often invisible in the elucidation of Black identity and race relations with Whites. JJ suggests that normalised racism is an attack on the minds of Black individual ‘to get control over your brain and over your mind and confidence and what is possible’. Having no status as a Psychologist, it is a challenge to agree with this point. That being said, it is acknowledged that racism can cause psychological harm. Karlsen and Nazroo (2002:online), state:

The different ways in which racism may manifest itself (as interpersonal violence, institutional discrimination, or socioeconomic disadvantage) all have independent detrimental effects on health, regardless of the health indicator used.

Still, JJ presents a sense of strength and character whilst articulating her experience of racism.

(Whose) Gender in Society

Anyone trying to understand the social positions of men and women must sooner or later confront the question of causality. The impressive repertoire of differences seemingly inscribed on the 'fault' line of femininity/masculinity suggests an understanding conspiracy on the part of Mother Nature to make women unequal. But the stuff of social science is complex social systems and there is nothing simple about gender. (Oakley 2005:2)

Often when sociologists talk about race, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability and other social phenomena – they talk as if they are stand-alone entities. The concept of intersectionality acknowledges that race, class and gender along with other social elements interact in complex ways to create unique experiences for Black individuals. Since the 1980s, some scholars have recognised the ways in which race, class and gender are connected in the lived experiences of Black and White individuals (Crenshaw 1989; Knapp 2005; Rollock 2012; Sokoloff 2012). Crenshaw (1989) argues that Black women are discriminated against in ways that do not fit tidily within the legal categories of either 'racism' or 'sexism' – but as a combination of both. Nonetheless, the legal system has generally defined sexism as based on unspoken reference to the injustices confronted by all (including White) women, whilst defining racism to reference those faced by all (including males) people of colour. Crenshaw (1989) suggested that this model often renders Black women legally 'invisible' and without legal recourse.

As gender issues have become more mainstreamed in scientific research and media reports, confusion associated with the terms 'sex' and 'gender' has decreased, suggests Lindsey (2011). She notes further, that the terms are 'fairly' standardised in relation to sociology, with reference to different content areas. In articulating a definition of both she indicates that 'sex' refers to the biological characteristics such as chromosomes, anatomy, hormones and other physiological factors, distinguishing male and female, whilst, 'gender' refers to those social, cultural and psychological traits linked to men and women through particular social contexts. In other words, sex makes people male or female; gender makes them masculine or feminine. Sex is an ascribed status according to Lindsey, because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned. Hence, gender is culturally based in that it defines what it means to be masculine or feminine in a given society. It has been shaped by religious, political, linguistic and other cultural norms. In many cultures, females have been assigned lower social status than that of males; Britain is not exempt from this practice as its society is modelled on a patriarchal system of control and dominance.

Gender, it seems, became recognised as the articulation of social expectations about how an individual of a specific biological sex should behave; but the performance of gender could vary tremendously across time, space and cultures. This untangling of sex and gender establishes the notion that there is no such phenomenon as 'naturally' male and female behaviours. Yet, men and masculinity constitute the norm in many spaces in British society, whilst women constitute the abnormal and the strange. The social divisions that organise durable inequalities exert joint effects, which go beyond their specific causal powers (Santos 2009).

The historical construction of feminism and masculinity has served to assign different roles in society to men and women. This differential role allocation has resulted in the exclusion of or limit access to females (Black and White) and Black men as leaders of certain male strongholds - strongholds such as

multinational corporations, the judiciary, educational establishments and parliament. According to a (2012) European Commission Comparative Report, only Azerbaijan and Armenia employ fewer female professional judges than Britain, despite what the study describes as a gradual '*feminisation*' of the judiciary – across Europe and its eastern borders, only 23% of judges in England and Wales and 21% in Scotland are females. Of the FTSE 100 multinational corporations only one has a Black male chief Executive Officer (CEO), two have White female CEOs and at the time of writing this thesis no evidence of a Black female CEO could be found. Equally, Keen and Cracknell (2015) in a research briefing report, suggests that Britain is ranked 15th in its proportion of women Members of Parliament (MPs) out of the 28 European Union Member States. For Black and Asian female MPs, the total is 10 individuals across three parties. Furthermore, the United Kingdom is ranked 18th in terms of the World Economic Forum's annual Gender Report – a decrease from the 2011 report when it was ranked 16th; indicating that there might be backtracking in gender equality.

Gender and race have evolved as distinct fields of research in social studies. Race studies focused on the racialised man and gender studies, on the White woman. This approach to research, separately and in isolation from one another, marginalised in both areas the study of racialised females as well as encouraged the additive treatment of the attributes of gender and race (Glenn 2000). This focus on gender or race separately as independent factors in racialised lives failed to recognise how each together converge and affect racialised and gendered experiences. Although distinct, recognising that the social constructions of race and gender are interwoven in their social formulation and in individuals' experiences might enable a better understanding of the characteristics and dynamics of power, privilege and oppression and how they operate in people's lives. Gender roles and experiences of discrimination in the workplace (and in society) may differ as a function of both race and gender (Ferdman 1999) for Black and White women.

Black individuals such as African Caribbean heritage people (men and women) experience negative misrepresentation as a result of their race and gender. Race and Gender have been used as strategies for centuries as means of segregating, isolating and subjugating them. People are supposedly living in contemporary times, where they are free to access information, higher education and employment; with a strong will, all things are possible. This is probably true of most White people in Britain, but despite living in liberal times, race, gender and other social stratification measures are often applied in assessing Black people's suitability to partake in social interactions in British society. The following extracts from the participants' narratives might help to illuminate the realities of Black people's experiences in Britain today.

Tales of Gender and Race

EE an informant to the study, during the discussion of his experiences of racism suggests that as a young black man racial profiling was a daily occurrence for him. He indicated that it did not matter where he was, school, shopping, getting from one location to the next – it was highly possible that he would encounter racialised stereotyping. The following are examples of his experiences. The first discussion was an encounter whilst out shopping.

Just the other day I went to buy some jeans. I was looking for a particular pair of jeans and I asked the guy (sales assistant) where're your jeans? And he took me to the sales section and I thought this isn't where the jeans are; why can't I have those proper jeans...? Why would you bring me to this, to the sales section over the normal section...? (EE)

EE read this situation as a racialised encounter as he believed the perception of him as a young Black man is that the '*proper*' jeans are too expensive for him, hence the sales assistant taking him to the sales items. This experience is

similar to JJ who encountered racialised profiling when she tried to purchase expensive bags and shoes.

EE then relates his encounters with the criminal justice system, that is the police. He suggests that getting from one location to the next was like a battle because the police would stop him all the time and he was afraid he would end being part of the criminal justice system.

Stuff like that happens, other times the police stopping you all the time; people being surprised I'm at uni [university] and that kind of thing.

I said police stopping me, I try and I try to make it, I try and tell them (police) I'm at uni, but I make sure if it ever gets to a conversation I tell them I'm studying and they'd always be surprised. We'd be in a situation where the police have stopped me and they'd come with the demeanour, to try and intimidate you 'cause they think you're doing a certain thing and when they'd actually get into conversation I tell them I'm studying and what I want to be. I would end up having a conversation, which you know we definitely wouldn't have been doing if I never told them I was studying.

They always think that we aren't anything before they think that I'm studying sort of thing... they'll believe anything else.

It is a constant battle, definitely, like for instance when I'm out with friends and that I'm always looking around, looking out for the police and stuff em 'cause I feel like they gonna stop me or you know, they gonna do this and do that even though I'm completely legal to be where I am or I'm not breaking any law or anything but I'm still worried about police.

I asked him why was he worried about the police and he said because of his colour. He then relates a situation when he was wrongly accused of committing a crime.

I never used to believe that as much but I've been in situations where I've been wrongly accused for something another Black person did and the police have told me like em in this situation when I told the guy (police officer); I told him that you know, I'm going to uni and all this and he told me when I finish with you, you're not going anywhere... and I was like, I was in complete shock ... a policeman could actually say that to me. At the time I was doing GCSEs and all that and I was talking to him, telling him em my plans and stuff and what I hoped to do in later life just like he was a normal person and in this conversation he turned and told me you won't be going to university when I finished with you and I was shocked that he could actually say that to me...

The relationship between the police and young Black men in Britain is not a secret. It is well known that young Black men are more likely to be stopped and searched than any other groups and they are more likely to be given differential treatments than any other groups. The stop and search method of policing is controversial – in that Black and other minority ethnic groups find it unacceptable and intrusive (May et al. 2010). May et al. (2010) conducted research into the differential treatment in the youth justice system and found that searches of Black people were seven times more frequent, relative to the population, than those of White people and searches of Asian people were twice as frequent, relative to their population, as those of White – indicating that these two minority groups received differential treatment relative to the White population. In the stop and search method of justice the police only need to suspect an individual before they have the right to stop and search that individual. It is not surprising that young Black men are seven times more likely

to be stopped as they are often racially profiled as criminals. This stereotype stems from both an historical and contemporary positioning of Black men as historically, savages and contemporarily deviant.

Within the context of EE's narratives, it is evident he has been stopped and searched on several occasions; subsequently, for him, police officers were not *'normal'* people. The occurrences of encounters with the police made him cautious of them. He also indicated that he tried to deflect the police officer's behaviours and attitude towards young Black men by talking to them about his hopes and aspirations – he wanted them to see his humanity and not the colour of his skin.

Gilroy (2010) in his book *Darker than Blue on the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture* compares human rights discourses with that of anti-racist discourses and suggests that the anti-racist struggles have contributed to the human rights struggles but because the languages the groups use are dissimilar; the human rights argument complicates the anti-racist struggles. Consequently, he argues for a merging of the anti-racists discourses with that of human rights discourses as in his view they were one and the same thing. That is, they are fighting for the same cause, but using different terminologies.

It turns out the struggles against racial hierarchy have contributed directly and consistently to challenging conceptions of the human. They have valorised forms of humanity that are not amenable to colour-coding, and in complicating our approach to human sameness, they may even have refused the full, obvious force of natural difference articulated as both sex and gender, (Gilroy 2010:59)

Although Gilroy was arguing for the history of slavery and Black activists' struggles for equality to be included as part of the human rights debates, the subtext of his argument was the abuse of Black people's human rights. It seems

apt to borrow this quote in helping to highlight EE's struggles to get the police to see his humanity 'I try and I try to make it, I try and tell them (police) I'm at uni...' I suggest EE's intention in discussing his aspirations was in the hope that the police would see that he is more than skin, he is human and he has hopes for the future. In this context it can be seen how race, gender and power intersect to subjugate and control an individual. The police officer, acting as an agent of the government, tried to use what Foucault (1991) termed 'disciplinary power', not in a way so as to rehabilitate, but in order to prevent E from gaining access to Higher Education.

I was talking to him, telling him ... my plans and what I hoped to do in later life, just like he was a [normal] person and... he turned and told me you won't be going to university when I finished with you and I was shocked that he could actually say that to me...

Barry Smart (1985) makes the point that ...a neo-Marxist perspective grounded in Foucault's work can illustrate how surveillance and discourses of power impact the positioning of [Black] children as educational objects of control, domination and subordination. Smart is highlighting how surveillance based on Foucault's (1977) understanding of power relations is a critical feature of educational policy and schools. Foucault (1977) studied prison surveillance, school discipline and systems for the administration and control of populations and suggests that these systems define norms of behaviour and deviance through their systems of operating sovereign and disciplinary power. It is said that sovereign power is centralised in the state and administered by agents such as teachers, prison guards and the police to ensure individuals and groups adhere to what is considered 'normal' and proper behaviours. These agents of the state perform corrective forms of punishment in order to reduce incidents of deviance so that the norms of society might be maintained.

This rings true in EE's story, the police officer in using stop and search as a method of control and dominance is intending for Black young men to know

that they are under daily surveillance and are subject to domination and control. That is to say, we (the police) are in charge as agents of the government, and we decide who goes where. Additionally, this method of policing, rather than encourage young people to become productive citizens, only serves to alienate and marginalize them and in the process, deny them their agency and resourcefulness. It also sends the message that police officers are not “*normal*” people to young Black men. This appears to be a switch in Black and White identity perceptions. Frequently, Blacks are perceived of as abnormal but in EE’s perception, the police are abnormal.

It is generally acknowledged that previous sociological enquiry into the area of masculinity concentrated on the position of men relative to that of women, with considerable emphasis placed on the subordinate positioning of women (Connell 1995). Research into men and masculinities has however, developed over time (Kimmel et al. 2005) and rather than treating masculinity as a single, one-dimensional entity, a complex multi-dimensional concept of what it means to be ‘male’ has emerged. In contrast with previous thinking on the subject, theorists now argue that a spectrum of masculinities exists, with multiple ways of ‘doing male’ (Connell 2000; Whitehead 2002).

Diverging from the point made by Connell (2000) that there are multiple ways of being male, Champers, in Gosine (2007) suggests that men, especially young men across the western world no longer know how to ‘be men’. Before they were clear enough in terms of career choice, but because of the change in culture and gender roles uncertainties abound – perhaps this is another dimension of the complexities of masculinities. Equally, adding race into the analysis of masculinities, can further complicate its definitions, because masculinities can no longer be defined as dualistic to femininities, but must also consider the complexities that race contributes to the debates.

Additionally, when issues of race and gender are spoken about, the emphasis is on Black women, rendering Black men’s experiences of race and gender silent.

Although Crenshaw (1989) was speaking of Black women in America and in a legal context, extending the debate to include Black men in the 'normal' workplace can also highlight how the intersection of race and gender can impact Black men's experiences. Illuminating the experiences of Black men can contribute to a critical understanding of inequalities in the 'normal' workplace for Black men.

Wingfield, (2013), using Kanter's 1977 model of 'tokenism' (see discussion above) highlights how this model of gender stereotyping could be adapted to highlight professional Black men's experiences in the normal workplace. Wingfield notes:

The informal roles Kanter observes in her study ...are clearly shaped by gender, reflecting the dominant group's stereotypes about femininity and sexuality. Consequently, these roles do not necessarily offer a template for examining the ways that black professional men confront informal roles (Wingfield, 2013:110)

Notwithstanding Kanter's model being a prototype for highlighting gender inequalities in the workplace it did not necessarily help to illuminate black men's experiences. As she indicates, Black men in a male dominated White space are unlikely to be cast as 'seductresses' or 'mothers' despite informal roles being present for Black men. The model suggested by Wingfield (2013) could be used in assessing the different ways in which Black men and Black women experience racial encounters: what are the similarities/what are the differences?

Racism and sexism are mechanisms that are utilised by some men to deter women and Black men from the workforce and therefore economic empowerment. It is generally understood that women are disproportionately represented among the world's poorest people. The ability of a woman to transform her life from social isolation to social inclusion is reliant on many complex factors – skill level, environment, her individual situation as well as her

societal status as a female – that is her access to power. Equally Black British men are more likely to be unemployed than any other groups (see discussion below) and so could be deemed to be in a similar situation as women. Additionally, Black men have been socialised in a patriarchal system of social and economic management, which informs them that it is their responsibility to provide financially for their children. If, however, they are excluded from the workforce – how do they fulfil their roles as providers and therefore responsible fathers?

Voices of Gender

Participants in the study discussed the different ways in which social stratification elements (age, race, class and gender) converge and how others use them in an attempt to exclude and curtail their access to spaces of whiteness and maleness including employment, education and other spaces of social interactions.

JS recalls attending an interview for a position to complete her articles, this was the term used formerly to describe what is currently a training contract for anyone wishing to become a solicitor in the UK. These individuals were known as articled clerks. JS in this situation recalled how she felt as if the interviewer's intention was not to let her into the enclave of whiteness and maleness, that is the judiciary, rather, the intention was to dissuade her from pursuing such a career.

I remember going for an interview in town, in (city) and the way that the person treated me, he didn't say anything that was verbally racist, but the way that he treated me was quite derogative and put me down, some of the things he said, ... 'do you really think at your age you're really going to get articles and you think that anyone is going to, he said some things that were really derogative and unacceptable... I was so shocked by it. I felt

after that he'd just brought me in to degrade me. I don't know why somebody would get a kick out of that but I think that was the reason. (JS)

JS also relates an interview where her gender became an issue and was used to exclude her from employment.

...I remember having an interview at a solicitor in (area)... I had an experience there, which wasn't so much racism but sexism because, they're not supposed to ask you if you're going to have children, but he did. He (the interviewer) asked me in the interview; are you going to have children? And I said I didn't know. I just couldn't believe it; it's amazing how people get away with things! (JS)

If JS had being a male would the interviewer have asked the question – are you going to have children? Stereotypes are internalised in early childhood and enacted in adulthood – for example girls are cast in caring and nurturing roles whilst boys as go-getting action men and these stereotypes are performed through the toys and other images provided to children in early years. In many societies women are faced with the tripartite burden of childcare, taking care of the home and working outside the home. Whilst it is implicitly understood that men will be the bread-earner/winner by working outside the home, women can only do so if they are able to combine the complexities of childcare and home care with working outside their 'natural' environment – that is the home.

JS' comments are examples of how racism, ageism and sexism combine as weapons to perpetrate economic oppression - the excluding of Black females from the workforce. Her comment regarding having children is also an illustration of the stereotypical view of women as the nurturer. This view I believe renders fathers invisible in the nurturing of their child/children. The interpretation of JS as 'child-bearer' also demonstrates how an individual's

attitude towards women can impact women's economic opportunities. The interviewer to the best of my knowledge was not privy to JS' personal circumstances, yet his assumption was that she was going to have children, which would impact his business. Equally, the attitude of the interviewer towards JS demonstrates how an individual's perceptions can supersede laws that are designed to protect women, mainly the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the (Equality Act 2010). The assertion of disregarding women's legal rights is supported by the fact that the interviewer in this situation is in the legal profession; therefore, his awareness of the law(s) can be assumed.

Likewise, antiquated views and assumptions about Black individuals can impact and impede their employment opportunities and progress. JS expressed her experiences in trying to find employment. She conveyed her emotions on receiving the news that she had passed her Law Society's Finals in contrast to her experiences in trying to get employment as a trainee solicitor. '... when it (her certificate) came that day, oh my God, I jumped and I jumped, I was so happy, so relieved.'

So far JS has experienced racism and sexism but this, however, was not the end of her journey into racialised encounters.

But that was the beginning of my journey really, because I have this qualification but, I was trying to get training, trainee articles and that was horrendous, horrendous. I applied to lots and lots of places; sent out CVs to lots of companies, I didn't hear much back. I think there was quite a lot of racism. People would have perceptions of you; it was difficult. I got some opportunity to work the summer but nothing that would lead to anything ... I thought this was not happening so I started working for a housing association... (JS)

Thus, Black women are located in unique and often difficult positions in (British) society – they are affected by the double burden of being Black in a White dominated society and being female in a patriarchal society. Frequently, they have to navigate very challenging spaces in order to survive, in particular spaces where race and gender intersect. Although White females may suffer the stigma of sexism, they still maintain the status and privileges associated with whiteness despite the fact that these privileges may be used to conceal their oppression as females. Equally Black men occupy spaces on the margins of society and have to navigate spaces where race and gender intersect – consequently their employment opportunities are limited.

Control of access to employment is only one of the ways in which the complex sequences of poverty and powerlessness can be replicated and reproduced in women and Black men's lives. Often women in the workforce are viewed as liberating, but for some, work outside of home is not about liberation but more of an economic necessity as some children are being nurtured in single parent families, frequently, female-headed household. That is not to say that the parent outside the home is absent from the lives of his /her child/children.

Racist and sexist attitudes can combine to prevent Black women and men from fully realising their potential and even recoup the investment in their education. As JS indicated in her narrative, finance was a barrier in the pursuit of her career but her parents took out a loan to assist her in obtaining relevant qualifications. 'The financial side was difficult ...they (parents) took out a loan.' Issues of poverty might also be exacerbated; as jobless individuals are known to borrow money from companies that charge extortionate rates of interest.

On obtaining employment many Black women and men experienced racial and gender bias in promotional opportunities. For them, the glass ceiling or perhaps I should say the race ceiling is a reality. BH, a participant in the study, refers to the phenomenon of the glass ceiling.

The other thing I want to say, how many Black executives – females have you seen? ...they (White employers) have a glass ceiling there, although they're saying they (Black females) are doing very well, ...they're still not on the level where they are matching them (White employees.)

I'd love to be a managing director; I'd love to have funding you know but the system is set in such a way that you cannot penetrate certain areas; there's a glass ceiling... so the system is structured in such a way that it does not matter how good you are, if you can't get past the gatekeepers you're not going anywhere, you're not... (BH)

BH is saying here, that despite the fact that Black women and men are in employment, they are not being promoted to the higher-level management positions and statistical evidence supports this view (see discussion above). Black females and males enter the workforce with high expectation of progressing through promotion in their chosen careers, only to find they cannot achieve their full potential. They soon discover that climbing the corporate or academic ladder is not as easy for them as it is for White women or men, because White males and females control the middle rungs of the occupational ladder and the top rungs are inaccessible.

Overt racism is easily recognised in its extreme and explicit practices – the murder of a teenager because of the pigment of his epidermis; throwing bananas at Black professional footballers on the football pitch, articulating animalistic (ape like) behaviours, calling a Black person a monkey, petrol bombing a Black person's home and spray painting racist graffiti outside a Black person's front door. But in its everyday normalised form, racism is encoded, subtle and insidious – often, only the person having the experience knows that it is happening. This normalised structure of racism (sexism) is what has been identified previously by Pierce (1969) and highlighted in Yosso et al. (2009) as

microaggression. According to Pierce (1969) microaggression is an 'offensive mechanism' aimed at Blacks on a daily basis with the intention to 'reduce, dilute, atomize and encase the helpless into his/her 'place'. The incessant lesson that the individual (s) must hear is that he/she is insignificant and irrelevant (Pierce 1969:303). In 1988 Pierce developed his argument regarding microaggression. He claims that, 'regardless of site or social variables, all Blacks, in any workplace (or sites of interactions) suffer the added stress as a result of threatened, perceived, and actual racism'. He suggests this was due to the fact that 'microaggression controls space, time, energy and mobility of Blacks while producing feelings of degradation, and erosion of self-confidence and self-image (p 27, 31). Yasso et al. (2009) suggest that racial microaggression causes stress to their victims, who must decode the insult and then consider whether and how to respond. They indicate that if the person at the receiving end of the microaggression exerts energy and effort in defending him/herself, he/she is accused of being "too sensitive". Moreover, they suggest that over time, the routine but extreme stress caused by microaggression can lead to mental illness, emotional and physical strain or what William Smith (2004:171) called "racial battle fatigue.

Yasso et al. (2009) found that some Black students changed their course or dropped out of classes and sometimes change campus to avoid racial microaggressions. This is similar to a participant in the study (BH), who excluded himself from potential employment because of negative stereotyping of Black men.

He (BH) noted how his economic wellbeing was limited and shaped because of the stereotypical views of him as a Black man. That is, he is perceived of as being lazy, uneducated, untrustworthy, work shy and a thief. In contrast he self-presents as a creative, deep thinking and ambitious Black man amongst other things. He further discusses how the negative views of his race impacted him and how he was not free to access the labour market as a British citizen,

but must first consider how he is constructed as a Black man in the wider society.

First people see me as a Black person and what comes along with being a Black person is negative. For me it's about being aware of what those things are. So I can't just pick up the paper and see a job and say I'm going for that job. I have to think how they (interpreted as White people) view me, a man going for this job; it's how society views me and how I see myself. (BH)

In this regard BH used his knowledge of the wider society's views of him to curtail his access to employment. He is mindful that many of the jobs advertised would be a futile exercise in applying for them, because of the stereotypical threat of his race and gender. In addition, this is an example of how Black men's experiences of racism differs from that of Black females. Although Black women are often stereotyped as the 'angry' Black woman, this stereotype does not necessarily represent a threat. In contrast, Black men pose an eminent threat and therefore find it more challenging than Black women to obtain employment. Statistically, Black men are more likely than Black women to be unemployed.

According to a 2012 Office of National Statistic (ONS) report, the unemployment rate for young Black people age 16-24, is double that of their White counterparts. Figures show that since the start of the recession in 2008, it has risen from 28.8% to 47.4% in 2011, an increase of 70% over three years. Furthermore, the report states that unemployment among young Black women, although higher than any other groups was not as high as that for young Black men. This would suggest that there is some merit to BH's claim of being '*knocked down*' when trying to pull oneself up. In addition, this also indicates that when discussing the racialised experiences of Black men and women,

specific gender stereotypes need to be considered as these can evidently operate in different ways in Black men's and Black women's experiences.

AA, another participant indicated that he was going to leave the UK once he has completed his studies because of racism. During the interview AA self-identified as Black Caribbean so I asked him why Caribbean and not British, his response was 'cause my parents are from there' I then asked him, what do you think people see when they look at you? At which he responded 'they see colour... it makes me feel that I don't belong here, that is why as soon as I pass my degree, I'm hoping to go abroad.' I then asked him why would he prefer to go abroad than stay in Britain. His responded:

Because it's (Britain) kind of racist over here. I know there's racism all over the world but you know it's pretty racist here; I just want to get away really.

Pierce (1988) described those receiving racial abuse as 'helpless victims'. In the context of BH and AA's articulations, I would suggest that they are not 'helpless victims' but are astute in their decisions. It is certainly the case that part of the discourse regarding microaggression is that it poses a health risk. AA and BH both made decisions to 'live to fight another day' because in defending themselves on a daily basis from microaggression, with its constant drip, drip, drip, can damage the soul, psyche and can ultimately lead to ill health. Nevertheless, the notion of 'helpless victim' is also in contrast to JS, and BD's stories. In the face of adversity, they relentlessly pursued professional excellence to indicate to those who would seek to diminish them, that they are capable of high achievements. Other participants in the study also demonstrated the ability to rise above the stereotypical assumptions towards excellence. To illustrate, both EE and MS expressed the desire to confront those who suggested they would never make anything of themselves so they could prove the inaccurate assessments of them.

AA in his discussion suggested he his intending to leave the UK despite it being his place of birth. Within politics and the media, immigration is a topic hotly contested, yet the debates mostly emphasise inward immigration with little discussion about those leaving Britain. David (2012) of the Guardian writes, '*The UK is losing its Black talent*'. She suggested that aside from the recession the effects of racism based on stereotypes were reasons Black people were leaving Britain with more than a third of those surveyed suggesting they would leave the UK for a country of Black origin. According to her, these countries offer greater opportunities for highly qualified Black individuals. 'For African and Caribbean Britons, black nations offer growing economies, low barriers to entry in business and a sense of belonging.' (David 2012)

JJ, articulated how race was used in an attempt to exclude her from access to commercial goods in high-end stores. She discussed being followed around and made to feel as if she was not worthy to shop in such establishments.

I remember going to (name of store) and buying expensive bags and shoes and going into shops and being approached by people [White people] who tried to make you feel inferior and I thought they probably thought I wasn't worthy... (JJ)

This account is similar to the story Essed (2001) told to illustrate the concept of everyday (normalised) racism or as Pierce (1988) termed it Microaggression. Essed (2001) tells the story of a dual heritage young woman and her mother out shoe shopping on a Saturday afternoon – both mother and daughter are visually different to the dominant population. On noticing what they thought might be a suitable pair of shoes in the window of a store, they entered but as soon as they entered, a White saleswoman who explicitly informs them 'I don't think there's anything in this shop you can afford to buy' confronted them and then opened the door inviting them to leave. Mother and daughter exited the store without the pair of shoes, baffled as to what had just taken place. On

examining their attires however, they realised they were not dressed any differently to other women around; they arrived at the conclusion that the saleswoman must have acted upon the visual representation of them as women of colour. To put it simply, they had been racially profiled.

Essed (2001) suggests that this is an example of everyday (normalised) racism: an everyday occurrence (people shopping), turned into an incident of racism through the language of economic profiling and privileging. Although not explicitly articulated in JJ's story, she (JJ) understood what the sales assistant implied through the use of body language. Like the mother and daughter in Essed's illustration, she was racially profiled. This may appear to be a trivial illustration, but the frequency in which this and other similar events occur is what makes it significant to Black people's experiences of racism. Every new experience of normalised racism is added to the catalogue of racialised experiences and compounds the accumulation of earlier events. For instance, being rejected at school as not capable of achieving an O' level in a particular subject (not discussed in this thesis) or prevented from buying a home in a particular area (not discussed in this thesis). Experiences with injustice in one area can contribute to an understanding of other forms of discrimination (Essed 2001). For example, JJ's story is not only an account of race but also that of class – demonstrating that when speaking about race other aspects of social stratification such as class can intersect and impact Black lives. JJ's illustration shows that in this situation, race and class could not be separated, because the shoe store she spoke about was marketed as serving specific types of customers, that is middle and upper classes. JJ is evidently raced but invisible as middle class. She was made unwelcome in the store - undoubtedly race and class collided to identify her as undesirable in that moment.

PJ also narrated an experience of racism whilst attending college where she was publicly censored and threatened with expulsion from a science class. She described her experience in the context of being a new arrival from Jamaica and therefore new to the college.

... when I tried to find the classroom to do my science, I couldn't find it and when I did everybody was in the class; sat and settled and the teacher just gave me one look and said next time you're late you're going to go and that was a bit shocking for me , it really was, because I didn't feel that he'd given me a chance to explain why I was late ... I said sorry I'm sorry Sir, I'm late and he just gave me a ticking off... (PJ)

What JJ and PJ narrated are examples of covert everyday normalised microaggression. This form of racism is associated with everyday practices – that is racism as social behaviour. Normalised racism is accumulative behaviour that is enacted in subtle forms such as treating Black people as if they are invisible or hyper-visible. This treatment could entail bypassing the black person to serve a White person, or approaching the Black person as he/she enters the store under the guise of customer service, or surreptitiously following the individual around the store whilst pretending to replenish stock or reorganise clothes on a rail. It could involve sales staff articulating to the Black person that a product is 'expensive' – suggesting he/she cannot afford the product. In the work place, normalised racism might consist of publicly berating a subordinate person; in school, ignoring a Black child when he/she raises his/her hand in response to a question, in favour of a White child. In society in general, particularly towards Black men, on encountering a Black man in a public space, for example a lift or on the street, White women might clutch their bags closer to themselves. Then there is the question disguised as interest: where are you from?

Sometimes the meaning or interpretation of such racial encounters can be disputed. Take for example, the situation with PJ: was she publicly humiliated because she is Black or does the teacher treat all students, including Whites in similar fashion? Hypothetically speaking, the teacher could quite easily justify his behaviour with a race neutral or raceless response – I treat all students the

same, it has nothing to do with race.’ PJ on the other hand could dispute this assertion – ‘I’m the only Black student in the class and I’m the only student he’s ever treated this way.’

Identifying the incident as being racially meaningful in its inferences reveals how one event where the Black individual is the only person to experience the less favourable treatment is related to both historical and contemporary forms of racialised discrimination. Due to the pernicious and constant nature of microaggression, Black individuals’ psychological, physical and economic healths are at risk as noted above, (Essed 2001; Karlsen and Nazroo 2002; Yosso 2009). Essed (2001) notes:

The psychological distress due to racism (overt and covert) on a day-to-day basis can have chronic adverse effects on mental and physical health. Felt persistently, everyday injustices, including gendered racism, are often difficult to pinpoint, and can be therefore hard to counter.

I have already outlined above the negative impact of microaggression.

DF described an occurrence when microaggression impacted her health. She indicated that her manager’s unfair treatment triggered her self-exclusion from work with stress in order to protect her psychological health.

I’m the only Black social worker where I work and I’ve had major problems with one of my bosses – I don’t have any problems with the clients but one of my managers – they don’t like it when you speak up for yourself. There’s this White social worker who started there recently and he’d go out of his way to help her. She doesn’t do her job properly, she doesn’t keep good clients’ records but he never says anything to her - but he tries to pick on me. I was off work for six months because of him – he’s a bully and even

though I complained to HR, nothing was done really – they pretended to investigate. (DF)

At work, the accumulation of what might appear to be trivial incidents of mistreatment, disrespect, fault-finding, impeded opportunities and public humiliations; in one context might signify the glass ceiling; in another context, where Black individuals are experiencing these incidents along with other subtle forms of discursive articulation – microaggression might be read into these incidents. Although, prevalent, microaggression is a difficult and sometimes impossible charge to prove, as DF said, 'I complained to HR, nothing was done really – they pretended to investigate'. Possible, HR did investigate but read into the situation, differently to DF – meaning where DF may have seen the accumulation of incidents as racially significant, HR may find no evidence of racism.

Internalising Microaggression

If Black individuals internalise and perform the negative assumptions about themselves, this might result in self-harm that manifests itself through skin bleaching practices and self-isolation from other Black people. This point is not to suggest that all black people experiencing microaggression bleach their skin or that skin bleaching is a form of self-hate, because to imply these would be to deny the complexities of personhood and deny black individuals who skin bleach, the right to self-identify. Equally Hope (2011) suggests that those Jamaicans who skin bleach do so for a variety of reasons. For example, some skin bleachers in Jamaica who are involved with dancehall music, dance happily to the Eurocentric songs that laude skin bleaching as well as the Afro-centric songs that criticise the practice. Charles (2011) indicates that through the concept of complex personhood, it can be understood that skin bleachers have combined the duality of the values about skin colour that is reflected in the dance hall, into their lives. This combination gives coherence, purpose and meaning to the lives of these skin bleachers as they navigate the colourised

Jamaican landscape (McAdams 1988; Thomas 2002). According to Charles (2003), some Jamaicans who skin bleach do so for socio-economic purposes and not a consequence of self-hate. Skin bleaching is only one of the many strategies that individuals might adopt that appear to minimise identification as Black.

When asked about her friendship group in an attempt to ascertain if Black students come together in an attempt to affirm racial identity. That is gathered as a collective to minimise the impact of racism - MS indicates that she isolated herself whilst at school from other Black girls because she felt they (Black girls) didn't like her.

I felt that I'd like more White friends than Black friends 'cause like Black girls didn't like me, they didn't really like me. I don't really understand why. I only had like, one mixed race friend, I don't really class mixed race people as Black ... I just class them as another race. (MS)

MS in this situation appears to identify more with White girls than she does with Black girls - why? When asked she said she did not know. So could this be an example of how microaggression can negatively impact Black individuals through psychological harm? Although MS is visually Black, could she be psychologically white? I theorise that as MS's formative years were spent in Jamaica, an island structured on the hierarchy of colourization along with media messages of what constitute beauty, that these combine to formulate a self-identity modelled on whiteness. Robotham (2000) notes that it is important to comprehend how race is conceptualised in Jamaica. There is the triple legacy of British colonialism in descending order of status, the white section at the top, the brown section in the middle and the Black section at the bottom.

JJ suggested that Jamaica was not exempt from the colour bar as in her experience at school in Jamaica; teachers gave preferential treatment to the light skin pupils in contrast to the dark skin pupils.

I couldn't get things like maths... I felt like I didn't have the total opportunity because Jamaica played the colour system and I think the teacher spent a lot more time on the Chinese – the light skin; I think they got a lot more attention in school than we did.

The structure of colourization is said to stem from the legacy of colonisation (Charles 2003). Charles suggests that during the time of slavery, the Black slaves were socialised to prefer British culture above their African culture as a mechanism for slave management. As the slave population was considered one group, skin shading became the measure of work allocation. For instance, the dark skin slaves were considered field workers whilst light skin slave were allocated tasks in the homes of the slave owners. The light skin slaves would cook, clean and act as surrogate mothers to the slave owners' children whilst the dark skin slaves would work in the fields of the sugar plantations; ploughing the fields, planting, reaping and milling the sugar cane for the slave owners. This form of stratification has transcended time and still plays out in the lives of some African heritage people in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean today.

The tendency to favour light skin can also be seen in the celebrity of Black individuals such as Beyoncé, a popular Black singer, Halle Berry, an actress and the now deceased Michael Jackson. In order to appeal to the wider audience of the dominant group when appearing on magazine covers or television they seem, overnight, to have become a lighter shade of Black. They have been whitewashed. Young Black women like MS who aspire to work in the fashion industry might internalise these messages and therefore develop low self-esteem based on the unconscious symbolisms encoded in the messages perpetrated during slavery, enacted in the society to which she was born and currently through the media. Roberts et al. (2004) argue that Black girls may

be susceptible to the internalisation of media messages about beauty and appearance – and that message is: ‘beauty is White.’ That being said, it must be pointed out that recently (2014) academy award actress Lupita Nyong’o has adorned the cover of Glamour magazine. This is perhaps an acknowledgement that beauty is more than skin tone and that dark skin individuals can be as attractive as light skin. Fanon (1967) suggests language has a role in maintaining social order and it can have detrimental effect on the psyche, belief systems and reinforces ideologies. That is, language is an instrument for racial domination and stratification. Linguistically the symbolisms of ‘whiteness’ are often associated with positivity, goodness, purity, truth and heroism, (White knight). In contrast ‘blackness’ is associated with negativity and deviance, black magic, black mark, blackmail and Black Death. In reference to the epidermis, terms such as white, light, clear, red and fair have positive connotations, whereas black, dark, jet and blue have negative inferences. This suggests the closer to white one is, the better the individual. Fanon (1967) contends that the black skin has been the most important site of subjectification and identity, domination, exploitation and denial. The black skin has been constructed as something undesirable that should be hidden or cured. Thus, skin bleaching might be the beauty industry’s attempt to maintain the normalised ‘superiority’ of whiteness and the Black individual’s attempt at making himself/herself more acceptable to White society.

During the discussion regarding the differences between school and college, MS self-identified as being insecure, ‘I think it was meeting new people ‘cause I just find myself as a very insecure person.’ She also expressed stereotypical notions of Black girls identity, ‘I haven’t got like an attitude problem like a lot of black girls. She also refers to a notion of beauty in terms of ‘good’ hair and ‘bad’ hair that is often articulated in African Caribbean families. ‘...another thing that happened in school, like, these Black girls, I used to talk to them and stuff and they didn’t really like me because my hair was longer than theirs....’ This remark suggests, a legacy of colonisation that values the European notion of beauty, in that long straight hair was considered better than kinky or curly short hair.

Whilst these small incidents might seem insignificant, added together over years and especially when the messages are reinforced in the home, they can be internalised by the recipients and taken as facts.

*If you're white you're all right
If you're yellow, then you're mellow
If you're brown, stick around
If you're black, get back!*

Perhaps the above is the type of messages MS grew up hearing and consequently internalised. Internalising this and other misconceptions about Black beauty, coupled with being in a predominately White environment might have triggered psychological stressors. Consequently, associating with White girls might have been done in an attempt to minimise the effects of stressors and aid self-confidence.

There are diverse studies within sociology, social psychology and anthropology (Tajfel 1981; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Cohen 1994) concerning the relationships between individual and group identities. Researchers have studied how people group or label both themselves and others; how they identify as members of specific groups; how a sense of group belonging or 'community' is developed or maintained and how groups discriminate against outsiders. Mizuko et al. (2008) indicate that these processes operate on both an individual and group levels: individuals may make claims about their identity through asserting their affiliation with other group members. They claim:

In seeking to define their identity, people attempt to assert their individuality, but also to join with others, and they work to sustain their sense of status or self-esteem in doing so. As a result, the formation of identity often involves a process of stereotyping or 'cognitive simplification' that allows people to distinguish easily

between self and other, and to define themselves and their group in positive ways. Mizuko et al. (2008:6)

One could argue that MS exhibited some of the characteristics described in the quote above. She described others in stereotypical ways, 'black girls have attitudes', White girls are supportive; I have 'long hair, 'Black girls hate me' because of it. How people define themselves can be related to the group they align themselves to, and things that challenge a positive perception of said group can be potentially damaging to an individual's self-esteem and self-worth. If Black people are undesirable, then the Black individual is marked and tainted. Some may argue that it is time Black people threw off the shackles of slavery and be the emancipated and enlightened humans that they are/can be/might be. But how does one counter a legacy that has been internalised and handed down through the generations like a family heirloom?

Jenkins (2004) argues that social identity should be viewed as a social process in which the individual and the social are interrelated. Individual selfhood is a social phenomenon, but the social world is constituted through the actions of individuals. As such, identity is a fluid, dependent matter – it is something that is achieved essentially through continuous interactions with other people. In this respect, it might be more appropriate to talk about identification rather than identity (Mizuko et al. 2008). In this context, MS might have identified with these girls rather than perhaps searching for an identity. On the other hand, MS' story is in contrast to JJs and BDs who both exhibited an awareness of the roles racism/classism/gender (ism) play in their lives, yet they are able to rise above their circumstances by surviving the onslaught on their personhoods to define themselves on their own terms. MS however, it would appear has yet to understand the insidious nature of racism/sexism/classism and their impact on individual lives. Having said that, perhaps it is a consequence of 'age', and therefore experience. Both JJ and BD are in the older age category and could be said to have found their identifications, whilst MS, who is younger, is still searching for her identification.

Under these circumstances, microaggression may emerge in behaviours that ultimately harm Black individuals but in ways that allow White individuals to maintain a non-racist self-image and shield them from recognising that their behaviour is not race ambiguous. Thus, although the processes through which microaggression emerge can often be subtle, the consequences can be devastating. Equally, the processes can highlight the ways in which the dominated produce their own discourses on race and gender in the context of their own experiences.

Are We There Yet?

Black men also suffer from the duality of race and gender and how they intersect and are used to curtail and exclude them from aspects of British life. The positioning of Black men in British society has seen them cast in the roles of villains, felons and deserters of children. They are allegedly over sexed, immoral and intellectually challenged. This positioning is located in colonial, political, socio-cultural and historical contexts that are grounded in misrepresentation. The problematization of Black masculinity has also been exacerbated within government policy rhetoric through assumptions that 'race' is only a minority group issue (Phoenix 2000) and that the source of the social problem can be located in the attitudes and behaviour of minority ethnic families and communities (Lewis 2000). Thus within policy discourse race has been both ignored, and marginalised, and characterised as the source of social problems, consequently positioning the 'normal' masculinity as White. The categorising of (young) Black men as problem has enabled the reproduction of popular discourses that deny Black agency and reproduces stereotypical constructions of deviant (young) Black male identities (Alexander 2000). These stereotypical constructions continue to distort Black men's realities and identities and have serves as weapons that have outcast and relegated them to the margins of British society. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the marginalisation of (young) Black men has further served as a barrier to employment and economic

wellbeing. Although Black men and women encounter racial barriers, Black men however, have to shoulder the added burden of being intimidating to Whites and therefore must navigate gender politics in public spaces.

EE suggested that in school, his racialised identity was used to bar his access to a higher set in maths lesson.

In maths for instance, I used to think I was good at maths but they (White teachers) put me in group 4... and I was doing better than most people in my lesson and I used to think, why can't I move up ... things like that I used to think 'cause of my skin colour.
(EE)

Stereotyped perceptions of threat also impact individuals in the process of their daily lives in Brittan. MM grew up in a home where his mother was pro-active in advising him on what it is to be a young Black man in Britain because he was living in a city where people were segregated on skin colour (see chapter 4).

I mean, I remembered I went to 2 secondary schools yeah. The first secondary school I went to I was like maybe 1:5 black kids in my year and my brother went to that school as well and he was maybe 1:3 in his year and that school has history; a long history of racism. (MM)

MM expressed his feelings and frustrations at being stereotyped. He suggested that despite efforts to appear friendly and approachable, people would still not appreciate that he does not pose a menace to White society.

What I'm trying to tell you or mostly I'd get angry yeah, because people would assume what you are and I'm the type of guy yeah, I'd smile before I frown with you.

MM was very aware of how his positioning in society along with the isolation of Blacks from Whites in the society in which he grew up, might impact both himself and others from the White group:

So it's like subconsciously I think it was like, maybe the way we were living in society round us as well...

Black is a social category used to define individuals and groups within society signifying 'difference' or 'other' and often, to structure access to power, prestige and status. Therefore, this enables people or groups of people to be placed in subordinate and superior positions. Black individuals' self-identification is not part of this discourse, yet how people identify themselves can contribute to the ways in which they relate to others. For example, MM was frustrated because he considered himself to be friendly but his identity is marked as a threat and therefore he is a figure to be feared. Equally, in this context, it could be argued that identity is a process of negations (albeit silent) on the part of individuals in public spaces.

An important, and often overlooked, aspect of racism ..., is that it can take many forms. It is complex and multi-layered and can change with the social and political climate, as evidenced by the current media and political preoccupation with Muslim groups and those seeking asylum. This preoccupation also demonstrates that racism does not need to simply refer to skin colour but can include prejudice against someone's culture, such as their faith or political status. (Rollock 2006:39)

Manifestation of racial and gender discrimination have many similarities, in particular microaggression. For example, lack of employment and social opportunities, barring of promotional prospects and constant nit picking – a strategy for reducing confidence. There are, however differences: for instance,

discrimination on the grounds that a female might have a baby. Then there are the different stereotypes for Black men and women mentioned above – that is, the ‘aggressive’ black woman and the ‘intimidating’ Black man. It is problematic to ‘equalise’ Black and White females’ experiences of sexism. Equalising the two obscures the fact that Black women might encounter sexism and racism simultaneously. Furthermore, equalisation may serve to render invisible the evidence that Black women’s experiences are rooted in specific socio-political histories of racism and gender (ism). As Oakley (2005:2) puts it, ‘there is nothing simple about gender.

It is evident that racial and gender stereotypes can have detrimental consequences in all aspects of a Black person’s life, from unemployment, education, housing, consumerism to politics, which in turn can affect his/her personal and professional decisions. For example, I have discussed how some Black individuals may choose to exile themselves from Britain or eliminate themselves from applying for particular jobs because they are aware that their prospect of obtaining said job is distinctly impossible, and how the constant rejection could be damaging to health. Finally, the salient point is that the discourses of race and gender need to take note of the complexities of ways in which race and gender, singularly and in combination – especially in the absence of overt racism - enter in social and political spaces and impact Black individuals’ lives. To borrow from Harris (1993), space shares the critical characteristics of race and gender even as their meanings have changed over time. In particular, space, race and gender share a common premise – a conceptual nucleus – of a right to exclude.

Though the colored man is no longer subject to barter and sale, he is surrounded by an adverse settlement, which fetters all his movements. In his downward course he meets with no resistance, but his course upward is resented and resisted at every step of his progress. If he comes in ignorance, rags and wretchedness he conforms to the popular belief of his character, and in that

character he is welcome; but if he shall come as a gentleman, a scholar and a statesman, he is hailed as a contradiction to the national faith concerning his race, and his coming is resented as impudence. In one case he may provoke contempt and derision, but in the other he is an affront to pride and provokes malice.

Frederick Douglass September 25, 1883 [online]

Chapter 6 - The (In) visibility/Hyper-visibility of Blackness

Introduction

This chapter developed out of discussions with participants regarding their experiences of school. One participant described her experience as one of invisibleness whilst others articulated extreme visibility. Utilising the framework of Frank Ellison's (1965) *Invisible Man*, this chapter seeks to highlight some of the ways in which Black individuals are judged invisible or hyper-visible in British society, depending on the political agenda. Black individuals are mostly hyper-visible in the context of deficit as in the race uprisings of the 1980s in London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester. They are hyper-visible as academic failures and invisible in its successes. They are also invisible as to their class status and contributions to the British economy, whilst hyper-visible as welfare dependants.

What is Invisibility/Hyper-visibility?

In popular television shows and fiction - invisibility is commonly depicted as unseen and unnoticed by anyone and is frequently represented in society as the hero, going behind the enemy's back to complete "his" mission. In this context invisibility is a choice, it is a strategy of concealment and deception, often designed to steal or render resources or persons useless to the opponent. Thus invisibility is the choice to walk in plain sight without being seen. Within the context of a dominant White society however, Black individuals are frequently rendered invisible through the gaze of others. Therefore, invisibility is classified

as voiceless, silence, deficit, absent, unseen and irrelevant. In contrast, as I will discuss below, hyper-visible is depicted super visible, omnipresent and menacing. In this context invisibility is not a choice but an occurrence done to 'others' by dominant groups in a society.

The Notion of Invisibility/Hyper-visibility

The notions of invisibility and its polar opposite hyper-visibility have complex connotations and therefore implications for any researcher grappling with such concepts. Invisibility is symbolic of blindness, silence, deficit, irrelevance, voicelessness and concealment, whereas hyper-visibility conveys the message of being extremely apparent, above and beyond the rest. Within the context of British society, academic literature and the media, Black individuals, especially males suffer from both of these maladies. They remain hyper-visible symbols of academic failure, and invisible in relation to academic success. In other words, they are simultaneously omnipresent but undistinguishable and unrecognised. On the other hand, no one individual or group can claim invisibility as their particular sanctuary or perdition, as invisibility can figure in a range of discussions. It could be a metaphor for racism as in Frank Ellison's *Invisible Man*, sexual preferences, ageism, sexism, feminism, masculinity, poverty, heterosexuality, middleclassness, whiteness or even the debate surrounding the North – South divide in English society. All these could claim to have been shrouded by the veil of invisibility at one time or another. For example Kimmel (2002:online) writing about the invisibility of White privilege wrote:

To be white, or straight, or male, or middle class is to be simultaneously ubiquitous and invisible. You're everywhere you look; you're the standard against which everyone else is measured. You're like water, like air. People will tell you they went to see a "woman doctor," or they will say they went to see "the doctor." People will tell you they have a "gay colleague" or they'll

tell you about a "colleague." A white person will be happy to tell you about a "black friend," but when that same person simply mentions a "friend," everyone will assume the person is white. Any college course that doesn't have the word "woman" or "gay" or "minority" in the title is, de facto, a course about men, heterosexuals, and white people. But we call those courses "literature," "history," or "political science."

Kimmel (2002:online) compares White privilege to walking with the breeze at one's back, which makes walking effortless; whilst to walk in a 'strong head wind' requires an understanding of the power of nature because one has to develop strategies to face the wind. That is one might clench one's jaw, set one's eyes to slits and breathe with a fierce determination to face the power of the wind, yet little progress is made. He notes, 'to be White, male and or heterosexual is like running with the wind at your back'. In other words, being White, male or heterosexual is to be propelled effortlessly through society without seeing how one, is sustained, supported and propelled by the wind of whiteness. Kimmel (2002) indicates that invisibility is political: White privileges are invisible as they are the norm and that progress through society is effortless. In contrast being a woman or raced, means that progress is slow because one has to fight against the 'norm.'

The notion of political invisibility is akin to that of Rancière (2004), in *The Politics of Aesthetics*. Rancière argues that art is a vehicle by which the powerful in society control and regulate what is perceived, what is visible, what is written and what is articulated, along with who gets to do the articulating, perceiving, writing or painting. In other words, a system of segregation and boundaries that defines what is permissible under a particular political regime and who can participate. Rancière called this system 'the distribution of the sensible'. Rancière (2004:13) said,

It [art] is a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience. Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time.

Rancière is on the side of equality from a political perspective:

Politics exists when the figure of a specific subject is constituted, a supernumerary subject in relation to the calculated number of groups, places, and functions in a society (2004:51).

To explain, politics is the battleground of an un-established group for the right to be recognised: for the right of the invisible to be visible in the established order of society. He argues that aesthetics and politics are intertwined because politics is a battle about the appearance of society: what is visible or invisible, what gets articulated or silenced. Thus, invisibility and hyper-visibility underlie a politics of the (in)visible; what is audible, touchable or sensible. In this context, politics can also be defined as the exercise of a particular kind of power, the power to determine what is seen or unseen in a given society and what is permissible to say or display.

In a similar manner, Ralph Ellison (1965) articulates the politics of 1940s and 1950s America where Black individuals were silenced, made invisible through a politics of race and racism. *Invisible Man* is an indictment against the racism faced by Black individuals within American society. This text can be read as narrating a set of racial political concerns in relation to American society and the position of African Americans within it, but also the struggles of Blacks to be recognised as part of the established American society.

In the prologue of *Invisible Man*, Ellison wrote:

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edger Allen Poe; nor am I your Hollywood movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fibre and liquids – and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible... because people refuse to see me.

Ellison then explained this 'invisibility':

Nor is my invisibility exactly a matter of bio-chemical accident to my epidermis. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their inner eyes..." (1965:7).

According to Ellison, he possessed the same substances and fibres as those among whom he lives – White folks – whose eyes have been constructed in a 'peculiar' way; they see his surroundings, they see themselves, but when they look in his direction he is invisible. He is invisible because their assumptions, stereotypes and their own fixed ideas about his character are based on the blackness of his skin. In the narrative, societal invisibility is utilised so that a man in plain sight becomes invisible due to a lack of observation by others, because others have the power to consciously refuse to see his individuality. The narrator is not invisible because he is actually transparent; he is invisible because he is a Black man living on the edge of a dominant White Society where there is no individuality of the Black self. He is just another Black man amongst hundreds of other Black men. According to the narrator, blackness is invisible and this invisibility has the power to drain life, deprive one of humanity; '...you often doubt if you really exist', he said; 'you wonder whether you aren't simply a phantom in other people's minds. (p. 7).

Ellison narrates the encounters of a young Black man's experiences with racism as he journeyed from the South to the North in 1940s America. He recounted his feelings of rage in a racist society that condemns him to invisibility when he encountered the power structure where Black compliance was a prerequisite to Whites; where Black success was reliant on the generosity of Whites and not a consequence of their own accomplishments. Blacks were expected to conform to White cultural expectations if they were to succeed in society, thus suppressing their own individuality in order to ensure that Whites allowed them advancement in society. Consequently, these Blacks became, 'invisible' because they were not perceived by their own endeavours but by the expectations and ideology of a White society. Ellison's narrator's invisibility was demonstrated in this manner when he received a scholarship to a Black College from a group of affluent White men. The narrator gave a speech at his high school graduation and subsequently was asked to deliver it to the most powerful White men in his area. Before he could give his speech however, he was forced to participate in a barbaric '*Battle Royal*' by fighting several other Black youths to entertain these powerful White men. Following the fight, the young men were told to gather as many coins as they could from an electrified mat, causing them painful shocks, whilst these White men laughed at the ignorant black youths. The Black boys later discovered that the coins were counterfeited, therefore useless. After going through these humiliating rituals, the narrator was permitted to give his speech and was awarded a prize.

Following the speech, the school's superintendent approached the narrator:

'Boy', he said, addressing me, 'take this prize and keep it well. Consider it a badge of office... Open it and see what's inside', I was told. My fingers a-tremble, I complied, smelling the fresh leather and finding an official-looking document inside. It was a scholarship to the state college for Negroes. My eyes filled with tears and I ran awkwardly off the floor. (Ellison 1965:31).

The superintendent attributed the briefcase a '*badge of office*,' inferring that the narrator should consider it a signifier of his new status in society. However, the context in which the '*badge*' was obtained, (the debasing performances) suggests that this '*badge*' was more symbolic of the narrator's submission to the White power structure than an elevation of status. The office that this '*badge*' qualified him for was not that of an intelligent and well-to-do college student but that of an ignorant slave as he acquired it by being subservient to the powerful White men and not as a result of his own achievements. Forcing the narrator to participate in the barbaric rituals before receiving his reward signalled to those young Black men that they could not accomplish success without the benevolence of White men. The narrator was forced to conform to the social philosophy of the powerful by the suppression of any individuality thus signifying his invisibility.

The narrator encountered another facet of invisibility as a member of the 'Brotherhood' an association committed to organising demonstrations and advocating for social justice and equality. During his time at the Brotherhood the narrator was educated in the ideology of the Association and was instructed to promote only this ideology. He complied with this until he had to organise the funeral for a Black member of the Brotherhood who was killed by the police. On this occasion the narrator felt compelled to deviate from his usual rhetoric and spoke passionately to those attending the funeral attributing the death of his colleague to racism. He was criticised by the Brotherhood however, for his passionate rhetoric and in particular for mourning the death of an individual whom they (the Brotherhood) had condemned for his disobedience and defection from the Association. The narrator argued that he found it in the best interest of the community to mourn the death despite any disagreement with the Brotherhood because the death was a consequence of racism. During this disagreement, the narrator uncovered that the Brotherhood, despite being racially integrated, was not intending to serve as a means of empowering Blacks, but as another method of convincing them to comply with the orders of Whites. The following was said to the narrator by the head of the 'Brotherhood':

...and you were not hired to think. Had you forgotten that? If so, listen to me: You were not hired to think.' He was speaking very deliberately and I thought, So ... So here it is, naked and old and rotten. So now it's out in the open... 'For all of us, the committee does the thinking. For all of us. And you were hired to talk (p. 377).

This indicates that the Brotherhood holds obedience to the orders of Whites in power, above the judgment of Black Brothers and the best interests of the Black residents on whose behalf the narrator spoke. Their objections to the narrator's actions stemmed from his disobedience of not following the ideology of the Association rather than any judgment based on how wise or unwise his actions were. It became clear to the narrator that the White Brothers, even if their message advocated for social equality, continue to maintain the power structure. They ultimately seek to control Blacks, so that any achievements by Blacks are a consequence of the White majority's generosity and not a reflection of Black resistance and resilience. In other words, the so-called 'benefactors' continued to render Blacks invisible by unwittingly perpetrating the political injustices levied at them. Black individuals involved in political struggles, must do so by complying with White expectations; they could only act as puppets of a White activist institution, therefore compelled to continue to submit to a White power structure.

Although Ellison's book is written to highlight the injustices levied against Blacks in America, Black British individuals could lay claim to such an indictment against British Society, in particular the Windrush generation. The arrival of the ship *Empire Windrush* in 1948 not only symbolised the beginning of mass migration from the Caribbean to England but also that of Black (in)visibility/hyper-visibility within the dominant White British Society. The image of the smartly dressed, smiling Black men and women arriving at Tilbury Docks soon changed however by the hostile welcome and alienation from the dominant group. They soon realised that they were not children of the '*mother country*' as they had

supposed but aliens; strangers resented by the host community. They had assumed they would be welcomed because many had answered the call to arms during the second World War and they were now responding to the call to help rebuild England, but instead, they were met with hostility and resentment; the welcome was as cold as the climate. This is vividly portrayed by the extract from the following poem:

We left the blue skies
The sun, the sea, the light
And then the shock
The cold and damp
The grey skies
The cold stares
The cold grey stares...

Source: <http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/language-assistant/essential-uk/windrush-generation>

Thus began African Caribbean encounters with hyper-visibility/invisibility in Britain.

Papers released in 2005 to the National Archives were reported on by Hugh Muir of the Guardian who noted:

Files...revealed the true extent to the loathing and prejudice felt towards the Windrush generation of West Indian immigrants by the London police in the 1950s. They show how virulently racist attitudes permeated the force from top to bottom.

Muir went on to describe how officers submitted reports describing African Caribbean individuals as 'arrogant, uncouth and uncivilised', others labelled them as 'dirty, lazy cunning unprincipled crooks living off women and their wits' and one officer designated them 'undesirables'.

Those individuals became highly visible and symbolic of mass migration from

the Caribbean; they also became the invisible labourers in the hospitals, factories and public transport system with little or no acknowledgement of their contributions to the war efforts and the rebuilding of England. Their hopes and aspirations were never truly realised because they were treated as undesirables; they were invisible in terms of access to education, adequate housing, social status and employment. Yet, despite the colour bar and now infamous sign '*No Blacks, No Irish, No Dogs,*' they endured the hardship and suffered in silence because they believed in a better future for their children. For example Anim-Addo (2000:online) wrote:

Many passengers on the first ships bearing post-war Caribbean immigrants to Britain had been children of the West Indies ... West Indians, like the British 'home' population, had had their expectations of a better future heightened by war time promises.

The following extract from a poem also supports the notion that many came to England because they hoped for a better future.

It was an invitation.
An invitation to come "Help re-build the Mother country"
It seemed like an opportunity
Jobs for everyone
A better future for our children
Then home again
Just a few years

Source: <http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/language-assistant/essential-uk/windrush-generation>

(In)visible/Hyper-visible and Blackness

For decades, studies articulating the achievement gap in education were narrated from a perspective of academic failure for African Caribbean heritage children, thus rendering these individuals hyper-visible in the discourse of academic failure, whilst representing those African Caribbean heritage children,

who are academically successful as invisible. Within British society, Black families are invisible within the discourses of middleclassness, academic agency, aspirations and cultural capital. On popular television programmes, Black families are mainly depicted as one-dimensional; that is single parent and dysfunctional. This resonates with Rancière's (2004) notion of *the distribution of the sensible*. Black individuals are not given the opportunity to decide what is made visible and what remains hidden about their lives. Thus it might be argued that it serves the status quo to conceal the idea that many Black homes in Britain are two parented and that Black families have their routines and concerns similar to White families. Black males in particular are hyper-visible within the discourse of black identity discussion. As discussed in chapters four and five, they are portrayed within media and the popular press as looters, rioters, muggers, drugs dealers, etc., as apparitions to be feared. Franz Fanon recounted an incident when the gaze of a child made him hyper-visible.

Mama, see the Negro! I'm frightened!" Frightened! Frightened!
Now they were beginning to be afraid of me. I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible. ... Then, assailed at various points, the corporeal schema crumbled, its place taken by a racial epidermal schema. In the train it was no longer a question of being aware of my body in the third person but in a triple person. In the train I was given not one but two, three places.... On that day, completely dislocated, unable to be abroad with the other, the white man, who unmercifully imprisoned me, I took myself far off from my own presence, far indeed, and made myself an object.

(Fanon 1967 [1952]: 112)

The child's declaration of fear at the presence of a Black man on the train initiated the collapse of what Fanon termed 'his corporeal schema,' 'that is, the awareness he had of himself as physical presence, as Macey confers: 'a sense which enables us to interact and engage with the world around us' (Macey

2001:165). The impact of this encounter for Fanon was to render him incapable of communicating with others because in that moment he became a racialised being, an invisible man. He was no longer just a man on a train, but a Black man whose 'racial epidermal schema' singled him out as being different, as other and a figure of fear. He was no more a body amongst other bodies but an object of fear and hate, imprisoned in his Blackness by a White dominated society.

Akin to Fanon, MM a participant in the study recalled attending college in Manchester and how theatre studies posed a challenge for him. He recounted being stereotyped, labelled 'disruptive, disgusting and ghetto'. He learned very quickly that academic success came at a price; he had to 'comatose' himself; dampen his enthusiasm, moderate and dislocate his personality in order to succeed. To survive theatre studies, he could not be himself; he had to in his own words, "sedate" himself. In this situation MM made himself invisible - he recognised that in his invisibleness he had power to achieve academic success.

I'll just sedate myself and I'll just stop doing nothing that you; I'll just act (demonstrated inverted commas) normal and be quiet and that. And that's how I got through theatre studies (MM)

In this context MM became hyper-visible through the eyes of others by his 'racial epidermal schema, he was no longer a student on a drama course in college but like Fanon he became a Black student, a figure to be reviled. MM however, recognised that in order to be successful he had to be invisible and so he sedated himself. Similarly, in Ralph Ellison's (1965) *Invisible Man*, the narrator's Grandfather told his son the best way to succeed is to, 'overcome 'em with yesses, undermine em with grins, agree 'em to death and destruction, let 'em swoller you till they vomit or burst wide open, (p. 17). The narrator's Grandfather also acknowledged that in doing this, he has to be a traitor to himself; in embracing such a philosophy he had to be self-effacing and self-denying.

The effects of these encounters are the present absent, the absence of self, which made both Fanon and MM symbolic. They were no longer individuals amongst other individuals, but artefacts of fear and loathing prohibited from contact with others, entombed in their blackness by the gaze of others. They were representatives of a people who were visibly different and therefore objectionable. MM denied himself the right to be. He could not be true to himself, he had to play the part assigned to him by the White majority in order to be successful in theatre studies and perhaps this was a clever ruse on his part. Not unlike Ellison's narrator, MM used invisibility to his advantage; he became invisible so that he would not suffer the consequences of being a minority in a drama class of predominately White middleclass students. He recognised that he could benefit from being invisible rather than hyper-visible as this was possibly the only way he could obtain the freedom to speak freely and attain his drama qualification.

Likewise, Ellison's narrator recognised that there was power in being invisible. He narrated an occasion when he used invisibility to his benefit. He took revenge on those who made him invisible in unsuspecting ways, such as stealing electricity from the Power Company and living rent-free in what he termed his hibernation hole – an abandoned basement. The stealing of electricity however was an attempt to reveal the truth of himself, as the light represents 'truth'. Without light he is not able to represent or see himself, because to be invisible to oneself is to feel dead. He compelled the company to acknowledge his existence, yet prevented any response from them, including any racist remarks because he was invisible to them. Likewise, MM forced the drama group to acknowledge his presence, whilst dissuading them from their stereotypical assumptions about his identity, through acting the role of the subservient.

In contrast DD who was invisible because of the identity '*good student*,' became hyper-visible as the unfavourable gaze of a teacher fell on him. He noted:

She was quite strict and she was one who thought, she was the type of person I think who thought she was always right and so when we had her, she didn't like the idea that I was challenging something that she'd said or questioning something... (DD).

Ellison's narrator recalled an incident when he bumped into a blond man who insulted him and they fought; yet the man continued to insult him. The narrator was on the verge of slaughtering the blond man, when he remembered that the man could not see him because he was invisible. The man's insults, which can be deduced to be racial slurs, degraded the narrator, who attacked the blond man in order to demonstrate his resistance to racism. The newspaper nonetheless reported the incident as a mugging in which the blond man became the victim rather than the assailant; thus rendering the intention of the narrator invisible and once again determining his identity according to their own beliefs.

DD in the extract above challenged a teacher and became hyper-visible in the teacher's gaze. In questioning the teacher his intention was to clarify a point she had made. However, like the narrator his intention became invisible because the teacher through her own prejudice perceived it as challenging her authority. She therefore became the victim rather than the perpetrator. DD's identity as 'good student' became invisible to this particular teacher as she decided his identity through her own beliefs and prejudice.

EE on the other hand was made hyper visible because his reputation as a 'problem child' (see chapter 7 for quote) at primary school preceded him into secondary school and impacted his visibility. Various teachers marked him, but in particular the head teacher who frequently singled him out for sanctions, according to him, even when he did not commit the crime.

Unlike their male counterparts, Black females, within schools appear to experience little hyper-visibility. They may however, experience a greater sense of being invisible. Within the debates surrounding academic attainment black

girls tend to be mostly invisible because the emphasis is on Black boys and their underachievement. Consequently, black girls and their achievements/underachievement have been neglected. Rollock (2007:197) notes:

Key debates, examining how to address the difference in attainment gap, have tended to focus almost exclusively on the achievements of Black male pupils with little explicit attention paid to the needs and experiences of their female counter parts.

One participant in the study recalled being placed in a low set at school and how this rendered her invisible: 'no one really cares about you being in the bottom set, em you're kind of invisible' (MS). She arrived at the conclusion that her only option within the state of invisibleness was to embrace it because it did not matter how hard she strived for success. She would remain invisible because the school refused to see her as an individual with dreams and aspirations to go to university.

...when I was practising for my GCSEs, I was thinking what's the point, I'm never gonna get them this way, so what is the point of me doing all that? (MS)

She was of no value to the school because she lacked the ability to achieve five GCSEs grades A*-C according to their depiction and would therefore, be unable to add value to the school (league tables). Accordingly, it appears, that very little time was spent to support MS in her endeavour to attain academic success, unlike DD, who had his sentence commuted because he was deemed a 'good student' and was therefore able to add value to the school. One disgruntled teacher was not allowed to derail or destabilise the system by her designation of him as challenging her authority. DD stated:

...the teachers (teachers who designated him 'good student')

listened to me...I wasn't a trouble causer...I think that played a part in them, the teachers not just say Mrs...has said this student's wrong and so we're going to have to punish them.

MS and DD's stories demonstrate that teachers' support is crucial in enabling individuals to realise their academic potentials. MS became demotivated and despondent because she came to realise that she was not going to leave school as an academic success, so revising for GCSE exams was counter-productive. D on the other hand had the full support of his teachers because his academic success was assured. Comparably to Rancière's (2004) notion of art, teachers in their guise of guardians of a micro-society (schools) determined who should be visible/hyper-visible or invisible and who should be an academic success or failure.

Teachers' and students' interactions also played a role in determining these two individuals' destinies. DD who communicated with teachers by asking questions after lessons had his sentence of dissent quashed, whilst MS, who had no such interaction with her teachers, was sent to the state of invisibility via the school's setting system. This is in congruent with Wright (1986) who studied the interaction between teachers and Afro-Caribbean students and found that African Caribbean students were placed in academic bands and exam sets that did not reflect their academic abilities. Not unlike the Invisible Man, schools judged these individuals visible or invisible because their destinies were tied up with that of DD and MS. In *Invisible Man*, Norton a White trustee and philanthropist of the Black college, when asked by a war veteran why he took interest in the school states, 'I felt ... that your people were somehow closely connected with my destiny' (p. 81). His intentions however, were not a genuine wish for an improvement of the problems faced by Black Americans but rather out of self-interest. Prior to this he had told the narrator '...you are my fate...' (p. 38), meaning that the narrator's destiny was in his (Mr. Norton) hands. He was a benefactor and a trustee of the school and consequently had the power to control and direct the students' destinies. Although he stated that the

students represented his fate and it was his destiny to improve their circumstances, in reality he placed himself in a position to determine their collective fate. On the surface he appears to empower the students but in actuality he exerts his power invisibly to control them. Correspondingly, with MS and DD, the schools used their systems to exert invisible power to determine the collective destinies of these two individuals, whilst giving the impression of meritocracy.

The notion that Black women are invisible is not new. Feminist writers such as hooks (1981); Davies (1981); King (1988) and Bell (1992) have espoused such theories. Prudie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) describe the experiences of individuals with multiple subordinate-group identities such as Black women, as 'intersectional invisibility'. In 2010 Amanda Sesko and Monica Biernat conducted two experiments in ascertaining whether Black women were indeed invisible and whether they went un-noticed relative to Black men and White men and women. Sesko and Biernat (2010) found that White participants were least likely to correctly identify Black women in comparison to other groups such as Black men. They were unable to distinguish a Black woman they had seen previously from a 'new' one. They were therefore 'relatively interchangeable'. The researchers concluded that their studies 'provide evidence of Black women's invisibility...' (2010:359). hooks (1981:7) argues:

No other group in America has so had their identity socialized out of existence, as have black women. We are rarely recognized as a group separate and distinct from black men, or as a present part of the larger group "women" in this culture. When black people are talked about, sexism militates against the acknowledgment of the interests of black women; when women are talked about racism militates against recognition of black female interests. When black people are talked about the focus tends to be on black men; and when women are talked about the focus tends to be on white women.

Conclusion

In representing the unknown man as metaphorically and socially rather than physically invisible, Ralph Ellison critically highlighted not only the devices of racism that cast Black men (individuals) as stereotyped representations, rather than fully developed and complex human beings but also the ways that Black people can become marginalised, especially if they fail to fit the stereotyped roles assigned to them. Accordingly, I have used his writings as a lens through which the experiences of invisibility/hyper-visibility of Black individuals in British society might be viewed. This has been useful in illuminating the various ways in which Black individuals are expected to behave based on others' expectations. Ralph Ellison's narrator travelled across America in search of an authentic Black identity but in each location he was expected to conform to White people's notion of blackness. His efforts were problematized because he lived in a racially segregated society. As he attempted to define himself through others' expectations, he found that in each situation, the prescribed role curtailed and limited his complexity as a Black man and the search for his identity/humanity. For example, in joining the Brotherhood, he believed that he could fight racial injustices, but eventually found that his ideology and that of the Brotherhood did not coincide as the intention of the Brotherhood was not to fight for racial equality, but rather to ensure that Blacks conformed to White people's expectations. Ultimately, the narrator recognised that his ability to act or find an authentic Black identity is limited because racial profiling allowed 'others' to see only as they wanted to see. He arrived at the conclusion that he was invisible because the world was filled with blind people and zombies who could not see beyond his skin pigmentation. Equally, he was unable to act according to his own personality and became invisible to himself. This account resonated with that of MM who sedated himself so as to limit the spectre of stereotyping and in order to survive theatre studies. Due to the gaze of others, he became invisible to himself, thus his theatre studies credential came at a personal sacrifice beyond financial cost.

In summary, this chapter has offered an insight into the ways in which Black individuals in Britain are made simultaneously invisible and or hyper-visible and how these two operate in Black individuals' lives. It has demonstrated that Black boys are more likely than Black girls to be hyper visible in school settings and consequently how this might have detrimental impact on their academic attainment.

It was noted that Black women on a whole are invisible but they are often labelled 'aggressive' or 'angry.' Black men on the other hand are highly visible and are portrayed as deviant and a danger to society along with being academic failures. These portrayals undoubtedly, negatively impact Black individuals, thus they are circumspect in their everyday navigation of British society. Invisibility/hyper-visibility is not simply an indictment of race and racism but also that of citizenship and belonging. Hyper-visibility is utilised in the media and popular press to relegate Black individuals to the margins of British society, whilst invisibility renders their achievements and accomplishments unseen. Black individuals in Britain are frequently silenced in the depiction of themselves, as those with power determine how Black people should be presented. Thus it is a necessity for Black individuals to speak out against the assassinations of their characters and personalities.

Chapter 7 - Cultural Assets Mediating Learning

Introduction

A key emphasis in the field of sociological inquiry is the inequality between social groups. Consequently, cultural and social capitals are notions that have attracted many sociological debates in this field and have influenced public policy in recent years. Goulbourne and Solomos (2003) acknowledged that a shared feature of cultural and social capital as concepts is that both are inherently complex and it is challenging to arrive at a consensus in understanding them. Despite their complexities however, both notions have been used to offer generalised explanations for the continued academic underachievement of African Caribbean heritage young people in British educational spaces. Work in this area challenges contemporary understanding of Black cultures as absolute and fixed wherein social boundaries between White and minority ethnic groups seems to be impassable and results in multi-ethnic societies (e.g. and Beck 1996). Cultural boundaries are recognised as dynamic and shifting, and cultural identity is seen as a fluid social process that is continually evolving according to space, time and audience (Gouldbourne and Solomos 2003).

One theory that has been utilised to explain the differing academic achievement of children within social class is Bourdieu's concept of social capital. Bourdieu (1977a) conceptualises social capital as a structure of social relationships, networks and obligations that provide access to valued credentials. That is, individuals in certain social positions act as agents who use their social connections to solidify their position in the social (class) order and open doors for others they are obligated to. Thus social capital is 'the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships, that are directly useable in the short or long term' (Winter 2002:2). According to Bourdieu therefore, individuals use social capital to enhance cultural and economic capital.

Bourdieu's (1977b) theory of cultural reproduction suggests that children from middle class homes are privileged in gaining educational qualifications because of their possession of cultural capital. Yosso (2005) however, argues that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is limited by its use of White middle class values as normative. She advocated the inclusion of community cultural assets that are used by ethnic minority groups to resist, navigate and survive a dominant culture that marginalises them.

This chapter therefore, using Yosso's (2005) concept of capital within a CRT framework, presents a panoramic view of the experiences of Black individuals in a critical historical context and reveals the accumulated assets and resources utilised in the practises of Black people's academic success. CRT understands racism to be omnipresent and normal, not aberrant and thus not just a historical indicator of past events such as slavery or colonialism (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 2006). Thus, it can highlight social capital as an essential part of the process of control and dominance - the process whereby ownership and access to capital as a social enabler is limited and regulated in favour of dominant groups. CRT also allows for an understanding of social capital as an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilised by Black communities to survive and resist macro and micro forms of oppression (Yosso 2005).

The first section of the chapter focuses on Bourdieu's theory and its application to educational institutions and social class. The second section outlines Yosso's (2005) concept of capital and demonstrates how using human capital as an asset in mediating learning might expand her concept further. The stories of individual participants are interwoven throughout the chapter at appropriate points in order to maintain the narrative form of relating knowledge, at the same time revealing the process and assets mediating learning for African Caribbean heritage children.

Bourdieu on Capital

Bourdieu (1977a) argues that cultural capital occurs in three forms. Embodied capital is acquired throughout life. It is intrinsic to the individual and encompasses beliefs and knowledge valued by others. Objectified capital resides, in the ownership and appreciation of symbolic artefacts such as books, paintings, visits to the opera etc. Lastly, institutionalised capital consists of recognition in the form of academic qualifications and credentials. For Bourdieu, cultural capital incorporates competencies, manners, preferences and orientations, which he terms 'subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language' (Bourdieu 1977a:82). That is, cultural capital involves being conversant with the nuances of the dominant culture, in particular, linguistic prowess. The dominant group, is able to maintain power and control as access to these desired forms of capital is limited, with the education system acting as gatekeeper. Bourdieu claims that the education system of industrialised societies assumes the possession of cultural capital to the same degree by all its pupils, despite evidence to the contrary, as students are stratified based on the possession of specific social characteristics such as the language practices associated with the dominant culture. He maintains that the lower class does not possess the same level of cultural capital as the upper and middle classes and therefore the lower class is not adequately prepared to succeed in the education system. That is to say, the lower class does not have a chance of succeeding academically because the education system values the knowledge of the world based on the dominant classes above that of the lower class.

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture, which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture. (Bourdieu 1977b:494)

According to Bourdieu (1986) it is impossible to explain the structure and functioning of society unless one recognises and addresses capital in all its forms and not just in the single form of economic capital. Bourdieu suggests that economic theory has been allowed to define the economy of practices and thus the invention of capitalism. According to Bourdieu (1986), this has reduced the world of exchanges to commercial means, which by definition is to maximise profit. In this sense economic theory has implicitly defined the other forms of capital as noneconomic and therefore of no value. Consequently, exchanges where non-economic capitals present themselves, in the form of cultural and social capitals are rendered valueless. Bourdieu, however disagreed with this. He suggests that capital in its expanded sense is the foundation on which social structure gives significance to social accumulation and consumption. He notes:

Capital, which, in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible. And the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices (Bourdieu 1986:46).

In this context, the quantity of capital amassed by individuals, be it economic, social or cultural, can be the difference between success or failure, and social mobility or inertia. The importance of this for African Caribbean heritage students is connected to the types and quantity of capital that they possess in themselves along with those to which they have access in the forms of familial and community capital. In this sense capital is recognised as both tangible - as

in economic capital - and intangible: to illustrate, linguistic or aspirational resources. These in turn might be reflected in residential patterns such as working class communities or the largely invisible Black middleclass. It can be said therefore, that the 'right' capital can impact African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment and consequently, the socioeconomic benefits associated with educational credentials. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) contends that access to capital in all its forms is unequal because it is a historical process of exploitation.

In keeping with Bourdieu, concepts of capital, whether cultural, economic or social, can be seen as integral, interdependent constructs, which not only reflect societal structures of power and domination, but also contribute to the maintenance of said structures (Bourdieu 1986). Consequently, it can be surmised that this underlying characteristic of capital is both exemplified and enacted in the structuring of race and class in Britain. As such it can be argued that in the case of British schools, the prioritising of certain types of capital as opposed to others as normative, is an inherently political process, which supports a class and race based structuring of society.

Class Status and Academic Attainment

Bourdieu (1977a) suggests that in a hierarchical society structured on class, the knowledge of the upper and middle classes is valuable capital. Black and other minority groups are however, lacking in any such valuable knowledge. Therefore, educational institutions are structured to 'help' those children whose race and class have left them in deficit to acquire the required knowledge for social mobility. However, as educational establishments, according to Bourdieu (1977a), are set up to impart the knowledge of the upper and middle classes, this reinforces the notion that all other knowledge lacks currency and thus the status quo is maintained.

...it [education] is in fact one of the most effective means of

perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one. (Bourdieu and De Saint-Martin 1974:332)

Bourdieu contends that there is no equilibrium between teaching and learning, as lower class students do not understand what they are being taught. For Bourdieu, this was evident in the universities, where students, afraid of revealing their lack of social credentials, '...minimise [d] the risks by throwing a smoke-screen of vagueness over the possibility of truth or error.' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1990:114)

Equally, Bourdieu claims that the educational system plays a crucial role in maintaining the status quo as it legitimises the educational credentials held by the dominant group. Despite the inherent inequalities in the system, it is seen as meritocratic because some from the lower groups succeed and thereby strengthen and legitimise the appearance of meritocracy.

Within Bourdieu's theory of reproduction, social capital and therefore social class becomes cyclical in that the education system determines the level of formal education an individual can access, (in Britain through systems of setting and streaming), which in turn, impacts the level of economic capital the individual obtains. The level of economic wealth defines the individual's social class and consequently his/her social capital, which then impacts academic achievement in future generations, as the best educational institutions are inhabited by the financially wealthy.

In terms of Bourdieu's concept of social capital, many African Caribbean heritage children come to school with valuable cultural and community assets, such as cultural history, that foster resiliency, but these are often not recognised in mainstream schools. For example, the teaching of Black cultural knowledge is not prevalent in mainstream schools. Therefore the supplementary schooling

system became a space where Black children participate in learning about their African and Caribbean heritage in a positive and supportive environment, (e.g. Maylor et al. 2013 and Andrews, no date:online). However, the knowledge acquired through the supplementary schooling system is not assessed as being part of the value system of schools and so African Caribbean heritage children are deemed lacking in valued social knowledge. Yosso (2005) suggests that such knowledge should be accepted in mainstream schools as relevant because it helps to foster positive attitudes about school and academic success. CRT similarly recognises that the real life knowledge of Black and other ethnic minority groups is legitimate, appropriate and critical to understanding, analysing and teaching about racial subordination (Delgado Bernal 2002; Yosso 2005), as it uses the lived experiences of ethnic minority groups, through the analysis of stories, family histories, biographies and narratives (Bell 1996; Solorzano and Yosso 2002; Yosso 2005).

Blackness and Class Status

Narrating from an historical perspective, when the first wave of migrants came to Britain from the Caribbean, many experienced downward mobility in that they had to undertake work below the status they held in the Caribbean. In many circumstances this was work that was rejected by the White working class; work categorised as labour intensive with low pay and unsociable hours (Fryer 1984). Bryan, Dadzie and Scafe (1985) identified a visible Black Middle class presence amongst the early Caribbean migrants to Britain and note, 'whilst migration forced downward economic mobility for the Black migrants, many of them maintained their middle class values and aspirations, which they communicated to their children.' Heath and Riddge (1983) investigated the social mobility of minority ethnic men who migrated to Britain during the 1950s and 1960s. They suggest that migration broke the close link that usually exists between father and sons in terms of class position; that is sons (and to a lesser degree daughters) usually inherit the father's class position. They also found that ethnic minority migrants and White Irish from the Republic of Ireland were less likely

to have been 'integenerationally' stable and were more likely to have been downwardly mobile than British born White men. This concurs with other similar studies of the time that focused on the disadvantages experienced by migrants in Britain (Daniel 1968, Castles and Kosak 1973). Possible explanations for the downward mobility experienced by migrants clearly include racial discrimination. However, as Heath and Ridge concluded, the similarities between ethnic minorities and White Irish, suggest that other conclusions might be possible. Other possibilities might be a lack of British qualifications held by ethnic minority groups at that time. Moreover, ethnic minority groups would have lacked the social networks and contacts that have been shown to be useful in obtaining well paid jobs. Nonetheless, research suggests that only 13% of women and 5% of men who arrived in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s were unskilled in a trade (Hackney Learning Trust:online). However, entry into skilled jobs was mediated and restricted by systematic racism. For example, The Transport and General Workers Union assigned a quota for the employment of individuals from minority groups in England at that time: 'no more than fifty two out of every nine hundred bus workers could be from one of the former colonies' (Hackney Learning Trust:online).

Files released to the National Archives revealed the true extent of the loathing and prejudice felt towards the Windrush Generation (see also chapter 6 above), reported Hugh Muir of the Guardian Newspaper. Muir (2005), notes: 'officers in up to 20 of London boroughs submitted reports describing the immigrants as unemployable owing to their uncouth behaviour and arrogant, wholly uncivilised manner.'

According to Every Generation Media [online]:

'Their [The Windrush Generation] hopes and aspirations were never fully realised as they were treated as second class citizens in terms of access to education, employment, housing and treatment by the police. In addition, there was violence and

hostility leading to race riots, uprising and the growth of fascism on the streets in Britain where black and other ethnic minority communities lived in a fearful and unstable environment.'

The endemic instances of racism by some members of the White population coupled with poor housing, low status occupations and policing inequalities made it virtually impossible for the newcomers to Britain to associate with let alone fit into the British class system. In fact, I would say they were a class of their own because they were marginalised and alienated from the wider British society including the working class.

One participant in my research was the child of parents who came to England in the late 50s. Her mother worked as a nurse and her father on the railway noted:

I saw people who said they were working class and I couldn't relate to it ... I thought from Jamaica we were certainly not working class because my father built a house and it was the biggest house in the area ...

JJ's comments accords with other accounts that support the argument that Black individuals arriving in Britain, despite the class status held in the Caribbean, were assigned jobs below their class status. According to Bourdieu's theory this would determine their children's level of formal education and consequently their economic capital. The level of economic capital in turn impacts the educational attainment of future generations as noted above. Arguably, this is borne out in the continued achievement gap between Black and White children. That being said, Sullivan (2001) suggests that Bourdieu can be criticised for not being specific about which of the resources relating to the higher-class home comprise cultural capital and how these resources are transformed into educational qualifications. In fact, she contends Bourdieu himself might be accused of '...throwing a smoke-screen of vagueness over the

possibility of truth or error.’ (p. 5)

This is perhaps a limitation of Bourdieu’s theory in that it is difficult to identify the specific cultural element that impacts academic achievement. On the other hand, this theory could be interpreted as having strength because it recognises that a multiple approach to assessing the complexity of educational achievement is required. Another positive to be found in Bourdieu’s theory is that it enables pertinent questions to be asked. Questions such as: What constitutes Knowledge? How is knowledge imparted and achieved? How is knowledge validated? And whose culture has value and gets converted to aid academic success and social advancement?

Bourdieu’s concept needs to be broadened to include other spaces in which cultural capital is embodied. For example, key spaces in his theory include upper and middle class homes, museums and art galleries and attending elite schools. It cannot be denied that those attending elite educational institutions do better academically than those attending poorer schools and universities (see discussion in chapter 5). Nonetheless, since Bourdieu’s concept was originally developed, globalisation and the Internet have made it possible for contemporary spaces like museums and art galleries to no longer be privileges of the financially wealthy but also of those individuals who enjoy art and history, irrespective of class or race. Equally what is considered ‘highbrow’ music is now freely available through television programmes, YouTube and other sources of downloadable music. Munk and Krarup (2011) suggest that research using cultural capital as a framework should consider the vast social changes since Bourdieu gathered his data in the 1960s. They indicate that the rise of youth and mass culture, the devaluing of teachers’ status in some countries, transnational trajectories in elite education and the rise in the general level of education should warrant a revisit of Bourdieu’s theory. This also lends itself to questions of knowledge and spaces where knowledge is imparted or internalised.

Whose Knowledge?

Theory, then, is a set of knowledges. Some of these knowledges have been kept from us— entry into some professions and academia denied us. Because we are not allowed to enter discourse, because we are often disqualified and excluded from it, because what passes for theory these days is forbidden territory for us, it is *vital* that we occupy theorizing space, that we not allow white men and women solely to occupy it. By bringing in our own approaches and methodologies, we transform that theorizing space. (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xxv, emphasis in original, in Yasso 2005)

To borrow from Yasso (2005:69):

In the epigraph above, Gloria Anzaldúa (1990) calls on People of Color to transform the process of theorizing. This call is about epistemology - the study of sources of knowledge. Scholars such as Gloria Ladson-Billings (2000) and Dolores Delgado Bernal (1998, 2002) have asked: whose knowledge counts and whose knowledge is discounted?

Black Cultural Knowledge in Educational Establishments?

Following the publication of the Macpherson (1999) and the Parekh Reports (2000), it was acknowledged that a diverse curriculum was an essential prerequisite for comprehending modern British society. Consequently, legislative guidance on inclusion in the National Curriculum was introduced in an attempt to encourage teachers to take account of the various needs and experiences of children in their planning and teaching. Diversity was identified in the guidance as including gender, children with special educational needs; children with disabilities, children from all social and cultural backgrounds, all ethnic groups including Travellers, refugees and asylum seekers and those from

different linguistic and religious backgrounds (DfEE Circular 10/1999/qca.org.uk). The intention was to enable all pupils to participate in lessons 'fully and effectively' (DfEE Circular 10/1999/qca.org.uk). The vital components in valuing diversity were to ensure that children learned to appreciate and view positively differences in others, regardless of where the differences arose, whether from race, gender, ability, disability etc. Proponents of the diversity in teaching model argue that effective education in the twenty-first century requires that 'diversity' is viewed as a valuable learning source for all children and that differences are viewed as learning opportunities (Le Roux 2002; Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist 2004). Equally the Home Office Cattle Report on Community Cohesion (2001) argues that the teaching ethos of schools should reflect the different cultures within the school and the wider society.

Blair et al. (1998) suggest that if the curriculum acknowledges the diversity in British society, this will aid the achievement of minority children by giving them access to a more relevant curriculum and would also be a means of countering racism. Additionally, the Children and Young People Overview and Scrutiny Panel (2005) found that Black and minority ethnic children were better encouraged to work in schools in which the curriculum drew on the cultures and multiple identities of these children. Other reports have found that schools with a diverse curriculum have been effective in facilitating the achievement of minority ethnic children (Ofsted 2002; DfES 2003; Tikly et al 2004). However, Ofsted (2000) reported that schools were working within the framework of the National Curriculum to promote an understanding of diversity, but also noted that in some schools, there was a mismatch between the curriculum on offer and the aims they wanted to achieve in relation to understanding and appreciation of diversity. In addition, there have been criticisms of the various versions of the National Curriculum for adopting a Eurocentric approach and suggestions that it fails to value cultural/ethnic diversity (Global and Anti-Racist Perspectives (GARP) project 2006; The Commission on African and Asian Heritage 2005; Runnymede Trust 2003). A report by The Children and Young

People Overview and Scrutiny Panel (2005) drew attention to the views of young ethnic minority people who suggested the curriculum was irrelevant to them. The Commission on African and Asian Heritage (2005) acknowledged the diversity evident in the national history curriculum, but was critical that the emphasis was on the history of African American peoples rather than the histories of the communities of Asian and African descent in Britain. It found that there was no mention of the African and Asian presence in Britain pre-second world war or of the intellectual contributions of African and Asian aristocracy in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Commission indicated that there was a lack of positive images of diverse communities and a lack of consistency in what was taught across schools. Tikly et al. (2004) likewise were critical of the way in which Black History Month was showcased by some schools as a way of addressing the lack of minority ethnic representation in the curriculum. They argued that Black History Month was likely to marginalise the experiences and heritages of minority ethnic groups in Britain, rather than reflecting their normality. The Children and Young People Overview and Scrutiny Panel noted that diversity was often presented in a partial manner, through the use of some additional texts on diversity, suggesting that diversity is not seen as mainstream and thus continues to be relegated to the margins of mainstream British history.

I am in agreement with the noted marginalising of diversity in some education establishments. For instance, I would argue that although slavery is taught in schools, it is generally delivered as an additive to history lessons, as it is partially delivered as a standalone historical event rather than through its intersectionality of race, class and gender and how they might impact the lives of Black and other groups of children today. In the past, the history of slavery has been imparted in terms of logistics and trade, locating the Black body as a commodity, thus positioning it as victim without articulating the role of those Black bodies that resisted slavery and fought for its abolishment. Delivering slavery in the context of contemporary Black lives might enable those disaffected children to better engage with learning. According to a 2008 news report by Graham Tibbetts of the *Daily Telegraph*, learning about Black history

was to be made compulsory in secondary schools for the first time following a review of the national curriculum. Whilst this is laudable, danger lies in the possibility of stressing Britain as a super power in world history. I make this claim because it was reported that apart from looking at the rise and fall of the Mughals in India and the arrival of the British, other units included, 'how was it that, by 1900, Britain controlled nearly a quarter of the world'? In addition, the then children's minister, Kevin Brennan is reported to have said, 'Although we may be ashamed to admit it, the slave trade is an integral part of British history. It is inextricably linked to trade, colonisation, industrialisation and the British Empire.'

Similarly, celebrating diversity in many schools and colleges in Britain is an annual event, and whilst its purpose is to acknowledge the wealth of cultures and abilities/disabilities/gender/sizes, children bring to educational spaces, its underlying effect highlight and commemorate differences between groups. Little, if anything is done by way of evaluating how constructs interact to form new social identities – for example the additive approach might compile events such as oppression without analysing their connections. Equally the celebrating diversity methodology might amplify a sense of 'otherness' and difference. It is essential, I suggest, to investigate issues facing minority groups through the lens of intersectionality so that a better understanding of inequalities in terms of schooling, education and the wider lives of African Caribbean heritage children might be gained. This may also be salient in addressing the inherent inequalities in the British education system, as Blair et al. (1998) suggest, in helping to bridge the achievement gap and counter racism.

Participants in the current study (OL and YY), suggest that Black children benefit from having the 'right knowledge' about themselves as this helps them to make better decisions and foster resilience and aspiration. YY suggests that it can help to counter negative images propagated in the media and popular press.

We have certain understanding from what the media tells us but

when you have the right knowledge [about your race] – it makes you a better person and you can make the right decisions. (OL)

For OL and other participants in the study, the right knowledge for Black children not only constitutes that which is valued by the dominant group, but it is also comprised of cultural knowledge. OL and YY suggested that focusing exclusively on the dominant group's cultural capital or valued knowledge is (mis) education of Black children, as this form of education creates limitations and barriers for Black children. Their observations suggest a more holistic approach to educating Black children is essential to their wellbeing and academic attainment. They indicated that cultural knowledge or Black cultural capital helps to open doors of possibilities for Black children: that is, it helps to remove the limitations and barriers implanted by mainstream education and the media, as valuing one's culture enables one to live in another dimension. Having a strong cultural identity helps Black children to cope with racism in society.

When you learn about your culture, it's like another form of existence, by learning to value your culture; you learn to remove the limitations and barriers because of that knowledge. (OL)

When Black kids know about the positive things about their culture; they can know what they see on TV isn't true ... they learn that they can be anything they want to be. (YY)

These narratives are by no means suggesting that Black cultural knowledge is the only valuable knowledge for Black children; rather they are suggesting that Black cultural knowledge is equally as important as learning English and Mathematics.

I would argue that in order to give real choice to BME students and to create social justice and an equitable society, schools and universities should offer a curriculum that truly reflects the society in which they operate. By limiting

viewpoints only to that of the dominant group, these institutions can only present a bias representation of global epistemologies; therefore not only continue to mis-educate students but to also alienate many BME students and staff.

CRT, correspondingly, recognises and centralises the knowledge and voice of Black people. Dixson and Rousseau (2005) indicate that the personal and community knowledge of Black people should be recognised as significant. Calmore (1995:321) describes CRT as inclining:

...toward a very personal expression that allows our experiences and lessons, learned as People of color [Black people], to convey the knowledge we possess in a way that is empowering to us, and, it is hoped, ultimately empowering to those on whose behalf we act.

By generating new knowledge counter stories serve to challenge dominant theories [epistemologies] (Ladson-Billings and Donnor, 2005), and at the same time, help us to rethink the 'traditional notion of what counts as [valid] knowledge' (Delgado Bernal 2002:109).

Yosso on Capital

Yosso (2005) argues that the process that instils capital resources, material and intangibles, as worthwhile and valuable or socially inferior and degenerate, is by definition a racialised process. Yosso (2005:76) suggests that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has been used to determine which communities are culturally wealthy and which are culturally deficit; thus setting the standard for assessing cultural value.

...cultural capital has been used to assert that some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor. This

interpretation of Bourdieu exposes White, middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of 'culture' are judged in comparison to this norm.

Pursuant to this assertion, Yosso (2005) using a CRT optic asks, "Whose culture has capital?" She indicates that CRT research starts from the premise that Black communities are places with multiple strengths, in comparison to deficit models that 'bemoan lack of cultural capital or what Hirsch (1988, 1996) terms 'cultural literacy'. Yosso (2005) implies that deficit models of research use an analytical lens that places value judgements on communities that do not often have access to White middleclass or upper class resources. CRT in contrast, shifts from deficit models of Black communities as spaces of cultural poverty and disadvantages to an emphasis on community wealth. Yosso (2005) argues that White middle class values are not the only assets available in a multi-cultural society. She proposes that an array of community cultural wealth - such as the knowledge, skills, abilities and networks used as survival and resistance strategies in coping with local and national forms of oppression - should be considered social capital in addressing the deficit in Bourdieu's concept. Yosso (2005) contends that students that come from less privileged backgrounds to that of the White middleclass, have demonstrated resilience. She suggests that 'outsider knowledge' and 'community cultural wealth, should be recognised as social and cultural assets in Black communities. In extending Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital Yosso (2005) identifies six types of capital she terms collectively, as 'community cultural wealth', which include, aspirational, linguistic, navigational, resistant, familial and social capital.

Aspirational Capital

Yosso (2005) suggests that aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This conclusion is drawn from the work of Gándara (1982, 1995), who found that Chicanas/os, despite experiencing the lowest educational outcomes in

school, tend to remain optimistic about the future. Yosso (2005) indicates that this represents a break between parents' current occupation and their children's future academic attainment. The university graduates' cohort of participants in my study has similarly created a history in the break between their parents' occupations and their academic qualifications. All the participants in the study are university graduates, at university or were intending attending university at the time of the interviews. However, the break for successive generations may not be as clear-cut as implied by Yosso.

A 2014 research report by Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran, at the Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE), using data from the last three censuses, shows that ethnic minority groups in England and Wales have become increasingly better qualified than their White British counterparts. The data shows a general improvement in attainment by students in further and higher education over the past twenty years, but that ethnic minority groups are doing better overall. This might be an indication that students from less privileged backgrounds are likely to have exercised considerable personal resource and resilience in getting to university. The participants demonstrate aspirational capital in various ways. BD relates an occasion when she arrived at a particular hospital in the hope of starting her training to become a midwife; 'I had a vision of what I wanted to do, which was to be a SRN, to become a midwife....' (see chapter five). She explained how mortified she was on being informed that neither she nor her qualification was good enough to get into the training programme. She had a burning desire to be a midwife, so she had placed her dreams and aspirations in front of her, therefore thought she might as well start what was then the SEN training (currently EN). However, she decided to investigate another hospital and was successful in gaining a place on the SRN training course with the qualification she was told was not adequate. Aspiration and resilience were evident in her decisions.

EE also demonstrated aspirational capital in surmounting the adversities of school. School was a struggle for EE. He indicated that he was informed on

more than one occasion that he would 'not amount to anything': '... a teacher in my high school told me that she would be surprised if I got enough qualifications to be a farmer when I left school and stuff like that.' Despite the negative messages, EE suggested that he had plans for his future. 'I got like, I got goals to reach and that I don't believe any of the teachers knew or thought, I had anywhere or I had any plans or anything for life.' He articulated his desire to go back to school so he could show his teachers that their prediction for him was incorrect.

I'm not sure, I don't know why for definite but personally I think that em some teachers think I had nowhere of going and was you know, they stereotype me [illegible word], I wasn't going to amount to anything em, recently, you know I, I always feel like going back to school and say look at me now, the sort of thing I got plans...

Resistance Capital

According to Yosso (2005) resistance capital are those knowledge and skills fostered through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality (McLaren 1994; Delgado Bernal 1997; Solórzano and Delgado Bernal 2001). This form of cultural wealth is grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination exhibited by Communities of Color (Deloria 1969). Yosso (2005) further suggests that maintaining and passing on the multiple dimensions of community cultural wealth is also part of the knowledge base of resistant capital. Robinson and Ward's (1991) research, in Yosso (2005) illustrates a group of African American mothers who consciously raise their daughters as 'resistors'. Through verbal and non-verbal communication these mothers teach their daughters to assert themselves as intelligent, beautiful, strong and worthy of respect in order to resist the bombardment of societal messages devaluing blackness and demeaning Black women (Ward 1996). Likewise, Villenas and Moreno (2001) discuss the contradiction Latina mothers face as they try to teach their

daughters to value themselves and be self-reliant within structures of inequality such as racism, capitalism and patriarchy. Within the context of these studies children are taught to engage in behaviours and maintain attitudes that challenge the status quo. Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) suggest that this type of knowledge might result in behaviours such as self-defeating or conformist strategies that feed back into the system of subordination. Yosso (2005) however, suggests that combined with a Freirean critical consciousness (1970) or recognition of the structural nature of oppression and the motivation to work toward social and racial equity, resistance takes on a transformative form. Thus transformative capital includes cultural knowledge of the structures of racism and motivation to transform such oppressive structures (Villenas and Deyhle 1999).

Resistance is demonstrated in many of the participants' accounts already discussed in this thesis. It will be recalled, that MM grew up in a home where his mother was pro-active in advising him on what it is to be a Black male in Britain because he lived in a city where race acted as a barrier to integration. He demonstrated this knowledge of the power of resistance through his attitude with the police and school after the incident at the bus stop (see chapter 4). Equally, JJ acknowledged her understanding of the structures of racism when she suggested that people's intention was to control your mind with regards to what is possible. EE, too, demonstrated his ability to use resistance capital to transform his projected outcomes at school in order to gain academic success. Similarly, AA overcame his negative image at school through resisting teachers' perception in order to transform and motivate himself to academic success.

hooks (199:43), additionally, argues that the construction of a 'home place' as a site of 'resistance and liberation struggle' has contributed to the resistance of the Black family. This would also include resistance to the discourse of underachievement and a failing education system. As Gilroy, (cited in Mac an Ghail, 1988:163) notes:

Localised struggle over education, racial violence...continually reveal how Blacks have made use of notions of the community to organise themselves. Involvement in local community policies provided an insight into theorising the different forms of resistance to racism and authoritarianism within schools, as linked to parents' survival strategies. They made clear their understanding of their children's critical response to school, as part of their resistance to racism.

Freire (1972:146) notes:

Cultural action is always a systematic and deliberate form of action which operates upon the social structure, either with the objective of preserving that structure or of the transforming it. As a form of deliberate and systematic action, all cultural action has its theory which determines its ends and thereby defines its methods. Cultural action either serves domination (consciously or subconsciously) or it serves the liberation of men [people].

The quotations above capture one of the significant developments within Black communities in Britain following the publication of Bernard Coard's (1971) book: *How the West Indian child is made educationally subnormal in the British schooling system: the scandal of the Black child in schools in Britain*. Coard (1971) revealed that a large number of West Indian children were wrongly placed in ESN schools. He suggested that once these children entered ESN schools, a significant proportion never returned to the mainstream, which significantly damaged their academic chances and subsequently their employment prospects. Black communities across Britain reacted by developing supplementary schools across Britain. The first supplementary schools were set up in London in the late 1960s as an effect of the recognition that mainstream schools were failing Black children. After Coard's publication, the movement

however extended to other cities across Britain and established supplementary schools (John 2005).

Other literature on Black children's educational underachievement also demonstrate that there is a tradition of community led spaces that are involved in shaping the experiences of young Black people (Weeks and Wright 1998; Mirza and Reay 2000; Rahmine and Hallam 2002). The supplementary schools along with other community establishments such as churches, community groups and Black professional networks, characterised their collective desire for self-knowledge and a belief in the power of education to transform lives. As Freire (1972) maintains, education is the terrain on which they, the oppressed, acquire consciousness of their position and struggle. The Black self-help movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Britain was crucial in acting as an internal space for ideas, styles behaviour and various cultural products as argued in chapter 4. For instance, the movement established Black book shops and books such as Coard (1971), which is mentioned above, Walter Rodney's, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* and Linton Kwesi Johnson's *Dread Beat and Blood*, became best sellers due to sales in the Black communities.

Linguistic Capital

Yosso (2005) suggests linguistic capital includes intellectual and social skills obtained through communicating in more than one language or style. She reports that her conclusions are based on 35 years of research that suggest that bilingual students bring value to schools (Cummins 1986; Anzaldúa 1991; García and Baker 1995; Gutierrez, 2002). Yosso (2005) indicates that bilingual children have often been engaged in a storytelling tradition that may include listening to and recounting oral histories, parables, stories and proverbs. Thus they have the ability to memorise, pay attention to details and use rhythm and rhymes. Orellana (2003) investigated bilingual children who act as translators for their parents and or other adults and found that these young people gained multiple social tools of `vocabulary, audience awareness, cross-cultural awareness, "real-world" literacy skills and other social skills (p.6). According to a 2013 UK Government report, there are over one million children speaking over 300 different languages in British schools. Caribbean Creole, however, is not one of these recognised languages and as reported by Gillborn (1990), Sheba (1995) and Youdell (2003) any display of African Caribbean ethnicity in British schools is likely to be deemed inappropriate and is censored by teachers (see chapter 4). According to Patrick (2007) Jamaican language and its place in society reflects the brutal history of Jamaica as a British colony. He suggested that historically, Creolization led to the emergence of new cultural and social institutions, including language, but the subordination of Jamaican Creole to English has persisted to the present time despite the majority of the population speaking Jamaican Creole. Furthermore, he suggested that it is only in recent times that the Jamaican government has seriously begun to recognise Jamaican Creole as the national language. Some schools in Jamaica use both English and Jamaican Creole as mediums of instruction and have found that children taught in this way tend to achieve better results than those taught only in English (Menza 2014). Perhaps British schools should consider that many African Caribbean heritage children are bilingual and that being able to speak Jamaican Creole is an important aspect of their cultural identities. It might therefore be

a valuable asset in their academic attainments. The use of Jamaican Creole in classrooms might also create spaces for African Caribbean heritage children's participation and learning as well as promoting the development of their language and associated cultural practices. Caribbean culture has significantly impacted youth culture in the UK – Black, White and Asian young people listen to what could be considered Black originated music (reggae, hip hop, and dancehall) and speak Jamaican Creole. Consequently, there is a familiarity among Black, White and Asian youths in that they dress, speak and eat the same or similar food (Back 1996 and Campbell and McLean 2002).

Other participants explain how dressing and speaking in particular ways determine how people and in particular teachers treat individuals. One participant recalls attending his daughter's school to discuss an issue with her teacher.

Sometimes if you speak in a certain manner and is dressed in a certain manner... people listen to you and as I went there after work I was dressed in a professional manner and they listened to what I had to say... they were interested if I was going to take the matter further. I think it was because of the way I was dressed and spoke because I know another parent who had an issue and went to the school... she is educated but not very articulate and they treated her differently ... she was not happy (HP)

HP's narrative demonstrates an awareness of how cultural gatekeepers use standard linguistic form and dress as signals of intelligence and respectability. He was afforded the respect of a professional, whereas another parent not adhering to the dominant culture norms was not treated equally as well. In addition, this also demonstrates the different treatment or deference shown to individuals based on their gender. In this regard HP, a male was treated with respect whilst the other parent, a female was not afforded such respect.

BD also demonstrates an understanding of the messages dress codes can signal to the dominant culture.

Dressing appropriately is an important part of children's education, I think that and I like uniformity, I like decent presentation and that's just me. And I think while the uniform is not integral to their education, em, I think there's some conforming to whatever the rules and guideline are for that particular institution. It's important because if they (children) are seen to be unruly and non-compliant to the rules of the school, that can have an indirect impact on them because teachers will behave in a certain way and then would discredit the child. I'll give you a for instance, it might help you to qualify what I'm saying. My son (name) goes to (name of school) and did very well with his science in junior school but he struggled with it at AS level and I went to see the teacher at parents evening and he's really talking about (name) is not going to do well and blah de blah, really quite derogative comments and I sat there and I listened to him. I didn't rant or shout but since then, now, because (name) goes to school and he's got his Beats on, [a popular brand of headphones], they probably see him as a typical type, a ghetto boy and he's far removed from it but he's got to conform and fit in because it's a big institution and everybody is there dressing like the way they dress.... So I went to meet with a teacher, just to give you another example, we sat outside the room waiting and she was on the phone ages, so I knocked on the window and look like this (demonstrated a look), now you could see I'd come from work, so I was dressed professionally, but she just ignored me and carry on with her conversation. I think teachers don't always show parents or children respect, especially Black parents.

BD in the case of her son illustrates how dress in this context can be used to

stereotype an individual ‘...they probably see him as a typical type, a ghetto boy.’ On the other hand, she considered herself to be dressed according to the dominant cultural norms ‘I was dressed professionally, but she just ignored me.’

In the situation above, DB’s dress did not gain her respect, but perhaps some other motive influenced this teacher’s behaviour, i.e. her gender.

Navigational Capital

According to Yosso (2005), navigational capital is connected to skills of manoeuvring through White dominated institutions including educational spaces and places of employment. She particular stresses that this form of capital is associated with ‘students’ abilities to sustain high levels of achievement, despite the presence of stressful events and conditions that place them at risk of doing poorly at school, or ultimately dropping out of school’ (Alva 1991:19 and Auerbach 2001). Yosso (2005) also suggests that resilience is part of this type of capital - ‘a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from experience to enhance subsequent functioning’ (Stanton-Salazar and Spina 2000:229). Consequently, ‘navigational capital acknowledges individual agency...’ (Yosso 2005: 80).

JJ demonstrates navigational capital in that she is very aware how the system works through her articulation of the British class structures; who has privileges and who can access and utilise the system to the best advantage for their families.

It’s very important to speak well, how you look and how you present yourself is very important. Being working class is very basic, not being up to speed with the structures and systems in your society, not being aware of them and not being able to take advantage for your family. I think the upper classes is all about

being privilege, ... about understanding the system and manipulating it to their best advantage. The middle class can't fully take up the opportunities, they're not fully up there but they're certainly not down there because they have some sort of awareness... (JJ)

Evidently JJ is aware that the educational system can be manipulated and used for the best advantage, which one could assume as an African Caribbean heritage middle class parent, she would have harnessed her knowledge to ensure her children have access to the best education possible.

MM also demonstrated navigational capital, articulated through his story – he navigated through school by negotiating with teachers; he developed strategies in order to support his fellow students and he explained how he navigated social spaces in order to minimise his presumed danger to society. All the participants demonstrated through their stories how they navigated and survived school and or work.

Familial Capital

Familial capital refers to the cultural knowledge nurtured among families that carries a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal 1998, 2002). This form of cultural wealth according to Yosso (2005) engages a commitment to community wellbeing and extends the concepts of family to include a wider concept including aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends that are considered part of the family (see chapter 4 for a discussion on fictive kinship). Here Yosso (2005) is advocating a type of family contrary to that of the nuclear family favoured by mainstream society. The traditional family is often considered to be made up of father, mother and children. Consequently, Black families who do not fit the non-standard mould are seen as deficient. Some African Caribbean families are single parent (often female headed) and as such are said to be individualised, thus having weakened

kinship, community ties and fragmented family structure (Beck and Beck-Gershein 2002). Berthoud's (2001) study highlights how the pervasiveness of Caribbean lone-mother households limits social mobility because these families normally have less income than a two-parent family and the expectations of economic and welfare provision make it difficult for mothers to spend time with their child/children or provide necessary resources. The low academic performance of African Caribbean heritage children is often cited to support such generalisation about African Caribbean families (Reynolds 2004; Cassen and Kingdon 2007). Single parent and the non-standard family arrangements are increasingly becoming the norm in mainstream society, still this type of family arrangements is often stigmatised.

The suggestion that a weak/strong social capital binary is useful in analysing African Caribbean families has been discredited (Goulbourne and Solomos 2003). Such a model depicting African Caribbean families, as deficient is defective because it fails to consider that absent from the home does not necessarily mean absent from the child/children's lives or that the absent parent does not provide financially for his/her child/children. A counter narrative might be that inequality in employment of Black men and women has helped to sustain the poverty gap between Black families and White families and therefore curtail social mobility. Additionally, one cannot speak of the impact of absent fathers without considering the role of slavery and colonisation. Migration of Black men from the Caribbean to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s often meant mothers were left to take care of the children, whilst fathers sent money for their upkeep. Equally the legacy of slavery and the organisation of families on the plantations frequently saw children separated from their parents who might be sent to work on other plantations. This plantation organisation of families is in part responsible for the matriarchal system of some Black families – that is mothers having to be both caregiver and breadwinner. This, along with migrating to the UK, could be argued have led to the lack of familial stability and the absence of the wider extended family to rely on in times of difficulties. That being said, the fact that a father might not live in the same household with

his child/children is not, in itself, an indication of lack of parental or family support as, historically, the extended family acted as a support network for lone mothers. Additionally, many Black families subscribe to the old African proverb 'it takes a village to raise a child'; counter to the individualised debate.

Participants in this study told stories of the role that the extended family played in their academic success in school and college. Three participants in particular have absent fathers from the home, yet are academically successful. They accredited their academic success to their mothers and extended family members e.g. grandmother and uncles. EE noted that his mother along with some of his uncles were the driving force that helped to sustain and encouraged him in attaining academic success. He particularly gave credit to his mother and suggested that he pursued a career in sports science because his mother is a professional in the scientific arena. EE's story indicates that his family not only provided support but they were role models that nurtured his ambition.

My family, yea, it was quite important. My mum is a professional and she's always em encouraged, that university is the way em, it's quite important to my family yea, my mum em is a professional and all my uncles are professionals so I think it was just mostly that, from my side of the family that it was quite important. (EE)

Yea, yea I'd say she's (mother) the driving force. That's another thing, like I could have gone a different way, like maybe if my mum hadn't gone to university sort of thing, I would have tried something else, maybe ... I could have gone a different road like an artist route sort of think 'cause I do like art and drawing and stuff and I think I'm quite creative but em, I think is 'cause of my mum is em a professional in science, maybe why I've gone a science route as well (EE)

EE's story also shows that he possesses traditional cultural capital in that his mother is a professional and therefore he is following in her footsteps. EE's story demonstrates that the break indicated by Yosso above might be more complex than indicated.

AA suggests that his mother and grandmother encouraged and supported him through school and university. He indicates that they lectured him about how difficult it is for Black individuals in this world and that being academically successful is a way of obtaining economic wellbeing.

Oh, they used to lecture me all the time because I used to get letters home from school saying how I was misbehaving; they used to say you don't want to be like this when you get older and like that; you want to get a good job as hard as it is for Black people in this world, so try and be successful.

In a discussion regarding what or who maintained his focus in school and college, MM suggests that his mother was not just influential in supporting his academic success but also in preventing him from being '*bad*'. Despite having an absent father and at one point an absent mother from the home, his mother kept him from being a statistic in the criminal justice system. The narrative from MM is lengthy but it summarises the crucial role his mother played in his life and counters the stories that suggest that single mother households foster a culture of low academic attainment for Black boys. Sewell (2010) implies in an article in the *Guardian newspaper* that the 'over-feminised' nurturing of Black boys by their mothers, rather than racism, is what is holding Black boys back academically. The participants' accounts reject such an argument:

I think my mum, it's; I don't know, my mum was a single parent, yeah, and I don't even know, the first thing that come to my mind when you asked the question is my mum. My mother, she just has a way with words. I don't know she almost made me scared to not

follow really, even though I weren't a good kid. It was like I was scared to go the whole distance and be bad. But I think it was why, if she wasn't the way she was I would have been a bad kid, no doubt about it. I think even when I stayed in Liverpool, I would have been a bad kid but I don't know, it's like even now, even now, I'm in work there's a lot of them things where I see people, where they bend the rules and they're breaking rules here and there and they use them for their own advantage and yeah, sometimes I would, I think yeah, I could do that now or I could bend the rules and do that and I don't know, shuffle this and juggle that to make something for myself. But I just don't think like that. I just think, honestly, I just follow everything by the book more or less really. I don't try to bend the rules or anything. I must be stupid because it's hard; it's so hard now-a-days to survive. You see most people around you got a scam going, where they're bending the rules for their advantage and more times than not I'm envious of them; as in why am I so naïve that I can't see how to achieve some advantage over someone else. (MM)

MM narrative demonstrates that even when his mother took a job in Manchester and he was alone in Liverpool with his older brother, he was unable to break the rules and '*go bad all the way*' because his mother had instilled in him a sense of 'right and wrong' and he was afraid of not adhering to those rules. This form of moral guidance imparted to Black children is often unrecognised in British society, as young Black men are mainly racialised as deviant.

Whilst not suggesting that my findings can be generalised to all single parent families, it is evident that not all black boys suffer trauma from not having a father in the home. As EE and AA's stories illustrate, the extended family can play a pivotal role in supporting and nurturing African Caribbean heritage children to academic success and thus it is evident that African Caribbean families possess familial and other forms of community social wealth, which is

useful in supporting their children to academic success. It is an oversimplification to assert that African Caribbean families have little if any social capital without consideration of the socio-economic and structural issues that contribute to the academic achievement/underachievement of African Caribbean heritage children in the British education system. What is often overlooked by policy-makers and theorists who advocate a weak/strong social capital approach to family and community relations, is that social capital as a resource is shaped and constrained by structural divisions such as social class, ethnicity, race, and gender (Reynolds 2004).

Other informants state that families and friends were factors that contributed to their academic successes. Families would contribute by paying for tutor support outside of school and by explicitly stressing the importance and value of education. For some, completing homework was a priority and so, it took precedence above other responsibilities in the home. For several participants, the value of getting an education was drilled into them from primary school and this was internalised and used as a motivating mantra.

...’cause my parents always told me that school didn’t just end when the bell went at the end of school...the moment you get in you do your homework...so you got your head on straight, school was your main priority (DD)

It’s kind a like, yeah it’s kind a like they [Parents] were the training wheel...and em now I don’t really need them. I can ride the bike on my own because they’ve kind of push me off and now even though; basically they don’t need to tell me anymore do your work, I already know and I’ve got the self-motivation now (SK)

We’ve had tutors for the children, so they’ve had extra support through tutoring. Where there are gaps and challenges in their learning, we got tutors for them. I try and encourage them, they

have time out but they've got to go do some reading, they've got to go do their homework and I was pretty much on their backs really, for them to achieve because I know without that, they would be pretty much just chill back and play on their games and that kind of stuff. So there's time for games, there's time for studying. My son was having problems with science and maths and I didn't really find out until it was almost too late, so we thought we can't let this go on, so we got him a tutor to help him catch up. (BD)

JS, in her articulation of the types of support she gives to her children indicates that finance plays a crucial role in enabling academic success. Without finance parents cannot take advantage of the education system by paying for extra tuition to enable their child/children to pass entrance exams for admittance to good or outstanding schools. The illustration below demonstrates her understanding of the British education system and suggests that lack of prior knowledge of the system delayed the tutorial support her daughter should have received. This is in keeping with Bourdieu (1977a), who suggests that middle class families use their knowledge of the education system to give their children a better advantage over poorer children.

We put her (daughter) in to do the grammar school entrance exam for (area) and, she passed most of them and we also put her to do (area) high school, which is an independent high school, and she passed that as well. But leading up to that we got her a tutor as well. But in terms of understanding the system we felt that we should have probably allowed her to go to a tutor sooner than we had done because what we have learned about the system, is that children who do well and who go to grammar school, do invariable go to tutors. I think a lot of people think, they're just bright but I've learned that every child has the capacity to be bright. I believe so, but it's just what you can provide and what you can

afford and it's just people who have the money that can get their children tutored so that they can get into the better schools. If you don't have the money, then you don't have the power in some ways and you're at an absolute disadvantage because tutoring cost money, the books cost money, you know to prepare your children it cost a lot of money and if you don't have the money you're really at a disadvantage so we did tutor her but in hindsight we should have started sooner. (JS)

MS was not academically successful in school but she wanted to attend university and so decided to go to college. Whilst in school her friends were pupils in the top echelon of the school because that was where she aspired to be. In college where the playing field was more equal she surrounded herself with friends who, as she termed it 'wanted something out of life'. She also acknowledged that she would not have made it through college without the support and encouragement of her friends. This demonstrates the important role that friends can play in an individual's academic performance.

Yosso (2005) presents a view of the African Caribbean (Black) family/community as a space where positive support and nurturing for successful navigation of educational establishments takes place – referred to as 'familial capital'. This is evident in the participants' narrations above.

Social Capital

Yosso (2005) defines social capital as networks of people and community resources. She suggests that these peer and other social contacts can provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through societies intuitions (Gilbert 1992; Stanton-Salazar 2001). Within the African Caribbean communities across Britain, supplementary or Saturday school operates as a space where African Caribbean heritage and other children can get additional support with National Curriculum subjects including English and Mathematics to

GCSE level, as well as cultural studies. The supplementary schools along with the home are often where young Black people are inspired to have high aspirations to succeed academically and where they are furnished with the skills to achieve in the main stream schools (Reay and Mirza 1997; Dove 1998). Equally Sunday schools that operate through the Black led churches are sites where Black children can learn to memorise and recite Bible verses, learn the discipline of active listening, develop social skills in interacting with older community members, enhance their self-respect and self-discipline and often the first place they develop public speaking and singing performance skills or play a musical instrument. Thus it can be said that Black communities participate in strategies and social action orientated approaches in endeavouring to demonstrate models of success. Rhamie (2003) in her study found that participants whom she identified as Success and Retake groups attended church services more often than other groups; suggesting that the church plays a pivotal role in the participants' academic successes. These community led undertakings not only reflect notions of self-help and empowerment but they also provide members with support and advocacy (Christian 1998).

Participants in this study who themselves are parents, indicate the ways in which they assist their children to deal with the onslaught on their cultural identity and discuss the reasons they send their children to Saturday school.

I started taking my son to other activities after school because I thought he needed a boost. Being a Black child, I think you need to push them harder to get somewhere in life and when I was at school; I didn't get that support from school ... (TC)

I was brought up in Moss Side but I don't live in the area anymore and I want my kids to know what it's like (KK)

I brought [name of child] here [Saturday School] for two reasons. I know that here, he's doing the work that's going to help him with

his school work, but I also brought him here for integration; because I want him to integrate more with other people ... (OL)

OL is of African heritage and wants his son to associate with African Caribbean heritage children, so he sends him to Saturday school in an attempt to create kinship with others not dissimilar to himself.

I send my son to Saturday school because he wasn't doing well in maths in school and now I can see he's more confident now, he's doing things for himself and not asking for help like he used to. His teacher in school has also noticed that he is more confident with maths... They also cover Black history in Saturday school and (name of son) loves it; if he misses Saturday school one week he's not happy; he loves it (KK)

TC acknowledged that Saturday school has inspired her daughter to go to university and her ambition is to become a doctor. TC indicated that this ambition developed out of attendance at Saturday school.

At Saturday school, they do other things with the kids, like take them to the museum and universities – I think that Saturday school, taking them out to the universities help them to know they can aspire to that. My daughter wants to be a doctor and I think that's because of Saturday school. (TC)

These parents send their children to Saturday school for various reasons including fostering a sense of a positive cultural identity, to give their children a sense of community and also as a means of ensuring academic success in the mainstream system. Some parents also suggest that class size in mainstream school is too large and therefore teachers did not have time to focus on what their children need in order to achieve. They said the class size in Saturday school is smaller and teachers can focus on the areas in which the children are

not performing well in schools. One parent indicates that schools cannot deal with differences as they expect all the children to be the same and as they (children) are not; the schools tend to give priority to those children who they believe will get top marks. The articulations by the participants in the study illustrate the centrality of community cultural and social capital in the form of the self-help organisations to the Black communities in Britain. The participants also demonstrate how supplementary schools help to enhance and develop young people's aspirations, ambitions and self-discipline. They also inspire young people to have high expectations and ambitions to succeed academically and provide them with the opportunity to do so through for example an alternative space of education (Dove 1998; Reay and Mirza 1997).

Human Capital

In adding to Yosso's (2005) notion of social capital, I would include human capital – that is highly educated and skilled individuals who use their life experiences, skills, stock of knowledge or characteristics (innate or acquired) to contribute to the development of Black communities across Britain. These individuals are not just a network that is available to give advice and guidance; they are activists who commit their time and knowledge to work within their communities free of charge in order to teach African Caribbean heritage children national curriculum subjects along with their cultural history; manage supplementary schools and provide a space for homework completion. These individuals not only do they give advice and guidance but also they act as mentors in helping to provide a better future for the next generation of Black children.

Economist Theodore Schultz is credited with inventing the term 'human capital' in the 1960s to reflect the value of human capacities. He believed human capital was like any other type of capital; it could be invested in through education, training and enhanced benefits that would lead to an improvement in the quality and level of production. Thus the education, experience and abilities of an

employee have an economic value for employers and for the economy as a whole

(<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/h/humancapital.asp>). Weatherly (2003) describes human capital thus: 'A company's human capital asset is the collective sum of attributes, life experience, knowledge, inventiveness, energy, and enthusiasm that its people choose to invest in their work.' According to Leon Kaye, theguardian.com, during the late 1970s, 80% of a company's value was easy to count because they consist mainly of tangible assets such as building, land, stock etc., currently 80% of a company's value is comprised of intangible assets including brand value, intellectual property and its employees. These intangibles are often articulated as sources of competitive advantage in business organisations whilst their employees are viewed as their most valuable assets. Thus Black individuals who utilise their collective skills, knowledge and academic credentials to progress other individuals in Black communities might be considered assets to their communities, therefore 'human capital'.

American sociologist James Coleman (1988) similarly to Bourdieu linked social capital to economics. His notion of social capital is not just about stocks and shares but includes physical capital in the form of tools, machines and other productive equipment as well as human capital. Coleman suggests that just as physical capital is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways. He further suggests that human capital is embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual. Coleman (1988) argues that social capital has value for all kinds of communities including the marginalised and powerless. He proposes a model in which social capital is one of the possible resources that a person might use, along with other resources, such as their own skills and expertise (human capital), tools (physical capital), or money (economic capital). Within Coleman's (1988) notion, social capital is not necessarily owned by the individuals, but rather occurs as a resource that is available to them. For example, if one lives on a street that runs a neighbourhood watch surveillance scheme, then all the

individuals on the street benefit from a form of social capital that people in other neighbourhoods do not have access to. Moreover, Coleman (1988) highlights the role of social capital as a source of useful everyday information, which can facilitate certain forms of actions. He suggests that this form of social capital can be used to create human capital in the next generation – that is a secure sense of self-identity, confidence in expressing one's opinions and emotional intelligence, which in turn enables young people to become better learners, and so to be more successful academically and in society. According to Coleman (1988) this form of human capital emerges out of social capital, as its development is reliant upon relationships, mostly within family or other support network. As Coleman (1988:110) notes:

If the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth that the parent has a great deal or a small amount of human capital.

That is the wealth of knowledge inside the head of a well-educated parent or not so well educated parent is irrelevant to a child's growth, unless that parent takes the time to interact with his/her child or finds someone who can in a meaningful way. Social capital in this context depends on individuals looking beyond themselves and engaging in supportive or helpful actions – not because they expect a reward or immediate reciprocal help, but because they believe it a worthwhile thing to do and an investment in future generations.

There are a small number of studies on community organisations as an alternative site of learning (Craig 2000; Department of Education and Skills (DES) 2003). These studies, in relation to disaffected young people, emphasise the roles of alternative practices, such as mentoring and networking in enabling young people to gain knowledge and expertise from their peers and from experienced adults within these community contexts. Studies indicate that young Black people experiencing challenges at school have often benefited from

out of school hours learning in community led initiatives such as supplementary school, mentoring projects and music based projects (DES 2003).

Within Black communities there are highly qualified and educated individuals with a wealth of knowledge and experiences working within Black self-help organisations; giving of their time freely in order to make a difference in people's lives - thus it can be argued that these individuals with their wealth of knowledge, capabilities and skills are indeed human capital that act as a benefit to the wider Black communities across Britain. Incorporating human capital into the concept of Yosso's (2005) notion of social capital could broaden this theory to include an aspect of Black lives that largely remains invisible and un-researched.

Resilience Capital

Yosso (2005) included resilience as an aspect of navigational capital, I, however, would suggest that resilience is an identifiable asset, having and adding value to Black individuals ability to resist and overcome negative stereotyping, inferences or prediction of their future. Whilst navigational capital suggests strategies to manoeuvre and having the ability to transit between two or more cultures, resilience suggests having the ability to overcome adversity and in some situation surpass expectations.

The theoretical understanding of what constitutes resilience emerged from studies associated with children at risk in developmental psychology, counselling, and psychiatric literature, (Masten et al. 1999; Birkets 2000; Tebes et al. 2001; Tiet et al. 2001). Within the context of this study resilience is attributed to individuals who have surmounted adversity and are able to make positive adjustments and avoid negative predictions associated with being a member of a group whose background is characterised by deprivation and oppression. African Caribbean heritage children as discussed previously, often feel powerless in a Eurocentric dominated school culture where they are seen

as in deficit and undesirable. These children are underrepresented in gifted and talented programmes but overrepresented in special educational programmes (Gillborn 2008).

Despite the rhetoric of new opportunities and benefits for all ..., gifted and talented education is operating as an additional even more extreme example of how contemporary assessment produces racist inequalities under the guise of a meritocracy...this amounts to a New Eugenics of Gifted and Talented education for the few – most of whom happen to be White (Gillborn 2008:116-117).

Not only that but African Caribbean heritage children are often neglected, labelled, stereotyped and left to flounder in the bottom sets of British schools. For many schools the achievement gap is an accepted standard and so little is done to address the inequalities in the education system that is damaging to the progress of these children (Gillborn 2008). Nonetheless, there are those who prove exception to the rule. They beat the odds and succeed academically, thus they are deemed resilient. The participants in this study demonstrate that resiliency plays a pivotal role in their academic successes; they exhibit an attitude of not giving up despite barriers. Those who under performed at school continued or returned to further education and it is within the further education sector that some found a space where constructive learning could take place. Further education in other words, is the space where a turn to learning took place.

HP recalls that he coasted through school, as he didn't take it seriously because it did not matter how well he achieved because the careers guidance pushed Black children into certain careers. It was not until he returned to further education that he began to value education.

I found college difficult at first because I wasn't equipped with the right skills, found it difficult to study but I stuck at it because I did

not get any qualifications at school. I wanted to learn for self-pride, which makes me feel a better person and knowledge gave me self-confidence. (HP)

MM recalls attending college in Manchester and the culture shock it was for him. Whilst living in Liverpool he existed in a world where there were - as discussed in chapter 4 - clear distinctions between Black and White children who played in separate playgrounds, sat at different tables in the canteen and lived in different sections of the city. Theatre studies posed a challenge for him because he was placed with students from diverse cultures and social backgrounds. He saw putting these people (interpreted as Black and White; rich and poor) together as a 'recipe for clashing'. However, he was able to take away something positive from the experience. He was more open to accept people for who they are and some of his political views changed as a consequence of mixing with these individuals. He nonetheless denounced the attitudes of some individuals including the tutor who viewed him as a stereotype, disruptive, disgusting and ghetto. He learned very quickly that academic success comes at a price as discussed in chapter 6. He had to 'comatose' himself, kerbed his enthusiasm and subdued his personality in order to succeed. To survive theatre studies, he could not be himself; he had to "*sedate*" himself.

This strategy adopted by MM is very similar to the method use in some schools to manage the behaviours of some children – that is sedation through the use of the drug Ritalin to medicate children diagnosed with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) into 'normalcy'. These children are viewed as abnormal and therefore their behaviours need to be controlled by drugs. MM in this situation demonstrates an understanding of how the education system operates: differences are abhorrent and must be controlled in order to conform to the requirement of the dominant group, therefore he self-medicated in order to gain his academic credentials.

I'll just sedate myself ... (MM)

According to Rowe and Fletcher (2008) sedation allows the depression of patients' awareness of the environment and reduction of their responses to external stimulation. MM in this situation, rather than drop out of college, developed a strategy for dealing with issues of micro-aggression. A resilient strategy like the one demonstrated by MM is not considered capital, yet it enabled him to survive theatre studies and obtained valuable academic credentials, which is viewed as an asset within Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital.

Equally, the literature surrounding African Caribbean heritage children's academic underachievement demonstrated little evidence of the ways in which these children negotiate schools to academic success. As Gillborn (2008:10) notes, 'Black success is inconceivable to some people.' EE's reminiscences, as discussed in chapter 6, endorse this view. EE indicates that from the onset of his formal schooling (primary), he was labelled a 'problem' and therefore his abilities became invisible.

...the majority of teachers just see me as a kind of problem and they'd kind of dismiss me and put me in that group [bottom set] (EE).

I'd get blame for stuff in the playground and...when I'd deny it people (interpreted as teachers) would tell me I was lying" (EE).

Studies have shown that teachers' expectations have a direct link to academic achievement/underachievement. Educational psychologists have highlighted teachers' expectations and academic achievement, in an early study conducted in 1968 by Rosental and Jacobson. In subsequent years, research has addressed whether low teachers' expectations are detrimental to pupils' progress (Madon et. al 1997; Proctor 1984; Weinstein 2002; Landsman 2004; Jussim and Harber 2005). Some attributed low teachers' expectations to both

institutional and teachers' racism. Despite government policy expectations (DfES 2005) that teachers should have high expectations for all children, some teachers continue to have low academic expectations of African Caribbean heritage children (Archer and Francis, 2007:42). Accordingly, they receive less support from teachers (Rhamie, 2007).

EE's story however seems particularly counter to these findings. He demonstrated resiliency and self-efficacy, by resisting teachers' perception and expectations. He used the negative perceptions of others to motivate himself because he had high expectations of himself: 'I think that, that was something that motivated me actually, that they did not expect anything of me and I knew that I had high expectation of myself really...' Accordingly, E was academically successful in keeping with the national standard of obtaining 5 GCSEs, grades A* - C, 'I got em majority Cs, I got three Bs and six Cs and I got a D out of my ten GCSEs.'

I was just trying to prove people wrong I think, prove people wrong and also I had plans for myself like I want to be able to live life; I wanted to do better than my parents did you know just to em (illegible words) that kind of life; it's the least I can do, to do better than what my parents have done em and definitely, definitely a big part of it was to prove people wrong. (EE)

JJ demonstrates that individual agency and resilience is essential in surviving daily micro aggression (see chapter five). She indicates that an understanding of the rationale for discrimination is useful in overcoming negative stereotype and self-fulfilling prophecy.

The only person who can hold you back is yourself – sometimes the people around you who are telling you what's inside their heads to restrict you and the thing is; to get control over your brain and over your mind and confidence and what is possible.

The narratives above exemplify some of the adverse conditions that many of the participants had to cope with in schools, yet they demonstrated strength of character that enabled them to endure the battlegrounds of schools and attain academic success. JJ demonstrates a clear retort in resisting others' depiction, 'The only person who can hold you back is yourself.'

These informants demonstrate that the possession of non-standard cultural capital does not necessarily signify a rejection of shared cultural capital with the dominant group or even a rejection of social, economic or educational attainment. Rather they revealed that having the knowledge that standard or dominant cultural capital facilitates success within mainstream institutions and organisations can ease access to desired outcomes. Thus it could be argued that some Black individuals deploy both standard and non-standard cultural capital whilst navigating strategically between, family, work, community and educational spaces in order to acquire 'authentic' cultural credentials and maintain a Black cultural identity.

Concluding Remarks

In communities that manage to sustain themselves or survive over time, there are cultural assets that contribute to the vitality and resistance of the people. These assets are shared in order to enrich the lives of individuals living in these marginalised societies. The cultural assets might be tangible, intangible or even spiritual. For instance, within African Caribbean communities across Britain, the Black-led churches play a pivotal role in the spiritual support and guidance of many individuals. I have discussed the ways in which Saturday schools also make an important contribution to the development and sustainability of many young Black people in the pursuit of educational excellence, and how community centres act as a space where cultural events, celebrations and the display of cultural artefacts can be presented. Stories too might be considered cultural

assets, if they are powerful enough to encourage people to care about their cultures and community as well as aiding in a sustainable community cultural heritage.

This chapter has offered a bird's eye view of how African Caribbean people's social capital can co-exist alongside standard cultural capital to provide benefits to both groups of people. It also shows that social capital can be diverse, multi-faceted and advantageous, not only within the social hierarchy of dominant groups but also within the social spaces of marginalised groups. Additionally, social capital is context reliant in that the worth of standard and non-standard social capital changes depending on the situation, time and location in which the asset is deployed. Equally, recognising the value of non-standard social capital does not in itself devalue that of standard social capital but might serve to enrich the cultural wealth of dominant groups. Research has illustrated that standard social capital is beneficial in obtaining valued academic credentials and economic wellbeing. Likewise, the possession of non-standard social capital is crucial in the development and survival of marginalised groups such as African Caribbean heritage individuals in British society. The possession of non-standard social capital by African Caribbean heritage children enables them to navigate educational establishments in order to gain standard social capital, which is advantageous to both the microenvironment of learning spaces and the macro-environment of British society.

The data discussed here relates to one aspect of non-standard social capital - that is community social assets – embedded in the cultural practices of a number of African Caribbean heritage people living in Greater Manchester. In their educational, working and community spaces they tell of how they achieve racial and social harmony through a combination of performing standard and non-standard cultural practices. In their need to maintain an authentic racial identity in a racialised, hierarchical society, similar to their White middleclass counterparts who try to maintain a 'British' culture through their own taste and practices, African Caribbean heritage communities create codes for operation

not unlike those associated with standard social capital - i.e. codes of conduct, deportment, taste and community development practices. Furthermore, the data indicate how non-standard cultural capital in combination with standard cultural capital can enable African Caribbean heritage young people to bridge the academic gap associated with their underachievement in British schools.

Certain ethnic cultural tendencies should have no bearing on African Caribbean children's ability to master skills needed for authentic credentials, yet evidence shows that they do. Pervious research demonstrates that non-standard cultural behaviours can influence gatekeepers in schools and workplaces. For example, Gillborn and Youdell (2000) note that school processes impinge disproportionately on African Caribbean heritage children in their pursuit of academic success. Similarly, the research participants shared stories of their encounters with teachers, and some held the notion that their cultural presentation of self-impeded their academic progress. MM noted that he had to sedate himself, EE suggested that his identity as a 'problem child' prevented him from gaining access to the higher set in Mathematics. AA noted that it was not until he presented the persona of a studious pupil that his relationship with teachers changed. Other participants juggled both non-standard and standard cultural capital, strategizing how they could maintain a cultural identity whilst achieving academic and economic mobility. They revealed their agency in either context, but in particular their abilities to use both in combination. Some individuals like DD temporarily suspended their cultural assets in favour of performing the standard culture, recognising its potentially higher socioeconomic returns – for instance by sitting at the front of the class away from his Black peers during lessons. Many sociological studies of racial, social and class inequalities focus on the potential higher socioeconomic returns of standard cultural capital; nonetheless, in their deliberation of the role of culture, such studies omit to articulate an awareness of non-standard cultural wealth within marginalised communities, rather they disclose the consequences of these communities not adhering fully to standard cultural norms.

Whether or not the practices described in this chapter have lasting and positive consequences for the identity of African Caribbean heritage individuals is an important empirical question that requires further research. Equally if social scientists desire a more holistic understanding of the multiple processes affecting academic achievement and socioeconomic advancement of Black individuals in British society, then further research should take account of the value, function and inter-relation of both standard and non-standard social assets in Black people's experiences.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

Introduction

In the final chapter I review the main insights generated in the thesis and discuss their implications for policy and practice.

Issues Arising from the Research

The study has attempted to enable the voices of the participants to be heard. It provides a mosaic of how those involved obtained academic success along with a tapestry of their everyday lived experiences in British society. Critical Race Theory offered a methodology capable of empowering the participants and allowing their stories to be articulated from an African Caribbean perspective. The methodology was of critical importance in allowing me to demonstrate how it is inconceivable to investigate African Caribbean lives without examining the intersectionality of race, gender, class and other socially constructed notions and their impact on the lives of African Caribbean heritage people in Britain. The methodology was also salient in enabling the participants to recall and relate their stories freely without recriminations. The African Caribbean approach to narrating and analysing stories allowed a reflective stance and an examination in resistant contrary to the dominant culture. Subsequently, it has fostered resistance to dominant models that continue to reinforce oppressive and negative ideologies of African Caribbean lives in Britain.

A specific contribution of the study has been to address the gap in literature surrounding the academic achievement/underachievement of African Caribbean heritage individuals. The participants' stories revealed that African Caribbean lives in Britain are not necessarily dysfunctional but are complex, challenging and rich, and should not be viewed simply as deficient but as having rich and useful cultural capital. A noticeable feature of the study is that the unfolding stories the participants tell, act as a basis for understanding their academic

participation and successes from a cultural context, contrary to the popular view that their culture makes them anti-school (chapter 4). The research challenges the claims of some commentators (e.g. Sewell (1997) who argues that those children who 'make it' pay the price of ignoring their peer group and ethnicity. By contrast, the study illustrates (chapter 4) that peer group in the guise of kinship is utilised by the academically successful to support academic attainment whilst maintaining cultural ties.

The study demonstrates how community social capital in the form of the self-help movement emerged as resistance to the educational racism faced by Black children in the 1960s and 1970s with the advent of supplementary schools. It also illuminates how supplementary schools continue to play a crucial role in the academic successes of African Caribbean heritage children in Britain. Supplementary schools remain vital in the education of African Caribbean heritage children in Britain. Parents articulating the benefits of supplementary schools acknowledge these schools have small class sizes, which they feel enables children to be given more support than in mainstream schools. Parents in the study suggest that supplementary school helped to enhance their children's aspirations, increase self-confidence and develop positive attitudes towards learning. However mainstream schools frequently fail to recognise the benefits of attending supplementary schools as their primary focus is on examination results and test score outcomes. If mainstream schools worked in partnership with the supplementary school system, this might be a possible means of bridging the academic gap between African Caribbean heritage children and other groups in mainstream schools.

Studies of the school experiences and educational performances of African Caribbean heritage children, (boys in particular) have on the whole tended to attribute the rationales for underachievement to cultural factors such as Black masculinity and peer group pressure (Sewell 1997); Black families' home environment (Driver 1982; Green 1985); structural constraints of school organisation; teacher racism and government policies (Gillborn 1997; Gillborn

and Youdell 2000). This study points to the ways in which structural issues in the form of macro and micro-aggression impact African Caribbean heritage children's academic attainment. For instance, it was argued that structural issues like setting in schools could adversely affect these children in that they are frequently assessed on behaviour rather than abilities and therefore placed in lower sets, making it impossible to attain the required examination grades. The research also suggested that government policies vis-a-vis the FE sector (see further below) might prevent potential students from accessing education. Therefore, it is important that future debates surrounding the academic experiences of African Caribbean students seek to understand and address the ways in which structural factors shape access to education for these students.

Debates should also be mindful of the ways in which African Caribbean heritage children may unintentionally sabotage and add negatively to their own learning identities and characteristics as they endeavour to navigate educational institutions and everyday challenges within various social spaces. For example, the thesis identified ways in which African Caribbean heritage children might adopt strategies that may not be congruent with school's ethos: for instance, they may be negatively labelled as a 'gang' if they congregate in large groups as a means of self-protection.

Invisibility/hyper-visibility is also a recurring theme in the study. This illustrates the various ways in which African Caribbean heritage individuals can be invisible or hyper-visible in British society depending on others' gazes. It was shown how individuals might be invisible in their academic successes and yet hyper-visible in their academic failures. They are equally invisible within the setting system in schools when assigned to lower sets, as those deemed less likely to achieve the required examination grades are marginalised in the compulsory schooling system. Being in the higher sets, however, is also likely to render African Caribbean heritage children invisible, as their academic successes may be obscured by the rhetoric of failure and underachievement. In addition, the participant accounts suggested that those in employment are often invisible at

the top echelons of most organisations. Having reached the top of their professions, however, they become hyper-visible as tokens and symbols of equal opportunity policies. Overall, the research suggested that African Caribbean heritage (Black) individuals are hyper-visible in the macro society within the context of the media and popular press in negative contexts whilst their positive and important contributions to British culture and economy remain largely invisible.

The study also illustrates the continuing impact of enslavement and colonisation, in that some Caribbean islands, evident for example in the privilege accorded to lighter skin pigmentation. Some migrating from the Caribbean to Britain, carried with them the notion that to be White is to be [right] better than Black and consequently aspire to alter their skin pigmentation. It was argued that internalisation of such racist notions can adversely impact some Black individuals and even lead to psychological harm manifested in skin bleaching and isolating oneself from Black culture.

However, in contrast to the internalising of racism, resisting such micro-aggression can lead to resiliency – demonstrating that those not succumbing to negative life experiences can become stronger in overcoming negative inferences. The participants overcame negative inferences pursuant to their academic attainments, for example. Several had achieved academic success at schools in the face of negative prophecy from teachers, or consignment to bottom sets. The study argued that this resiliency was fostered through a supportive family and community environment where African Caribbean heritage children were encouraged to achieve their potentials despite life's adversities. This might be an indication for education institutions (in particular schools) along with families to provide the environment and conditions that foster resiliency in all children.

In contrast to studies in the UK that suggest that African Caribbean lifestyles contribute to the academic underachievement of their children, and that boys

underachieve because they lack a father figure, this study shows the contributions that the extended family may make towards supporting African Caribbean heritage young people to achieve academic success. Many of the participants attributed their success to high expectations and support from their parents, families and communities. These stories, rather than reinforce deficit models that suggests that Black families are fragmented and that education is not a priority, imply that some African Caribbean families adhere to the old African proverb; it takes a village to raise a child. The study thus confirms other research (e.g. Jeynes 2007; Grinstein-Weiss et al 2009), which has found that parental expectations for their children are associated with pupil outcomes at school. This is perhaps an indication that schools need to work in partnership with parents if they are serious about bridging the achievement gap.

As noted above, there is a prevailing view that black boys underachieve because of peer group pressure. Emerging out of the data for this study however, is the notion of fictive kinship and how individuals utilise it as a survival strategy. This study illustrates that peer pressure in the form of fictive kinship acted as a network to support African Caribbean heritage children and other minority ethnic groups in surviving school. The participants reported the value of peer groups as protection from racial attacks, but also described circumstances in which they made choices as to whether or not to conform to peer group ideologies, without necessarily incurring pressure or hostility from their peers. Whilst not suggesting that peer groups cannot have adverse effect on group members, this study indicates that peer groups equally can be a force of strength and resilience.

It was noted that, when African Caribbean families are discussed in public domains, it is most often with regard to single parent families. Sewell (2010) for instance indicated that Black boys underachieved because they were too feminised; that is, nurtured in predominantly female-headed single parent families. Although attitudes have changed in recent years regarding single parent families in Britain, the idea still resounds with moral condemnation. In

the case of Black boys, feminisation allegedly made them vulnerable to negative influences such as peer pressure and street culture. Nonetheless, the thesis showed how fictive kinship is an aspect of African Caribbean culture that has been used for decades to support single parent families. It should be borne in mind therefore when discussing 'the family' that African Caribbean family structure might be different from that of the dominant White population. The family in an African Caribbean context might be a network of caregivers including fictive kin; hence, the single parent may share in a wider supportive network of relationships that extends beyond the immediate 'family'.

While it was not an objective to focus on the notion of space, it emerged out of the data and highlights how African Caribbean heritage individuals, in particular men, navigate and interact in public space(s). This is significant because it offers an insight into the daily challenges facing Black men and boys as they traverse British society. The phenomenon of being a threat to society however, is not unique to Black British men but also appears to be a specific challenge for Black men in the United States of America. Within an American context, Staples (1986) recalled how he inadvertently victimised a young White woman whilst out walking one night and felt obliged to demonstrate that he was not intent on making any individual a victim because of his blackness. The male participants in the study recounted similar experiences of being seen as a threat, with implications for the ways they acted and represented themselves. Black professional women experienced public space differently, as 'space invaders'. This could involve feeling invisible – for instance, in not being recognised as a solicitor in court – or by contrast hyper-visible. One participant spoke of 'sticking out like a sore thumb' in the workplace.

This study, similar to Hall's (2000), Graham (2011), Goasi (2009) and as indicated by Morrison (1981) in *Tar Baby*, found that there is no one Black identity as depicted in society but multiples of identities depending on space and time. The studies above indicate that Black identity is complex and fragmented. The Internet and globalisation have shown that identity(ies) are

not fixed nor time bound as they have enabled individuals to locate themselves in virtual spaces and travers boundaries beyond their place of residence. Therefore, it is important to recognise that Black groups or individuals in Britain are not homogeneous. Heterogeneity within groups and between individuals need to be acknowledged and allowances made for diversity in any studies concerning Black people. As a matter of fact, the term BME that is most often used to describe Black people in Britain is not useful in describing the range of cultures, values and differences in a diverse Black population. Within the context of the present study, it was noted that Black identity articulation in learning environments has typically been one of deficit and academic failure. The participants demonstrated, however, that it is possible for African Caribbean heritage individuals to achieve academically despite learning occurring in environments where they frequently feel unwanted and unsupported.

The research examined the role of the FE system in supporting some African Caribbean heritage individuals to become academically successful after they had left school without the required GCSE grades, and were therefore labelled underachievers. It has been long established that teachers' support is important in assisting young people achieve academically and this study would concur with those studies. Several participants acknowledged the support of particular teachers at school or college in assisting their academic success. Despite the crucial role of the FE sector, it was noted that successive governments have sought to restrict funding in an attempt to encourage the FE sector to become self-funded. It is evident (see chapter 2) however, that the climate of educational cuts has adversely affected young Black people in that figures for 2013-14 college attendance for African Caribbean individuals show a decrease. This decrease might well be a consequence of government policies and perhaps further studies need to be conducted in this sector to ascertain the impact of government policies on young Black people's education. If the FE sector is no longer available as a 'second chance' for African Caribbean heritage individuals, what are the economic and social implications for these individuals, their communities and the economy as a whole?

This research has illustrated the positioning of Black young people as a danger or a disappointment to the rest of society. Frequently misrecognised as badly behaved or underachieving, and as a result rendered both invisible and hyper-visible. However, those who overcome these perceptions to achieve academic and professional success demonstrate considerable resiliency in the face of adversity. The question then is: if the obstacles of setting, institutional racism and other structural issues of schooling were removed from Black boys' and girls' experiences – what might the gap be?

African-centric Epistemologies

In recent history, privileged White men controlled and dominated Western theories of knowledge, validation and reliability. Subsequently, their interests saturated the paradigms and epistemologies of academia. White feminist scholars have however, gained some traction as gender studies has performed a significant role in redressing the gender imbalance. Hill Collins (2000:5), notes:

U.S. and European women's studies have challenge the seemingly hegemonic ideas of elite White men. Ironically, feminist theory has also suppressed Black women's ideas (duCille 1996, 81-119). Even though Black women intellectuals have long expressed a distinctive African-influenced and feminist consciousness about the intersection of race and class in structuring gender, historically we have not been full participants in white feminist organizations.

This is in accord with the opinion of (Nzgewu 2003:109) who notes that 'the operative modalities of White intellectualism ascribe ignorance to Black women'. She further asserts that as 'novices' Black women are constantly required to 'prove [their] knowledge and intelligence each time a white person happens

along' because 'in a plantation-type framework, only Whites are deemed intellectually competent to articulate the important theoretical issues in scholarship' (Nzgewu 2003:126).

Simply put, Black (women) epistemologies have been largely ignored and or discounted. Subsequently, Black people's experiences have been characteristically distorted within or excluded from what counts as knowledge in academia. In this regard, Black people's epistemologies have been subjugated and ignored. Thus it can be noted that epistemology is not merely about ways of knowing but also about power relations – whose knowledge is respected and whose knowledge get discounted and discarded as inconsequential. According to (Hunter 2002:120):

Epistemologies do not exist outside of the people who construct and use them. Individuals and groups adopt various epistemologies at different points in time and make sense of the world. Epistemologies are also not equal in status, in society at large, or in the academic community. Epistemologies are situated within political, historical, and economic contexts that can provide power and legitimacy to their knowledge claims.

I am in accord with the claims made by Hunter because I believe that it is through power relations that knowledge construction has produced social and political practices such as sexism, racism, and enslavement of Black people. It has produced notions such as race, gender class and identity and has shaped the socio-economic conditions of Black people through the context of social and political practices.

Discourses surrounding under-represented groups in British universities suggest that higher education institutions would like to attract more BME students into higher education. However, (Black 2014) reporting on a research report by Nathan Edwards, suggests that across all of the UK's universities, only 0.46%

(85) of professors are Black, 17 of whom are female, compared to 5.9% of Black students. That is 85 Black professors for 121,000 Black students. Equally, curriculum in most of the UK's universities focus mainly on the same Eurocentric epistemologies whilst ignoring the benefits that might be gained from introducing Black epistemologies into their organisations. Reading lists in these institutions are a who is who of establishment voices with little (if any at all) space for the representation of BME academics. Likewise, Black students have no real choice in what they study, if they want to succeed, they have to decide from a Eurocentric menu of courses that do not reflect their history, lives and or perspectives; unlike in the USA where Black students see their history, lives and perspectives reflected in their studies.

In a modern Britain however, where BME groups are said to be a younger and growing population (Simpson 2013) and 'are likely to make up almost a third of the population by 2050' (Sunak 2014) – can the UK's educational establishments continue to be complacent in their acceptance of the right to determine whose knowledge gets articulated, validated and studied? Within the framework of Black epistemology is the notion of emancipation, resistance and freedom. Freedom to choose epistemologies that educate and elevate, freedom to challenge those epistemologies that denigrate and vilify, freedom to challenge being sent to the state of powerlessness and freedom to select what and where to learn. More importantly, in a world where access to alternative knowledge is easily accessible and in a country where higher education is no longer a right nor free, (education is now a commodity which can be bought like any other service), the UK's educational institutions (especially universities) should be concerned that Black individuals and other ethnic minority groups might begin to demand different ways of knowing. Equally, Black and ethnic minority scholars may turn away from UK Universities and choose instead to work in countries like the United States and parts of Africa where their knowledge is respected as a valid and valuable asset. If the UK's educational establishments wish to confront the inherent inequalities in their structures and systems, they need to address the rarity of Black epistemologies in their

organisations. Imagine a space in the UK where black voices can be heard and are valued – what might the space look and feel like for Black students? How might this impact recruitment, retention and achievement? What would it mean for the UK's educational institutions and for the country's economy?

In a contemporary Britain, recognising the strength of Black epistemologies and introducing African-centric programmes in all educational establishments might be salient. Every university in the country should consider having a Black studies department that offer culturally relevant courses to Black students. Offering an African-centric epistemology in my opinion might not only attract more Black students into higher education but might also engage them because they may feel welcomed in an environment that acknowledges and embrace their history, culture and knowledge. This might also help to address persistent ethnic differential in obtaining a first class or 2:1 degree (see discussion in chapter 2).

Similarly, educational establishments should challenge organisational culture and practices that act as barriers to the recruitment of BME staff and when BME staff have been recruited, measures should be in place to prevent difficulties for these individuals progressing through the organisation. BME staff could add value to a university's identity because they may act as a positive force in attracting BME students. According to Bophal and Jackson (2013:5), the value of having BME staff as members of departments is often unrecognised by heads of departments and senior academic staff in the UK higher education sector. The authors suggest that having BME staff can help to increase students' applications and diversify the student body. In addition, BME students are more likely to approach BME staff for support and these staff can act as role models, which in turn [may help to increase BME students' aspirations]. Given that UK universities desire to diversify their student body and that BME groups are a growing population, together with the benefits of having an organisation fit for the 21st Century – why then are university leaders so reluctant to change the culture of their organisations by recruiting more Black academics and offer a

culturally relevant curriculum?

Undergraduate and postgraduate social science courses are needed in order to analyse major areas of Black experiences. Subjects such as the arts including music, politics, history, literature, psychology, science and technology, economics and religion are needed to counter the damaging discourses surrounding Black culture and the notion that Black epistemologies or academics cannot contribute in a meaningful way to the intellectual life of Britain. Additionally, the visible and positive positioning of Black people in Britain might eventually result in more Black teachers, academics, politicians and professionals being seen and heard in public life. Furthermore, young Black people, seeing Black intellectuals, professionals, their history and popular culture being discussed or contributing to their education in main stream schools and universities might be inspired to achieve academically. Equally the negative identity(ies) of young Black people may shift from one of 'a problem' to one of 'being productive contributors to British society.

Beneficially, addressing the curriculum gap may also address the ethnicity gap within the labour force in the education sector. A diverse curriculum might lead to the emergence of a diverse workforce. That is, it could lead to more Black professors and heads of departments. As mentioned before, Britain's Black population is a growing one and increasingly its importance to the British economy will become significant – the need for academic disciplines devoted to researching, teaching and discussing Black experiences and positive contributions to British society and the wider world is imperative. The study of Black experiences could be transformative for the country as a whole, as those who have concerns about Black people could hear an alternative point of view.

Despite the arguments above like Hill Collins (1991), I would caution against suggesting there is one essentialist 'African consciousness', which in of itself would be problematic. Advocating for Black epistemologies could be construed as indicating that there is a way of knowing that all Black people understand

and subscribe to; therefore, determining an essentialist Black consciousness for a varied diaspora. Rather, I am suggesting that there are essences of Africanness that many Black people are aware of, resulting from a shared history and experience; giving them a uniquely Black perspective.

Limitations of the Study

It is salient to acknowledge that all research has limitations, as the very act of investigating a subject, will unavoidably uncover new areas for research. For example, this study has revealed that there is a need for further investigation into the FE sector and the impact of government funding (or lack of) on young Black people's education. Equally, further studies are needed which investigate the lives of Black people in Britain from a Black perspective. Despite Britain being structured on the basis of class hierarchy, very little is known about the class position of Black people in Britain.

A clear limitation of this particular study is the limited scope for generalisation to other contexts due to its sample size and specific location. A much larger study would have to be conducted in order to extrapolate the findings to the wider Black population. Nevertheless, the findings are useful in identifying issues that could be extrapolated to the wider African Caribbean population across Britain. For instance, some of the findings are in keeping with those of Rollock (2006) who investigated academically successful pupils in an inner city London school. Both studies indicate that students who are self-motivated, diligent, and focused can achieve academic success with the support of teachers and family.

In addition, as mentioned previously this study focused on academically successful students – given greater time and scope, the study might have been expanded to include those who were not successful in obtaining their qualifications to discover similarities and differences in experiences. Equally the study could have benefited from including the voices of teachers, as this was

an opportunity to gather evidence from teachers' perspectives. However due to time constraints it was not possible to engage teachers at the time.

In chapter three I described the research methods adopted for the study citing narrative as the method of choice. In qualifying the decision, I quoted Lieblich et al. (1998) who suggests that narrative research assumes there is no one truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of [data] texts, nor does it subscribe to the concept of objectivity but rather subjectivity. Narrative is an interpretive approach grounded mainly within the constructivist paradigm against the positivistic, realist perspective of rationality and universal truth, and the application of scientific, empirical methods to social issues. Constructivism attests that knowledge is value-driven and that reality is based on numerous standpoints. Truth is embedded in everyday life through social interactions amongst individuals. Despite declaring my unavoidable subjectivity, I have taken this into consideration and have provided regular evidence of direct narratives so that the reader might draw his/her own conclusions. However, I acknowledge that it is conceivable that there might be alternative interpretations of the data and this might be a criticism levied at this study. That being said, I also acknowledge that there is no one truth and therefore the stories participants relate should not be called into question. Additionally, I would strongly argue for the validity and relevancy of this study, not simply based on its strengths but because it provides an alternative perspective on African Caribbean heritage children's learning identities, families and lived experiences in Britain. This research is also one of a few that prioritise academic success amongst African Caribbean people.

The focus of this study has firstly been concerned with the academic attainment of African Caribbean heritage individuals in further education colleges. Nonetheless data was collected on employment, which alludes to the notion that African Caribbean heritage individuals' economic outcomes do not follow the same trajectory as that of their White counterparts despite possession of the 'right' academic credentials. A useful continuation of this research might

be to explore the employment and promotional opportunities available to African Caribbean heritage people in Britain.

Concluding Remarks

The critical epistemological stance that is woven throughout this study is grounded in knowledge of history and reflects an understanding of enslavement and colonialism, and their roles in structuring race. As a result of these historical factors the experiences and social positioning of Black individuals are intersectionally linked. The study has therefore developed and applied a research design that situates human experiences within various interconnected trajectories of race, class, gender, space and time. This involved, firstly, attending to the importance of socio-historical processes understood as essential in shaping the contemporary postcolonial society of Britain and the positioning of African Caribbean heritage individuals in that society. It was asserted that the legacy of enslavement and colonialism is manifested in a racialised society of class and skin pigmentation in Britain. This legacy has resulted in a racialised and class based education system that over decades has marginalised and restrict African Caribbean heritage individuals' knowledge and academic attainment and consequently social trajectories. Secondly, this study recognises the intersectionality of Black people's experiences as not only raced but also classed and gendered, both in oppressive structures and in their personification and enactment through the agency of personalities and actions. This complex interweaving of organisation and agency required a theoretical framework that was equally capable of examining the subtleties of these dynamics. As such, this study was enabled through an original hybridity of intersectionality, CRT and narrative analysis. The theoretical strength of CRT, it was argued, lies in its tenet of racism as a system that is not only prevalent and destructive but also subtle and able to wear the 'cloak of invisibility' during ordinary, everyday occurrences and interactions. CRT has thus enabled the revelation of the impact of everyday 'invisible' micro-aggression despite its cloak of invisibility. Equally highlighting racialised structures from an historical context

in a majority White country such as the UK, was made possible through the use of CRT. CRT has also facilitated a counter narrative of African Caribbean individuals' experiences and their academic and professional attainments.

The research also made use of Yosso's (2005) and Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of social capital, alongside Hall's (2000), Duveen's (1993), Graham (2011), Goasi (2009), Rhamie and Hallam (2002) and Morrison's (1981) notions of identity. Taken together, these concepts offered the ability to capture the nuance of identity as situational and linked into the social projections of the family and community over time. Capital is understood as a representation of human behaviour and possessions. This representation is constructed through ways of perceiving and acting in the social world depending on location and context and thus capital is a schema of human identity. Equally, the social contexts of capital are perceived as sites of social contention and competition over the accumulation of resources and whose behaviour and possessions can be counted as capital. Associating Yosso's notion of capital with that of Bourdieu's along with the use of CRT has therefore enabled analysis of the capital divide between the resources of the dominant culture and that of African Caribbean culture. This operationalized approach of centralising racialised discourse through a historical analysis illuminates an understanding of how racialised structures such as school systems are initiated and maintained. This approach also allows for an understanding of how the socio-economic patterns of African Caribbean heritage people are socio-historically located, including differing academic and economic outcomes through power position.

Delpit (1995:26) intimates that inherent in issues of race, culture and class are issues of power. 'Those with power are frequently least aware of - or least willing to acknowledge - its existence, whilst members of subordinate groups are acutely conscious of the disparities. Scheurich (1993:7) suggests that the longer one group is dominant, the more effectively 'the styles of thinking, acting, speaking and behaving...become the socially correct or privileged ways of thinking, acting, speaking and behaving.

The ways of the dominant group become universalized as measures of merit, hiring criteria, grading standards, predictors of success, correct grammar, appropriate behaviour, and so forth, all of which are said to be distributed as differences in individual effort, ability, or intelligence. Membership in a social group and power thus disappear under the guise of individualism.

Scheurich's notion is evident in teachers' attitudes towards African Caribbean heritage children, especially boys, in school. Their modes of walking and talking are seen as deviant and undesirable therefore, they are more likely to experience severe sanctions in contrast to other groups in school (chapter 4).

Schools and other educational establishments owe a duty of care to African Caribbean heritage and other minority groups in Britain, and an obligation to examine their policies and practices to ensure that these do not disproportionately discriminate against these individuals who attend their institutions. Teachers and trainee teachers should be educated in the ways their unrecognised or unintentional prejudices and preconceived ideas might adversely impact African Caribbean heritage young people as well as how historical structures and systems are still at play in determining young Black people's academic outcomes. The government along with head teachers need to re-examine the system of setting and decide if this is the best way forward in addressing the academic gap as currently African Caribbean individuals are more likely to be in lower sets and least likely to be part of the gifted and talented cohort.

In connection with research community, it is salient that studies narrating and documenting the experiences of successful African Caribbean heritage individuals in Britain are carried out in order to combat the discourses of underachievement that surround African Caribbean heritage children. A development in this research area, which challenges the notion that African

Caribbean heritage children have negative learning identities and therefore cannot succeed academically, can only serve as a catalyst to encourage and motivate other young people to achieve their potentials. For African Caribbean heritage children and other minority groups in Britain, recognising that minority children have navigated educational establishments successfully might act as a focus to motivate and encourage them. This also might contribute to bridging the achievement gap.

In conclusion, this study has offered some insights into how African Caribbean principles and perspectives might be integrated into mainstream cultures without these being seen as deficit and a threat to mainstream British values and society. It has addressed the gap in current literature in the UK regarding African Caribbean academic success. I would suggest that the research has made a valuable contribution to understandings of the learning experiences of African Caribbean heritage people in Britain. It has established that the home and community are essential in securing high achievement at school and college and that these institutions (schools and colleges) have a responsibility to ensure academic and social success for all children. This research suggests that there need to be a holistic approach to engaging with African Caribbean heritage individuals in learning environments. The family (including the extended family) along with the community are concerns that need to be accounted for in any strategy, in addition to the aspirations and motivations of these individuals. This would be an approach similar to that adopted by the supplementary school system. This study therefore, encourages those who encounter African Caribbean heritage children at all levels of education to strive to create progressive and contemporary environments that will assist these children and young people in reaching their full academic potential.

Finally, the thesis insists on the central positioning of race in social analyses of education. This is a challenge to traditional thinking about the education of African Caribbean young people in Britain. Consequently, this study calls for a widening of the discourses on the achievement of African Caribbean heritage

young people in Britain and the diaspora. This thesis similarly calls upon all HE institutions to establish Black studies departments that might enable Black and other minority ethnic groups in the UK to have access to epistemologies that reflect their lives, experiences and perspectives, in turn, this might go some way in addressing the differential gap in degree attainment and perhaps even the workforce within the higher education sector.

Appendix 1 - GCSE Attainment Gaps

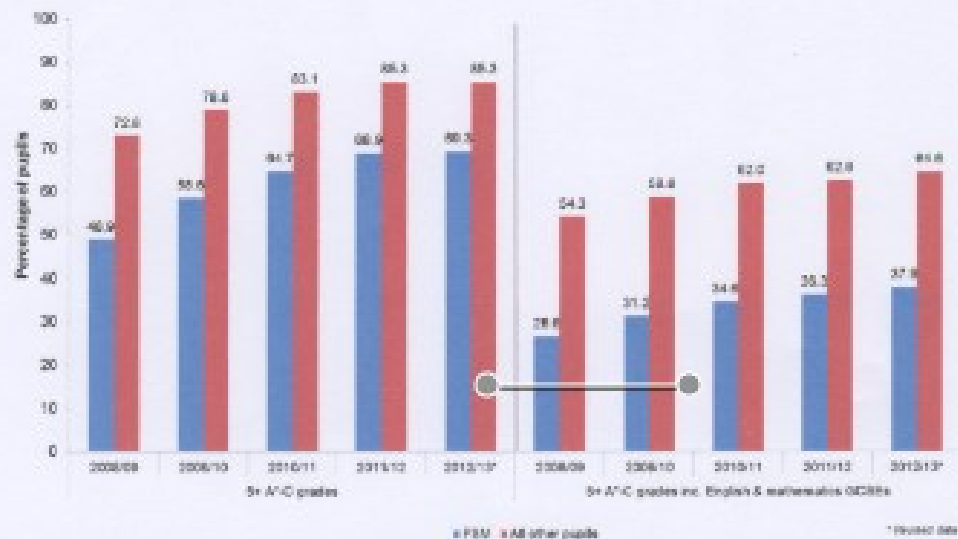
Free School Meals Eligibility

1. Attainment gaps for main key stage 4 attainment indicators by key characteristics

1.1 Free School Meal (FSM) Eligibility

Pupils known to be eligible for FSM performed less well as a group in all the main indicators at key stage 4, compared to all other pupils.

Chart 4: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent, and 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or IGCSEs, 2008/09-2012/13* by FSM eligibility



The attainment gap for the percentage achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent has narrowed by 8.0 percentage points between 2008/09 and 2012/13, with 68.3 per cent of pupils eligible for FSM achieving this indicator in 2012/13, compared with 85.3 per cent of all other pupils. The attainment gap between the percentage achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics has narrowed by 1.0 percentage point between 2008/09 and 2012/13 with 37.9 per cent of pupils known to be eligible for FSM achieving this indicator compared with 64.8 per cent of all other pupils.

The gap for entering the English Baccalaureate is 20.2 percentage points; this gap has increased by 4.0 percentage points since 2011/12. Both groups of pupils have seen an increase in entries and achievement of the English Baccalaureate in all years however the gap is widening. Of those pupils eligible for FSM, 8.8 per cent achieved the English Baccalaureate, compared to 25.2 per cent of all other pupils, an attainment gap of 16.4 percentage points, this gap has widened by 3.5 percentage points since 2011/12.

Attainment Gap – Learners in Receipt of Free School Meals cont.

Table 1: FSM attainment gaps 2008/09 to 2012/13*

(All other pupils (pupils known not to be eligible for FSM and pupils with unknown eligibility grouped together) minus pupils eligible for FSM)

	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13*
5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent	24.0	20.3	18.4	16.5	16.0
5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs	27.7	27.6	27.4	26.3	26.7
Entering English Baccalaureate	.	.	15.9	16.3	20.2
Achieving English Baccalaureate	.	.	12.9	13.0	16.4
Expected progress in English	.	.	19.8	18.3	18.7
Expected progress in mathematics	.	.	22.3	22.2	22.6

* revised data

A lower percentage of pupils eligible for FSM made expected progress in English, with 54.4 per cent of pupils eligible for FSM making this, compared with 73.1 per cent of all other pupils – a gap of 18.7 percentage points. For mathematics, the gap is wider at 22.6 percentage points. Both progress gaps have remained broadly the same since 2011/12.

There are variations in pupil achievement across key groups of interest. These are illustrated by comparisons with the national average:

- 27.9 per cent of white British boys eligible for FSM achieved 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs, compared with the national average of 60.6 per cent – a gap of 32.7 percentage points, broadly in line with the 2011/12 gap. The gap has widened by 1.0 percentage point since 2008/09
- 43.1 per cent of black boys eligible for FSM achieved 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs an increase of 2.8 percentage points since 2011/12. This compares with the overall national level of 60.6 per cent – an attainment gap of 17.5 percentage points. The gap has narrowed by 1.0 percentage point since last year and by 4.4 percentage points since 2008/09
- 36.9 per cent of black Caribbean boys with FSM achieved 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs an increase of 4.9 percentage points since last year. The gap has narrowed by 3.1 percentage points since 2011/12.

1.2 Gender

Girls continue to outperform boys at all the main attainment indicators at key stage 4.

The gap between the percentage of girls and boys achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent is 6.9 percentage points, with 86.5 per cent of girls achieving this indicator compared to 79.6 per cent of boys. This gap has steadily decreased from 8.1 percentage points in 2008/09.

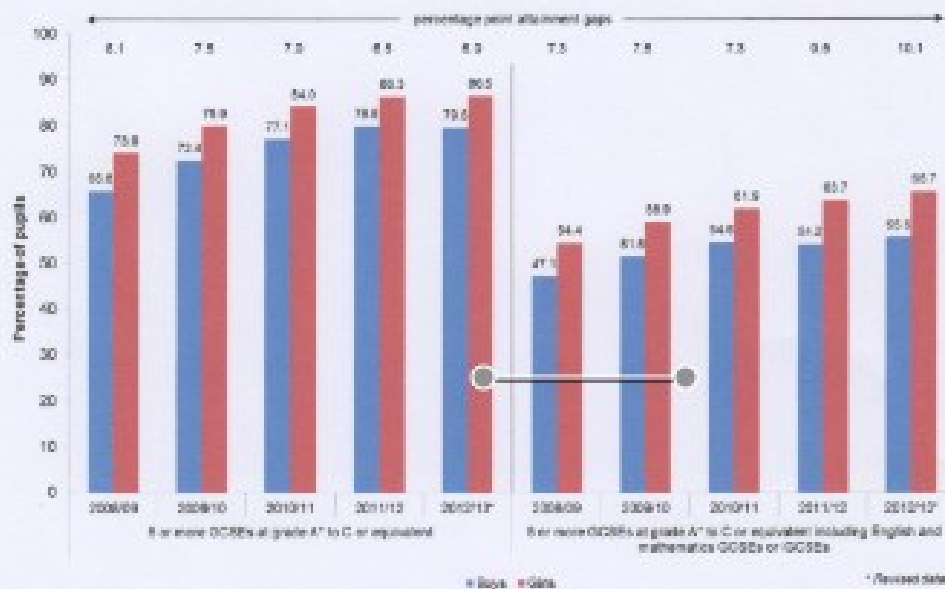
However, in contrast, when looking at the gap between the percentage of girls and boys achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs this gap has widened by 2.8 percentage points since 2008/09 to 10.1 percentage points, with 85.7 per cent of girls achieving this indicator in

Attainment Gap – Gender

2012/13 compared to 55.6 per cent of boys. However, when looking in more detail at the year on year trends, the gap remained relatively stable before widening by 2.2 percentage points between 2010/11 and 2011/12, and then again in 2012/13 due to larger increases in girls' attainment.

The chart below shows the percentage of girls and boys achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent, and 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or IGCSEs in each year since 2008/09.

Chart 5: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent, and 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or IGCSEs by gender, 2008/09-2012/13*



In 2012/13 there has been a large increase in those entering the English Baccalaureate, 39.6 per cent of girls were entered for all the subject areas of the English Baccalaureate, compared with 31.5 per cent of boys. This is an increase of 14.0 percentage points for girls and 10.8 percentage points for boys since 2011/12. The gap between the percentage of girls and boys achieving the English Baccalaureate is 9.2 percentage points, with 27.5 per cent of girls achieving the English Baccalaureate, compared with 18.3 per cent of boys. This is an increase in the gender attainment gap by 3.4 percentage points since 2011/12.

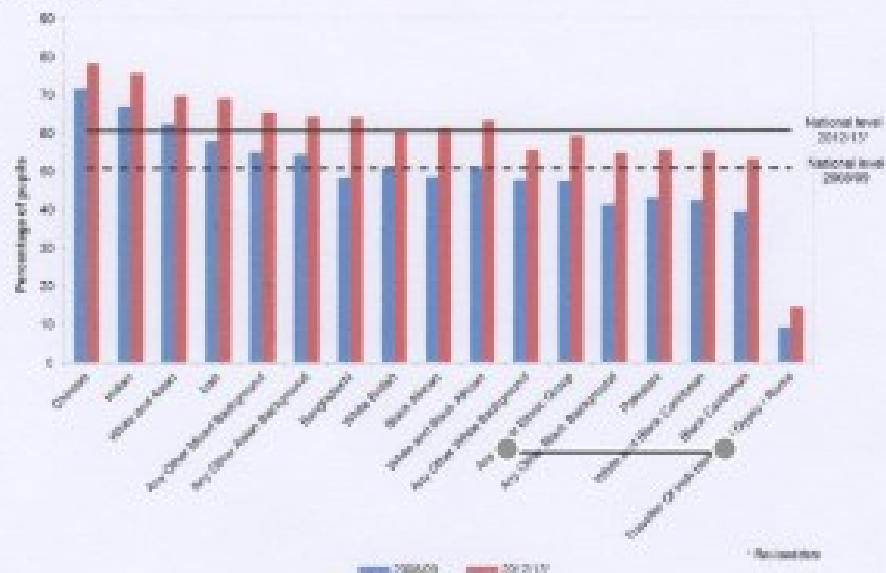
The gap between the percentage of girls and boys making expected progress in English is 12.4 percentage points. This gap has narrowed slightly by 0.8 percentage points since 2011/12. The gap between the percentage of girls and boys making expected progress in mathematics is narrower than for expected progress in English at 4.7 percentage points, which has remained broadly the same since 2011/12.

Attainment Gap – Ethnicity

1.3 Ethnicity

The percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs continues to vary between different ethnic groups. Within each of these broad ethnic groups, the individual ethnic groups show further variability which can be seen in the chart below.

Chart 6: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs by ethnic group, 2008/09 and 2012/13*



Within the broader ethnic groupings:

- Chinese pupils remain the highest attaining ethnic group. The percentage of Chinese pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs is 17.5 percentage points above the national average. The percentage of Chinese pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs increased by 1.6 percentage points in 2012/13, having decreased by 2.1 percentage points in the previous year. Despite this, the overall attainment gap for this indicator between Chinese pupils and the national average continues to remain at its lowest level, and has narrowed by 3.4 percentage points since 2008/09.
- Pupils from a black background remain the lowest performing group, although they have shown the largest improvement. The percentage of black pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs or iGCSEs is 2.5 percentage points below the national average. This gap has narrowed by 1.7 percentage points since 2011/12 but over the longer term has narrowed by 3.7 percentage points since 2008/09.

Appendix 2 – Percentage Attaining L3 at 19 by Free School Meal

The data

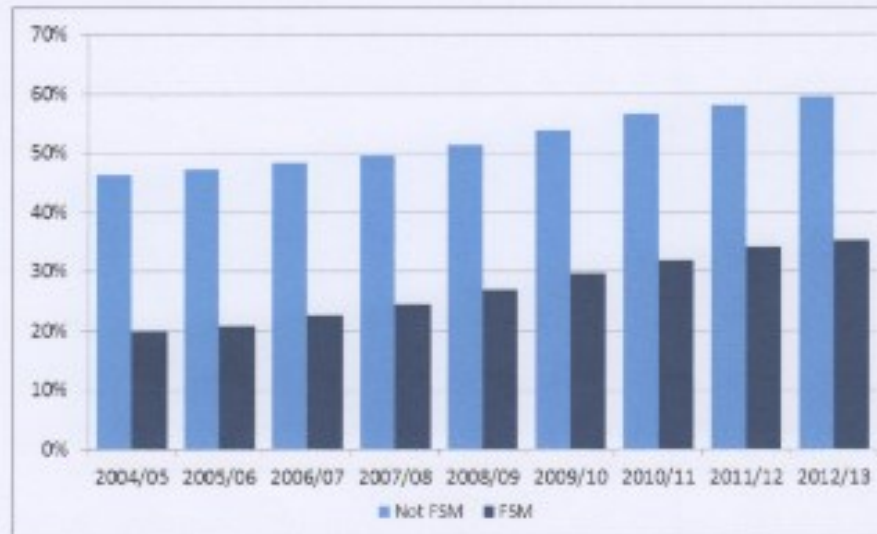


Figure 1 – Attainment of Level 3 at 19 by FSM status at age 15

Source: Young Person's Matched Administrative Dataset

Percentage attaining Level 3 by age 19 by FSM status at age 15

Level 3 at 19 in...	Not FSM	FSM	gap
2004/05	46.3%	19.9%	26.4%
2005/06	47.2%	20.9%	26.3%
2006/07	48.4%	22.7%	25.6%
2007/08	49.7%	24.5%	25.2%
2008/09	51.4%	26.9%	24.5%
2009/10	53.9%	29.7%	24.2%
2010/11	56.7%	31.9%	24.7%
2011/12	58.2%	34.1%	24.2%
2012/13	59.5%	35.2%	24.3%

Further information

Further information on this indicator and associated data can be found within our statistical first release:

www.gov.uk/government/publications/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2013

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Appendix 3 – Degree Attainment by Ethnicity

Degree attainment

The ethnicity degree attainment gap among first degree undergraduate qualifiers (excluding a first 2:1) worked out as the percentage of white qualifiers minus the percentage of BME qualifiers at this level.

With the exception of Scotland, a higher proportion of white UK-domiciled qualifiers received a first class degree than qualifiers from any other ethnic group in all nations.

The degree attainment gap was highest in England, where 72.1% of white UK-domiciled qualifiers received a first 2:1 degree, compared with 33.6% of BME UK-domiciled qualifiers (an 18.5% difference). This was larger than for Wales (10.5%), Scotland (9.1%), and Northern Ireland (4.9%), though the number of BME UK-domiciled qualifiers were considerably lower in these nations.

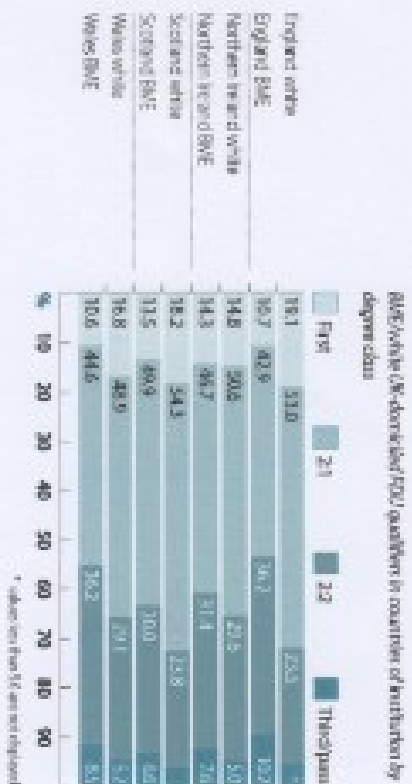
Compared with 2010/11
The proportion of black UK-domiciled qualifiers receiving a first 2:1 increased in all nations, particularly in Scotland and Wales (by 120% and 11.3% respectively).

The ethnicity degree attainment gap decreased in all nations.

3.11 UK-domiciled FQI qualifiers by country of institution, degree class and ethnic group

	First		2:1		2:2		Third year	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England								
White	38330	19.1	106275	33.0	47230	23.5	6750	4.4
BME	1869	6.3	6000	36.9	7005	43.1	2040	13.8
Asian	2753	11.5	10400	43.6	6475	35.5	2240	9.4
Chinese	389	15.2	1215	47.5	740	28.8	215	8.4
Indian	1289	15.0	4315	50.3	2445	28.5	540	6.3
Other	393	12.0	1240	45.4	895	32.9	265	9.7
BME total	5392	10.7	28170	42.9	19500	36.2	5500	10.2
Northern Ireland								
White	1182	14.6	4025	50.4	2305	23.4	395	5.0
BME	2	-	5	-	5	-	0	-
Asian	1	-	10	-	5	-	5	-
Chinese	2	-	10	-	5	-	0	-
Indian	12	-	20	-	10	-	5	-
Other	2	-	0	-	5	-	0	-
BME total	15	14.3	50	46.7	35	31.4	10	7.6
Scotland								
White	2072	18.2	6725	54.3	4200	21.8	600	3.7
BME	23	10.4	75	42.2	70	38.8	15	7.5
Asian	51	11.6	235	49.6	150	31.2	35	7.4
Chinese	13	11.9	35	50.6	15	21.5	10	14.0
Indian	60	19.5	170	53.7	70	22.4	15	4.5
Other	5	10.9	20	52.7	15	37.3	5	9.1
BME total	180	13.5	590	45.9	365	30.0	60	5.4
Wales								
White	2790	16.8	4125	46.8	4345	25.1	865	5.2
BME	5	3.1	30	41.5	30	42.5	25	18.8
Asian	30	8.7	140	44.4	140	39.4	25	7.5
Chinese	10	14.5	40	45.8	25	28.9	10	12.8
Indian	45	15.9	140	47.6	85	30.9	20	6.6
Other	10	16.1	25	40.3	25	37.1	5	6.5
BME total	105	10.0	440	44.6	335	30.2	65	9.5

FQI: first degree undergraduate
- % values based on total of all white and BME



Appendix 4 - School Workforce in England November 2013

SFR 11/2014: 'School Workforce in England November 2013' Issued 10 April 2014

Similar age patterns exist for teachers in primary and secondary schools.

Teachers in primary schools aged under 30 make up 26.4 per cent of all primary school teachers compared with 23.0 per cent for teachers in secondary schools.

Teachers in primary schools aged 50 and over make up 18.6 per cent of all primary school teachers compared with 19.5 per cent for teachers in secondary schools.

3c Ethnicity of school staff

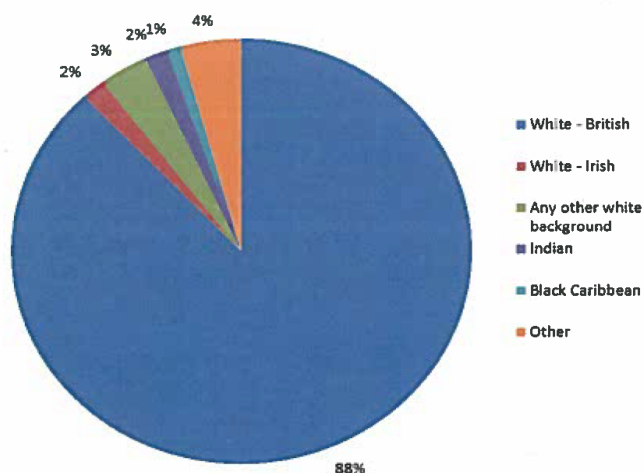
There has been a decrease in the percentage of teachers recorded as White-British. In 2013, 88.0 per cent of teachers are White-British compared with 88.4 per cent in 2012. The ethnic mix of teachers changes very slowly from one year to the next.

88.0 per cent of teachers are White British.

Teachers from 'Other White Background' (3.5 per cent), White-Irish (1.7 per cent), Indian (1.6 per cent) and Black Caribbean (1.0 per cent) backgrounds are the next largest groups of teachers.

In comparison, in 2013, the percentage of head teachers recorded as White-British is 93.9 per cent. A reduction from the position in 2012, 94.4 per cent.

Figure 4: The majority of teachers are White-British
The ethnic origin distribution (largest categories) of teachers working in state-funded schools: England, 2013



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