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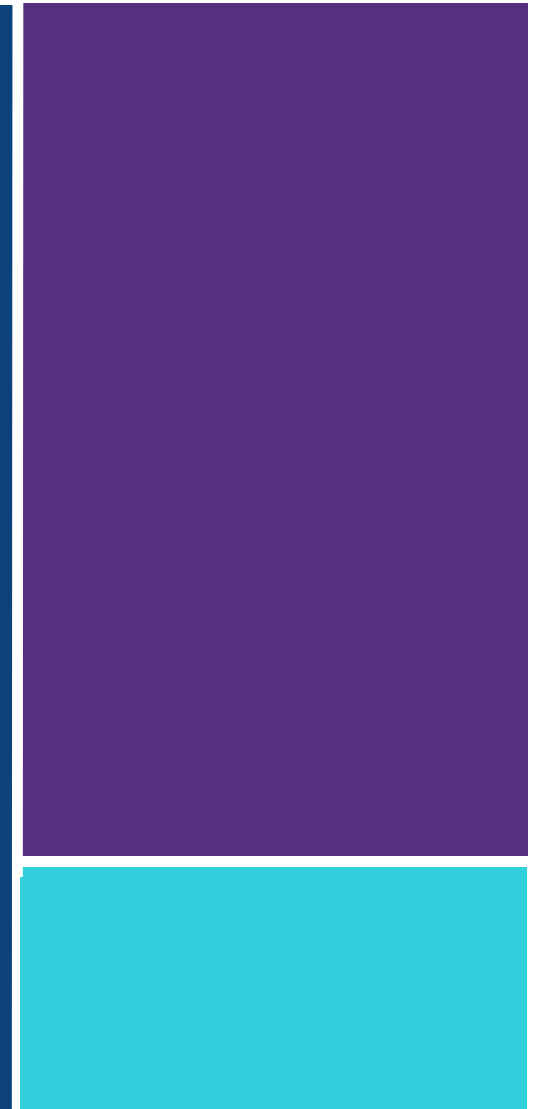
# Old battles on new terrain or new battles on old terrain? Renegotiating multicultures

**Ann Phoenix**

**Kings College Annual Education**

**Lecture 2008**

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- CNSNews.com 7 January 2008 UK Bishop Sparks Row With Comments on Islam, Multiculturalism
- Daily Mail Online 29 January 2007: Multiculturalism 'drives young Muslims to shun British values'
- Associated Press (Archives) 21/10/2007: Multiculturalism is a threat to liberal democracy, Britain's chief rabbi, Jonathan Sacks
- Yorkshire Post 19 September 2006 'The great dream of multiculturalism is not working' George Alagiah
- Demos: Abandon multiculturalism 8th Sep 2005:
- BBC News Davis attacks UK multiculturalism

# (Re)negotiating multicultures: Old battles?

- Strong multicultures beneficial to the UK.
  - ‘Cool Britannia’ (Mark Leonard, 1997).
- Multicultural society called into question in guise of questioning philosophy of multiculturalism—e.g. Goodhart (2004).
- Multiculturalism attacked (Phillips, 2004/5).
  - Many black activists and educationists previously critiqued it for anti-racist & anti-essentialist reasons.

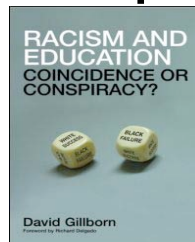
# Complex multicultures

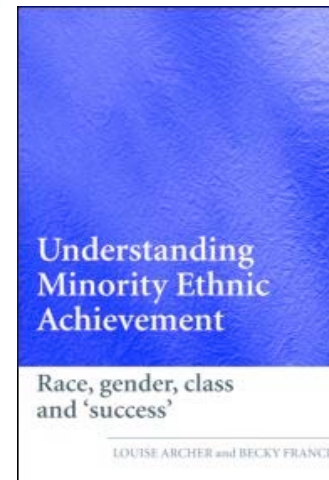
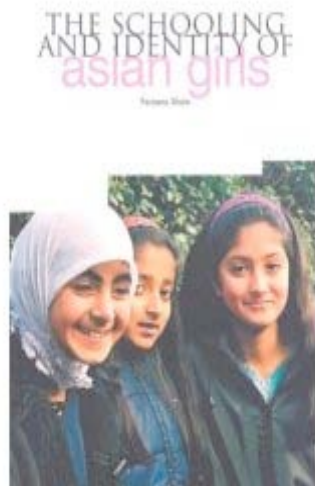
- Avtar Brah's (1996) 'diaspora space' and differential racisms – 'model' & demonised minorities.
- Ali Rattansi (2004/7) critique of counterposing of diversity and national solidarity & of 'new assimilationism'.
- Nira Yuval-Davis' (2004-5, 2006) multi-layered 'politics of belonging'
- Paul Gilroy's (2006) 'convivial multiculturalism' as one way of 'developing a durable and habitable multiculturalism' for Britain whilst recognising racism.
- Increase in 'mixed parentage'.

# (Re)production of the status quo?

## New times?

- Explanations and interpretations are always situated in their time and place (Measor and Hammersley, 1999).
  - Saw working class resistance in the 1980s
  - Saw gender trouble in the 1990s
- Different people produce different interpretations.
- Changing society.
- Increasingly sophisticated data and interpretations, but reproduction of educational disparities. 'Concerted practices' (Gillborn, 2008)





Farzana Shain (2003) *The Schooling and Identity of Asian Girls*.

Jasmine Rhamie (2007) *Eagles Who Soar: How black learners find the path to success*.

Jan McKenley (2005) *Seven Black Men: An ecological study of education and parenting*.

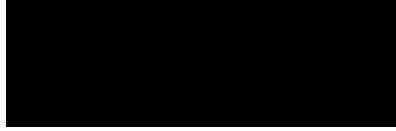
Roxy Harris (2006); Suki Ali (2004) ; Louise Archer and Becky Francis (2006)

# Aims of the talk

- Brief discussion of 'history of the present' (Foucault, 1977)
  - Debate & contestation about racialisation, ethnicisation & education.
- Focus on what different generations of minoritised ethnic groups say about their experiences of school education.
  - Negotiation of multicultures across generations.

# Argument of the talk

- The terrain has changed enormously over the last 60 years.
- That change includes reproductions of the same themes.
  - Negative constructions of minoritised groups sedimented into common sense.
- Children and young people themselves negotiate and produce social contexts.
  - Importance of a psychosocial approach.



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# Key moments in debate and contestation about ethnicisation & education

‘History of the present’

# Taken for granted problems in 'positive' work

'Children of West Indian parents, [then] the largest of all the immigrant groups, have been a source of bafflement, embarrassment and despair in the education system. They have often presented problems which the average teacher is not equipped to understand, let alone overcome.' E. Jim Rose, et al., (1969: 281) *Colour and Citizenship: a report on British Race Relations*. Oxford Univ. Press

# Negative racialised constructions & racist discourses 1960s-70s

- ‘West Indian’ children considered to have:
    - language difficulties & behaviour problems;
    - inadequate family structures & childrearing;
    - unrealistic expectations.
  - Inappropriate IQ tests → disproportionate numbers being classified educationally subnormal (Coard, 1971).
- ”Because West Indian children's language pattern was construed as a mark of intellectual disability, some were summarily placed into ESN schools” (William Bond Thomas, 1980: 83).

# **Polly Curtis Tuesday February 1, 2005 The Guardian**

Geoff Palmer arrived in London from Jamaica in 1955...a month before his 15th birthday... His mother took him to the local school, where he was given a routine IQ test. "I'd just travelled 5,000 miles from Jamaica. The test asked me 'How does Big Ben indicate the time?'" he chuckles. "The questions meant nothing to me. Absolutely nothing." He was told he was "educationally subnormal" (ESN) ... Palmer's saving grace was his cricketing prowess. He was spotted by the local grammar school head and awarded a place. Today he is Professor Geoff Palmer, OBE, of Heriot Watt University, one of only a handful of black chemistry professors in Britain.

# Bussing as 'solution' to 'immigrant' children's presence

“A DES circular of 1965 urged that no school should have more than one-third immigrant pupils and that dispersal policies should be adopted... Few local authorities (LEAs) adopted the policy which was effectively withdrawn by the DES in 1972. The LEA which first implemented the policy before the 1965 Circular, Ealing, was the last to abandon it in 1981” (McLean, 1983: 184).

“...In the entire nation, less than 10 schools were more than half non white by the middle of the 1960s. However, this development seemed ominous” (Kirk, 1979: 270). [c.f. George Alagiah, 2006, *A Home from Home*]

# Ethnicised differences in attainment

- ILEA survey, 1965: West Indian students had significantly lower scores in English, mathematics and verbal reasoning tests than the overall school population & Asian children (Little, 1968).
- Late 1970s & 1980s, analysis of final secondary school examinations reiterated this finding (Rampton, 1982; Swann, 1985).  $\geq 5$  CSE and GCE O Levels 6% [3%] West Indians c.f. 17% Asians & 19% 'all other leavers'.

# Explanations from Swann (1985)

- Racism: –ve & patronising attitudes (Rampton interim report).
- Pressures on West Indian families & lone motherhood.
- Inter-relationship of racial discrimination, socio-economic status, social class and region
- Schools need to bring out ‘full potential’ of all children—‘education for all’.
- Eschewed low IQ as explanation.
- Recommendation that statistics be collected routinely.

# National Pupil Database & Pupil Level Annual Schools Census (Plewis, 2007)

Cohort (born 1995) at Key Stage 1 in 2002 and Key Stage 2 in 2006--595,407 pupils in 148 LEAs; c.14,750 schools

## Understanding of 'value added' through multilevel modelling:

**Attainment:** Ethnic group differences depend on the school attended and vary across subjects.

- Gender/ ethnic group intersections, especially for Black Caribbeans.

**Progress:** Chinese pupils make more progress than all other groups in all subjects.

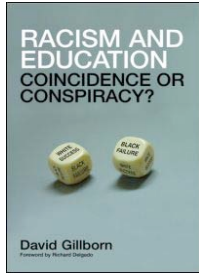
- Minority ethnic pupils make more progress than white pupils in English and Maths except for Black Caribbeans, especially Black Caribbean boys.

# Official statistics...deficient in ignoring sex differences within ethnic groups

‘... Statistical analyses... cannot be kept separate from the evidence on racism. Therefore, any statistical explanations that might be found need to be set in that context, even though they may not be directly attributable to racism. For example...if Afro-Caribbean boys were to get less of a particular kind of interaction with their teachers...then this could be used either as an explanation of how racism in school operates, or just as an illustration of racism. Different people...will use the finding in different, and not necessarily contradictory ways.’ (Plewis, 1988)

## 5 A\*-C GCSE passes, including English & Maths- state schools 2006 (ethnicity/gender)

White British	44% (48% ♀; 40% ♂)
Gypsy/Roma (decreased)	4% (4% ♀; 2% ♂)
Mixed white/black Caribbean	33% (37% ♀; 27% ♂)
Mixed white/Asian	59% (63% ♀; 56% ♂)
Indian	59% (64% ♀; 54% ♂)
Bangladeshi	39% (42% ♀; 35% ♂)
Pakistani	34% (39% ♀; 30% ♂)
Black Caribbean	29% (36% ♀; 23% ♂)
Black African	37% (43% ♀; 31% ♂)
Chinese	65% (72% ♀; 59% ♂)
Total	44% (51% ♀; 42% ♂)



# Gillborn (2008) 'Concerted practices'

- On current 10 year trends, black-white gap will not close before 2054.
- Black young people most likely to be placed in the Foundation Tier for Mathematics & English ( $\leq$ Grade C)
- **Shifting goalposts**—black children attained above average at 5 years until shift to Foundation stage profiles in 2004 based on teacher judgements in 6 areas.
  - c.f. Philip Brown: extra-curricular emphasized

## 'Stereotype threat' (Claude Steele)

- When people's social identity is attached to a negative stereotype, they will tend to underperform in ways consistent with the stereotype (Steele and Aronson, 1995; Steele, 1997).
  - Anxiety in case they conform to the negative stereotype.
- Marx and Goff (2005)--black testers who do not confirm stereotypes can help black participants to perform well and not to feel racial threat from the test-taking situation.



# Recurrent themes

- Relatively poor attainment and differential progress of black, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, white working class boys (Willis, 1977) & Gypsy-Traveller pupils.
- Taken-for-granted constructions of black and Asian children and young people as symbolising problems, lack of innate ability & low attainment.
- History of hasty pronouncements & tardy implementation of policy suggestions for change (Richardson, 2004)
- Blaming families (c.f. Errol Lawrence, 1982).
- **Contestation over racism as a contributory factor.**
- **Self-help collective action**—Black Parents Movement; supplementary schools; educating children in the Caribbean; (Bryan, Dadzie & Scafe, 1985; Mirza & Reay.



# Callaghan Memorial Speech 1

"We won't stop this by pretending it isn't young black kids doing it... The black community - the vast majority of whom in these communities are decent, law-abiding people horrified at what is happening - need to be mobilised in denunciation of this gang culture that is killing innocent young black kids."



# Tony Blair: Callaghan Memorial Speech

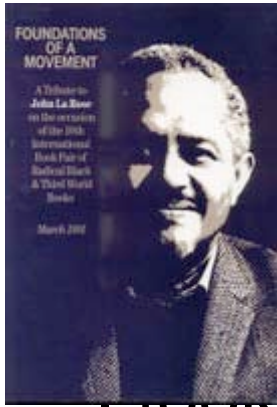
"We need to stop thinking of this as a society that's gone wrong - it hasn't - but of specific groups that for specific reasons have gone outside of the proper lines of respect and good conduct towards others and need, by specific measures aimed at them, to be brought back within the fold."

## **In answer to questions later**

"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, no proper framework around them."..."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" [11 April 2008]

# Following a talk on racism to secondary Deputy Heads

‘Your talk,’ he said, ‘was seriously out of date.’ My heart sank... ‘Twenty years ago you would have been right – a lot of teachers did have low expectations of black boys. I did myself, I admit it. But no longer. Nowadays I have high expectations. The problem is that many of the boys I teach are so thick I can’t get this into their heads’ (Robin Richardson, 2004)

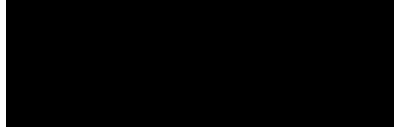


# John La Rose

(27.12.1927--28.2.2006)

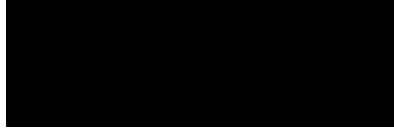
I took my place with others in the Black Education Movement and was part of the significant social and educational struggles of the 1960s & 1970s:

- The fight against 'banding', or the wrongful placing of West Indian children in schools for children with learning difficulties.
- The founding of the George Padmore Supplementary School, the first of its kind, and subsequently the National Association of Supplementary Schools.
- The creation of the Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association, which published *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal in the British School System.* (Life experience with Britain)



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# **(RE)NEGOTIATING MULTICULTURES**



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# Racism from teachers is consequential

(regardless of intention & fact that  
some teachers are avowedly anti-  
racist)



# Diane Abbott 1 (1960s)

D: ...I was always good at... writing essays, and I was famous in my primary school for my essays. And I remember we were given an essay writing assignment, and at the second lesson she read out the marks. She started at the top and went down to the bottom. She started with A+, A, A- and she still hadn't called my name. So I was a bit surprised because I never got less than an A in my primary school. And she read out everyone's names and everyone's grade and not my name. So I went up to her afterwards, and she had a desk, which was on a kind of dais, it was about, sort of, six inches above.





## Diane Abbott 2

And she picked up the essay with her thumb and her finger and she literally looked down on me and she said, 'Where did you copy this essay?' because she could not believe that this chubby, bespectacled black girl with her plaits in front of her could have written that essay. And I was mortified. And what happened, actually, and it's interesting because I think it...I think a lot of children react to low expectations like that. I--in my mind--I didn't go home and complain to my parents, you know, I just for the remainder, really, of that year wrote down, because I was frightened of being humiliated like that again. And it wasn't until my second year when I had an English teacher who really believed in me, that I was able to blossom again...





## Diane Abbott 3



K: At what point in your schooling, then, did... your teachers think this girl is Oxbridge material?

D: 'They never thought that, actually. [*Laughs*] It was a girls' grammar school and there was a very strong culture of achievement, and so on, but I remember it was quite difficult to organise doing Oxford and Cambridge entrance from state schools in those days. And so when I went to my history teacher and told her that I wanted to do the Oxford and Cambridge entrance exam, she looked at me, she paused, and she said, "I don't think you're up to it."



## Diane Abbott 4

‘And then I said something, which really was absolutely fateful, but I looked at her and I said, without skipping a beat, ‘But I do and that’s what matters.’ Now no-one I knew had stayed at school past 16, let alone Oxford and Cambridge, but I just got the idea in my head that I was going to go there, and nobody told me that working class girls, let alone black working class girls, didn’t go to Oxford or Cambridge. I didn’t know. So I went for it. (Diane Abbott on ‘Desert Island Discs’, *Radio 4*, 18 May 2008)



# School as a site of subjugation as racialised subjects 1960s & 1970s

- ‘Having to put up with a lot of teasing, a lot of bullying, not just from the kids, but also from the teachers (pause). That had an impact (pause) because all I wanted to do was get out of there (long pause). The teaching was different (long pause). I didn’t feel that their expectations, that they had any expectations of black kids either (pause). You weren’t sort of encouraged.’ (V)
- ‘I think it slowed me down, ummm because I said about the language and the accent and I think that the whole prejudice that ummm I experienced in (name of big city).’ (LR)
- ‘You don’t appreciate that people never really expected much from you to start with so there was no need to inspire it or encourage it or do anything better because that was not what the function of the education system was.’ (MSL)

*Transforming Experience ESRC-funded study: Serial migration strand*

# School as a site of subjugation as racialised subjects 1990

A. I think in junior school I was aware of it. There were quite a few black children in my junior school, but I remember - I think it was in the second year - I had quite a racist teacher. At the Easter I had been to Jamaica with my parents and family and I remember coming back and we used to have to write in pencil and when I came back, everyone had started writing in pen but you had to like practice in pencil and to show that you were good enough to write in pen. And I remember I was kept back for writing in pen. And also I was very good at maths and I was kept back because - I don't know, but I did have - she was racist, a racist teacher and my mum had to go up and see the headmaster (black young woman, state selective school).

# School as a site of subjugation as racialised subjects 2000

**Black girl:** ...There's this black boy in my class and there's this other white boy, they're always, like, like they're always in trouble together. The both of them and one of them was allowed to go on a trip, the other wasn't and this one who wasn't was actually black you- know. I don't know why that is cos that's sexism and racism...

**White girl:** There's a group, yeah in our class and um they don't do anything and it's like black boys and white boys and some half castes and there's um one black boy in it and um like they all do the same things, but he's the one who's been threatened to be expelled and stuff, but no-one else has. [Mixed group -private school, Masculinities study]

# ‘Foreclosed from possibility’ (Butler, 2004: 31)

- Unable to ‘accomplish’ themselves as appropriate learners (Davies & Saltmarsh, 2007).
  - Unlived possibilities curtailed.
  - Denied access to full personhood (Riddle, 2007) and normative inclusion.
- ‘...simply being a "black" pupil means that you are automatically associated with low achievement and educational failure. This is what some researchers call an "ethnic penalty" - and what others call racism.’ Nicola Rollock, *The Guardian* July 4 2007 [c.f. Ann Ferguson, 2000, *Bad Boys*]



# Exclusion from future possibilities? (2000)

RP Right (2) Do you think some teachers are racist

LANCE Yeah. Cos like there's sort of like a stereotype for like that black people are feisty....

RP So do you think (.) has there been cases where you've been in conflict with a teacher and you think the teacher has been wrong?

LANCE Last week (1) this teacher gave me a detention for like for absolutely nothing, like, if everyone in the class had said to him that I hadn't, I wasn't talking, cos I was sitting by myself, [RP Mm] anyway, like he still gave me detention okay, and I said, and I said, and because I was arguing about why I was, why I should have a detention then I had to go see the deputy head and I got taken out of like French for the rest of the term, that's alright cos I don't like French. [14-year-old black young man, Masculinities study)

# Black girls viewed as 'challenging' (Morris, 2006)

“And I said, “Excuse me, but I’ve been here for over a month and I’ve listened to everything you’ve said... “Are you telling me there are no black people in the British history?” Well, the whole class looked at me and she said, “If you don’t like what we’re teaching you can get out the class... And schooldays was a lot of ‘go to the headmistress’ because, you know, ‘how dare you ask such questions’ – questions as far as I’m concerned growing up in Jamaica, you know, a teacher would give you an answer to... But that’s how the system was in the early 70s and um, I’d like to think that it’s *changed* although I’m sure, you know, there are reports that there are some areas where that still goes on (coughs). [Jenny, Transforming Experience: serial migration]

Tikly et al., (2004) Understanding the educational needs of mixed heritage pupils

- White/Black Caribbean pupils face specific barriers to achievement.
  - Low expectations of pupils by teachers often based on stereotypical view of the fragmented home backgrounds and ‘confused’ identities of White/Black Caribbean pupils.
  - Racism from teachers and from their White and Black peers targeted at mixedness. Can lead to ‘rebellious’, ‘challenging’ behaviour.
  - Mixed heritage identities often not recognized in the curriculum or in policies of schools and of LEAs (although White/Asian pupils do well despite this).

# Some white teachers have overtly negative constructions of pupils 1

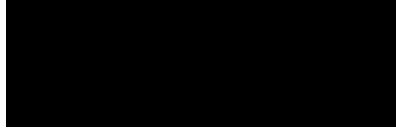
‘There’s so much happening that (.) you just learn to (.) think beyond your small little world of South Africa, the way things are actually. And (.) I think it’s – it’s a *good* thing for him to grow up here and have a much broader outlook on life and the way things actually are, than the tunnel vision of the way certain people think, especially back home... but my husband’s slowly coming to it and just realising how everybody and everything is just so different anyway, and how you *benefit* from everyone being different anyhow. I think so anyway. So I mean also we both teach in Tower Hamlets, and our schools are about 90 – probably 98/99% from the Bangladeshi community as well.

## Some white teachers have overtly negative constructions of pupils 2

‘So although it’s completely different because my husband and I are both Christians, um they are the Muslim community. **For me, a child is a child, whatever religion they are. Whereas my husband still thinks (.) um like with the bombing, for example, because Muslims were obviously involved in all of it, that still sticks in the back of his mind a lot... So (.) yeah [faster] (‘it affects my husband as well, but it took him longer to come around’)...**’ (White South African mother who went back to South Africa at 12 months Becoming a Mother study, 2007).

# Conditions that make for educational resilience in relation to teacher racism

- Knowledge of (& confidence in) skills.
- Determination to reach a goal/be the best.
  - Future orientation can enable resistance.
- Someone championing pupil.
- Not knowing that success is ‘impossible’.
- [Same factors have different impacts on different children, e.g. Rutter, 2007]
- → Working hard for own children’s education (c.f. Rhamie, 2007)



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# Negotiating ethnicised relationships in UK schools

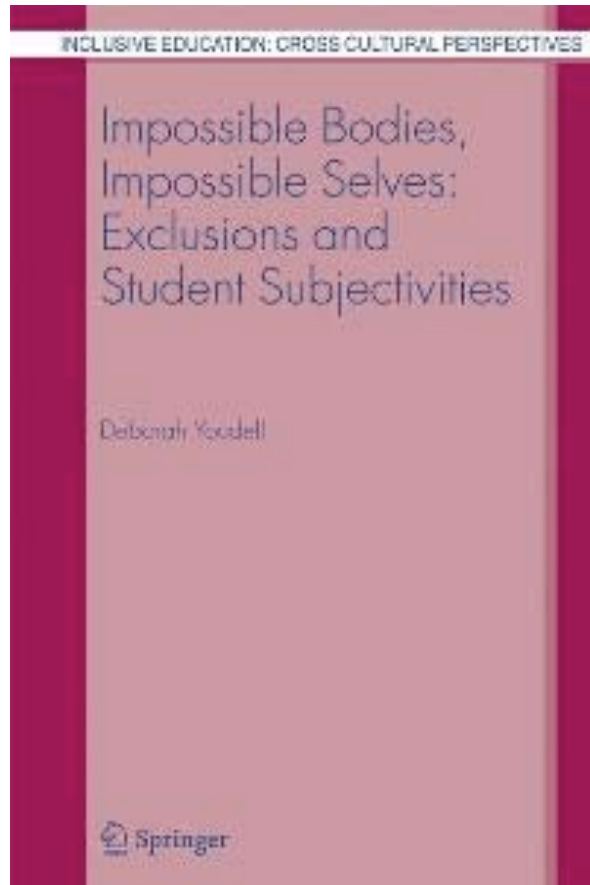
- 1. Gendered/racialised exclusions from learner identities**
- 2. Racialisation (& gendering) of space**

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# Negotiating situated identities and difference(s): Constrained agency

- Bernard Lahire (2003) People are products of multiple social processes learned in different domains and produced in interactions.
- 'Being of higher social status is to be closer to central narratives and to have a ready place in them. Being of lower social status is to know that your individual story is marginal and does not matter' (Nick Couldry, 2000)
- Butler (2004) autonomy and subjectivity are constrained by normalizing processes.
- → Everyday practices that allow the claiming of 'liveable lives' & 'self-worth protection strategies' (Carolyn Jackson, 2006) & defensive strategies.

# Prevailing discourses ‘create “truths” about students as learners’



“... ‘who’ a student is—in terms of gender, sexuality, social class, ability, disability, race, ethnicity and religion as well as popular and sub cultural belongings— is inextricably linked with the ‘sort’ of student and learner that s/he gets to be, and the educational inclusions s/he enjoys and/or the exclusions she faces” (p.2)

# Positioning affects choice, agency & identities

- Children know how they are positioned in relation to others at school & in society .
  - ‘Know their limits’ (e.g. Archer and Yamashita, 2003)
  - Have different expectations by class, gender, ‘race’ intersections (Abrams, 2003, USA girls)
  - Recognize how they are stereotyped because of the area from which they come & develop a range of strategies to deal with this.
- Contradictions of wanting to do well at school and negotiating ‘communities of practice’ (Lave & Wenger).
  - Essentialised blackness incommensurate with attainment —e.g. Social Identities study.
- Agency & choice constrained.

# Situated learning' in 'community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1993)

- Schools as social institutions produce and reproduce power relations.
- Boys have to negotiate the constraints imposed by hegemonic masculinities.

Q. So the least popular group of people, could you describe them?

A. Um - I would say it's people who who do lots of work and things like that and - um - um that's mainly it actually. Just people who are sort of boffins...[**Asian 14 year old**] (Frosh, Phoenix, Pattman, 2002)

# Black masculinities as popular

- British and US research indicates that black young men of African Caribbean/American descent constructed as 'super-masculine'.
- Paradoxically, feared, discriminated against, respected, admired and gain power if they take on characteristics which militate against good classroom performance (Sewell, 1997).
  - 'Cool pose' (Majors and Billson, 2001) is pleasurable and costly for young black men.

# Envy and contestation over racialisation

RP D'you think some white boys then envy black boys (1) 'cos they think they're stronger?

Paul        Yeah like, they wanna like, some people wanna be black 'cos (1) they might like be more popular . Like, black people like, don't like really cool. Black people have like black slang don't they an' they call people (.) bro an' that (hands). Like white people don't call each other (.) names like that an' black people call some people some. And sometimes people wanna be black an' that./.../

**11 year old white boy**

# Resistance to white boys' 'acting' black

**G.** I think I think that because say because I'm white (.) I mean I'm not English or anything but because I'm white they expect me to listen to (.) I don't know (.) Oasis Blur (*.inaudible*) but really but when I was in America so long (.) I've got used to listening to (.) rap hip hop S R and B.

**B** Yes and then because he listens to hip hop black people think he's trying to take away what he likes, he likes hip hop...and black people think it's (M I like *starts mimicking African singer*) just their's and not his and everyone likes stuff like that but I don't really listen to that I listen to Celine Dion... (White Year 9 boys, 13-14 year olds)

# Instrumental benefits of racialisation of style

Q. How important is is being black for you?

Greg. Mm mmm. (1) I don't get picked as I don't get picked on as much as other boys that ain't the same colour as me.

11 year old black boy

# Learned racialised exclusions from learner identities

‘Black people won’t talk to you if you show knowledge or intelligence. The other day I was talking to a boy and he was like—you’re so white, you act like white people—and I’m like, just because you see an intelligent black person in front of you that means they’re acting white?’ (19-year old, mixed-parentage young woman; Indra Dewan, 2008: 128, *Recasting Race*)

# Careful negotiation of 'learner' & other identities in multicultures

“People would use whatever ammunition they could ...if they had some kind of argument with you. I mean I also had the issue of, I was an achiever, a higher achiever at school and that wasn't looked on fondly... as I said it was a predominantly non white school...probably by the age of about 14, 15 I started getting some difficulties from some people who felt that if you were black you shouldn't be hanging out with the Asians, or the white people you shouldn't be quite as friendly...you needed to align yourself a little bit more. And I always refused.”[1990s, mixed-parentage: VD]

# Informal segregation in mixed schools 1 1990

A1. Everyone has said everyone has got black friends, they've got Turkish friends, but when it comes down to it, when you are sitting in assembly - when you're sitting in a big room, there's always the people that stick together. There's the black people, there's the white people.

A2. Especially in school.

A3. That is true.

(Untranscribable because everyone speaks at once)

# Informal segregation in mixed schools

A1. Especially in this school, there's a great divide between black and white and there always has been. I've known it since the first year.

A4. Like even in that room outside there's like all one group sitting on one side and all the others sitting on the other side. I mean they'll talk to each other and they're friends. I'm not saying they don't talk to each other and ignore each other, but it's just there. (Sixth form mixed ethnicity group—girls' school)

(c.f. Räthzel, Cohen, Back & Keith, 2008).

# Contestation of space & power relations 2000 1

Alan Seems to be all black boys have a chip on their shoulder. Er, you do get white bullies - I'm not sayin' that, but half of the school here, erm, half the black boys- all of them walk around walkin' like that, brand names, lookin' down at people, like Year Seven's, the little girls. They look at you and stare at you as if you're lower than them. (.) And the worst bit is and then they say 'What you doin' ruckin' up my clothes' and you're like, 'Pardon? Ruckin up your clothes -what's that?' And they say, 'You're juggin' my clothes, you're ripping them, you're touchin' them' and you're like, 'Sorry, we're in a corridor' and you're bound to bump into them, especially when they're walkin' in a line. And they're lookin' at you as if to say, 'What you doin' here? Why are you here?'

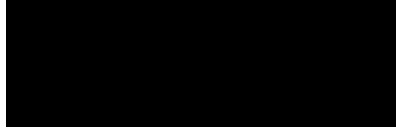
RP Mmm.

# Contestation of space & power relations 2

Alan Not being racist, but they come over here. Mean I have no problem with black people. Most of my friends are coloured and foreign but sometimes it really annoys me especially when they say, 'What are you doin' -why are you here. Go home' and all of this. I'm like, I am home, this is England. And I say in my mind, why have I got to go home -I live here? This is my home. Sometimes I feel like sayin' 'Go back to your home, Jamaica' -somewhere like that and then think about sayin' most of my friends are coloured, be upsettin' them as well.  
(Masculinities study, 1999)

# Change and (re)production in racialised relationality

- Phil Cohen (1988) multicultures & multiracisms.
- Roger Hewitt white young people who: want to be black (1986); avow racism (1996).
- Multicultures changed:
  - Brah et al(2006) exciting object of consumption in Londoner identity.
  - Reay et al (2006) cultural capital for white middle class children.
  - Roxy Harris, Ben Rampton et al (2006) lived relations of 'race' changed.
  - Gilroy's (2006) convivial multicultures?



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# Conclusions

- Changes in understanding and the social terrain.
- Racism in education and negative constructions of some minoritised groups continue → same & new battles.
- Each new generation negotiates such constructions in ‘communities of practice’.
- Intersectionality, psychosocial approaches and a commitment to non-individualising change are all important (c.f. Ball & Vincent).