

RACISMS, GENDERED IDENTITIES AND YOUNG CHILDREN:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A MULTI-ETHNIC, INNER-CITY
PRIMARY SCHOOL

Thesis submitted for the degree of
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at the University of Leicester

by

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PhD Thesis

**Racisms, Gendered Identities and Young Children:
an Ethnographic Study of a Multi-Ethnic, Inner-City Primary School**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the salience of 'race' in young children's lives. It focuses on five- and six-year-old children through an ethnographic study of a multi-ethnic, inner-city primary school and its surrounding community. Alongside detailed observations of the children and the use of secondary source data, the extensive use of in-depth, largely unstructured group interviews with the children offers one of the first comprehensive studies to focus on the subjective worlds of the children in and of themselves. In doing this the thesis draws attention to the social competency of young children and their ability, at the ages of five and six, to actively appropriate, re-work and reproduce discourses on 'race' in the construction of their gendered identities.

Through the appropriation and adaptation of the work of Michel Foucault and, moreover, Pierre Bourdieu, the thesis also proposes a more sensitive theoretical frame able to appreciate: the essentially open, contingent and context-specific nature of racism; the complexities of power within an analysis of racism that can not only be seen through its material expression across time and space but also as it impacts upon the very selves of young children; and the articulation of racisms across various levels of the social formation. This latter concern is particularly apposite given the extant literature in that very little ethnographic work focusing on racism in either primary or secondary schools in Britain has broadened its analysis to adequately incorporate the influence of social relations beyond the confines of the school.

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A Note on Publications

The following papers have derived directly out of my doctoral research and have been written and published during the time I have been registered for a higher degree at the University of Leicester. While they are based upon data gathered as part of my doctoral research they also contain data that has not been drawn upon in the Thesis:

All lads together?: Racism, masculinity and multicultural/anti-racist strategies in a primary school, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 4 (2) pp. 193 - 213, 1994

Boys will be boys?: racism, sexuality and the construction of masculine identities amongst infant boys, in: J. Holland & M. Blair (Eds.) *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters in association with the Open University, 1995

Racism, masculine peer group relations and the schooling of African/Caribbean infant boys, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 16 (1) pp. 75-92, 1995

Reconsidering multicultural/anti-racist strategies in education: articulations of "race" and gender in a primary school, in: M. Griffiths & B. Troyna (Eds.) *Anti-Racism, Culture and Social Justice in Education*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books, 1995

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with exploring the salience of 'race' in young children's lives. By 'young', the thesis is referring to children of the ages five and six. Through an ethnographic study of a multi-ethnic, inner-city primary school and its local community, the thesis will chart the way in which discourses on 'race' come to intervene in the social worlds of the young children and shape the formation and reproduction of their identities¹. Within this the thesis will address two inter-related concerns that remain relatively neglected and under-developed in the literature on racism and young children. The first relates to the predominance in such work of traditional discourses on childhood. The continued influence of the various socialisation and developmental models has meant that researchers have consistently failed to explore the subjective worlds of young children in and of themselves. Although young children have often been the objects of research, particularly through observational methods and/or laboratory-style psychological tests, they have rarely been the subjects. To date there has been a distinct lack of research that has fore-grounded the subjective worlds of the children themselves and explored, in detail, their thoughts, experiences and perceptions as they articulated them. Through the study of how racism comes to impact on young children lives, this thesis will contest the

¹All names relating to people and places in the thesis have been changed to maintain anonymity. A key relating to the transcripts used in the thesis can be found in Appendix 1.

restrictive nature of these traditional discourses on childhood and offer an insight into the subjective worlds of young children.

Secondly, the thesis will address the way that racism has been under-theorised in the study of young children. Partly because of the influence of these traditional discourses on childhood and their denial of young children's social competence, such research has ignored the active role that these children play in appropriating, re-working and reproducing discourses on 'race'. As such, much of the literature has tended to produce an understanding of racism as essentially closed and de-contextualised and has over-looked the contingent and contradictory ways in which racialised relations and identities are formed and reproduced. Through an engagement with recent poststructuralist debates within the field of 'race', the thesis will appropriate and develop some of the broader insights offered in the work of Michel Foucault and, moreover, Pierre Bourdieu, to construct an alternative theoretical frame more sensitive to the complexities of racism. It will draw attention to the ways in which discourses on 'race' are intricately bound up with those on gender, class, sexuality and age and how they come to be expressed in and through the spatial, temporal and social structures found at a variety of levels within the social formation. This concern is particularly apposite in relation to the extant literature in that there has been a serious neglect in British ethnographies on racism and schooling of 'looking beyond the school gates' in exploring the significance and influence of racism, as reproduced within and beyond the local community, for the social worlds of school children. Finally, the thesis will also suggest ways in which we can begin to understand the 'formative' nature of racism as it comes to influence and shape the very identities of young children.

It is these two concerns, on overcoming traditional discourses on childhood and in developing a more sophisticated theoretical frame for the study of

racism, that underlies the present thesis. Chapter one develops these concerns in more detail before introducing the reader to the present study and setting out the methodological frame to be employed. Chapter two shifts its focus to building an alternative theoretical frame for understanding the complexities of racism. Chapters three and four then move onto exploring the way in which discourses on 'race' have come to be reproduced on the local estate that surrounds the school. Chapter three examines the way that national discourses on 'race' are refracted through the estate and how, in their articulation with those on the inner-city and crime, they come to be expressed in and through the social, spatial and temporal nature of the estate. Chapter four then looks in more detail at how these discourses on 'race', so manifest, come to impact upon the formation and reproduction of the gendered identities of the men and women living there and, in particular, the domestic environments that the young children in the present study inhabit. In chapter five, the thesis moves onto looking at the school and explores the way that these broader discourses on 'race' reproduced on the estate come to be taken up and re-worked by teachers within the school. Within this, the chapter will be concerned to draw out the way that these teacher discourses then come to influence and shape the basic ethos of the school and the nature of its organisation, social relations and disciplinary modes.

Chapters six to nine are concerned with exploring the impact of these discourses on 'race' found within the school and the local estate on the social worlds of young children at the school. Within this, the chapters are particularly concerned with examining the experiences of Black² and South Asian young children and how their identities are forged through the influence of these discourses on 'race'. Chapters six and seven are specifically

²'Black' throughout this thesis will refer to people who have at least one parent of African/Caribbean descent.

concerned with the construction of masculine identities among Black and South Asian boys, respectively, while chapters eight and nine are concerned with setting out how feminine identities are negotiated and reproduced by Black and South Asian girls respectively. What each of these chapters will clearly demonstrate is the essentially open, diverse, contradictory and fluid nature of racialised relations and identities. They will draw attention to the social competency of these children and their active role in negotiating their identities through the appropriation and re-working of discourses on 'race', class, gender and age to be found both within the school and beyond in the domestic environment and the local community. The concluding chapter will then offer some reflections on the methodological and theoretical frames employed in the present study and will not only draw attention to the ways in which this has contributed to our understanding of the influence of racism in young children's lives but also to some of the research questions that have emerged out of this study for future work.

CHAPTER ONE

'Seen But Never Heard': Racism, Young Children and Social Research

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to set out the main parameters for the present study. It is concerned with drawing attention to the way in which our understanding of young¹ children and of the salience of 'race' in their social worlds has been developed through social research. In doing this I want to draw out two broad and essentially related limitations to the work that have come to form the basic concerns I have attempted to foreground and address in this present study. The first of these relates to the way that the traditional developmental and socialisation models of childhood have dominated research on young children and have, as a consequence, severely limited and distorted our understanding of children's social worlds. In essence I will argue that there has been a remarkable and almost universal neglect of young children's subjective worlds. Children at the ages of five and six have overwhelmingly been assumed not to have the social nor cognitive competence to make sense of and reflect upon their behaviour. While they have often been the objects of research, principally through being observed or invited to undertake crude laboratory-style stimulus-response tests, they have rarely been the subjects of research. In other words they are often seen but never heard.

¹Young' is used throughout this study to refer to infant children between the ages of five and six.

The second limitation that will be highlighted in this chapter relates to the way that racism has been theorised and understood within social research on young children. Here it will be argued that racism has come to be overwhelmingly constructed within this literature in an essentially closed and de-contextualised way which ignores the contingent and contradictory way in which racialised relations and identities are formed and reproduced. Part of the reason why this approach remains so central to research on young children relates to the general denial of young children's social competence which has led researchers to overlook the active role that these children play in appropriating, re-working and reproducing discourses on 'race'. This, in turn, has led to the development of an essentially closed understanding of racism where young children are thought to be restricted to learning and uncritically reproducing a unitary set of racist beliefs regardless of context.

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with setting out the methodological frame that has been developed, in the light of these two concerns, in an attempt to reach a more sensitive and nuanced account of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives. In this, the chapter will be concerned with introducing the reader to the present study. After discussing the broader ethical, political and practical problems faced in devising and commencing the research, the chapter will focus on the methods that have been employed. It will be argued that an ethnographic approach generally, with a specific focus on in-depth, largely unstructured interviews with young children, has proven the most suitable methods for not only fore-grounding the subjective worlds of young children but also being sensitive to the complex, contingent and contradictory nature of racism in their lives. It will be argued that it is a method that offers a rare opportunity for young children to not only be seen but also heard.

1.2 Young children and social research

The review of the literature here is not meant to be an exhaustive account of the many important insights and central contributions made to our understanding of racism and young children. Many of these will be drawn out and referred to as the present study unfolds. Rather, I am concerned here with the much more specific task of drawing attention to the position of young children within the research and the way they have been discursively constituted. I want to begin by taking a broad look at some of the more well-known ethnographies of the primary school before focusing more specifically on the study of racism and young children. It is through these that I intend to elaborate on the first of the two main concerns alluded to above.

A growing body of literature within the sociology of childhood has drawn attention to the taken-for-granted assumptions that have been made about young children and has usefully contributed to the deconstruction of the traditional developmental and socialisation models that have come to dominate both professional and common-sense thinking about young children (Jenks, 1982; James and Prout, 1990; Chisholm *et al*, 1990; Ambert, 1995). These assumptions tend to also, unfortunately, form the dominant paradigm within which social research on young children has overwhelmingly been formulated. Rather than seeing children as strategic, socially-competent agents able to successfully make sense of, negotiate and act upon their social worlds, such research has tended to assume that young children have very limited social skills and are largely passive, uncritical and non-reflexive. Their actions are perceived to be little more than the outward expression of the child's attempts to copy and learn adult behaviour. While there is thus some use in studying their behaviour there is little use, considering the early cognitive stage of their development, in eliciting their understanding of that behaviour. The way in which young children have therefore largely been rendered the objects of research rather than the

subjects can be seen in the methodological reflections of King (1978) concerning his own seminal and now classic study of infant classes in three schools:

How is it possible to understand the subjective meanings of very small children? ... If teachers are unused to reflecting on their own actions young children seem to be almost incapable of doing so. However, it was possible to observe children's behaviour in the classroom and to listen to their talk (and sometimes to talk with them), and to judge to what extent their behaviour and their talk were related to the actions of their teacher. It was also possible to infer something of a small child's subjectivity by his or her emotional response to a situation. I assumed that a 6-year-old who cried was probably upset and one who laughed was happy, assumptions not always justified in relation to adults

(King, 1978: 8)

Children were therefore to be seen but never heard. Infact King appeared to have regarded the children in his study as a nuisance; to be ignored and avoided at all costs. This led King into an elaborate method of always standing up to avoid eye contact, of showing no immediate interest in what the children were doing and, where possible, hiding away in the 'Wendy House' to conduct observations. Consequently, it was the teachers and their coping strategies, ways of organising the classroom and typifying the children, that was King's concern. This focus on the teacher and neglect of infant children was also found in the work of Brandis and Bernstein (1974), Sharp and Green (1975) and Hartley (1985). Although the perceptions and behaviour of children did provide a focus in Hartley's (1985) work this was still dominated by a concern with the teacher and the problems that their behaviour produced for teacher control. This approach to the study of children's cultures via the needs and concerns of the teacher was also predominant in the work of Slukin (1981) and Pollard (1985, 1987). Even those studies that have fore-grounded primary school children's cultures have either focused exclusively on children in the older age ranges (Davies, 1982; Holly, 1985; Thorne, 1993; Grugeon, 1993) or, when studying young children, have, without exception, relied solely on observation and have

failed to listen to and explore the voices of the children themselves (see, for instance, Clarricoates, 1980, Walkerdine, 1981; Brown and France, 1985).

Having said this, I do not wish to downplay the extremely important contributions that these studies have made to our understanding of children's experiences of schooling and the invaluable insights they have offered in terms of within-school processes and practices. Indeed the present study would not have been possible without the body of knowledge that has been developed in such work. Rather the main point I want to draw out from this critique is the systematic neglect of the subjective worlds of young children and a continued unwillingness to listen to and explore their voices and experiences.

Unfortunately these processes have also underlaid research on racism and young children. Up until the mid-1980s, the adherence to the almost universal belief that young children were incapable of making sense of and reflecting upon their social worlds was illustrated by the almost complete dominance of two methodological approaches to the study of young children's racial attitudes: psychological stimulus/response-style laboratory tests² and sociometric tests of children's friendship choices³. Whether these social researchers were measuring young children's responses to various photographs, dolls and fictitious situations as with the former or who they nominated as their 'best friends' in the latter, what was clear from all this

² The pioneering studies in this area have been those of Lasker (1929), Horowitz (1936), Blake and Dennis (1943) and Clark and Clark (1947). Since then there has been a plethora of studies which, to varying degrees, have replicated the methodologies employed by this work (see, for instance, Razran, 1950; Pushkin, 1967; Brown and Johnson, 1971; Milner, 1975, 1983; Madge, 1976; Braha and Rutter, 1980; Davey, 1983; Pushkin and Norburn, 1983). For a critical overview of this area see Aboud (1988), Carrington and Short (1989) and Troyna and Hatcher (1992).

³ See for instance, Moreno (1934); Radke *et al*, 1950; Rowley (1968); Kawwa (1968); Durojaiye (1969, 1970); Jelinek and Brittan (1975); Braha and Rutter (1980); Davey (1983).

work was the underlying assumption that young children were unable to critically reflect upon and rationalise their own actions. Thus the only meaningful focus for research was children's actual behaviour and stated preferences rather than an exploration of how they have come to make sense of their own social worlds and the salience of discourses on 'race' within this.

Even the more recent ethnographic work on racism and primary schools that has recently emerged, whilst placing a greater, and much welcomed, emphasis on children's cultures and subjective experiences have still overwhelmingly neglected young children. This can be seen both in the foregrounding of the teacher's role in the construction of young children's identities (Grant, 1992), in the focus on interviewing older children (Carrington and Short, 1989, 1992; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992) and in the preoccupation with observations (Grugeon and Woods, 1990). While Wright's (1992a, 1992b) ethnographic work did include observations of, and some interviews with, nursery and infant children as well as juniors, the scale of her study and the limited time available, meant that she was able to do little more than offer an important introductory insight into life in the four schools studied.

Epstein's (1993) more recent ethnography of racism and the primary school provides the only real exception to these trends. Although her case studies on working with young children only formed a small part of her research it did clearly outline the way in which, as she explained, 'very young children (under the age of seven) can engage with difficult issues and reflect on their own feelings and reactions, provided they are given the appropriate opportunities, encouragement and scaffolding to do so' (Epstein, 1993: 130). It is in line with this sentiment and the need to explore the still largely uncharted subjective worlds of young children in more detail that forms one of the basic rationales for this present study.

1.3 Theories of racism in young children's lives

The second major limitation to the studies on 'race' and the primary school concerns the way in which racism has been theorised and understood in such work. With few exceptions, racism has been constructed within these studies in an essentialist and de-contextualised manner. In other words, racism has been theorised as a closed and unchanging set of beliefs that children either do or do not hold, with varying levels of intensity, and which are carried around with them and form the basis of their behaviour and sense of identity regardless of context. It is not surprising that this approach to racism is so predominant within the research on young children given the discussion above; for once social competence is denied young children then so is the possibility that they are able to appropriate, re-work and reproduce discourses on 'race' in different ways dependent upon context. Rather, being constructed through such traditional discourses on childhood as uncritical and non-reflexive then they can only ever be seen as empty vessels into which adult culture is increasingly poured which they then, in turn, come to adopt and express machine-like regardless of context.

This approach to understanding racism is exemplified by the popularity of laboratory-style attitudinal tests and sociometric analyses, mentioned earlier, that dominated social research on young children for a number of decades up until the mid-1980s. Underlying these studies was the belief that racial prejudice could simply be measured and quantified amongst young children and then assumed to affect their behaviour regardless of context⁴.

Part of the underlying problem of the various tests discussed above has been their fixation with trying to quantify racism. The search for overall statistical aggregates and percentages, by default, rules out any discussion of the fluidity of racism and its context-specific nature. More recently, there has been a

⁴For a very useful critique of sociometric analyses see Denscombe *et al* (1986).

number of more qualitative, ethnographic studies of racism and primary schools that have attempted to address this problem. Alongside Epstein's (1993) work, discussed above, Carrington and Short's (1989) study, centred around semi-structured group interviews with 161 primary school children was concerned with exploring the children's levels of prejudice and understanding of issues relating to 'race', gender and class. However both these studies approaches were purposely limited to a focus on the children's racist beliefs and to consequently developing anti-racist strategies from this. While they have drawn attention to a number of important considerations in this regard, the contingent and context-specific nature of racism has been left relatively unexplored in their studies.

This continued neglect of the essentially open and fluid nature of racialised relations and identities can also be found in relation to ethnographic work that has primarily focused on the experiences and identities of primary school children. Although the work of Wright (1992a, 1992b) and Grant (1992) in relation to 'race' and Clarricoates (1987) in relation to gender have been extremely important in drawing attention to the salience of 'race' and gender in children's experiences of schooling they have all tended to construct a common experience of schooling and emergent identity that is relatively closed and fixed. Wright (1992a, 1992b), for instance, contrasted the experiences of African/Caribbean and South Asian children, while Grant (1992) did the same with Black and White girls and Clarricoates with middle and working class girls. While it may well have not been intended, the way that these studies have been constructed and written, in failing to draw attention to the inherent contradictions and diversities of experience of those within any of these groups, have been read to suggest a common and largely fixed experience of schooling uniformly shared by all those assigned to one of the two groups⁵.

⁵This has also overwhelmingly been the case in the study of minority ethnic

What is needed, therefore, is a more complex understanding of the contradictory and contingent nature of racism (Cohen, 1988, 1992a; Rattansi, 1992; Gillborn, 1995). This was a theme central to Troyna and Hatcher's (1992) ethnographic study of a mainly-White primary school where they found that the children's racist beliefs were inherently contradictory and that their expression, primarily through racist name-calling, were strongly context-specific. The more recent work by Thorne (1993), while focusing on gender identities, is also worth mentioning here in terms of its success in drawing attention to the way in which gendered identities and boundaries were continuously drawn and re-drawn dependent upon the context. What is lacking from both of these studies, however, is an extended focus that is able to broaden this exploration of the essentially open nature of children's identities by looking at how they are the product of the articulation of a number of discourses on 'race', gender, class, sexuality and age. Thorne's (1993) work, for example, spent little time exploring the role of class and 'race' in mediating gendered identities whilst Troyna and Hatcher (1992) largely over-looked the ways in which racist incidents were expressed through the dominant expressions of gendered and class-based relations.

Moreover, this lack of engagement with the essentially open and contradictory nature of racism has been further exacerbated by the general tendency within the sociology of education to focus on the particular and rarely to look beyond the school gates. The classic studies of playground culture by Iona and Peter Opie for instance (Opie and Opie, 1959; Opie, 1993) while extensively documenting children's rhymes, slang and songs, much of which was highly gendered and racialised, made very little reference to their

students' experiences of racism in the secondary school. see, for instance Driver (1977, 1979), Fuller (1980), Carrington (1983), Carrington and Wood (1986), Mac an Ghaill (1988), Gillborn (1990) and Mirza (1992). There have, however, been more recent attempts to address this problem in work on racism and the secondary school. See, most notably, Gillborn (1995) and also Mac an Ghaill (1994).

origins or reasons for their continued popularity (Cohen, 1992b). Similarly, as regards the general ethnographic studies of primary schools referred to above, while they engaged in the detailed and exhaustive description and typologies of teacher cultures and children's peer-group identities very little reference was made to what was going on beyond the school gates (see, for instance, Sharp and Green, 1975; King 1978; Sluckin, 1981; Davies, 1982; Pollard, 1985; and Hartley, 1985; Boulton, 1993).

This failure to look beyond the school gates is equally noticeable in the ethnographies of racism and the primary school. As I have argued earlier, racism cannot simply be understood in the form a universal set of beliefs that people subscribe to and act upon to varying degrees. Rather, racism is inherently relational and context-specific, finding its expression and form only in and through its articulation with other social processes. In this sense it would seem that the starting point for any study of racism and schooling must begin with how broader racialised discourses are drawn upon and refracted through people's lived experiences within the locales where they are situated (see Cohen, 1988; 1992a). Only then can we make sense of the specific racialised beliefs and perceptions that the children bring with them into the school and which are, in turn, also reworked and refracted by the children in order to make sense of their specific experiences of schooling. However, in the construction of a totalising and essentialist notion of racism, not only are the various specific contexts within the school ignored but also, and even more so, are those without. It is rather surprising to find therefore that of all the British ethnographic studies of schooling, whether primary or secondary, with the one exception of Troyna and Hatcher's (1992) work, there has been no detailed discussion or analysis of the broader environment that exists beyond the school gates.

In Troyna and Hatcher's (1992) study, they developed a revised version of

Waddington *et al's* (1989) 'flashpoints model' in an attempt to relate the micro inter-personal relations within a broader, macro context (see also Troyna and Hatcher, 1991a). In doing this, the study was successful in drawing attention to the need for a more complex and 'multi-layered' approach to the analysis of racism. It also enabled them to begin to introduce the ways in which the children's broader out-of-school experiences were important in shaping their racialised beliefs. However, there was a sense in which the promises that the model offered in enabling an analysis of the articulation of the various levels of analysis were not met in the study. Too little time was spent in their analysis in exploring the nature of social relations in the locale in which the school was situated and how these were both shaped by broader social relations and were, at the same time, influencing relations within the school. Moreover, the model, as presented, was also limited to the extent to which it enabled the study of *process*, that is the complex ways in which social relations became racialised and sedimented over time and space. Finally, the model offered little in the way of a method for analysing how this process of racialisation is expressed in and through its articulation with other gendered, class-based and age-related social processes.

Finally, I want to briefly turn to the way in which power has been under-theorised in relation to these studies. The early laboratory-style tests and sociometric analyses developed a concept of racism as one which was essentially external to the child who then came to possess it and use it as a basis for excluding others (see also Epstein, 1993). This broadly 'negative' conception of racism perceived mainly as a process of restriction and exclusion was also common within the more ethnographic literature. Wright (1992a, 1992b), for instance, focused mainly on the effects of teacher stereotypes on the restriction of minority ethnic children's educational chances while Troyna and Hatcher (1992) were concerned to explore the degree to which children drew upon 'race' as an organising principle to think

about and exclude others.

However within the work there can be found hints at a more sophisticated understanding of the more formative nature of racism. Both Wright's (1992a, 1992b) and Grant's (1992) studies allude to the way in which teachers' expressions of racism effect the behaviour of children and the way they come to think about themselves. This, however, is still largely a neglected area. What is needed, therefore, is a theoretical frame that is more sensitive to the way in which racism has developed what Foucault (1980: 39) refers to as a 'capillary form of existence' that is where it 'reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives'.

Furthermore, the focus on racism primarily as a set of racialised beliefs that then come to inform practice also acts to divorce racism from the broader social environment. Racism is, in other words, to be found in people's heads and, secondarily, in their actions. And yet these racialised actions also, in time, become sedimented to the extent that they not only come to structure future relations (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Giddens, 1984) but also that they become expressed through time and space (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1985, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993). Racism therefore comes to develop a spatial and temporal expression that then comes to both shape, and be shaped by, social relations. It is this further dimension of power that has also been largely under-theorised in the literature on racism and young children.

In this section, I have drawn attention to the two basic limitations that I believe continue to exist, to varying degrees, within social research on young children and racism. The first relates to the continued dominance of traditional discourses on childhood which had the effect of overwhelmingly rejecting the voices and subjective worlds of the children themselves. The

second relates to the essentially closed and de-contextualised understanding of racism. This, I have argued, has partly emerged out of the logic of the broader discourses on childhood but have also been the consequence of the failure to explore the contradictions and contingencies that emerge in children's identities through an appreciation of: the essentially open, contingent and context-specific nature of racism; the articulation of racisms across global, national and local levels; and the complexities of power within accounts of racism that can not only be seen through its expression across time and through space but also as it impacts upon the very body and selves of individuals. It is an engagement with these concerns that underlies the present study. For the remainder of the chapter I will now introduce the reader to the present study and the methodology employed. This will be done firstly by exploring some of the broader ethical and political problems I had to address, as a White, adult male in doing research on young children in a primary school, and, secondly, by concluding with a focus on the more practical problems relating to the choice of methods employed.

1.4 Politics, values and the research process

White people don't understand what it is like to be black and therefore can't understand the complex structures and behaviours of the black community

Parekh (1981)

We see an emphasis on research by women as absolutely fundamental to feminist research. We reject the idea that men can be feminists because we argue that what is essential to 'being feminist' is the possession of feminist consciousness, and we see feminist consciousness as rooted in the concrete, practical and everyday experiences of being treated as a woman

Stanley & Wise (1983:18)

Before I introduce the reader to the present study I want to address some central epistemological concerns that have arisen, particularly over the last few decades, and are illustrated by the two quotes above. These are concerns that have emerged out of the broader tradition of critical theory (see, for

instance, Lukacs, 1971; Mills, 1973; Habermas, 1972; Gouldner, 1971; Harvey, 1990) and have, in recent years, provided the focus for a sustained and extremely important feminist and anti-racist critique of social research. Motivated by both the continued marginalisation of women and minority ethnic groups from the research process and the highly distorted and stereotypical way that they have often been portrayed when they have appeared in social research, such a critique has come to problematise the very values and assumptions that have come to underpin the research process. More specifically, in highlighting the absence of women and minority ethnic academics, they have drawn attention to the continued dominance of the White, male (and middle class) perspective and this, in turn, has led many writers, such as those quoted above, to call for an alternative research agenda rooted in the experience of women and minority ethnic people⁶. In relation to 'race' and education, for instance, it provided the means through which educational research and its emphasis on the importance of minority ethnic cultures were reassessed (see, for instance, Stone, 1981; Troyna, 1984a) and a research paradigm was formed that came to centrally problematise the issue of racism (see Wright, 1986; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Mirza, 1992).

Considering that I am a White, adult male involved in research on minority ethnic young children with a particular emphasis on the role of gender, these debates obviously raise a whole host of issues in relation to the values underlying my work and the relations of power that are evoked. It is with this in mind that I want to critically engage with the debates alluded to above and particularly the dominant strand of standpoint epistemology evident in

⁶In relation to feminist critiques see, for instance Fee, 1983; Mies, 1983; Duelli Klein, 1983; Du Bois, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983; Harding, 1987b; Smith, 1987; Harstock, 1987; Kremer, 1990. In terms of anti-racist debates see Bourne and Sivanandan, 1980; Gilroy, 1980; Lawrence, 1981, 1982; Parmar, 1981; Parekh, 1981; Troyna, 1988; Joseph *et al*, 1990; Brar, 1992; Connolly, 1992; Neal, 1993.

the work. In other words I want to address some of the central themes that have emerged from these debates as a way of justifying my own research and its focus on minority ethnic children and girls.

To begin with, I would argue that, in relation to 'race', it is virtually impossible to develop an understanding of racism without incorporating the experiences of minority ethnic people. As Back and Solomos (1992: 13) have argued:

for researchers to speak rhetorically about their mission to study white racism and institutions contains a subtle sleight of hand. While superficially this seems more credible other important issues emerge. On one occasion Les Back offered an account of our "studying the speaking position of the powerful" to a long established black activist. He reminded Les that to do so would be comparable to studying slavery by only speaking to the slave masters. It was within this kind of context that the rhetoric of our position broke down.

As will become distinctly evident in the present study, the nature and form through which racism expresses itself cannot be understood without analysing the ways in which minority ethnic children have responded to and resisted these racialised processes (see, for instance, Fuller, 1980; Furlong, 1984; Wright, 1986; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990, 1995). To put it another way, to ignore minority ethnic children in the study of racism would be to pacify them and deny them agency. Racism would thus be regarded as a closed set of processes which operate uniformly, independent of both context and the ability of minority ethnic children to resist and challenge its expression. What marks the present study out from those which have tended to pathologise minority ethnic people is the way in which it problematises the wider racialised processes and minority ethnic children's experiences of and cultural responses to them rather than provide a de-contextualised study of these children's culture *per se*.

A similar argument can be raised with regards to gender where, I would

argue, the proposal by some male researchers that men should only focus on other men and their expressions of masculinity (see, for instance, Hearn, 1987; Hearn and Morgan, 1990) involves a similar 'sleight of hand' as Back and Solomos (1992) found in debates on 'race'. For I would maintain that dominant forms of masculinity can only be understood in relation to the ways in which girls and women actively defy and subvert its authority. As with racism, masculinity is a binary concept that exists alongside, and is essentially constructed in relation to, that of femininity and cannot therefore be understood without reference to the experiences and identities of girls and women and the varying degrees of success which they have in resisting the actions of boys wishing to assert their own masculine identities through the subordination and objectification of girls.

If the study of racialised and gendered relations can only be understood with reference to minority ethnic people and/or women then, according to some feminist and anti-racist writers, this would preclude me, as a White male, from doing the present research. According to Stanley and Wise (1983), for instance, in relation to gender, I simply do not have the experience, as a woman, that is essential to framing the research and asking the right questions. The problem with this approach, however, is that it rests upon an assumption that there is a totalised and closed set of experiences and interests that all women/minority ethnic people share by simple virtue of them being women/minority ethnic people. People are never just 'Black' but are also African/Caribbean/South Asian, working-class/middle-class, men/women, young/old, gay/straight and so on. It is the complex articulation of all of these factors that severely limits the extent to which any two people can claim insight into each other's experiences. The problem that this raises is that whatever the research setting there is likely to be a number of individuals with differing biographies and experiences. In relation to my own research on the primary school, to stay true to a standpoint

epistemology I would have to be able to alter my identity, chameleon-like, depending upon the context and who was being studied - from being a five-year-old child in one context to a middle-class female teacher in the next; from a working class, single parent mother to a middle-class male headteacher. Even this has a tendency to over-emphasise the certain nature of people's identities. A main strand that will run throughout the present study is the sense in which individual people's identities are not fixed but contingent and context-specific. An African/Caribbean boy, for instance, may foreground his racialised identity when the object of racist abuse or when with other African/Caribbean friends. However his masculine identity may predominate when in a mixed group of boys or when relating to girls, whilst his shared identity with White boys and girls as a five-year-old child may well prevail when in the presence of teachers.

Identities and experiences are inherently open and far more fluid and diverse than the above debates suggest. A person's ethnicity or sex is no absolute indicator of their shared political commitment with other women and/or minority ethnic people to challenge sexism/racism (see Ball, 1991; Brar, 1992; Harding, 1987b; Rattansi, 1994 for examples). This realisation has led some within the feminist standpoint tradition to argue that it is not simply being a woman that counts but the political experience gained through feminist struggles. Thus, as Harding (1987b) contends, it is important to shift people's focus from their own, only ever partial, experiences to one which is able to draw upon and generalise from others. Such a perspective provides an important break from the standpoint epistemology of Stanley and Wise (1983) and others. At the very least it highlights the importance of agency and the need to focus on what people do rather than simply who they are. However, there is still an essentialism evident in the way in which being involved in feminist (or anti-racist) struggles implies the development of a common set of knowledge. The diversity in feminist perspectives not to

mention anti-racist and class perspectives points quite clearly to the contrary. As regards myself and the present research therefore, the only meaningful way forward is to focus on what I do as a researcher rather than simply who I am. This is not to deny that being white or a male or working-class has not had an impact either on my orientation to the research process or the relationships I developed within the field. As will be highlighted throughout the study, children and staff did relate to me in certain ways because of my sex, class and ethnic identity. The fact that they did this and the diverse ways in which it was done provided me, on the occasions I was able to recognise it, with significant data. The point from this is not that I am a White man but the degree to which I am critically reflexive (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The focus should therefore be upon the ways in which I have attempted to sensitise myself to the relevant critical literature on gender, 'race', class and childhood and how successful I have been, in relation to this, in being critically reflexive about my role within the field, the sets of relations that I have engaged in and how I have come to collect and interpret the data. These are themes that will now be discussed in the final section where I will introduce the reader to the present study and the methods employed.

1.5 Manor Park Estate and Anne Devlin Primary School

It appears to have become the practice in many dissertations to create a separate chapter or appendix within which to discuss some of the practical problems relating to the research and critically reflect upon the experiences gained. It is a practice however which suggests that data and researcher can be separated and does little more than pay lip-service to the calls for critical reflexivity made by many of the authors discussed above (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Bowles and Duelli Klein, 1983; Harding, 1987a; see also Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). In this sense rather than simply offering a foreword or afterword to the 'real' data it is necessary to consistently raise awareness of,

and critically reflect upon, the status of the data as it is discussed. The practical problems faced during the research process, the ways in which my own concerns and interests may have helped shaped the findings and ways that my own presence had an affect upon the actions and responses of those within the field will all be discussed within the main text of the present study as and when they occurred. The omission of a 'section on methodology' is therefore not a call to sideline the discussion of methodology but the opposite; to state its inherent centrality.

This section therefore has a more limited aim of setting out and justifying the general methodological approach adopted in the present study within the context of the foregoing discussion and the concerns that have been raised. because my principle concern was with exploring the salience of 'race' in young children's lives it seemed to be most appropriate that I conduct the research via a multi-ethnic primary school which would offer the opportunity of looking in detail at young children cultures and how they came to see themselves and each other. Moreover, as Mac an Ghaill (1989) has persuasively argued and which has also become self-evident from reading the rich insights that have been gained through the use of the ethnographic method generally, it is a methodological approach that provides the most appropriate medium by which to draw out the subtle processes and complexities of racism. It is from this starting point of the desire to conduct an ethnographic study of young children in a primary school that I will now, finally, introduce the reader to the present study by firstly discussing the general nature of the present research including the focus of the study and the method by which I gained access to the school, before going onto outlining the methods used and some of the problems and concerns relating to these. This will then provide the basis from which, in the final section, I will briefly address how I have come to foreground interviews with young children and the ways in which I have attempted to

overcome some of the problems associated with this.

1.5.1 Developing a role in the field

When I embarked upon this project I was not a qualified school teacher and nor did I have experience (bar that gained as a child) of the primary school. For the spring term of 1992 I therefore decided to gain some experience of the primary school context before formally approaching a school with the intention of setting up a research study there. The headteachers of four inner-city primary schools were approached in the city of Workingham⁷ and were asked whether I could spend a half-day in each for a term helping out in various classes. It was explained that I was a research student planning to conduct a study on 'race' and equal opportunities in the primary school and that I needed to gain some basic experience of primary schools before embarking on the study. The four schools were chosen primarily because of their racial composition - they were the only schools which had significant numbers of white, Asian and African/Caribbean children. They were also chosen with the possibility in mind that they may prove to be schools that I would hopefully wish to approach in the future to discuss the possibility of doing my research there. All four schools accepted my request and I attended each school for half a day per week during the spring term of 1992.

The time spent in the schools proved to be invaluable in enabling me to become sensitive to the way in which the primary schools were organised and the complex sets of relations that existed. The experience I gained through this not only helped me to re-assess and develop a research proposal that was more realistic and manageable but it also enabled me to negotiate the role that I would have to adopt during my field work. In relation to this latter point I had initially thought that I could adopt an approach akin to researcher-as-observer where I would interact equally with children and

⁷All names of places, institutions and individuals have been altered in this study to maintain anonymity.

teachers and avoid the problems of 'taking sides'. However I soon came to learn that relations within the school were constituted through a whole range of complex and articulating discourses that constructed the subject positions child/adult, teacher/pupil, boy/girl, minority/majority ethnic. These were not ones that I could stand outside of but were, inevitably, ones in which I was drawn into and positioned within. As the following chapters are testament to, my identities as White, adult and male were all drawn upon and evoked by teachers and children at different times and to varying degrees in their relationships with me. It was in this first term spent in the four schools that I was able to begin to appreciate the complexities of my role in a primary school and the strategies to be adopted to negotiate these. It meant that for the duration of that term, and indeed for the whole of my field work, I had to learn to balance my discursive positioning as an adult, a teacher, a man and a White person and the roles, responsibilities and expectations that are attached to these, with my research interests. In relation to teachers it meant balancing their expectations that I, as an adult, would help to teach and control the children against my desire to stand back and observe. For the children, and this is a point I will elaborate upon shortly, it meant attempts to set aside, where possible, the subject positions of adult/child and teacher/pupil so as enable the children to articulate their own concerns, desires and aspirations with me; many of which were seen as 'taboo' in the presence of adults and teachers.

1.5.2 Gaining access to Anne Devlin Primary School

Anne Devlin County Primary School was one of the four schools that I had initially approached and attended during the spring term of 1992. Of all the four schools, as will be outlined in detail in chapter 4, it was the most racially-mixed with approximately half of the children being white and a quarter being South Asian and African/Caribbean respectively. The headteacher had also expressed an interest in my proposed research from the

outset and appeared keen for me to conduct my research there so that by the time I officially approached him at the end of the spring term of 1992 it was really a formality in gaining his consent. He did, however, explain that he would need to seek the permission of the staff group before I could begin my research. I suggested that I should outline my proposed research to the teachers myself at the next staff meeting and address any questions and/or concerns.

Doing this was made much easier by the fact that I had spent an afternoon each with most of the teachers during the spring term and so had developed a limited rapport with many of them and had taken the chance to talk very broadly about my proposed research with them. This was invaluable in challenging the discourse of researcher/researched and the feelings of encroachment and marginalisation that the latter often experience within the research process. This is especially the case in the educational sector where it is not uncommon for teachers to have their work both appraised by outside government inspectors and assessed by a whole range of advisors. Walking into a classroom with a note-book, and the whole notion of research more generally, therefore signified a number of specific things for many of the teachers. The more I was able to discuss the aims of the research and develop a rapport with the teachers the less they felt threatened.

At the staff meeting I took the chance to emphasise that I was not a teacher and nor was I interested primarily in teaching practice. I explained that my primary concern was to study how children experienced schooling in relation to 'race' and gender and how my focus was thus upon the children rather than the teachers. Together with my previous contact with the teachers, this, I feel, helped to make them feel less threatened and apprehensive about myself and the research. After the meeting the teaching staff were left to discuss my research proposal amongst themselves and to reach a decision

during the following week. When I contacted the headteacher a week later he explained that of the teachers that had discussed my plans with him, none had expressed any serious reservations whilst most had appeared quite enthusiastic.

I spent the summer term of 1992 acquainting myself with the school. I spent three days a week, on average, at the school during the term making sure that I spent time in all of the classrooms from the nursery classes up to the top juniors. While I took limited field notes during this time, the main focus of my activity was to continue to foster and develop a rapport with the teachers and children and to increase my familiarity with the school.

The main fieldwork was conducted during the academic year of 1992/93 and by this time I had decided to focus my research on the three parallel reception/year one infant classes. These will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. I attended the school on three days a week on average being careful to sample all days of the week equally for the three classes over that year. I worked on a four-week rotating basis where I would spend three of those weeks in the three sample classes respectively and the fourth week would be used to attend other classes. This continued throughout the year so that I spent an additional week in all of the other classes within the school whilst attending each of the three sample classes on one week in every four. The most detailed and comprehensive observations were carried out in the three infant classes. The reason for attending the others was both to gain an overview of the school and to further the rapport I had developed with the other staff members immediately prior to interviewing them.

1.5.3 Observing school life

My role within the school varied from class to class from one of complete observer to one, more or less, of classroom aid. Generally I reached a

compromise between the two roles - generally helping out in the classroom whilst permanently carrying my small notebook around and jotting down various notes quite openly throughout the day. While the teachers were initially a little apprehensive of my note taking I purposely went out of my way to explain the nature of the notes I was taking and to show them extracts from my notebook to reduce their suspicion. Children were also curious as to what I was writing and I also let them look through my notebook and, occasionally, I let them make some of their own notes in my book. Generally it was not long before my note-taking was taken for granted and only returned to the teacher's and children's minds at times of 'crisis' when they had, for instance, either been shouting or been 'naughty' respectively. At these times I would purposely refrain from taking notes so as to reassure them that I was not 'spying' on them. Along with my notebook, I also had a small tape-recorder in my pocket running throughout the day to pick up and record conversations. Whilst all of the teachers were asked for, and consequently granted me permission for doing this, many of them soon became unaware of its presence. Notes taken during the day were usually written up the same evening or, on occasion, as soon as possible after that day.

During the time I spent with each class I would follow them about wherever they went. The only condition that I discussed with the teachers and which was, by and large met, was that I wanted to remain with the whole class group. I therefore observed children in classrooms, in assemblies, during singing practice and 'music and movement', whilst they watched educational programmes on the television, when they visited the sports hall and when they were outside during playtimes.

I have already alluded to the discursively constructed nature of the school and the implications this has not only for teachers, staff and children but also

for myself as a researcher. However, the influence of such discourses do not stop in relation to the role that I managed to negotiate and adopt in relation to others. As will be highlighted throughout the thesis, they also fundamentally shaped the very process by which I observed, took notes and made sense of the data. In relation to the children I was therefore not simply an adult and/or teacher but also a (White) man. As will be seen in the following chapters, the ways in which the children related to me was at least partly suggestive of what they expected of me as an adult male. Their own expressions of masculine and feminine identities therefore need to be understood in relation to this. Boys would often seek me out in the playground and try to relate to me, as a man, through football, play-fighting or simply verbally. Girls, too, would seek me out at times and adopt certain roles and notions of femininity in relation to me. This would include covering friends eyes and leading them to me and then asking them to state whether they loved or hated me.

However, girls would also at times purposely avoid me and would curtail the games or conversations they were engaged in and become embarrassed at my presence. This essentially 'private' nature of feminine cultural forms, expressed through small, intimate friendships and often played out in the more exclusive and closed areas of the playground is to be contrasted with the essentially public nature of the boys' masculine cultures and the domination and control of space and time (Jenkins, 1983). The discursive nature of the playground and classroom, as constituted in and through the practices of the children, in many ways predisposes the observer towards focusing upon boys. Not only do their activities tend to be more aggressive and spatially dominant but boys also tended to directly demand more attention from adults in the playground and classroom (Spender, 1982; Stanworth, 1983). Particularly during the early stages of my field work, when at home writing up my notes, I would notice how girls would often be

sidelined in my observations and this was something that I had to actively address throughout the remaining year. As I will return to in the concluding chapter, this has been a problem that I was never fully able to overcome.

It was not simply that boys were able to visually dominate the social spaces within the school however. I also found that I would be subconsciously drawn to boys activities more than girls because I could identify with them more. As Thorne (1993) found in her own study in relation to the girls, much of what the boys engaged in resonated deeply with my own childhood experiences. Moreover I found myself, on rare occasions, actually playing out some my own childhood fantasies; playing football with those who were considered the best within the school and generally associating with those boys who were considered the school's 'hardest'; something that I had always wanted to do as a child. Whilst this only happened on a small number of occasions it did provide a very salient indicator of the deeply gendered nature of school life and the ease with which I, as a researcher, could be drawn into it.

Of course, masculinities are also racialised and my over-focus on some boys and under-emphasis on others within this gendered process was also something that I became distinctly aware of during my field work. During the early stages of my field work there was a pre-occupation in my analysis on Black⁸ boys and a distinct lack of data being gathered on South Asian boys. As before, this was partly due to the differing ways in which these boys used social space but also was partly a reflection of my own preconceived notions of Black and South Asian masculinities. These are all problems that, through my engagement with the notions of critical reflexivity, I was able to identify and attempt to come to terms with as the research unfolded. They are themes

⁸By 'Black' in this thesis I mean children who have at least one parent who is African/Caribbean.

that speak volumes about the nature of cultural identities and social processes within the school and should therefore not simply be sidelined to the appendices but should remain central to the main body of the research report. As such these are themes that will be continually drawn out and emphasised throughout the following chapters.

1.5.4 interviews

During the year I also conducted 81 individual interviews with adults related to the school and 73 group interviews with infant children. As regards interviews with adults, all teaching and classroom support staff were interviewed whilst those related most directly to the three sample classes together with senior management and section 11 staff were interviewed on several occasions. Most of the school's governing body were interviewed as were six dinner supervisors and 22 parents of children in the three sample classes. All interviews were conducted within the school in separate rooms or, as with some of the parents and dinner supervisors, sat away from others in the playground, and were all tape-recorded and semi-structured in focus. As discussed earlier, I had developed a certain rapport with most teachers during the terms prior to when they were formally interviewed and, as such, I sensed that many of the interviews were less constrained by mistrust and lack of familiarity than they could have been.

1.6 Interviewing young children

Through the literature review discussed above, I stressed the need for social research to break from its tendency to reproduce the view of young children as passive and incapable of critically reflecting upon their own beliefs. I argued that it is important for researchers to give far more priority to exploring the children's own subjective meanings of their actions and understandings of the situations within which they are located. It is for this reason that I have given considerable emphasis in my research to interviews

with the children in the three sample infant classes. In this final section I want to elaborate a little further on the methodology employed, with regards to this and the ways in which I have attempted to overcome some of the problems that this raises.

A number of the general problems in trying to develop a rapport with young children have already been discussed above. The main problem in public spaces such as the classroom or playground is that children's and adult's behaviour are governed and policed by a whole range of discursively constructed expectations. As highlighted earlier, my ability to relate to the young children was severely restricted within such spaces by the expectations of other teachers, and equally importantly of the children themselves, that I would adopt an 'adult', and if needs be, a disciplinary role. I felt that it was important, therefore, to create spaces where I could relate to children without the overt regulation of such discourses. I did this through my emphasis on group interviews with the children in a separate room away from other children and teachers.

With very few exceptions, all the children from the three sample classes were interviewed at least twice and usually three or more times. Children were chosen usually in groups of three and on the basis of friendship choices. They were withdrawn from the class and taken to a separate room where they were asked to sit around a table and usually draw a picture. The room concerned was actually the office for the three section 11 staff and was usually vacant except for break times. The interviews would typically last from anything between ten and fifty minutes and were largely unstructured with the children being encouraged to talk about anything that they wanted to as long as they did not shout and/or act in a way that would draw the attention of other staff to the room (i.e. jumping on and off tables, fighting etc.). My role was basically one of facilitator where I would ask some very general

questions at the start of the interviews such as 'what were you doing in the playground today?', 'what games do you like playing the best?' and 'what do you like to do at home?'. Conversations would then develop with their own internal logic as the children would discuss, question and argue with each other. A small number of interviews were chosen specifically to question children about certain events that had happened and/or that they had been involved in.

Generally, however, I had the time to allow children to discuss what they felt to be important. My only role once conversations had started was to intervene at specific times to probe and encourage the children to develop some of the things that they had said. Obviously one of my underlying objectives was to explore the children's understanding of issues of 'race' and gender and these were themes that I would particularly focus on in terms of encouraging the children to elaborate upon the issues they raised further. In doing this I was particularly mindful of the ethical issues involved and a number of forceful critiques that have highlighted the ways in which many attitudinal studies had actually encouraged, if not forced, children to think in racialised ways (Carrington and Short, 1989; Troyna and Carrington, 1989; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). Moreover, such critiques have also pointed to the fact that simply by letting children articulate racist beliefs unchallenged, the interviewer acts to condone their ideas.

I therefore wanted to develop an approach which would neither encourage nor condone the adoption of racist and/or sexist beliefs by the children but would, nevertheless, offer the space through which their ideas could be drawn out and critically explored. Throughout the interviews I therefore adopted a stance of not raising the issue of 'race' at all with the children. Only when they made reference to it themselves did I question them about it and encourage them to elaborate upon what they had said. In such circumstances

I would simply repeat what they had said back to them and ask them what they meant. I would also purposely encourage them to think about what they had just said and to question their beliefs in such a way as to leave them in no doubt that neither did I agree nor condone what they said.

Over the period of the field work, my interviews became increasingly popular with the children. They were seen as a distinct space within which they could swear, sing pop songs, say silly things and discuss ideas that were considered 'taboo' in the classroom. It is important to stress that their conversations and general behaviour during interviews were obviously conducted in my presence and were therefore heavily expressive of their perceptions of me and the ways in which they believed they should relate to an adult, white male. The ways in which children exaggerated their racialised and gendered identities through their experimentation with adult ways of knowing and behaving in my presence needs to be born in mind in the data that follows.

As a result of this, most of the children came to view the interviews as a social space distinct from the broader rules and regulations of the school. It provided an important medium through which to build up a rapport with many of the children. Whilst tensions still emerged at times, the children were generally able to accept the dual relationship they had with me; the formal adult/child relationship within the classroom and other public spaces on the one hand and the more informal and relaxed relationship in interviews and during more private conversations on the other. The times where I was forced to 'tell off' certain children in the more public and formal spaces did not appear to inhibit the relationship I had developed with them elsewhere. In many ways it would seem that the children were acutely aware of context and had took it for granted that I would have to intervene. However, the stress that I gave to interviews during my fieldwork did mean

that some children were more willing to be open with me in more formal settings. During a classroom session one morning, for instance, when I was sat at a table with a number of children one boy came to the table and, checking that the teacher was out of earshot, said to me rather excitedly: 'Me and Annette, we broke off Stephanie's peg! [*in the cloakroom*]. When we're upstairs [*i.e. during an interview in the section 11 office*] we'll tell you!'. This illustrates quite clearly not only how the children were able to negotiate these differing roles, expectations and social spaces but also how I had gained a certain degree of their confidence. This freedom that many of the children felt they had to discuss a whole range of issues with me is something that will become more than apparent in later chapters.

1.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have identified two central limitations concerning existing social research on young children and racism - that of the dominance of traditional discourses on childhood in this work and its construction of an essentially closed and de-contextualised understanding of racism - that have provided the rationale for the present study. I have also introduced the reader to the present study and the methodology employed and have, as a consequence, also addressed a number of ethical and political issues related to doing research in this area. Through the choice of the ethnographic method and the fore-grounding of interviews with young children within this, the chapter has shown how this has provided the basis of a methodology that is not only sensitive to the complexities of racism but also to the subjective worlds of young children. In the next chapter, I want to move onto outline the broad theoretical approach that I have developed that can compliment these methods to produce a more sensitive and nuanced account of racialised relations and identities.

CHAPTER TWO

Racism, Culture and Identity: Towards a Theory of Practice

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with developing a theoretical frame for understanding the complexities of racism in the social worlds of the young children in this study. Being mindful of the critique of the literature on racism and young children in the last chapter, it is a theoretical frame that needs to be capable of: drawing out the essentially open, diverse and contingent nature of racisms and racialised identities; developing an understanding of the articulation of racisms across global, national and local levels; and appreciating the complexities of power within accounts of racism that can not only be seen through its expression across time and through space but also as it impacts upon the very selves of individuals.

In developing such a framework I want to start by drawing out some of the debates relevant to the present discussion from the broader literature on 'race' and racism. This will lead me to the work of Robert Miles and his development of the concept of 'racialisation'. With this as a starting point I will then draw upon aspects of Michel Foucault's work in incorporating a more sophisticated understanding of the process of racialisation. In doing this, however, the chapter will note how such discussions are still largely located at a broader level of abstraction and, because of this, do not easily translate into a practical set of analytical tools able to make sense of the

dynamics through which racialised identities and relations are formed and reproduced within specific locales. It is here where the chapter will finally introduce and develop the work of Pierre Bourdieu as the most suitable means through which the broader process of racialisation and the Foucauldian notion of power can be applied to the study of racism and young children.

2.2 Racisms, multiple selves and the 'Postmodern Condition'

The renewed emphasis on the essentially open, diverse and contingent nature of racism and racialised identities, from which my own critique of the literature in the previous chapter was located, can be understood by what Lyotard (1984) termed the emergence of the 'Postmodern Condition'. In this, postmodernism should not be seen as the latest grand narrative to replace the 'old' modernist ones but is rather essentially part of the modern and is characterised by a greater willingness to question the hitherto taken-for-granted certainties posited by modernism and to reflect upon its limitations. Postmodernism is, in other words, a trend that has its origins directly in the modernist, Enlightenment project's search for Truth and Reason (Giddens, 1990). As Rattansi (1994: 18-19) states: "'Postmodern" scepticism is only the "self-clarification of modern thought", a radicalisation of the Enlightenment trust in Reason [it is] a mode of being both inside and outside modernity, of stepping back, or out, and looking in, while having one foot and eye, so to speak, inside modernity'.

What this 'Postmodern Condition' has meant for the literature on 'race' and racism is an increased questioning and re-appraisal of the hitherto taken-for-granted social, political and theoretical categories. Within the field of 'black cultural politics' we are experiencing a 'shift', as Hall (1992) explains, away from the certainties associated with 'black' as a political identity and towards a struggle over representation itself. The framework created by the evocation

of the 'black experience', Hall maintains, has played a central political role over the last few decades as an effective means of mobilising African/Caribbean and South Asian people in Britain struggling to highlight and challenge their marginalisation within British society and their common experience of racism. This politics, based around the construction of an 'essential black subject' whose identity transcends ethnic, religious and cultural differences found within the 'black community' is slowly finding itself being located alongside a politics centred around those very differences: a shift from what Hall (1992: 253) refers to as a 'change from the struggle over the relations of representation to a politics of representation itself'.

In drawing attention to this 'shift' Hall, too, was careful not to posit the replacement of one grand narrative by another. Rather he saw this re-appraisal of the essential black subject as deriving out of and essentially remaining part of the conditions that gave rise to it. As Hall (1992: 253) argues: 'the original critique of the predominant relations of race and representation and the politics which developed around it have not and cannot possibly disappear while the conditions which gave rise to it - cultural racism in the Dewsbury form - not only persists but positively flourishes under Thatcherism'. Hall thus concludes that there has emerged a struggle on two fronts: one over the continued marginalisation and subordination of minority ethnic people and the other, as emerging and simultaneously, a struggle over their representation.

As regards the former struggle, the Enlightenment project and its emphasis on the scientific search for Truth and Reason has figured prominently in discourses on 'race' over the past few centuries. The search for racial essences and the eagerness among scientists to identify, categorise and hierarchically order racial groups has been well documented in a number of important texts (see, for instance, Husband, 1987; Banton, 1987; Cohen, 1988, 1992a; Braham,

1992). Moreover, this type of 'race'-thinking and the construction of various groups and peoples as the Other throughout history has meant that notions of 'Britishness' have always been racialised (see Barker, 1981; Gordon and Klug, 1986; Cohen, 1988, 1992; Rattansi, 1992; Miles, 1989, 1993). This has particularly been the case in the present era with the resurgence of what Hall referred to above as a cultural racism embedded within the nationalist discourses of the New Right that have emerged since the late 1960s with the infamous 'rivers of blood' speeches of Enoch Powell. It is against these discourses on 'race' and nationality that minority ethnic people in Britain are, at one and the same time, rendered invisible and visible. They are marginalised and excluded from official representations of what it means to be British and yet are summonsed up, in equal measure, as symbols of what being British is not; that is as the Other (see Hall *et al*, 1978; Cohen, 1988; Miles, 1989, 1993; Rattansi, 1994). It should not be surprising to find, therefore, that an anti-racist politics emerged, particularly in this latest post-war period, that aimed to challenge both the marginalisation of minority ethnic people and their stereotypical construction as the Other. Moreover it was almost inevitable that such a politics would organise itself around the construction of a common experience of racism as a way of identifying and attempting to redress the under-representation of 'Black' people in Britain culturally, politically and economically. And, considering that the conditions against which such a politics emerged have not significantly altered means, as Hall (1992) was at pains to point out, that the need for broader political coalitions around the 'essential Black subject' remain.

Similar struggles were also to be increasingly found within sociology where heated debates over the marginalisation and/or stereotypical portrayal of minority ethnic communities took place for much of the late 1970s and 1980s in Britain and the need for a standpoint epistemological approach that foregrounded the 'black' experience in the design, execution and interpretation of

research (see, for instance, Bourne and Sivanandan, 1980; Gilroy, 1980; Lawrence, 1981, 1982). Partly as a result of these struggles, a significant strand of sociological research emerged that came to centre itself around the emerging 'essentialised Black subject' particularly during the early-to-mid 1980s and focus on documenting the 'black experience' of racism in Britain both quantitatively and qualitatively (see, for instance, Fryer, 1984; Bhat *et al*, 1988) whilst, theoretically, a number of new and innovative developments took place that, while being located in diverse and often essentially competing theoretical perspectives (for an overview see Rex and Mason, 1986), nevertheless tended to share a common focus which not only foregrounded the 'black experience' but also contrasted this with White racism in an attempt to shift the focus away from culturally deficit explanations of racial inequality. And it was out of these debates that a renewed focus on the concept of institutional racism, first proposed back in the 1960s by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), became invaluable in problematising the more invisible and taken-for-granted institutional processes and practices that came to disadvantage 'black' people.

This political construction of the essential Black subject was, and still is, invaluable in diverting the focus away from either marginalising or culturally stereotypical accounts of minority ethnic people's lives and in maintaining a central focus on racism in our understanding of racial inequality and patterns of domination and subordination. However, alongside the continued political mobilisations around the 'black experience' there has developed a second line of struggle, as Hall (1992) identified, around the politics of representation itself. This has not come to replace the earlier politics but has arisen out of it and rests alongside it. Part of it can be seen in the continued critique and struggle against scientific forms of racism. Here, a number of writers have been critical of the way in which anti-racism has reified the concept of 'race' (Miles, 1989, 1993; Carter and Green, 1993;

Small, 1993). In this it has been argued to varying degrees that the Enlightenment search for Truth within scientific discourses on 'race' and the certainties with which anti-racist politics and sociological research more specifically came to organise themselves around the essential Black subject were therefore both of the same modernist enterprise. Not only did the racialised scientific discourses create the space for an oppositional politics that came to organise itself around the Black experience but, ironically, it became increasingly apparent that the prominence of 'race' as an organising principle politically and within sociological research more specifically also had the consequence of legitimating and reinforcing the concept of 'race' itself and the fundamental belief at the heart of scientific racism that the human population can be split up into a discrete number of racially-defined groups (see also Omi and Winant, 1994).

Alongside this emerged a critique of the 'black experience' in terms not only of who was being excluded but also the certainties and generalisations that were being made about those who were included. As regards the former, a growing body of literature has developed that has come to challenge the equation of racism simply with skin colour which has tended to underlie the construction of the essential black subject (Cohen, 1988, 1992a; Miles, 1989, 1993; Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992; Rattansi, 1994; Omi and Winant, 1994). While skin colour has historically been a central signifier in the identification and classification of people it is neither the only nor has it always been the most prominent. This has been supported by a growing body of qualitative and largely ethnographic work that has also come to draw attention to the fluid, contingent and multiple nature of racialised identities and foreground, either implicitly or explicitly, what has been termed the 'de-centred self' (see, for instance, Hewitt, 1986; Jones, 1988; Westwood, 1990, 1994; Back, 1990, 1991, 1993; Tizard and Phoenix, 1993).

What such a critique has drawn attention to is the contingent, diverse and historically-specific nature of racism and its inherent contradictions as lines of inclusion and exclusion are continuously being drawn and re-drawn not only around skin colour but also around other signifiers including religion and nationality. To identify racism so explicitly with the Black experience has been to accept the discursive logic of the modernist era and its scientific forms of racism.

Moreover, there has also developed a critique around the claims made for those who have been included within the 'black experience'. Here we have seen a growing critique of the conflation of African/Caribbean and South Asian people's experiences under the essentialist catch-all heading of 'black' with the result that the important differences in terms of the nature and effects of racism as experienced by (and, equally importantly, within) these two groups have been ignored (see, for instance, Modood, 1988; Brah, 1991). Furthermore, these critiques have not only been rehearsed in more academic debates but have also been played out within the arena of anti-racist politics. Here, the certainties that have surrounded the construction of the Black experience and the corollary, of White racism, have come under increasing criticism not only in terms of its limited theoretical base but also the adverse consequences of its impact upon anti-racist practice (see, for instance, Sivanandan, 1985; Macdonald *et al*, 1989; Gilroy, 1990; Rattansi, 1992).

2.3 The process of racialisation

As Miles (1989, 1993) has pointed out, what has often been evaded by writers within the field of 'race' and racism is an attempt to set out and define what it is they mean by the concept of racism. With the growing emphasis on the open, fluid and diverse nature of racisms and racialised identities the search for an effective definition has become that much harder¹. It is with this in

¹See, for instance, the work of Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) who have

mind that I want to begin the construction of a more sensitive theoretical frame with Robert Miles's (1989, 1993) development of the concept of racialisation.

In line with the theoretical project of writers many of the writers referred to above, Miles (1989, 1993) has been interested in developing a theory of racism that can accommodate its essentially open, diverse and historically-specific nature. In drawing upon the earlier work of Reeves (1983), Miles's argues that racism should be redefined in terms of a *process* rather than a distinct set of beliefs. His concept of racialisation refers to the ideological process whereby certain groups have been identified and socially constructed as 'out-groups' and consequently marginalised and excluded. These representations of certain out-groups or, as Miles terms, the 'Other', are neither ahistorical nor unitary but change over time in relation to economic and socio-political transformations. Each representation of the Other necessarily implies a representation of the Self according to Miles (1989), and it is this dialectical relationship between the Self and Other that ensures a certain continuity between the in-group's successive identification of Others (see also Rattansi, 1994).

At the heart of Miles's work is a concern to distinguish this process of racialisation from other forms of representation and he does this by defining it as:

a representational process whereby social significance is attached to certain biological (usually phenotypical) human features, on the basis of which those people possessing those characteristics are designated as a distinct collectivity.

Miles (1989: 74)

tried to expand the definition of racism through an incorporation of, and focus on, the concept of ethnicity and yet are forced to revert back to an exclusive definition of racism in terms of 'race' to delineate it from the effects of class (see Anthias & Yuval Davis, 1992: 17-18).

These signifiers, Miles goes on to argue, can either be visible or non-visible, whether alleged or real, biological features. Once identified as possessing the signifier so defined, a person is then believed to hold a number of other second-order characteristics, either biological or cultural which are both inherent and negatively-evaluated. Black skin as a signifier, for instance, draws attention to a whole range of second order characteristics that the person is also perceived to have such as being volatile, sporting and highly sexual.

This is a definition that, in implying a distinct collectivity that can reproduce itself, analytically distinguishes itself from gender whilst, because it makes no reference to the collectivity's prior need to a specific territory or geographical location, differentiates it from the ideology of nationalism. Furthermore, it is a process that does not necessarily require any reference to the concept of 'race'. As Reeves (1983:22) has argued, whilst skin colour, for instance, can be used to signify a distinct collectivity, 'the difference *marked* by colour can also be *explained* in terms of geographical, cultural, class or other factors. Categorising and explaining are two separate processes'. Hence with regards to the 'new racism' (Barker, 1981), whilst the Other is still identified primarily by skin colour, their difference is largely explained in terms of cultural factors such as religion or national identity and belonging.

Therefore, a set of beliefs or practices are defined as racist if they either directly or indirectly embody this specific representational process. 'Indirect' here is used in the context where 'an explicitly racist discourse is modified in such a way that the explicitly racist content is eliminated, but other words carry the original meaning' (Miles, 1989: 84). A contemporary example of this would be parliamentary debates concerning illegal immigration which, while minority ethnic people are not overtly referred to they are still regarded as the main subjects of these debates because of the way immigration has been

historically constituted (Reeves, 1983).² Moreover, it is through this approach that we can also incorporate other forms of racism such as anti-Irish racism and anti-semitism where the signifiers may now be accent and/or nationality in relation to the Irish and religion in relation to Jewish people, but these, in turn, indirectly draw upon earlier discourses that were, in previous times, explicitly racial².

Finally, it is important to stress the material nature of this process of racialisation. Miles's work has been criticised for locating racism, first and foremost within the realm of ideas (see Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Omi and Winant, 1994). Whilst this is debatable it is worth developing the dialectical relationship between the ideational and material that can be found in the 'racial formation' approach of Omi and Winant (1994) in their adaptation of the Gramscian notion of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). As Omi and Winant (1994) are at pains to point out, the successful construction of a racialised Other and their marginalisation and exclusion, by definition implies material effects - effects which then help to reproduce those ideas and beliefs about that group. It is in this sense that the process of racialisation cannot simply be reduced to, and perceived as determined by, other social processes such as class. As they go on to argue, the fact that racism takes on, and is expressed through, a material form means that it develops a certain logic of its own where contemporary expressions of racism are as much the product of the reproduction and refashioning of earlier material manifestations as they are the effects of other contemporary social processes. Thus whilst the process of racialisation can only be understood in terms of the way it is mediated through various social, political and economic changes, it cannot be simply reduced to these. The unfolding and transformative nature of racism needs to be studied in its own right. Indeed, it is the way in which this process of racialisation is negotiated through class,

²In relation to the Irish see also Curtis (1971) and Curtis (1984).

age and masculine and feminine cultural forms that forms the basic focus of the present study.

This broad definition of racism as a fluid and contingent process of representation, understood in terms of its evocation of real or imaginary biological signifiers, is one which I want to adopt for the present study. At the moment, however, this only sketches out the broadest of definitions in terms of what processes can be regarded as racist and says very little about the nature or effects of these processes. Moreover, it tends to regard racism as a false ideology that relies upon the rational, calculative and free actions of individuals and groups to draw and re-draw boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. While this definition helps us to clarify and delineate what exactly is meant by racism it says little about its formative and diffuse nature. It is here, I want to argue, where the Foucauldian notion of discourse offers far more in the way of deepening our understanding of power within this process of racialisation.

2.4 Racism, power and discourse

This restriction of the use of power to rational and calculative actions has also been a problem shared within the literature on 'race' and racism more generally. The classical formula which stated that: 'racism = power + prejudice' implied that power was something essentially outside of the individual which they could either possess or not (see, for instance, Epstein, 1993; Omi and Winant, 1994). It was this possession of power that then enabled some (i.e. White people) to be able to act upon their prejudiced beliefs and discriminate against minority ethnic people. Racism was therefore conceived solely in a negative sense in terms of the way in which it stopped or restricted minority ethnic people from achieving their goals or potential. This was also at the heart of the development of Carmichael and Hamilton's (1967) notion of 'institutional racism'. While it served a very

useful and important function in highlighting the often unintended and complex nature of the institutional processes and practices that disadvantage minority ethnic people it still said very little about the formative nature of racism.

It is here that Foucault's notion of discourse provides a very useful theoretical insight into the complex and diverse nature of power which can be applied to our understanding of racism. As will be seen, it helps us to understand how the process of racialisation not only becomes expressed in and through time and space but also how it comes to shape and form an individual's sense of Self. The notion of discourse helps us to move away from the unitary, centred Self. It helps us to appreciate that the way in which individuals think about the world, the terms of reference they use and the decisions they make are all the product of the social environment and their location within specific social processes. Willis's (1977) seminal study, *Learning to Labour*, exemplifies this in the way that the Lads came to make sense of education and the labour market not in terms of any universal notion of rationality but dependent upon their own social location and inherently shaped by their own lived experiences and world-view.

This fundamental questioning of any universalistic notions of Rationality and Truth and their location, instead, within the social lies at the heart of Foucault's use of discourse. Through the social construction of language and knowledge, discourses should be seen as organising the ways in which we think about the world and what we come to regard as appropriate, valid and true. Discourses on sexuality, for instance, have come to define what should be regarded as either appropriate or proscribed practices through the development of specialist medical and psychological knowledge (Foucault, 1980, 1981). 'Sexual deviancy' has therefore been progressively defined and categorised through such discourses and, as a consequence, have influenced

the ways in which people perceive of, and relate to, each other. These relations have, in turn, ultimately been enshrined in the very organisation of the social in terms, for instance, of legal definitions of lewd or indecent behaviour. Moreover, not only do discourses become enshrined in social practices, institutions and conventions but they also come to create individual identities and subject positions. Some individuals, for instance, come to be defined within these discourses on sexuality as 'experts' who have specialist medico-psychological knowledge, while others come to be defined either as 'normal' or as 'deviant' in relation to their sexuality. These categories are then continually divided and subdivided where deviancy, for instance, could include homosexuals, paedophiles, rapists, sado-masochists and so on. Discourses therefore create specific identities and subjectivities which in turn organise the way individuals and groups think about and behave in relation to themselves and others. Moreover, as the subject of a discourse, individuals are positioned within a particular set of power relations and related discursive practices. Hence certain individuals, by virtue of their discursively constituted identity as an 'expert', hold power within the discourses on sexuality whilst others, constructed as deviant, do not. The ways in which these subject positions relate to one another is also defined through discursive practices.

Power, as defined in terms of the notion of discourse, is therefore essentially formative. It does not simply restrict certain individuals from pursuing specific ends but is actually integral in forming their subjective identities and the way they think about, and act upon, their social environment. Rather than power being held by an individual or a group of individuals, it is therefore far more complex and diffuse and invested within language and knowledge which are never neutral but act to organise the social environment in certain ways, to define subjective identities and locate them within certain discursive practices.

In this sense power is ultimately invested in the very fabric of the social - the way the built environment is constructed and the way institutions are organised - which then comes to act upon the individual and help to maintain and develop their subjective identities. An illustration of this is offered by Foucault (1979) in his discussion of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon. This was a circular prison building with all cells arranged so as to face inwards towards a raised watch-tower. From the tower, prison guards could see into each and every cell without themselves being seen. It was this all-pervasive nature of surveillance which acted upon individual prisoners who could never know whether they were being watched or not and who, therefore, had to continually proscribe their actions. Power, in the form of surveillance, had therefore become internalised by the prisoner and becomes automatically expressed through their subjectivity and behaviour rather than being exercised by some external agent.

It is the way in which discourses operate through language and knowledge to construct the built and social environment which then, in turn, act upon and become embodied within the subjectivity and identity of the individual which is emphasised by Foucault (1980: 39) when he talked of how:

in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking [...] of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives

Of course there is not just one dominant discourse but many which come to overlap, articulate with and contradict each other (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). A South Asian girl is therefore the subject of a number of discourses including those on 'race', religion, gender, age and class. Each comes to organise her social environment and act upon her subjective identity. In this sense she will have a number of competing subjective identities - girl, child, South Asian and working class - each of which will gain greater or lesser

prominence depending upon the specific context. Moreover, these discourses do not remain essentially discrete and intact but, through their articulation with one another, will become transformed so that the nature of the girl's South Asian identity will be re-worked through the fact that she is a young, working class girl. The act of articulation therefore means that subjective identities not only change from one context to the next depending upon the prominence of specific discourses, but that the nature of particular discourses will themselves change in and through their articulation with others (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

It is this broad approach that I want to adopt in relation to understanding the nature of racism. Conceiving of racism through the notion of discourse not only focuses upon its inherently formative nature but also the way in which the social environment is fundamentally racialised. This racialisation of the social ranges from the broader, more macro immigration laws to the more specific ways in which space and time are arranged within any particular locale whether that be a neighbourhood, street or classroom. Moreover, the diverse and varied nature of discourses and the ways in which they articulate draws attention to the contradictory and contingent nature of racism and the complex and fluid character of racialised identities.

However, as it stands, there are difficulties that emerge within this notion of discourse when trying to apply it to the ethnographic context. The main one that I want to foreground here is the lack of agency in Foucault's analysis and its tendency towards determinism. As Best and Kellner (1991: 70) have argued, the concept of discourse has treated power as 'an impersonal and anonymous force which is exercised apart from the actions and intentions of human subjects'. However, as we saw with the Lad's in Willis's (1977) study, for example, they were quite active in the construction of their identities even though they had the effect of reproducing their subjective position. In

this sense, as Layder (1994) has pointed out, discourses only find expression in and through human activity. There is, therefore, a need to develop a method which can incorporate the inter-subjective aspects of negotiation and creativity within the notion of discourse and draw out the dynamics through which individuals, through social relations, come to reproduce the unfolding nature of discourses (see also Cohen, 1988, 1992a). It is this concern with developing a set of practical analytical tools with which to apply the notion of racialisation, as modified through the Foucauldian concept of discourse, that now leads me onto the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1990, 1993) in his formulation of a theory of practice.

2.5 Pierre Bourdieu's 'theory of practice'

In this section I want to briefly introduce the reader to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and, particularly, to the three inter-related concepts that lie at the heart of his work, namely: 'habitus'; 'capital'; and 'field'. This will then provide the basis from which, in the following section, I will outline the ways in which I have adapted his work in order to apply it to the study of racism and young children and make it sensitive to the essentially open, contingent and diverse nature of racialised relations and identities.

The habitus can be best seen as an analytical tool for understanding human behaviour and provides the medium through which we can conceptualise the way in which various discourses, including those on 'race', come to impact upon the individual and develop what was referred to earlier as its 'capillary form of existence'. In essence the habitus refers to the way we have developed and internalised ways of approaching, thinking about and acting upon our social world. Over time we come to successively learn from and incorporate the lessons of our lived experiences which help to guide our future actions and behaviour and dispose us to thinking in a certain way. This is what Bourdieu refers to as our *habitus*. As our experience comes to be

consolidated and reinforced, the habitus becomes more durable and internalised as we *habitualise* the way we think and behave. The habitus, then, is a system of:

 durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them

(Bourdieu, 1990: 53)

In essence, the habitus acts unconsciously to organise our social experiences and encourage us to think and behave in certain ways - similar to Giddens's notion of practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984). The Lads in Willis's (1977) study provide a good example of this. Their habitus has been structured by an experience of their working class families and communities which emphasised the futility of further education and, instead, necessitated leaving school early, securing work and learning a trade. This 'reality' was at the heart of how they then came to view themselves, the utility of education and their future careers. In many ways, while they appeared to make rational choices about their future and which occupations they wanted to enter, this was guided by the unconscious aspect of their internalised experience - their habitus - that helped to limit and guide their aspirations to what was considered realistic. Staying on at school and going to university, something that is a taken-for-granted part of the middle-class habitus, was something that was beyond the Lads' social world and lived experience.

Moreover, as Willis demonstrated in the Lads' adoption of particular masculine cultural forms, their habitus in terms of one which is disposed towards the demands of manual work, was also one that they had come to 'embody'. This embodiment of the habitus is what Bourdieu refers to as the 'bodily hexis' and represents the way the habitus is: 'realised, embodied,

turned into permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu, 1977: 93/4).

From this it can be seen that the habitus provides the essential analytical tool for helping us to overcome the idea that racism is something external to the individual and/or that it is simply an irrational set of beliefs that they adhere to. Rather, through the habitus, it is something that is not only grounded in experience but is also something that comes to engrain itself within a person's very being and sense of Self. It also, as Bourdieu had intended for it, helps to bridge the classic sociological problem of structure and agency. While people come to make sense of and internalise their social position through the effects of various structures, these structures only have meaning and an existence in the way that they are reproduced through individuals acting upon their habitus. As Bourdieu argues, structures 'do not exist and do not really realise themselves except in and through the system of dispositions of agents (quoted in an interview with Brubaker, 1985: 758).

Of course if we left it there, which is what many commentators do (see, for instance, Garnham and Williams, 1980; Jenkins, 1982, 1992; Willis, 1983; Giroux, 1983), then Bourdieu's work would be rightly open to charges of determinism and being too simplistic. How can change be understood within a theoretical framework that appears to be inherently self-fulfilling? Where has human agency gone? and how can we make sense of the contingent and inherently complex and contradictory nature of individual identities? It is here where we need to understand the relationship between the habitus and Bourdieu's other concepts of capital and field.

In essence, capital can be understood as a range of scarce goods and resources which lie at the heart of social relations. The struggles over such resources provide the main dynamic through which social stratification and change

can be understood. Bourdieu conceived of four basic types of capital: *economic capital* in the loosely Marxist sense; *cultural capital* which consists primarily of what is perceived to be legitimate knowledge and behaviour; *social capital* which relates to resources gained via relationships and/or connections with significant others; and *symbolic capital* which basically translates as the prestige and honour that is associated with the acquisition of one or more of the other forms of capital once it has been perceived and recognised as legitimate by others (Bourdieu, 1987: 3-4).

As Bourdieu outlined in his early work on education, these four types are deeply inter-related and partly transposable (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Economic capital enables a person to send their children to private schools and so learn and appropriate certain valued forms of cultural capital. This cultural capital makes it possible to develop valued relationships with others (social capital) and acquire certain positions within society that is associated with particular aspects of symbolic capital and so on.

Finally, a field can be best understood as a 'field of forces' (Mahar *et al*, 1990: 8), the social arena where struggles take place over specific resources. A field is defined primarily, therefore, in terms of the particular forms of capital present and secondarily through the relations developed around that as people struggle to acquire and/or maintain that capital. The boundaries of any particular field in terms of what is at stake and who is drawn into its domain are not fixed but inherently contested by those within the field. It stands to reason, therefore, that there are as many fields as there are forms of capital. Any specific field, so identified and defined through empirical research, can be located within and/or across a number of levels of the social formation and may be quite inclusive or exclusive in terms of its size and reach.

It is this context of the field and capital that helps us to re-evaluate the notion of habitus in Bourdieu's work and address charges of it being too simplistic and deterministic. In essence, the habitus is defined and constituted within particular fields as individuals come to learn about and internalise their position within struggles over particular forms of capital. As such, and this is a point I now wish to develop, a person has as many habituses as the number of fields they inhabit.

2.6 Bourdieu and the de-centred self

The relationship between economic capital and the acquisition of other forms of capital for working class and middle class people has remained a central preoccupation in Bourdieu's work (see, for instance, Bourdieu, 1984). This focus on class has also, I would argue, led to confusion as to whether Bourdieu understood habitus to be a universal element that people took with them to specific fields or, in the more pluralistic conception outlined above, whether each person was constituted through a number of habituses (Jenkins, 1992). While he certainly argued the latter, his focus on class and its transposability between the various forms of capital can lead one to interpret his work, in practice, as being more towards the former conceptualisation.

I want to argue here, however, that regardless of how Bourdieu has made use of his three concepts of field, habitus and capital, they can be appropriated and re-worked to offer a more sophisticated and useful means with which to understand cultural formations more generally and racialised relations and identities more specifically. What I will argue here is that the concepts of field and capital can be significantly developed to take on board the complexity and contingency of social relations. This then provides the framework where the habitus can be developed as a concept which can then, in turn, be used to foreground the notion of multiple subjectivities and, thus, the decentred Self.

As discussed above, when Bourdieu thought about capital he did so primarily within an analysis of class relations. As such notions of cultural and symbolic capital, for instance, related to those factors necessary to acquire to be successful within a capitalist society. Implicit within this is the suggestion that the working class are simply 'without' significant forms of cultural, symbolic and social capital. As a result, this creates an analytical vacuum within which the forms and dynamics of working class culture, together with how it is produced and reproduced, are overlooked. Working class people's social position and ways of thinking about themselves and others is simply determined by their lack of cultural and other forms of capital. I want to suggest, however, that Bourdieu's notion of capital can be developed to understand how certain subordinate groups come to develop and value their own forms of cultural, symbolic and social capital which are not only at variance with the broader forms of class-related capital but are, often, in direct conflict. How and when these forms of capital become significant depends upon the specific context - that is the particular field - in which individuals are located.

This will be illustrated in chapter four, for example, when we examine the field of relations constituted by the local estate in which the school is situated. Here the estate can be seen as a specific site within the broader economic field in that its residents occupy a very similar position in that they are predominantly unemployed and in council housing and therefore lack the dominant forms of economic capital associated with the field. Moreover, the specific forms of economic restructuring that has taken place in the city of Workingham over the last few decades has meant that, for many of these residents, they will be unlikely to obtain secure employment in the future. It is against this background that, what was a site within the field of economic relations has also, at the same time, developed into a field in its own right as new forms of cultural, social and symbolic capital have developed and

become valued. These forms of capital, being associated in a very general sense with success in the hidden and informal economy and, for men, placing stress on being 'street-wise' and 'hard' stand in stark contrast to the dominant forms of capital associated with the broader economic field.

A similar process will also be shown, for example, in chapters six and seven when we look at the young children's field of masculine peer group relations. Here, while certain forms of masculine cultural capital resonate with those of the values and ethos of the school, namely an emphasis on competitiveness and sport, other forms of capital that were equally strived for and valued within that field, relating for instance to the desire to be strong, 'hard' and aggressive stood in stark contrast to the values of the school. These latter forms of capital, while valued within the field of masculine peer group relations, were distinctly de-valued within the field of relations constituted by the school where the dominant forms of capital there revolved around being attentive, passive and hard-working (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Similarly, the dominant forms of capital associated with the field of feminine peer group relations found among the children were, not surprisingly, negatively defined within the field of masculine peer group relations while resonating more closely with those values sought of pupils within the field of the school.

It is in this opening-up of Bourdieu's notion of capital that we can begin to unravel the complexity and contingency of each individual's lived experience. For working class children, for example, it enables us to identify a number of different and competing forms of capital that exist both within and beyond their constitution as working class. The behaviour and sense of identity they adopt - through their habitus - will change from one context to the next as they move in and out of various fields of relations. As will be seen, however, each field comes to articulate with and influence the other so

that the dominant discourses on crime and the inner city within the field of the estate come to shape the teachers responses to the children within the field of the school. Similarly, the over-representation of Black boys within the disciplinary procedures of the school - itself partially a product of these wider discourses on crime and the inner city - then influence the position of Black boys within the field of masculine peer group relations in terms of the other boys general perceptions of them as hard and troublesome.

It is this focus on the multiple forms of capital which comes to influence and shape the development of new and competing fields that underlies the methodological approach of this present study. Moreover, it is the dialectical relationship between the field and the habitus, as outlined earlier, that provides the particular interest here and the way that it enables us to explore and unravel the complex, diverse and fluid nature of the decentred-Self in relation to young children.

I want to conclude this brief introduction to the present study's theoretical frame by exploring the implications of the preceding discussion for the revised notion of field and outlining the central theoretical work that it performs within the overall conceptual frame. As already seen, fields are formed in relation to, and constituted around, particular forms of capital. As such we can envisage an almost limitless number of fields, manifest at all levels of the social formation which act to affect and structure each other. What fields are identified and studied through particular ethnographic work and why, will depend primarily on their analytical usefulness.

For each field I want to suggest that they should not simply be seen as representing a network of social relations but can often be seen to be expressed in and through time and space. Here, in a similar way to the structurationist approach of Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Giddens (1984),

social relations become increasingly 'sedimented' and expressed in and through the spatial, temporal and organisational structures that have developed in relation to these over time (see also Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1985, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993). These structural elements come to be both formed by the realisation of people's habituses whilst also acting to reproduce them³. As an example of this we can look at any particular school as a site within the field of education that has developed a whole set of teacher-student relations around dominant forms of educational capital. These relations that express the pedagogical authority of the teacher come to be expressed through the spatial and temporal organisation of the classroom and the school day and help to reinforce and reproduce that authority (see Giddens, 1985). In this the field plays a central role in understanding the formation and reproduction of particular forms of habitus and how a person's sense of identity does not simply emerge from their centred and rational pursuit for Truth but is embedded within the very fabric of the social. It is this relationship between the habitus and field that is captured in the following quote taken from an interview with Bourdieu:

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On one side, it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of the field (or of a hierarchy of intersecting fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy.

(quoted in an interview with Wacquant, 1989: 44)

It is with this in mind that I have organised the present study around a number of fields so as to trace through the complex and evolving sets of discourses on 'race' as they manifest and articulate with each other at various levels of the social formation in the shaping of young children's sense of

³A good example of the way that relations come to be 'sedimented' in and through the spatial and temporal nature of a particular locality can be found in Keith's (1993) ethnographic work on the urban 'riots' and policing.

identity. The following two chapters begin with a focus on Manor Park estate, which provides the locality within which Anne Devlin primary school is situated. Chapter three looks at how discourses that have emerged through a number of processes within the broader fields of economics and politics have come to influence and shape the estate not only in terms of its social relations but also the very nature of its built environment and how it has come to be represented through time. This then provides the context, in chapter four, where I will explore how the estate has come to be constituted as a field in its own right and will draw attention to the dominant forms of capital among men and women expressed there. Chapter five then focuses in on the school as a specific field of relations and will set out the subject positions adopted by teachers and children in relation to the dominant forms of capital associated with teaching and learning. In doing this I will draw attention to the influence of the broader discourses manifest within the estate on the way in which relations within the school have been constituted and reproduced. Chapters six to nine then focus in on the young children themselves and the nature of their peer group relations. Chapters six and seven focus on the field of masculine peer group relations and explores, respectively, the position of Black and South Asian boys within this. Chapters eight and nine examine the field of feminine peer group relations and the position of Black and South Asian girls within this. A central theme underlying these four chapters is the need to locate the emerging forms of habitus that have developed for these Black and South Asian children within the influences of the broader discursive practices found in the other fields outlined in earlier chapters. In this, we can only understand their sense of identity as it has emerged through the complex articulation of relations on the estate and the domestic environment and the processes and practices of the school with the specific peer group relations of the children themselves.

2.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have set out the main elements of the theoretical frame underlying the present study. Through the adoption of Miles's general approach in his idea of the process of racialisation and its development through the incorporation of aspects of the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, it is a framework that is intended to compliment the methodological frame set out in the previous chapter and to address the three limitations relating to the existing literature on racism and young children highlighted there. Particularly through the refinement of Bourdieu's three inter-related concepts of habitus, capital and field, it is a theoretical framework that goes some way in drawing out: the essentially open, diverse and contingent forms of racism; the way these come to articulate with each other as they are expressed through global, national and local levels; and the complexities of power and its essentially formative nature not just in relation to temporal and spatial levels of analysis but also in its impact on the very nature of the Self.

CHAPTER THREE

'Race', Place and the Manor Park Estate: The Social Construction of an 'Inner City Problem'

3.1 Introduction

A growing number of studies have highlighted the importance of particular locales in providing the medium through which broader discourses on 'race' are refracted and re-produced (see, for instance, Cohen, 1988; Keith, 1993; Back, 1993). To date, however, as highlighted in the previous chapters, there has been a systematic neglect of the wider community in the ethnographic literature on racism and schooling. We are therefore left with only a limited understanding of racism that appears to begin and end in school-based interaction. Yet the way in which the young children in this study came to see themselves and each other implicates not only social relations in the school but also their domestic environment, the wider community and the broader influences of national discourses on 'race' as expressed through politics and popular culture. Each of these levels of analysis are intricately bound up with each other as discourses on 'race', so expressed at each level, come to articulate with each other. It is with this in mind that this and the following chapter will begin our analysis of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives with a focus on the local estate - Manor Park - in which the school is situated and the young children live. This chapter is concerned more broadly with the estate as a particular site within the field of economic relations and how discourses on 'race' present within the field of national

politics have come to be refracted through the estate and have, as a consequence, taken on a specific form. The following chapter will then look in more detail at the nature of the cultural identities of the men and women living on the estate who provide the most immediate 'significant others' in the lives of the young children. Here I will argue that the estate has also come to be formed as a field in its own right with the men and women living there developing, valuing and struggling over their own, alternative forms of cultural, social and symbolic capital.

This chapter is therefore concerned primarily with the social construction of Manor Park estate and the specific ways in which it has become racialised. To begin with I want to sketch out some of the broader discourses that have been developed and expressed through the field of national politics and how these relate to the more general economic field. These over-arching economic and political developments will then provide the necessary background against which the social, spatial and temporal development of Manor Park estate and its emergence as an 'inner city problem' will be charted. Within this, the chapter will illustrate the ways in which these discourses on the inner city have come to be expressed both in and through the social, temporal and spatial nature of the estate.

3.2 The economic crisis, enemies within and the national disease

For the purposes of this present study I want to argue that we can view politics as a field in its own right which is defined in terms of the specific forms of political capital and the sets of relations and institutions that have been developed around this. Political capital in this sense can be understood as those forms of cultural, social and symbolic capital relating to the ability to gain legitimate control over the state and its institutions. What counts as the state and which institutions come under its control, that is the boundaries of the political field, are not fixed but are continually shifting and contested by those within the field. The complex nature of the state dictates that there are

numerous specific sites within the political field over which various aspects of the state and their associated forms of political capital are contested. In this section I am primarily interested in the specific site of national politics and the particular form and nature of the discourses that are produced and reproduced by successive national governments and through parliament at this level.

In its most basic form, the acquisition of political capital can be understood as the ability of certain groups or individuals to successfully portray their own sectional interests as being those of the specific community or electorate to which they are accountable. At the national level this involves governments being able to 'nationalise themselves', that is to construct a notion of the nation, of the 'ordinary people', whose interests they represent. As such it involves the ability to incorporate and re-work significant aspects of people's lived, common-sense experiences into the broader more coherent political philosophy and interests of the nation (Gramsci, 1971). In this sense the successful acquisition of political capital requires the construction and maintenance of a political philosophy that can resonate with a significant proportion of people's lived experiences. It is this dialectical between national politics and the locality - the former informing and structuring how the social is experienced in the locality while ultimately only gaining legitimacy to the degree that it can successfully re-organise and re-work those experiences into a broader more coherent philosophy - that is so central in understanding the emerging dominance of 'race' to be discussed shortly. In this section I want to explore the contemporary racialised nature and development of such constructions of the nation and how these have been crucially over-determined by the broader economic field. This, in turn, will aid our understanding of the creation of the 'inner city problem' and the broader context within which Manor Park has come to be presently constituted.

3.2.1 *The economic crisis of the 1970s* -

There had, for the two post-war decades up until the end of the 1960s, been what Gamble (1985:6) has referred to as 'the longest and most rapid period of continuous expansion world capitalism had ever enjoyed'. The promise of full employment and increasing affluence together with the development and growth of the welfare state provided the foundations upon which the social democratic consensus was reached. It was essentially a period dependent upon the 'long boom' to underwrite and secure the legitimacy of successive governments under a general feeling within the nation that they have, in the words of the then prime minister Harold Macmillan, 'never had it so good'. However, the onslaught of the global economic recession within the economic field, emerging in the late 1960s and becoming most marked by the dramatic rise in oil prices in 1973, had the effect of fundamentally undermining this hegemonic consensus that had emerged in the field of politics (Hall *et al*, 1978; Currie, 1983, Chitty, 1989). It was a global recession that was experienced that more acutely by Britain because of its relatively outmoded industrial infrastructure with its relatively low levels of technological advancement. As a result many established industries collapsed and/or became obsolete in the light of foreign competition. A fundamental restructuring of the economic field at all levels of the social formation inevitably followed in an attempt to regain profitability. It was a time in Britain that saw the introduction of new technologies, the resultant decline of large traditional industries and the manufacturing sector more generally and an increase in the service sector characterised by the rise in female employment and part-time and casual work (Mitter, 1986; Urry, 1989; Murray, 1989; Overbeek, 1990).

This was evident as much in Workingham as elsewhere¹. Workingham was

¹ Unless stated otherwise, much of the information drawn upon with regards to Workingham, including demographic and economic trends and statistics, has been derived from a number of publications which, because of their focus

a city dominated by two principle industries in hosiery and footwear which were spatially concentrated in and around its central areas. Throughout the 1950s and 60s Workingham enjoyed unemployment levels consistently below the national average. The mid-1970s, however, marked the beginning of a period that witnessed a dramatic decline in these established manufacturing industries. The footwear industry, for example, suffered considerably under the weight of cheap far-eastern foreign imports and the introduction of new machinery and materials. Large factories in the inner urban areas, which were previously viewed as a vibrant and permanent feature of local community life were closed down and stood as empty and decaying monuments to times past. As a consequence, the proportion of those employed in manufacturing industries had halved from representing over two-thirds of all industries in the 1950s to little over a third by 1989. The significance and fundamental nature of the economic recession can be witnessed by the fact that in Workingham, principally because of the decline in the traditional large-scale manufacturing industries located in the inner urban areas, unemployment rose fourfold in the nineteen months between June 1974 and January 1976.

A process of industrial de-centralisation had already begun in the preceding decade prior to the recession with large firms moving to satellite and green field areas of the city to expand because of the lack of space in the inner-urban areas. However, during the late 1980s and 1990s this process was markedly increased with many remaining manufacturing firms that were now generally smaller in size and significantly less labour-intensive relocating in the business parks and industrial developments on the outer rings of the city. The rise of the service sector in areas such as insurance, banking and finance and public administration was proportionately slightly higher in Workingham than nationally, expanding by 21.3 per cent between 1981 and

on Workingham, have not been explicitly cited so as to ensure anonymity.

1989 when it gained just under a 60-per cent share of the total employed population. However, this expansion was never enough to counter-act the decline in manufacturing, especially in the inner urban areas that benefited relatively little from the rise in the service sector because of its tendency, also, to locate in the outer rings and to be characterised, generally, by part-time, female and temporary work.

3.2.2 A crisis of hegemony and the construction of 'enemies within'

These fundamental economic shifts at the national and local level inevitably had profound consequences for the field of politics in drawing attention to the inherent contradictions of the social democratic consensus and ultimately bringing about its demise. The rise of transnational corporations and their ability to seek out and exploit resources, including cheap labour, on a global scale placed an acute pressure on national governments (Fröbel et al, 1980; Mitter, 1986; Sklair, 1991). For the 1974-9 Labour government, already suffering heavily and financially dependent upon the International Monetary Fund, it was reluctantly forced to adopt the monetarist economic strategy of reducing inflation and drastically curbing public expenditure so as to remove the 'institutional barriers to economic restructuring' essential if the general relocation of manufacturing industries abroad was to be curbed and the business and investment of transnational corporations was to be attracted (Jones, 1989:36). It was at this point that the post-war social democratic consensus was irreparably ruptured as the then Labour government adopted its central role of 'managing the crisis' (Hall et al, 1978; CCCS, 1982). As Hall (1983: 32) contends, 'as the recession bit more deeply, so the management of the crisis required Labour to discipline, limit and police the very classes it claimed to represent ... through the mediation of the state'. It was on this very site of the contradictions that Labour were unable to resolve that saw the ascendancy of the New Right in the form of the election of Margaret Thatcher and the conservative administration in 1979.

Thatcherism came to represent the ideological embodiment of a successful form of political capital as it embraced monetarism and interweaved it with a particular brand of social and political philosophy in an attempt to regain legitimacy, and hence political capital, through its revived discourse of the nation. The nation as a collective, affluent community ensuring full employment and a comprehensive provision of services through the welfare state for its members was replaced, under Thatcherism, by a radically different conception of the nation. Collectivism gave way to economic individualism and self-reliance in attempts to recast the nation so as to both explain away the recession and to prescribe the appropriate solution. In this sense the Thatcherite discourse was as much concerned with the political and moral as well as the economic. As Parekh (1986) has identified, a whole host of economic, moral and political factors are therefore evoked and re-worked within this discourse concerning the 'national disease' and prescriptions for its recovery. They are themes designed specifically to re-organise people's experiences and common-sense understandings of the dramatic slide into recession. It is the burden of the public sector and its stifling of the entrepreneurial spirit that is cited at the economic level, whilst morally it is the growing dependency on the state and the loss of the individual virtues of self-help and thrift. This is all drawn together at the political level where, against the context of the demise of the British nation's global importance in the post-colonial era and its reduction to being subservient to the interests of American, German and Japanese transnational corporations, the decline of 'our' nation and its fighting spirit is to be explained by our peculiarly English reserve which has resulted in a confused patriotism and lack of a sense of collective unity and nationhood.

At the heart of this emergent discourse therefore was a revitalised sense of nationhood. In many respects it was the political failure to preserve and maintain a strong sense of national spirit that lay at the heart of the

economic and moral aspects of the decline. As Barker (1981:17) explains: 'if it were not for feelings of belonging, of sharing traditions, customs, beliefs, language - in a word, culture - there could be no society. We could not live together and co-operate'. This is the point where a re-worked notion of 'race' was central to the political capital of successive Thatcher Governments. For it was argued that the increasingly multi-ethnic nature of Britain has had the consequence of undermining the very heart of its national identity and has drained its spirit. Moreover, post-war immigration has not simply rendered the British nation impotent but has created a time-bomb; an inevitable situation where, in the not too-distant future, violence and conflict will result as the 'British (i.e. White) people' re-assert themselves and their sense of identity. This was the message at the heart of Enoch Powell's infamous 'rivers of blood' speeches in the late 1960s. For Powell, the problem at the heart of Britain's immigration policies was the granting of nationality on the 'right of soil [rather than] the right of blood' (Powell, 1988:41). What this had created was an 'alien wedge' of unassimilatable minority ethnic communities in Britain's inner-cities who could never develop the inherent feelings of Britishness natural to the indigenous (white) population and who, instead, will forever harbour yearnings for their 'own countries'. For Powell, this deep, almost biological, desire to 'live with your own kind' - felt equally by White people as anyone else - will inevitably result in racial conflict and the flowing of 'rivers of blood' along Britain's inner cities (see also Casey, 1982; Ashworth, 1983; Cronin, 1987). This was to be a theme central to the emerging Thatcherite discourse in 1978 where, in a television interview, Margaret Thatcher spoke of the ordinary people of Britain and how they are 'really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture' (quoted in Barker, 1981:15; see also Gordon & Klug, 1986; Seidel, 1986; Gilroy, 1987; Van Dijk and Smitherman-Donaldson, 1988; Solomos, 1989).

Because of Britain's particular colonial and imperialist heritage it was therefore not surprising that it would be 'race' that came to form one of the central organising principles in the re-fashioning of an active and re-vitalised notion of the nation (Gilroy, 1987; Rich, 1986; Goulbourne, 1993). In many ways it could be argued that 'race' had become part of the national political habitus that had structured the ways in which Britain's historical legacy had been developed and understood and which now provides a certain predisposition, through the cumulative effects of national legislation, for national politicians to continue to racialise and reproduce such a discourse in their struggles over political capital.

However, minority ethnic people were not the only ones to be constructed as the Other, as the 'enemies within'. As Murray (1986) has argued, Thatcherism represented the product of the articulation of a complex set of discourses on welfare scroungers and the unemployed, single parents families and feminists, left-wingers and urban-rioters. As I now want to illustrate through a more detailed focus on how many of these discourses were appropriated, re-worked and played out with regards to the 'inner city problem', and to Workingham and the Manor Park estate more specifically, many of these discourses, through their articulation, cannot be understood in isolation from one another. As will now be seen in relation to the Manor Park estate, discourses on crime, the inner-city, single parents and welfare scroungers all complexly inter-relate and evoke strong themes of 'race' at various moments and within specific contexts.

3.2.3 The racialisation of the inner-city problem

It is important to restate that the successful reproduction of these broader national discourses rely upon their ability to resonate with the experiences of a wide and diverse range of people; drawing together their inherently complex and contradictory common-sense experiences within a more

coherent and clear philosophy. It is this that helps us understand the popularity of Enoch Powell's political interventions in the late 1960s and was also at the heart of Hall *et al*'s (1978) seminal work *Policing the Crisis*. Here the specific Folk Devil of the mugger provided a lens through which the inner-city was understood by its residents who had experienced, amongst other things, an unprecedented rise in unemployment and decline in traditional industries, the breakdown of long-standing working class communities through slum clearance and relocation, a rise in crime and a general sense of isolation and lack of community spirit.¹ The mugger came to represent and explain many of these experiences. Being black he was not 'of' the traditional community, he was young, unemployed and lazy, from the inner city and driven by greed.

So popular was the Moral Panic around mugging that, before long, it was no longer necessary to explicitly refer to 'race' to ensure that mugging was synonymous with black male youth. It had become part of the popular consciousness as had the racialisation of the 'inner city' more generally. It is no coincidence that the first inner-city government policies came in 1968, following Enoch Powell's speeches, with the announcement by the then prime minister Harold Wilson of the Urban aid initiatives (Sills *et al*, 1988; Lawless, 1989; Keith and Rogers, 1991; Smith, 1993). The plethora of governmental policies directed at the inner city since then and especially following the urban disorders of 1980/1 and 1985 - some of which have directly effected the Manor Park estate as will be discussed later - have helped to reproduce, shape and define discourses on the inner city in terms of racial violence, crime and poverty.

Moreover, for the people living and/or working in the inner city it was the mere presence of minority ethnic people that ensured that the discourses around the inner city, and all the problems tied in with that, became

significantly racialised. This can be illustrated by the following quote, taken from the Prime Minister's speech at the Conservative Party conference in October 1993 which took place at the end of my field work. Whilst John Major's 'Back to Basics' message ultimately back-fired on him it did so, not because it no longer made sense to and resonated with people's experiences, but for many it was because he and his government had been championing these problems for the last fourteen years while achieving nothing - problems with crime, the inner cities, education and housing, it was felt, were still rising. Nevertheless, the following quote does summarise and represent some of the core themes developed through national political discourse since the mid-1970s quite clearly and helps to provide the over-riding context for the present study.

Let me tell you what I believe. For two generations too many people have been belittling the things that made this country. We have allowed things to happen that we should never have tolerated. We have listened too often and too long to people whose ideas are light years away from common sense.

In housing in the fifties in Britain and the sixties, we pulled down the terraces - destroyed whole communities and replaced them with tower blocks and we built walkways that became rat-runs for muggers. That was the fashionable opinion. But it was wrong.

In our schools we did away with traditional subjects - grammar, spelling, tables, and the old ways of teaching them.

Some said the family was out of date and that it was better to rely on the council and social workers than family and friends. I passionately believe that was wrong.

Others told us that every criminal needed treatment, not punishment. Criminal behaviour was society's fault, not the individual's. Fashionable, but wrong, very wrong.

[...] It is time to return to core values, time to get back to basics, to self-discipline and respect for the law, to consideration for others, to accepting responsibility for yourself - and not shuffling it off on other people and the state.

(John Major, quoted in *The Guardian* 9/10/93 p.6)

In signifying the 'ordinary people', whose sentiments the prime minister represents, the speech inherently conjures up the mythical notion of Britishness as a White, homogenous grouping - a notion that has become part of the political habitus through successive discourses outlined earlier.

That these 'ordinary people' were being terrorised by inner city (read also 'Black') muggers and, as mentioned later, were victims of crime more generally, helps to sediment this racialised view. References to discourses on education, to be discussed more in Chapter 5, and the need to return to traditional subjects and ways of teaching, evokes images of the failure of progressive and *multicultural* education. Finally, his references to the family need to be understood in terms of the general discourse prevalent at that time directed against single parent families and focusing on what was seen as the irresponsibility of young women and their greed in supposedly getting pregnant so as to get a council house. Again, within the broader context of the signification of the 'ordinary people' and its consolidation through the evocation of the inner city generally and the mugger, crime and multicultural education more specifically, it provides a discourse that encourages the reader to relate single parenthood, at least in part, with Black people.

The point I want to stress from this is that 'race', as it has become part of the political habitus, does not need to be explicitly signified to be evoked. The racialisation of subjects such as the mugger, the inner city and the family through earlier discourses have helped to sediment and predispose people to read and understand current discourses through the medium of 'race' even when it is not specifically referred to (Miles, 1989, 1993). Of course, I am not arguing here that this is how such discourses are read uniformly. How, and to what extent, the discourses evident in the above quote gain legitimacy within specific locales, and the ways in which they are read and come to signify 'race', can only be understood through empirical investigation. This is what now leads the chapter onto a more detailed analysis of the Manor Park estate for the remainder of this and the next chapter. What I want to argue is that it is through the spatial location and development of the estate within the broader context of Workingham city that such discourses have been

appropriated and re-worked through the medium of 'race' by residents and those working on the estate to organise and make sense of their experiences.

3.3 The racialisation of place: the Manor Park Estate

Manor Park estate can be seen as a specific site within the broader field of economic relations; representing a relatively homogenous fraction of the working class primarily defined in terms of their specific relation to economic capital - the majority of whom being either economically inactive or unemployed and living in council accommodation. As such, the estate in terms of its spatial location and the nature of its built environment has come to represent, and be expressive of, this position. It is the primary mode through which its residents come to experience and make sense of their social position and as such provides the context within which they come to acquire certain specific forms of habitus as will be discussed in the following chapter. Here I am primarily concerned with simply mapping out the origins and development of the estate within the broader spatial and demographic development of the city.

3.3.1 *Living on an island*

Everything's very high isn't it, high-rised flats, the great big high horrible building on the outside. In those days this was a White area, the head who was here then used to say it was an island of White people living in these flats surrounded by an Asian and West Indian area [...] that was her description and it was right. There were mainly White children, White people in these flats and that's how it's changed over the past years. They're now letting flats out to all types of people.

This was one, long-standing teacher's description of the estate and how it has changed since it was built on an area that was slum-cleared in the late 1950s. The reference to high-rised flats illustrates quite clearly the way in which an area and its built environment is inextricably bound up in symbolism and meaning. Here, the domination of the estate by two fourteen storey blocks of flats, is enough to signify that Manor Park is an inner-city. The spatial

location and symbolic construction of the estate as an 'island', together with the signifying of 'race' in the temporal nature of its 'decline', are themes central to understanding the unfolding of racialised identities on the estate. As such it is important to begin by tracing the origins of these discourses through the historical and spatial development of Workingham and the Manor Park estate within this.

The central and inner areas of Workingham, since its relatively late industrial development at the turn of the century, have been spatially dominated by closely packed, basic terraced housing and industrial premises. Earlier, I referred to the trend towards industrial de-urbanisation immediately prior to the economic crisis as expanding firms were forced to move to green field sites on the peripheries of the city because of the lack of available space in the centre. This trend was also made possible due to the increasing availability of a workforce living on the edges of the city. This was due principally to the demographic de-urbanisation of the overwhelmingly White, working class population of the inner areas to new, satellite council estates built in two phases during the inter- and early post-war era to meet the housing demands created by programmes of slum clearance of the deteriorating terraced housing of the inner-urban areas. By the end of the 1950s there were five principal council estates built to the north and west of the city.

During the second phase of slum clearance during the early 1950s a shift in priorities began to emerge within Workingham City Council away from simple whole-sale relocation of neighbourhoods to suburban areas towards renovation and reconstruction of existing areas. In 1957 it was agreed to rebuild the Manor Park area to the east of the city and, over the next ten years, Manor Park became the first estate to be built on an area slum-cleared. It was not long after that, however, that the 1974 Housing Act and its

influential 'Renewal Strategies' circular played a significant role in encouraging the strategy of gradual renewal of existing stock rather than its wholesale clearance. Because of this, Manor Park became one of only a few areas totally re-built within the inner-urban area. Because of the later construction of dual-carriageways and ring-roads around the city centre, the estate also came to be separated from its immediate environment by four major roads. It was because of this that the estate developed a distinct identity for itself. Directly across the western road from the estate lay the city centre whilst principally to the north-east, east and south-east of the estate there remained sprawling neighbourhoods of traditional terraced housing.

The estate, as mentioned earlier was at that time visually dominated by two large high-rised tower blocks with the rest of the area being made up of rows of maisonettes which were free-standing but organised loosely into larger squares. Alongside each of the four roads at the extremities of the estate were the four-storey high lines of the backs of the maisonettes adding to the spatial and temporal construction of Manor Park as a separate and new estate. At the time of its construction Manor Park was regarded as a popular estate containing its own small shopping and neighbourhood centre both located at the foot of the high-rised towers. As another, long-standing teacher recalled: 'I would like to have lived here when I first worked here [...] it was lovely, clean, you know.' It 'newness' and convenient location next to the city centre ensured that Manor Park remained a popular estate for the following years of Black and South Asian migration into the city during the late 1960s and 1970s. The 1960s represented a phase where Black and South Asian families were being re-united in Britain with their principally male members who had been encouraged to migrate over to Britain in the 1950s in search of work during the post-war economic boom. Moreover, Workingham was particularly effected by the migration of Kenyan Asians during the early 1970s. It needs to be remembered that the overwhelmingly white people's

experiences of the arrival of Black and South Asian people in Workingham during this time was understood against the backdrop of both the popular racial discourses outlined earlier originally associated with Enoch Powell and the legitimisation and institutionalisation of these through immigration controls (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; CCCS, 1982; Cashmore and Troyna, 1983; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Fryer, 1984; Solomos, 1989). This construction of Black and South Asian people as 'alien' and a 'problem' was most starkly developed in Workingham during the arrival of the Kenyan Asians whose anticipated migration to Britain had provided the immediate context within which Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech was given and the emergency 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was rushed through parliament. The debates that ensued through the local media principally over panics about being 'swamped' provided the background against which Black and South Asian settlement took place in Workingham.

Because of the rules governing the council housing waiting list and the designation of Black and South Asian migrants as 'low priority', the majority of migrants were forced to seek accommodation in the private rented sector and/or club together to buy cheap housing (Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Karn, 1983; Luthera, 1988). Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the Black and South Asian settlement took place to the east of the city centre in the areas dominated by the stock of cheap, poor quality terraced housing that had survived slum clearance. As early as 1965 the percentage of primarily South Asian, but also a significant minority of Black people, living in the three wards to the east of the city centre had reached 65 per cent of the total population. The 'island' of Manor Park had, by the mid-1970s, been fully created where the new, self-contained White council estate was surrounded by old, poor quality terraced housing whose majority residents were South Asian and Black. The contrasting nature of the two built environments came to symbolise the different racial make up of the areas while the spatial

location of the 'island estate' was experienced and understood against the backdrop of popular national concerns, refracted through local debates, over being 'swamped'.

3.3.2 Manor Park estate as a contemporary inner city problem

The 1991 census revealed that Manor Park estate was located in a ward listed amongst the top ten most deprived areas in the country. Successive waves of demographic and industrial de-urbanisation, together with a dramatic increase in unemployment and increasingly concentrated minority ethnic population had its effect on Workingham's inner-urban areas. What had been a prime, popular flag-ship estate in the 1960s had now been reduced to symbolising an 'inner-city problem'. According to the 1991 Census unemployment had more than doubled on the estate during the last ten years and had reached an overall figure of 36.6 per cent of the economically active population - more than three times the national average. However, the majority of residents on the estate (53.0 per cent) were classed as 'economically inactive' representing, as will be seen shortly, a higher than average proportion of elderly and young single parents and children on the estate. As regards the ethnic origin of those living on Manor Park there has been a gradual increase in the proportion of Black and South Asian people living on the estate so that by 1991 the proportion of White people had decreased to 76.0 per cent whilst South Asians and Blacks made up 13.2 and 7.9 per cent of the population respectively.

These demographic changes over the last ten years tends to corroborate a view widely held amongst those interviewed on Manor Park that it has increasingly become a 'dumping ground' for 'problem families'. As one of the teachers commented:

when I first came here the type of families that you had on the estate were very different to what you've got now and I think what they did was try to like put all the problem people together and I think that's

causing more of a problem. A lot more single parents and families that just didn't seem to fit in any where else and they've sort of lumped them all together and instead of helping them integrate or helping them, you know, get sorted out I think problems have come out of their problems, you know, they're all just together and all in the same boat.

This general shift in housing policy can be witnessed most starkly by the changing nature of the age distribution. Over the last ten years the number of children on the estate aged between 0-4 has risen from 197 in 1981 to 538 in 1991 whilst the number of those aged between 20 and 24 had risen from 229 to 409 over the same period, just under two-thirds of which were women. During this same period the proportions of those aged 35 and over have all significantly decreased especially in the pre-retirement age groups.

This illustrates the tendency of single parent households and young people more generally to be housed on the estate. The proportion of households with dependent children on the estate had risen between 1981 and 1991 from 27.1 to 40.4 per cent of all households while, within this, the percentage of single parents had risen from 30.8 to 57.4 per cent of all dependent households over this time. This now accounts for a figure over four-times the national average (13.9 per cent). The overwhelming majority of these single parent households are headed by women (96.6 per cent) and are dominated by younger children - just over half (52.0 per cent) of all single parents had one or more children who were all aged under 5 whilst just over two-thirds (68.5 per cent) had at least one child under five.

3.3.3 The reinforcement and sedimentation of the inner city problem

Through this distinct trend in the City Council's housing policy, Manor Park has come to represent an increasingly homogenous group within the field of economic relations; one whose characteristics have become synonymous with the inner-city problem. The majority on the estate are economically inactive, over-represented at the extremes of the age ranges, include a

growing number of Black and South Asian people and contain a remarkably high proportion of single parent families. Associated with these trends, as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, has developed a distinct reputation for one of the highest levels of violent crime and domestic violence on the estate compared to the county as a whole. Not surprisingly therefore, it is a housing policy that ultimately becomes a self-fulfilling one. The more the estate gains a reputation as an inner-city, 'sink' estate, the more it not only becomes undesirable amongst the more articulate council tenants who refuse to live there but also it provides the place where 'difficult' or 'problem' households can be re-housed by the council without as much complaint from other residents.

This construction of Manor Park as an inner-city problem is also compounded by the dominance of its built environment with high-rised tower blocks and maisonettes - both coming to increasingly symbolise the breakdown of traditional working class communities and inner-city decline as discussed earlier. However, its built environment is also forever changing - coming to be expressive of, whilst also crucially influencing, social and demographic trends (Lefebvre, 1991; Giddens, 1984, 1985; Massey, 1985, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993). In terms of Manor Park and its social construction as an inner city problem, a number of discourses that have been played out within the field of national politics have been central in over-determining the specific nature and contemporary development of the estate as a specific site within the field of economics. More specifically, it is the discourses on the inner city more generally which, as pointed out earlier, fuse together the more specific themes of racial violence, crime and poverty, that have been so central in the construction of Manor Park's spatial identity. They are discourses manifest most clearly within the plethora of urban programmes initiated by successive national governments since 1968. They are programmes derived in large part out of central government's response to

the economic crisis which had created, as discussed earlier in relation to Workingham, the concentration of large numbers of (largely Black and South Asian) people in small areas characterised by poor housing, high unemployment, bad health and general poverty. In the context of a fiscal crisis and the need to drastically cut public expenditure, inner city governmental programmes were seen as low cost schemes, targeted at small, geographically distinct areas which helped to increase the legitimacy of the government which was seen to be doing something 'for the nation' while, in actuality, spending very little in overall terms (Sills *et al*, 1988).

For many local authorities, the resources made available through these initiatives and programmes, within the context of the significant reduction in central government funding of local authority expenditure since the economic crisis, have been viewed as an important, albeit small, source of funding (Sills *et al*, 1988; Lawless, 1989). However, the 'pepper pot' nature of this funding, in making relatively large amounts of funds available for a few small, scattered areas, has meant that local authorities have been encouraged to bid for the funding through identifying certain areas within its locality which it can offer up as distinct, deprived inner-city neighbourhoods. This in turn, provides a central dynamic by which certain areas are publicly and symbolically designated as inner-city problems within the local popular consciousness. The consequences of these processes can be illustrated quite clearly by a report that appeared in the Workingham Evening News during the present field work. It was in response to a report by Workinghamshire Health Authority aimed at highlighting the need for a more resourced and improved health centre to be built on the estate. Its headline read: 'Sad picture of life on an inner-city estate' with the sub-heading: 'Report reveals disturbing saga of crime and illness'. What we see from this is that, in making its case for the need to build such a centre, in the same way as the City Council would make its case for central government urban programme

funding, the Health authority has, unwittingly, helped to reinforce the symbolic identity of Manor Park as an inner city problem.

For Manor Park, such central government programmes have impacted most directly on the estate in recent years in a number of ways. The most significant of which has been the funding gained following a bid by Workingham City Council for a grant of £17 million from the Department of the Environment's Estates Action Funding to improve the external appearance and security of Manor Park. While it was a programme that had little impact upon the general social and economic problems facing Workingham as a whole, it did, undoubtedly, have important consequences for Manor Park estate.

The building work resulting from the Estates Action project was nearing completion during the field work. There were principally two aspects to the work. On the one hand there was what has been described as a process of 'enveloping' where the external features of the maisonettes, such as roofs, doors and garden walls, were renovated and replaced. On the other hand, in relation to the attempt to make the estate more secure, alley ways were blocked off, new security doors were constructed and railings were erected. As described earlier, most maisonettes were built in rows and organised spatially in squares. The outcome of the building work was to block off all the alleyways running underneath and between the maisonettes so as to effectively 'join together' the single buildings and create much larger square blocks with a common large communal courtyard in the middle. Ground floor maisonettes were given their own small private gardens whilst the first floor maisonettes were able to share the central courtyard with other families on the block. Climbing frames and other facilities such as benches were provided in these areas. For each block there was only one entrance in and out of the courtyard and the door serving this, together with doors leading

into each wing of the block, were replaced by large, reinforced security doors with intercoms.

Externally, a number of railings were erected alongside surviving pathways. One central path ran through the centre of the estate from one side to the other. Eighteen foot high black iron railings ran along either side of the pathway so that a person could not enter or leave the pathway other than at its beginning or end. Other railings helped to secure the private gardens of ground floor tenants in maisonettes. Approaching the west extreme of the estate from the city centre one could now see a ten foot high iron railing running along the full length of the road punctuated, occasionally, by paths leading to a strong security door at the base of a maisonette. Immediately behind the railings stood the maisonettes, as described before, also running the whole length of the road and creating the impression of a perimeter wall containing Manor Park estate.

The overall impression left by this work has been, in the words of one teacher at Anne Devlin, one of 'foreboding, I mean I think that's the word, it looks like colditz, you look like as though you're fenced in, penned in'. The vast majority of the parents interviewed on the estate agreed that it did make them feel more secure but, nevertheless, the common feeling was that it made Manor Park look like a 'prison'. As one of the parents said: 'It is a good thing yes, it is more secure now [...] but it's bad really, it looks like we're living in a jail, you know, rather than a house, [...] because they've built up everything all around so it looks like a jail', whilst another parent commented on how 'these big massive railings are horrible, it looks like a prison [...] It looks horrible. It really does. I hate it'. Added to this was the difficulty that residents now faced in travelling around the estate. As one parent explained: 'there's no short cuts at all now on any path [...] which means you've got to walk all the way around and it's like there's no freedom

at all now.' The overall consequences of this building work has been to create a certain image of the Manor Park estate that speaks of crime. From the outside the perimeter railings are reminiscent of a prison whilst, inside the estate as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the residents have had their movement significantly restricted and have become increasingly isolated from one another.

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored the nature and origin of the broader discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city as they have unfolded and developed within the field of national politics and have illustrated the ways in which these have impacted, at a local level, in the social, spatial and temporal construction of the Manor Park estate. In essence we have seen the development of an 'island' that is expressive of the inner-city problem and the underlying discourses on 'race', crime and poverty that underlies this. It represents the discursive space into which teachers enter into and work from day to day, as will be seen in chapter five, and therefore provides the medium through which they come to think about the children and make sense of their experiences. For the residents, however, it provides the medium through which they come to develop their own sense of identity. It is this that will now be turned to in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Living in the Inner-City: Social Relations, Cultural Identities and the Manor Park Estate

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter set out the main elements of the discursive space that is Manor Park estate and that provides the medium through which those working and living there come to make sense of their experiences and think about themselves and others. In this chapter I am primarily concerned with the residents of the estate and some of the ways in which they have come to negotiate an identity for themselves against these discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city. What I want to show is that, in their marginalisation from the dominant forms of capital within the broader economic field, they have come to develop and value alternative forms of capital. The Manor Park estate then, while remaining a site within the broader economic field, has also been transformed into a field in its own right centred around the dominant forms of capital developed and reproduced by its residents.

It needs to be stressed at this point, however, that what is to follow has not been written as a comprehensive overview of life on the estate and the diverse forms of masculinity, femininity and racisms found there. Far from it. In many ways this chapter should not be read in isolation but has been written in retrospect - with the needs and concerns of the following chapters in mind. In this sense my main concern in writing this chapter has been to identify those discursive elements and practices on the estate which most

help us in understanding some of the dominant forms of capital associated with the young children's fields of masculine and feminine peer-group relations. In my account of the Manor Park estate I have therefore chosen to foreground three basic elements: the emphasis on physicality found, to varying degrees, among some of the men; the ways in which some of the young children are dressed and presented in the latest 'youth/adult' fashions and styles; and the particular ways that the broader discourses on 'race' set out in the last chapter are reproduced in relation to Black and South Asian people. These are all elements that, as will be seen in the following chapters, come to influence and shape the young children's own discursive frameworks and it is therefore important to contextualise them here. With this in mind, the chapter will begin by looking, in turn, at some of the elements associated with the dominant forms of capital as they relate to expressions of masculinity and femininity on the estate before moving onto examining how, within this, the broader discourses on 'race' have come to be refracted and reproduced through this experiential frame.

4.2 Gendered identities on Manor Park estate

I want to begin, then, by drawing attention to some of the ways that notions of masculinity and femininity have been developed through the medium of Manor Park estate. In looking at the estate as a field in its own right I am therefore concerned with exploring how the social and built environment of the estate acts to pre-disposed the development and acting out of particular identities among the men and women living there. In this I want to draw attention to some particular aspects of the dominant forms of masculine and feminine capital as developed on the estate and through which men and women come to forge their specific forms of habitus respectively. In looking at each of these in turn I want to illustrate the active role played by the men and women of Manor Park in both resisting the dominant cultural forms evident within the economic field and in creating alternative ones.

4.2.1 Strategies of survival and the masculine habitus on the estate

The majority of males living on Manor Park are under 30 years of age (54.6 per cent). This is largely accounted for by the high proportion of those aged under 5 (20.3 per cent) and those aged between 20 and 29 (22.4 per cent). For the young men, the negotiation and development of their masculine identities is conducted against the backdrop of high levels of unemployment. Over two-thirds (69.8 per cent) of those between the ages of 20 and 29 are without work. Moreover, with the ongoing de-urbanisation of industry and the replacement of full-time occupations with part-time, temporary jobs increasingly favouring women, then for the majority of these men there is no realistic hope of ever finding permanent full-time work.

It is not surprising therefore that some of these young men have come to re-evaluate their position within the broader economic field and question the value and appropriateness of its dominant forms of capital. Rather, what we find on Manor Park is that alternative form of masculinity emerging, one that recognises the futility of aspiring for full-time permanent work and one that, instead, emphasises the ability to seek out alternative ways of making a living, of survival (Westwood, 1990). For a minority of men, these ways most commonly centre around petty street crime such as robbery and theft, burglaries, drugs and pimping. The ability to 'handle yourself' on the street and thus to be 'street-wise' forms a central aspect of the cultural capital for these men. This ability to handle yourself and to successfully negotiate the complex set of relations that emerge around activities such as theft, drugs and pimping inevitably involves the threat and possible use of violence. Furthermore, not only does the spatial and economic location of Manor Park necessitate the adoption of these 'strategies of survival' for some young men but also, because of its characteristically transient and isolated population, provides the context where many of these crimes and the violence that accompanies them, are played out.

This is something that has come to be born out by the official police statistics which suggests that Manor Park has one of the highest rates of violent crimes, robbery and burglary within the city. The total number of crimes of these types recorded for the small area of Manor Park during the period of my field work was greater than that of the eastern side of the inner city as a whole. While such violence may well be confined to a minority of men, the general experience of living on the estate is nevertheless one punctuated by violence. One of the parents, for instance, believed that the violence had got progressively worse on the estate over the last few years. As she said:

I think it's going to the dogs, it's getting worse. I mean they're trying to build it up to make it nicer but it's not working. They need to fix the inside first and get the community thing sorted out because at the moment you've got robberies over here, people sticking people with knives over there. You've got a pub over here full of crack-heads and drugs, and I mean that's by the sports centre, that's by the shopping precinct - kids have got to go out there! I mean you get a break in or somebody mugs you - in the afternoon!

What is interesting from the above quote is the reference made to children and how violence of this type forms part of the context within which they grow up. This together with the specific notoriety of the pub for being 'rough' was something commented upon by another parent:

It's a bad estate for kids. There's a lot of drugs on this estate going about. There's prostitutes standing right at the top of the road on the corners. So it is bad for children to see that an' all. But my kids are in bed anyway so they don't see things like that but what I'm saying is that it is bad. The other night there was a lot of people arguing, a lot of people coming out of the pubs fighting outside and that

This general perception and experience of violence is not confined to the public spaces of the estate but has also permeated into the home. Here, the general economic, social and political marginalisation experienced by many men on the estate provides a particular context which leads a minority into domestic violence. According to local police statistics, the rates of domestic violence on Manor Park are the highest within the county as a whole. For some men, domestic violence provides one of the only 'beneficial' relations

of power and control they can enter into within their general experience of marginalisation and powerlessness. Because of the particularly high levels of domestic violence on the estate there are, at the time of writing, plans to set up a support group offering counselling specifically to perpetrators of domestic violence. More generally money has been made available, through the Home Office's Safer Cities project, to provide a number of domestic violence alarms for women.

It would be wrong to assume from this that all men, or even the majority, are perpetrators of domestic violence. The statistics that were available at the time did not reveal how wide-spread it was. In many ways, however, it is the discourses that surround both public and domestic violence that are important here and the way they have come to mediate the beliefs and experiences of people living and working on the estate to reproduce an image of the estate as one riven with domestic violence. Within professional circles such discourses are reproduced by the re-telling of particular, horrific cases. In one interview, a police officer explained how one woman was beaten unconscious by her partner following an argument over a game of *Monopoly* whilst the injuries sustained by another women were, according to the police officer, 'quite dreadful'. As she went onto explain:

he put a fist up her insides and quite badly injured her [...] it was a domestic and infact after two or three weeks she tried to withdraw the complaint but the injuries were so severe that she was hospitalised for a long time that in fact it was one of those where we could actually say that regardless of her wishes we could forward a prosecution.

For those living on the estate, particularly women, their own experiences or those of a friend or neighbour do similar discursive work in creating this perception of domestic violence on Manor Park. This is illustrated in the following quote taken from an interview with one woman. I have quoted this at length to draw attention to the long-term emotional violence and the forms of domination that can be involved:

I used to stay in more often [...] that was with their father, he completely isolated my life. He had my whole life figured out. [...] He can't look after himself. It's like looking after him [*i.e. the baby she's holding*]. I can understand having to look after Anna and him [*the baby*] but why look after him? It's like baby-sitting for three. And then he used to wind me up over little shitty little things. He'd used to pick up things from the floor and say: "what's this?" and then he'd carry on standing there for an hour or so. He was helpful in the past, yeah, I wouldn't say he wasn't, but it's what I had to pay in the end. He'd say: "yes I did this, I did that for you, I made you happy". Oh yeah? My life was a total wreck, was a misery. Every time I put make-up on he would say: "what you wore that for?" If I dress up - "what you wore that for?"

You know, that's why I don't dress up because I don't want to give the wrong idea to people. You know, which way do you go? You don't know which way to go anymore. [...] And when he talks he just goes on, you think I can talk you want to see him. You can never get away. You can't say excuse me I've got a job to go to, you can't say that, cos he'll follow you there too.

While some of the young children in the present study are undoubtedly brought up in such a distinctly male-dominated family environment characterised by emotional and physical violence, many more will have been made aware of these forms of domestic violence either as witnesses to other family events or through the re-telling of stories that come to progressively form part of the folklore of the Manor Park estate. As regards the former, there were occasions during the field work when the physical forms of domestic violence came to spill out into the street or, on occasion, into the school. During the first term at the school there was an incident where a father who had lost custody of his daughter had entered the school and walked into her classroom and tried to remove her. He threatened a number of teachers before being chased through the building and finally locked in the main hall and detained until the police arrived. It was the beginning of morning break as this happened and many of the children witnessed these events as they were on the way outside and into the playground. Almost immediately the community police officer arrived on foot and within minutes no less than four area police cars, followed by a van drew up into

the playground. The nature of this police response will be discussed shortly. For the moment it is the public nature of domestic violence and the very public expression of particular forms of masculine aggression as witnessed by the young children themselves that should be born in mind.

In an interview with the headteacher of Anne Devlin, he explained that on another, earlier occasion, within weeks of him starting in his post, another domestic incident spilled out into the school. As he explained:

I had an incident with a parent coming in with all her possessions on a pram - everything on a pram that she owned [...] She came to school saying the father [*of her child*] was going to get her - he waited at the gate [*holding his two year old daughter*]. We had to get her to a refuge and I had to deal with the father [...] trying to calm the father down so he didn't come into school and was violent again towards the mother [...] and in the end the father said "alright, you can have her" and he picked up the two year old and gave her to me and walked off. And that was after having been here a couple of weeks, and although it's be no means typical, things of that nature are cropping up all of the time

The nature of the police response to violence, touched upon in the earlier incident, also needs to be taken into account. It is a response derived out of the general experience gained by the police of Manor Park mediated in part through the estate's folklore, which has become part of their collective habitus and, as a consequence, leads the local police to view violent events, and respond to them, in a particular way. As one parent explained, when the area police cars are called in, their response is often characterised by the use of excessive force:

I've seen people, I mean one person, can't have been any bigger than me, and there was a van, a car, dogs, you know and they were really ... and I think it was because there were that many that he felt the need to fight back and the situation started getting worse. And I think if it were one-to-one things might not have got so bad. That was outside my house

This type of response, in being expressive of the type of discourses prevalent locally regarding the violent and criminal nature of Manor Park, provides

another particular aspect of the complex processes whereby such discourses come to inform and structure social relations (see also Keith, 1993). The more that the police use excessive force, the more local people will become disaffected with them and resist and hence the more the police will feel the need to increase the level of their responses. Again, for the young children who are witness to these responses, whether it is directly outside their house, as in the above example, or in the school playground as earlier, this police response comes to further consolidate their experience and perception of Manor Park estate as one punctuated by violence.

It needs to be stressed again that these are not particularly representative incidents. Indeed the majority of men on the estate rarely involved themselves in the types of violence set out above. Rather, these incidents have been quoted at length above because they form part of the folklore of the estate which feeds into how those living and working there come to organise their experiences. Whatever the 'reality' of life on Manor Park estate, for many of its residents it has become experienced as one interwoven with violence whether this be criminal, domestic or state violence. Alongside the built environment and its rather impersonal, prison-like atmosphere, it provides the context within which the young men on the estate are left to negotiate their own forms of habitus and which also comes to over-shadow the emergence of the young boys' own sense of identity. Whether or not these men and boys are engaged in violence themselves, they have learnt that they still need to 'handle themselves' in order to survive in an estate they have come to associate with violence. As such, the associated notions of being street-wise and physical have, for some of the men, become embodied, through their habitus, in the way they come to hold themselves, walk and talk (Bourdieu, 1984; Westwood, 1990; Schilling, 1993). As will be seen in chapters six and seven, this is as true for some of the young boys as it is for the men.

4.2.2 Single parenthood and the construction of a feminine habitus

For a significant proportion of the single parents on the estate, the forms of femininity that they come to value is equally bound up with, and constructed through, their experience of life on Manor Park. The main theme underlying this experience is that of isolation. In part it was an isolation that related to the predominance of discourses on Manor Park as a violent estate. As one parent explained: 'I don't like to walk through the estate on my own [now] because [...] a lady I had a discussion with, she got mugged across the road from where she lived the other week and she was unconscious and mugged. Another lady was beaten up and mugged around the corner'. This quote alludes to the way in which discourses on violence on Manor Park are reproduced through the re-telling of certain events; events that as we saw in the previous section cumulatively form part of the folklore of the estate. Ironically, for the women, the erection of iron railings as part of the Estate's Action project to make the estate 'safer' has made this fear more acute. Because of the railings, there are a number of paths on the estate where a person cannot get on or off them except at its beginning and end. As one of the parents explained: 'there's no way out so you're stuck, if someone attacks you that's it, there's no way out [...] there's already been an attempted rape on this path'.

This sense of isolation was compounded by the lack of appropriate social organisations and projects on the estate that the women could turn to. While there was a number of projects on the estate, including: an after-school play-group for 5-11 year olds; a neighbourhood centre; and tenants association, these acted, in a variety of ways, to discourage the development of extended social networks. The tenant's association, for example, was generally spoken of quite highly by the parents in terms of the help and support it has offered them when dealing with the City Council over housing problems. Its singular focus, however, and the way it was only used to sort out particular

housing problems ensured that it did not offer a place for parents to meet and develop social networks. Similarly, the play-group, run by a project worker, is popular with many parents who make use of it as a valuable, and one of the only, resources on offer for their children. However, as with the school, it is a place where you drop off and pick up your children and as such provides little opportunity for extended social interaction. The social interaction that did occur at the play-group, among a small number of parents, that used to run it before the arrival of a new full-time project worker, was very exclusive. As the project worker explained:

under the previous management there was a perception that it was a closed organisation, acting largely in its own interests and the vision of those people [...] It wasn't seen as a place where parents and children off the estate were particularly welcome and it was seen as unsafe [...] and that's really common in community groups, quite often the community comes together, a caucus is formed and the rest of the community is left out

Since the change in management, there has been a concerted effort to raise the profile of the play-group, through the production of newsletters and the promotion of its activities. The impact of these changes, however, have still to be seen and ascertained. This type of social caucus synonymous with the play-group was also characteristic of the neighbourhood centre. Thus while it offered a number of activities including keep-fit classes and mother-and-toddler groups, it, too, was regarded by many parents as un-welcoming and seen as failing to promote its activities. Compounding this was the cost of the activities at the neighbourhood centre that further acted to discourage involvement. The nature of the financial problems faced by these mothers is illustrated in the following quote taken from an interview with two single mothers. In the sacrifices that Jean alludes to in terms of ensuring that her son is able to go trampolining, the following also introduces the way that femininity, through motherhood, is constructed by these parents:

Cathy: Even the keep-fit classes, I mean I used to go but [...] I'm just finding it too expensive. I mean unless you've got a discount

card it's one pound eighty, even then it's a pound with your discount card. It's on twice a week so that's two pound a week. I can't even afford that.

Jean: And trampolining's the same. It's in the middle of the week, it's on a Wednesday, and it's one pound five. Now I have to really stop myself from spending that money before it come to a Wednesday and if you're running out of bread and that it's hard to stop yourself spending the money.

For a significant proportion of the single mothers interviewed, then, other than one or two immediate friends, their experience of Manor Park is one of isolation. Ironically, it is largely because people are literally 'living on top of each other' in a confined space that adds to this isolation. It is the fear of the 'public gaze', of other people knowing your business and of gossip, that provides the impetus for avoiding others. This is illustrated in the following conversation with one parent who spoke of how she had suffered from depression since she had separated from her partner:

Reshma: I had that depression for three years and I didn't recognise Preena [*her daughter*], for three months she was away from me, so you could imagine what type of life I leaded - total isolated.

PC: [...] You say you were isolated, did you not know many people on the estate?

Reshma: I did know many people, it's like I said again, erm, people like a bit of gossip, everybody does. You just got to walk down the street and they'll say: "that's Reshma over there!" and they'll say: "oh it's her who kicked her fella out, it's her doing this, it's her doing that!" It's getting unbearable. It's come to a stage where I've had enough.

This sense of isolation is compounded by the built environment of the estate. Not only are people literally living on top of one another but also the effect of the building work, in creating large courtyards of previously separate maisonettes, has helped to focus people's attentions onto one another. While for some (longer-standing) parents, this has created pockets of 'community spirit' based around these 'blocks', for many others it has enhanced their

sense of isolation under the constant gaze of others. As one parent explained, the amalgamation of maisonettes into larger blocks: 'makes it a lot easier to see who's in and who's out cos there's only one way in and out of your courtyard so everyone's going to know when you go out [...] and when you come back'.

This sense of being under the 'public gaze' is exacerbated by the women's general experiences of dealing with the city council and the sense of public humiliation that this can bring. It is an experience mediated through their lack of cultural capital when dealing with council officials and the sense of powerless and inferiority that this engenders. These themes are illustrated most graphically in the following interview with two of the parents. Here Jean is talking about her experience of visiting the Council's Rent Office located on the estate:

Jean: The woman on reception is really nasty isn't she? [...] She won't let you see them unless she's convinced and she tells you to tell her, in front of everybody, and if it's something personal you don't want to stand there and tell everybody what your business is. Well you feel like a dog when you go down there, you're treated like shit really

Cathy: Well the whole estate's like this, I mean the maintenance depot's like that. I mean when the kids' dad walked out on me I didn't really want to tell the whole estate, but I had to go down when I wanted them to change my locks and that and I had a big complaint that because I had to tell everyone and when I went to the estate office I had to tell everyone and it's not the sort of thing you want to discuss in front of everyone - the fact that, you know, the kids' dad's just walked out on you, you know, and it's not a thing that you want to discuss.

[...]

Jean: How can there be morale on the estate when you're treated like dirt?

All of these factors, then, act to isolate a significant proportion of the women on the estate and to limit their ability to develop social networks through which they can gain help and support. This is particularly so given that many

have been separated from their family and friends living on the satellite council estates when re-housed on Manor Park. Other than one or two immediate friends therefore, the social world for many of these women is centred around their children. Lack of money, and the restrictions that two or more very young children bring, seriously inhibit the ability that many of the parents in this study had to travel and visit other areas. Other than one playground opposite the school and next to the building where the play-group is located, the only green areas where the parents can take their children are the courtyards onto which all maisonettes on the block face.

Their maisonettes represent the only social space they can retreat to and avoid the public gaze. With young children however, this offers itself as a highly pressurised and stress-inducing environment. One parent, quoted early, talked of the depression she experienced for three years as a result of her housing situation. Another parent, quoted below, graphically illustrates the stress and anxiety she has experienced living alone with her children in a top-floor maisonette:

I'm trying to get the council to move me. Me doctor's wrote quite a number of letters about the stress it's causes me with me son being hyperactive and living in an upstairs house, having nowhere to play [...] Because of their age-groups I don't let them out on their own, I don't like them roaming around the estate on their own, they go out when I take them so it means when they're not at school, or I can't take them anywhere, they spend a lot of the time in doors.

This focus on the children and the home provides the context within which some of these women come to construct and value a specific form of femininity. It is one which centres around a cultural capital that signifies domestic competence; the ability to successfully rear your children and to look after your home. This is illustrated in the following quote from one parent who, in complaining about the work-sites created by the Estate's Action building work and the trouble she faces trying to keep her children and house clean, highlights the sense of importance she gives to these things.

As the conversation develops it also draws attention to how success at parenting and the ability to control your children is used as a specific form of cultural capital with which to question the abilities of other mothers:

Cathy And just at the minute the workmen are treating it as if it's just a building site - they forget people live here and we've put in claims for compensation for carpet and that but I mean they've like dumped all that red sand and that and of course kids head straight for it and it's not covered or anything and she's ruined like two pairs of shorts just this weekend because once it gets in that's it, you can't get it out. It's just completely ruined clothes and everything else and I mean the mud's just getting everywhere.

Jean: They don't secure the, they don't secure the/

Cathy: /Depot - I've seen kids in there a couple of times cos they've been trying to hot wire the dumper trucks basically [*laughs*].

Jean: They did one at the back of Connaught Close recently/

Cathy: /And driving it all around/

Jean: /Nearly smashed an old man's window with the dumper truck and in the end they wedged it in between the black gates and ran off because they couldn't get it back out.

Cathy: Some of the parents, some of the kids are out ten o'clock at night. There's two, I mean, they're only about eight, nine and he runs around with a key round his neck literally so you know he's been left on his own to go in and out and, I mean, it was him, you say owt to him and it's just a mouthful of abuse.

It is, then, the practical difficulties and stresses that inevitably arise from raising young children in an environment like Manor Park, that provides one of the contexts within which notions of femininity are constructed more centrally around themes of motherhood and the practicalities of child-rearing. The ability to control your children, make financial sacrifices for them and to generally keep your children and home clean and tidy are central aspects to the cultural capital of femininity for some of these women. It is precisely because these are almost impossible expectations within such an economic and social environment and thus forming a constant source of

stress and anxiety for the parents, that the ability to be successful in this way is valued so highly.

It is within this context, and the day-to-day demands that motherhood places on the body, that children become the central focus through which the women's femininity is expressed. For some women on the estate, therefore, the stylistic presentation of their children takes on an important symbolic role in affirming their own mothering competence and feminine tastes and styles relating to men and women. A number of young children at the school, mostly Black and White but including some South Asian children, either had their ears pierced, wore silver-plated necklaces or bracelets and/or were dressed in clothes, such as short skirts, designer jeans, jackets and trainers, more associated with youths and young men/women than five and six year old children. In some ways, these children became representations of their mother's own tastes and aspirations. It was a process also representative of the general conceptions of childhood held on the estate and the social and economic necessity that draws the transition into adulthood that much closer. The young mother's lived experiences therefore act to construct a world-view or habitus which speaks of the need to grow-up quickly and to be street-wise by the time you have left school at 15 or 16. Rather than their children being seen as dressed inappropriately and reflecting the mother's own immaturity (which is overwhelmingly how the teachers saw it), it was an expression of the cultural competence of these women and their success at single parenthood that could not only provide such stylish clothes but also illustrated how well their children were maturing.

4.3 The racialisation of social relations on Manor Park

What I have done so far is to sketch out in a very general way, specific aspects of masculine and feminine cultural forms as they have been constructed within the particular spatial and social context of Manor Park estate. Of

course such cultural forms are also inherently racialised, especially within the context of a place like Manor Park which provides the site where a whole host of discourses on 'race', crime and the inner-city are played out. In this last section therefore I want to explore the ways in which the discourses on 'race' discussed in the previous chapter come to inform and structure life on Manor Park estate. In this sense I want to draw attention to the ways in which the experiences of the men and women living on the estate, as outlined above, come to be refracted and understood through the lens of 'race'.

4.3.1 Living in fear: the South Asian population

This general sense of the decline of the community experienced by many people on the estate both in terms of the underlying fear of violence and sense of isolation have partly come to be refracted through discourses on 'race'. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the arrival of many of the minority ethnic communities now resident in Workingham took place against the background of a range of discourses that spoke of the breakdown of the community, and specifically of inner-city areas, in relation to Black and South Asian immigration. This was particularly true of Workingham where many of the Kenyan Asians, around which the moral panics initiated by Enoch Powell were based, came to reside. The island mentality of the estate, as outlined in the previous chapter, ensured that such debates concerning the 'swamping' of Britain's inner-cities were particularly acute for the residents of Manor Park. Moreover, the increasing numbers of Black and particularly South Asian people moving onto the estate in recent years helped to fuel these discourses. South Asian people, particularly, came to be discursively constituted as the living symbols of these changes. Their culturally and linguistically distinct presence came to symbolise the decline and break-up of the traditional community and provided the medium through which the growing sense of isolation came to be understood. The fact that South Asian

mothers were seen to stand together in the playground when waiting to collect their children and talking to each other in their own language helped to consolidate and represent the isolation experienced by other parents. Moreover, the number of South Asian shops that had appeared in the surrounding neighbourhoods, coupled with the dramatic rise in unemployment experienced by those living on Manor Park, provided the basis with which popular racist discourses could be invoked to blame 'the Pakis' for pinching 'our' jobs.

It is against this background that we can come, at least in part, to understand the position of South Asian people living on the estate and their regular experiences of racism. Most of the South Asian parents interviewed talked of living in a continual state of fear on the estate, rendering many of its public spaces effectively 'out-of-bounds' for them. One mother in an interview told of how she was attacked in a phone box quite recently. As her interpreter explained:

About a few weeks back she was phoning to her mother-in-law from the telephone box, whilst she was on the telephone, talking, about three boys aged fourteen, fifteen years old just opened the phone box and said bad things, you know, used very foul language like "fuck off!", a couple of bad words, and she just left the telephone and she just ran as soon as she could get out of it because she's abused all the time, they pick on [South Asian] women and victimise them

These South Asian women and their children are also regularly abused in the local playground/park on the estate opposite the school. One mother told of how 10 and 11 year old children: 'throw stones and things when you take children to the park. Especially on [...] evenings and a Sunday. They'll say things, you know, shouting and throwing at you'. Another mother told of how one child from the school came up and spat on her the day before while she was sat in the park. As she explained, he had done that: 'because my little girl was on a slide and he didn't like that - to see us playing'.

Even when South Asian mothers are simply walking through the estate they are liable to experience racial abuse. The following incident, as explained through an interpreter, not only illustrates this but also alludes to the involvement of children from the school in these racist incidents. This is a theme that I will return to shortly:

Some of these children are children from our schools - they're very young - five, six, seven. They'll sort of imitate, they'll act and they'll call bad names, you know, they'll shout it out, they'll follow her when she going, when she going anywhere. And they've learnt a few words as well some of the children in Gujarati as well. They've sort of, some of these children have attended the Gujarati classes with Mr Chohan [*section 11 teacher at the school*] so they've learnt a few words you see good and bad. And mum's ever so frightened to, for any of these to go out you see, how can you go out of your home with things like this - whenever you go out you're in fear all of the time

A number of the South Asian parents also talked about how they have experienced racist abuse at home. One woman, who worked nights, talked of how she was victimised just the night before by her neighbours and how she is fearful of leaving her house alone at night:

Like last night, I go to work at ten past nine. I was coming from the stairs and two lads, they were next door neighbour, and they are a bit like that, they went downstairs I knew it must be them - I saw them going down, and they must have left a box of matches, something lit inside the matches - a cigarette end - I came down a few steps and the box of matches all of a sudden went 'fume' like, you see [...] they probably left it there on the stairs and er, I don't speak to them, I don't even talk to them. I just say hello and that's it. Because I know I work nights and if something's going to happen it's bound to happen in the night you see when I'm not there.

Another South Asian mother told of how some of her neighbours had been victimising her and, as she explained, were: 'nicking milk bottles, nicking my door mats every time I bought them. Putting shit through my door, er, pissing at my doorstep, all sorts of stuff'. I asked her whether it was just her neighbours and she replied:

Reshma: No, quite a few kids as well beating Preena up every time she went downstairs to play. Quite a few. I couldn't see who they

were cos when they hit her she'd come up to tell me but by the time I'd got downstairs they'd be gone. She used to come up with bruises and all sorts of things.

PC: So what would they do?

Reshma: Hit her and all sorts of thing. Yeah, bricks you know, stones, push her over, she'd come home with cut knees and everything. Everybody thought at school that I was beating her up every day. I wasn't you know. The council wouldn't believe me, the school wouldn't believe me so where does it leave you? You're lumbered with it at the end of the day ain't it? You like it or you lump it.

Life on Manor Park for the South Asian residents was therefore often one of fear and racist abuse. What we see here is the way in which national discourses on 'race', reproduced within the field of politics, have come to be taken-up, re-worked and reproduced on the Manor Park estate. What is also important to stress, however, is the central involvement of children in racist incidents - children often from the school that forms the basis of this study. It therefore illustrates the way that these broader discourses not only encourage adults to make sense of their experiences in certain ways but also how this discursive framework relating to the South Asian 'Other' is also adopted and reproduced by the children themselves. It forms an important backdrop, as will be seen in the following chapters, for understanding how these discourses are appropriated and re-worked again within the young children's peer-group relations to help them make-sense of their particular concerns and experiences.

4.3.2 Black people on the estate

For Black people living on the estate, their's was an experience of racism that was very different from that outlined in relation to South Asian people. At one level, as was also found by Back (1993) in his study of Black and White youth, the wide-spread and insidious nature of racist abuse was overcome between Black and White men through the development of a variation of

what Cohen (1988) referred to as a 'nationalism of the neighbourhood' (see also Westwood, 1990). Here racist abuse and violence were transcended through the development of friendship networks between Black and White young men based around an exclusive re-structuring of the experience of life on the estate. This was aided by the cultural capital of Black cultural forms generally and especially the dominant discourses around Black masculinity that constructed Black men as physical, athletic and sexual. On an estate like Manor Park which was largely experienced through the discourses on violence outlined earlier, this discursive construction of the Black man as quintessentially masculine provided him with a certain degree of symbolic capital among his male peers.

However, it was this very construction of Black men as quintessentially masculine that also draws out the insecurities of some young White men who find that their own sense masculinity is threatened by their presence. It is possibly for this reason that a number of Black men have been attacked at night by groups of White men as they have walked through the estate. As one of the women explained:

I mean, it's just like, you know like after eight o'clock at night you don't usually come out, you know, you get your "black this an' that". You know Simon's mum [*Black child at school*], her husband got chased by some guys, just walking along minding his own business. If they catch you they beat you up, take your money, take your jewellery whatever, they take your clothes an' all.

This sense of threat is more than likely compounded for these White men by the thought of Black men having White girlfriends. This could possibly explain the harassment experienced by the following White woman who has a Black child. As she explained:

I did have a few problems a few months ago where there was somebody, I couldn't find out who it was, as you go, when you walk up the stairs the blocks have got railings all along and they were sticking, stringing chewing gum all along the railings and covering my spy-hole with it. They did it when I was in the house [...] obviously the

kids running up the stairs and holding onto the railings have got it all over their hands, clothes and [...] it was definitely done on purpose and the way it was strung along, all the way along the railing and down some of the bars so, it was definitely done on purpose

Moreover, the more general discourses on Black criminality have come to be re-worked and reproduced on the estate where the specific site of Manor Park and the levels of violence and crime that has come to be associated with it have, in turn, come to be re-constructed and understood through the presence of Black people. In many ways Black people have come to represent the folk devils who are perceived to be behind the decline in law and order, the undermining of respect for one another and the general decline in community spirit (Hall *et al*, 1978; Gilroy, 1982, 1987; Carr-Hill & Drew, 1988). This is illustrated in the following quote taken from an interview with the police officer responsible for community policing on Manor Park. While drug-dealing on the estate has been engaged in by White and Black men, we can see the way that the officer firmly comes to define this as a Black problem. Notice, too, the evocation of broader racist themes as she talks of how they like 'hanging around [...] in the sun':

Drugs, drug dealing, a big problem [...] It's mainly your 18 to 25 [year old] West Indian male on Munster Road, quite blatantly. I say, they're not dealing blatantly, what they're doing is they're hanging around the streets, sitting round the streets in the sun, pulling up in cars. They're not committing any offences that I can actually deal with them for. I know that they're setting up drug deals. I'm quite aware that if I had a camera or some other way of doing observations, unobserved on the Munster Road, I'd no doubt see little packages changing hands, er, that sort of thing. When it comes down to me just walking through, they commit no offences. It's no offence anymore. I mean we haven't got these "SUS" laws anymore, or loitering with intent laws anymore, that we can move people on, so the shop keepers can whinge as much as they want but there's nothing I can do.

The construction of all Black people as criminals through such discourses has the effect of further inhibiting their ability to walk through the estate, especially at night. As one Black woman explained when asked about the

police:

if you're Black you're a druggie ain't ya? [...] That's just how they [*the police*] are. Or, if you're out late, you're a prostitute - you can't be visiting somebody and go home at midnight unless you're with someone [...] Cos if I'm baby-sitting for Marcia I run from Marcia's house to my house, it's only round the corner but I run. Because I'll get stopped by, you'll get cars pulling up, you know, crawling next to ya, or, if you're walking on the other side of the road, then they'll cross the road, so you'll cross over and they cross over - so I just run! [...] It's just the fear that you're going to get stopped

The presence of black people on the estate therefore comes, within specific contexts, to represent a threat - whether that be a threat to personal safety, to the community spirit as a whole or to a person's (especially a male's) own conception of themselves. It is in this respect that the general problems experienced by residents on the estate can, at times, be re-interpreted and refracted through the lens of 'race'. One mother talked of how an elderly man living in the maisonette below her was being continually disturbed by children. While he would challenge them whenever he could he would particularly pick out her own younger Black children, who were not involved, and direct his anger against them as they pass his flat. As she explained:

There's erm, there's an elderly gentleman, White, who lives in the same block as me and he's downstairs by the door you use to come in and out of the block. And if the kids run downstairs before me and run out the block he'll stick his head out the door and tell them to: "fuck off you little Black bastards!" and things like that so the police are prosecuting him at the moment for it [...] It's mainly racist remarks when they run by his window as they're coming into the block [...] it just seems to be with the little kids

4.5 Conclusions

My intention in this chapter has been to draw attention to some of the ways in which the broader discourses on 'race' as outlined in the previous chapter and which have come to be expressed through the spatial and temporal structure of the estate, have come to influence and shape the lives of its

residents and their sense of identity. In doing this I have made it explicitly clear that this is not meant to be a representative or comprehensive account of life on Manor Park estate. Rather I have written the chapter largely in retrospect with a number of themes and concerns in mind that will emerge in the following chapters and it is with regard to these that this chapter should ultimately be understood. In this sense I have drawn attention to four basic elements. Firstly, I have highlighted the existence of discourses on violence, their predominance within the folklore of the estate and the way that these provide the backdrop against which boys and men come to develop their masculine identities. Secondly the chapter has highlighted the sense of isolation experienced by many single mothers on the estate and the way they have come to express their sense of femininity through the stylistic presentation of their children. Thirdly I have drawn attention to the way that South Asian people have come to be constructed as the 'Other' and have been scape-goated for communal decline through persistent acts of racial abuse. and, finally, the chapter has highlighted the way that Black people on the estate have been constituted as a 'threat' principally to law and order but also, in relation to White men, to their sense of masculine identity. As will now be seen in the following chapters, these are all themes that re-emerge, albeit in differing forms, in the context of the school and, moreover, the young children's peer group relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

All One Big Happy Family: Teacher Discourses and Anne Devlin Primary School

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the reader to Anne Devlin primary school. It's main concern is to draw attention to the ways in which the discourses on 'race', crime and the inner-city that have come to be embedded within the local estate have progressively come to be appropriated, re-worked and reproduced within the school. This will be primarily done through a detailed exploration of teacher discourses as they have come to be shaped and influenced through the teachers' experiences of working on Manor Park estate. The chapter will organise its argument around the two basic roles that have been discursively defined for teachers within the broader field of education; that of teaching and discipline (Pollard, 1985; Woods, 1990). It is here where the field of Manor Park estate comes to significantly alter and modify the precise nature of these roles as reproduced within Anne Devlin primary school. What the chapter will show is that, at a very general level, the teachers have come to share and embody a particular form of habitus in fulfilling their teaching role; one that has come to be expressive of these wider discourses on the inner-city, 'race' and crime manifest on the estate. It is through the way that this habitus manifests itself in a material way through the teachers practices that has progressively come to ensure that these discourses have, in turn, come to be expressed in and through the

social, spatial and temporal nature of the school.

It is with this in mind the chapter will begin by a brief overview of the current New Right discourses found within the field of education and how they have come to redefine, at a national level, the teacher roles of teaching and discipline. Then, after offering a brief and largely descriptive introduction to Anne Devlin, the chapter will move onto exploring the specific ways that these broader roles have become reconstituted within the particular field that is Anne Devlin Primary School. In doing this, the chapter will organise itself around three basic themes. The first relates to the way that the discourses on the inner city, especially as refracted through the perceived prevalence of single parent families and the inadequate way in which they rear their children, have created a strong emphasis within teacher discourses on the social aspects of their teaching role. In this, the chapter will highlight the way in which Anne Devlin has come to represent a surrogate family; one that offers the children the emotional and social support that is believed to be lacking in the home. The second theme to be drawn out will be the particular way in which discipline and order have been developed and maintained within the school. Here the chapter will draw attention to the prevalence of discourses on gender and 'race' as they are woven into the disciplinary modes of the school. Thirdly, the chapter will move onto looking at the school's approach to multiculturalism and will locate this quite specifically within the local historical contexts provided by Workingham and the Manor Park estate.

Finally, and partly as a more specific prelude to the following chapters, the chapter will offer a brief overview of the three infant teachers whose classes form the basic focus for the present study. While the chapter will draw attention to the quite diverse approaches to teaching adopted by the three women, it will conclude that these approaches only influence the degree to

which the broader discourses manifest within the school in relation to the re-defined teacher role are reproduced rather than contradicting or challenging them in any noticeable way. As with the previous chapters, this chapter has largely been written in retrospect with the particular needs and concerns raised in the following chapters in mind. It should therefore not be read as a representative nor comprehensive account of the experiences, strategies and styles of teachers at Anne Devlin. These have been more than adequately covered elsewhere and will only be tangentially referred to as and when appropriate (see, for instance, Hargreaves, 1978, 1984; Pollard, 1982; Denscombe, 1985; Woods, 1980, 1990).

5.2 Progressive education, schooling and the economic crisis

It will be remembered from chapter three in the transcript taken from the then Prime Minister's 'Back to Basics' speech that, within the field of national politics, education was stressed as a central factor in understanding Britain's economic decline. However, John Major's lamenting of the passing of 'traditional subjects - grammar, spelling, tables, and the old ways of teaching them' merely reproduced a strong political discourse on education that had its roots firmly entrenched nearly two decades earlier as the economic crisis began to take hold. As the Labour Government's Green Paper of 1977 made clear, it was not the logic of capitalism that was to blame for Britain's economic decline but its education system that was now failing the nation. It therefore tended to agree with the general feeling that:

the educational system was out of touch with the fundamental need for Britain to survive economically in a highly competitive world through the efficiency of its industry and commerce [...] There is a wide gap between the world of education and the world of work. Boys and girls are not sufficiently aware of the importance of industry to our society, and they are not taught much about it ... The country's economic well-being depends on its own efforts, and its standard of living is directly related to its ability to sell goods and services overseas ... We depend upon industry to create wealth without which our social services, our education and arts cannot flourish

(quoted in Jones, 1983: 71)

The theoretical seeds for this discourse, however, were sown by the *Black Papers* published almost a decade earlier (Cox and Dyson, 1969a, 1969b, 1970; Cox and Boyson, 1975, 1977). As Ball (1990) summarises, these papers contained three common themes that provided the basis for the attack upon comprehensive education and its philosophical underpinnings of progressivism and egalitarianism. The first related to the alleged decline in academic standards, particularly in numeracy and literacy, and while there was no evidence in support of these claims (Wright, 1983), they provided the basis for a strong campaign against progressive education and for a return to a more traditional, subject-centred and academically streamed educational system (Jones, 1989; Brown, 1989). The second highlighted the recurrent theme of a decline in discipline and the need for a return to more traditional, hierarchically structured forms of schooling.

However, it was the third theme - the growing prominence in British schools of 'politically motivated teachers' - that was by far the most serious of the three themes and which lay behind the decline in educational standards and discipline. These teachers were getting 'our' children at a young age, indoctrinating them and undermining the central values that underpin our society and thus threatening our very sense of nationhood (see also Cox and Scruton, 1984; Scruton *et al*, 1985). By the latter half of the 1970s these were themes that were taken up by the media and significantly enhanced through a series of moral panics (see Chitty, 1989; Ball, 1990; Troyna and Carrington, 1990).

As with the general discourses on 'race' and the inner-city highlighted in chapter three, the success and popularity of these particular discourses on education need to be understood primarily in their ability to resonate so effectively with working class people's general feelings of dissatisfaction and alienation with their children's schools. Their experiences of powerlessness

were ideally situated to be taken up and re-worked into a discourse that cited an educational self-serving and all-powerful elite as the main problem. It formed part of a wider set of New Right discourses on the welfare state that sought to highlight the way it had generally become, in the absence of any market mechanisms, infested with self-interest and as a result had transformed itself into being producer- rather than consumer-led (Harris and Seldon, 1979; Flew, 1987; Hillgate Group, 1986, 1987; Marsland, 1988).

This, then, provided the basic background against which the 'Great Debate' surrounding the nature and development of post-war education was initiated by the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1976 and which lay behind the resultant Green Paper quoted earlier. Moreover, by the mid-1980s these themes had become distinctly racialised and were increasingly being refracted through the political assaults on multicultural and anti-racist education. Through a number of highly publicised moral panics anti-racist education came to symbolise all that was wrong with education¹: it represented a serious dilution of the traditional curriculum; it encouraged children to question some of the basic values underpinning society whilst also seriously undermining their sense of national identity; and it was led by groups of fanatical, politically-extreme anti-racists (see, for instance, Honeyford, 1984, 1987; Flew, 1984; Scruton, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c; Palmer, 1986).

It was within this context of discourses on traditional subjects and discipline, and as they have become increasingly refracted through debates on anti-racism, that the Educational Reform Act 1988 was conceived and passed through Parliament (see Troyna and Carrington, 1990; Tomlinson, 1990; Tomlinson and Craft, 1995). The central tenets of the Act including the

¹For a critical discussion of some of these moral panics see: Foster-Carter, 1987; Randall, 1988; Jones, 1989; Troyna and Carrington, 1990; Connolly, 1991; Richardson, 1992; Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992).

National Curriculum, Standardised Assessment Tests (SATs), Local Government of Schools (LMS) and Parental Choice provided the vehicles with which the New Right claimed to re-introduce educational standards and discipline into Britain's schools and remove education once and for all from the hands of politically-motivated producers (local government officials and teachers) and give it back to the consumers (parents).

For teachers, it represented a significant ideological shift and redefinition of what counts as a 'good' teacher. At the national political level teachers were therefore being encouraged to jettison the ideas and pedagogical philosophies that had come to dominate and shape, at least ideologically if not always in the classroom (see Sharp and Green, 1975), primary teaching and practice for almost two decades previously. Here the stress was on a return to traditional, more didactic teaching methods and away from the progressivism advocated by the Plowden Report (1967). This was also reinforced by the call for a return to common sense approaches to teaching in the recent proposals in June 1993, by the then Secretary of State for Education, John Patten for a 'Mum's Army' to be enrolled in primary schools to teach young children the '3Rs' of 'reading, writing and arithmetic'.

Alongside this emphasis on traditional approaches to discipline and teaching, primary teachers were also being encouraged to focus on the 'Basics', as the current Prime Minister stated in his 'Back to Basics' speech, of 'grammar, spelling and tables'. Implicit within this, and certainly something that has been reinforced by the national curriculum, is a significant ideological shift away from the multiculturalism advocated by the influential Swann Report (DES, 1985) coupled with an overt hostility to anti-racist education (Gordon, 1988; Troyna and Carrington, 1990; Troyna and Hatcher, 1991b; Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992; Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson and Craft, 1995).

These then are the basic themes that have come to shape the national political agenda over recent years and which form the backdrop against which teachers at Anne Devlin are able to assess their own professionalism as a teacher in relation to the twin roles of teaching and discipline. Before looking in more detail at how these roles have become reconstituted through the articulation of discourses on 'race', crime and the inner-city as manifest on Manor Park, the chapter will firstly offer a very brief introduction to the school.

5.3 Anne Devlin Primary School

Anne Devlin is a relatively large primary school housing three nursery classes and twelve infant and junior classes². The main part of the school is housed in a large, free-standing and rather imposing three-storey building which, whilst purpose built as a school in the 1930s, is more reminiscent of an old nineteenth century northern textile mill than a primary school. The size of the main building, and the fact that it is set apart from the other high-rised blocks and maisonettes on the estate due to its surrounding playing fields, ensure that it visually dominates the northern part of the estate. In August 1992, at the beginning of the field work, there were a total of 407 children 'on roll' at Anne Devlin with 132 of these being either full- or part-time nursery children. In contrast to the estate, the children at Anne Devlin were more ethnically mixed with just under half the children at the school being white (49.4%) and around a quarter being South Asian (23.1%) and Black (27.0%) respectively. The teaching staff were predominantly White except for three South Asian teachers, who were located in the nursery and Section 11 posts respectively, and were also predominantly female with the small number of male staff disproportionately located within the most senior teaching positions within the school (including the Head and Deputy-Head).

²A more detailed summary of the gender and ethnic background of the children and staff and of the structure of the school can be found in Appendix 2.

All pre-school children living on the estate were offered a full-time place for at least one term in one of the three nursery classes in the school immediately prior to entering the infants. Most of these children would have also attended the nursery on a part-time basis (either every morning or afternoon per week during term time) for either one or two terms prior to becoming full-time. There were three reception/year one classes at Anne Devlin which form the focus of the present research. Children would enter into one of these classes, from the nursery, at the beginning of the term following their fifth birthday. Typically, this meant that each of the three classes would have intakes of between two and four children at the start of the spring and summer terms. Children would then spend a minimum of three terms in that class before moving up to one of the two Year Two classes at the end of the summer term. As a consequence, while some children would enter one of the reception/year one classes at the start of the Autumn term and spend three terms there before moving up to one of the Year Two classes, other children, who entered the class at the start of the Spring term in January, would spend five terms there before moving up to Year Two. Prior to this academic year, there were actually four reception/year one classes but, because of the growing numbers of year two children, one of these, Mr Wallace's, began the academic year in which the field work took place with a vertically grouped year one/year two class. Together with the six infant classes, there were also six junior classes: two parallel classes for years three and four and two single classes for the top two years, Years five and six - representing the disproportionately younger population living on Manor Park estate as outlined in Chapter Three.

5.4 The social aspects of teaching at Anne Devlin

5.4.1 *Teacher discourses and the parental role*

To some degree, all schools can be said to adopt some form of social or moral role in relation to their children. For the primary school, and infant classes

more specifically, the influence of this is much more pronounced as teachers not only have a legal responsibility but are also more inclined to adopt the position of 'surrogate mother' in relation to their role in the child's 'primary socialisation' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Woods, 1990). Here, as a number of ethnographic studies of primary schools have shown, the infant classroom, with its home corner, toys, building and other educational equipment, displays on the wall and the carpet area, is largely reminiscent of the early home environment and the relationship between mother and child (Sharp and Green, 1975; King, 1978; Hartley, 1985; Pollard, 1985). It is precisely because of this distinctly gendered environment that women are over-represented as teachers in infant classes.

At Anne Devlin, however, this parental role is far more pronounced as teachers have come to re-defined their teaching role through their experiences of working on Manor Park estate. Here, the dominant themes highlighted in chapter three in relation to the inner city and familial and community decline are highlighted in the following quote from an interview with one member of staff whose perceptions of the estate and the parents and children that live there is representative of many of the teachers' views:

when I first came they [*the children*] were very poor, they all came from very poor families but they had double parents, mothers and fathers and they had a few standards. I mean they were rough and ready but the parents did care about them. A lot of them were dirty, were not very clean and not in the beautiful clothes they wear now, but there was a home, they came from a home where they felt that they were loved and they weren't half as bad as they are now. Gradually the whole estate has changed so you've got all these single parents and problems families and the way I look at it is the parents have got all these problems themselves, they haven't got time to cope with the children's problems, infact I don't think they realise that the children have problems or that they've got to do anything to instil discipline or moral values or any of those things - they don't realise that that is their job

What is interesting about the above quote is the way in which the present children and parents on the estate are discussed against the backdrop of

discourses on the traditional working class. Here, the estate through its built environment has come to symbolise the arrival of a new poor with the rows upon rows of terraced housing, so reminiscent of working class community spirit and solidarity, giving way to high-rised tower blocks and grey, shabby maisonettes that speak of an isolated, insular and self-centred population. What we have here then, alongside a more progressive willingness to accept and understand the predicament that these young parents have found themselves in, is a strong undercurrent to these discourses that constructs a more 'undeserving poor'.

It is interesting to note how the struggles and commitment of the young mothers, as discussed in the previous chapter, to dress their children in good, fashionable clothes, is re-interpreted by those in the school as a sign of selfishness and immaturity. The fact that these young mothers are perceived as being less poor (i.e. they can afford 'beautiful clothes' for their children) makes it even less excusable that they spend little time either socially or educationally with their children. At least the old, traditional working class, who were that much poorer and struggling to 'make ends meet', still found time to love and care for their children. This theme in relation to immature and selfish young single mothers is developed by Mrs Woods, head of the nursery department:

we've got more single parents in the school now, more broken homes [...] These mothers love their babies. When a mother brings her baby into school it's beautifully kept, really loved and taken care of. Once they get past the two year old stage they get more of a nuisance value and they haven't the patience with them and they get behavioural problems and they don't know how to deal with them. They have very poor parenting skills.

One of the main themes developing out of this discourse, that of young mothers with very poor parenting skills and very little commitment to their children, is the need for teachers to re-negotiate their teaching role from one based around the traditional academic subjects to one which foregrounds

their social role. As the following quote taken from an interview with Mrs Campbell illustrates, this emerging role can be more accurately understood as the teachers becoming 'surrogate parents':

We're having to give them what the parents aren't giving them - the security, the continuity and, well, just the love and understanding and listening to the children [...] and understanding them and realising their needs. We've got such a short time in the day that we've got to try and be mother, father, teacher and nurse all in one go.

Moreover, for some of the older female staff, this parental role is often extended to incorporate the young mothers themselves. As Mrs Scott, one of the three reception/year one infant teachers, explained: 'I think it helps me now I'm older because I'm like a granny; I'm the same age as a granny [...] and the mums are often only nineteen or twenty [...] Here you feel like a mother to all of them'.

5.4.2 Accounting for the parental role

It is important to stress that these discourses on teaching that come to emphasise its social/parental role are intricately bound up with the teachers' material experiences. It is the day-to-day problems that they face in trying to motivate and teach a large number of children while also trying to keep order that provides the central dynamic through which they come to appropriate and re-work the broader discourses on the inner-city and single parents found on Manor Park. Mrs Sharpe spoke of how she had to prioritise her social role at times over her academic one and made reference to how she regretted the fact that she could no longer always 'send children up' to the infants that could read. In this sense, the children that leave the nursery and enter the infants are living testimonies to the teaching competence of the nursery staff. The fact that they are not 'producing' at least some children who can read for their teaching peers, adds that much more immediacy to the need to make sense of and explain that 'failure'.

Moreover, the imposition of the national curriculum which has drawn

attention to and emphasised, much more explicitly than before, the attainment targets that children should have reached by the time they leave the reception/year one classes, has had the effect of exacerbating these concerns for many teachers. It provides an essentially public 'yardstick' against which their teaching competencies can be measured. Children therefore provide living testimonies to the professional success of a teacher and the thought of having to send children 'up' to another class having failed to get them to the required standard simply adds to these general pressures. For the infant teachers this was compounded by the existence of a belief widely held among junior staff that the infant teachers were not gaining as much out of their children as possible. As Mr Wilson, one of the junior teachers commented:

I just feel that lower down the school they're mollycoddled a lot more; they're not given over to find stuff for themselves and if they're given a task everything's presented to them. They sit down, don't have to sharpen their own pencils, their rubbers there, everything's given to them. They're not given that degree of "OK, I need to do this, what do I need? Where can I find it?"

Conversely, it was a common belief among the nursery staff that the infant classes lacked appropriate discipline which they came to gauge by the changes in behaviour of their children once they had been 'sent up' to the infants. As Mrs Deakin, a nursery teacher, argued:

We try and enforce when they go out they walk in a line and they hold hands and when they walk upstairs in single file on the left-hand side, all that sort of thing and, when they get to five and they go over there [*i.e. to infants in main building*] it all seems to go to pot!

Both of these quotes speak as much of the problems and pressures felt by these two teachers and their need to re-assert their own professional competence than anything else. However, general order and discipline is something, as will be seen shortly, that infant teachers are acutely aware of and, again, the periodic lack of which is explained through recourse to the

general discursive themes relating to the inner city. As Mrs Scott argued following an incident, that was significantly viewed by a number of other teachers, where her children were excessively noisy and 'ran wild' in the main hall prior to a P. E. lesson:

If you take them up to the hall upstairs and it's empty they, a lot of them, will just run round [...] I think it may be because they're confined at home possibly, in flats aren't they? confined a lot. Some of them aren't allowed to play out much.

5.4.3 'Free-time' and teaching the basics: the 3Rs

This emphasis on the social/parental role among teachers was most commonly expressed in the three sample classes (with the exception of Ms Patterson³) through the frequent use of significant periods of 'free-time'. These were periods during which the children could choose an activity, whether it was playing in the home corner, drawing, reading or playing with the construction toys. According to the teachers it provides an important space for the children, not always available at home, where they can learn through play. As one teacher argued:

a lot of the children come in and you find out parents haven't really talked to them. We've got one child at the moment whose mother just says "right go on in" when the child comes home from school, puts the telly on and then she goes, the child says she has a fag in the kitchen, you know, she doesn't play with them. There are children in here who don't have any toys at home [...] the only time they get to play is at school.

Similarly to what Sharp and Green (1975) found in their study of infant teachers, the teachers' strategic use of 'free-time' helped them, at times, to avoid the constant struggle over maintaining children's interest in academic matters while also presenting an impression to the outside observer that their children are 'busy' and actively engaged. It proved to be part of many teachers' habitus as it became a taken-for-granted part of their teaching

³Ms Patterson differs in a number of respects from the other two Reception/Year One teachers and will be discussed in more detail shortly.

practice.

However, this emphasis on the parental role did not simply lead to a 'low-achievement orientation' as Denscombe (1980, 1985) found in his own work where the low expectations of the children's performance held by the teacher, together with the low academic aspirations of the children themselves, become mutually re-inforcing. As discussed earlier, at a time when the National Curriculum with its Attainment Targets have acted to more publicly and explicitly set themselves up as yardsticks by which to judge the competence of individual teachers in relation to their children's progress, there remains an emphasis on academic achievement.

The main way in which teachers tried to balance their parental role and use of free-time with that of their more traditional academic responsibilities associated with teaching was in concentrating on 'the basics' of reading, writing and arithmetic. This was certainly the impression that Mr Wallace, a former reception/year one infant teacher, gained when he first started teaching at Anne Devlin. As he explained, he initially found that:

the children were able to achieve more than I thought in several areas. They were more advanced in areas of written work and reading and some number areas. I think that perhaps the methods of teaching at this school are quite structured and based around the 3Rs, quite tight structure. So perhaps in the formal subjects children were further advanced than I thought and perhaps in other areas the children were less advanced in terms of their language and their understanding and their listening skills.

This focus on 'the basics' enabled teachers to 'produce' and 'send up' children to the juniors that were at least numerate and literate. Moreover, the frequent use of free-time not only maintained an air of 'busyness' in the classroom and enabled teachers to save the time and energy needed in constantly trying to motivate some of the children; time that they could then use to prepare collages for their walls and where possible the corridors

outside their classroom, of up-to-date and regularly changing displays of the children's work as testimony to the academic productivity of the class. Moreover, with the small number of children who did excel academically in each class, the teacher had bought herself enough time to concentrate on their progress so that they could be strategically used, as Sharp and Green (1975) also found, as public confirmations of the teacher's competence. In this teachers would, from time to time, send a child to another teacher to show them how good their work is while also, more generally, using the presentation of stickers at Birthday Assemblies to elaborate upon how well that particular child had done under her supervision.

What is interesting from this is that while this emphasis on the 'basics' resonates quite closely with national political discourses as outlined earlier, it was not primarily because of them. What this shows is the importance of specific localities in providing a medium through which such discourses are refracted and re-worked. Their arrival at a focus on the 3Rs was therefore not because of any fundamental disagreement with progressive teaching methods (which, incidentally, they still made frequent use of through their emphasis on 'free-time') but because of the articulation of a number of discourses on the inner city and single parenthood that the teachers had appropriated, reproduced and embedded within their own experiences.

5.4.4 Anne Devlin: the family they never had

These discourses that have been appropriated and re-worked by teachers on the inner-city and familial decline also found expression through the broader organisation and structures of the school that formed the basic field in which the teachers were located. In this sense the school, as an institution came to represent the surrogate children's family. The main weekly assembly, for example, held on Thursday mornings and which all children and teachers at the school, including the nurseries, attended had been named 'Family

Gathering'. While the Friday morning joint infant and nursery assembly, held in the hall on the ground floor, had been called 'Birthday Assembly'. Here the school could be seen to actively re-create a 'family' environment and offer the children the stable, consistent and secure family that they had arguably missed out on. The current structure and distribution of male and female staff at the school added to this traditional family approach. It was the headteacher, Mr Redmond, that led the main assembly, Family Gathering. It was here, with the whole school gathered that he attempted to set the ethos of the school through weekly talks and stories with moral themes. While the general academic themes of hard work, co-operation and consistency were stressed from time to time, the most prominent and recurring theme was that of tolerance, mutual respect and friendship.

In contrast, Birthday Assemblies were led by the head of the infants, Mrs Christie with both infant and nursery children and teachers attending. They were held in the smaller hall on the ground floor and, while they were similar to Family Gatherings in that they also contained a moral message and were also structured around songs, there were important differences. The first, and most immediate, was that Birthday Assemblies were far more personalised and inclusive of the children. All children were encouraged to take their turn in the 'band' that stood at the front with drums, tambourines and triangles accompanying the children in their songs. Stickers were given out to two or three children nominated by their teacher from each class for good work or behaviour and, most importantly, every child at the time of their birthday was called to the front, given a present of sweets and sung to by the rest of the assembly. This personal, more intimate atmosphere was aided by the smaller size of the hall.

Through its two principle assemblies, therefore, the school actively attempted to re-create the family atmosphere that so many children, so it was

believed, had missed out on. It was, in other words, an institutional expression of the discourses on the inner city and young single parents that were being reproduced amongst the staff. Moreover, it is significant to recognise the distinctly gendered nature of these two assemblies. The symbolic role of the 'father', played by the headteacher Mr Redmond, was expressed most directly through Family Gathering. He, in effect, led the family of Anne Devlin and was in a more formal and public position to set the values, rules and general ethos expected of his children. In contrast, Birthday Assembly came to represent the institutional expression of the 'mother' of the family, Mrs Christie, who catered more directly to the emotional and personal needs of the children.

5.5 The maintenance of discipline and order at Anne Devlin

5.5.1 *Orchestrating order in the classroom*

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen how the maintenance of discipline and control is centrally implicated in the successful portrayal of a good teaching role (see also Denscombe, 1980; Woods, 1990). In many ways the two go hand-in-hand as good teachers are seen to be able to interest and motivate their children which then by default ensures order. One aspect of the cultural capital associated with a good teacher, therefore, is the successful organisation or, as Woods (1990: 69) terms it, the 'orchestration' of the class, so that children are kept busy and relatively quiet without the teacher having to resort to shouting. The frequency with which teachers resorted to shouting was perceived among their colleagues as indicative of their lack of competence in the classroom and, ultimately, their loss of control. There was, as a result, a general sense of self-consciousness among the teachers at Anne Devlin concerning the frequency with which they resorted to shouting.

Not only is shouting a public admission of failure, however, but it's frequent use is also physically draining and ineffectual. The cultural capital required to

prevent this therefore revolves around a teacher's ability to successfully organise her/his classroom socially, spatially and temporally so as to reduce problems of conflict with and between children and thus to maintain order (see Giddens, 1985). We have seen one particular example of this in the widespread use of 'free-time' that significantly reduced the levels of conflict that would otherwise emerge in attempts to motivate children to do traditional academic work for the whole of the day. Another common strategy evident in the three sample classes related to the continued influence of the traditional developmental models of childhood that constructed young children as having low attention spans and self-discipline and therefore in need of constant supervision and an highly ordered, structured environment. This was exacerbated at Anne Devlin, however, given the failure of the young children's parents to adequately socialise them which meant that these children were even more in need of a structured day.

As a result of this perceived need for structure, the school day was extremely fragmented. Temporally, the classes were very ordered with the day separated into many segments each signalling a different activity (see also King, 1978; Pollard, 1985; Hartley, 1985). Children were therefore prevented from spending too much time on any one activity and thus, as it was argued, either getting bored or becoming so familiar with that particular environment that they were able to learn and develop strategies of avoidance and possibly resistance. This temporal segmentation of the day was also compounded spatially in terms of various activities taking place in different parts of the school.

5.5.2 The gendered nature of order and control

This movement between various spatial locations at particular times of the day involved a notable degree of classroom management for the teachers. Whether it was taking the class to the toilet, to the cloakroom, outside to the

playground and generally co-ordinating children within the classroom, various strategies were required enable the practical management and control of large classes. As Clarricoates (1981) found, one of the principle ways of organising this was through gender where many of the daily routines of classroom life, such as those listed above, were organised separately for boys and girls (see also Adams and Laurikietis, 1976; Deem, 1978; King, 1978; Delamont, 1980; Best, 1983; Paley, 1984).

Moreover, gender would also, at times, influence the types of work and other activities allocated to particular children in the classroom. Here, as discussed earlier, part of the teachers' cultural capital was defined in terms of their ability to engage the children and keep them busy. In trying to set work on a whole class basis this requires a lot of forward planning however. As Mrs Brogan explained:

The main thing is to have lots of work, be prepared. Children work, they all work at different speeds and a lot of them, you give them something that you hope would take them 15, 20 minutes and they come back after two or three minutes and say they've finished it. Really it's just, have lots of things up your sleeve.

However, this is not always strictly possible given the numbers of children required to control and the pressures that this inevitably brings. When teachers are often having to deal with a number of problems at any one time then, the allocation of extra work to a child that has also come up to the teacher complaining that they have got nothing to do can take place on a rather ad-hoc and pragmatic basis. And it is here, through the teacher's habitus, that she/he is more likely to draw upon their own set of taken-for-granted assumptions about gender and to allocate different work and activities to boys and girls. These assumptions can be illustrated by the following quote also from Mrs Brogan:

The boys, they generally seem to be very silly, not all of them but most of them in this class are silly, they don't concentrate so much when

they're working, any sort of written work, I usually get better results from girls and if I had a table with colourings on it would be the girls that would go and sit at it not the boys, they go for the Lego.

This is indicative of a general perception of girls being more creative while boys were seen as more competent at number work and is one held by a number of teachers at Anne Devlin. At a time when a teacher is extremely busy they need to know that the extra work they give to particular children will both keep them busy and, moreover, engaged for a sufficient period of time. And it is here that assumptions about preferences that boys and girls have for specific subjects and activities is influential. At Anne Devlin, teachers were found to be inclined to encourage girls to do more 'creative' work, whether that was writing or drawing, while boys were slightly more likely to be allowed to work on the computer or play with specific toys.

It is also interesting to note how the teacher's perceptions of order and discipline are also gendered. Here, as alluded to by Mrs Brogan in the quote above, boys are seen as more disruptive and a greater threat to classroom order and stability. This was also evident in the playground where this perception of the boys' behavioural problems was evident through a similar process of differential treatment. As will be discussed further in the following chapters, football was used as a specific form of control at playtimes. A number of footballs were given out at playtimes, all to boys, and this was seen by teachers as a means of both occupying and spatially controlling a significant minority of boys who would, it was argued, otherwise probably be quite disruptive. As Mrs Phillips, one of the ancillaries remarked, 'it stops them from fighting each other [and] gives them something to concentrate on'. For girls, because of their perceived passivity there was remarkably less time given to specifically encouraging them to play particular games. However, on a few occasions Mrs Pringle, one of ancillaries, would be seen to organise skipping games with a large number of girls, usually between fifteen

and twenty. This gendering of order and control within the school will be explored further in the following chapters in terms of its effects upon children's racialised identities.

5.5.3 Surveillance, control and the racialisation of discipline

This social, spatial and temporal structuring of the school environment enabled teachers at Anne Devlin to adopt the relatively more passive, and removed role of surveillance. Particular times of the day together with the specific areas of the school within which the child was located, acted to signify what was considered appropriate behaviour (see also Pollard, 1985). Other than in the playground, children were not allowed to get up and walk around at will. Whether it was a school assembly, a PE lesson or an activity in the classroom, there were specific spaces where a child should stand or sit and adopt a particular demeanour. This was in stark contrast to the teacher however who was able to move around particular spaces, at any time, with relative freedom (Giddens, 1985). Indeed it was precisely that action of the teacher in walking around the tables in the classroom where the children were sat or hovering round the back and sides of the children gathered in the assembly hall that created a constant sense of surveillance among the children.

The ultimate power invested in such an approach was the way it encouraged a degree of self-regulation among the children who were, at times, never totally sure whether the teacher's eye was on them or not. The Headteacher who stood at the front of Family Gathering therefore, played the role similar to that of the prison warden in Bentham's Panopticon (Foucault, 1979). His constant gaze together with his intermittent naming, and sometimes public humiliation, of specific children who were not paying attention or who were talking was enough for most of the others to be constantly aware of his presence. Similarly in the classroom with the teacher sat in a strategic

position within the room, it was often enough for her to simply stop talking and momentarily stare at the 'offending' child to not only encourage that child to return to their task at hand but also to signal the teacher's presence to the other children.

Moreover, it was a surveillance role that was also increasingly adopted by the children themselves. Here teachers would be seen to regularly encourage the children to be their eyes and ears and so to increase the effectiveness of their gaze. This is illustrated in the following quote taken from Mrs Christie who is addressing the Birthday Assembly and is bringing to a close a long discussion concerning the increasing number of incidents involving children breaking branches and ripping up plants in the playing field. Here we see the way that the collective notion of the 'family' at Anne Devlin is used to signal that these are crimes against 'all of us':

I think we've all got the message; if we're going to have a lovely set of school grounds we have got to look after them. You have got to look after them [...] if you see someone doing something ever-so silly or awful [...] you should go and tell somebody straight away so that we can do something to stop it.

Indeed the collective sense of 'shame' that this episode evoked encouraged a number of children to eagerly thrust their hands in the air willing to offer names of those involved to the teacher.

It would be wrong to assume from the above discussion, however, that the way in which the school was organised and the strategies of surveillance adopted and encouraged by the teaching staff were wholly successful. One of the main themes to be derived from the following chapters is the active agency and creativity of the young children themselves to respond to, subvert and resist the dominant modes of surveillance and control developed within the school. Children are, in this sense, what Riseborough (1985) referred to as 'critical reality definers' (see also Nias, 1984; Woods, 1990) whose actions come to be integral in shaping the nature and form of teacher

practices.

Teachers are, therefore, often required to directly intervene in terms of the maintenance of order. Obviously it would be impossible for teachers to address every specific misdemeanour or to discipline each and every child who has been 'naughty'. Instead, as touched upon above, the teachers aim to re-instate order and control through re-emphasising their 'omniscience' (Wolpe, 1988; Woods, 1990: 66). It is through the strategy of singling out and publicly making examples of specific individuals that other children are reminded of the teacher's gaze. Most typically, this would involve one or more of the following: a child being publicly chastised in front of the whole class or assembly; in assemblies being made to stand up where they are sat or sit at the side near a teacher or at the front; in the classroom being moved to a different table, told to stand in the corner or stand outside in the corridor; and in the playground either being told to stand next to the wall and 'cool off' or go and wait outside the staffroom.

The problem with this form of control is its inevitably arbitrary nature. Misbehaviour amongst children is usually a social activity, involving a number of children at any one time and often encouraging misbehaviour among other separate groups of children. At such times, however, the teacher is forced to think quickly and act instantaneously to re-introduce order. And it is here that the teacher's specific habitus, with its discursively constructed and taken-for-granted assumptions about specific children, tends to be so influential.

It is at this particular point that the broader discourses on 'race', crime and the inner-city that are manifest within Manor Park come to influence and shape the teachers' practices. The difficulties facing teachers in relation to order and control therefore come to resonate quite closely with the general, perception of the 'street-wise' and hardened male living on the estate. These,

in turn, provide the discursive frame through which the teachers' experiences come to be lived and understood. To the extent that these discourses are, themselves, refracted through those on the quintessentially masculine Black male then it is not surprising that Black boys in the school are rendered acutely visible at times of crisis in the school. The more the teacher is forced to act spontaneously and thus is denied the opportunity to investigate and discern which child is the main culprit for any particular misdemeanour, then the more these racialised discourses act to increase the visibility of Black children, and within this particularly boys, in the sea of faces at assembly or in the classroom (see also Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Furlong, 1984; Wright, 1986, 1992a, 1992b; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Mirza, 1992). This can be illustrated in the following incident in Mrs Scott's classroom. Here, Mrs Scott had just moved Jordan to another table and reprimanded him for 'messaging about'. She was still stood over the children who Jordan was formerly sat with and had now struck up a conversation with Stephen, an African/Caribbean boy, about his planned visit to his father in prison:

- Mrs Scott So you might be visiting him tonight?
 Stephen: *[nods]*
 Mrs Scott: You're good. I don't think you'll be going to prison
 [louder, some children in the class look up] You'll
 have to remember when you're a man not to fight,
 steal, throw bricks *[pause]* Infact even when you're
 ten
 Daniel (White): Can you go to prison when you're ten?
 Mrs Scott: Well not prison but you can certainly be taken
 away
 Daniel: Go to a naughty children's home eh?
 Mrs Scott: Something like that - a young offender's centre
 they call it, that's right; a young offender's centre
 [She then looks over to Jordan on another table on
 the far side of the room who is busy with his head
 down, colouring in his picture and shouts over]
 You'll have to remember that over there! *[most of*
 children in class stop what they are doing and look
 over to Jordan's table] If you kick and fight when
 you are over ten you'll have to go to a special
 school - a young offender's centre.

Not only does the above illustrate the way in which Black children are, at times, publicly disciplined and chastised, but also it draws attention to just how influential the broader discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city are in mediating social relations in the school. Here, the perception of young Black males as violent, criminal rioters constructed through the articulation of these discourses, is seen as the inevitable way that Stephen will develop unless he carries on making a distinct effort now not to fight, steal and throw bricks. For Jordan, however, his future life has already been mapped out by Mrs Scott.

5.6 Managing Multiculturalism at Anne Devlin

The chapter has, so far, quite clearly illustrated the importance of the field of Manor Park in refracting national discourses within the broader field of education and re-working them through those on 'race', crime and the inner-city as reproduced on the estate. The clear lesson from this is that the mere presence of discourses at a national level cannot simply be assumed to be read in the same way nor to act uniformly across all regions and localities. This is equally true of national discourses on multiculturalism and anti-racism that have developed in the field of education. As we saw earlier, at this level multiculturalism and anti-racism have increasingly provided the lens through which the more basic concerns with educational standards and discipline have been organised and expressed. However, as I will now show, the particular political concerns and priorities faced by the city of Workingham and on the Manor Park estate have come to significantly undermine the influences of these discourses and, instead, focus the local authority and school's attention on the importance of a multicultural/anti-racist approach. This is particularly the case for Anne Devlin where, in contrast to the concerns that the Education Reform Act 1988 will increasingly act to marginalise multiculturalism in schools (see Taylor and Bagley, 1995; Troyna, 1995), the opposite appears to be the case. As will be seen, there has

been a more concerted interest in developing multicultural/anti-racist policies at the school over the last few years.

5.6.1 Multiculturalism and the Local Education Authority

Prior to the implementation of the Education Reform Act 1988, Anne Devlin came under the direct control of Workinghamshire County Council. The principle city which the County serves is Workingham which has a substantial Black and South Asian population as outlined in chapter three. It is this fact, together with the particular social and economic changes affecting the city, which have come to form the basis around which specific political struggles and various priorities have been set at the local political level. The Labour Party gained control of the County Council in the May elections of 1981 at a time of heightened political activity around the issue of 'race' set in motion, principally, by the urban rebellions of that year in Brixton, Manchester and Toxteth and in Bristol the previous summer. The response by a number of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) serving inner city areas, including the newly elected ruling Labour Group in Workinghamshire, was to adopt multicultural policy statements and, to varying degrees, set in motion a varied range of policies. It was education, again, that bore the brunt of much wider, and more deeply engrained, social and economic changes. Rather than the decline in manufacturing industries and the rapid increase in unemployment together with institutional forms of racism and discrimination particularly in the form of harsh, discriminatory policing, it was education that was to blame for Black and South Asian youths rebelling. It was the education system that was neither adequately preparing Black and South Asian students for work nor recognising their cultural heritages. As a result it was not surprising that Black and South Asian youths would feel alienated from schools, would therefore not properly learn and gain qualifications and would as a consequence, not find work when they left school. The notion that multicultural education would reduce Black and

South Asian students' sense of alienation and disaffection from school and therefore, in the long term, reduce the problems of urban disorder underlay many LEAs multicultural education strategies⁴. It was, after all, no coincidence that the number of LEAs holding multicultural policy statements rose from just two to over 20 in the year following the urban rebellions of 1980 and 1981 (Bhat *et al*, 1988: 169; Connolly, 1992) and it is this fact that has led a number of writers to perceive such policy initiatives as essentially elements of social control rather than truly progressive and egalitarian measures in their own right (Carby, 1982; Troyna, 1984b).

It was against this context that the ruling Labour Group on Workinghamshire County Council set up a sub-committee and later a Multicultural Education working party with the remit of preparing a multicultural education policy and strategy for school in the county. By 1983 an adviser on Multicultural education was appointed and a Centre for Multicultural Education was established with a full-time co-ordinator. By the mid-1980s the Centre had a whole range of INSET courses up and running, fully funded by the LEA, that provided resources for, and encouraged the setting up of links with, individual schools.

5.6.2 The arrival of a new headteacher at Anne Devlin

While these approaches were not without their limitations, they did provide the basic context against which a new head teacher, Mr Redmond, was appointed to Anne Devlin in 1989. As discussed in chapter three, the Manor Park estate had developed as one of the key sites through which discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city had been played out in the city. The

⁴The LEA's strategy could possibly also be understood as a response to the increasing pressures placed on them by the Black community in Workingham and their organisation of Black supplementary/Saturday schools for their children which could be seen as progressively undermining the credibility of the formal education system (for a more general discussion of the 'Black Educational Movement' see Tomlinson, 1985).

appointment of a new headteacher for Anne Devlin, especially with the implementation of the Education Reform Act looming and promising to give substantial powers to schools, and particularly headteachers, was therefore an extremely strategic one. Within such discourses, a person who was committed to multiculturalism and 'reaching out' to the local community was obviously believed to be of primary importance to a school like Anne Devlin and that is precisely what Mr Redmond had to offer. For the three and a half years that Mr Redmond had been at the school he has been primarily responsible for a number of significant changes to the organisational structure and general ethos of the school especially in relation to the development of a multicultural/anti-racist policy. In focusing on this, however, we should not be drawn into understanding these changes simply in relation to the single actions and leadership of the headteacher. While he remains a significant 'policy entrepreneur' (Young and Connelly, 1981; Troyna, 1984c) in relation to the changing nature of Anne Devlin, he does so largely because of his location within a wider, complex range of discourses that have been discussed and outlined in detail above. These have been discourses that have not only made his initial appointment possible but have also acted, as will be seen, to add support to and smooth over the implementation of various social and multicultural educational policies in the school.

During his time at the school Mr Redmond had been responsible for appointing five new teaching staff who were similarly young in age and committed, to varying degrees, to a more liberal and/or radical approach to educational generally and multiculturalism in particular. As will be seen shortly, this created a small, but significant, cleavage amongst the staff: between the old, established traditionalists in the school and the new, younger and more liberal and experimental staff who have provided the central dynamic through which changes brought in by Mr Redmond have

been implemented. Indeed these new staff were referred to by one teacher in an interview with me as Mr Redmond's 'nice little niche'. Significantly, as will be discussed further later, of the three South Asian teachers in the school, all were appointed under the headship of Mr Redmond.

It was primarily through the initiatives of Mr Redmond and the a number of the new staff that he had appointed, particularly Mr Chohan the new co-ordinator of Section 11 posts at the school, that the school developed its multicultural/anti-racist approach. The school's general statement on multiculturalism is included in Appendix 3 alongside a draft statement on anti-racism that the headteacher had formulated for discussion among the teaching staff and governing body for inclusion in the booklet that can be found in Appendix four. What is evident in this is the growing emphasis within the school on racism and bullying rather than simply one that hopes to encourage greater awareness of each other's cultural heritage. This is to be compared to the national discourses on education that have not only failed to offer a clear and explicit policy as regards multicultural and anti-racist education (Tomlinson, 1981; Troyna and Williams, 1986) but have, as we have seen, increasingly been jettisoning any notion of multiculturalism (Troyna and Carrington, 1990). At the time the field work was undertaken, however, the school's 'anti-racist' stance was confined largely to the headteacher's talks in Family Gathering over the need to be tolerant of one another and the unacceptability of racism. Part of the reason Mr Redmond invited me into the school was to offer them a more detailed insight into the nature of racism in the school so that they could build a more comprehensive whole-school approach. In the meantime, the most prominent expressions of the school's developing multicultural approach could be seen in relation to the celebration of Diwali and, more implicitly although nevertheless equally important, the use of sports to encourage the positive participation of Black boys in the school. It is to these that the

chapter now turns.

5.6.3 School assemblies and Diwali

Against the multicultural education policy of the LEA and the commitment of Mr Redmond and the newly appointed staff, multiculturalism had been gaining increasing prominence within the school. In the early stages, however, tensions did emerge between the new and more liberal staff and the more long-standing traditionalists. One of the most prominent points of conflict in recent years at the school revolved around the issue of praying in Birthday Assemblies. While such prayers were only addressed to 'God', Ms Patterson complained that it was still offensive to ask children to close their eyes, bow their heads and put their hands together for prayer. She added that whilst Jesus was not overtly mentioned it still gave the strong impression of a Christian service. As the following quote from Mrs Woods illustrates, this was seen by many of the pragmatic multiculturalists as going too far and being expressive of a general shift towards privileging the Asians in the school:

Very often it's perhaps heads and teachers who are more sort of protective towards the Asian children like putting your hands together in prayers and saying "Amen". Now I don't think the Asian parents mind that at all. I've never had one Asian parent come to me saying "I don't want my child to be in a Christian assembly, I don't want my child to say Amen, put their hands together". But it's the white teachers who come in and say that.

This perception of the favouring of the South Asians was also indicated, by these teachers, through the appointment of three South Asian members of staff by Mr Redmond. According to one teacher, he was 'for the Asians'. It is interesting to also note here how the general discourses on the inner city and inadequate parenting have been taken up and re-worked within these discourses. Here, the White parents are seen as having no faith. This, as Mrs Woods went on to argue in the same interview, together with the general decline in morality and shift to criminality on the estate increases the need

for the teaching of the basic Christian doctrine:

I feel it's the Christian faith that's not being adequately supported. I know we celebrate all the festivals but this is still a Christian country and a lot of the Asian children they get their religious instruction out of school whereas sometimes school is the only place a child gets religious instruction and I'm talking not just about the Bible and the stories of the Bible but I'm talking about the ten commandments and the way to behave towards each other, those basic things [...] Again the White children are missing out in our anxiety to accommodate and provide for the needs of the ethnic children we have neglected the White children and perhaps we just need to bring it up a little bit to get it in balance

Beyond these sporadic tensions, however, there was a broad and almost unanimous consensus in favour of multiculturalism. This can largely be understood against the backdrop of the teachers' experiences of working at Anne Devlin and the problems they faced. Here, the general struggles to maintain order and control are refracted through the broader discourses on the inner-city to foreground 'race' as a prominent factor in making sense of these problems. Not surprisingly, even for the more long-standing and traditionalist members of staff, a pragmatic acceptance of multiculturalism almost became inevitable as their problems came to be partly understood in terms of the children's sense of alienation and disaffection from the school which, in turn, was to be explained by the absence of a multicultural approach. Multiculturalism, it was thought, would reduce tensions in the school, maintain order and encourage a positive commitment to work among the children.

It was within this context that the school came to spend more time, year on year, in its celebration of Diwali. This came to be the flagship of the school's multicultural approach where a whole Family Gathering would be given over to the festival. Over recent years it had become more and more embedded within the school as individual classes would prepare specific things for the assembly over the weeks leading up to Diwali. Each class

would contribute something to the assembly whether it is a dance, puppet show or a story. For the three infant classes, in the weeks leading up to Diwali they would be asked to colour in pictures relating to the festival and be read stories about Diwali. It was significant that in the Diwali assembly itself a number of the more long-standing, traditional members of staff would attend wearing Saris. Much of the initiative that lay behind the celebration of Diwali at Anne Devlin came from Mr Chohan the co-ordinator of Section 11 teaching at the school. It was also him and Mrs Coombs, the other full-time Section 11 teacher at the school, who read most of the Diwali stories in the infant classes.

However, the impact of these multicultural initiatives on the children cannot simply be assumed. Indeed, contrary to the intended aims of these initiatives, what will be shown in the following chapters is that, in the absence of a more comprehensive approach to multiculturalism and anti-racism, they tended to be interpreted by many of the children as re-inforcing their general view of South Asian children as the Other.

5.6.4 Football and Black boys

Alongside the celebration of Diwali and the strong discouragement of racist incidents, the other main strand to the school's multicultural approach was through sport and particularly football (see also Jones, 1977; Carrington, 1983). The present popularity of football at Anne Devlin can be traced back to the arrival of Mr Redmond and his appointment of Mr Wallace. Before that time, while there was a Year 6 school team, coached by the deputy-head, Mr Pearson, football and sports more generally were given little priority in the school. The arrival of Mr Redmond and Mr Wallace represented a significant change to this however. Their shared interest in football with Mr Pearson ensured that football was progressively given more time and importance within the school. By the start of the academic year in 1992, there were four

football practices per week for the junior children held on the school playing field after school; three led by Mr Wallace and one by the headteacher, Mr Redmond. The school had entered two teams into local county school leagues and Mr Redmond refereed all matches whilst Mr Pearson continued to be the coach of the first team.

The interest and enthusiasm that these three men had for football at the school was very evident in their prolonged analysis of past matches and discussions of various players and team tactics for future games. This obvious enthusiasm permeated the rest of the school as will be seen and had the effect of significantly increasing the popularity of football amongst boys in the playground. During junior morning playtimes and during dinner times throughout the year, the main part of the playground, or playing field if it was dry weather, was dominated by older junior boys playing very organised and guarded games of football. These boys represented the 'footballing elite' in the school and were principally composed of those Year 5 and 6 boys who played in the school teams. Other boys could not simply join in but had to be invited. Their spatial dominance together with the status that was generated surrounding footballing ability permeated through to the younger, infant boys many of whom would learn from and treat the older boys as role models.

Not surprisingly, football was a very male affair. Girls were systematically excluded from participating in games during playtimes and only a small handful of older girls felt able to brave the 'hostile and patronising' attitudes of the boys that they would inevitably face when attending football practices after school. Moreover, what was equally striking about the 'footballing elite' was the over-representation of Black children. Whilst there were around a quarter of children at Anne Devlin who were Black, when it came to the footballing elite, over three-quarters of them were Black. And it was this fact

that lay behind the use of football, and to a lesser extent sport more generally, as a significant element of the school's multicultural strategy. It was regarded as a way of trying to positively reach out to and engage a number of older Black boys who were perceived as already becoming disaffected with the school. As Mr Wallace explained:

I think it's a very positive thing for a lot of the children [...] there's several examples I can think of where there's children who've struggled in various areas of the classroom, maybe their behaviour's been poor and there's been a lot of negative responses because of that - not for anyone's, not anyone's fault in particular, but football's given an avenue for kids to succeed where perhaps they wouldn't be otherwise. And that's true for all athletics I think. [...] Some children's behaviour in the school in, in general has improved perhaps as a by-product of them gaining a bit of responsibility or a bit of credibility at football.

It needs to be remembered in this that the significant over-representation of Black boys within the school teams meant that, when the teachers referred to football and 'the footballers' they were predominantly referring to Black boys. For Mr Redmond, football provided one of the only chances these boys had: 'for them to have a normal relationship, and a positive relationship, with a teacher'. This perception of role and uses of football was also evident during dinner times when Mr Redmond was observed, on a few occasions, going out and chatting to, and at times playing football with, the boys. In referring to this he commented that:

it's quite nice for me to get out of the staffroom if you like and, you know, have a bit of a kick about. Erm, it's not a sort of, you know, one of the lads sort of thing, but it is nice, enjoyable time where we can have a chat about football. Er, maybe seeing me in a bit more of a human light.

The ultimate effect of all of this was to create a specifically masculine ethos within the school. It was an ethos that also permeated into more formal contexts within the school, including assemblies. The following incident, taken from Family Gathering, is quite representative of the masculine ethos

and banter that had been struck up between the senior male members of staff and the older, predominantly Black boys. Here Mr Pearson has been invited to the front, by Mr Redmond, to tell the assembly about the athletics meeting that the school participated in the previous evening. I have chosen this transcript relating to athletics rather than one specifically concerning football principally because of the way it clearly illustrates the exclusion of girls. While the football team is all-male, the athletics team contained a significant number of girls. However, as will be seen, while Mr Pearson and Mr Redmond could relay detailed information and stories relating to the boys they had very little to say about the girls. Indeed, for Mr Pearson, he failed to even remember one of the girl's names. I have quoted the incident at length to give some appreciation of the nature and extent of the rapport that had been built up between these male members of staff and some of the Black boys:

- Mr Pearson: Would the ten people who entered the throws and jumps the other night go out to the front and form a line please. Very quickly so that you can all see/
 Mr Redmond: /Can you all be very quiet and listen to Mr Pearson/
 Mr Pearson: /Very quiet! *[the ten children line up at front facing rest of assembly. All are black - 9 African/Caribbean and one Asian - Darshana. Mr Pearson stands behind the children and puts his hands on the shoulders of the first two boys in the line]* These two boys here, Juan and Nathan, they threw the cricket ball and how old are you?
 Juan: Eight
 Mr Pearson: Eight! Can see how little he is to me and he was throwing against eleven year olds.
 Mr Redmond: Well the boy who won, just to get some idea, the boy who won was nearly as big as Mr Pearson so you can imagine Mr Pearson throwing against Juan that's a bit what it was like.
 Mr Pearson: And out of the eight in that throwing competition Juan came fourth which was brilliant. And those at the top here can probably realise that 37 metres 80 is quite a long way and it beats his personal best so well done. Nathan also threw about 34 metres; threw very well.
 Who else have we got here? *[looks to girl next in line who whispers to him]*

Darshana: *[whispers to Mr Pearson]* Darshana!

Mr Pearson: Darshana? *[she nods]* Darshana also came third in the under-eleven girl's long jump 'so she goes through to the finals at Frampton Lane. Where's Charlene?

Mr Redmond: Charlene's here

Mr Pearson: Charlene played, you come round *[leads her round to stand by him]*, you were in this same event, come here Charlene, and Charlene came fourth so just missed out. Louisa was in the under-twelve girl's, under-eleven - the older girls' long jump, and and won it with 3 metres 29 I believe and Natasha *[moving along line putting hands on her shoulders]* came fifth in that same event.

Over here *[One of male teachers laughs]* Peter - I think everybody knows Peter *[Mr Pearson puts arms on his shoulders and jostles him in friendly manner - children laugh]* every year he has a massive competition with this one lad from Ivy Bank don't you? And last year in the area sports; he just beat him in the area, when he went to Frampton Lane the lad from Ivy Bank just beat him. The other night it was Peter's turn again to win with a jump of 3 metres 96 tremendous

Mr Redmond: It's probably worth mentioning that he jumped again, he also plays football against Matthew Highton, but he, er, he's the boy who beat you last year and was, in fact, the County champion and, erm, can't prove this but I would guess that Matthew was last year the best long-jumper in your age group in the whole of the County, er, I would think you were probably second as well so they'll renew their battle at, er/

Mr Pearson: /Frampton Lane/

Mr Redmond: /Frampton Lane/

Mr Pearson: *[moving along the line]* And Ray goes through to Frampton Lane as well the same event as Peter, he's was third with a jump of just under 3 metres 50; I think it was 3 metres 47 and [...] he was third and goes through to Frampton Lane. Well done!

And as chance would have it he had hurt himself after the warm-up bit; jumping around in the stands, so I've seen him jump outside and he's excellent - he'll be going a lot closer to four metres. Over here these two Deke and Adam, they were in the younger boys long-jump. And they had a battle royal as well - Deke did with a lad; one jump put Deke in the lead, and the next put the other lad in the lead - it was another one - another piper. In the end Deke just got beat by about that much about 6 or 7 centimetres and Deke's jump was close to that you were about 3, 47 weren't you? And Adam

jumped into third place with 3 metres 31 so both of these go to Frampton Lane. So we've got Deke at Frampton Lane, Adam at Frampton Lane, Ray, Peter, Louisa and? *[looks again at Darshana with confused expression]*

Darshana: Darshana!

Mr Pearson: and Darshana!. There so we're well represented.
[children return to places]

Not surprisingly, incidents such as these generated a level of resentment amongst some of the other, mainly female, staff. One reason was related to the amount of time given over to these discussions in assemblies; often lasting longer than the 'moral' talk given by the headteacher. Another reason related to the way that some teachers, especially those who were directly responsible for teaching these boys, felt it grossly unfair that their perceived bad behaviour generally manifest in the classroom and playground was either being ignored or, according to some, being rewarded by the prominence given to them in assemblies. This general feeling can be illustrated in the quote below from an interview with Ms Patterson who had complained on several occasions to the headteacher. In the following she was referring to another Family Gathering, which I had unfortunately missed, and was explaining to me what had happened:

there was just so much about football, I mean it just went on for ages and ages and ages and it was all about the Man-of-the Match and the Sportsmanship and how good these sportsmanship was and how wonderful it was and it was like Mr Wallace and Mr Redmond and Mr Pearson having their little joke and it just went on for too long and it was all male-oriented.

The squad stood up - they were all boys. The thing is is that these boys who were standing up are the boys that are always in trouble at dinner time and the ones that mess about in the class but it's totally overlooked. They represent the school even when they can't behave in school [...] there's no consistency at all. These kids shouldn't be representing school if they can't behave in school.

[...] I told Stuart *[Mr Redmond]* what I felt about the terminology and, erm, basically when they were going to play a match, when he was getting the people together in the car he said "come on lads because we want to find erm, we want you to all be good sportspersons" and laughed at me! Which I mean I suppose it is funny and I'm sure it wasn't meant in any nasty way but if you're going to take that attitude then what's going to change? It's going to carry on being sexist rubbish

isn't it? It's going to carry on being all the lads together, get into our cars we're going to drive off and slaughter them, you know. It's just crap! And the thing is it's very competitive: "we won!" "we won!" "we drew!" "unfortunately we lost" - it's not the fact that you, that they all had a good time

This emphasis on developing a masculine rapport had the consequence, as Ms Patterson alluded to in the above, of allegiances being made at times between the boys and male teachers sometimes at the expense of female teachers. To take the analogy of the school as a family one stage further it could be argued that this is expressive of the general collusive relationships between fathers and sons and the adverse effects of this on mothers.

5.7 Varieties of approaches to teaching at Anne Devlin

My concern so far has deliberately been to draw attention to the broader discursive processes and practices within the school as they come to bear most directly on the salience of 'race' in the social worlds of young children. As such the chapter has focused largely on drawing out more generalised patterns of behaviour among the teaching staff and highlighting some of the more common and shared aspects of their teaching habitus. As a partial corrective to this over-generalised view I want to draw attention, in this final section, to some of the varieties in approaches to teaching found among the school staff. In doing this through a brief discussion of the three reception/year one infant teachers this will also provide a more detailed introduction to the following chapters⁵. The main point I want to develop here, however, is that while there are very significant differences in the outlook of the three teachers, these differences only effect the degree to which the broader discursive processes and practices take effect in particular contexts rather than more directly contradicting and challenging them per se.

Of the three reception/year one infant teachers, Mrs Brogan remained most

⁵Details concerning the size of these three classes and the gender and ethnic distribution of the children can be found in appendix 2.

closely associated with the general characteristics and strategies of teachers outlined earlier. This has been her first and only teaching post and she has been at the school for eleven years. She has developed an approach through her years of experience at the school which relies quite heavily on a segmented structure for the day, the strategic use of 'free-time' and a more detached, calm approach to the children. She will rarely be heard to shout at her children compared to the other two teachers and, while her notably 'laid-back' approach sometimes forms the basis of jokes and occasional teasing on behalf of her colleagues, it does represent 'the line of least resistance' to teaching at Anne Devlin; enabling Mrs Brogan to cope relatively easily with the demands of teaching from day to day.

In contrast Mrs Scott was much older, has been at the school for fourteen years and is keen to retire. Her only reason for remaining at Anne Devlin is because of her need to financially support her husband who has retired early through disability. A common view amongst her colleagues, shared by Mrs Scott herself, was that she has reached her limit and is only minimally coping. As Mr Knox, an experienced supply teacher used regularly by the school and who was later in the year appointed as a part-time section 11 teacher, commented:

I think she's [*Mrs Scott*] fading, starting to fade myself. I think there's too much tension, you know, and it's getting to her. She's been losing her temper here and there. You've got to be calm and love coming in and teaching these kids because if you don't, if you can't put that effort in and enjoy what you're doing with these kids it shows

Mrs Scott had reached a situation where the more she tried to control her class the more she had to resort to direct intervention and control which only further added to her general tiredness and fatigue which then exacerbated her perception of being out of control and needing to control the children even more. In other words while the institutional support was there for her to distance herself far more from the children, her general

levels of stress and anxiety together with her waning commitment to the job had impeded her ability to do this successfully.

Moreover, her tendency to rely heavily on other support staff (section 11 teachers and ancillaries) who would at times take a leading role in particular sessions, only added to the discontinuity experienced by the children and Mrs Scott's perceptions of being out of control. Her approach was therefore, as illustrated earlier with the incident in the classroom involving Jordan, very didactic and controlling. She would resort to shouting quite frequently; continually 'bombard' certain children in the words of one ancillary teacher; and would generally organise her class very tightly. The latter fact illustrated, for instance, by her general tendency to use the carpet, throughout the day, to bring the children together between activities in comparison with the other two classes. Mrs Scott therefore stood as testimony to the other teachers of the consequences of not successfully organising and controlling their classes through the types of social, spatial and temporal strategies outlined earlier.

While Mrs Scott could be said to be the most 'disengaged' of the three teachers, Ms Patterson could, in contrast, be arguably the most 'engaged'. She was much younger and had been a teacher for only four years. She was very committed to her work, was the regional representative of the NUT (National Union of Teachers) and keen to incorporate progressive, anti-oppressive practice into her teaching including, most prominently, anti-racism. While the other two teachers would often bring their classes together quite frequently especially towards the end of the day to read them a story, show them a video or do singing with them. This was as much to give each other a break than anything else. Ms Patterson purposely avoided doing this however arguing that there's no point showing them a video unless you intend to follow it up with the class and that they already do enough singing. Moreover, she rarely used 'free-time' with the children preferring to develop

games and activities that the children could continue with throughout the day. Her's was therefore a very structured and pedagogically controlled classroom. This approach not surprisingly irritated Mrs Brogan and Mrs Scott at times as it was perceived as an indirect criticism of their own approach. The fact that Ms Patterson spent so much time preparing for lessons and developing new and innovative themes around which to plan her teaching over the term was therefore seen as being typical of a teacher 'fresh out of training school'.

The differences in these three approaches and their effects on the experiences of the children will become more evident through the remaining chapters. However, I would maintain that these differences were ones of degree rather than being qualitatively or quantitatively different. There were still large parts of the timetables of the three classes that were unavoidably shared including playtimes, school assemblies and other combined lessons such as stories, P.E. and singing. The three classrooms were also strongly influenced and structured by the imposition of the National Curriculum and the need to reach certain attainment targets with the children.

Overall, while the more controlling and didactic approach of Mrs Scott's will evidently lead her to publicly chastise and over-discipline Black children more than the Mrs Brogan or Ms Patterson, this process was still evident in their classes, albeit to a lesser degree. Ms Patterson, for example, explained to me one day that she was aware of all the research on Black children and the problems of labelling them and yet she still found that it was the Black children in her class who were more likely to present behavioural problems. This was indeed the case that while Ms Patterson would be relatively less likely to resort to the public strategies of discipline evident within the school more generally compared to Mrs Scott, when she did she would still tend towards focusing on the Black children.

Her awareness of racism and her commitment to anti-racist education suggests that there are more broader and complex reasons for her actions and behaviour than simply her own racist beliefs. Because of the teachers' location within a school structure that has been constructed through, and is expressive of, wider discourses on 'race', gender and the inner city, then their individual actions, without institutional support, will only tend to affect the degree by which these discourses are reproduced and thus impact upon the children rather than challenge them to any great extent. The point to be made here, then, is that we need to move away from the focus on teachers as the sole 'reality definers' of the school as has often been the case in studies of infant classes. Not only are they, and their actions, located within a whole range of complex and inter-locking discursive processes and practices but the children themselves are very active in their reading and re-working of the teacher's underlying messages. There is a need, therefore, to highlight the subjective worlds of the young children themselves so as to increase our understanding of how these broader discourses on 'race', manifest nationally, locally and in the school, come to influence and shape these children's social worlds. It is this that will provide the focus of the remaining four chapters.

5.8 Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with drawing out the broader discursive processes and practices found within the school that most directly help us to understanding the salience of 'race' within the young children's social worlds. In this the chapter has drawn attention to the way that the broader discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city manifest within the field of Manor Park have come to influence and shape the way that the teachers at Anne Devlin have come to understand their dual roles of teaching and discipline. As regards the former the chapter has drawn attention to the influences of discourses on single parenthood and familial decline in foregrounding the teacher's own social/parental role in relation to teaching.

While, as regards the latter, the chapter has shown how discourses on 'race' and the inner city have come to significantly influence the nature of discipline within the school and the prominence of Black children, and boys in particular, within its disciplinary modes. The importance of locality was also highlighted in the chapter by the way in which the school has progressively increased its commitment to multicultural/anti-racist education against the far more hostile tide of opinion found within the field of national politics and education. Multiculturalism, the chapter has shown, was evident in two main aspects: the celebration of Diwali and the encouragement of Black boys into sport. All these factors, together with those discussed in the previous chapter, provide the main contextual ingredients for understanding the nature and form of the young children's social worlds and it is to these that the thesis now turns.

CHAPTER SIX

'From Boys to Men': Black Boys in the Field of Masculine Peer Group Relations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the position of Black¹ boys within the field of masculine peer group relations. The chapter will begin by contextualising the position of Black boys within the field by developing the analysis of teacher discourses on Black boys introduced in the previous chapter. After outlining the main elements of the field of masculine peer group relations the chapter will show how these teacher discourses, together with those reproduced on the estate in relation to 'race', crime and the inner city, have created a tendency for Black boys to be positioned in a certain way within the field; one that reproduces their construction as quintessentially masculine and which, in turn, acts to invest them with significant forms of symbolic capital. The chapter will then draw attention to the differing experiences of Black boys at Anne Devlin within this. Some, it will be shown, are drawn into confrontations with predominantly White boys who feel their own masculine identities threatened by their presence. As will be seen these

¹Throughout this thesis I have used the term Black to refer to both African/Caribbean children and those of dual heritage. The reason for this will become evident as this and the following chapters unfold. What I want to argue is that both African/Caribbean and mixed heritage children are positioned very similarly within discourses on 'race'. While there are a number of significant differences in their experiences of schooling and peer group relations, some of which will be explored later in this chapter, the discursive themes reproduced on the Manor Park estate of Black people as street-wise and athletic come to act upon African/Caribbean and dual heritage children at Anne Devlin in very similar ways.

confrontations take place over a range of contexts and spaces including, significantly, over girls. It is through these struggles within the field that the broader discourses on Black boys come to influence and shape the very identity of these boys through their development of an emphasised sense of masculinity. For other Black boys, however, they have been able to largely avoid these discursive processes and develop a sense of identity that draws upon very different forms of masculinity.

The focus for this, and the following chapters, is simply to highlight some of the more prominent discursive processes that come to influence and shape the formation of young children's racialised identities. No claims are made here concerning the generalisability or representative nature of the experiences and unfolding identities to be discussed. This is an important point. Rather, what I am concerned with in this study is to examine the contexts within which some children are drawn into these processes more than others and, through the use of case studies, what the effects of these processes are on their developing sense of selves.

6.2 Teacher discourses on Black boys

The previous chapter has already drawn attention to the tendency for Black children to be drawn into the disciplinary modes of the school. In this, it was highlighted how the discourses on 'race', crime and the inner city prevalent on Manor Park estate provided the medium through which many teachers came to re-interpret and make sense of the problems they faced in maintaining order and discipline. In line with a growing body of research, the chapter illustrated how it was therefore Black children, and particularly Black boys, that were far more likely to be disproportionately disciplined and publicly chastised in comparison with their peers (Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Furlong, 1984; Green, 1985; Wright, 1986, 1992a; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Mirza, 1992). what I want to highlight here, however, is

the complex and diverse way in which Black boys come to be constituted through teachers' discursive practices. In this there are a variety of processes that exist alongside the more overt and disciplinary modes highlighted so effectively in the research listed above, that also come to reproduce the perception of Black boys as 'troublesome'. I want to look at just two of these: the more deracialised and personal teacher discourses on Black boys and the teachers' more proactive practices aimed at positively engaging Black boys.

As regards the former it is important to emphasise the point made in the last chapter that the teachers' appropriation and use of racialised discourses on Black boys does not uniformly take place across all contexts and situations. In this it was argued that teachers were more likely to make use of racialised assumptions when placed within a particularly stressful or demanding context. At times when discipline and order have broken down in the classroom, for instance, teachers had to act quickly and make snap-decisions to regain control and it was here that they were more likely to draw upon a set of taken-for-granted assumptions about the children, including those about Black boys, that had become part of their teaching habitus. Even this attempt to contextualise the overtly racialised practices of teachers could be seen as too over-generalised however. For, as was also alluded to, the frequency with which teachers drew upon these assumptions about Black boys also partly depended upon the teachers' particular biographies.

For the most part, aside from these particularly stressful incidents, teachers were able to develop a more personalised relationship with particular Black boys and to get to know them individually. It was here that the influence of the broader discourses on 'race' was much less marked and teachers, instead, would try and make sense of the boys' behaviour by recourse to a more deracialised and individually-specific set of discourses. This was the case for Paul, for instance, a Black boy from Mrs Scott's class. His troublesome

behaviour was explained by Mrs Scott in his internal school report as being the result of him simply being 'easily led'.

However, this emphasis on Paul's disruptive behaviour, even through the use of essentially deracialised discourses on him being 'easily led', are still located within an overall discursive frame that encourages people to read that discourse in a racialised way. For Paul, the discursive frame is most immediately provided by Mrs Scott in relation to her perceptions of his father. She mentioned his father, who was at the time of the field work in maximum security prison, during one conversation we had in the playground when talking about Paul. As she said:

one day I had a too-do with him and, because he doesn't even, he tends to be a bit wild; he doesn't listen to what you're saying [...] But I shall imagine Paul's father is a big West Indian man, because Paul is quite big and the mother's blonde, and I can imagine, you know, perhaps have to be in maximum security if he's got a temper or some other thing.

Not only is Paul's misbehaviour located within the context of his violent Black father but this is also reinforced by contrasting this 'big West Indian' with the bonny, rosey-cheeked, blonde and therefore *White* mother. These racialised discourses therefore provide the essential context within which the other more personal and apparently non-racialised discourses need to be read and understood. For Paul then, Mrs Scott's comments concerning his tendency to be 'easily led' only serve to foreground his 'troublesome' behaviour which, in turn, comes to signify 'race'. In this sense we can say that once Black boys, more generally, have come to be discursively constructed as disruptive and aggressive then this provides the essential context within which a whole range of other discourses, which appear to be deracialised, effectively act to reproduce that child's racialised identity (Reeves, 1983; Miles, 1989, 1993).

It is this more complex and implicit sense in which these discourses on the

'troublesome' nature of Black boys are reproduced that can also be seen in relation to a number of teachers' more proactive and constructive strategies aimed at trying to positively engage Black boys. In this it was commonly thought by many of the teachers that to positively encourage, praise and involve Black boys in their lessons and activities would help to constructively engage them in the tasks at hand and thus detract them from what was perceived to be their more 'anti-social' activities. This type of approach can be illustrated in the following incident involving Mr Knox, a supply teacher who was due to take Ms Patterson's class for their weekly P.E. lesson that morning held over in the sports hall at the neighbourhood centre on the estate. This is a fairly representative example of the degree to which a wide variety of strategies can inadvertently reproduce the discursive positioning of Black boys as 'troublesome'. In the following, Mr Knox was taking the register with the children sat on the carpet while being interrupted intermittently by late arrivals; one of whom was Devan a Black boy who was also perceived as being a 'problem' child.

Mr Knox	<i>[Devan and another child enter the room]</i> Who's just come in? [...] We've got, Devan's here now isn't he? Devan's here. Now Devan, when he's with me <i>[puts his arm around Devan and turns to rest of class]</i> Devan is a very, very good boy! Is Kuldeep here? <i>[looking at register whilst still holding onto Devan]</i>
Child:	No
Mr Knox:	No Kuldeep? Right. Now Devan, remember last term when you were with me? Who was a very, very good boy?
Children:	<i>[a number shout out]</i> Devan!
Mr Knox:	Now I bet you he walks beautifully to the Sports Hall. Devan come and take these down for me please <i>[hands him registers]</i> I bet he walks beautifully to the Sports Hall [...]

This 'proactive' strategy adopted by Mr Knox and evident in the above also formed the basis of the interaction in the following incident later that morning in the sports hall. Here the children have all just got changed and

are stood in a line waiting for the lesson to begin. Mr Knox is talking to Wendy, a member of staff at the sports hall helps the teachers organise the P.E. lessons.

Mr Knox: That's very, very good! [*turns to Wendy*] You know this young lady [*putting his arm around one of the girls*] this morning, she's been brilliant
Wendy: Has she been good?
Mr Knox: Brilliant! Soon as she came in the class room she sat down you know and she's been so quiet/
Wendy: /Well that's super!/
Mr Knox: /And Devan! Every, he's been as good as gold and his manners! And he's held the doors for people without being asked!
Wendy: [*to Devan*] Are you feeling quite well? [*Devan nods*] Yes? Well gracious me! Right, Devan's going to be the leader today then [...]

As before, this is an example of an explicitly deracialised discourse that nevertheless tends to reproduce the racialised perceptions of Black boys as 'troublesome'. It is illustrative of the way that relations do not always have to be overtly antagonistic and disciplinarian for them to reproduce the belief that they are 'bad'. What I have done in this section then is to draw attention to some of the more implicit set of processes, that exist alongside the general tendency for Black boys to be drawn into the disciplinary modes of the school, which all complexly articulate in the public construction of Black boys as 'troublesome'. It is against this context that some of the Black boys at Anne Devlin come to be positioned in the field of masculine peer group relations in a particular way and it is to this that the chapter now turns.

6.3 Black boys and the field of masculine peer-group relations

It is within the specific fields of children's peer group relations that their racialised identities were most immediately forged and reproduced. For the Black boys at Anne Devlin their racialised identities were continually constructed and reconstructed within the field of masculine peer group relations where boys struggled over the various forms of cultural, social and symbolic capital most associated with masculinity. Alongside more

traditional expressions of masculine competence, including who can run the fastest, finish a piece of academic work the quickest, play football most competently and who has the longest pencil, there existed a range of more specific masculine forms that were strongly influenced by broader discourses manifest within popular culture which came to be appropriated and refracted through the specific site of Manor Park estate.

Here we can see the influence of the discourses on violence that had become part of the folklore of Manor Park as discussed in chapter four and the perceived need for men and boys on the estate to be physical and street-wise. It was an influence that provided the most immediate lens through which the boys at Anne Devlin came to selectively read and appropriate popular culture. Computer games, especially those in the genre of *Street Fighter* and *Mortal Combat*, provided the context within which many boys could be seen regularly rehearsing and perfecting the basic kicks, punches and manoeuvres associated with this form of fighting between themselves. Indeed such was the popularity of kick boxing among boys that the headteacher had to refer to the dangers associated with it and remind children that it was banned a number of times in school assemblies.

Alongside such public displays of physical competence, also reinforced principally through football and races, a second significant aspect of the boys' cultural capital was knowledge, especially *adult* knowledge. As will be seen shortly, to talk about girls and sex, to understand and competently use a broad range of swear words or 'cusses', and to know about the latest movies and popular music were all signs of masculine maturity and thus acted as significant forms of cultural capital for the boys. In many ways, alongside competent displays of physicality, the appropriation of such adult ways of knowing formed a significant strand of the boys' presentation of themselves as street-wise.

Against the backdrop of the broader discourses on 'race' manifest within and beyond the school, Black boys came to be positioned in quite specific ways within this field of male peer group relations. They had already come to be discursively constructed as disruptive and hard. Their frequent confrontations with teaching staff only acted to further reinforce this perception among their fellow pupils (see also Ross and Ryan, 1990). Moreover, the use of sport and especially football, to try and engage the older Black boys also helped to reproduce the discursive themes of Black boys being sporting and athletic. These broader discourses therefore acted to construct a perception of Black boys as quintessentially masculine. This, together with the general celebration of specific Black cultural forms within popular culture more generally, had the consequence of investing Black boys with a significant level of symbolic capital within the field of masculine peer group relations (see also Hewitt, 1986; Jones, 1988; Back, 1990, 1991).

This positioning of Black boys within the field of masculine peer group relations elicited a number of contradictory responses among some predominantly White boys in the school. At one level they held a grudging respect for Black boys. Being seen as aggressive, hard and good at sport Black boys were, after all, walking symbols of masculinity. However, it was precisely because of this that some White boys felt slightly threatened by the presence of Black boys. These competent displays of masculinity by Black boys could only act to bring into question their own masculine status and it was this sense of threat that led some White boys into physically and verbally confronting Black boys as a means of re-asserting their own identity.

These confrontations were not experienced uniformly by all Black boys however but were heavily reliant on context. In this two main factors - visibility and territory - increased the likelihood that certain Black boys

would be open to verbal and physical abuse from White boys compared to others. The first of these relates to the numbers of Black boys playing together generally in the playground. In this sense it was those Black boys that more regularly played together as a *group* i.e. Stephen, Jordan and Paul from Mrs Scott's class and Peter, Devan and Michael, the former two from Ms Patterson's class, that were more likely to attract the wrath of some White boys. Here it is their increased 'visibility' as a *group* of Black boys that appeared to increase the sense of threat and hostility that some White boys felt towards them. In contrast there were a few Black boys who were largely able to avoid the gaze of these White boys and thus avoid such confrontations. As will be seen later, this was certainly the case for Wesley, the only Black boy in Mrs Brogan's class at the beginning of the school year, who mostly played with a small group of White male friends from his class.

The second main factor related to what the White boys perceived as the infringement onto their territory by Black boys. Territory here was very broadly and fluidly defined. At one level it revolved around notions of loyalty towards other boys who may, for instance, be being picked on. This sense of loyalty was defined not only in terms of more intimate friendship groups formed in the playground, but also in terms more generally of membership of the same class and/or year group. As will be highlighted below, the contingent and fluid nature with which lines of inclusion and exclusion were drawn in this way resulted in the formation of a complex and contradictory web of social relations among the children. On another level these notions of territory were also highly gendered and developed in terms of a sense of ownership of certain girls, again identified in very contingent ways. Against this territorial background then, the more that White boys perceived Black boys encroaching on their territory, either through conflict with their friends or classmates, or through playing with 'their' girls, the more that these White boys were inclined to verbally and physically

challenge the Black boys.

It is this complex set of discursive processes that are articulated in the construction of the racialised identities of some of the Black boys that I now want to highlight and explore in more detail through a case study of a friendship group of four five- and six-year-old boys: Stephen (African/Caribbean), Jordan (Dual Heritage), Paul (Dual Heritage) and Daniel (White) from Mrs Scott's class. In doing this I want to illustrate the way in which their racialised identities are formed against their experience, as a *group* of Black boys, of the complex set of social processes outlined above and in the previous chapters. While Daniel is the only White boy in the group I want to maintain that his regular association with the other Black boys draws him into some of these racialised processes. I want to stress at this stage however that what follows is a case study and is not held up as being in any way representative of all Black boys in Anne Devlin. In many ways it is an ideal typical case study of the particular consequences, in relation to their developing sense of identity, for those Black boys who are most completely drawn into the specific set of racialised discursive processes on Black boys. In this sense their emerging identities were unique and, especially their appropriation of discourses on gender and sexuality were not found with either Peter and Devan nor with Wesley. Rather than offering a representative account of Black boys' experiences of schooling therefore, I am primarily interested in drawing our attention to and increasing our understanding of the types of discursive processes that directly affect Black boys. This first example is therefore located towards the end of a broader continuum where the processes have greatest effect. The second case study to follow, involving Wesley, provides a corrective to this and is located towards the other end of the continuum as it draws attention to the contexts within which such processes have least effect.

6.4 The 'Bad' boys

6.4.1 *Fighting to survive*

The four boys, whom I have collectively named the 'Bad' boys², constituted a relatively stable friendship grouping that lasted throughout my fieldwork. They were all in Mrs Scott's class and had been there for two terms prior to the start of the academic year 1992/3 which was the focus of this research. They would be seen regularly sitting together in class and/or playing together in the playground either as a group of four or some variation of three or two. The friendship group could be regarded as quite an open and public affair, however, and a number of secondary friendship networks mushroomed out from this basic grouping. Stephen, for instance, was regularly in control of one of the footballs in the playground and had developed relationships with a number of other boys around this. Stephen and Jordan, and Paul and Daniel, also regularly played kiss-chase with their respective 'girlfriends' which also widened out the social networks. The nature of the 'Bad' boys' friendship group and their resultant identities were therefore as much the consequence of relationships developed with others outside of that group as it was the result of relationships forged within the foursome.

This is particularly true in terms of their relationship with other boys which was one dominated by a significant level of provocation and bullying. These often physical confrontations a staple ingredient of the 'Bad' boys' playground experiences. In the following quote, taken from an interview with two White boys, Jason and Craig, the significance of territory in relation to such confrontations is highlighted. Here territory has come to be defined around girls and, as can be seen, it was the fact that a group of Black boys were playing with White girls, some of whom were from their class, which lay behind the

²This is a term that they themselves adopted in interviews with me whilst complaining about the way they are unfairly picked on and labelled by teachers and other children. Here they significantly reclaimed the term and reversed its meaning in referring to themselves ('Bad' now meaning good).

White boys' sense of threat and consequent assaults on the 'Bad' boys:

PC: [...] but tell me about before, you know Daniel and Paul
Jason: Ah yeah!
PC: From Mrs Scott's - what was all that about?
Jason: Erm [...] Mark, Nicky, me, Craig [*all White*] started it [...] we started it but/
Craig: /and, and, and we made a plan didn't we
[...]
PC: You started it [...] with Daniel and Paul? Why?
Craig: It, it started when/
Jason: /You know John, John was catching Christine [*White girl*]
PC: Yeah?
Jason: That's why we just done it
PC: John from Mrs Scott's class?
Jason: Yeah - they got Christine in *our* class
PC: Right, and you didn't like that?
Jason: No!
Craig: No!
PC: Why not?
Jason: [*to Craig*] You saying it not me now - I've said something
Craig: No, you, I didn't even do anything/
Jason: /Yes you did you said you're gang had a plan did they?
Craig: The plan was to, erm, get John out the way [...] with er just me right who made the plan up
[...]
PC: I don't understand if you were trying to get John then why were you fighting with Paul and Daniel?
Jason: But Paul and Daniel are on their side!
PC: Oh, right! So what were Paul and Daniel doing then?
Jason: Er, erm/
Craig: /Chasing after Jason's girlfriend!
Jason: Oye! Shush!
PC: Jason's girlfriend? Who's that?
Craig: Emma!
[...]
PC: Do you not like them chasing after Emma then?
Jason
& Craig: No!
[...]
PC: So do you think Christine likes to be chased by the boys?
[...]
Jason: I don't know!
PC: You don't know? So why did you try and stop John then if you don't know whether she liked/
Craig: /I, I was trying to stop him!

The above extract illustrates the complexity of relations as lines of inclusion and exclusion are drawn and re-drawn. The initial encounters began when

John, a White boy from Mrs Scott's class, started playing kiss-chase with Christine from Jason and Craig's class. They took exception to this and tried to stop John. This, however, only acted to drag Paul and Daniel into the conflict who were seen as being on John's 'side' in that they were from his class. It was their involvement in the ensuing conflict and the way in which the fights between them and the two White boys came to pre-dominate and over-shadow John's involvement that alludes to a more long-standing conflict between these White boys and the 'Bad' boys. As highlighted in the extract above, one of the most significant factors underlying this was Paul and Daniel's involvement with 'their' girlfriends; Emma and Christine.

That the underlying motivation behind the ensuing fights related to these prior relations rather than to John *per se*, is also illustrated by the course of events that developed out of these initial encounters. The incidence of verbal, and moreover, physical confrontations between the boys grew in severity and frequency for the following week. John was no longer involved after the initial incident and the groups that were initially formed around notions of classroom loyalty soon became transformed and racialised as more and more boys were drawn into the conflict. At its peak there were between 10 and 15 infant boys involved separated into two gangs: one, all White and drawn together around friendship patterns relating to Craig and Jason; the other primarily Black and drawing upon friends of the 'Bad' boys.

On one occasion a group of Black boys could be seen organising themselves together in the playground just outside the main door of the school at the start of the dinner break waiting for the White boys to come out. The fights that ensued were particularly violent with running battles taking place across the playground where individual boys were being prized away from their allies and kicked and punched to the floor. While there they would at times be kicked in the back and head before their friends had time to re-group and

rescue them. The fact that such incidents happened very quickly and intermittently took place across a wide expanse of space probably lay behind the fact that the teachers and dinner supervisors on duty did not appear to notice the seriousness of what was happening. These essentially violent confrontations, while petering out over the following week, did provide the basis from which resentment between the two groups of boys remained for the rest of the academic year and would be seen to periodically resurface.

6.4.2 From 'boys' to 'men'

It is not surprising that, with incidents such as those outlined above forming a staple part of the 'Bad' boys' experiences of schooling, they would inevitably come to develop and value through their habitus a sense of physicality. Not only were some of the fights mentioned above expressive of the carefully rehearsed moves found in computer games such as *Street Fighter* and *Mortal Combat* or films in the genre of *Karate Kid*, but so were the post-discussions and analysis of the events engaged in by the 'Bad' boys. The following extract taken from an interview with Paul and Daniel with its emphasis on successfully getting the White boys 'over' and 'down' illustrates this quite clearly. It also emphasises the place that being physically competent takes in the boys' cultural capital:

- PC: You said when they came up to you to start with; you were playing with some girls?
- Paul Yeah, I had some fighting but he [Daniel] didn't!
- Daniel Yes I did!
- Paul No you didn't!
- Daniel Jason pushed me in a puddle!
- Paul Yeah, what did you do? - nothing!
- Daniel No
- Paul So you didn't fight did you? - I did! Cos I got, erm, one of them over
- Daniel Yes I did fight! When I was running, I was going to kick them
- Paul But missed them didn't you!
- Daniel What?
- Paul Missed them!
- Daniel No I never!
- Paul Well I got, I got, I had two people over from me

PC: You had two what? Paul? What did you say - you had two people what?
 Paul Down!
 PC: Down?
 Paul Three! - Sean [*White*], Craig and Jason
 Daniel Yeah, I, I, you got Sean down by kicking him didn't ya?
 Paul No! He ran and I got my foot out so he tripped over
 Daniel Yeah and then he was going to kick you weren't he?
 Paul Yeah but he couldn't - he was running and trying to get me but [*gets up to rehearse the actions - Daniel also gets up*]/
 Daniel /But he missed didn't he?/
 Paul /I put my foot out and he went over! [...] Then I tripped Karl over, and I punched James down so he was, so he was down

The above discussion relates as much to the context within which the stories were told as they do to the reality of the incidents referred to. Here it needs to be born in mind that these six-year-old boys are conducting this argument in front of me, an adult male. In this sense their conversation is an essentially public one and the emphasis on physical competence is as much for my benefit as it is for their's. As I mentioned earlier, one of the key aspects of cultural capital struggled over by the boys was *adult* knowledge. The ability to competently discuss previous fights, reel off a whole array of cusses and/or talk about the latest films and music increased a boy's status within his peer-group. Moreover, in my presence, the introduction of 'taboo' or 'adult' subjects involving violence, cusses and sexuality also provided a relatively successful strategy for challenging the dominant discourses on childhood manifest within the school and provided a strategy through which the children could challenge my authority as an adult and surrogate teacher (see also Walkerdine, 1981). It is with this in mind that the transcript above and those to follow need to be understood. They were not simply representative accounts of the boys' general conversations but were expressive of a more immediate struggle partially between themselves but also, more importantly, between them and I. Nevertheless it does indicate quite successfully the forms of cultural capital most prized by the boys and as such draws attention to the underlying dynamics of the field of masculine peer group relations

and the construction of racialised identities within this.

Not surprisingly, these interviews became very popular with the children who saw it as a means of telling, learning and reproducing adult ways of knowing. This emphasis on adult knowledge is illustrated in the following transcript where I was temporarily absent from the room. Given the nature of the verbal exchanges the atmosphere was surprisingly not one of antagonism. Rather it was one of mild competition reminiscent of a verbal sparring-match where these five- and six-year old boys' competed in terms of the breadth of their knowledge of cusses. While some of the following cusses may well have been originally learnt from their older siblings or elsewhere, they are not simply passively reproduced but actively appropriated, adapted and reproduced:

Stephen: Come on then you fuck-in bitch!
Jordan: Come on then!
Stephen: Come on sit down!
Jordan: Eh! Miss Coombs! [*pointing to photo on wall*]
Stephen: You fucking Sappa!
Paul: Zappa!
Stephen: Sit in you seat! Quick!
Jordan: Oye! There he is!
Paul: Who?
Stephen: You're a fucking bastard!
Jordan: You fuckin' dick-head!
Stephen: You fuckin' dick! Bitch!
Jordan: Bitch! Ass-hole!
Paul: Arse-hole!
Jordan: Ass-hole! Bitch! Dick-head! Fuck off dick-head! Fuck off fucker!
Paul: Fucker! Fuckin' bastard bum-bum!
Stephen: Come on then you fucking bastard! Calling me fucking names!
Jordan: Yeah like/
Paul: /you bastard!
Jordan: Fucker! Dick-head!
Stephen: Lickin' your arse off, pussy-sucker! You White pussy-sucker!
Jordan: You Black/
Paul: /You're blind you Black/
Jordan: /You Black bastard!
Stephen: you White/
Jordan: Pussy! you smell pussy!

[inaudible - creole accent. Boys seem to be standing and play fighting]
 Jordan: Booofff! [play-hits Stephen]
 Stephen: No don't - don't fight me! James sit down quick! Quick James!
 Stephen: [banging out beat on table making bass noise through lips]

Knowledge of cusses was therefore an important aspect of the cultural capital valued by these boys and, as such, were heavily guarded with accusations often being made of one boy copying the other or using their cusses. In this Stephen was considered the 'expert'. In one interview he shouted out the following rhyme very quickly so that only the occasional words were audible to the other boys: 'Hey Pakistani, let me see you fanny, let me smell [sniff, sniff] fuckin' hell!'. Much of the remainder of the interview was then spent by the other boys trying to guess and repeat the rhyme with Stephen sitting back as the 'expert' judging the various contributions and ultimately concluding how they fell short of the what he had actually said.

An inescapable aspect of the cusses reproduced above is their highly gendered and sexualised nature. The 'Bad' boys were certainly not the only boys in the school to structure their identities in opposition to girls but they were relatively unique, among the sample classes of five and six-year old boys, in terms of their level of understanding and the emphasis they placed on sexuality in forging and reproducing their identities. To understand this we need to remind ourselves of the centrality of girlfriends in the ongoing conflicts with some of their White peers. Here the affirmation of boyfriend/girlfriend relationships was made through the essentially public games of kiss-chase that took place across the playground. Having a girlfriend secured a significant level of social capital for boys among their peers and therefore the essentially public nature of games of kiss-chase meant that much was at stake in terms of developing and maintaining status and reputations. This was equally true, as will be seen in the following chapters, for the girls as it is for the boys. It was this that was behind the conflicts between the 'Bad' boys and some of their White peers as they publicly

struggled over the social capital that was girlfriends. In this sense girls had become discursively constructed as the symbolic markers of territory that, in the case of the White boys discussed above, had been perceived to have been transgressed by the 'Bad' boys.

What made such struggles more acute for the 'Bad' boys was the way in which they, as Black boys, were more likely to be teased and encouraged into games of kiss-chase than any other group of boys. Tara, for instance, a White girl from Year 2, was observed teasing Stephen and Michael another Black boy from Year 2, calling them 'big, fat baboon bum' and gesturing them to chase her. Nicky and Emma, the two White girls from Mrs Brogan's class at the heart of the conflicts between the 'Bad' boys and some White boys outlined earlier, were also overheard chanting in earshot of some Black boys: 'we are the champions, we know what to do, get all the Black boys and stick 'em down the loo!'. As we will see in more detail in chapter eight Black boys, through the discourses on Black masculinities, had therefore become significant forms of social capital for many girls within the field of feminine peer group relations.

It is within this broader context that it is not surprising to find that the 'Bad' boys developed a particularly sexualised and derogatory set of discourses on relation to girls. As we have seen girlfriends play a significant role for many boys in relation to the development and maintenance of their masculinity within the field of masculine peer group relations. Inasmuch as girls are therefore essentially constructed as symbolic markers of territory through the conflicts over girlfriends then it is inevitable that they come to be both objectified and sexualised by the boys. This process is that much more acute for the 'Bad' boys as not only are they more likely to be encouraged into games of kiss-chase by girls but, once involved in these games, are far more likely to be drawn into conflict over these girls. A further example of how the

'Bad' boys have come to discursively constitute girls as property within the broader masculine struggles over territory can be illustrated in the following interview with Stephen, Paul and Daniel. It proceeded an argument between Stephen and the other two boys over girlfriends. Paul and Daniel were annoyed at Stephen and Jordan playing with 'their' girlfriends: Emma and Nicky. These themes emerge again in this transcript. What is particularly interesting here, however, is the distinction Stephen makes between having girlfriends but not girls-as-friends:

- PC: So Stephen, before, remember before break time when Nazia [*South Asian girl in his class*] wanted to look at your work and you wouldn't let her? Why didn't you let her have a look?
- Stephen: I hate girls!
- PC: You hate girls?
- Stephen: Yeah!
- [...]
- Daniel: Why, well why do you chase girls then like ours?
- Stephen: No I don't chase you lots of girlfriends!
- Daniel: Yes you did!
- Stephen: No I don't!
- Daniel: Yes you did!
- Stephen: No I don't, no I never this morning!
- Paul: No, last morning didn't you?
- Stephen: Last morning? What last morning? What last morning? Yesterday - that was yesterday though - that was yesterday!
- Paul: After dinner that thingy! Yes you do get a lot of girls!
- Stephen: No I not, no I don't Paul!
- Daniel: You do!
- Paul: Why do you get Nicky and Emma then?
- Stephen: No I don't - I only got 'em yesterday!
- Paul: So why did, so why sometimes you chase your girlfriends so why, so you must like girls!
- Stephen: [*angry*] So what if I've got a girlfriend! It doesn't mean I like girls does it?
- Daniel: Yes it does!
- Stephen: [*to PC*] Does it?
- PC: Doesn't it?
- Stephen: [*more subdued*] No it don't!

We can see from this that the 'Bad' boys' sense of masculinity has been constructed in opposition to girls. While having a girlfriend therefore presents a boy with a certain amount of social capital, to be associated with a

girl as a friend dramatically undermines that boy's claims to be masculine. The only 'legitimate' relationship boys can have with girls within the field of masculine peer group relations is therefore in the way they are objectified and sexualised as girlfriends. This can be seen in the following interview with the 'Bad' boys where girls have been discursively constructed as passive, inanimate objects to be 'sexed' as if they were on a conveyer-belt:

- PC: Which girls do you like to play with the best?
 Paul: Nicky and Emma!
 Daniel: And Emma!
 Stephen: I like Natasha [*Mixed-Parentage*] and Marcia and Samantha. I like, I've got fourteen girlfriends!
 Paul: Woo-woo!
 Stephen: I've got a hundred girlfriends!
 Daniel: If you've got one you can't have no more!
 Stephen: Yeah!
 Daniel: You're girlfriend will tell you off!
 Stephen: No!
 Daniel: Yeah!
 Stephen: No!
 Paul: How you going to sex 'em then?
 Stephen: I'll put all of them on top of each other and when I've done one - put her over there, then when done another one put her over there, then another one put her over there, then over there, and over there and over there
 Paul: I've got, I've got a million!
 Stephen: I've got four hundred and eighty-two!
 [...]
 PC: Stephen, when you say you've done one what do you mean when you say you've done one?
 Paul: Sexy baby!
 Daniel: He throws it over and then he puts, then he has another one then he picks her up throws her over and has another one

The overwhelming theme arising from these discussions is one of power and domination (see also Mahoney, 1985; Jones, 1985). This is most graphically and worryingly illustrated in the following transcript taken from an interview with Stephen, Paul and Daniel. Jordan was away from school that day and I began by asking them whether they knew where he was:

- PC: Where's Jordan today?
 Stephen: He's at home boiling his head off!
 Paul: No! Kissing his girlfriend!
 PC: Kissing his girlfriend? Who's his girlfriend?

Stephen: He's waiting at his girlfriend's house
 PC: Is he? Who's?
 Paul: Yeah, waiting for her
 Stephen: And when she comes in, he's hiding right, and when she comes in he's going to grab her and take her upstairs and then she's going to start screaming and he's going to kiss her ... and sex her!
 PC: And sex her? And why's she going to be screaming?
 Stephen: Because she hates it!
 PC: Because she hates it?
 Stephen: Yeah!
 PC: So if she hates it why does he do it?
 Stephen: I don't know!
 Paul: Because he loves her!
 Stephen: He'll sing 'I want to sex you up!'

As before, the context to these discussions is all important in gaining an understanding of their nature and form. While the content of the above transcripts quite vividly illustrate the ability of children as young as five and six to cope with and reproduce such sexualised views, it is also not simply representative of their perceptions and behaviour. The 'Bad' boys did not engage in such discussions on a continuous or even frequent basis. The focus of their conversations regularly jumped between computer games, racing, fighting, cartoons, bikes and other toys as well as girls and sex. Girls and sex figured so predominantly in these conversations because of my presence and what they came to perceive as the essentially adult and 'taboo' nature of such subject matter for children of this age. The boys were therefore not only competing between themselves to develop and maintain their masculine status but were also doing so with me. For the 'Bad' boys these interviews therefore offered a way of partially subverting the dominant discursive positions of adult/child so central to the school by the introduction of adult themes and ways of knowing (Walkerdine, 1981; Wolpe, 1988).

6.4.3 Contested racialised identities

I have already alluded to the significance of 'race' in investing a significant amount of symbolic capital with the 'Bad' Boys. The importance of this form of capital was felt as keenly within the group of boys as by those without. On

a number of occasions, especially during interviews, the 'Bad' Boys could be observed competing with each other over the 'legitimate' claim to being Black. This was especially so for Paul and Jordan who were both of dual heritage and whose identities as Black in the more immediate and personal level of their friendship groupings had to be worked on that much harder. This is illustrated in the following transcript where the other boys tease Jordan and claim he is an 'Indian':

PC: What about the girls in your classroom do you play with any of them?
 All: No-oo! No!
 Daniel: Some are Indians!
 PC: Are they? What, do you play with Indian girls then?
 Stephen: NO-WAY!
 Daniel: Jordan kisses um!
 Jordan: NO! I'm West Indian!
 Daniel: Eh?
 Jordan: I'm West Indian - I'm English and I'm half-White ain't I?
 Paul: Yeah but then if you say that - d'you know what? - you're an *Indian*!
 Jordan: No! ... Are you still my friend then?
 Paul: Not if you talk like India! No - talking like an Indian!
 Jordan: I bet I am!
 Paul: If you do I'm not, we're not playin' with ya!
 PC: Why's that Paul? Don't you like/
 Paul: /We don't like Indians!
 PC: Why?
 Paul: We don't like Indian talkers!
 PC: Why?
 Jordan: [*indignantly*] Well I ain't a Indian!

The contradictory and fluid nature of these racialised identities is certainly evident in the above especially in the way that Paul, who himself is of dual heritage, leads the teasing of Jordan. Here it can be seen how the symbolic capital claimed by Jordan is being denied by his other peers. This contingent nature of 'race' is also evident in the following transcript taken from an argument between Jordan and Stephen. Here Jordan is trying to reverse the above process by calling Stephen a 'Paki'. However, as can be seen, Stephen cleverly reclaims the racist abuse directed at him and ironically turns it on its

head:

Jordan: [sharpening pencil] I'm going to do this very sharp!
Stephen: Shut up will you Jordan!
Jordan: Shut up you, you Pakistan!
Stephen: That's why Pakistan beat England! At cricket! Init? [to PC]
PC: What?
Stephen: Pakistan beat England at cricket?
PC: Yeah
Stephen: [to Jordan] Ahhh! 'Cause I'm a Paki!
Jordan: [laughs]
Stephen: Init? I'm half-Paki and he's half-Paki!
PC: Are you?
Jordan: I'm half Indian 'cause I'm a West Indian!
PC: You're a West Indian?
Jordan: I'm a little bit English and I come from Jamaica with my dad.
Like this: chill out man!
Stephen: I bet!

What the above transcripts illustrate above all else is the contradictory and contingent nature of racialised identities and the ability of these five- and six-year-old boys to actively work with, appropriate and successfully re-work these discourses within their own experiences. It is interesting here to note how the field of masculine peer-group relations provides the central dynamics not only for the appropriation and reproduction of racist discourses but also for their contingent and contested nature.

6.5 Wesley and the de-signifying of 'race'

The above case study of the 'Bad' Boys has been discussed here in detail as it so prominently draws attention to a wide range of racialised discursive processes that articulate in the construction of some Black boy's identities. In this it alludes to the power of discourses to influence and shape an individual's sense of Self and to engrain themselves in their very being. As I made clear when introducing the case study, however, the 'Bad' Boys were not held up as being in any way representative of all Black boys but rather as being located at one end of a continuum which charts the influence of these broader racialised discourses on 'Black' boys' emerging identities. Towards

the other end of the continuum lies Wesley, a Black boy from Mrs Brogan's class whose sense of identity has remained relatively untouched by the discursive processes so central to the 'Bad' boys' lives. For the remainder of this chapter it is therefore useful to unravel some of the reasons behind Wesley's ability to largely avoid the reach of these discourses on 'race'.

Wesley was the only Black boy to begin the school year in Mrs Brogan's class. Partly as a result of this he had developed a close friendship with two other White boys, Karl and John. In contrast with the 'Bad' boys, these three boys largely played among themselves and only occasionally involved themselves in other social networks. They could be seen most days sitting together in the classroom or playing together in the playground. Their games often involved a degree of fantasy and would revolve around creating 'secret bases' in the bushes and trees at the sides of the playing field, and/or role plays where one of them would be a monster chasing the others. Even their games of 'tick' and races were much more conspicuous than the 'Bad' boys, often being spatially located on the peripheries of the playground and round the bushes.

This general context of invisibility that had been created enabled the boys to largely evade the more public struggles and contestations over masculinity that the 'Bad' boys had been enmeshed within. Their notions of masculinity, and the various forms of capital that went with it were far more related to the fantasy games which they often played. Alongside discussions of who was the fastest and who could 'batter' who, they also had elaborate discussions over such characters like Superman and Spiderman and whether they were going to get their costumes for Christmas. The following transcript taken from an interview with the three boys is typical of the forms of masculine interaction found amongst them:

Clive: My hamster died so I'm going to get a little tiny guinea pig
Wesley: My dad is going to get me a big Rotweiler soon! /

Clive: /Uhhh!/
 Wesley: When I'm older and he's going to chase you and you
[indicating Clive & John]
 John: I'm going to get an Alsation tomorrow!
 Wesley: Awwhhh!
 Clive: I'm going to get a Doberman!
 Wesley: Don't you dare bring your dogs near me or I'll beat you!
 John: I'm going to bring my dogs tomorrow!
 Wesley: Ohhh! I'll definitely be hiding right by my mum then!

As opposed to the 'Bad' boys then, the more private and exclusive nature of this friendship grouping enabled the construction of masculine identities to evolve much more around the appropriation of a range of masculine symbols, fantasy figures and games. Their lack of involvement in the wider social arena of the playground including the games of kiss-chase, meant that while they also came to define themselves in opposition to girls they did so in a different way to the 'Bad' boys. In this, there was no contradiction, as found with Stephen, between notions of girlfriends and girls-as-friends. Any association with girls for Wesley and his friends was questionable. This is evident from the following discussion taken from the same interview with the three boys:

PC: What girls do you play with?
 Clive: Urrr!
 John: No one!
 PC: Why?
 Wesley: We don't like girls! We won't even go near them
 PC: Why?
 Wesley: Don't like them
 Clive: Cos they might chase us/
 Wesley: /And they might kiss us!
 Clive: Yeah that's why we stay away from them don't we?
 John: Yeah
 Wesley: I definitely don't like girls
 Clive: Nor me!
 Wesley: Cos they chase me every time and I have to go speeding
 round the playground
 Clive: Well I'm glad I ain't got a sister!
 Wesley: Well I have but she can't chase me cos she's only eight
 weeks old

There were thus no struggles and fights over girlfriends and, as a consequence, the central dynamics through which girls became sexualised

and objectified in the specific way that they did among the 'Bad' boys were missing for Wesley and his friends. As a result, these specific discourses on girls, so evident with the 'Bad' boys, never really permeated into these boys' language and cusses. Rather, typical cusses used by Wesley and Clive were: 'fat banana dog', 'fat motorbike' and 'mardy piece of cheese', all indicative, again, of the prominence of fantasy within their friendship group.

This friendship group therefore provided Wesley with a largely effective barrier that prevented him from being drawn into the broader racialised processes so evident for the 'Bad' boys. His invisibility within the school generally, and therefore as a Black boy specifically, meant that he was rarely physically or verbally challenged by other boys nor encouraged into games of kiss-chase by girls. 'Race' was most prominent for Wesley within the more formal modes of discipline within the school where he was slightly more likely to be chastised for the misdemeanours of the three boys in comparison to John and Clive. This was, however, mostly confined to social arenas such as assemblies and the dining hall involving teachers and other school staff who did not personally know Wesley. For Mrs Brogan, 'race' had been subsumed by gender and Wesley and the other two boys were very much seen as 'typical boys'.

For the boys themselves, the salience of 'race' was also significantly downplayed. While Wesley was therefore acknowledged as being Black by his friends they would often also simultaneously de-emphasise its significance and, as illustrated in the following quote, at times re-define him as White. Here, the boys had just been talking about another boy:

PC: What boy
Wesley: Kevin
John: Kevin, a Black boy, same as him [*pointing to Wesley*]
Wesley: I'm not Black I'm brown you silly boy!
PC: You're brown?
Wesley: Yeah
PC: Well what are you two then [*Clive and John*]?
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Clive: We're white
 Wesley: You're kind of pink though!
 PC: Aren't we all the same though? What's the difference?
 Clive: No, cos he's the odd one out and us two are the same
 PC: But why is he the odd one out?
 Wesley: Cos I'm brown!
 Clive: He's changing into White though cos look at his skin!

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with charting the position of Black boys within the field of masculine peer group relations. Rather than attempting to offer a comprehensive and representative account of the schooling experiences of Black boys, the chapter has drawn attention to some of the more prominent racialised processes that articulate, to varying degrees, in the construction of Black boys' racialised identities. It has highlighted the power of discourses in coming to influence and shape a young child's very sense of self. Through the use of case studies the chapter has highlighted the particular contexts in which Black boys are more or less likely to be drawn into these processes. In this the notions of visibility and territory were central to our understanding. For the 'Bad' boys they were rendered visible as a *group* of Black boys whose simple presence, and tendency to play with White girls, were all seen as invasions of the territory of other boys. In contrast Wesley, within his small friendship group with two White boys, was largely able to evade both of these.

Above all the chapter has drawn attention to the importance of the children's peer group relations in understanding Black boys' schooling experiences. In this it helps to develop and broaden out the important insights offered in relation to a now substantial body of work focusing on 'teacher racism' (Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Furlong, 1984; Green, 1985; Wright, 1986, 1992a; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Mirza, 1992). What we have seen in this chapter is that teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relations form a complex feed-back loop where the actions of each tend to influence and

exacerbate the other. In this sense the over-disciplining of Black boys tends to construct an image of them, among their peers, as being 'bad' and quintessentially masculine, which itself then provides the context where Black boys are more likely to be verbally and physically attacked. As a consequence Black boys are more likely to be drawn into fights and to develop 'hardened' identities which then means they are more likely to be noticed by teachers and disciplined for being aggressive. The loop is thus complete.

It is an understanding of this complex set of processes that helps to overcome the increasingly intense debates surrounding 'teacher racism' that have emerged over recent years. To crudely over-simplify, it has been argued by Foster, Hammersley and Gomm in their reviews of a number of the studies cited above, that this work has not offered evidence beyond reasonable doubt that the teachers' actions can be understood simply as expressions of their own racist stereotypes³. Rather, in Foster's (1990a) own work, and also more recently in that of Hurrell (1995), it has been argued that the teachers may well have been reacting to what was actually a 'real' tendency for Black boys to be, on the whole, more disruptive in class. The point is that with the incorporation of peer-group relations as set out in this chapter, then we need not have to blanketly support the notion of teacher racism nor fall into the rather spurious and ethically dubious conclusions offered by Peter Foster *et al.* The evidence from this present study is that teachers did act upon a series of racialised assumptions about Black boys but they also found that some Black boys were more likely to be 'troublesome' and involved in fights. As regards the latter, a focus on peer-group relations helps us to contextualise the boys' behaviour within a broader set of racialised discursive processes

³See Foster (1990b, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993a, 1993b), Hammersley (1993a, 1993b), Hammersley & Gomm (1993), Gomm (1993). For a critique of these arguments see Gillborn & Drew (1992, 1993), Troyna (1993) and Gillborn (1995).

rather than having to locate that behaviour in an ultimately essentialistic way.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Invisible Masculinities? *South Asian Boys at Anne Devlin*

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the position of South Asian boys within the field of masculine peer group relations. I want to suggest in this chapter that rather than South Asian boys being rendered 'invisible' as originally suggested by Mac an Ghaill (1988) in his seminal study of a secondary school, they are rendered 'visible' but in differing ways to Black boys. In this the chapter will demonstrate how South Asian boys have been discursively constructed as effeminate through a number of discursive practices manifest both within the school and beyond. The chapter will therefore begin by examining the role of teacher discourses in the construction of South Asian boys as effeminate and will explore how this is constructed through the broader discourses on the South Asian community prevalent on the estate. The chapter will then highlight the influence of this on the general position of South Asian boys within the field of masculine peer group relations. It will be shown how many South Asian boys have been forced into the role traditionally taken by girls in being representations of what 'we' as boys are not. This, it will be argued, forms the background against which many South Asian boys are frequently attacked by some of their male peers and largely excluded from their social networks as these White and Black boys come to reinforce their own masculine identities through socially distancing themselves from South Asian boys.

As before, the chapter makes no claims to be representative of the schooling experiences of *all* South Asian boys but is rather concerned with drawing attention to some of the more prominent racialised processes that come to effect South Asian boys, to one degree or another, evident within the school. To this end, having outlined the main discursive processes involved, the chapter will conclude by using a number of case studies to explore the very different ways in which particular South Asian boys come to be either drawn into these processes or try to resist them.

7.2 Teacher discourses on South Asian boys

In chapter four, I drew attention to the relatively high incidence of racist attacks experienced by South Asian people living on Manor Park. In part I suggested that this could be understood through the way in which local people were encouraged to understand their sense of isolation and loss through the discourses on 'race' being reproduced on the estate. For some of the White and Black residents on the estate then, it was suggested that they came to contrast their own sense of isolation with the perceived 'community spirit' enjoyed by South Asians. Their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness and the way that Asian mothers were, for instance, often seen talking among themselves in the playground combined with the more general discourses emphasising the traditionalist approach of South Asians to family life and morality to set them apart from the rest of the community. While their presence was increasing on the estate and their own communities appeared to be thriving, the rest of the estate were in decline. For a proportion of White and Black people living on Manor Park, South Asian people therefore came to represent an 'alien wedge' which had become scape-goated for the broader social and economic changes that were taking place in the region and locality. It was this, I suggested, that lay behind their relatively common and frequent experiences of being racially abused and assaulted.

These discourses that were being generated and reproduced on the estate came to provide the medium through which many teachers at Anne Devlin came to make sense of their own relationships with the South Asian children in their classes. What was particularly drawn out and emphasised by these teachers was the perceived nature of the tightly-knit, strict and traditional way of life practised by South Asian families on the estate. They were seen as being one of the only sources of a 'normal', two-parent family structure on Manor Park and were generally described as being 'decent' and, ultimately, because of this wishing to move away from the estate (see also Wright, 1992a). In part these discourses can be understood as being rooted in the teachers' experiences of working at Anne Devlin. Here they are faced with children generally that they perceive to be difficult to academically motivate and hard to control. One way of understanding this is, as we have seen in chapter five, through the dominant discourses on the inner city and familial decline where it was widely felt that local working class children are simply not being raised properly by their predominantly immature single mothers. Within this discourse the South Asian community come to be held up as an example of what a 'good' family should be. This is illustrated in the following quote from an interview with Mrs Campbell:

I personally feel that the majority of White children are left behind more than the Asian and West Indians [...] We've got three kinds of standards of living [...] We find that the Asian community, the majority of the Asian community, are more caring on how much each child is learning. The West Indians want to get their child to learn, I mean I'm not saying they don't, but their values are entirely different to what the Asian community is. The Whites, as long as they're at school they're doing something.

It is within this context that a common perception was held among the teachers that South Asian children proved to be 'model pupils'. This is illustrated from the following extracts taken from the school reports on South Asian boys written by the three teachers from the sample classes. They are remarkably representative of the reports on other South Asian

boys:

Ms Patterson's class

Malde A very enthusiastic boy who is keen to do well [...] He enjoys lots of work and is very industrious in the classroom

Mrs Brogan's class

Amit Amit takes a great deal of pride in his presentation. He works slowly and carefully [...] Amit is a friendly happy child.

Mrs Scott's class

Prajay Prajay [...] is a very agreeable boy. Very obedient also [...] He is well-behaved generally. His mother is very keen on his doing well

The problem with this discursive framework, however, is that it fails to fully explain the teachers' own experiences of South Asian boys among whom, like any other group, there were individuals who were difficult to either teach or control. Ironically, in relation to their teaching role, it was the very discourses on their perceived traditionalist and strict family structure that could be employed to help teachers make sense of this situation. Mrs Scott often complained about her inability to motivate Irfan, a Muslim boy that was in her class the year before. This, she explained to me was due to his general tiredness brought on by his family who sent him to mosque every night and who was generally unable to meet their high expectations. Similarly, Ms Patterson complained on several occasions about the way that South Asian parents would spend a lot of time trying to teach their children but would do it incorrectly. Many of her South Asian children would therefore be taught to memorise particular reading books from cover to cover without understanding and/or recognising the meaning of individual words. Thus while South Asian people were perceived to adopt a 'good', traditional family life, they were also believed to be lacking in common sense and intelligence by some of the teachers:

placing unduly high and unrealistic expectations on their children.

Moreover, the difficulties teachers faced from time to time in motivating some South Asian boys was not seen as reflecting an inherent stubbornness or challenging style as it was with the 'Bad' Boys in the last chapter, but was rather seen as little more than a little laziness and/or tiredness. This was not only the case for Irfan as discussed above but was also a more common explanation. As Mrs Scott wrote in a school report of Prajay:

When doing his written work he tends to dream and talk too much. This results in his being slow to complete work [...] Prajay does not volunteer himself to any group discussions but will sit back and let other children do the work

This underplaying of the significance of the behaviour of South Asian boys was also found as regards the second aspect of the teacher role, that of maintaining order and discipline. Here, many teachers have come to make sense of the transgressions of South Asian boys in two main ways. Firstly, as the following quote taken from an interview with Mrs Brogan illustrates, the significance of discourses on 'race' are downplayed and replaced by those on gender:

Amit's a bright boy as well, very conscientious worker, neat in his work, works very methodically and he seems happy when he has achieved it. He likes to achieve; to have good results at the end of it. Again, he's a boy and when he gets together with er, it's really Wesley, Amit, Clive [...] they can get a bit silly really - that's what it is.

As can be seen in the above, not only has gender been used to explain Amit's 'silliness' but it is also used to imply that the source of the misbehaviour is the peer-group, and more specifically the *other* boys. This was also a very common among the teachers and is typically represented by the following extract taken from Mrs Scott's report on Bhavin where she writes that he: 'unfortunately [...] tends to befriend the most immature boys in the class and similarly for Prajay who: 'when he gets with other boys he

gets rather boisterous'. Rather than being seen as a serious threat to order and control, as the Black boys were (see also Gillborn, 1990), the use of words such as 'silly', 'immature' and 'easily led' tends to downplay the significance of the behaviour of South Asian boys thus maintaining the teachers' perceptions of them as hardworking and helpful.

For the most part, however, the behaviour of South Asian boys went unnoticed by the teachers. As we saw in the previous two chapters, at times when a teacher felt that order and control was being challenged she/he was far more likely to single out Black children to be publicly chastised. The discourses on Black boys, in particular, which constructs them as aggressive and troublesome had, it was suggested, become part of the teachers' habitus. At times when she was in a stressful situation and had to make snap decisions in order to regain control, these discourses led her to identify Black boys as being the most likely to be the cause of the trouble. The more that teachers came to publicly discipline Black boys for misdemeanours that they were not involved in, the more they came to resist this and the more that teachers then came to perceive their responses as reinforcing their initial beliefs that the Black boy(s) concerned was indeed aggressive and troublesome (see also Wright, 1986, 1992a, 1992b; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990).

This form of self-fulfilling prophecy was also evident for the South Asian boys but with very different consequences. Here, as Mac an Ghaill (1988) and Gillborn (1990) have also demonstrated, the general perception of South Asian boys as hardworking and helpful came to be incorporated into the teachers' habitus so that, at times of crisis, the teacher would overlook the South Asian boys in the belief that they were probably not the cause of the trouble. This was indeed evident in my own observations of the three sample classes where a variety of 'challenging' behaviour on the part of

South Asian boys went unnoticed or was ignored - behaviour that teachers were seen to focus on and address in other boys. As discussed in chapter five, whoever the teacher did single out for public chastisement, whether that child was essentially 'innocent' or not, did not matter in the sense that the end result was the regaining of order and control in the classroom. This practice of making an example of particular children therefore served as a warning to others who, generally, would desist from their behaviour for the time being at least. And it is here that the self-fulfilling prophecy for South Asian boys is complete. For the more that the teacher overlooks South Asian boys in the search for the 'ring-leaders' of particular misdemeanours, and the more they regain control by publicly chastising who they think was involved, then the more their decision to overlook South Asian boys becomes vindicated. This perception of the passive and obedient South Asian boy therefore becomes part of their teaching habitus and thus comes to influence and shape their practice.

7.3 Teacher discourses and the feminisation of South Asian boys

There are two immediate and essentially inter-related effects that these teacher discourses, as manifest within the school, have on the children's peer-group relations. The first relates to the general tendency for the seriousness of South Asian boys behaviour to be either downplayed or overlooked altogether by many teachers. They are rarely disciplined in school and, when they are, the perception of their misbehaviour held by the teacher means that it is far more likely to be an individual, private matter between teacher and pupil rather than a public affair. One of the central processes that operated to produce and reproduce the masculine status of Black boys in the school was therefore largely denied to South Asian boys. In some respects then, there's is a masculinity that was largely 'invisible' (Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Gillborn, 1990).

However, and this is the second point, it is not so much that they are simply

rendered invisible by teacher discourses but, rather, they are actively 'feminised' in the eyes of many teachers. I have already alluded to the relatively high number of occasions that they were praised for their hard-work and eagerness to please in class. Moreover, and as will be seen below, references to them 'all being the same', to being quiet and 'little' and therefore needing to be befriended and looked-after all acted to objectify and feminise these boys. The following two incidents, both of which took place in the infant's Birthday Assemblies, illustrate these processes quite vividly. The first took place as the head of the infants, Mrs Christie, stood at the front of the assembly and was in the process of awarding stickers to those nominated by the class teachers for 'being good'. She had just finished awarding stickers to the nursery children and had moved onto Class One, Ms Patterson's, where she proceeded to read out the names from her book that Ms Patterson had added to be awarded stickers:

Class One. Anand and Malde. Anand's in the band I think [...] I always get those two confused. Anand's the one with the smiling face and Malde ... It says in the book you are in this book for trying hard, both of you, well done, go and choose your stickers

This objectification of South Asian boys, in that they were all seen as the same and devoid of individuality, is also something appropriated and reproduced by the children themselves. Anand, for example, came to me during one playtime and complained that: 'everyone's calling me Amit and I'm not!'. Alongside this objectification, as I have mentioned, is the construction of South Asian boys as little, passive and in need of 'looking after'. This is illustrated in the following incident, also taken from a Birthday Assembly, where Mrs Christie is stood at the front of the assembly who had just finished singing a song. Note also, towards the end of the transcript, how Mrs Christie inadvertently reproduces the notion of the strong and extended South Asian family:

Mrs Christie: The prayer this morning was all about being good

friends. The reason I mention that is because we have quite a few new children start the school over the last fortnight. I've got one little girl in my class, Beenal, who was new just the end of last week. Mitesh is new in Mrs Jones' class, and I bet the other teachers have got quite a few new children/

Mrs Brogan: /Yesterday Mrs Christie!

Mrs Christie: Somebody yesterday who's that?

Mrs Brogan: Satpal

Mrs Christie: Satpal in Mrs Brogan's class. That little lad down there? *[pointing]*

Mrs Brogan: The tiny one

Mrs Christie: The tiny little one? *[puts her hand out to summon him to the front. He stands up a little apprehensively and walks up to her]* He's brand new?

Mrs Brogan: Brand new; ever so quiet!

Mrs Christie: Now when you start a new school, especially very late in the year, it's ever such a big change because you've left all your old things behind; your old friends, your old school, your old house or flat, perhaps even his relatives - perhaps he's moved, a long way away, perhaps *he won't see his aunts and uncles for a while* so, when you start a new school it's lovely if everyone at that new school tries to be your friend. It makes you feel so much more happy. So [...] I hope you're going to be a good friend to Satpal. Help him, and if he looks confused or if he looks unhappy take him by the hand and show him you're a friend.

[emphasis added]

These broader discursive processes that act to construct South Asian boys as 'feminine' are also exacerbated by those associated with the school's approach to multiculturalism, which tends to reinforce the objectification and alienation of South Asian children generally. In chapter five I drew attention to the school's celebration of Diwali which was held up as the main 'multicultural' event of the school year. In this the chapter highlighted how there was not only a whole Family Gathering been given over to the celebration of Diwali, but also how it had become increasingly embedded within the school over recent years as various activities were organised in classes during the week prior to the assembly. For the infant classes, this included: the reading of relevant stories; learning specific songs

(often in Gujarati); the colouring in of pictures; and the preparation of displays on the walls each with a Diwali theme. During the Diwali assembly the children would display their pictures to the rest of the school and sing one of the songs that they had learnt. Older children would also contribute to the assembly with some re-enacting traditional stick dancing, others reading out stories and whilst others would present a puppet show relating to the story of Diwali. All of these being prepared within their respective classes.

The general message that teaching staff conveyed to the children was that Diwali represented the South Asian children's Christmas. This was used to explain the general celebratory mood of Diwali and the giving of presents. However, beyond this many of the teachers only had a very sketchy understanding of the festival (see also Tomlinson, 1983). This was illustrated by one of the full-time Section 11 staff, Mrs Coombs, who had chosen to read the Diwali story to Mrs Scott's class one morning prior to the Diwali Assembly. The children were all sat together on the carpet and a number of them had been called to the front to hold puppets depicting the various characters referred to in the story. However Mrs Coombs, to the amusement of some of the children, experienced problems in pronouncing some of the character's names and would look to a South Asian female student who was on placement at the school and sitting in on the class, for help. Moreover, when Mrs Coombs picked up the puppet of the ten-headed monster, she asked the children what its name was. No one replied and, after a while trying to encourage a response, she turned to two South Asian girls sat on the carpet and asked them saying: 'come on Beenal, Poonam! What's his name?'. The two girls sat there quietly, looking rather awkward and refused to reply. After a period of silence, Mrs Coombs told the children it was Ravana or Ravan saying she could not remember and looked again to the South Asian student who told her it was Ravan.

What we see from this example, which was by no means unique, is the way that the importance of Diwali was downgraded in the children's eyes through the teacher's lack of knowledge and inability to adequately pronounce and/or remember some of the main characters. This latter point was particularly true given the comparisons that teachers encouraged between Diwali and Christmas. While the latter came to dominate the whole of the school during the last two to three weeks of term in December, the celebration of Diwali came to revolve around one assembly and a few particular activities in class during the days leading up to the assembly. The detailed knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, Christmas shared by staff and children meant that comparisons with Diwali would ultimately only help to re-inforce the latter's 'second rate' status.

The way in which this approach to Diwali acts to further reinforce the discourses that tend to objectify and set apart South Asian children as the 'Other' is illustrated in the following interview with three girls from Mrs Brogan's class. It illustrates the way in which aspects of the Diwali celebration (notably the dancing and singing) have provided the means with which the girls are able to reproduce the discourses on the 'alien' and inferior status of South Asians:

- PC: What's Diwali?
 Stacey: It's Indian!
 Zoe: I don't like Indians very much!
 Kylie: I didn't like the Indian Diwali things we didn't even do anything - we didn't do no dancing, we didn't do nothing - the Juniors did!
 Zoe: All they do is get their sticks and done that [*gesturing*]
 PC: Did they? [*turning to Kylie*] What is it Kylie? What do you think Diwali is?
 Kylie: Diwali lights!
 PC: So why don't you like Diwali then Zoe?
 Zoe: Cos I'm not related to it/
 Kylie: /I know cos we don't do nothing/
 Zoe: /She's not related to it [*pointing to Kylie*], I'm not related to it
 PC: Related to it? What do you mean?
 Zoe: I am not Indian

[...]
PC: But why can't you like Diwali then?
Zoe: We don't
Stacey: Because it's Indian.
Kylie: Cos it's Pakis! I don't like Pakis/
Zoe: /I don't like Pakis/
Kylie: /because they are horrible.
PC: Why? Why are they horrible?
Kylie: They get some sticks and dance with 'um.
Zoe: I like the show but I don't like them doing dancing.
[...]
PC: So tell me what Diwali is about?
Kylie: Pakis have circles on [*pointing to her forehead*], red things, I hate 'um.
Zoe: And them! [*pointing to posters of South Asian children on wall*] and them and them!
PC: But why do you hate them?
Kylie: Because they're horrible
PC: But why are they horrible?
Kylie: Cos they chatterbox all the time
PC: But don't we all chatterbox?
Kylie: Yeah
[...]
PC: But why are they horrible [then]?
Zoe: They're Indians
Kylie: And Indians stink!
Zoe: And they're chatterboxes and they chatterbox all day
PC: But Indians don't smell
Zoe: they do stink! they do!
PC: No they don't! Who told you that?
Zoe: My brother said so

It can be seen from the above that the girls play a central and active role in appropriating, weaving together and reworking a whole range of discursive elements associated with South Asian children. Here they have drawn upon more general and popular stereotypes learnt from one of their brothers relating to the way that South Asians 'stink' (sic) and have woven this together with more particular concerns relating to what they perceived as the South Asian children's peculiar forms of dancing and talking. These latter elements emphasise the centrality of experience in the appropriation and reproduction of racist discourses. The fact that these girls were denied the opportunity to get involved in the dancing that took place in the assembly, together with the more general concern (and one which will be

returned to later) related to the threat they feel in not being able to understand the language used by South Asian children at times, are experiences that have come to be understood through the medium of 'race'. This signifying of 'race' is also strongly reinforced by the discourses on the inferior and 'alien' nature of South Asian people reproduced on Manor Park estate which manifested itself primarily through the frequent verbal and physical assaults on South Asians often meted out, it will be remembered from chapter four, by children who attended Anne Devlin school. It is within this context that we can begin to understand how the school's multicultural approach, developed for the most laudable reasons, ironically provides the basis for the development and reproduction of particular racist discourses.

7.4 Masculine peer-group relations and South Asian boys

So far I have purposely focused on some of the broader discursive processes in operation within the school manifest both in teacher discourses and the school's overall multicultural policies. What I have highlighted is the way in which these tend to discursively constitute South Asian boys as ultimately effeminate. This femininity can be understood along a number of axes: the way that their invisibility operates to deny them access to the public sphere and hence tends to restrict them to the private; the constitution of them as being small, defenceless, eager-to-please and helpful; and the objectification of them through the discourses that render them alien and different. The effects of this on the field of masculine peer-group relations is that a tendency exists for South Asian boys to be forced into the role that much research suggests has been traditionally played by girls (see, for instance, Chodorow, 1971; Best, 1983; Clark, 1990; Jordan, 1995); that is, being what boys 'are not'. South Asian boys have therefore partially become the focus through which other boys are able to develop and re-assert their own masculine status. Being popular, physical, hard, independent and

developing a strong individual sense of identity can all be re-inforced within masculine peer-group relations just as much through distancing themselves from South Asian boys as it can from girls more generally (see also Connell, 1989).

As a result there was a marked tendency for South Asian boys to be both verbally and physically attacked and excluded from wider social networks. As regards the former, there were a number of incidents observed during the fieldwork involving White and Black boys attacking South Asians boys. These forms of racist attacks, however, were of a different order to those experienced by Black boys. Many White boys, as will be remembered from the previous chapter, held a grudging respect for Black boys and would attack them in essentially public spaces to re-affirm their own sense of masculinity. It was assumed that Black boys would fight back and what was therefore sought was a public dual in which White boys could 'flex their muscles'. In contrast, the attacks on South Asian boys were not based on any form of respect, grudging or otherwise, but on contempt. There was no prolonged 'sparring match' entered into by those White and Black boys who chose to attack South Asian boys. Rather the attacks were often quick and brutal with White and Black boys sending immediate signals to close friends about their own masculinity without appearing to give South Asian boys any legitimacy through prolonging the encounter. They were attacks more reminiscent then of fleeting 'raids' where certain boys would swoop in, assault, and swoop out again. The style of such confrontation prevented South Asian boys from effectively defending themselves and, therefore, 'proving' themselves as competent fighters. In many ways, the boys' general racialised perceptions of South Asian boys meant that they did not expect a response from them. This style of assault was certainly evident from observations in the playground. Periodically throughout the year small groups of boys would be seen seeking out South Asian children, and boys

inparticularly, calling them names and hitting them before walking off. This is illustrated in the following interview with Prajay, a South Asian boy from Mrs Scott's class, whose experiences of the playground were quite common:

Prajay: When I play outside, Jordan hits me and Jordan's big friends hit me.

PC: Did they? Why did they do that? Did they call you anything?

Prajay: They call me Paki!

The fact, as will be revealed later, that Prajay also played football with Jordan and the other 'Bad' Boys draws attention to the complexities of South Asian boys' identities and the need to understand them within their particular contexts.

In many ways, these attacks can be seen as symptomatic of a broader process whereby Black and White boys are actively policing their own spaces. As part of their masculine identity is developed through their distance from South Asian boys, then not only do they need to be periodically seen to be actively engaged in expressing their direct contempt for these boys but they also need to ensure that they are not associated in any way with them. It is here where we can also begin to understand the general exclusion of South Asian boys from wider social networks. The extent to which South Asian boys are excluded depends upon the specific context. As will be discussed later, a number of friendships between Black, White and South Asian boys did occur although these were more likely to have been formed and maintained in more private and enclosed friendship groups. In contrast, social activities that were highly visible and public in their nature were much harder for South Asian boys to gain access to. There were two such activities that I drew attention to in the last chapter: kiss-chase and football. Both of these were highly public affairs being played out across the whole of the playground and inviting much attention and gossip from other children. As I outlined in the last chapter, kiss-chase was a prominent

expression of the gendered identities of boys and girls. As will also be discussed in the following chapters, for Black and White boys to be associated with South Asian girls would invoke derision from their male peers. Interestingly this was also true for Black and White girls. A South Asian boyfriend was seen, at best as a joke, and at worst as a serious question mark over their own feminine identities. This was illustrated in the following incident where a group of Black and White infant girls were playing 'Orange Balls'. This was a game involving singing and the progressive selection of one girl who was then asked by the others whether she loved a particular un-named boy. The boy's name was chosen by the other girls out of earshot from the other girl. She would then indicate whether she loved him or not at which point his name would then be revealed. On this occasion, the boy chosen by the other girls was Jayesh, a South Asian boy that had just moved up to Mrs Brogan's infant class from the nursery. When the girl said that she loved him the others burst out laughing and told her who it was and began to tease her. A couple of the girls then ran off to Jayesh, laughing, telling him how their friend loved him.

What is evident from this is the way that Jayesh was used by the girls to collectively re-assert their own sense of taste and feminine identity. It is also interesting to note how, because of this general discourse on South Asian boys shared by the White and Black girls, these girls never encouraged South Asian boys to play games of kiss-chase. As with the issues of discipline and racist assaults discussed above, these processes therefore added to further re-inforce the boys' sense of invisibility and, as a result, denied them another public arena through which they could otherwise attempt to construct and assert their masculine identities.

This process of exclusion was also evident in relation to games of football in

the playground. By its very nature, football was a highly public affair and competency at it is a prominent means through which boys can assert their masculine athleticism. Moreover, who you played football with also reflected back upon your own level of competency which is illustrated by the following interview with Irfan from Mrs Brogan's class which illustrates the way in which football had become a heavily guarded affair among the boys:

- PC: Do you ever play football at school in the playground
Irfan?
- Irfan: I don't play in the school football; I play in the home football
- PC: Why don't you play football at school?
- Irfan: Because they will batter me!
- PC: Who?
- Irfan: I don't know their name
- PC: Why won't they let you play?
- Irfan: Because they won't play with me and the ball [...] Stephen won't let me play
- PC: Stephen? Why not?
- Irfan: Stephen in Mrs Scott's class [...] He won't play with me - I play in the bushes
- PC: Who do you play in the bushes with?
- Irfan: Nobody!

The nature of these exclusions and the underlying reasons for them can be seen in the following interview with the 'Bad' Boys who featured in the previous chapter. Here they were struggling with the contradictions of racism and the way that they allowed Prajay to play but wished to justify their continued exclusion of Ajay and Malde from Ms Patterson's class. As before, it illustrates, quite clearly, the active role that the children themselves played in the re-working and reproduction of racist discourses and their relatively sophisticated cognitive ability to appropriate and use a number of racial stereotypes in the line of prolonged questioning.

- PC: So I'm just trying to figure out who plays [football] - so Prajay plays does he?
- Paul: Yeah
- PC: He's one of your's/
- Daniel: /Yeah/

PC: /What about, er, Ajay and Malde? [both in a parallel Reception/Year 1 class]

Daniel: Urrr no!

Paul: Nah!

Daniel: They're rubbish!

Jordan: They're always playing crap games!

PC: Why are they rubbish though Daniel?

Daniel: Because they're Paaa-kis!/
 Stephen: No, no, no! Because they can't run fast!

PC: They can't run fast?

Stephen: Yeah, and say we've got the ball and we just, we just burn it and they're, they're, still near their, near our bloody goal and we and we've got the goal

PC: Why can't they run fast?

Paul: Because they're small! [laughs]

Stephen: No!

PC: Stephen, you tell us why can't they run fast then?

Stephen: Cos, cos they're Pakis and Pakis can't run fast!

PC: But they're the same as everybody else aren't they?

Stephen: No!

PC: Why? Why aren't they the same as everybody else?

Daniel: Don't know!

Stephen: Cos ...

PC: Well they are aren't they?

Stephen: [shouting, frustratedly] Cos they're slow and everything!

Jordan: An' they want to be on your side cos you're fast ain't it Stephen?

PC: [...] Would you let Ajay and people play if they wanted to?

Daniel: No!

PC: No? Why not?

Stephen: I wouldn't let slow people play!

PC: But you let Prajay play - is he slow?

Paul: No!

Stephen: He's quite fast!

PC: Yeah but he's Indian!

Stephen: Yeah, so, he ain't got a dot on his head!

Jordan: His mum has!

PC: Yeah but Ajay hasn't got a dot on his head!

Stephen: Yes he has!

Daniel: No he hasn't!

Stephen: He's got a black one so there!

It is clear from the arguments put forward above, especially in relation to South Asian boys' perceived inability to run fast, that they are not simply taken and reproduced, word-for-word, from their older peers or parents but are actively re-formed and moulded to justify their particular actions. Above all, the conversation illustrates the primacy of experience in the

formation and reproduction of racist discourses and the way in which the nature and form of these discourses relate quite directly to the other boys' lived experiences. What is also interesting from the above discussion is the way in which the 'Bad' Boys defend Prajay and his ability to play while, as seen before, they continue in other contexts to verbally and physically assault him. It is the contradictions inherent within the schooling experiences of South Asian boys as they come to negotiate, resist and challenge these broader racialised discourses that I now want to turn to for the remainder of this chapter. In doing this I will use three different case studies to highlight the variety of ways in which South Asian boys within the school have come to respond to, acquiesce and/or resist these broader racialised processes.

7.5 Ajay, Malde, Vignesh and Pritul

Ajay, Malde, Vignesh and Pritul were four South Asian boys who began the academic year together in Ms Patterson's class. With the partial exception of Pritul, who will be returned to shortly, their experience of schooling, and particularly of relations with their peers, was nearest to the broader picture outlined above. Their tendency to sit together in class, play together in the playground and sometimes talk amongst themselves in Gujarati meant that they were the most likely group of South Asian boys in the infants to attract the attention of their peers. As a result they were more likely to be attacked by some of their male peers and were also almost uniformly excluded from the most prominent, and public social activities including football, group games including tick and fighting and kiss-chase. It was because of this general exclusion, together with the ever-present threat of attack, that their tendency to associate together should be seen more as an inevitable response to these broader experiences than merely a matter of choice. In other words it represented a strategy of survival. Part of this strategy could be seen in their tendency to inhabit the more private and protected spaces

within the playground. They were therefore more likely to: play in the bushes and round the edges of the playground; congregate around the entrance to the school building where teachers and/or dinner supervisors usually stood; and, when on their own, to follow teachers and other adults (including myself) around the playground.

Their response was therefore essentially one of avoiding the threat of attack as far as possible and also the humiliation of being excluded by developing their own protected spaces. Here, over time, they came to develop, value and struggle over their own forms of social, symbolic and cultural capital and it was through this that they came to develop their own sense of masculine identity and practice and thus embody it within their habitus. However, being excluded from the more public arenas within the school, including football and kiss-chase, their masculinity came to organise itself around various forms of capital that were more likely to be based upon role-plays and fiction. Thus alongside the more common practices of kick-fighting and racing that they indulged in, they were also more likely to play 'super-hero' games such as Superman or Thunderbirds (see also Paley, 1984; Davies, 1989; Jordan, 1995). Moreover, while the notion of girlfriends was also a significant strand to the maintenance of their masculine identity, it was more likely to take the form of picking various girls' names and teasing one another rather than finding expression through actual games of kiss-chase where the discussions would have then turned more directly to themes of ownership and control as seen with the 'Bad' Boys in the last chapter.

What we find with these four boys then is that while the struggles they engage in between themselves in relation to the successful acquisition and maintenance of masculine identities were as keenly fought as with other boys, their struggles took place in more private and self-contained spaces

within the school. Their masculine competencies went largely unseen by other boys who rather tended to simply see a group of South Asian boys playing together in the corner which, in turn, acts to re-inforce their perception of them as different and alien.

Within this the role adopted by Pritul within the group was an interesting and contradictory one. While a significant proportion of his time was spent with the boys, he also engaged in a struggle to be recognised by the other boys in his class, especially the two Black boys, Peter and Devan, who were considered to be the hardest and strongest. Ironically, both of these boys were also among those most likely to verbally abuse and hit and kick the South Asian boys. However, while Devan very rarely entertained Pritul's company, Peter did, at times, play with him. Their games were often based around the acquisition and display of competencies involved in wrestling and kick-fighting and as such involved mutual play-fights among themselves as well as directing their attention to others in the playground who did not wish to get involved including other South Asian boys. Peter played the dominant 'minder' role in their relationship and, at times, would step in to defend Pritul and/or enact retribution if he was hurt. This occurred, for example, on one occasion when Pritul had run up to Prajay and kicked and pushed him before running away. Prajay followed him and kicked him quite hard in retaliation causing Pritul to cry. On seeing this Peter ran over and pleaded with Pritul to tell him who it was so that he could 'batter them'. After being told, Peter ran directly towards Pritul with the intention of enacting revenge but failed to catch him.

The contradictory nature of Pritul's sense of identity can be seen in the following extract where Pritul is forced to accept that Peter and Devan do, on occasion, hit and kick the group of South Asian boys but also attempts to distance Peter from this and defend him.

PC: Do you play with Peter?
 Ajay: NO! He keeps hitting us!
 Pritul: Yeah! Yeah! Peter's my friend! If someone comes to hit me, Peter just hits them
 Ajay: [...] I don't like them anymore [*meaning Devan and Peter*]
 PC: Why?
 Ajay: Cos they keep hitting us
 [...]

Ajay: Peter is nasty to me and Devan is nasty to us!
 PC: What do they do?
 Ajay: Kick us sometimes!
 Pritul: No! Not me! - only Devan! When I kicked the ball he hit me round here!
 PC: Did he?
 Pritul: Yeah, one time!
 [...]

PC: Does anybody call you horrible names?
 Ajay: Yeah! [...] Devan and Peter do!
 PC: Do they? What do they say?
 Ajay: Stupid!/
 Pritul: /NO! Not Peter! Not Peter - Peter's my friend!
 Ajay: No he's not!
 Pritul: Yeah he is!
 PC: Peter's friends with you Pritul?
 Pritul: Yeah
 PC: And is he friends with Ajay?
 Ajay: YEAH! Yes he is - sometimes!
 Pritul: Yeah but why sometimes does he say dirty things to you?

What is interesting from the above is the contradictions that unfold in Pritul's attempts to successfully traverse the more private field of relations developed with the other three South Asian boys and successfully enter and negotiate the broader field of masculine peer-group relations. In doing this, however, he needs to distance himself, at least in part, from the other boys and this can be seen in the way he closely guards Peter's friendship at the end of the transcript and reminds Ajay that Peter has said 'dirty things' to him (including racial abuse). Moreover, in this act of distancing, Pritul also told me during this interview how he wanted to change his name to 'Jason' because: 'I don't like my name now'.

The problem is, however, that in attempting to successfully compete within the broader, more public field of masculine peer group relations, Pritul is more likely to run the risk of being racially identified and abused. For, as was discussed earlier, to be seen associating with 'Pakis' in such public spaces can only cast doubts on the other boys' own sense of masculinity. Moreover, to be seen to be being beaten by South Asian boys in football, racing or fighting can only exacerbate all of this; hence Pritul's admission in the above interview that Devan hit him when he kicked the ball.

7.6 Prajay and football

These problems faced by South Asian boys in attempting to successfully compete within the more public field of masculine peer-group relations and the problems and contradictions that result, can be illustrated by the case of Prajay. Prajay started the academic year as the only South Asian boy in Mrs Scott's class. The fore-grounding of gender and of classroom loyalties had the effect of downgrading the significance of 'race' for Prajay in the classroom and meant that he was, albeit only partially, accepted into the friendship groups that evolved and developed around four boys that I referred to in the last chapter as the 'Bad' Boys (Stephen, Jordan, Paul and Daniel). The transcript from an interview with the 'Bad' Boys discussed earlier, where they attempt to justify the exclusion of Ajay and Malde from their football games whilst allowing Prajay to play, clearly demonstrates the way they have downgraded the significance of 'race' in their relationship with Prajay.

However, as with Pritul, this was not without its contradictions and, within the more public arena constituted through games of football, Prajay was more likely to be verbally and physically assaulted. This can be illustrated by the following two incidents that happened during playtime. The first occurred when Prajay made the mistake of picking up the ball mid-way

through a game and interrupting its flow for which he was called a 'stupid Paki' by one of the boys who proceeded to grab the ball off him, push him and tell him to 'go away'. The second related to the time Prajay had been successful in winning the ball from another boy who then proceeded to chase after him, push him to the ground and mutter the word 'Paki' before regaining the ball and running off again.

It was not only public spaces that provided the contexts within which Prajay was more likely to experience racist abuse but also in competitive situations. An example of this can be seen in the following incident that occurred at the end of morning break where Mrs Scott's class were asked to line up in pairs ready to be led over to the sports hall, which is ten minutes walk away on the other side of the estate, for a P. E. lesson. Stephen, Jordan, Paul and Daniel were arguing amongst themselves and jostling each other as to who should stand at the front. Behind them, Prajay stood on his own. Mrs Scott asked me to lead the way and so I took Prajay's hand, walked to the front and led the children off. At seeing this, Stephen became a little frustrated and said, in a slightly raised voice, 'That's it, let the *Paki* go first!'. On hearing this I stopped, turned around and asked him what he had said to which he refused to reply simply repeating his assertion that he should have gone first. What this illustrates is the way that broadly competitive situations, where masculine status and identities are at stake, have a tendency to become racialised as those involved vie for position and try and make sense of their success or, in this case, failure.

Above all, what these incidents involving Prajay and Pritul illustrate is the context-specific nature of racist incidents and how the salience of 'race' at any particular time can only be understood by the specific nature of the field of social relations that have developed. It illustrates how two particular, although by no means exclusive, contexts create a climate within which

racist incidents are more likely to occur. In many ways this has been more than adequately highlighted and discussed elsewhere (see Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). What I am interested in drawing attention to here is the inherent irony that football presents at Anne Devlin. For here is a sport that has been positively encouraged and developed by the many of the senior staff as a way of reaching out to and engaging the Black boys at the school as a way of overcoming what is perceived to be their disaffection with schooling. As a result, not only has it flourished amongst the older juniors, who were the main target group for the strategy, but it has also significantly increased in its popularity amongst infant boys. However, the irony arises in that this particular multicultural/anti-racist strategy has also created the contexts within which racist incidents have been more likely to flourish. For football, more than many other group activities, is not only an inherently public affair but also a highly competitive one. Games of football amongst the boys therefore provide one of the predominant social arenas in which masculine identities are lost and won. Within this context we have seen that not only are South Asian boys almost systematically excluded from football but, for those few who are able to play, such as Pritul and Prajay, they are more likely to be the receiving end of racist abuse. The irony, then, is that while football has been used as a distinct multicultural/anti-racist strategy aimed at trying to positively engage Black boys in the school its effects have, unwittingly, been to increase the likelihood of South Asian boys to be either socially excluded and/or racially abused. Above all it is an irony that highlights the need to fully come to terms with the complex relationship between 'race' and gender relations before embarking on particular multicultural/anti-racist strategies; a point highlighted all too vividly by the Burnage Report (Macdonald *et al*, 1989).

7.7 Amit: 'he's not a Paki'

The final case study I want to briefly explore is that involving Amit, a South

Asian boy in Mrs Brogan's class. As with Prajay, he was the only South Asian boy in his class at the beginning of the academic year and in a similar way he developed close friendship ties with three other boys: Wesley (Black), Clive and John (both White). As with the four South Asian boys discussed earlier, it was a friendship group that was relatively closed and one which created its own private spaces within which to develop and express their own sense of masculine identities. In the last chapter I spent some time outlining some of the central dynamics of the group as they related to Wesley's position within it. What I highlighted was that their similar emphasis on role-plays, fantasy and super-heroes, had the effect of downgrading the significance of 'race' for the boys within the group. Thus while they would define themselves as a group in opposition to South Asians through a number of racialised and derogatory discourses on 'Pakis', they would nevertheless downplay the significance of skin colour within the group. The contradictions inherent within this is illustrated quite clearly in the following extract taken from an interview with Amit, Clive and another White boy, Mark, where it can be seen how Amit's identity as a South Asian is not only denied altogether but Amit, himself, engages in reproducing racist discourses on 'Pakis':

Clive: I don't like Pakis!
 Amit: You do like Pakis stupid!
 Clive: No I don't - I only like you!
 PC: Why don't you like them?
 Mark: Cos they speak Gujerati!
 [...]
 PC: Clive, why don't you like them?
 Clive: Because they smell horrible
 Amit: Cos they smell like a clock!
 Clive: Yeah like Amit does!
 Amit: I don't smell!
 PC: You like Amit don't you Clive?
 Clive: Yeah
 PC: You like Amit and yet Amit's an Asian as well isn't he?
 Clive: Yeah
 PC: So, you said you don't like them - why not?
 Clive: Cos he don't smell like a clock!
 PC: No seriously, why?
 Clive: Cos he ain't a proper Paki!

PC: Why isn't he a proper one?
 Clive: Because he don't smell right!
 [...]
 PC: Do you think people like being called 'Paki'?
 Clive: Yeah
 PC: Yeah? Do you think so really?
 Clive: Yeah
 Amit: Sure!
 PC: Do you think so Amit?
 Amit: I hate a big boy!
 Clive: I hate a big Paki - he pushed me in the playground
 Amit: I hate a big, giant Paki! when he kicks me I wack him on the nose!
 PC: Amit, you said that you don't think people mind being called 'Paki'?
 Amit: I think a big boy needs to be called a Paki and he needs to call himself Paki!
 Clive: *[laughs]*
 PC: But would you like to be called that?
 Amit: No
 PC: No? So Clive, if he doesn't like to be called that why do you call him that? Would you like to be called names like that?
 [...]
 Clive: I would mind but I'd batter them if they called me it

7.8 Conclusions

The focus of this chapter has been the position of South Asian boys within the field of masculine peer group relations. What I have argued is that, in contrast to Mac an Ghaill's (1988) notion of 'invisible' masculinities, South Asian boys were visible and discursively constituted through teacher discourses as effeminate. This I have shown could be seen in the way they were: denied access to the public sphere; perceived as small, helpless and eager-to-please; and have been objectified through racialised discourses that construct them as 'all the same'. The effect of this on their position within the field of masculine peer-group relations has consequently been to construct a role for them traditionally given to girls, that is being what 'we' (as boys) 'are not'. In this sense they have become cultural symbols or representations that many other boys have come to define and re-assert their own sense of masculinity in opposition to. The consequences of this

generally for the field of masculine peer-group relations is that South Asian boys experience a tendency to be excluded from social activities and also to be verbally and physically assaulted. This exclusion, together with the nature of the assaults, has had the effect to deny South Asian boys access to a number of central social processes through which they could come to develop, express and re-affirm their own masculine status.

It was against this broader discursive background that the chapter used a number of case studies to illustrate the variety of ways in which South Asian boys came to develop their sense of masculinity. Some, were seen to come together to develop an alternative, defensible social space within which to explore and experiment with their sense of masculinity while others were shown, to varying degrees of success, to try and gain status within the broader field of masculine peer group relations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Field of Feminine Peer Group Relations and Black Girls

8.1 Introduction

My concern in this chapter is to explore the position of Black girls in the field of feminine peer group relations. I want to begin the chapter by introducing the reader to the field itself and some of the main underlying factors that have come to influence and shape its emergence together with a more detailed discussion of its structure and some of the dominant forms of capital associated with it. This will be covered in some detail so as to provide the necessary context for understanding the experiences of Black girls and, as set out in the following chapter, those of South Asian girls. Moreover, it also provides a 'retrospective' context for deepening our understanding of the various aspects found within the field of masculine peer group relations highlighted in the previous two chapters. Having developed such a context the chapter will move on to examine the position of Black girls within the field of feminine peer group relations in more detail.

More specifically the chapter will argue that, as opposed to the largely public and competitive/individualistic nature of relations developed amongst boys, the field of feminine peer group relations is characterised by the presence of an inter-connected web of much smaller and largely private friendship groupings with a far greater emphasis on exploring and developing personal relationships. It will be argued that, alongside the more general forms of

capital valued by girls in relation to intelligence, strength and athleticism, a prominent set of capital was found to have developed around discourses on boyfriends that have provided one of the central threads running through a range of other discursive themes relating to relationships, love, marriage, babies and attractiveness that have been developed and reproduced in the field (see also Grugeon, 1993). These discourses, in turn, will be shown to have become embedded in and expressed through the social relationships and practices associated with the field of feminine peer group relations. Running throughout this will be the importance of gender difference as girls come to make sense of and develop their feminine identities in opposition to boys and, within this, the chapter will highlight the centrality of heterosexuality in mediating and shaping the nature of those differences.

It is within this context that Black girls come to occupy a contradictory position within the field. The chapter will show how teacher discourses have come to construct a perception of Black girls as athletic, sporting and troublesome. While the former two do translate into particular forms of symbolic capital that are valued and respected by other girls, the prominence given to them in relation to Black girls acts to severely limit their ability to gain access within the more intimate discourses on boyfriends reproduced within the field. This degree of marginality experienced by Black girls created a tendency where some would seek out and forge alternative relationships in the school. Through the use of case studies involving four particular Black girls, the chapter will highlight the variety of strategies adopted against this background ranging from those aimed at resisting their discursive positioning in attempts to successfully negotiate the discourses on boyfriends and associated forms of capital within the field of feminine peer group relations to others that played on their athletic and competitive identities, to varying degrees of success, in attempts to gain acceptance and status within an alternative social space - the field of masculine peer group relations.

8.2 Researching young girls: a note on representation

Before beginning with an exploration of the field of feminine peer group relations I want to make a brief, but extremely important point about representation. This, and the following chapter, have been very difficult ones to both research and write. The very nature of the girls' friendship networks, located in more private and intimate groupings (Grugeon, 1993), meant that I, as both an adult and a male, found them almost impossible to access (see also Jenkins, 1983). This was partly due to my own approach that came to foreground and in part identify with the essentially public nature of the boys' field. It was through this interest in the public nature of the children's social worlds that I also came to study the girls. The majority of data that form the basis of this chapter therefore relate to the particular discourses the girls chose to appropriate and reproduce in more public arenas. It was not until well into the field work that I came to realise the importance of the girls' more private friendship groupings. This, together with my inability to gain access to these, meant that the conclusions reached below can only ever be read as a partial account of the girls' social lives.

Moreover, in that much of the data relating to the girls' talk and behaviour took place in my presence warrants a further note of caution. In this, as we have seen with the boys, my presence as an adult male inevitably came to mediate and inform the particular nature of the discourses that these girls chose to reproduce (see also Davies, 1982). As active and strategic agents they could therefore be seen as appropriating particular discourses that either they came to associate with me as an adult male and/or that they believed would most effectively usurp the predominant discursive relations of adult/child that provided the background for my relationship with them.

The centrality of discourses on boyfriends and on kiss-chase to be highlighted below therefore needs to be understood within this context; not only my

almost exclusive focus on the public arena of the girls' lives but also my presence in that arena as an adult male. It therefore severely limits my ability to draw any conclusions in terms of representability to a much greater extent than with the previous chapters on the boys. However, it is within the same argumentative parameters that we can neither simply dismiss the data as unrepresentative. Rather we can say that the data is 'representative' of the particular forms of capital that many girls within the field of feminine peer group relations came to value and strive for in public spaces and, in particular, in the presence of an adult male. With these caveats to the foreground of our minds, I still believe the data to be discussed below offers some valuable insights into specific aspects of the social worlds of young girls and it is to this that we now turn.

8.3 Young girls and schooling

Before we look in more detail at the way that the field of feminine peer group relations is structured, it is worth contextualising this within the young girls' more general experiences of schooling. In this we can identify two broader discursive processes that help to reinforce the notion of gender difference. The first relates to the gendering of order and control in the school. As highlighted in chapter five, gender provided a significant organising principle with which teachers came to organise their classes. Boys and girls were often asked to: line up at the door; finish their work and tidy up; get changed for physical education; and enter and leave the classroom, hall and playground separately (see Adams and Lauriekitis, 1976; Deem, 1978; DELamont, 1980; Clarricoates, 1981; Best, 1983; Paley, 1984; Windass, 1989). It is through this that gender differences have come to be reinforced and routinised within the very practices of the school.

8.3.1 *Reproducing gender differences in public*

However, not only did these processes tend to re-inforce and underline the two categories of boys and girls, they also said something about the respective

gender roles associated with these two groups. This was evident, for example, in the way that boys were most prominently drawn into the disciplinary modes of the school. As we saw in chapter five, it was boys, and Black boys in particular, who were most frequently singled out and publicly chastised and who therefore became increasingly associated with the public sphere. Moreover, the use of sport and particularly football to try and positively engage certain groups of boys, and the masculine banter between these boys and male members of staff that came to be associated with this in school assemblies, only helped to reinforce this positioning of boys within the public sphere and its dominance by a masculine ethos.

The particular expectations that teachers held of boys and girls were therefore not simply expressed through school assemblies however but also came to influence relations in the classroom. Here, as we saw in chapter five, teachers were often faced with situations where they were literally being bombarded by children who had finished the work set for them and had nothing to do. Teachers often had to think quickly in deciding what other task to allocate them which they felt would interest them and keep them occupied for an appropriate length of time. It is here that the teachers' habitus, in being underlined with taken-for-granted assumptions about gender differences, was more likely to be influential. From my observations girls were more likely to be encouraged in drawing and creative writing while boys were directed towards maths, science and computing. This was certainly the case in Mrs Scott's class for instance where she would often encourage certain boys to work on the computer in the classroom. The consequences of this in terms of the marginalisation felt by some of the girls and their sense of anger and frustration is captured in the following transcript taken from an interview with two of the girls from Mrs Scott's class:

- Margaret: All the time, Daniel and Paul play on the computer, all the time!
Stephanie: Yeah and Priti and me doesn't play - never! All the

	boys do don't they?
PC:	Would you like to play on the computer?
Margaret:	Yeah!
Stephanie:	Yeah!
Margaret:	But they don't let us
[...]	
Stephanie:	The boys always go on the computer - the same boys!
PC:	Who are they?
Stephanie:	Daniel and Paul and Stephen and Jordan!

Of course, it is not surprising that the boys these girls are referring to are the 'Bad' Boys from chapter five who had a specific reputation for being troublesome. Here, Mrs Scott's decision to allow them to play on the computer could also be seen as a strategy of containment - allowing them to do something they enjoy to keep them out of 'trouble'.

8.3.2 Boys' policing of public spaces

The above incident involving the 'Bad' boys also alludes to the central role played by the boys themselves in actively developing and consolidating their monopoly over resources and public spaces. As a growing number of important studies have shown, boys not only tend to exclude girls from a number of their activities that also happen to dominate many of the public spaces within the school, but they also actively engage in harassing girls and invading their own more private social spaces (Wolpe, 1977; Mahoney, 1985; Jones, 1985; Clarricoates, 1987; Askew and Ross, 1988; Kelly, 1988). It can possibly be best understood as 'boundary work' as Thorne (1993) calls it where the boys are purposely constructing their own masculine identities in opposition to girls. This was certainly the case at Anne Devlin and is illustrated in the following interview with Jemma and Lyndsey from Ms Patterson's class. The way in which their games were regularly interrupted by boys was quite a common experience for girls at the school. Here I was asking them about an incident I witnessed the previous day where two boys from their class had approached them while they were playing a clapping game and had proceeded to push, kick and thump them:

PC: I saw you playing the other day and some of the boys came up and stopped you playing your game didn't they?
 Jemma Yeah and battered us - *[to Lyndsey]* remember?
 Lyndsey *[Nods]*
 Jemma They hit us in the belly
 PC: Who was that?
 Jemma Devan and Peter - they battered me and Lyndsey
 PC: And why do they do that?
 Lyndsey Cos they always pick on us
 PC: On you? What do they do to you?
 Lyndsey They just hit us
 Jemma And they just punch us

On another occasion, Nicky and Emma from Mrs Brogan's class came up to me in the playground and complained that two infant boys, also from their class, had been 'spoiling our game'. They explained that they kept making groaning noises whilst thrusting their pelvises up against them. The salience of discourses on heterosexuality among boys, especially when harassing girls, was a common theme (see also Mahoney, 1985; Lees, 1993). In the following incident I was seated adjacent to a table where three infant children were working in Mr Wallace's class: Sean, Hannah and Michaela. Hannah and Michaela had just been talking about Michaela's new boyfriend which appeared to frustrate Sean as he had previously expressed an interest in Michaela as a girlfriend. Hannah was now turning her attention directly to Sean where she was trying, unsuccessfully to engage him in conversation:

Hannah: That's a nice name - "Sean"!
 Sean: I hate my name! *[his head remains focused on his work and he slightly turns away from her]*
 [...]

 Hannah: *[Carries on with her own work for a short while before looking up again and turning her attention to Michaela]*
 You're only five and he's six! *[referring back to Michaela's boyfriend]*
 Sean: *[frustratedly, Sean looks up and stares at Michaela]* He sits on your knee and pulls your clothes off! *[Stands up and leans over the table to Michaela, staring her directly in the face]* He sits on you knee and licks your *[whispers the rest - inaudible]*
 Michaela: *[Appears upset and jumps up, pushes her chair under the table and walks towards Mr Wallace]*
 Hannah: *[Anxiously sits up straight, fold her arms and momentarily puts one of her fingers over her lips in anticipation of Mr Wallace's attention]*

Michaela: *[As she made her way towards Mr Wallace, he looks up and asks her to go over and have her turn making a Bumble Bee with the classroom assistant. She does this, deciding not to tell Mr Wallace].*

It is clear from the above that it was Sean's sense of rejection that underlay his decision to 'sexually harass' Michaela. It is also interesting to note Michaela's decision not to complain about Sean's behaviour to Mr Wallace. Indeed, this was not uncommon among the girls who appeared to find it difficult to complain about such matters to teachers. It is the way that notions of heterosexuality come to significantly influence and shape the public experiences of many girls at Anne Devlin that helps us to understand the significance of discourses on boyfriends within the field of feminine peer group relations as will now be seen.

8.4 The field of feminine peer group relations

8.4.1 Girls, resistance and friendship groupings

The foregoing discussion, especially in relation to the role that boys play in policing and trying to maintain their dominant social position, should not be read as simply implying the passive compliance of girls. There were numerous incidents observed throughout the field work where girls would actively challenge and effectively resist the behaviour of boys (see also Grugeon, 1993). Some forms of resistance were highly organised and imaginative involving upwards of eight or ten girls who would develop a concerted challenge to specific boys and either verbally chastise and humiliate them or physically take hold of them and exacting some form of retribution. One example of the former was observed when six girls turned on Daniel and Paul from Mrs Scott's class who had been pestering some of the girls during an earlier playtime. Here the girls were following them around, with their arms crossed over their chests, singing "if you want to marry him cross your heart!". While the boys were becoming increasingly irritated by this, their attempts to push individual girls away were in vein and the girls persisted in this for nearly twenty minutes laughing, joking and

teasing as they continued. Another example involved Ben, a White boy from Ms Patterson's class who had acquired a distinct reputation for being troublesome and was often disruptive in the playground directing his attentions primarily at girls and certain South Asian boys. On this occasion around eight girls, led by Lyndsey, Lisa and Asha, had chased and caught Ben and were now holding onto him and parading him around the playground. Initially, Ben was seen to be enjoying the attention but this soon changed when his concern over not getting his clothes 'mucky' was picked up by the girls who then proceeded to tease him about their intentions to dirty his clothes and try and wrestle him to the floor.

More commonly, however, direct forms of resistance were more likely to be reactive as girls had to respond to the often regular incursions of boys into their social spaces. Nicky, Emma and Lyndsey, for instance, were observed one day being harassed by Jason who repeatedly tried to disrupt their game by running 'through' them. When his shoe came off during one encounter, they saw their opportunity and threw his shoe over the school fence into the road. Not surprisingly Jason became quite upset and ran off. Emma explained to me that Jason was 'spoiling our game' to which Nicky added, defiantly: 'so we spoiled his stuff!'

On another occasion, Debbie and Levi, the younger brother of Stephen who had just moved up to Mrs Brogan's class from the nursery in the Spring term, were arguing at a table. Levi was frustrated that Debbie wanted to 'go out with' his brother rather than him and had been pestering her in the classroom for the best part of the afternoon. Debbie was becoming increasingly frustrated by this as I moved over to the table:

- Debbie: [in a slightly raised voice to Levi] So what if I want to go out with Stephen?
PC: What's the matter?
Debbie: He said to me last week: "would you go out with me or Stephen?" I said Stephen. He said: "so I'll go out

Levi: with Reshma then" *[a South Asian girl who had also just started in the class at the same time as Levi]*
 No I never!

A little later I overheard the two children still arguing about the issue while sitting on the carpet:

Levi: I just don't want you to be a two-timer
 Debbie: I go out with Stephen!
 Levi: *[a little frustratedly]* and Paul and Daniel
 Debbie: *[assertively]* Stephen!
 Levi: Paul and Daniel and Jordan!
 Debbie: Stephen!

Later that afternoon, Debbie, Levi, Zoe and Reshma were all in the Home Corner. It was obvious that Debbie had exhausted her patience with Levi and looked up to me and said:

Debbie: Mr Connolly, he were touching her back
 PC: Who was?
 Debbie: Him, Levi, when she was reading
 PC: Touching who?
 Debbie: Reshma - touching her bum and things
 Levi: No I weren't!
 Debbie: Yes you were - touching her bum-bums!
 [...]
 Debbie: *[taunting Levi]* Kiss your girlfriend! Levi! Kiss your girlfriend! Levi, I said kiss your girlfriend!
 Levi: *[to Debbie, pushing her]* Kiss your boyfriend! Kiss your boyfriend! Kiss your boyfriend!
 Debbie: I ain't even got a boyfriend!
 Levi: Yes you have!
 Debbie: Well who is it then?
 Levi: My brother!
 Debbie: What's his name then?
 Levi: Stephen
 Debbie: Reshma's your girlfriend
 Levi: Stephen's your boyfriend
 Debbie: Reshma's your girlfriend! Reshma's your girlfriend!
 Levi: Stephen's your boyfriend
 Debbie: *[looking towards PC]* Reshma for Mr Connolly!
 Debbie & Zoe: Reshma for Mr Connolly! Reshma for Mr Connolly
[laughing] Reshma for Mr Connolly!
 Debbie: *[singing and now directing her attention back to Levi]*
 In bed with Reshma; kissing her in bed!
 Debbie & Zoe: *[chanting to Reshma]* Kiss the Prince! Kiss the Prince!
 Kiss the Prince!
 Reshma: *[covers ears and runs out of the Home Corner]*
 Levi: *[also leaves Home Corner at this point]*

This incident is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, it illustrates the centrality of discourses on boyfriends and girlfriends to the public relations between boys and girls. As we saw in earlier chapters and as I will develop further shortly, it is through these discourses on gender differences that many girls and boys come to develop their sense of identity. It also illustrates the way that girls, once positioned within such discourses, can find themselves in a position of power able to use the terms of these discourses to resist the unwanted attention of certain boys. Thirdly, it also serves as a good example of my role not only in terms of how they come to perceive of me as a male but also their obvious desire to undermine my authority as an adult. More fundamentally, however, it also places me firmly within the research frame and speaks of my presence and inevitable influence on the particular way in which these young children decide to appropriate and reproduce specific discourses on sexuality.

For the majority of the girls, however, their most effective form of resistance to boys was through seeking out and developing alternative and manageable social spaces which they could effectively defend against the incursions of boys. Because of the prior dominance of public spaces by boys, however, this meant that girls were left with little choice other than to carve out more personal and private spaces that neither drew the attention of boys to them nor could be easily disrupted by boys if they wanted to. In relation to the field of feminine peer group relations, then, what was found was a complex network of small friendship groupings providing the modal point for relationships within the field which were then each linked to one another by a complex lattice-work of relationships. Thus while individual friendship groups typically included only two or three girls, these relations were developed and expanded through the coming together of various groups at certain times (as was seen, for instance, in the organisation of resistance to Daniel and Paul and to Ben outlined in the examples above). This created a

complex network of relationships where individual groups would periodically come together to form extended social groupings but would also as easily break off again. Thus while the immediate reference point for individual girls in the field was their often involved and intimate relationship(s) with one or two other girls, there was a wider, more public social network that they could key into and it was here where the dominant forms of cultural, social and symbolic capital were developed, learnt and reproduced. In this sense, a hierarchy existed within the field between the various friendship groupings in terms of the successful acquisition and competent display of certain forms of capital. The more dominant friendship groupings within the field would therefore act as role-models for others who would try and learn from and mimic their behaviour. It was therefore through these complex strands of relations that some common forms of capital were valued, to varying degrees, by most of the more private groupings. It is to these forms of capital, as manifest in the public spaces of the field, that the chapter will now turn.

It needs to be reiterated here that the discussion to follow can only therefore offer a partial and inevitably incomplete account of the young girls' social worlds and the forms of capital they have come to value and struggle over. The specific forms of capital that they focus on and the ways they come to re-work these are all done through the medium of particular friendship groupings. While we can therefore gain some insight into the importance of gender difference and the power of heterosexuality in the formation of young girls' sense of identity, this absence of a focus on their more private worlds means that we can infer very little in relation to the precise ways in which these discourses come to structure those identities. To the extent that this present study does move on in this and the next chapter to use particular case studies of Black and South Asian girls then it does serve as a reminder of the dangers of over-generalising and the need to take little for granted in relation

to the resourcefulness of these young girls in being able to appropriate, rework and/or resist the broader themes set out below.

8.4.2 Boyfriends, kiss-chase and relationships

As already alluded to above, within the more public domain of the field of feminine peer group relations, having a boyfriend invested a girl with a significant degree of social capital. This was certainly the case for Emma and Nicky from Mrs Brogan's class. It was these two girls, as will be recalled from chapter six, that were at the heart of the fights between groups of Black and White boys who both laid claims on them as girlfriends. The status that this invested in the two girls can be seen in the following quote with Nicky where she is 'complaining' about the attention she is receiving from the boys. Her 'complaints' were framed in such a way as to attract the attention and respect of the others in the room including myself where, as before, the introduction of these essentially 'adult' themes need to be understood in the context of my presence and the ability of them to at least partially undermine the predominant discursive relations of adult/child:

Nicky: Everyone keeps saying they go out with me!
PC: Do they?
Nicky: Yeah
PC: Who says that?
Nicky: Don't know their names but they know my name
PC: Why do they keep saying that do you think?
Nicky: Don't know
PC: Do they just say it about you or do they say it about anybody else?
Nicky: About me!
PC: Paul and Daniel from Mrs Scott's class - they play with you a bit don't they?
Nicky: Yeah, he says he goes out with me?
PC: Which one?
Nicky: Daniel
PC: There's also somebody from Mr Wallace's? [...]
Nicky: No that's Emma's boyfriend [...] Emma goes out with James and Michael [*both Black*] ... I hate Black boys!
PC: You hate Black boys?
Nicky: Yeah
PC: Which Black boys do you hate?
Nicky: Kylie said to me that Michael and Devan go out with her!

Kylie: No, James goes out with me! [...]
 PC: But why do you hate Black boys Nicky?
 Kylie: Because they're always around us ain't they Nicky?
 Nicky: Yeah! ... What? kissing?
 Kylie: *[laughs]* No, chasing!
 Nicky: Well, Daniel's always chasing me!
 PC: But Daniel's White isn't he?
 Nicky: Yeah
 PC: So it's not always Black boys that are around you is it?
 Kylie: Yeah
 Nicky: No!
 PC: So which Black boys don't you like then Nicky?
 Nicky: Michael
 PC: So why don't you like Michael then?
 Nicky: Cos I hate him hanging around Emma
 PC: Why does he hang around Emma do you think?
 Nicky: I don't know! - I don't know everything!

It is interesting to note from the above the way that Kylie tries to associate herself with Nicky, and thus gain some social capital for herself, even though they rarely played together in the playground. It is also interesting to note the way that the conversation became racialised as Nicky developed her complaint to focus on Black boys. From chapter six we noticed how Black boys were positioned in a certain way within discourses on boyfriends that emphasised their perceived athletic and sexual nature and thus increased their attractiveness to a significant proportion of girls. Indeed Nicky and Emma's boyfriends, at the time of the interview, were two of the 'Bad' Boys discussed in that chapter: Daniel and Paul respectively. Nicky's comments should therefore be seen more in the way of an expression of resentment at Emma successfully gaining the attention of Black boys.

This position that Black boys have been given in discourses on boyfriends amongst girls is also illustrated in the following transcript taken from an interview with Lisa and Asha from Ms Patterson's class. Here we have been having a conversation about which boys in the class they play with and I have offered them a number of names before Peter's, a Black boy from their class:

PC: What other boys are in your class? Peter? Do you play

with Peter?
 Lisa: Yeah - I'm going to marry him! [...] We're going to marry each other! [...] Well, I want to marry two boys
 PC: Who's the other one?
 Lisa: Devan [*also Black*]
 PC: Devan and Peter? But he [*Devan*] was kicking you
 Lisa: Yeah but he's stopped that now and he's my friend
 PC: What other boys? Pritul - do you play with Pritul?
 Lisa: No! [...] Well, Pritul wants to marry Lyndsey!
 PC: Does he? Why?
 Lisa: Because they love each other - they went to each other's house

While Lisa rarely played with either Peter or Devan, and indeed was more likely to be attacked by the latter, she used them symbolically as a way into the themes of love and marriage. It is here that we can see how these discourses on boyfriends have come to provide the medium through which a host of other discursive themes on intimacy, love and marriage are expressed (see also Grugeon, 1993). In this respect it is interesting to contrast the way that the boys came to perceive their relationships with girls through the medium of kiss-chase with that of the girls. For the former, as we saw in chapter six many of the 'Bad' boys' readings of girlfriends, including Daniel and Paul, were inextricably bound up with notions of ownership, control and sex. However, for their girlfriends, Nicky and Emma, their perceptions of the same relationships were, interestingly, one run through with notions of love. In one interview Emma talks about making a card for her boyfriend: 'because I love him so much!'.

8.4.3 *Girls' games and femininity*

Importantly, these discourses on boyfriends and the various discursive themes interwoven into these in relation to love, marriage, relationships and intimacy, as Grugeon (1993) also highlights in her study of older girls, also come to be embedded within the very games that the girls play amongst themselves. Here, the popular games such as 'Mummies and Daddies', 'Doctors', 'Mummies and Babies' and 'Shops' are all primarily concerned with the routine playing-out and exploration of relationships. Alongside

games of kiss-chase, girls' games provided one of the central dynamics through which these discourses on boyfriends and their related discursive themes were reproduced within the public sites of the field of feminine peer group relations. Moreover, it not only provides a medium through which girls can come to explore and develop relationships, it also provides an important arena for the expression of feminine competence. As such they are games that are often taken seriously and are heavily guarded. The following transcript, taken from an interview with Aisha, Poonam and Beenal in Mrs Scott's class, illustrates the importance given to competently carrying out the role given to you in a game:

- PC: So who do you play with in the playground then? Who do you all play with?
 Aisha: Whitney, Jemma, Lyndsey/
 Beenal: /And me!
 Aisha: Not you!
 PC: Beenal doesn't play with you Aisha? Why not?
 Aisha: I don't know why! Cos I don't want her to play with me! She does it wrong!
 PC: Does it wrong?
 Aisha: Yeah - what I say!

Here, Aisha is referring to the games that she organises and controls and what she perceives as Beenal's failure to successfully play out the feminine roles given to her.

Together with these forms of role-playing games, other popular games among girls were Clapping Games where two or three girls would clap hands together while singing certain rhymes. As Grugeon (1993) also found, it was an essentially public game where a great deal of status was attributed to the successful recounting of various rhymes and a number of girls could regularly be observed watching and learning from others engaged in Clapping Games. What is interesting about these rhymes is the way that they are embedded with the dominant discursive themes of love, marriage and attractiveness. The following three rhymes, very popular among the girls, illustrate this quite effectively:

My boyfriend gave me an apple,
 My Boyfriend gave me a pear,
 My boyfriend gave me a kick up the bum and threw me down the stairs,
 I gave him back his apple,
 I gave him back his pear,
 I gave him back his kick up the bum and threw him down the stairs,
 I threw him over Scotland,
 I threw him over France,
 I threw him over Workingham and he lost his underpants!
 When I wasn't looking,
 he kissed another girl,
 When I wasn't looking, he kissed another girl,
 Hypnotise her! paralyse her! turn around and faint!

My mummy told me,
 If I was goody,
 Then she would buy me,
 A rubber dolly,
 My aunty told her,
 I kissed a soldier,
 Now she won't buy me,
 A rubber dolly

Co-Co Cola, Co-Co Cola,
 Makes you burp, Makes you burp,
 Have another bottle, have another bottle,
 Burp-burp-burp, burp-burp-burp!
 Co-Co Cola, Co-Co Cola,
 Minus, Minus,
 Boys got the muscles, teachers got the brains,
 Girls got the sexy legs walking down the lane

Most of the girls, at one time or another, played these Clapping Games and it was a very creative process as girls would spend a lot of time adding new verses, adapting old ones and mixing existing verses from different songs together. After all, knowing a 'new' song attracted much status from the other girls.

It is interesting to note, however, the salience of gender differences within these rhymes and the emphasis placed on boyfriends, love and marriage. These were themes that ran through other games that involved songs. One popular game called 'Orange Balls' was played by a larger group of girls where one girl was picked and the others then huddled in a group out of earshot

and picked a boy's name. They would then form a ring and dance around her singing:

Orange balls, orange balls, here we go again bum! bum!
Orange balls, orange balls, here we go again bum! bum!
Stamp your feet if you hate him,
Stamp your feet if you hate him,
Stamp your feet if you hate him,
e-i-e-i-oh!
Cross your heart if you love him,
Cross your heart if you love him,
Cross your heart if you love him,
e-i-e-i-oh!
Michael [*or whatever name is chosen*] says he loves you,
Michael says he loves you,
Michael says he loves you,
e-i-e-i-oh!

Because of the relatively large numbers of girls that usually play this, together with those who stand and observe, this is also a very public affair and is one which enables girls to publicly explore particular relationships by attaching specific names to each other and gauging the reactions of others. A great deal is at stake, therefore, as reputations and status are forever being made and re-made. In many ways, because of its public nature, it not only enables them to probe the desires of particular girls but it also acts to reinforce a collective sense of taste. It is in this sense that we can more fully understand the incident involving Jayesh, a South Asian boy that had just moved up to Mrs Brogan's class from the nursery, in the previous chapter. In this, the girls chose his name when playing Orange Balls and then took delight in not only teasing the girl who was 'on' afterwards but also Jayesh as well. This could be seen as an example of the increased salience of racialised discourses in public spaces where, at this more general level of abstraction, much more is at stake in terms of the maintenance of reputations.

8.4.4 Attractiveness, identity and the feminine habitus

It is through the daily struggles over these particular forms of cultural capital and the routine playing out of specific games, that these dominant notions of

femininity become embodied by the girls to form part of their habitus. The successful participation in many of the girls' games, for instance, whether at home or at school, requires the adoption of a caring and nurturing demeanour and it is this which is positively rewarded. It is here where the power of these discourses take on what Foucault (1980: 39) referred to as their 'capillary form of existence' reaching 'into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes'.

An example of the way in which some girls' sense of self is constituted in and through these discourses on boyfriends can be seen in terms of the particular understanding many of them have of attractiveness. Here, the discourses on boyfriends and girlfriends frame the attractiveness of girls in relation to the needs and desires of boys. We can see this, for instance, in the way that it is boys that chase girls when playing kiss-chase and in the rhymes quoted above where it is the girls that have the 'sexy legs' and it is the boys that are tempted through their attractiveness to kiss other girls. The acquisition of the relevant forms of cultural capital associated with boyfriends within the field of feminine peer group relations is therefore related to the skills necessary to attract boys. The status that this brings was clearly evident with the cases of Nicky and Emma, Stephanie and Debbie discussed earlier. Debbie, for instance, after finishing her argument with Levi over his brother, Stephen, told me how: 'I'm going to have my hair cut right round here and have it curly a bit. When I have my hair done Stephen's going to really like me!'. Similarly, in the following transcript taken from an interview with Aisha, Beenal and Poonam, Aisha not only shows how she has come to define her own attractiveness in relation to boys but also how she has come to understand their hostility to her South Asian friends in this discursive frame as well:

- PC: Why don't they play with Poonam and Beenal, Aisha?
Why are the boys nasty to them?
Aisha: Er, their hair's not long!

PC: Because their hairs' not long?
 Aisha: Yeah
 Beenal: Mine's long!
 PC: Beenal's hair's long
 Aisha: Yeah but she does plaits and I hate plaits and boys hate plaits like that! And boys like this [*touching her own hair*] and a hair band
 PC: How do you know they like that? Who said they like that?
 Aisha: Stephen in our class yesterday
 PC: Did he? What did he say?
 Aisha: He said I was very, very nice

It is within this context that girls come to value and gain symbolic status through the acquisition of what are perceived as 'grown-up' or 'adult' fashions. This is where the particular way that some of the mothers on Manor Park estate come to clothe their children, as outlined in chapter four, tends to intervene in the particular forms of symbolic capital that are generated. Here, the latest skirts, tops and shoes, together with ear rings and other jewellery items all come to invest particular girls with symbolic capital and hence status within the field of feminine peer group relations. Moreover, girls were also seen to bring make-up that had been bought for them into the school. Aisha, for example, had gathered quite a large group of girls around her one day in the playground where they sat in the bushes applying face cream that she had brought in with her. On other occasions, girls were seen to bring in lip-stick and jewellery that they would then invite an exclusive network of friends to use and try on.

8.5 Black girls and the field of feminine peer group relations

So far I have drawn attention to some particular aspects of the field of feminine peer group relations that have predominantly come to be expressed in the more public spaces of the school. In the omission of any extensive study of the private worlds of young girls then it offers only a partial, essentially incomplete and over-generalised account of the field. While making no claims to be representative, the chapter has drawn attention,

nevertheless, to the salience of gender difference and the importance of heterosexuality in the construction and reproduction of particular notions of femininity. It is against the background of the reproduction of discourses on boyfriends and their associated discursive themes that we can come to understand the influences of particular discourses on 'race' as they come to affect the general position of Black girls in the field. It is with this in mind that the remainder of the chapter will be concerned to explore the schooling experiences of the Black girls at Anne Devlin.

What I want to argue here chapter is that the particular discourses on 'race' that were highlighted in chapter six in relation to the perceived tendency for Black children to be troublesome, athletic and sporting have resulted in a contradictory positioning of Black girls within the field of feminine peer group relations. While their perceived athleticism afforded the girls a level of symbolic capital within the field, it also had the effect of inhibiting their ability to successfully acquire some of the dominant forms of capital associated with the discourses on boyfriends. Through the use of particular case studies the chapter will explore the diverse ways in which Black girls have come to respond to these broader racialised discursive processes.

One of the problems in doing this however relates to the relatively small number of Black girls - four - that were present at Anne Devlin in the three sample classes for the whole of the year. While there were other Black girls in the three sample classes during the year they either left half-way through the field work or moved up to the classes from the nursery only at the start of the final summer term. As such I was only able to get to know four of the girls well: Annette, Naomi, Charlene and Whitney. It is with this in mind that an extra note of caution needs to be made in relation to the following where I intend to use these girls' experiences of schooling to tentatively draw attention to some of the broader and more general discursive processes evident within Anne Devlin that affect Black girls.

8.5.1 Teacher discourses and Black girls

A review of the official and internal school reports relating to the four girls indicates the existence of a number of common discursive themes that resonate quite closely with those outlined in chapter six in relation to Black boys. Just as Grant (1992) found that teachers tended to encourage young Black girls' social competence at the expense of their academic skills so the teachers at Anne Devlin also tended to underplay the Black girls educational achievements and focus on their social behaviour in comparison with white and South Asian girls. In this, notions of disruptiveness, aggressiveness and athleticism were found to underlie the teachers' perceptions of these girls. This is illustrated in Mrs Scott's school report on Annette which is very typical of the other girls' reports:

Annette is very popular and has many friends. She is very good at games and athletics. She excels in P.E. and at the Sports Hall [...] She acts silly and prevents others from working [...] The one thing that she loves and excels at in the classroom is beautiful colouring

What is interesting in the above is the way that gender not only comes to carve out important distinctions in the schooling experiences of Black male and female students in secondary schools (Fuller, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983; Mac an Ghail, 1988; Mirza, 1992), but also in relation to young Black children at the beginning of their schooling careers. Thus, while the perceived troublesome and aggressive nature was found to predominate among the teachers at Anne Devlin in relation to Black boys, we find that, in relation to the girls, their perceived creative side is fore-grounded instead. Indeed the above extract illustrates that the disruptive activities they did get involved in were much less likely to be seen as overtly confrontational and threatening, as was the case with the boys, and more likely to be merely the result of the girls' tendency, *as girls*, to 'chatter' and be 'quarrelsome' and 'silly'.

These discourses were inevitably woven into the practices of many teachers

and the dominant processes within the school. There was, for instance, a greater likelihood that Black girls would be publicly singled out for discipline and chastisement by teachers than other girls within the school. This was a common experience for Charlene from Mrs Scott's class, for instance, who was regularly singled out and publicly disciplined for 'chattering' and disrupting others. This reputation for being disruptive was one that came to precede the girls and create a level of expectation among the teachers. Ms Patterson, for example, was taking the register one morning with most of the children sat on the carpet. As she went through the names she called out Naomi's name and then looked up from her register, lent forward in her seat and said to her: 'I hope you're going to be good this week - not like last week!'. The way in which Naomi tended to be singled out by Ms Patterson was something that Naomi, herself, was acutely aware of. In the following transcript taken from an interview with Naomi, Lyndsey and Jemma (a Black girl that left the school towards the end of the Autumn term), Naomi complains of being unfairly picked on by Ms Patterson:

- Lyndsey: I like Miss Patterson cos she lets us play with toys and on the computer
 Jemma: She gives us hard work
 Naomi: And she don't let me and Jemma play on the computer - [to Jemma] I never had a go did you?
 Jemma: She won't let us sit together
 PC: She won't let who sit together?
 Jemma & Naomi: Us!
 Lyndsey: Sometimes they be naughty that's why
 Jemma: We don't fight!
 Naomi: We talk!
 PC: And she won't let you sit together?
 Naomi: No
 PC: What do you think about that?
 Jemma: But when we were over there [pointing to a table in the classroom] we said we won't talk and just carried on with our work, we weren't talking, right, between ourselves, and Miss Patterson said: "sit on a different table Naomi!" - [to Naomi] didn't she?
 PC: And you weren't talking?
 Jemma: Yeah
 PC: So why did she say that?
 Naomi: Cos we were sitting together

Jemma: Sitting at our table

What is particularly interesting from the above conversation is the way that other girls come to take on board the discursive frame of the teacher. Here Lyndsey is seen to readily reproduce the view that Naomi and Jemma were naughty at times even though, in relation to this incident, they were in fact getting on with their work and not talking any more than other children. This is a theme that I will return to shortly.

As highlighted in relation to the school reports, however, teachers tended to focus more on what they perceived to be the Black girls' abilities in music, dancing and athletics rather than their disruptive behaviour. This was also true in relation to their practice as was illustrated in Mrs Scott's class. Here during the few minutes before dinner time when she would often have all the children sat on the carpet while certain children were chosen to come to the front and sing their favourite songs. There was a distinct tendency for Mrs Scott to choose Black girls and Stephen, a Black boy, more often than the other children. On a couple of occasions she was observed to ask these children to come to the front and show the other children how to do it. This was also the case during one morning where she had the class in the main hall for 'music and movement'. The children were asked to march around the hall in a big circle while singing a song. Some of the children appeared reluctant to do this so Mrs Scott asked Whitney and Stephen to do it on their own while the other children stood at the sides of the hall and watched.

These processes were also true in relation to the teachers' perceptions of the girls' athletic abilities. This was particularly the case with Annette from Mrs Scott's class who was positively encouraged in P. E. and other sporting activities by Mrs Scott and publicly praised for her achievements. As she explained to me:

She's [*Annette*] a tomboy. You see, she's got a big brother called Luke, do you know him? He'll be twelve now and I had him years ago. His father was in prison at the time. But erm he was the best runner in the school. But he's totally dizzy otherwise [...] But I think having a big brother has had an influence on her and she's very good at sport - have you seen her? She can do anything. If we have to practice sports like we did the other day. She could go along, we had an obstacle course, and most of them couldn't do some of it. We only had a skipping rope, bat and ball, and a hoop to go over your head. She could go through it - and she's the fastest runner - she's brilliant really at athletics. If it was channelled in the right direction it would be. [...] She plays football, she's very nifty with her feet.

8.5.2 Teacher practices and the field of feminine peer group relations

This construction of Black girls as being disruptive, musical and athletic by teachers within the school inevitably came to influence relations within the field of feminine peer group relations and the position of Black girls within it. Most prominently, it invoked contradictory responses towards the Black girls from others within the field. On the one hand their perceived musical and athletic abilities endowed Black girls with a certain amount of status. It represents a form of symbolic capital that is almost universal among boys and girls and which, particularly through racing and games of tick and chase, affords the holder a certain privileged position among their peers. For Black girls then, what was seen to be their quickness and agility, made them good at certain popular games played by the children in the eyes of the others and so required a certain level of respect.

However, this was much less the case for other aspects of capital within the field that centred around the discourses on boyfriends and the related discursive themes on intimacy, love and marriage. Here their discursive positioning as athletic and, moreover as troublesome, acted to severely limit their ability to acquire these particular forms of capital in the eyes of the other girls. In this sense the particular notions of femininity had been constructed at the public level within the field around gender differences and in opposition to boys. This 'tomboy' identity that many of the Black girls had

therefore severely limited their ability to acquire a feminine identity within these discourses on boyfriends. Moreover, this also acted to reduce their attractiveness to the boys *as girls*. Especially for Naomi and Annette, while they played with boys for a relatively high proportion of their time, they were never seen to be engaged in games of kiss-chase with them during the whole of the field work. Annette's reputation for being sporting and troublesome then, while gaining her status within the field of masculine peer group relations, also acted to severely limit the possibility of the boys seeing her as a prospective girlfriend.

Not only were Black girls generally excluded from games of kiss-chase but they were also restricted in relation to their ability to enter into the more general girls' games that came to reproduce these discourses on boyfriends. As will be remembered earlier, these games were essentially public affairs and there was thus a lot at stake in terms of girls' status and reputations. As they were seen as essentially public expressions of a girls' feminine competence it was therefore important for girls to choose who they played these games with carefully. To be so publicly associated with a girl that was not seen as particularly 'feminine' would therefore reflect as much on the other girls' status. As the earlier quote in relation to Aisha's games illustrated, those girls who were not thought to be able to play the games properly (i.e. who lacked the relevant level of feminine competence) were therefore excluded.

It is here that we can at least partially understand the tendency for Black girls to be excluded from particular public games relating to notions of boyfriends and love and marriage. As the following quote illustrates, it was Naomi's reputation for being disruptive and troublesome that led Chloe and Lisa to decide not to play with her. Chloe had just said that she did not like to play with Peter, a Black boy, in her class:

PC: Why don't you like to play with Peter, Chloe?
 Chloe: Cos he's naughty ain't it! Peter makes Miss Patterson shout
 PC: Makes Ms Patterson cross? Is that why you don't like him?
 Chloe: Yeah
 PC: Does anyone else make Ms Patterson cross?
 Lisa: Yeah!
 PC: Who?
 Lisa: Naomi!
 PC: Naomi? Why do you think Naomi makes her/
 Chloe: /Devan! [*another Black boy*]
 Lisa: Yeah Devan as well

As we will see shortly when examining the case of Naomi in more detail, it was certainly the case that Naomi was actively excluded from many of the girls' games even though she valued and continued to adhere to some of the more prominent notions of femininity defined through these discourses on boyfriends.

8.6 Black girls' strategies of conformity and resistance

So far, then, I have explored the nature of teacher discourses and practices in relation to Black girls in the three sample classes at Anne Devlin and how these have generally impacted upon the field of feminine peer group relations. I have tentatively suggested that, at a relatively broad level of abstraction, the discursive positioning of Black girls as disruptive, musical and athletic affords them a certain level of status among their peers but also acts to exclude them from acquiring and successfully maintaining a dominant position within the field of feminine peer group relations. Of course it would be wrong to assume from this that these broader discursive processes will affect all Black girls equally and in the same ways. Nothing is predetermined. The four Black girls that form the focus of this present discussion, adopted very different strategies in response to these processes with very differing consequences for their resultant sense of identity. To illustrate this we will briefly look at each of the girls in turn.

8.6.1 Annette

One response to these broader discursive processes is to reject the field of feminine peer group relations altogether and seek out alternative social spaces within which to carve out a sense of identity. In this Annette, from Mrs Scott's class, was the most successful. She had positively rejected her positioning within the field and had capitalised upon her reputation for being disruptive and athletic to gain a prominent position within the field of masculine peer group relations. Moreover, not only had she been accepted within this field but had acquired considerable forms of capital to the extent that she had gained a dominant position within it. The respect that she had gained was considerable and is illustrated in the following interview with her classmates: Stephen, Paul and Jordan - the 'Bad' Boys from chapter six. Here they are talking about Jason and his 'gang'; a group of older infant boys that they were having a prolonged conflict with:

- Stephen: They think we're scared of them!
Paul: We're not scared of them!
Stephen: Daniel is!
Paul: But Annette won't! Annette scares them off!
Jordan: Yeah! Annette, Annette is brave right and me and Paul and Stephen/
Paul: /But not Daniel!
Jordan: Cos Annette, because Annette just stands there and lets this boy just kick her and like, and like don't cry!

Annette's strength and her competency at athletics and football, as alluded to earlier in the interview with Mrs Scott, therefore afforded her a dominant position within the field of masculine peer group relations. Indeed it was a position consolidated in the fact that she very rarely associated with girls at all and refused to be identified with them. Such was her position within the field that she would regularly take control of games and carve out a position where she could pick and choose which boys could and could not play. This is illustrated in the following discussion that I had with Prajay, a South Asian boy, in the playground. I had earlier noticed him with a group of children, including Annette, who were playing Beezo a variation of the Tick

game. As I approached him he was stood on his own looking on to the other children who were running around the playground chasing each other:

- PC: Hello Prajay. I thought you were playing Beezo [...] Why have you stopped playing it?
Prajay: Because Annette said I couldn't play
PC: Why did she say that?
Prajay: *[shrugs his shoulders]*
PC: Has she said it to anyone else?
Prajay: *[nods]*
PC: Who?
Prajay: Harry - but he's playing it again!

Infact, as with the other boys, Annette was more likely to exclude South Asian boys than others. On another occasion, for example, she was seen to be physically pushing Bhavin, another South Asian boy, away from the group quite violently.

However, while Annette had gained a strong position for herself within the field of feminine peer group relations it was not without its contradictions. There was always a risk that she would be repositioned within discourses on gender. As the following incident illustrates, this was something that other boys could draw upon at times as a resource to maintain their own position. In this I was sat at a table with Paul and some other boys helping them with their work in Mrs Scott's class. The incident began with Daniel who approached the table rather excitedly and sat down:

- Daniel: Miss! Miss! Miss! *[referring to PC]* me and Annette we broke off Stephanie's peg! *[in the cloakroom]*. When we're upstairs *[i.e. for an interview]* we'll tell you!
PC: What peg?
Daniel: Annette saw it wobbling and Annette broke it off! *[Annette walks over to the table and remains standing]*. Annette, didn't me and you break off that peg?
Annette: *[nods and smiles before calmly putting her work on the table]*
Paul: and me!
Annette: *[Shakes head]*
Paul: Yeah I did didn't I Daniel?
Daniel: *[no response]*
Paul: Come and sit here Annette *[pulling back the chair next to him for her to sit on]*
Annette: *[walks over and sits next to Paul]*

Daniel: [to Paul and Annette] Are you two going to have sex? [...]
 He pinches your bum!
 PC: Who pinches you bum?
 Daniel: Paul!
 PC: You've just said they're going to have sex - who do you mean?
 Daniel: Yeah them two are going to have sex! [pointing to Paul and Annette]
 Paul: No! Them two! [pointing to Annette and another boy sat at the table]
 Daniel: No! Her and him [pointing to Annette and then PC] are going to have sex!
 Annette: Nnoooo!

This incident is interesting for three main reasons. Firstly, it alludes to the ongoing respect that Annette has gained from the boys witnessed here in Daniel's enthusiasm to relay the story concerning Annette and Stephanie's peg. Secondly, and most importantly for the present discussion, it also illustrates the way that the boys were able to introduce alternative discourses in order to re-position other children to their advantage (see also Walkerdine, 1981). Here, Daniel was able to regain some of the status he had lost through Annette choosing to sit next to Paul by discursively switching from regarding Annette as 'one of the boys' to re-positioning her within discourses on heterosexuality as a sexualised object. While this was quite rare it does point towards the contradictions in Annette's strategy and the ultimately precarious nature of the position that she has found herself in. Thirdly and finally, the incident also re-inforces my position within the research and the role I inevitably play in shaping and influencing relations. Daniel's reference to me as 'Miss' together with his comment about Annette and I having sex both allude to the children's perception of me as an adult male and what that signifies. Within the context of the complex interplay of discourses and contested subject positions, it also signifies another attempt to undermine the dominant discursive frame on childhood and the positions of adult and child within this.

8.6.2 Naomi

It is interesting to briefly contrast Naomi with Annette. As outlined earlier, Naomi's reputation for being disruptive had the effect of excluding her from particular aspects of the field of feminine peer group relations. Her response, similarly to Annette, was to try and create an alternative space within the field of masculine peer group relations with which to develop and maintain her sense of self. The problem that Naomi faced, however, was that she was not particularly strong nor was she competent at sports. She did not, therefore, have the appropriate cultural capital necessary to gain status among the boys as was the case with Annette. Moreover, the reputation that she did have for being disruptive and which positioned her within the public sphere was also significantly gendered in that the discourses associated with this, as reproduced by Ms Patterson and outlined earlier, revolved around her being 'moody' and 'manipulative' rather than aggressive and confrontational. What one might have thought would bestow her with a certain amount of masculine capital among the boys was therefore discursively constructed in such a way as to deny her this.

Naomi was therefore essentially 'caught between two fields': being partially excluded by the field of feminine peer group relations but lacking the appropriate forms of capital to successfully position herself within the field of masculine peer group relations. She would therefore aim towards the boys but neither have the interest nor the ability to successfully take part in the games that they were playing. Many of the boys came to regard her presence in their group negatively - as someone who was getting in their way. As Mrs Adams, an ancillary teacher working in Ms Patterson's class observed:

- Mrs Adams: I think the boys get irritated by her [...] but she's bored by the girls - the boys are a bit too rough with her
PC: And why do you think they get irritated with her?
Mrs Adams: Because she's a girl and she wants to play the girly-games but she doesn't want to play with the girls

It was certainly the case that while Naomi was often seen hanging around

boys she was rarely observed playing with them. In essence she identified more closely with the forms of capital associated with the field of feminine peer group relations - what Mrs Adams rather condescendingly referred to as 'girly-games' - but could not identify with the girls in that field. Unfortunately for Naomi, what was regarded as capital among the girls and which Naomi identified with, was viewed quite negatively within the field of masculine peer group relations; after all, the dominant forms of capital here had been developed in direct opposition to notions of femininity.

3.6.3 Charlene

The predicament that Naomi found herself in and contradictions she ultimately experienced were also those that underlay Charlene's experiences of schooling. She too had little ability or interest in sports and athletics and she too was drawn into the public sphere by being frequently chastised by her teacher, Mrs Scott, for being disruptive. Moreover, the way in which Mrs Scott publicly chastised Charlene, by couching it within gendered discourses on her 'chattering' and being argumentative, also limited the potential Charlene had for capitalising on this within the field of masculine peer group relations.

However, in contrast to the strategy adopted by Naomi, Charlene be-friended another girl in her class, Melanie, a White girl who had also gained a particular reputation for being stubborn and troublesome. They were effectively seen as inseparable and would regularly attract the attention of Mrs Scott who would spend much of her time trying to keep the two girls sat apart in the classroom. As with Naomi, because of the girls' reputation for being troublesome they found themselves on the fringes of the field of feminine peer group relations and were rarely invited to participate in various games and activities. Indeed their reputation was such that other girls would actively avoid the two at times for fear of the disruption they

could cause.

However, in contrast to Naomi, Charlene did not choose to try and create an alternative space within the field of masculine peer group relations but, with her friend Melanie, carved out a space within the field of feminine peer group relations and it was from this space, albeit at the fringes, that they actively struggled to be accepted and included within the broader network of relationships that were found in the field in relation to discourses on boyfriends. While they were seen to often play games on their own including Mummies and Babies, Doctors and Tick, they also made regular attempts to access broader friendship groups within the field. One particular friendship group, that of Nicky and Emma from Mrs Brogan's class, was shown to attract a great deal of status and to be associated with them would offer a significant level of social capital. This was similarly the case for the four boys from Mrs Scott's class, the 'Bad' Boys discussed in detail in chapter six, two of whom - Daniel and Paul - regularly played kiss-chase with Nicky and Emma. To be associated with these particular boys as boyfriends also offered girls within the field of feminine peer group relations a degree of social capital. The following transcript taken from an interview with Charlene and Melanie illustrates the way that they come to value and reproduce these discourses on boyfriends through ascribing status to having Paul and Daniel as boyfriends as well as being friends with Nicky and Emma. While they were never seen to actually play with these children it is the fact that they fantasise about associating with them that demonstrates their subscription to these particular forms of capital within the field of feminine peer group relations:

Charlene: Anyway, do you know Daniel? Daniel, er, kissed us!
Melanie: Yeah and snog us!
PC: Did he?
Melanie: Yeah
[...]
Charlene: I like Daniel
Melanie: I like Paul - he's my best
Charlene: Daniel's my best, I know he's my best

PC: What girls do they play with?
 Charlene: Emma/
 Melanie: /ME! CHARLENE, Emma and Nicky and kiss all four of us
 Charlene: And Stephen
 Melanie: Yeah
 Charlene: They batter each other you know!
 PC: They batter each other?
 Charlene: And Jordan
 Melanie: And I kick Jordan straight in the mouth don't I?
 Charlene: Yeah and I kick him in his rude!
 Melanie &
 Charlene: *[Laugh]*

What is also interesting about the above transcript is the way it alludes to the contradictions in their identities. For, alongside their struggle to be feminine and acquire the various forms of social, cultural and symbolic capital associated with this, through their discussion of how they would fight with Jordan the transcript also alludes to the way they value what are considered to traditionally be more masculine traits. It is indicative of their contradictory positioning - being discursively constructed as disruptive and troublesome while also striving for a more feminine identity and acceptance within the field of feminine peer group relations. It is the inherent struggles that Charlene and Melanie face in trying to reconcile these contradictory positions that characterises their experiences of schooling and which ensures their positioning on the periphery of the field of feminine peer group relations.

8.6.4 *Whitney*

Finally, I want to briefly mention Whitney a Black girl from Mrs Scott's class. Whitney could be seen as being towards the other end of a continuum drawn by the other three girls. For, not only does Whitney subscribe to some of the dominant forms of capital associated with the field as outlined above, but she has also been largely successful in gaining acceptance within it. She had developed a relatively close relationship with a small group of (mainly White) girls and, as a group, they were regularly encouraged to participate in various games by other girls in the field. Although she had not acquired a

dominant position within the field of feminine peer group relations she had gained a strong position and was routinely accepted by others. .

To understand Whitney's position we need to go back to her positioning within the discursive practices of teachers. Whitney's mother was working full-time and she was brought to and from school by her grandmother. Mrs Scott spoke of how she was helped at home with her academic work and how she had become a pleasure to have in class. As her school report stressed: 'Whitney [...] is a very friendly, studious girl - very agreeable and pleasant. A pleasure to have in the class [...] Very helpful, lovely to talk to. Very mature.' While the report also stressed how she: 'enjoys dancing and the sports hall activities as well as singing and playing instruments' she was also therefore seen as academically bright.

It was Whitney's 'studiousness' that at least partially helps us understand her differing experiences of schooling from that of the other three girls. Whitney had not come through the school's own nursery classes but had recently arrived on the estate and entered directly into Mrs Scott's class from another school. The reports that accompanied her were as glowing as Mrs Scott's. Observations in the classroom confirmed that she was, to all intent and purposes, a 'model' pupil: attentive, hard-working and progressing extremely well especially in reading and writing. Infact it was precisely because she was seen as a model pupil that helps us to understand Mrs Scott's differing perceptions of her. As discussed in chapter five, a significant part of a teacher's status amongst their professional peers is the production of competent pupils. Just as Sharp and Green (1975) found, in a school such as Anne Devlin with all the social problems that are believed to accompany it, part of the strategy adopted by teachers and which becomes part of their habitus, is the academic grooming of a small number of children - small enough so as to leave time to control the majority of children in the class but

of sufficient numbers to parade them, and more importantly their work, around the school. And it is here where Whitney can be located within Mrs Scott's teaching practices. Whitney's identity as coming from a higher social class background than the other Black girls and therefore being a model pupil came to predominate for Mrs Scott over and above her identity as a Black girl. Whitney was therefore not exposed to the broader disciplinary modes of the school deriving from the racialised perceptions that teachers held about Black children generally being disruptive, and was therefore not constructed in such a way as to hinder her successful negotiation of the field of feminine peer group relations. Indeed, in the praise she publicly received from Mrs Scott concerning her academic work she actually gained status amongst the girls.

8.7 Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with exploring the field of feminine peer group relations and the position of Black girls within this. Through an examination of particular aspects of the field, principally the more public spaces within it, the chapter has drawn attention to the prominence of gender differences and the importance of heterosexuality in the formation of certain aspects of the girls' sense of feminine identity. Through discourses on boyfriends, the chapter highlighted how a number of other discursive themes on intimacy, love and marriage were appropriated and reproduced among many girls not only through their involvement in kiss-chase but also through a wide range of essentially public games. It was against the background of these discourses on boyfriends that some girls came to develop their own sense of self.

While the chapter raised a number of concerns about the partial and incomplete nature of this particular aspect of the study and the need to avoid drawing any detailed conclusions from the data in relation to its

generalisability, it was argued that this coverage of particular aspects of the field of feminine peer group relations provided an adequate context for understanding the position of Black girls within it. It was found that, on the one hand, Black girls' perceived musical and athletic abilities invested them with a certain amount of status among their female peers. However, their discursive construction, through teacher discourses, as disruptive did act to severely limit their ability to successfully negotiate a position within the particular discourses on boyfriends within the field. Through a number of case studies the chapter then explored the variety of responses of the Black girls at Anne Devlin to this partial exclusion. While some chose to try and carve out an alternative space within the field of masculine peer group relations in which to develop a sense of self, others struggled to gain status through these discourses on boyfriends within the field of feminine peer group relations. While the focus in this latter part of the chapter has been on Black girls it does provide a useful corrective to the more general discussion on the salience of kiss-chase and boyfriends within the field. The diversity of these four girls' responses are important reminders in maintaining an active notion of agency and resisting the temptation to draw out over-generalised conclusions about the reach and impact of these more public discourses.

CHAPTER NINE

South Asian Girls at Anne Devlin

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the position of South Asian girls within the field of feminine peer group relations. It is primarily interested in exploring the ways in which South Asian girls have come to be discursively constituted as 'sexual rejects' as identified by Brah and Minhas (1985). It will be argued that this can be understood in relation to the particular aspects of the field of feminine peer group relations as highlighted in the previous chapter in relation to the prominence of discourses on boyfriends and the related discursive themes of relationships, love and marriage that were manifest within its more public sites. Here, the general discursive construction of South Asian children as the 'Other' as highlighted in previous chapters, provides the context where a tendency exists for South Asian girls to be denied access to the prominent forms of capital associated with these discourses on boyfriends. Central to these are the discursive themes of attractiveness which has come to be defined in opposition to the 'alien' nature of South Asian children and it is here where the construction of South Asian girls as 'sexual rejects' can be located. This general discursive positioning of South Asian girls as the 'Other' in relation to attractiveness will be shown to act to exclude them from being recognised by other predominantly White girls as competently acquiring related forms of capital associated with notions of boyfriends, love, marriage and intimacy.

After outlining these more general discursive processes, the chapter will move onto use a number of more detailed case studies to highlight the variety of responses that have been adopted by South Asian girls in relation to this broader discursive frame. These will be shown to range from attempts to resist these processes and gain recognition through the dominant discourses on boyfriends by other girls within the more public spaces of the field to the carving out of alternative more private spaces from which to acquire and explore various forms of feminine capital without need for the recognition or approval of other girls.

9.2 Teacher discourses and South Asian girls

To begin with it is important to briefly explore the role that teachers play in developing and reproducing discourses on South Asian girls. I will do this firstly by looking at the teachers' perceptions of South Asian girls from the three sample classes before moving onto looking at how these perceptions are woven into their classroom practices. This will then provide the context, in the next section, for exploring how these discursive practices come to influence and shape the general position of South Asian girls within the field of feminine peer group relations.

9.2.1 *Teacher discourses and school reports*

What is striking when looking at the school reports on South Asian girls is their similarity to those of the boys. What we found in chapter seven in relation to what was perceived to be the helpful, quiet, hard-working and obedient nature of South Asian boys is almost indistinguishable from that attributed to the girls. This is illustrated by the following extract taken from Mrs Scott's school report on Priti which is remarkably representative of the other South Asian girls' reports:

Priti listens attentively to all our discussions [...] She has worked very hard and is making excellent progress [...] She is most helpful in the organisation of the classroom and with tidying up at the end of the day

The noticeable similarity between these reports and those on the South Asian boys and the apparent lack of any significant gender distinction can be understood by the feminisation of South Asian boys discussed in detail in chapter seven. It is this discursive positioning that acts to significantly reduce any distinctions that teachers (and other children) may have made between the South Asian boys and the girls. What we find with the reports on the South Asian girls, therefore, is an over-emphasis on the South Asian girls' perceived obedient and hard-working manner compared to other White and Black girls. This stood in contrast with what was observed which pointed towards a similar mix of work and avoidance of work and obedience and disruption which made the girls' behaviour largely indistinguishable from their female peers.

I want to argue, in a similar way to the arguments on South Asian boys in chapter seven, that the appropriation and reproduction of these broader racialised discourses on the passive, obedient and eager-to-please nature of South Asian girls needs to be located in the broader field of education and the teachers' struggles to maintain status and a competent image among their peers. The two key elements to this, as discussed at length in chapter five, were the successful maintenance of discipline and learning in the classroom. One aspect of the cultural capital that has been learnt and habitualised by many teachers in relation to discipline has been the practice of publicly chastising individual children as an example to others. As we have seen in previous chapters this had become a highly gendered affair involving frequent confrontations between teachers and boys, particularly Black boys. A result of this was that a strong tendency existed for the behaviour of girls generally (and South Asian boys as well as a result of their discursive constitution as effeminate) to be overlooked. After all, making an example of certain boys was usually enough to attract the attention of the girls and bring their behaviour back into line. For South Asian girls, however, this process

was even more exacerbated as their particular construction as being passive, obedient and eager-to-please transformed them into the epitome of femininity in the eyes of the teachers. Even more so than with their White peers then, this quintessential femininity had relegated South Asian girls to the private sphere where their actions and behaviour were more likely to be overlooked.

Moreover, this invisibility was also evident in relation to the teachers' second main role - that of teaching (see also Brah and Minhas, 1985; Wright, 1992a). Here, as has also been argued in chapter five, teachers periodically needed to prove their teaching competence among their peers by exhibiting 'good' pieces of work that had been completed by their children. While the perception of South Asian girls as hardworking meant that their work was often included in this and came to be displayed on the walls of school corridors and held up at assemblies, this was significantly down-played in comparison with the work of other pupils. South Asian girls were observed to attract less praise and attention from other members of staff than other children. This was especially true in relation to boys generally whose work would be especially singled out and highlighted around the school. In many ways this could be seen as not only an attempt to encourage the boys' positive experiences of schooling and reduce what is perceived to be their greater likelihood of disaffection, but also as a way of underlining the class teacher's own skills in terms of their ability to derive good work from what were seen as difficult pupils. For South Asian girls, however, as we have seen, good work is almost expected of them and the status derived from this is therefore devalued.

9.2.2 South Asian girls and teachers' classroom practices

One of the main consequences of the teachers' discourses on the quintessentially feminine nature of South Asian girls discussed above is

their effective removal from the public sphere and their invisibility. In relative terms, teacher rarely called out to them in the classroom and/or publicly chastised them for misbehaviour. Indeed, as some of the teachers commented, they were a: 'pleasure to have in the class' which can be understood as meaning that they present very few behavioural problems that required intervention on behalf of the teacher. Moreover, as I explained above, their brief entry into the public sphere in relation to praise for their academic work was also, relatively, less marked and overt in comparison with their peers.

This lack of presence in the public sphere was also commonly represented among teachers through references to South Asian girls as 'quiet, little' girls. One day when we were accompanying Mrs Scott's class back to the school after a visit to the local park Mrs Pringle, a classroom assistant, complained to Mrs Scott that some of the children had been swearing. Mrs Scott turned round to see a group of South Asian girls stood by Mrs Pringle and, in a loud, disbelieving voice she said: 'pretty little girls don't swear!' to which Mrs Pringle explained that she was not referring to the South Asian girls but to Charlene, a Black girl in the class. Ironically, even more proactive attempts aimed at encouraging South Asian girls into the public sphere often only acted to discursively re-inforce their marginal position in the eyes of the other children. One example of this was in Mrs Scott's class where she had just been talking to Reena's mother about Reena staying for school dinners for the first time that day. Her mother explained that Reena was a little apprehensive about this and had asked her to stay with her for dinner. Mrs Scott summonsed the children to sit on the carpet and, while the mother was still present, called Reena to the front and asked her:

Mrs Scott: What is it that's upsetting you? Is it playing out after dinner or what? *[no answer, Reena just stands there looking a little apprehensive]*. Or the dinner? What is it? *[still no answer] [...] [looks to the mother]* They choose what they want, they walk along and choose. *[looking*

back to Reena] Why do you want your mummy to come along at dinner time? You don't know? [...] Do you play with somebody after dinner? Who do you play with? [*no answer*]

[*turns round to whole of class*] Sit down everybody! Does anybody play with Reena at dinner time? [*Stephanie and Sonia put hands up*] Oh do you Stephanie? Thank you! You do, do you? Oh good girl Sonia!

Mother: [...] There are girls from other classes; you know Kamaljeet and Deepti? [*two girls from the juniors*] They play with her

Mrs Scott: Oh I see yes, I do, they're very nice!

Mother: They play with her

Mrs Scott: Well the thing is she should try to make friends in here.

Mother: That's what I'm telling her; she should try/

Mrs Scott: /Listen girls you must try to look after Reena because she's VERY quiet! And she doesn't talk to anybody very much. Poonam will look after her won't you? She's friendly! and Beenal

Mother: [*to Reena*] They're all so friendly look!

Mrs Scott: And Sonia. This is the danger actually, Mrs, erm, Woods wrote in her report that she works on her own and doesn't talk to people.

Mother: Yeah, that's the dan/

Mrs Scott: /That's the danger, because when you go out you're lonely [...] [*to Reena*] Who would you like to sit with today? [*points to Poonam*] Poonam! Well you go and sit over there and Poonam will look after you.

Not only did this incident help to publicly reinforce the perception of South Asian girls as quiet, passive and dependent, among the other children but it also, through Mrs Scott's assumption that Poonam and Beenal will 'look after' her, reproduces the assumption that South Asian girls 'stick together'. Indeed later that day, these discursive themes were publicly underlined by Mrs Scott when she asked Poonam in front of the rest of the class why she had not brought a spare drink with her to have at playtime whilst the other children drank their milk. At this stage most of the children were sat on the carpet busy drinking their milk or drinks they had brought in. Mrs Scott noticed that Poonam did not have a drink and called her to the front:

Mrs Scott: Have you brought your own drink today?

Poonam: [*looks a little apprehensive and shakes head*]

Mrs Scott: Well you're supposed to; isn't it in your packed lunch?

Poonam: [*shakes head*]

Mrs Scott: Where is it then? You're supposed to bring your drink up here! Is it in the fridge?

Poonam: Yes

Mrs Scott: Well you must bring it here because if you're on a packed lunch then you bring your own drink. Go, [*looks to PC*] will you go down with her to the fridge and get it please. I don't think she understood that!

[*Poonam and PC leave the classroom and walk down the corridor*]
[...]

Poonam: I told my mum to bring two drinks; one at the school and one for packed lunch but my mum said no!

PC: She said no? So you've only got one drink then?

Poonam: Lots of drinks but she don't let me have two drinks.

PC: She doesn't let you have two?

Poonam: No.
[...]
[*return to classroom*]

Mrs Scott: Now drink all of it; just drink a bit! See Aaron knew that. If you bring sandwiches you have to bring your own drink. OK

This is an interesting incident as it illustrates quite clearly how Mrs Scott's perceptions of South Asian girls sets the agenda for interaction with them and, consequently, how those perceptions come to be relayed to the children. Here Poonam was quite clear why she did not have a second drink - her mother did not listen to her requests - and yet she was unable to offer this explanation because Mrs Scott did not allow it. In many ways it was as if Mrs Scott had already convinced herself that Poonam would not have an explanation other than she was too passive and dependent to carry out Mrs Scott's instructions. Moreover the fact that Mrs Scott expressed concern to me that she thought Poonam had not understood her is also testimony to the way in which she had convinced herself that there would be no answer forthcoming and so failed to create the appropriate space to enable Poonam to offer one. For the children as witnesses to these types of incidents they were left in little doubt that South Asian girls were quiet, passive and dependent; especially given the fact that they rarely entered the public sphere of the classroom in any other capacity (see also Ross and Ryan, 1990).

9.3 South Asian girls and the field of feminine peer group relations

We are now in a position to be able to look more closely at the general location of South Asian girls within the field of feminine peer group relations and the influence of the discursive practices of teachers and the organisation of the school more generally upon this. What we find in this regard is an inherent contradiction: on the one hand, as we have seen above, South Asian girls have been discursively constituted by teachers as quintessentially feminine in certain respects. They are perceived as quiet, passive, obedient and helpful. However, as we will now see when looking at the predominance of discourses on boyfriends and the related discursive themes of love, marriage and relationships within the field of feminine peer group relations, this identity does not, as we would possibly have thought, enable them to gain access to the field through these particular discourses. On the contrary, at a general level they are largely excluded from these discourses. Their feminine identities so constituted do not appear to have either been recognised by other girls nor translated into appropriate forms of capital. It is this contradiction that provides the focus for this section. What I want to do is to highlight the nature of that exclusion before exploring other aspects of the discourses on South Asian girls that will help us understand this paradox.

9.3.1 *The social exclusion of South Asian girls from the field*

The previous chapters have been punctuated with examples of how South Asian children have been adversely positioned within children's discourses. What I am concerned with exploring here is how and why these discourses are reproduced within the field of feminine peer group relations. As Wright (1992a) has argued, underlying these discourses is the constitution of South Asian girls as the Other; as inferior and 'alien'. This is illustrated in the following extract taken from an interview with Charlene and Melanie from Mrs Scott's class. Charlene had just noticed some posters depicting South

Asian children on the walls of the interview room:

- Charlene: They're all Indians! [*pointing to pictures on the wall*]
Melanie: No - some of um are White people some of um!
Charlene: That baby is - but they're all Indians, Urrr, I don't like Indians!
PC: Why?
Melanie: Urrrhhh! They're Pakis - I don't like Pakis!
[...]
PC: Why don't you like Indians then?
Charlene: [...] I don't like Pakis!
Melanie: Urrrhhh! I don't like Indians!
[...]
Melanie: Paki-Paki-Paki!
PC: Is that a nice word- - saying "Paki"?
Charlene: Nah
PC: No?
Melanie: No!
PC: Why isn't it a nice word?
Charlene: Because it's naughty
PC: Naughty? Why is it naughty?
Melanie: I don't know! Now shut up!

Moreover, this construction of South Asian girls as the Other in relation to the field of feminine peer group relations could be seen in the way that White and Black girls would also refer to and tease each other as being 'Pakis'. One playtime, for instance, Zoe, a girl from Mrs Brogan's class whose mother was White and father Turkish, came up to me in a rather distressed state and pointed over to a group of girls who she had been playing with and complained that they had called her a Pakistani and added, defiantly: 'I'm White aren't I?'. Later, in the classroom, I was able to ask her about this incident and she said:

- PC: What did they call you?
Zoe: I'm a Pakistani
PC: Did they?/
Zoe: /But I'm not! [*defiantly*]
PC: You're not? What are you?
Zoe: I'm half English and I'm half Turkish! I'm NOT Pakistani
PC: you're not? Don't you want to be?
Zoe: [*shakes head*]
PC: Why?
Zoe: I'm not anyway; my daddy's not Pakistani, and we are allowed to eat meat but not pork meat
PC: Oh! Didn't you like them calling you that?

Zoe: No
 PC: Why?
 Zoe: Because it's horrible!
 PC: Is it?
 Zoe: Because I'm not a Pakistani anyway [...] And if they call me Pakistan I'm going to tell my dad because I'm not even one anyway

A similar process could be seen operating in an interview with Debbie and Kylie, two White girls from Mrs Brogan's class. Here, Debbie, talks about her half-sister whose father is Black:

Debbie: You know Stella she's my sister/
 Kylie: /She's black!/
 Debbie: /And she's still my sister!
 PC: She's your sister? What do you mean she's black?
 Kylie: She's a Paki!
 Debbie: [*angrily*] No she's not a Paki! She's a *normal* girl!
 [...]
 PC: What do you mean she's a normal girl Debbie?
 Debbie: You know how she's a normal girl like that - just got black on her.
 PC: But Indian people are normal aren't they? Debbie?
 Debbie: No - not like Indian people!
 PC: But Indian people are normal as well aren't they?
 Debbie: Indian people are normal
 Kylie: She's a Paki!
 Debbie: no she's *ain't* a Paki!
 PC: Do you think it's nice saying "Paki" Kylie?
 Kylie: [*shakes head*]
 PC: So why do you say it then?
 Kylie: I don't know!
 PC: If you were an Indian would you like to be called a Paki?
 Kylie: No
 PC: No? Why not?
 Debbie: [*shouts at Kylie*] So why do you call other people Pakis?

9.3.2 South Asian girls, the Other and attractiveness

To understand this discursive construction of South Asian girls as the Other within the field of feminine peer group relations, and especially to make sense of how this occurs against the backdrop of their constitution as quintessentially feminine through teacher discourses, we need to return to some of the other elements of the discourses on South Asian children manifest within and beyond the school that have been outlined in previous

chapters. Here we found that discourses being reproduced on Manor Park estate in relation to what was perceived to be the 'alien' and inferior nature of South Asian people were also being appropriated by the children and re-worked into their own experiences of schooling. As we saw in chapter seven, this was a process ironically aided by the school's approach to multiculturalism which acted to underline and reinforce this construction of South Asian children as the Other. For the boys, we also saw that the association with South Asian girls, especially as girlfriends, had come to be regarded extremely negatively and signified a fundamental attack on a boys' masculinity. This is illustrated in the following argument between Stephen and Paul and Daniel where South Asian girls are introduced into the argument as 'sexual rejects' (Brah and Minhas, 1985). It is also interesting to note that the argument began by Paul and Daniel teasing Stephen about having Annette, a Black girl from their class, as a girlfriend. As we saw in the last chapter, while Annette had been extremely successful in negotiating a prominent position within the field of masculine peer group relations, the contradictions in this meant that, at times, the boys could switch discourses and position her within discourses on heterosexuality as a girl. This was not done primarily out of Paul's jealousy that Stephen associated with her and the struggle to countenance the social capital that he had gained:

Paul: Annette does love you! Annette does go out with you!
 Stephen: I bet! Is that why ... Alright then, if Annette goes out with me then Nazia goes out with Daniel!
 Paul: You have two girlfriends - Nazia, Kelly [*Mixed-Parentage*] and her, Annette
 Stephen: And I know, and I know you go out with Rupal, Rakhee and [*saying last name slowly and pulling face*] Neelam!
 [...]
 Daniel: You've got a Paki girlfriend!
 Stephen: Who?
 Daniel: That one there with that dot! [*on another poster*]
 Paul: [*laughs*]
 [...]
 Stephen: You go out with Neelam!
 Daniel: And so do you!
 Stephen: You go out with all the girls in our class!
 Daniel: You go out with all the Pakis! [*laughs*]

Stephen: I said you go out with everyone in the whole world mate!
 Daniel: So do you *[laughs]*!
 Stephen: How can you say I do when I've already said you do!
 Daniel: You do!
 Stephen: You do!
 Daniel: You go out with all of the Pakis, I go out with all the Whites *[laughs]*
 Stephen: You go out with all of the Pakis! Because I, do I look like a Paki though - you do! You go the Mosque mate where all the Pakis go!
[general laughs]

The specific ways in which South Asian girls have come to be defined as the Other as set out above, offers us clues as to the particular discourses in play. Here I want to argue that attractiveness, so embedded in the dominant forms of capital within the field of feminine peer group relations generally and within the more specific discursive themes of boyfriends and girlfriends in particular, provides the medium through which South Asian girls are constituted as what Brah and Minhas (1985) have termed 'sexual rejects'. What we find is that there is no positive and shared understanding of what being attractive is, *per se*, but simply of what it is not. While we found a few references in the previous chapter relating to how some of the girls came to associate attractiveness with long hair and with the use of make-up, it was more common to find that children simply asserted their own tastes in relation to their distancing from South Asian children. This was certainly the case in the interview quoted above where the boys associated South Asian girls with 'bad taste'. What we find then is that while South Asian girls may be discursively constructed as quintessentially feminine by teachers in certain ways this does not translate into feminine notions of attractiveness. It is here that we see the salience of the more general discourses on the perceived 'alien' and inferior nature of South Asian people being appropriated, re-worked and reproduced by the children. This was also seen to be the case for girls within the field of feminine peer group relations as highlighted through some of the incidents described above. Here one of the central dynamics

involved were the struggles over representation and status among the girls in relation to one of the central forms of capital in the field - that relating to boyfriends - which was underlain by the discursive theme of attractiveness. The teasing of each other as being a 'Paki' can therefore be seen directly in relation to these struggles.

The discussion so far has drawn attention to the complexities of feminine identities and the way that they are not simply closed around a certain number of easily identifiable, and transferable, characteristics but are highly contingent and contradictory. South Asian girls are therefore located within a discursive position that defines them as both feminine and the Other in relation to femininity. The association of the former with passivity, obedience and dependency and the latter with sexuality as implied so far is also not that simple in practice. Their constitution as the Other sexually was also imported by some girls to justify their exclusion from more general games of Tick and Mummies and Daddies. Similarly, their perceived passivity and 'alien' nature also, at times, came to render them sexual among the boys. As the following transcript illustrates taken from an interview with two infant boys from Mrs Jones' class. Here, the traditional discursive themes of South Asian girls as sensual and exotic are alluded to. The extract begins with Dean's frustration at Jason's inability to understand him:

- Dean: He don't know what I mean, he don't know what I mean, he talks English
Jason: English, I'm talking English now!
Dean: Yeah like Paki [*laughs*]
Jason: You talk French!
Dean: You talk like Paki language [*laughs*] you talk ...
PC: What's that language?
Jason: You talk French
Dean: When you got a girlfriend, no way you want to play with them [*Asian*] girls, right, they might, you might, you might, you might [*in soft voice*] "come on baby want to suck you off"
PC: You want to what?
Dean: [*embarrassedly*] Nnaaahhhh not ...
PC: What girls are those? what do you mean by them girls?
Jason: Downstairs

Dean: In our class/
 Jason: Like Reema
 [laughs]
 PC: You don't want to play with those then?
 Dean: No
 PC: Why?
 Dean: She's a Paki!

This theme was also apparent in the following transcript taken from an interview with Daniel, Paul and Stephen from Mrs Scott's class. Here, South Asian girls are constructed as mysterious and unpredictable:

Daniel: I don't like 'um [*Asian girls*]
 PC: Why don't you like 'em?
 Daniel: Because they're Tigers! [laughs]
 PC: They're Tigers?
 Daniel: Yeah! They've got a mask on their face like a Tiger!
 Paul: Daniel, if there, if you go with one of them - you know what will happen, you know what, what they'll do?
 Daniel: What?
 Paul: Bite ya!
 Stephen: Eat you!
 Daniel: Bite your bum off!

9.4 Strategies of conformity and resistance

What we have seen so far is the contradictory discursive positioning of South Asian girls. On the one hand they are constructed as feminine through teacher practices which highlight their perceived passive, obedient and helpful manner. On the other hand, however, they have also been discursively constituted as the Other by their peers in relation to notions of attractiveness. While these competing themes inevitably emerge through a range of contradictions, some of which have been highlighted above, it is this latter process that has come to predominate and which lies behind the tendency for South Asian girls to find themselves excluded from the field of feminine peer group relations. It is the variety of responses adopted by the South Asian girls at Anne Devlin to this tendency for exclusion which provides the focus for this final section. As we will see, these responses vary from the carving out of alternative social spaces to the struggle to gain

acceptance within the field of feminine peer group relations.

9.4.1 *Asha*

Asha was the only South Asian girl to begin the academic year in Ms Patterson's class. Her general experience of the field of feminine peer group relations was one of exclusion as the following extract taken from an interview with Naomi, Devan and Peter illustrates:

- Naomi: I don't like playing with Asha
PC: Asha? Why not?
Devan: I don't like playing with Asha and I play with Robert
Peter: I play with Robert! No one likes playing with her [*Asha*]
- just Lisa!
PC: Why doesn't anyone like playing with Asha?
Naomi: Cos she's horrible!
PC: Why's she horrible?
Devan: Everyone thinks she's erm horrible just cos she's a Paki
PC: Do they? Do you think that's true?
Devan: No
Naomi: Yeah
Devan: No
Peter: Yeah
Devan: No, I don't

The general sense of isolation that Asha experienced as a result of this exclusion was something recognised by Mrs Ashton a supply teacher that took Mrs Patterson's class for one day a week:

- Mrs Ashton: Asha's [...] a bit introverted and a bit shy but she's coming out [...] I think in a way she could do with an Asian girl to be friends with because quite often she's a bit on her own and quite often it's nice if they've got another Asian girl to be pals with and she hasn't got anybody and I feel a bit sorry for her. Doesn't seem to bother her over-much but I think that perhaps she'd be more confident with another girl which she could be particularly friends with.
PC: Who does she play with then usually?
Mrs Ashton: Sort of hangs about, around different ones in the playground.
PC: So she doesn't hang around with the girls and that?
Mrs Ashton: She does but she's not as accepted as erm as if she'd been White - there's a definite difference there. She sort of hangs around with them but she doesn't seem to be as part of the game as she might be if she had another little girl to be with. The Asian girls often just walk

round together with arms linked or holding the teachers' hands. They're not always madly involved in games like the others.

While Mrs Ashton's explanation of Asha's isolation largely in relation to 'race' is partly supported by the children's perceptions of her as a 'Paki' as highlighted earlier, a number of other factors could well be in play including, most prominently, the possibility that she was simply 'shy'. In the absence of more detailed biographical information about the children then these other factors can only be assumed. Whatever the final mix of causal factors, Mrs Ashton's general observations were quite accurately representative of my own. Asha was not firmly rooted in friendships with others. While she did periodically play with Lisa, a White girl from her class, she tended to find herself on the periphery of social relations. The lack of a strong nucleus of friends meant that she was left to float from one group to another playing only a marginal role in the games or activities that the children were involved in. In other words, the absence of one or two close friends meant that she was unable to successfully carve out an alternative social space for herself. Having said that, however, it was precisely because of this that she found herself located in a very contradictory position. In the classroom, for instance, this lack of an alternative social space made it inevitable that she would come to into direct contact with other children as they worked and that those children would come to relate to her on a personal level to a certain degree. This was certainly true for Devan, a Black boy from her class, who, as we saw in earlier chapters, had actually been observed picking on and harassing South Asian children. And yet, because they regularly worked together on the same table, he had come to relate to her on a more personal level and therefore as we could see in the transcript above sets her apart from the more general derogatory discourses on South Asian children that, in other contexts, he frequently engaged in. Albeit to a lesser extent, the same was true for Lisa who would periodically play with Asha in the playground but, at other times, would equally engage in more generalised, racist

discourses on South Asians. Part of the reasons for the development of these particular friendships, especially in relation to Devan, was the ability of Asha to trade in the cultural capital she had acquired in terms of her academic work. This ability to successfully complete particular assignments quickly was something that was valued equally among girls and boys.

Asha's inability to successfully access some of the dominant forms of capital related to discourses on boyfriends in the field of feminine peer group relations, together with the lack of close friends with which to experiment with these forms of feminine capital in an alternative social space, meant that she was far less inclined to embody the related discourses on love, marriage and attractiveness that underlay these forms of capital within her own habitus. Rather, as already alluded to, she tended to gain status and develop her sense of self through her academic work which provided one channel that enabled and encouraged her to acquire, develop and express other aspects of her feminine identity.

9.4.2 Poonam, Beenal, Priti and Stephanie

For Poonam, Beenal and Priti, three South Asian girls from Mrs Scott's class, they shared a close friendship grouping that Asha lacked. While they were also largely excluded from the discourses on boyfriends within the field of feminine peer group relations they were able, with Stephanie a White girl also from their class, to carve out their own, alternative social space which did not rely on the recognition of others and provided the basis from within which they were able to explore and develop their sense of identity. In some ways, the creation of their own social space and its relative distance from that of the field of feminine peer group relations, meant that they were less likely to be influenced by the dominant forms of capital associated with the discourses on boyfriends and were more able to experiment with differing activities and develop and perfect their own games making full use of the

resources available to them. They had developed, for instance, a particular game which involved the number snake painted on the playground which was a variation of the traditional Hop-Scotch game. They were also seen to be playing a game they called: 'Musical Stones' that appeared to be influenced by the more established game of Pass-the-Parcel, whilst at other times they played a game that they had developed called 'The Fare' where they would imitate and role-play certain fare-ground acts and rides. Of course this ability of young children to appropriate, re-work and amend games was one shared by most of the children and provided a staple ingredient of their playground lives. The point I want to stress here, however, is that it appeared to be a more common pursuit among these four girls in comparison to others. Many other children seemed to have their lives in the playground more structured by the complex set of pre-given games that existed whether these be football for the boys, Clapping and Skipping games for the girls, or Kiss-Chase, Tick and Racing more generally. The South Asian girls' absence from this public sphere therefore gave them the space and freedom to express themselves that appeared a little more constrained for others.

However, they were also seen to value and struggle over some of the more predominant forms of capital associated with these discourses on boyfriends within the field of feminine peer group relations more specifically. Most commonly this took the form of playing games such as Mummies and Daddies, Babies and also those which involved more creative, expressive skills such as picking and arranging daisies in the playground and combing and plaiting each other's hair. As we saw in chapter eight, one of the central dynamics underlying these discursive themes of love, marriage, relationships and attractiveness was the more general discourses on boyfriends and girlfriends and it was primarily through Stephanie that they gained access to these discourses. Stephanie's involvement in this friendship group did not preclude her from other social networks and, as will be

remembered from chapter eight, she was central to a number of fights between boys from her class who wanted her as a girlfriend. Not only was she seen to gain a significant amount of social capital from this but as we saw from a number of transcripts outlined in that chapter, it also enabled Beenal, Poonam and Priti to engage in detailed and prolonged conversations about her exploits and relationships with the boys. In many ways it provided the medium through which they could explore their own ideas and fantasies in relation to boyfriends which then came to be woven into their other games such as Mummies and Daddies and Babies.

Stephanie's friendship with the other girls was not without its own problems or contradictions however. To a certain extent, her ability to bridge the gap between the social world created by the South Asian girls and those of other children also lay herself open to racial abuse. Nicky and Kylie from Mrs Brogan's class were seen on a few occasions to refuse to play with Stephanie because they said she 'smelt'. They also teased her by pretending to talk in Gujarati. As we also saw in relation to Daniel, a White boy from Mrs Scott's class who played with three Black boys (the 'Bad' Boys), her association with South Asian girls had meant that her peers came to also see her in racialised terms as symbolically South Asian. Stephanie's attempts to distance herself from this process provides the context where a whole range of contradictions emerge as in the following extract taken from an interview with Stephanie, Aisha and Poonam. Here Aisha had just said that she did not like playing with Beenal:

- PC: Why don't you want to play with Beenal, Aisha?
Aisha: I don't know
Stephanie: Cos she's [*Beenal*] Indian! Init?
Aisha: No!
Stephanie: Yeah - cos she's Indian!
Aisha: NO!
Poonam: She plays with me - she's Gujarati! She plays with me silly! She's not Indian!
PC: Because she's Indian you say Stephanie?
Stephanie: Yeah

PC: Is that right Poonam?
 Poonam: No she's not Indian, she's Gujarati?
 PC: She's Gujarati?
 Poonam: I'm Gujarati, she's [*Beenal*] Gujarati
 PC: But what's wrong with her because she's Indian? What's wrong with that Stephanie?
 Stephanie: I don't know

Here, Stephanie approvingly introduces the cultural marker that Beenal is Indian to explain why Aisha does not want to play with her even though Aisha strongly denies this. It is also interesting to note how Poonam also tries to distance herself from these more general derogatory discourses on Indians and 'Pakis' by claiming that she and Beenal are Gujarati.

9.4.3 Aisha

The above interview conveniently leads us onto Aisha who provides the final case study to briefly look at here. What was interesting in relation to Aisha was the way that Stephanie felt able to introduce the racialised discourses on Indians so directly in relation to Aisha. I want to argue that this was made possible because of the success that Aisha had in downplaying the significance of her identity as South Asian and gaining a prominent position within the field of feminine peer group relations. One of the main reasons she was so successful in negotiating a prominent position within the field was as a result of the cultural and symbolic capital she had acquired through her mother. Her mother was positioned relatively prominently in those discursive practices discussed in chapter four whereby, being a single parent, she was more likely to focus on her children and use them as the medium through which to express her own identity and desires. In this, Aisha came to school in very fashionable clothes and often wore jewellery. She was also one of the main sources that brought in face creams and other make-up for her friends to experiment with and would often bring in her favourite games such as *Pretty Princess* and *My Little Pony* to play with and parade in front of others with. Aisha therefore came to acquire a significant amount of status among her female peers as well as some of the teaching staff who would also

comment on her attractiveness. At Christmas, for instance, she was given the much-sought-after role of an angel along with Debbie a blonde-haired girl from Mrs Brogan's class who was also considered by some of the teachers to be an attractive child.

While Aisha did, periodically, play with Poonam, Beenal and Priti, principally because she was in their class, she also spent much of her time socially distancing herself from them. It is within this context that we can understand her comments reported in chapter eight where she tried to explain why boys did not like the other three girls in relation to their short hair and how boys liked long hair like her's. This social distancing and its underlying racialised nature can be seen in the following extract taken from an interview with Aisha and Poonam. Here they are talking about Stephen, a Black boy from their class when Aisha corrects and makes fun of Poonam's accent and her pronunciation of 'Stacey':

- Poonam: Stephen hates girls!
Aisha: Yeah, the only ones he likes is Jemma and Marcia
Poonam: And Stacey
Aisha: [*frustratedly to Poonam*] Not "Stazeee" - Stacey! You can't even speak properly!
PC: Stacey?
Aisha: Yeah - not Stazeee. Stacey! She can't even say it Mr Connolly [*laughs*]
PC: That's alright!

It is interesting how, in the act of distancing herself from Poonam, Aisha tries to implicate myself, a White person in authority, as someone she more identifies with and/or defers to within that specific argument.

Part of the reason for Aisha's attempts to distance herself from the other three South Asian girls was also related to age and how she felt they were immature. In this she made a specific attempt to associate with older children from 'upstairs' meaning the higher infants and junior classes situated on the top two floors of the school. This is illustrated in the following interview

with Aisha, Beenal and Poonam where the latter two had just complained that Aisha never plays with them:

PC: So why don't you play with Beenal and Poonam, Aisha?
Aisha: They're boring!
PC: They're boring?
Aisha: Yeah
[...]
PC: Why don't you two play with Aisha then?
Poonam: She don't let us!
PC: Why?
Aisha: Because I've got so many friends to play with
PC: but why don't you want [...] more friends?
Aisha: I've got loads of friends in the Juniors and upstairs in the middle class

What was interesting however with Aisha was the way that her position as attractive was developed primarily through the symbolic and cultural capital gained via her mother. In contrast to other girls, she neither played kiss-Chase with boys nor spoke of having a boyfriend. This could well be the result of Aisha's own decision to distance herself from boys. Equally likely, it could be because, as we have seen in earlier chapters, boys had also constructed South Asian girls as the Other in terms of attractiveness and so to be associated with a South Asian girl as a girlfriend would risk the loss of a considerable degree of status. Within this context, Aisha was equally likely to be singled out for abuse and harassment from the boys in her class as the other South Asian girls were as illustrated in the following quote taken from an interview with Aisha, Poonam and Beenal where they are complaining about the harassment they receive from the 'Bad' Boys in their class featured in chapter five:

Aisha: Stephen's horrible to me at school
PC: Stephen from your class?
Aisha: Yeah
PC: How's he horrible? What does he do?
Aisha: He pushes me and all that stuff
Poonam: And Paul
Aisha: I don't do anything to him init?
Poonam: No you don't ain't it? You don't
Aisha: No, but he does it back to me - he thinks I done it
PC: [...] What else do they do? Anything else?
Poonam: And Paul I think! Ah! Jordan! And Jordan ain't it?

PC: What does Jordan do?
 Aisha: Pushing me
 Poonam: Kicking!
 Aisha: Yeah kicking me, punching, fighting, karate
 [...]
 PC: why do you think they do it to you Aisha?
 Aisha: I don't know - because they hate me!

I have quoted this at length so as to contrast it with the following quote also taken from an interview with Aisha. Here she talks of how Stephen has commented favourably about her hair:

Aisha: [...] And boys like this [*touching her own hair*] and a hair band
 PC: How do you know they like that? Who said they like that?
 Aisha: Stephen in our class yesterday
 PC: Did he? What did he say?
 Aisha: He said I was very, very nice [...] just because I helped him because he can't do take-aways.

To understand this contradiction articulated by Aisha in terms of a boy that physically assaults her and 'hates' her while also saying she is 'very, very nice', we need to remind ourselves of how attractiveness is constructed within discourses on boyfriends and heterosexuality. In this, while Aisha never spoke directly of boyfriends in relation to herself, she was located within a discursive frame that constructed attractiveness in relation to the desires of boys. Thus although Stephen, in other contexts, was thoroughly nasty to her, he was a boy, and one with a lot of status among his peers, and therefore his judgement was valued by Aisha and other girls. It is also interesting to note the conditions within which Stephen chose to associate with Aisha, that is: in a relatively private space and with the benefit of being helped with his work. It is this contrast between the private and more personal setting and the public and more status-ridden arena that also helps us understand Stephen's radically different treatment of Aisha.

9.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored the position of South Asian girls within the field of feminine peer group relations. While the chapter has drawn

attention to the way that teachers have come to discursively construct South Asian girls as quintessentially feminine, these discourses did not tend to invest these girls with significant forms of capital within the field of feminine peer group relations. Rather, South Asian girls were constructed as the Other in relation to discourses on boyfriends and the related discursive themes of intimacy, love and marriage. Here the broader discourses on the 'alien' and inferior nature of South Asian children came to predominate. In this sense the chapter has helped to develop our understanding of the ways in which South Asian girls have been discursively constituted as 'sexual rejects' as identified by Brah and Minhas (1985). It was within this context the chapter went onto examine the differing ways in which South Asian girls came to respond to these broader discursive processes. Some chose to carve out their own more private alternative spaces within which to explore and develop their sense of self. In contrast, others were shown to actively resist these processes and come to successfully gain appropriate forms of capital within these discourses on love, marriage and attractiveness.

Conclusions

This thesis has been concerned with exploring the salience of 'race' in young children's lives and, within this, how discourses on 'race' come to influence and shape the experiences of Black and South Asian children. In doing this the thesis has kept in mind two main concerns, arising from a review of the literature on racism and young children, that have come to underlie successive chapters. These have been the need to overcome the continued dominance within the extant literature of traditional discourses on childhood and the need to develop a more suitable theoretical frame for understanding the nature and influence of racism. What I want to do here is to draw out the main ways in which the thesis has come to address these two concerns and how it has increased our understanding of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives. This will then provide the basis for examining some of the broader issues that have been raised in terms of anti-racist practice and some of the research questions that have been raised by the thesis and which should come to inform future studies in the area.

10.1 Researching young children

One of the principle concerns of the thesis has been to overcome the continued dominance of traditional socialisation and developmental models of childhood in research on young children. The thesis has actively challenged the assumption that young children, at their stage of

development, are simply unable to meaningfully make sense of and act upon their social worlds. Rather than continuing to render young children the objects of research this thesis has therefore made them the subjects; it has been one of the first in-depth ethnographic studies to explore in detail the subjective worlds of the young children themselves. Young children were therefore encouraged to talk about and express their own feelings and concerns and were not simply restricted to being observed or asked to endure a whole range of laboratory-style stimulus/response tests. In fore-grounding their subjective worlds in this way the thesis has been able to make two main contributions in relation to the social competence of young children and the methodological implications of this. I will briefly look at each in turn.

10.1.1 Young children as socially competent

One of the main themes to emerge out of the thesis is the social competence of children as young as five and six in reflecting upon and intervening in their social worlds. It has focused on the skill with which young children are able to actively appropriate, re-work and reproduce discourses on 'race', gender and sexuality in quite complex ways. It draws attention to their ability to interact with their social environment and adapt and reconstitute their behaviour from one context to the next. Above all, this emphasis on the agency of young children has crucially helped us to bring into focus their de-centred selves. Their identities are therefore not simply determined by their age but also their ethnicity, gender, class and sexuality. These all complexly come together and articulate within specific contexts to influence and shape an individual child's behaviour and sense of identity. More fundamentally, the thesis has brought into question the ability to make assumptions about a child's cognitive ability or their level of awareness on matters of 'race', gender or sexuality simply by their age. While the case studies used in this thesis make no claims to be representative they do quite vividly draw attention to the ability of some young children to acquire a relatively

sophisticated and active understanding of their social worlds. It is this that brings into question the usefulness of research that simply focuses on the level of racial awareness among young children as if this can easily and unproblematically be measured. Rather the questions underlining the present thesis have been concerned with identifying the complex set of discursive processes and practices that have come to articulate in the construction of a particular child's sense of identity. In relation to explorations of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives this will be a theme returned to shortly.

10.1.2 Methodological implications for researching young children

It is this realisation of the social competency of young children that leads onto the second major contribution that the present thesis has made in relation to the implications that this raises for methodology. In this the thesis has not only conclusively demonstrated the ability to research the subjectivities of young children, it has also drawn attention to the particular methods that are most suitable for this. The main point I want to advance here is that once researchers have come to accept the social competency of young children then they should approach the study of them as they would any other socially-defined group. As much of the research referenced in this thesis has done in relation to older children, youths and young men, this has meant a focus on the ethnographic method and on in-depth, largely unstructured interviews with the subjects as the most effective means with which to unravel the complexities of their social identities. This, as the present thesis has amply illustrated, is also the method to be used in relation to young children.

Of course this should not be read as simply encouraging researchers to ignore the particular effects of discourses on age and childhood on the research process. Indeed the thesis has been punctuated with examples emphasising

the role I have played as an adult in shaping and influencing the conduct of the young children. More particularly, this influence was most obvious along a number of axes. The principle one was in relation to my age which invoked particular discursive positions in relation to the roles of adult/child with which many of the young children actively introduced 'adult' discourses in order to undermine and subvert that relationship. However, gender also provided a crucial variable as the way that girls and boys would relate to me often reflected their own expectations of what I, as an adult male, would value. Of course this and the former point would often articulate together as some of the boys and girls would introduce particularly gendered and sexualised 'adult' themes in order to overcome the adult/child distinction and try to relate to me as an adult male. Moreover, 'race' was also a critical variable. The introduction of racialised themes by a number of children also expressed an important set of assumptions that they held about my own views and social position as a White person. What was more difficult to gauge was the effect of my ethnicity on Black and South Asian children where it was more what they choose *not* to say and do that was important in their relationships with me. This is an areas that needs to be developed further but some clues were evident in the thesis particularly in chapter nine where it will be remembered that Aisha, a South Asian girl, in wanting to down-play her ethnic identity, criticised the appearance of her South Asian friends and looked to me for conformation in this.

The point then is that a number of specific problems inevitably arise in relation to interviewing young children. However, I would maintain these are principally of the same order as those problems that any researcher would face whatever their focus. Ultimately, once it is accepted that children can talk and express themselves in a meaningful way, the problem becomes one of being critically reflexive and forever questioning your role as a researcher and your relationships with those you have researched. The problem has

been that while these issues have consistently been raised in relation to young children, principally because young children largely remain discursively constructed as being 'gullible' and open to persuasion, they have still rarely and/or inadequately been addressed in relation to research on other socially defined groups. While we have seen in chapter one that significant contributions have been made, particularly in the feminist and anti-racist literature, to our understanding of the influence of gender and ethnicity on the research process this has still only partially been incorporated into the methodological discussions of large sections of empirical work.

The main implication for this in relation to young children is that rather than questioning the 'validity' of the data in terms of representativeness, researchers need to read and interpret it within the particular context in which it was collected. The young children's appropriation of specifically sexualised discourses discussed in this thesis, for example, should not therefore be discussed in terms of how representative it was either of the particular children involved or of other children generally, but what were the particular discursive processes in play, including those invoked through the presence of myself as an adult male, that came to influence and shape the children's behaviour. In this sense all data is valid; it is how it is contextualised and interpreted that is at issue. However this should be as important regardless of who is being researched.

10.2 Theorising racism

The second main concern that has underlain the thesis has been with developing a more appropriate theoretical frame for understanding racism. In this I set out three main points in chapters one and two that such a framework needs to incorporate. These were: the essentially open, contingent and context-specific nature of racism; the articulation of racisms across global,

national and local levels; and the complexities of power within accounts of racism that can not only be seen through its expression across time and through space but also in its 'formative' capacity as it comes to influence and shape the very identities of individuals. In this section I will return to each of these concerns in turn.

10.2.1 Racisms and the de-centred self

Running throughout the thesis has been the essentially open and contingent nature of the young children's racialised identities. The thesis has drawn attention to a variety of contexts within which children were located and how, within each, discourses on 'race' came to be appropriated, re-worked and reproduced in a diverse number of ways. More specifically, through the use of the case studies in the latter four chapters, the thesis has amply illustrated the inherently contradictory nature of the young children's sense of identity as particular discourses on gender, 'race', age and sexuality are fore-grounded or downplayed from one context to the next. Above all, what we have seen is the centrality of experience in mediating the development and reproduction of these identities. It was here that the concept of habitus played such an important role in drawing out how the routine experiences of the children came to influence their perceptions of the social world and shape the way they came to interact with it. Furthermore, it was through the related concept of field that we were able to fully explore the complexities of the young children's perceptions. Here the children's movement in and out of a number of social fields helped to reinforce the contingent and context-specific nature of their identities as they came to be forged and re-forged through the material experience of particular sets of relations.

In highlighting the notion of the de-centred self in this way, the thesis has also acted to re-focus the research questions asked in relation to racism and young children. Rather than trying to identify and document the Black or

South Asian 'experience' of schooling the thesis has rather come to explore the complex nature and influence of the *processes* that come to shape that experience. As we saw in chapters six to nine, rather than making claims as to the representative nature of the experiences outlined there in relation to *all* Black boys or South Asian girls, for example, the chapters have been concerned instead with identifying some of the broader sets of discursive processes that operate in relation to particular groups of children and then to exploring the particular ways in which some of those children come to be drawn into these processes more than others. It is this approach that not only challenges the largely essentialist and closed accounts of young children's schooling experiences but is one that also comes to foreground agency. As regards the latter point, it offers an approach that is able to account for the diversity of young children's experiences while also resisting the slide into relativism. Each of the four chapters then, while outlining some of the more general racialised processes manifest within the school in relation to specific minority ethnic groups, went on to use case studies to highlight the differing ways in which particular children came to be drawn into and/or resist these processes.

10.2.2 Looking beyond the school gates

As part of this need to draw out the essentially fluid and context-specific nature of racism, the thesis has also been able to demonstrate the importance of 'looking beyond the school gates' in the study of racism and young children. Through the concept of field, the thesis has identified a number of sites throughout the social formation within which discourses on 'race' have been appropriated, re-worked and reproduced in differing ways. In this the thesis has been particularly concerned with the fields of economics, politics, the Manor Park estate, the school together with the fields of feminine and masculine peer group relations. As has been illustrated, each provides a particular social arena through which discourses on 'race' are mediated and

each, in turn, came to influence and shape the racialised nature of relations in the others. In this the thesis has offered one of the first ethnographic studies of a British school that has traced through the salience of 'race' in the children's lives back to the local community and beyond. It helps to locate the reproduction of racism not simply with teachers but within a much broader set of processes. Moreover, through the concept of capital, the thesis has also offered some insights into how and why these particular discourses on 'race' found within any specific field are re-worked and reproduced in the way that they are. As alluded to above, in drawing attention to the struggles of specific forms of capital it also foregrounds agency within the research account and the importance of experience in mediating these racialised discourses.

10.2.3 Theorising power in accounts of racism

Finally the thesis has come to outline possible ways in which we can develop our understanding of power as it is manifest in and through discourses on 'race'. Here, as chapters three and four most vividly illustrated in their focus on the Manor Park estate, racism has an inherently formative quality in that it comes to be embedded and expressed in and through the social, spatial and/or temporal nature of particular fields. It is the way in which the field and the habitus are integrally related that we can also understand how individuals' perceptions of their social worlds are not only socially constructed but also spatially and temporally. The Manor Park estate therefore provided an extremely important field through which the salience of 'race' in people's lives were socially, temporally and spatially constructed and reproduced.

Moreover, the thesis has also drawn attention to the way in which racism also comes to influence and shape the very identities of individuals and their sense of selves. As we saw in the final four chapters, the children did not simply stand apart from the various racialised processes but were inevitably

incorporated within them. It was in this sense that the particular discourses on 'race' manifest within specific fields came to be expressed in and through the children's habitus and ultimately came to shape their sense of self. Particular discourses on 'race' therefore came to actually produce *some* Black boys who were physically strong and athletic and *some* South Asian girls who were quintessentially feminine. These were purposely held up however as 'ideal types' to highlight the range of processes involved. Many other children were drawn into these processes to a much less extent while others, still, came to actively resist them. The point of the thesis has been to identify these racialised processes and draw attention to the contexts within which young children are more or less likely to be influenced by them. This, in turn, helps us to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the children's experiences of schooling which, in relation to Black boys' for example, can move beyond the rather polarised debates that cite either teacher racism or culturally deficit models of the boys' behaviour to account for their 'underachievement'. As chapter six has shown, this has been done by widening the focus to include the field of masculine peer group relations in understanding how Black boys, to varying degrees, come to develop their sense of identity. While many teachers were involved in racialised practices they also found that some Black boys were more difficult to control. In relation to the latter point however, rather than resorting to rather questionable and decontextualised assumptions about the boys' characters (see Foster, 1990a), the chapter has been able to locate their behaviour within a wider and more complex web of racialised processes.

10.3 Implications for multicultural/anti-racist education

While the primary concern of the thesis has been with increasing our understanding of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives and not with assessing multicultural/anti-racist practice *per se*, a number of themes have been raised in relation to this and deserve to be briefly highlighted here. In

this I want to address two main issues: the potential for anti-racist work among young children and the need to locate such work within a more whole-school approach. As regards the former, the thesis has clearly shown that young children are not only capable of dealing with quite complex ideas about 'race' but that they are already doing so. In this the thesis offers further support to Epstein's (1993) conclusions in her own study of anti-racist practice in primary schools that, with the right kind of analytical 'scaffolding', important work can be done in challenging children's racial attitudes and perceptions. While such work has already been going on with older children, the data presented here suggests that it needs to be broadened out to incorporate young children at the start of their schooling careers. As we have seen, at the ages of five and six, children are already actively involved in appropriating, re-working and re-producing racialised discourses. Moreover, we have also seen the contingent and contradictory nature of the young children's beliefs and identities in relation to this. And it is here, as witnessed in the thesis through my own role as interviewer in challenging and encouraging the children to think through their racialised assumptions, that much work can be done. As Carrington and Short (1989) have successfully demonstrated in their own work with older children, these contradictions can often be worked through to provide children with a different conceptual frame for understanding their social position.

While the nature and form that such work with young children could possibly take has been beyond the scope of the present research the thesis has drawn attention to the need to develop a multicultural/anti-racist approach within a more whole-school context. What the thesis has clearly demonstrated is that the children's racialised attitudes and behaviour are inextricably bound up in experience. In this, how they come to think about issues of 'race' is complexly woven into their experiences as being, among other things: young children, working class, White/Black/South Asian and

girls/boys. It is therefore an extremely limited exercise to attempt to challenge young children's attitudes while the material processes and practices that give rise to them remain in place (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Epstein, 1993). A clear example of this was found in chapter six in relation to the school's approach to football. Here, an unwritten multicultural/anti-racist policy aimed at primarily engaging Black boys had the effect of reproducing a distinct masculine ethos within the school which, in turn, increased the tendency for South Asian children to be racially abused. Above all, it highlighted the importance of incorporating gender equality in any strategy aimed at challenging racism. As we have seen, it is primarily through their gendered identities that children come to appropriate, re-work and reproduce discourses on 'race' (Macdonald *et al*, 1989). Moreover, it is not just issues of gender that are implicated in the development of multicultural/anti-racist policies but also the school's approach to discipline (see also Gillborn *et al*, 1993). Again, there is little point attempting to challenge young children's racialised stereotypes about Black boys, for instance, if the school continues to so publicly draw them disproportionately into their disciplinary modes.

Of course, as Gillborn (1995) has rightly pointed out, it is very easy to simply stand back and criticise school approaches. It is in this light that the thesis has consistently located the teachers' and school's approach within a broader context of constraints and restrictive processes. Not least with the ever-increasing pressures being brought to bear by the Education Reform Act 1988 (see Tomlinson and Craft, 1995), developing a whole-school approach to multicultural/anti-racist education is going to be that much harder. The thesis does, at least, provide some important insights that can be used in thinking through and developing such an approach. It remains for future research to focus more centrally on the complex relations between discourses on 'race', gender, sexuality, class and age and how these come to influence and shape the effectiveness of particular multicultural/anti-racist policies.

10.4 Other questions remaining to be answered

In many ways, this thesis has been an ambitious piece of work. It has attempted to link a study of the local community in with the school, to explore the articulations between discourses on 'race', gender, sexuality, class and age and to develop an appropriate theoretical framework able to deal with all of this. As we have seen above, the thesis has made important contributions to our understanding of the salience of 'race' in young children's lives in a number of ways in relation to these concerns. Inevitably, however, many questions remain either partially or wholly unanswered while new ones emerge. While the thesis has therefore drawn attention to the interplay of a number of specific fields, it has only partially been able to uncover the complexities of the specific sets of relations found in those fields and the particular forms of capital evident there. This was especially the case in relation to the field of feminine peer group relations. Further work could now be done therefore in focusing on particular fields and applying and developing the theoretical frame proposed here to gain a more comprehensive insight into the dynamics of specific fields. This would also serve to help refine and develop the concepts of field, capital and habitus in the way proposed.

A more detailed focus would also enable us to enhance our understanding of the habitus. By this I am not primarily interested in trying to further delineate and define the exact parameters of the habitus. Indeed Bourdieu never meant the habitus to be treated in such a way (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Rather, what many commentators see as its essential weakness - that is its imprecise and rather open and fluid nature (see for instance Jenkins, 1982, 1992; Harker *et al*, 1990; Calhoun *et al*, 1993) - is also its principle strength. As we have repeatedly found throughout the thesis, the social world is not a closed and easily-definable entity but is also essentially open, fluid and diverse. This is not a call for the avoidance of analytical

rigour but rather for us to move beyond the appraisal of conceptual tools simply within strictly modernist and essentialist terms.

Rather, my concern for the future development of the concept of habitus relates to the inability of the thesis, because of time and space, to adequately incorporate the particular biographies of individual children. While we have seen the very differing ways in which particular young children come to respond to the broader sets of racialised processes, we are still left with the questions as to: exactly *why* one child chose to conform while another actively resisted? Is it simply that a particular child is shy or are they being marginalised by their peers? What leads some children to be interested in kiss-chase, football and/or make-up and others not? While the thesis has touched upon the importance of the domestic environment in relation to the latter point, there is still much work to be done in incorporating the young children's home environment more fully in an analysis of their particular forms of habitus. This is particularly true of the South Asian children where, because of the constraints of time, the influence of ethnicity and religion in the domestic environment has been largely unexplored in the present thesis. In doing this we can develop further the notion of the de-centered self through an analysis of the multi forms of habitus that each child carries with them and how they come to shape and inform each other.

This thesis has been concerned with exploring the salience of 'race' in young children's lives. Within this it has aimed to challenge the traditional discourses on childhood that continue to dominate research on young children and to develop a more sophisticated theoretical frame for understanding the influence of racism in their social worlds.

APPENDIX ONE

Key to Transcripts

/	Interruption in speech
[...]	Extracts edited out of transcript
...	A natural pause in the conversation
[Italic text]	Descriptive text added to clarify the nature of the discussion

APPENDIX TWO

Anne Devlin Primary School

A. Total number of children on roll at Anne Devlin at the start of the Autumn term, 1992, by gender and ethnic origin.

	White	Black	South Asian	Chinese	TOTAL
Girls	94	52	57	-	203
Boys	107	58	37	2	204
TOTAL	201	110	94	2	407

B. Total number of South Asian children on roll at the start of the Autumn Term 1992, by religion

	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	TOTAL
Girls	36	20	1	57
Boys	29	7	1	37
TOTAL	65	27	2	94

C. The three sample classes (Reception/Year One infant classes) by gender, ethnic origin and term

(Figures on the left of each column relate to start of the Autumn Term 1992, those on right in parentheses to the Summer Term 1993)

Ms Patterson's class

	White	Black	South Asian	TOTAL
Girls	4 (9)	2 (1)	1 (1)	7 (11)
Boys	6 (7)	2 (3)	4 (3)	12 (13)
TOTAL	10 (16)	4 (2)	5 (4)	19 (24)

Mrs Brogan's class

	White	Black	South Asian	TOTAL
Girls	8 (6)	1 (5)	1 (3)	10 (14)
Boys	6 (6)	3 (2)	1 (3)	10 (11)
TOTAL	14 (12)	4 (7)	2 (6)	20 (25)

Mrs Scott's class

	White	Black	South Asian	TOTAL
Girls	3 (6)	3 (4)	4 (5)	10 (15)
Boys	4 (7)	3 (3)	1 (2)	8 (12)
TOTAL	7 (13)	4 (7)	5 (7)	18 (27)

D. Teaching staff and classes at Anne Devlin primary school

Headteacher: Mr Redmond (White)

Class	Year	Number of children	Teacher(s)	Position in school
N1	Nursery	41 (18 F/T)	Mrs Woods (White) Mrs Deakin (White)	Head of Nursery Dept.
N2	Nursery	51 (10 F/T)	Mrs Sharpe (White) Mrs Thomas (White)	
N3	Nursery	40 (11 F/T)	Mrs Campbell (White) Mrs Kotecha (South Asian)	
1	Reception/Y1	19	Ms Paterson (White) Mrs Ashton[1] (White)	
2	Reception/Y1	20	Mrs Brogan (White)	
3	Reception/Y1	18	Mrs Scott (White)	

4	Year 1/Year2	20	Mr Wallace (White)	
5	Year 2	25	Mrs Christie (White)	Head of Infant Dept. (S.M.T.) [2]
6	Year 2	22	Mrs Jones (White)	
7	Year 3	23	Mr Roberts (White)	
8	Year 3	25	Ms Dexter (White)	
9	Year 4	22	Ms White (White)	
10	Year 4	23	Mr Pearson (White)	Deputy-Head (S.M.T.)
11	Year 5	32	Mrs Wilson (White)	Head of Junior Dept. (S.M.T.)
12	Year 6	26	Mrs Richards (White)	

[1] Took the class one day per week during the autumn and spring terms whilst Ms Paterson undertook her NUT (National Union of Teachers) work.

[2] S.M.T. represents member of Senior Management team which was led by the headteacher and made up of deputy-head and head of infant and junior departments.

Other classroom support staff:

Section 11:

Mr Chohan (Co-ordinator) (South Asian)
Mrs Coombs (White)
Mrs Ashton (part-time) (White)

Ancillaries:

Mrs Pringle (White)
Mrs Blair (White)
Mrs Phillips (White)
Mrs Rees (White)
Mrs Bond (White)
Mr Knox (White)
Mrs Briggs (White)

APPENDIX THREE

Existing Multicultural Statement as Included in the School's 'Information Booklet'

Anne Devlin Primary School's policy in relation to Multi-Cultural education is:

1. To prepare and involve all pupils to live and work together in society.
2. To promote positive equal opportunities and an understanding of children from different cultures and racial groups.
3. To reflect our community's rich variety of cultures in the curriculum.
4. To raise awareness of the need to work and live together harmoniously in school and in the community and to link these ideas to relations between countries to co-operate together for a better world.

APPENDIX FOUR

Draft Insert Written by Headteacher to Replace Existing Multicultural Statement

ANNE DEVLIN PRIMARY SCHOOL

Anne Devlin has a reputation for being a friendly happy school. We work hard to make our school an environment where children feel safe and valued. In order for us to maintain this atmosphere we expect good standards of behaviour.

We help children to develop tolerance and friendship towards each other. We seek to develop self discipline through rewarding good behaviour and punishing poor behaviour. This will usually involve discussion with individuals but may involve depriving children of playtime or involving parents. Good behaviour is rewarded to promote positive attitudes.

All children will misbehave from time to time but we are particularly concerned to tackle incidents of Racism and Bullying promptly. Accordingly the Staff and Governors wish to make the following statements.

SCHOOL STATEMENTS

RACISM:- The children of Anne Devlin Primary School come from a rich variety of cultures and religions. We will not accept behaviour which threatens the friendly, tolerant atmosphere at School. Our aim is to promote respect for different cultures. Racism will be dealt with promptly and firmly by staff and parents will be informed.

BULLYING:- All children should be happy and settled to enjoy School. Bullying will not be tolerated and will be dealt with firmly. Parents will be informed.

n.b. Should your child be subject to a bullying or racist incident it is important that you inform the School immediately. Our experience shows that when we can deal with incidents promptly, we can prevent further occurrences enabling children to settle back into normal School life.

Finally, co-operation between the School and parents is essential to the process of building a well behaved school. Your support is greatly appreciated.

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